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# Urban places for recreation – beyond dogmatic practices

Case of Manzese Informal settlement  
Dar es Salaam

EDSON SANGA

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Dar es Salaam

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## Abstract

The planning and designing of cities to include urban open spaces for recreation is recognised as vital in human life. Since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, professional ideas and approaches have been used in the provision of urban open spaces. Despite this, cities in developing countries face the emergence of informal settlements due to rapid urbanisation. The informal settlements exist without being planned, but due to informal acquiring of land and building homes. As a result the settlements are compact with no urban open spaces set aside as parks or squares. Despite such condition, people recreate. Previous research on this topic is very limited. This thesis steps away from professional ideas and grounds itself in an in-depth exploration on the phenomenon of recreation and the production of spaces for recreation based on quotidian lived experiences-which is little explored in informal settlements-, in order to unpack contemporary planning and design perspectives.

Located in the city of Dar es Salaam, Manzese informal settlement was used as a case study for this research, and embedded mixed methods were deployed. The findings uncover that despite their density, and despite these settlements being devoid of planned spaces for recreation, recreational activities are retrofitted in ordinary spaces categorised as *public infrastructure*, *Outdoor spaces in residential premises* and *transformed indoor spaces*. The findings also show that the spaces are appropriated through adaptation, negotiation, transformation and the engagement of meanings.

The analysis of the findings has led to the insight that the production of spaces occurs in multidimensional perspective, and that recreational spaces should be thought of in terms of spatial temporality. Planning for recreational spaces should not be conceptualized in terms of categorical thinking between public and private, as the two can overlap. Also the concept of recreation varies according to context, as it is embedded with income generation in informal settlements.

Understanding the production of spaces for recreation through quotidian spatial practices casts light on national and global policies with regards to people's everyday ways of appropriating spaces, which is integral to the formulation of new policies.

*Keywords:* urban recreational spaces, provision of urban recreational space, production of spaces, production of places, informal settlements

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# Urban places for recreation; beyond dogmatic practices

## Ikisiri

Upangaji wa miji pamoja na maeneo ya wazi kwa ajili ya kubarizi, unatambuliwa kama muhimu katika maisha ya mwanadamu. Tangu katikati ya karne ya 19, mawazo ya kitaalamu yametumika katika upangaji wa maeneo ya wazi ya mijini. Licha ya hayo, miji katika nchi zinazoendelea makazi yasiyo rasmi kutokana na ukuaji wa haraka wa miji hiyo. Makazi yasiyo rasmi yamejengwa bila mawazo ya kitaalamu na ni nadra kupata maeneo ya wazi ya kubarizi, ingawa watu wanabarizi.

Tasnifu hii inajikita katika utafiti wa kina ili kujua ni kwa jinsi gani wakazi wanaoishi katika makazi yasiyo rasmi wanaweza kubarizi pasipo bustani na viunga. Lengo ni kuchangia namana bora ya kupanga miji kwa kuzingatia uwepo wa maeneo ya wakaazi kubarizi. Kwa kutumia nadharia za uandaaji wa maeneo kwa maisha ya kila siku, kiunzi cha dhana kimeundwa ili kutafiti hali ya kubarizi na maeneo yake katika makazi yasiyo rasmi ya Manzese jijini Dar es salaam. Matokeo ya utafiti yalionyesha kuwa licha ya msongamano na kutokuwa na maeneo ya wazi ya kubarizi kwenye maeneo yasiyo rasmi, shughuli za kubarizi zinafanyika katika maeneo ya kawaida, ambayo ni kwenye miundo mbinu ya umma, nafasi za nje katika majengo ya makazi ya watu na nafasi za ndani zilizobadilishwa. Matokeo ya tafiti pia yanaonyesha kuwa maeneo hayo ya kawaida hutumika kwa kubarizi kwa kubadilisha matumizi kwa muda kwa njia ya mazungumzo, mapatano na maelewano baina ya mwenye eneo na mtumiaji.

Uchanganuzi wa matokeo unafikia ufahamu kwamba kwamba mtazamo wa upangaji wa maeneo ya kubarizi mijini unapaswa kuzingatia eneo pangwa liweze kukidhi matumizi mbalimbali, ambayo yanaweza kuwa ya muda na si ya kudumu. Pia fikra za kupanga maeneo ya kubarizi zinatakiwa kutambua kwamba kwa minajili ya kubarizi, maeneo ya umma hayatenganishwi nay ale yasiyo ya umma. Pia ieleweke kwamba dhana ya kubarizi inatofautiana kulingana na muktadha kwani katika makazi yasiyo rasmi inaunganishwa na dhana ya kuongeza kipato. Uelewa wa upangaji wa maeneo ya kubarizi mijini kupitia yanayojiri katika maisha ya watu ya kila siku hutoa mwanga kwa sera za kitaifa na kimataifa kuhusu namna bora ya kupanga maeneo ya kubarizi na kupanga miji kwa ujumla.

*Maneno muhimu:* (Maeneo ya wazi mijini, upangaji wa maeneo ya kubarizi mijini, uandaaji wa maeneo, makazi yasiyo rasmi)

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## Prologue

The motivation behind this research grew out of an intuition that was honed through my professional mindset; specifically, I believed that cities should not evolve without input from professionals linked to strong planning practices. Through the experience of growing up in a town which was planned, where buildings and urban open spaces were adequately organised, I developed the belief that every city must contain well-organised urban open spaces. In the town where I spent my formative years, open spaces accommodated gatherings for communal activities, including sports and social activities. Besides this lived experience, my educational background in architecture and urban design indoctrinated me with formalistic guidelines for making cities. After my studies in architecture I also provided consultancy services on the planning and design of building properties in Dar es Salaam based on professional standards from the planning authorities. Over the course of providing consultancy services, I had the notion that the professional standards based on formalised ideas result in cities which function properly and produce a better society. Looking at my consultant work through professional lenses, I was puzzled by the phenomenon of the growth of many villages and towns in Tanzania which are not planned, but which host large number of dwellers for many years. It was a time when my belief that cities and their spaces should necessarily be the output of professionals began to be challenged.

Later this interest was further developed more specifically with reference to urban recreational spaces (parks, plazas, squares), after a broader exposure of living in a European country during my master's studies. I was astonished upon experiencing this country's cities, both by the presence of urban open spaces and their vivaciousness and vibrancy, as well as the sense of revitalisation experienced by the people who used spaces during summer.

This experience once again consolidated the illusion of knowing cities' spaces as products of professionals. With this in mind, and after getting back to my home country and to start observing urban open spaces situated in the planned part of the city of Dar es Salaam, the experience was different from what I had observed in Europe. Instead of vibrancy, these spaces were sluggish and lacking vitality due to few people turning up to the space. And those few people who were using the spaces were not using them as intended by the planners. I then started to realise the contextual differences between open space examples from Europe and examples from Africa.

As the city of Dar es Salaam encompasses both planned and unplanned parts (larger than planned), it was intriguing to develop an understanding of what happens in the unplanned parts as far as urban open spaces are concerned. Thus I developed an interest in visiting informal settlements. After several casual visits to five informal settlements, it was interesting to see the diversity of life within it, including its large population, activity at all hours, vivacity amidst congestion and compact environment. More interestingly, the informal settlements are not products of professionals. They are brought into being by the people themselves, and when professionals' input is included it is just to make improvements to the settlements. Gradually the belief that cities cannot function without formal planning and design started to fade away. By that time I started to ask myself if the consultancy of planning and designing cities' spaces are appropriate for the inhabitants who use the space, and if cities can possibly evolve without formal mechanisms. This was the turning point to start examining how the built environment is actually used in quotidian life in informal settlements.

## Dedication

With genuine gratitude and warm regard I dedicate this thesis to my beloved family, for giving me ample time to pursue the thesis.



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## Acronyms

CIAM	Congrès Internationaux d'architecture modern (International Conference of Modern Architecture)
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
CIUP	Community Infrastructure Upgrading Programme
DMP	Dar es Salaam Master Plan



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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

At the core of this thesis are spaces for recreation, and the different ways and different contexts for understanding them. In urban planning discourses, providing spaces for the purpose of recreation has been on the agenda since the middle of the 19th century. In informal urban settlements-those built up without, or with very little urban planning- no public spaces has been left open or designated for recreation. Yet there are spaces used for recreation. This thesis aims to shed light on these spaces, and on the questions arising in between these different contexts for recreation: Is “recreation” always a relevant spatiotemporal category to describe human life and use of space? How much has our notion of “recreation” been formed by political ambitions from the past? In what ways are “recreation” and “recreational spaces” relevant for urban planning today, including interventions in informal settlements?

In Africa, and other parts of the formerly colonised world, cities were planned according to standards from the “global north” including parks and promenades, used mostly by Europeans inhabiting these cities, while the majority of the native people lived in the countryside. During the post-colonial period, many African cities faced rapid urbanisation leading to the proliferation of informal settlements. The majority (55%) of Sub-Saharan Africa’s urban dwellers, for instance, now live in informal settlements, a proportion that is larger than the global average (30%) and other developing countries including those in South Asia (31%) (UN (WUP), 2018). This population is dramatically restructuring cities. The growth tendency of informal settlements has been surpassing formal conventional land use and urban development, and subsequently recreational spaces became something

that was not provided. In addition, people have been living for years in informal settlements, and presumably they have found ways to use space for recreational activities, even when they are not provided. This paradox between spaces for recreation and their benefits to human life, and the paucity of recreational spaces in informal settlements, creates an intriguing opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of these matters of concern. By drawing insights from residents' ordinary recreational practices, it will be possible to build on existing body of knowledge, leading to a better understanding of the recreational situation in cities with informal settlements. This thesis uses the city of Dar es Salaam as a case study of cities in the global south with informal settlements, and delves into one of its informal settlements to unpack recreational spatial practices from the quotidian lived experiences of people inhabiting informal settlements.

## 1.2 Planned urban open spaces for recreation and recreational use of spaces in informal settlements

In the ideal, cities around the world are composed of built spaces and unbuilt urban open spaces. Urban open spaces are regarded as significant places for outdoor recreation (Mambretti, 2011). The greater emphasis for continuing the planning and design of urban open spaces is placed on the purported benefits of such spaces to human society- the environmental, ecological and most importantly the social and psychological benefits (Chiesura, 2004; Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Matsuoka & Kaplan, 2008). Urban open spaces are claimed as places that rejuvenate city dwellers, helping in stress reduction, as well as peace and tranquility (Kaplan & Kaplan, 1989; Ulrich, 1984). It is also noted that spending time on recreation is an important activity to human life, as it contributes to improving quality of life in terms of health, happiness and well-being (Maddison, Rehdanz, & Welsch, 2020; E. P. Mumford, 2000). These benefits substantiate the reason why, in recent years, cities have been highly incentivized to provide open public spaces such as parks, squares, streets, sidewalks and greenways as a discrete part for civic, leisure and urban life outside of buildings. For instance, it is stated that “cities that have a strong notion of the ‘public’ demonstrate a commitment to an improved quality of life for their citizens by providing adequate street space, green areas, parks recreational facilities and other public spaces” (UN-Habitat, 2015a).

While urban open spaces for recreation are regarded as inevitable spaces in cities because of their benefits to human, provision of such spaces has been by means of normative approaches following guidelines and standards for their sizes and qualities. According to the ‘southern turn’ in social theory, the ideology behind the planning, design and implementation of cities’ spaces has been strongly influenced by norms originating from the global north (Miraftab & Kudva, 2015; Myers, 2011; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Roy, 2011; Watson, 2009) which promote urban open spaces for recreation. However, cities- especially those in the global South- evolve and grow, on the one hand based on modernistic planning and design, while on the other hand also grow organically from people’s everyday life. This is epitomised in cities with a high mass of informal settlements (Parnell & Oldfield, 2014). Many cities in the global south have a central “colonially planned” part, while they nevertheless are dominated by informal settlements (Miraftab & Kudva, 2015; Myers, 2011).

The occurrence of informal settlements in cities is mainly caused by rapid population growth, rural-urban migration and a lack of affordable housing due to poverty and the slow pace of urban planning. These factors compel some urban residents to opt to reside and/ or acquire land in informal settlements through customary land tenure. Land transformation in informal settlements is not controlled by urban planning and design guidelines and standards including minimum setbacks and frontages, plot coverage density, building height, land use classifications, circulation networks, land form transformations and ecological considerations. Informal transformation of land in such settlements is need-based which focuses on solving immediate and burning needs, and thus are incremental in nature. Individuals develop land incrementally without consideration of leaving open spaces that could accommodate public activities including spaces for recreation (Mello, 2018; Tsenkova, 2009). Every land developer transforms his/her plot from within until the entire area is filled up with buildings, and eventually all the developers find themselves sharing common problems, including a lack of common public spaces, roads, storm water drains and areas for ecosystem service. To solve the deficiencies of “Do it Yourself urban transformation”, residents improvise the configurations of their buildings and spaces in their respective land parcels/plots, which results in unpredictable, organic urban spaces. Generally, the spatiality of the informal settlements is characterised by densification of buildings leading to limited green spaces, narrow

unpaved roads and poor services (Nassar & Elsayed, 2018; Yunda & Sletto, 2020), as well as lack of congruence portrayed by irregular patterns of streets and disordered commercial and residential building clusters (Jones, 2019). Thus the spatial characteristic of the dense informal settlement is the paucity of urban recreational spaces.

### 1.3 Dar es Salaam planning: history and provision of urban open spaces in the colonial city centre

Dar es Salaam<sup>1</sup> is an example of the rapidly urbanizing cities in the global south whose growth occurs through both modernistic mediation and informal expansion. The city's growth can be structured into two main periods: the colonial period and the post-independence period. During the colonial period the city [which in more recent times is considered the city centre] was a small settlement with a population of 4000 (in 1891), which gradually increased to about 300,000 (in 1961), covering a six-kilometre radius that spread from the coast outwards. During this period the built environment guided by master plans developed by German and British rule (Lupala 2001; Lupala, 2002). Likewise, during the post-independence period, the city experienced rapid growth and expansion laterally, due to the proliferation of informal settlements. Notably, during this period not only were informal settlements growing, but also other parts of the city continued to grow in a planned manner, although informal settlements grew at a higher rate.

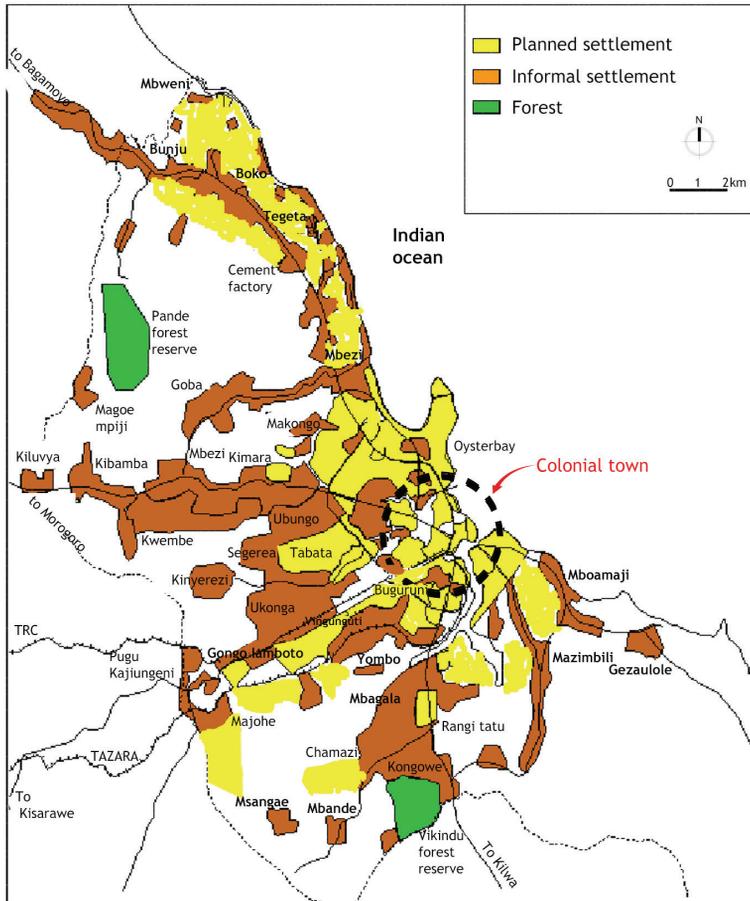
The growth of informal settlements led to challenges for the authorities in provision of basic services such as water supply, road networks, solid waste managements and other social services, including provision of urban spaces for recreation (Lupala, 2002). Recently, informal settlements cover 80% of the city, leaving a planned area that accounts for only 20% (URT, 2012). The provision of urban open spaces began with the establishment of the city at its current city centre in the 1890s, during colonial era.<sup>2</sup> At that time the city was small, planned and developed by the colonies, and urban open spaces were provided too. This is revealed in the early Master

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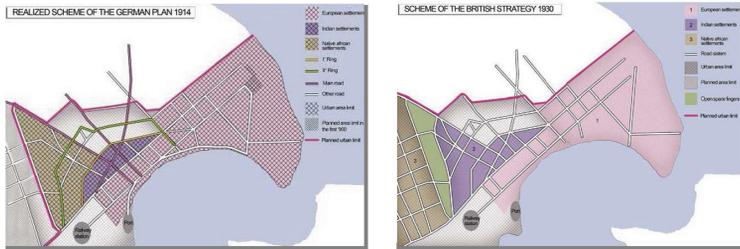
<sup>1</sup> Dar es Salaam is one of the fastest-growing cities in the Sub-Saharan Africa, with an estimated population of 4.4 million (URT, 2012), which expected to grow by 85% by 2025. This makes it the largest city in Tanzania and among the fastest growing in the world (ADB, 2014).

<sup>2</sup> Dar es Salaam city was established in 1892 by Sultan Sayyid Majid of Zanzibar and undergone four era since it was established; 1. Arab era (1867-late 1880), 2. The German era (1880-1919), 3. The British era (1919-1961) and 4. Post independent period (1961-to date) (Abebe, 2011; Brennan, Brennan, Burton, Burton, & Lawi, 2007 (Lupala, 2002:945)

Plan of 1949, which introduced urban open space at the city centre for ecological and environmental benefits. However, some of the urban open spaces were then provided for functions that go beyond the normal recreational functions of health, happiness and wellbeing. Instead they were provided as separators of settlements. This is in particular from the Master Plan of 1968, in which the British rule introduced urban open spaces as buffer zones for spatial segregation between segments of the population (Brennan et al., 2007; Lupala, 2002). One of the implemented urban open spaces is known as Mnazi Mmoja which was introduced to separate areas lived in by people of European origin from those of Asians and native Africans, as shown in Figure 1. Since independence and to the present day the use of public space to segregate populations is no longer practiced, though such areas have been preserved- and access to them is restricted due to their historical significance.



Dar es salaam planned and informal settlement growth



Dar es salaam colonial town (Recent city centre)

Figure 1. Growth of Dar es Salaam, pre and post-colonial period.  
Source: (URT-DMP, 2016).

### 1.3.1 The spread of colonial planning ideas in newly planned part of Dar es Salaam city

As the city of Dar es Salaam continued to grow and expand beyond the small area of the city centre, urban open spaces continued to be provided in other areas during the post-colonial period according to master plan guided by planning policies and legislations inherited from the colonial period. For example, the Tanzanian Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1956 is one of the national planning laws of the country, and it was inherited from British (De Satgé & Watson, 2018). The ordinance in section 26 instructs matters with respect to the provisions which may be made in schemes, including the reserving land as open spaces, whether it is used as public or private parks, sports grounds and playing fields. Several other urban open spaces that exist in planned parts of Dar es Salaam are being provided by guidelines under planning laws such as the Urban Planning Act of 2007 and the National Human Development Policy of 2000 (URT, 2000).

Although these guidelines are still used for provision of the urban open spaces for recreation in Dar es Salaam with the intention of creating habitable urban environments, including outdoor recreation, it is questionable whether the people accept the intended purpose of these spaces. This is due to the fact that some of the spaces are underutilized, with few residents using them despite their convenient location, easy access, openness to public use and nearness to residential settlements, as well as the richness of their urban landscape features and furnishings (Sanga & Mbisso, 2020). The situation of urban open spaces in the planned part of Dar es Salaam is compared to Watson's argument that 'systems of urban planning has been less than adequate to address issues of cities of global South by the fact that in the most of these regions the planning systems in place have been either inherited from the previous colonial governments or have been adopted from global north contexts' (Watson, 2009:2260).

## 1.4 The proliferation of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam and its spatial challenge

The previous section described planning for urban open spaces as having been applied to only a small portion of the modern city of Dar es Salaam. While planners and city developers continue to make sure the city is planned, these efforts are vastly outpaced by the proliferation of informal settlements,

which began in the 1960s, during the post-colonial period. As informal settlements grow spontaneously, without planning control mechanisms, the presence of urban open spaces is affected. Just like the spatial characteristics of informal settlements in the global south's rapidly urbanising cities, particularly African cities, the informal settlements in Dar es Salaam are characterised by congestion, compactness and densification of buildings, resulting in an irregular morphology (Augustijn-Beckers, Flacke, & Retsios, 2011; Bhanjee & Zhang, 2018). This makes it difficult to find clearly defined urban open spaces, and in turn it becomes difficult to describe the situation of recreation in informal settlements.

Following their spatial characteristics, informal settlements in Dar es Salaam are categorised into three groups according to growth stages namely *infancy*, *consolidated* and *saturation* (Kalugila, 2013; Kyessi, 2011). These stages differ in terms of densification, with the saturation stage being much denser than the others, as shown in Figure 2. Despite the intensity of densification, informal settlements have some unbuilt spaces between buildings. These unbuilt spaces are largely the residual effect of buildings being sparsely scattered in the infancy stage of the informal settlements' development on the peripheries of the city (Sirueri, 2015). At this stage the spaces are used for various activities including urban agriculture because of their peripheral location. As settlements grow bigger they advance from the infancy stage to the *consolidated stage*, wherein, the unbuilt landscape shifts from a bucolic scene to a dense development due to intensification of building. These types of informal settlements are situated in the middle of the city. Furthermore, many informal settlements which are found in the inner city of Dar es Salaam (*saturated stage*) are densely populated, due to high land development pressure, in such a way that the few remaining unbuilt spaces are either small pockets of building ruins or unfinished houses, and spaces between buildings (Kalugila, 2013; Kyessi, 2011; Sirueri, 2015). Notably the growth and expansion of the informal settlements of Dar es Salaam is not stagnant, the settlements grow and change from one stage to another according to the pressure of rapid urbanisation. Based on the previously described spatial characteristics and categories of the informal settlements of Dar es Salaam, many questions surround the phenomenon of recreation in informal settlements in order to understand whether, how, and in what spaces recreation happens?

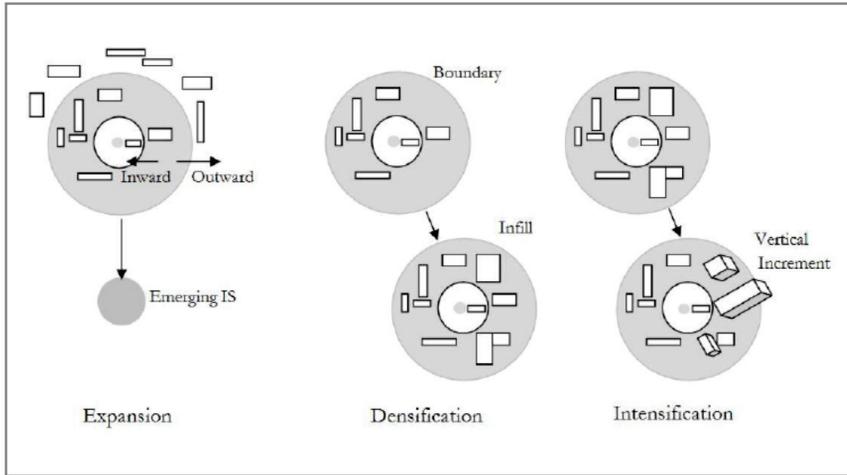


Figure 2. Concept of informal settlement expansion, densification and intensification in Dar es Salaam.

While recreation has been, and continues to be an important motive for the layout of *urban recreational spaces* in the cities of the global north, the role of *urban recreational spaces* in the cities of the global south are not well understood, and as Watson put it (2009), urban planning systems have been “less than adequate”. In the example of Dar es Salaam, this has been expressed in two ways: first, in the planned areas the urban open spaces for recreation are accessible but not used or underused and second, in the informal settlements inhabitants presumably find their own ways to recreate, in different ways and in available spaces. Thus the question remains whether it is realistic to continue producing urban open spaces for recreation based on knowledge of planning and design rooted in a different context? Perhaps there is a need for planners and designers in cities of the global south to shift their way of thinking and put more focus on their own context?

## 1.5 Research problem

There is a vast literature on the importance of urban open space for recreation in urban settings (Matsuoka & Kaplan, 2008; Paris, 2017; van den Bosch & Bird, 2018; Woolley, 2003). Part of the research declares certain properties to be important for recreational function. Urban spaces become more meaningful to their residents when they contain some elements of nature to

encounter beauty, relaxation and recreation (Beatley & Newman, 2013; Matsuoka & Kaplan, 2008). Additionally the spaces undoubtedly provide unique emotional experiences including excitement, laughter, amusement, love, joy or surprise (Paris, 2017). These qualities imply that urban open spaces for recreation are inevitable in cities by being regarded as platform for vitality, liveliness, vibrancy, solace and convivial activities (Johnson & Glover, 2013) as from the planning discourses emanating from a European way of building cities, and from the urban planning literature following this culture. This reasoning, however, does not apply for a very large proportion of recent city dwellers, those in the informal settlements, surrounding the majority of big cities in the global south- in Africa, but also India, Indonesia and South America. Considering the saturated informal settlements of Dar es Salaam, it is difficult to tell how inhabitants living in the settlements attain the aforesaid qualities, as the settlements have paucity of urban open space. As the population living in informal settlements is quite large, it is presumably that the entire city faces challenges of urban open spaces for recreation and therefore it is intriguing to explore the phenomenon of recreation in a setting whose spatial characteristic is complex, compact, spontaneous and densely built up area.

It is also important to acknowledge that this is not the first study of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam, as there are many previous studies conducted in the saturated informal settlements. The closely related studies includes those of Mrema (2008) and Lekule (2004), who sought unbuilt spaces that might be used to host public activities, as well as to foster place identity. For instance, Mrema (2008) unravels the situation of public spaces at Msasani Makangira (one of the saturated informal settlements in Dar es Salaam) by exploring physical, territorial, cultural and environmental orders. He found that generally public spaces are on private land, which are strips of unpartitioned setbacks of buildings that remains after buildings are erected. Inhabitants depend on these spaces for several public activities. Mrema argued that as the spaces allow public activities to be carried out, they serve as ‘floating public spaces’ controlled by individual plot owners, without physical demarcations, in spite of the ‘sleeping property boundaries’ (Mrema, 2008, 2013). The unpartitioned setbacks examined by Mrema create a baseline for this investigation on how such spaces enable public recreation. Similarly, Lekule (2004) employed the theoretical lens of place identity to underscore the phenomenon of place identity by exploring the meanings of urban spaces to residents of Keko

Magurumbasi (another saturated informal settlement in Dar es Salaam). Lekule found out that residents give meaning to whatever space through its use. Lekule realised that inhabitants interpret their settlement as an ‘invisible city’, as it accommodates their needs (Lekule, 2004). Both Mrema and Lekule address the translation of real life acts and needs in terms of space, while this study focuses on quotidian ways to produce recreational spaces in saturated informal settlements.

Moreover, the meagre amount of urban open spaces is not only a phenomenological problem in the city of Dar es Salaam but also in other African cities. Studies reveal that cities in countries such as Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Senegal and South Africa possess scant urban open spaces mainly because of rapid urbanisation, sprawl and increasing socio-economic volatility (Fataar, 2017; Makworo & Mireri, 2011; Mensah, 2014). In countries such as South Africa a few available urban spaces have lost their quality of being public spaces, as many people feel frightened to access them due to the historical connotation of apartheid. The spaces are interpreted as exclusionary and unsafe, thus remain vacant and slowly are being vandalised through trash dumping (Fataar, 2017). Equally, in the city of Nairobi in Kenya some city parks have been turned into solid waste disposing areas by hawkers due to authorities’ poor management of the parks (Makworo & Mireri, 2011). The trends of deficit of urban open space, from the African perspective trigger the call for knowledge on how residents living in African cities are able to perform recreation. Perhaps urban recreation in the African context has nothing to do with urban open spaces, contrary to the universal standards that form the nexus between the two (recreation and urban open space), or maybe it is the continuum of social malaise for residents living in African cities as they might need to engage in recreational activities but they lack available urban open space. These probabilities cannot easily be understood as they incite deep exploration of the recreational phenomenon in context.

Studies reveal that the challenge of urban open spaces in informal settlements in other countries, has been minimised by the creation of preconceived spaces in the settlements through various bottom-up initiatives (Calderon & Hernández-García, 2019; Hernández-García, 2013; Schwab, 2018a). For example, in informal settlements in Latin America, urban open spaces have been created by using self-help based approaches, including acquisition of land from various agencies through purchase from public or

private owners. (Hernández-García, 2013). Moreover, front gardens, green setbacks, leftover open spaces and leftover landscapes have been turned into urban open spaces in informal settlements in Medellin (Schwab, 2018a). Some of these spaces are formally established while others emerged informally, but they both serve as a material designation for communal activities (*ibid.*). Similarly, a recent study in the African context reveals the self-help approach in the creation of urban open spaces in informal settlements exemplified by the ‘park initiatives’ in the Kya Sands informal settlements in South Africa (Adegun, 2019). In the absence of the municipal provision of urban parks, residents create their own green outdoor spaces that do not manifest the formal sense of parks but serve informally as urban parks. However, many of the established parks are associated with isolation, as there are restrictions on women’s access to such spaces. Despite the segregation, the ‘parks’ are created as material designation for recreation and leisure activities (*ibid.*). The example of the presence of urban open spaces in informal settlements indicates the possibilities for the creation of preconceived urban spaces for recreation in informal settlements. However, little is known about how to facilitate recreation in the saturated informal settlements which are characterised by the acute scarcity of predefined urban open spaces suitable for public recreation. This study provide a deep investigation seeking to understand how inhabitants perform recreation in the saturated informal settlements in spite of the absence of the preconceived spaces.

## 1.6 Main objective and specific objectives

The main objective of this study is to explore the production of urban spaces for recreational purposes in informal settlements beyond dogmatic provision. The intention is to gain an understanding of how quotidian recreational spatial practices could contribute to a new perspective for urban planning and design. Addressing this main objective relies on an articulated research sequence that necessitates substantial theoretical and practical input and is guided by the following research objectives:

- To analyse public recreational activities and recreational spaces in informal settlements

-This objective is explorative to the understanding of ‘how do residents living in informal settlements pursue recreation in the absence of planned urban recreational space, and what are the spaces and their respective attributes?’

- To analyse the quotidian recreational practices involved in the production of spaces for recreation.

-This objective is explorative to the understanding of ‘how do residents modify available spaces for recreation through recreational use and meanings?’

- To rethink the formal urban planning and design of urban recreational spaces in light of quotidian recreational spatial practices

- This objective is explorative to rethinking ‘how should the quotidian production of recreational spaces inform formal professional urban planning and design, and what issues should be considered?’

## 1.7 Significance

The creation and improvement of urban public open spaces for recreation is increasingly advocated by policy makers, practitioners and scholars in order to promote people’s health, happiness and wellbeing (UN-Habitat, 2015b). This study analyses the local context of pursuing recreation in Dar es Salaam’s informal settlements. The purpose is to unfold local knowledge that sets a precondition for better understanding urban recreational spaces in comparable contexts and also contributes to a new perspective on shaping city spaces.

## 1.8 Scope of the study

Actors and authorities in urban planning are currently providing and using knowledge and best practices originating in the West, the Global North and in colonial planning. However this study recognizes that in informal settlements, the creation of spaces based on professional input is rare. For that reason, understanding the phenomenon of recreation, and the creation of

its respective spaces based on the quotidian lived experiences of ordinary inhabitants, is essential. The ordinary inhabitants' perception of urban recreation is crucial for urban planning and urban design in rapidly urbanising cities.

## 2. Overview and theories underpinning the production of urban recreational spaces

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter takes the form of a critical review of academic discourses and literature pertaining to the production of urban spaces for recreational purposes beyond the dogmatic provision of functional spaces with insight from saturated informal settlements. The review rests on two streams of literature: the professional production of urban recreational spaces and the quotidian spatial practices that articulate the ordinary materialisation of urban spaces. The review aims to reveal diverse approaches to producing urban spaces for recreation, as well as their critiques, in order to set a precedent for a suitable approach for the analysis of spaces used for recreation in saturated informal settlements.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section defines the concept of recreation for the discursive purposes of this thesis. The second section reviews the literature on the spatial production of urban recreational spaces emanating from formalistic approaches, and how this approach faces criticism. This part also locates debates on the production of urban space with the attention to improve potential ideas relevant for construction of methodology, and raising important issues for exploration for this thesis.

The third section describes further the quotidian spatial practices, but at a more theoretical and conceptual level. It describes theories of the production of spaces and analyses the key elements that delineate quotidian spatial practices as well as spatial appropriation, and that synthesises the elements

essential for analysing the phenomenon of urban recreational spaces in the context of saturated urban informal settlements.

## 2.2 Conceptualising recreation

Recreation is defined as activities that provide pleasure, relaxation and amusement during one's spare time (Tribe, 2020). It encompasses activities including physical, mental, social or emotional involvement-engaged in by an individual or group-prompted by internal motivation and the desire to achieve personal satisfaction (McLean & Hurd, 2015). It is the sensation of being able to experience enjoyment, and to feel good about oneself and about others (Nash, 1960; O'Brien, 2016). People seek and do recreation for quite a number of reasons. For instance, Dillard and Bates (2011) underline four concepts: escape, enhancing relationships, personal mastery and winning. Escape refers to when people get away from their normal ways of running their life to relax, meaning that recreation is pursued for relaxation purposes. Furthermore, recreational activities suggests enhancing relationships by having a good time with friends and family, although in some cases people need to be themselves in the absence of competition, which is referred to as personal mastery, while winning is a wish by individuals to score and keep on scoring (*ibid.*). This means time and space are essential components for recreation to take place.

According to Tribe (2020) recreation is categorised into three groups ;namely, *home-based recreation* (listening to music, watching television and videos, listening to radio, reading, gardening, playing games, exercise, hobbies and leisure use of computers), *recreation away from home* (sports participation, watching entertainment, hobbies, visiting attractions, eating and drinking, betting and gaming) and *travel and tourism* (travelling to a destination, accommodating to a destination and recreation at destination). Tribe's categorization signifies that recreation is attached to human life across different places.

Moreover, recreation is conceptualised as conviviality, a social form of human interaction by sharing a physical experience and, common values recognition to enhance a positive feeling of togetherness (Caire, 2010; Schechter, 2004). Indeed, the term 'convivial space' denotes places in which recreational activities occur. According to Shaftoe (2008), convivial spaces are 'spaces which seems to be grown organically through an accumulation

of adaptation and additions’, possessing the qualities of being enjoyable, environmentally friendly, memorable and identifiable, appropriate to a particular context, rich and vibrant during day and night and at weekends, stimulating and attractive residents (*ibid.*). Similarly, Rodriguez and Simon (2015) add that convivial spaces possess three necessary conditions: flexibility, equity and adaptability. Flexibility in the sense that they are not static spaces, change with time and hence organically evolve rather than being designed; equity for they possess welcoming qualities of spaces and attract use and participation, which are attributed to people in the spaces rather than physical qualities; and adaptability, which implies motivational change driven by people’s activities (*ibid.*).

In a similar vein, recreational space is conceptualised as a ‘third place’. According to Oldenburg (1989), a ‘third place’ encapsulates the notion of togetherness, interaction in social space where people can be satisfied. Third places come after first and second places. A ‘first place’ is home and its people; a ‘second place’ is a workplace, a place where people spend the majority of working hours; and a ‘third place’ is a public milieu to ‘host regular, informal and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work’ Oldenburg (1989:16). Oldenburg claims that no matter how delightful and well-designed houses in a settlement are, they are not enough to facilitate life satisfaction (Campbell, 2018). That is why places such as coffee shops, cafés, restaurants, bars, pubs, taverns, community centres, churches, parks and outdoor recreation spots are places to relax (Lee & Severt, 2017; Oldenburg, 1989). Both ‘conviviality’ and ‘third places’ seem to sideline individual recreation and accentuate recreation performed collectively.

Based on the previous conceptual description of recreation, it is understood that recreation is embodied in human life, a natural phenomenon that requires time and space, and that can be performed in public or private, as well as in indoor or outdoor environments. In line with the conceptual description of recreation in this section, recreation in this thesis refers to activities involving or engaged by an individual or group prompted by internal motivation to experience enjoyment, feeling good about oneself and about others, in a public outdoor urban environment.

## 2.3 Production of urban recreational spaces

### 2.3.1 Production of urban recreational spaces in planning: a functionalistic professional perspective

Following the recognition of the necessity for urban outdoor relaxation, and participation in physical activities, provision of adequate urban recreational spaces in planning and design of contemporary cities is rapidly increasing (Barton, 2016; Barton, Thompson, Burgess, & Grant, 2015). With the notion that cities with urban recreational spaces contribute to an improved quality of life for its inhabitants, spaces such as street spaces, green area, parks, recreational facilities and other public spaces are increasingly promoted to be part of the city (UN-Habitat, 2015). However, provision of such spaces emanates mainly from top-down approaches where functionalistic approaches control every aspect of city planning.

Urban recreational spaces were, from the middle of the nineteenth century, formally deployed and integrated in the planning and design of cities in form of urban open spaces including parks, squares, promenades and green areas, to allow people's increased access to outdoor spaces (Wilkinson, 1988). Provision of urban open spaces is a Eurocentric approach established in Western context due to the great dismay of the environmental and social conditions of the working class, who demanded for social reform in order to improve welfare (*ibid.*). This approach spread and was implemented in other countries, including African countries, during the colonial period, to ensure urban open spaces are part and parcel of cities, for various reasons beyond demands of social classes. In the city of Dar es Salaam, for instance, the approach was implemented in the creation of spaces for spatial segregation, and later for recreation and ecological benefits (Brennan, 2007; Lupala, 2002).

One of the early pieces of advocacy for the provision of urban open spaces regarded access to urban open spaces during Sundays and holidays for breath and fresh air, as well as paying attention to securing open spaces in inhabited towns as central factors in improving health of the working classes (Walker & Duffield, 1983). The implication of the above advocacy was revealed in the 'garden city'-which aimed to bring nature to cities to enhance bucolic scenery), together with the 'park movement' (which fostered the creation of urban parks to encourage human use and enjoyment),- and also the 'vertical city movement' (which fosters vertical development of buildings rather than

lateral to create ground spaces that could be useful for recreational activities) (Kleiner, 2020; Spencer, 2014). However, the nineteenth century was not the beginning of the appearance of urban open spaces, as it is believed that ‘town squares began before settlements’ (Chadwick 1966) cited in (Walker & Duffield, 1983). It is contended that parks evolved in, for instance ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt where they were designed strictly for the purpose of aesthetics and enjoyment, or the Greek Agora, a civic open space, gardens and other open spaces developed in villas in Roman architecture (Wilkinson, 1988). These spaces were, however, probably not open to everyone.

Provision of urban recreational spaces using a functionalistic professional approach was promoted by the CIAM<sup>3</sup> (in 1928-1959) and is generally characterised by separation of zones, whereas the city and life were reduced into four discrete functions: dwelling, work, leisure and circulation, and the functions were segregated into mono-functional zones (Mumford, 1992; Mumford, 2000). Subsequently, urban recreational spaces were highly demarcated and controlled to serve for only the intended purpose of recreational benefits. It is claimed that the CIAM era was a functionalist era with the attitude (known as the ‘doctrine of urbanism’) that the planning and design of cities’ spaces must come from professionals such as architects and planners, on the belief that their provision of physical spaces can provide better living conditions in cities (*ibid.*). From the perspective of the actors, a formal, professional approach is inherently a top-down process by which professionals are key actors in the provision of urban spaces (Mohammadi, 2010). As the approach was carried out as a standard practice, it eventually faced criticism, mainly due to not considering the values of the intended users of the space provided.

### *Critique of the functionalistic professional perspective*

The functionalist approach has greatly been criticised in the sense that its focus has more to do with physical quantification of spaces, while other attributes such as social and cultural aspects have not been taken into account (Levin & Zalta, 2004). Similarly, remarks by Siu and Huang (2015) contend that functionalistic professional approaches neglect the human factor, as the everyday life of a human becomes routinised and programmed.

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<sup>3</sup> CIAM is an abbreviation for Congrès Internationaux d’architecture moderne (International Conference of Modern Architecture initiated by the group of European Modernist Architects in 1928 and 1959. The conference aimed at exchanging ideas about the development and promotion of its influential concept of the ‘functional city’ (Mumford, 2000).

In a more radical vein, Lewis Mumford, who strongly criticised the functionalist approach, viewed it as planning that provides preconceived spaces, and thus advocated on organic approach to planning: ‘Organic planning does not begin with the preconceived goal; it moves from need to need, from opportunity to opportunity, in a series of adaptations that becomes increasingly coherent and purposeful so that they generate a complex final design’ (Mumford, 1961:302). His idea was among those that stimulated a think of radical, predominant functionalist ideas. Despite the critics of the functionalist approach, the production of urban spaces in many parts of the world is normatively rooted from the same functionalistic ideas, and persists in the form of top-down approaches. Many urban policies and guidelines have been pervasively developed under the influence of functionalistic professionalism; they result in urban recreational spaces which are physically conceived spaces. As such, numerous debates have been rising to attempt to question whether the produced spaces support the values of urban spaces or just functional spaces (Edensor & Jayne, 2012; Scott, 2003; Siu & Huang, 2015; Watson, 2009). For instance, Scott (2003) challenges the functionalistic top-down planning through the concept of ‘creation’ and ‘destruction’ as the creation of the abstract spaces is never complete and is a vestige of other realities, and social space that exist behind the map. Attached to the use of norms and standards, it is argued that zoning is the foremost instrument for the functionalistic planning that regulates as well as allocates and subdivides physical urban space. As such, ‘zoning is for bringing urban functions and relegate them to mutually exclusive spaces within the city’ (Scott, 2003). Subsequently, Wilkinson argued that ‘urban open space concepts and forms are used by current urban planners as urban design elements that do not fit into the existing fabric’(Wilkinson, 1988:126). As a result, urban open spaces are continuously being provided for functional purposes.

Understanding the zoning aspect as described in this section, signifies that functionalistic planning is imbued with binary and categorical thinking. This means that there is a clear distinction between public, semi-public and private spaces in planned cities.

Taking this thought in the context of the global south’s rapidly urbanising cities, such as the city of Dar es Salaam, it remains questionable whether zoning is an appropriate means of creating urban open spaces. And since the city has a large population living in informal settlements, the relevance of the production of urban spaces through binary thinking seems improper. This

is because spaces are produced by quotidian living rather than professional conceptions as discussed later in Chapter 9.

*Critics of the functionalistic approach on contextual bases*

Contrary to the functionalistic and top-down approaches, many urban scholars insist on new perspectives on the production of urban recreational spaces in cities of the twenty-first century that might be different from top-down approaches as it was in the nineteenth century. According to de las Rivas Sanz (2017) planning should consider the local context and values related attributes in order to create functional and vibrant spaces. The local context encompasses values such as complexity, diversity, mixture, continuity, enclosure, quality of details, character, legibility.... (*ibid.*). In a similar vein, Thompson (2002) emphasises the creation of patterns of urban spaces for recreation embedded with social and spatial implications of recent lifestyles, values and attitude. She argues that, 'one of the vital roles that urban parks play is providing spaces for the expression of diversity, both personal and cultural' (Thompson, 2002:59-70). While the critics discussed in this section focus on planning for urban recreational spaces, the idea of planning in general in the contemporary era has shifted from continuing to rely on the assumptions that inform standardized top-down approaches, to putting more focus on activities deeply rooted in the specific local context.

In a broader sense, the functionalistic professional approach has been criticised in contemporary discourses for being regarded as a universal standard that can be applied across different contexts for the planning and design of urban spaces (including recreational spaces). Current urban studies debates ascertain that the world does not have cities of similar characteristics, emphasizing the distinctiveness of different types of human settlements (Schindler, 2017). In the context of rapidly urbanizing cities, human settlements are characterised by their dynamism. This dynamism is attributed with diversity, pace, spontaneity and fluidity, vitality and vibrancy that develop from everyday life, and as such it is unrealistic to impose functionalistic professional planning ideas, particularly those originating from different contexts (Myers, 2020; Oldfield & Parnell, 2014; Schindler, 2017; Simone, 2010; Watson, 2009). These scholars not only bring critical reflection based on context specificity, they also claim that urban spaces do not necessarily emerge from functionalistic professional planning, but also from everyday life experiences manifesting themselves in how spaces are

shaped. Despite the contextual characteristics of rapidly urbanising cities, it is claimed that intervention in these cities has been relying on urban modernist planning, something which does not portray the reality of cities of the twenty-first century (Watson, 2009). Based on that, there have been a number of recent scholars who strongly advocate for recalibrating planning urban design theories by drawing on lived experiences from rapidly urbanising cities, which seems to display esoteric empirical cases (Myers, 2020; A. Roy, 2009; Roy, 2014). Making a worthy turn to rapidly urbanising cities does not mean providing a narrative of functionalistic planning on its underside but revealing the distinctive characters encompassed in the context as far as production and the shaping of spaces is concerned.

Based on the proposition above that everyday life experiences can shape cities and its spaces, one would like to understand how everyday life in rapidly urbanising cities such as Dar es Salaam shapes urban recreation space.

### 2.3.2 Production of space through quotidian spatial practices

Besides the contextual critics of functionalistic urban planning, as the mainstream of professional planning culture, current studies divulge that cities and spaces are shaped beyond formal professional ideas, but by means of quotidian spatial practices. Taking cues from urban design theorists such as Jacobs 1961, Gehl 2011 and Whyte 1980, challenged the functionalistic professional approaches and championed ordinary practices. Despite being well aware that professionals hired by authorities as well as other building investors shaped city spaces quite a lot, they delineate that the cities and spaces of the twentieth century are shaped by ordinary spatial practices.

In contemporary urban and planning discourses, quite a few themes have emerged, to capture the non-professional, contextual production of space labelled 'everyday urbanism' (Chase, Crawford, & Kaliski, 1999), 'invented and invited 'spaces of citizenship' (Miraftab, 2004), 'loose space' (Franck & Stevens, 2007), 'the temporary city' (P. Bishop & Williams, 2012) and 'cities in time' (Madanipour, 2017), Temporary urban space (Hayden & Temel, 2006), '*guerrilla* urbanism' (Hou, 2010), 'tactical urbanism' (Lydon & Garcia, 2015) and 'do-it-yourself urbanism' (Iveson, 2013). The central message conveyed by these scholars is the spatialisation of urban space by individuals, with their innate skill to reshape and change the meaning of urban space. For example, Hou (2010), in 'insurgent public space' claims that in cities around the world, urban sites, temporary spaces and informal

gathering places are reclaimed and created by ordinary people individually, or in the form of groups. The created spaces challenge formal, conventional ways of defining and using urban spaces, and provide another dimension for thinking about and improving urban environments. Hou argues that ordinary people appropriate, reclaim, utilize, transgress and contest public spaces. He insists that activities carried out by individuals in spaces are ‘unsanctioned’, ‘unscripted’ and ‘undesirable’ (to the city authorities) as individuals appropriate urban spaces (Hou, 2020). Even though Hou’s analysis was neither focused on the production of recreational spaces nor carried out in informal settlements, the practice he highlighted provides a theoretical lens to grasp the phenomenon of recreation in informal settlements for the reason that the emerging and evolving informal settlements is relatively based on ordinary individuals.

Hou and other scholars of individuals’ quotidian spatial practices, delineate different forms of the production of urban space compared to the functionalistic approach described above. One of the key attributes emphasised in the quotidian spatial practices is the notion of temporariness. Unlike the functionalistic professional perspective that defines spaces as fixed elements, the temporariness manifests how spaces can be used in different periods, and therefore portray its fluidity and flexibility. Drawing from Gwiazdzinski (2014), the concept ‘malleable city’ ‘considers production of [the city] and public spaces that are flexible, adaptable and changeable according to users’ needs’. The ‘malleable city’ concept highlights the magnitude of the scale of spatial appropriation; it emphasises minimal use of space on multiple scales, while maximising the intensity of urban interactions towards creating a sustainable city. It is contended that ‘spatial optimization occurs by ways of adaptability, modularity and the alternating use of public spaces and buildings of different temporal scale (sometimes a matter of years, sometime seasons, sometimes days)...’ (Gwiazdzinski, 2011, 2014). It is also important to remember that the connotation of flexibility as a means of temporary action resulting from quotidian spatial practices, signifies physical flexibility. Quotidian practices also are embedded with mental flexibility, by which ‘spatial forms are mentally interpreted by users to enable a [finite] range of possible uses in functionally unspecified spaces’ (Hertzberger, 2014:112).

Even though scholars on the conceptualization of quotidian spatial practices tend to sideline the functionalistic professional planning of urban spaces and reveal the quotidian spatial practices as fertile ground to grasp the

reality of space shaping, this does not mean quotidian spatial practices should be regarded as the only potential future for urban planning and design. This is due to the fact that some practices such as transgression connote a negative way of appropriating spaces. The examples of non-professional space-shaping mentioned here, are all refer, to activists against professionals, as well as authoritarian urban production of space in the global north and in the conventionally planned districts, but few examples exist for the case of rapidly growing informal settlements. In this section, it is seen that production of urban spaces through quotidian spatial practices is attributed with flexibility, temporality and with the ordinary individual as the main actor in space formation.

### 2.3.3 Production of space through quotidian spatial practices and informal settlements

Portrayals of rapidly urbanising cities, especially those with informal settlements, are extremely generalized, being perceived as habitats of the urban poor, and of ghastly human dwellings which have insecure land tenure and are unserviced, unstructured, uncontrolled, overcrowded and in habitats threatened by disease (Davis 2007). However, this notion does not recognise the unique socio-economic and spatial features associated in informal settlements (Roy, 2016). Rapidly urbanising cities are characterised by spontaneity, mainly in informal settlements due to the fact that ordinary individuals are producers of spaces through quotidian practices, and the process of production connote as urban informality (Arefi & Kickert, 2019).

According to Devlin (2018), urban informal practices are put into two categories, the ‘informality of desire’ which is engaged by non-poor urban residents for convenience, efficiency or creative expression, and the ‘informality of the need’, which refers to informal activities undertaken by the urban poor towards the aim of attaining a livelihood. Moreover, scholars in informal settlements describe the ‘informality of the need’ as a practice which engages several actions that results in the creation of spaces. For example the demand for spaces for economic, social and cultural needs in the cities of Tanzania has led to a reconfiguration of spaces which are strongly linked to the availability of domicile resources (Avogo, Wedam, & Opoku, 2017; Meikle, 2014). This is revealed from the tendencies of people to alter residential houses in order to improve their livelihood as a new form of urban resilience (Sheuya, 2004, 2009). Not only is there a need for

livelihoods, but spaces are also repurposed to provide social facilities; this results in residents making alterations and extensions to dwellings as mitigating intervention (Anyamba, 2011). Along the same lines, further studies put down the alteration processes as ‘informalizing the formal’, particularly when the processes are carried out in informal environments. From an architectural perspective, Vedasto and Mrema (2013) found that factors such as increase in family sizes, demand for rental spaces and change of marital status cause informal adjustment of buildings and their spaces in planned settlements of Dar es Salaam. Although the alterations of buildings and their spaces seem to be informal, they denote dynamic processes of informality as well as appropriations exercised by residents.

From this understanding, it is evident that ‘urban informality’ seems to be a dominant practice in the rapidly urbanising cities. Despite a lot of studies in the last decade, scholars and professional debates are increasingly enhancing the understanding of various phenomena allied in ‘urban informality’, especially in the rapidly urbanising cities, arguing that there is more to explore in this context (Grubbauer, 2019; Roy, 2014). For the case of processes, urban informality is profoundly important not to the output of the generated spaces but to the practices and processes involved. Thus, urban informality is spatially denoted as a process of the informal production of space by the occupation of public space, and by developing it into settlements (Waibel, 2016). The produced spaces are also regarded as marginal spaces which are unsuitable for habitation. Tsenkova (2009) and Hernández (2017) claimed such spaces do not conform to basic standards for their inhabitants socially, economically, politically or culturally. Consequently, these characteristics situate urban informality in the image of the Third World by not complying with formal institutional setups (Tsenkova, 2009). While this is the case on the one hand, the spatiality of urban informality on the other hand is considered as an amalgamation of human activities and functional processes in an organised manner by the inhabitants themselves, essential for finding a solution to the challenges of rapid urbanization (Kalugila, 2013). Qualities such as agency, tenacity, creativity and inventiveness are embodied to inhabitants living in informal settlements (Lombard, 2014). These qualities are claimed in a manifest urban form that emerges as self-help, a spatial production to suit inhabitants’ needs, eventually leading to a recognition of urban informality as a mode of producing space (Roy, 2009). Spatial practices that are associated with the production of spaces in

informal context are many, which according to Tonkiss can easily be understood as falling into five groups; namely, informality, incrementalism, improvisation, impermanence and insurgency (Tonkiss, 2019). While informality denotes a generic meaning of all practices involved in making informal spaces happen, the other four are specific to spatiality. Informality involves intangible attributes such as illegal habitation and the absence of properties. The other four involve the tangible production of spaces, for instance incrementalism refers to the permanent reproduction of spaces, which involves the development of spaces piece by piece depending on financial availability. Improvisation refers to mode of spatial practices that involves embedding existing spaces with new functions as needs arise. All spaces that are produced by temporary spatial practices involving daily making and remaking are referred to as impermanent. And last, insurgency describes self-made urban spaces created predominantly by marginalised communities (Tonkiss, 2019).

Urban informal practices that are associated with impermanence, involve shaping urban spaces while not necessarily changing physical space. This may involve repurposing existing spaces irrespective of their originally intended designation, particularly when people find the spaces' potential to meet their needs. The empirical studies conducted by both Babere (2013) and Adama (2020) provide an example of the phenomenon of the informal production of spaces based on small-scale trade activities. They address the appropriation of spaces by locating themselves in formally planned spaces. For instance, Babere (2013) analysed the phenomenon of redefining and reconfiguring space through use by investigating the way informal business operators tend to use undesignated spaces as prime locations for sustaining their livelihoods. At the same time regulators of the spaces push them away from using such spaces for any purpose other than that which was designated through conventional planning. The resistance of informal operators, and their continued informal use of spaces portray the demerits of relying on formal top-down approaches in the planning and design of urban spaces. In a similar vein, insights from Adama (2020) reveal that spatial, relational and temporal tactics tend to emerge from individuals who are in need of public space to use, albeit not in the formally planned and designated ways. Drawing from street vendors in Abuja, Nigeria the author highlights the ready-to-run tactics which are used by the vendors to relocate their business in relatively secured

areas, establish informal relations and links within the streets and operate within particular hours (Adama, 2020).

Broadly, the quotidian spatial practices and the entire process of the production of space in the context of rapidly urbanising cities denotes a dynamic self-help spatial production. For instance, from Simone's perspective, such quotidian spatial practices are expressed as 'improvised lives', in the sense that spaces can be lived with if not transformed into meaningfully. Quotidian practices, Simone argues, are invented and reinvented, reworked and abandoned as modes of habitation that construct urban spaces that contain attributes that are outside of the formal professional ideas. In this way, improvised life rejects the formal professional approaches in the production of spaces in the sense that intangible attributes such as sense of place and attachment embedded among marginalised inhabitants [particularly in rapidly urbanising cities] are unapprehended (Simone, 2019).

It was noted that quotidian and informal practices such as informality (making informal spaces happen), incrementalism (development of permanent spaces piece by piece), improvisation (embedding new functions into existing spaces as needed), impermanence (making and remaking of spaces on an everyday basis), insurgency (self-made urban spaces created by everyday individuals), as well as the transformation of spaces to foster a livelihood are key elements in the quotidian spatial practices of informal settlements. In this thesis some of these elements are regarded as conceptual tools to encapsulate urban spaces for recreation, in the context of rapidly urbanising cities with informal settlements.

The quotidian spatial practices explained in the two previous sections, in the "professionally planned" and the "informal" contexts, attempt to address practices revealed in temporary urbanism, by which elements are added to the urban fabric to enhance people's attraction to public spaces. The professional planning ideas, as well as temporary urbanism have taken place in a context where "too many spaces" can appear in the urban landscape, due to market adjustments, in a situation where urbanisation is slow or stagnating, but where the driving forces are complicated. In informal settlements quotidian spatial practices take place in unplanned areas in "too little space".

Based on different processes involved in production of spaces in rapidly urbanising cities as discussed in this section, it is intriguing to comprehend how such processes are attributed in the production of spaces for recreation in contemporary urbanism taking place in informal settlements.

### 2.3.4 Critical perspective on the current state of knowledge/practice on informal settlements

The described quotidian spatial practices and informalities in rapidly urbanising cities reveals context that is grounded as a potential field of knowledge that can be conflated in formal professional ideas. This is in line with the arguments of urban studies theorists such as Myers (2011) and Simone (2010), who contend that there is little available knowledge in urban studies from cities on the African continent, particularly from the perspective rooted in the daily life of city dwellers. Boano and Astolfo (2016) dispute that spatial practices of informality, which were once marginalised, were neglected and ignored; this has substantially changed and become accepted, celebrated and romanticised in policy-making, planning and design. Boano (2013) argues that informality is there not to portray the aesthetics of slums/ (informal settlements) and their fixed elements, but rather the approaches that are involved in making the spaces are crucial. However, current studies provide a critical perspective onto the urban informality in the context of rapidly urbanising cities with informal settlements, looking at it beyond its potential.

Across different parts of the world, urban informal settlements are also characterised by critical interrelated aspects that include inequality, social segregation, social exclusion and marginality (Kühn, 2015; Musterd, 2020; Pettas, 2019; Schwab, 2018b; Soliman, 2021; Tonkiss, 2013). The emergence of these characteristics is mainly influenced by power suppression, not in the sense of the power of the state but micro powers within people themselves and their quotidian lives (Pettas, 2019). In particular the micro power becomes revealed when social groups tend to detach from other groups for their preferences, which might be the economic, spatial or political domains. In some places, power suppression is easily noticed while in other places, such as informal settlements this suppression is not easily observed since it is integrated within the urban fabric of everyday lived realities. Irrespective of the context of the occurrence, power suppression and its effects (social inequality, social segregation, social exclusion and marginalization), address the phenomenon of producing space ‘in an area of strong internal homogeneity and strong social disparities between them’ (Castells 1977). Differences in income, ethnicity, age, gender and other socio-economic characteristics are claimed as the causes of social-spatial complexities in rapidly urbanising cities (*ibid.*). Spatially, power suppression is revealed in the production of exclusionary territories,

particularly when one social group detaches itself from others in order to benefit from a particular material space (Petras, 2019). This territorialisation persists in various categories including personal space, home premises and in public premises (*ibid.*). Within these different contexts, production of urban spaces is temporal or permanent depending on how long the power group dominates space. Consequently, social groups in a particular spaces ought to be segregated, excluded or marginalised across periods of time.

The critical perspective delineated by urban informality in the spatial formation of urban spaces, as described in this section, is an important step in this thesis in the sense that it provides a multifaceted approach to the analysis of informal settlements. On the one hand, informal settlements and their respective urban informalities are understood as a potential means of understanding tacit knowledge in spatial formation. On the other hand the socio-spatial elements of exclusion, segregation and marginalisation relegate the urban informality. Nevertheless, the two are necessary in reviewing concepts and theories pertaining to the production of urban spaces based on quotidian spatial practices, that will essentially provide a conceptual tool for the exploration and analysis of phenomenon of recreation and respective produced spaces.

## 2.4 Theories pertaining to quotidian spatial practices as production of urban spaces

This section expounds the epistemological understanding of production of urban spaces based on theories and concepts underpinning quotidian spatial practices, and sets a baseline for exploring and analysing the phenomenon of urban spaces for recreation in saturated informal settlements.

### 2.4.1 Lefebvre's theory of production of space and its relevance to the study

One of the renowned theories that provides deep insight into the production of space beyond planning and architectural ideas, is Lefebvre's triadic theory of production of space. Lefebvre himself did not write about the production of spaces in informal settlements or with any reference to the global south's rapid urbanisation. Yet, there has been an increasing number of scholarly works about the production of space in the named context, inspired by Lefebvre's ideas (Babere, 2015; Dekel, Meir, & Alfasi, 2019; Hernández-

García, 2013; Kornienko, 2013; Mahmoud & Abd Elrahman, 2016). This is due to the fact that he is named as one of the philosophers who developed spatial ideas that are significant in investigating cities and urban societies with a focus on everyday life, production, culture and history in both theory and practice (Leary-Owhin, 2018). Lefebvre's idea has contributed profoundly in theory particularly planning theory, and especially regarding ideas about urban spaces; by criticising the functionalistic top-down production of spaces, arguing such spaces never provide a full understanding of people's reality. Lefebvre (1991) claims that spaces of reality are associated with 'lived experiences', drawn from the social and cultural conditions of people's lives. He therefore developed the epistemological understanding of spatial production in three unitary theory (the spatial triad) that sought to describe the production of spaces and provide a clear distinction between real space and abstract space.

*Production of urban spaces based on Lefebvre's spatial triad*

The three unitary theory of the production of space and its analysis "does not aim to produce a discourse on space, but rather to expose the actual production of space by bringing various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory" (Lefebvre, 1991:16). The theory sought to describe the production of spaces are: the perceived-conceived-lived triad (in spatial terms; spatial practices, representation of space, representational space)... (Lefebvre, 1991:40).Lefebvre argue that;

It is reasonable to assume that spatial practice, representation of space and representational spaces contribute to different ways of production of space according to their qualities and attributes, society or mode of production in question, and historical period. Relations between the three moments of the perceived, conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable, nor are they 'positive' in the sense in which this term might be opposed to 'negative', to the indecipherable, the unsaid, the prohibited or the unconscious. (Lefebvre, 1991:46)

According to Lefebvre it is possible for a space to be real through positive everyday spatial practices intervened in by professional conceptions driven by entrenched residents' meanings of space which stir up desired activity in the produced space. This notion emphasises the co-existence of professionalism and everydayness in their cultural contexts. By perceived space (spatial

practice), Lefebvre refers to spaces which are perceived 'between daily and urban reality – the routine and network which link up places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure' (Lefebvre, 1991:38). It refers to the understanding of the way physical space is perceived and utilised in everyday activities that may include social and economic reproduction. He also refers to socio-economic reproduction of inequality. What he is criticising is not only the disconnection between perceived, conceived and lived spaces but the way capitalism through the conception of space takes over people's leisure time, space and activities. In this sense Lefebvre sensitizes the aspect of power and inequality. By conceived space (representation of space) it refers to the mental space which is 'conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic sub-dividers and social engineers – all of whom identifies what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived' (Lefebvre, 1991:38). Lefebvre is critical to this kind of space which actually is dominant in urban planning and design-the conventional approach. The predetermination of qualities of space of this type has less input of realities of lived experiences. But the third, lived space (Representational space) refers to space as 'directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of "inhabitants" and "users" – this is the dominated and hence passively experienced space which the imaginations seeks to change and appropriate' (Lefebvre, 1991:39). Lived spaces delineate lived experiences, which are attributed by means of values, structure and beliefs, meaning attached to a place and appropriations. It thus represents the reality of inhabitants and it makes sense of the production of spaces from a subjective phenomenological point of view, where the qualities of the produced spaces is what Lefebvre calls a 'concrete reality'. The fact that inhabitants are key players it implies that their lived experiences signify the quotidian spatial production of urban space.

In a broader sense Lefebvre's spatial triad offers possibilities to analyse and comprehend the complexity in the urban milieu, as well as to reveal the power structures which oppress urban citizens, and to develop a critique towards power structures, spaces and everyday life shaped under these structures. Power structures tend to dominate functionalist spaces while at the same time users redefine spaces to render their varied needs. In this way Lefebvre 'tends to focus on counter-posing official representation of space with somehow more authentic quotidian spaces of representation' he believed that planning is the transformation of life in its smallest, most everyday detail (Leary-Owhin & McCarthy, 2019).

Understanding the epistemological analysis of the production of urban spaces based on Lefebvre's spatial triad provides a platform for analysing the production of urban spaces in contemporary urbanism based on real life experiences. This is beyond the formal and functionalistic approaches, within which abstract spaces are a means of providing urban spaces. Meanwhile, Lefebvre's spatial triad seems to provide a platform for analysing the emerging of spaces in the context of rapidly urbanising cities, particularly those with informal settlements. However, it is questionable to what extent Lefebvre's idea conform to the lived experiences in informal settlements, a context which has been less explored by Lefebvre.

*Ontological transformation of space (absolute space, abstract space, differential space)*

Lefebvre had the notion that every urban space has its historic product of its society interacting with its environment. Based on the epistemological understanding of the production of space, Lefebvre deployed the 'spatial triad' to develop the ontological transformation of urban space to articulate the evolution of social space in human history as it proceeds from nature to abstraction. He coined concepts of 'absolute space', 'abstract space' and 'differential space'.

*Absolute space*

Lefebvre's account of 'absolute space' is referred to as social space that was produced in the past when inhabitants and their environment directly interacted. Absolute space is denoted by the consecration of human space with natural spaces such as caves, mountains and springs in ancient civilization (Lefebvre, 1991:48). Additionally, Lefebvre describes more qualities of absolute space, arguing that they are spaces without a location because they are embodied in all places, and exist symbolically as well. The absolute spaces have dimensions; nevertheless, the dimensions do not comply with those of abstract spaces. In this respect the absolute spaces, no matter if they are empty or full, are extremely activated spaces, receptacles for, and stimulant to, both social energies and natural forces (Lefebvre, 1991:236).

### *Abstract space*

Next to absolute space is the ‘abstract space’, which denotes the production of urban spaces that began in the sixteenth century. This was a time when representation of space was increasingly dominating compared to ‘lived space’ (representational space). This was mainly due to the rise of town planning and central control of decision-making, as a result of emergence of industrial towns in Europe (Wilson, 2013). ‘Abstract space’ denotes a conceived space of intellects, characterised by the reduction and division of spatial aspects to functional and geometrical forms, enabling more efficient structures but challenging the integration of diversity (Lefebvre, 1991:361). Abstract spaces have been criticised for their lack of social qualities, and Lefebvre argues that ‘they are just like containers waiting to be filled by content. Anything may go in and “set” in a container [...] any part of the container can receive anything’ (Lefebvre, 1991:170). Furthermore, Lefebvre criticised the domination of abstraction and alienation, arguing that it tends to conceal the creative and intuitive work of ordinary lived experiences. Understanding the evolution of production of urban spaces with the concept of ‘abstract space’ is synonymous with the modernist approach discussed in the previous section (section 2.1.1), which took form in the twentieth century, whereas the production and creation of urban spaces come from planner’s or architect’s knowledge based on the abstraction of space.

### *Differential space*

Lefebvre elaborates the third wave of the evolution of space, ‘differential space’. This refers to that dominated by humanitarian rather than predefined outdated ideologies. According to Lefebvre, differential space began at the end of the twentieth century, attributed with intuitive interaction between society and its space, which marks out the ‘lived space’, and is believed to influence the future of urbanism (Lefebvre, 1991:399). Lefebvre insisted that ‘differential space’ are produced from abandoned abstract spaces through their ordinary use, which the form, function, and structure of a material space may change the original use through acts of re-appropriation (Lefebvre, 1991:167).

This section has addressed the production of urban space based on Lefebvre’s concepts of production of space from both an epistemological and ontological point of view. It provides thinking on the production of spaces in light of the spatial triad, as well as being able to analyse spaces based on their

ontological transformation (absolute space, abstract space and differential space). However, within the context of this study of informal settlements, one would like to comprehend how Lefebvre's ideas conform to the real-life experience in context, and what other new insights beyond those of Lefebvre?

*Critics of Lefebvre's notion of production of space and adaptation in the current planning discourses*

Following Lefebvre's succinct explication of the production of space, his work took a special place in different disciplines, including geography, environmental sociology, as well as planning and spatial humanities. Current scholars are furthering Lefebvre's work in different ways, pointing to different shortcomings as well as developing epistemological and ontological perspectives in the contemporary era. Among the underlined shortcomings are those brought up by Unwin (2000), who pointed out five issues which he saw as challenges in Lefebvre's work: 'First is the use of the word "space"', claiming that 'Lefebvre ties himself to the old notion of space which prevents him from achieving the radical task that he set himself. Second, by insisting on separation between space and time, he is unable to develop the compressive framework for which he was seeking. Third, by concentrating on the process of production of space, he failed to address the complex everyday lived process which helps to shape human experience, particularly those that generate inequity. Fourth, he did not sufficiently indicate how his notion of production of space will necessarily and actually lead to transformation of society; and fifth, his notion of place is confused and poorly articulated' (Unwin, 2000:25-26). Central to the production of spaces is the space time relationship, in which according to Unwin, Lefebvre comes up short on the aspect of temporality. Lefebvre's theory of production of space considers space as an implicit end product rather than something continually produced. Looking at space from this perspective delineates that spaces cannot be transformed, therefore the temporal aspect is emphasised (*ibid.*). Thinking about spaces through the dimension of time is essential in supplementing Lefebvre's spatial triad for the relevance of constructing conceptual tool for exploring spatial issues in the context of informal settlements where spaces are produced and reproduced by temporal activities.

In addition to Unwin's furthering of Lefebvre's production of space, Kinkaid (2020) strengthens the critique to Lefebvre's work, as it does not reflect minority perspectives, and thus serves to further Lefebvre's theory,

including accounts considering race, gender, sexuality and other categories of social difference. She views Lefebvre's work as lacking these dimensions, and recommends incorporating them towards concretising the theory of production of space. Kinkaid has a notion that the aspects of social differences are inhabited and lived in different ways in space in such a way that they contribute to the understanding of how spaces are inflected (*ibid.*). On this basis, the conceptual and methodological approach for understanding a particular phenomenon regarding space creation has to take into consideration social differences. This is important in the context of informal settlements and rapidly urbanising cities, where issues relating to social differences and their spatial effect flourish.

Furthermore, Lefebvre's work has remained influential and highly recognisable in the recent scholarship particularly in the planning and design of urban spaces, recognising his thoughts on a broader scale of cities. In particular, to urban space, Lefebvre's theory of production of space is still cited and referred to in developing new thoughts in urban planning and design (Carp, 2008; Leary-Owhin, 2016; Leary-Owhin & McCarthy, 2019). Recognition to the succinct comprehension of the spatial triad, and its provision of fully awareness of complexity in the human dimension of a place, the triad has been adapted and reinterpreted in many different ways, both philosophical and methodological. For instance, Carp (2008) in '*Ground-truthing*', epitomises the way the spatial triad can be used as an analytical tool for analysing urban space. Carp organises Lefebvre's triad into two categories; the physical (e.g. places, concrete places of production and consumption) and the human experience (e.g. human activities, sensations, thoughts, imaginings and attitudes). In the view of Carp, the first aspect of the spatial triad can be analysed in the real world as a material standpoint to spatial temporal patterns that physically exist and are empirically observed.

Wiedmann and Salama (2019) reinforce Lefebvre's production of urban space in analysing sustainable urbanism. They introduced three aspects of urban quality as components of sustainable urbanism, namely diversity; efficiency and identity and relate them with Lefebvre's spatial triad, respectively perceived, conceived and lived space. They argue that the urban environment is diversified due to complex needs and networks of individual experiences. Also, the concept of conceived space is related to urban efficiency to delineate the way spaces can be rationalised leading to more

efficient structures, and urban identity is related to ‘lived space’ as it addresses intuitive experiences of space and the subjective values of producing it, including images and impressions drawn from people (*ibid.*). By strengthening the three urban qualities built on Lefebvre’s theory of the production of space, Wiedmann and Salama believe that it helps to solve holistic top-down approaches that are mainly introduced as strategies in the production of urban space in rapidly urbanising cities. It is suggested that integrating various factors into Lefebvre’s theory of production of space helps to define, identify and analyse urban spaces in contemporary times.

*The relevance of Lefebvre’s production of space in the context of rapidly urbanising cities*

The Lefebvrian triad has been used to understand different spatial dimensions in different informal settlements by scholars studying rapidly urbanising (Dekel et al., 2019; Kornienko, 2013; Mahmoud & Abd Elrahman, 2016). For instance, Mahmoud and Abd Elrahman (2016) used Lefebvre’s concept of ‘lived space’ as an analytical tool to realise the spatial dimension in Egypt. According to their analysis it appears that ‘lived space’, as per Lefebvre’s legacy, portrays the actuality of everyday spaces in the informal context, associated with the complexity of informal urbanisation, poverty, social exclusion, and inclusion and discrimination in urban society. Similarly, Dekel et al. (2019) deploy Lefebvre’s spatial triad to understand how different spatial dimensions relate to each other in informal settlements of Be’er-Sheva metropolis. Adapting Lefebvre’s framework, Dekel et al. (2019) navigated how formality and informality are intertwined in the provision of urban infrastructure, addressing that spaces in informal settlements can be constructed when perceived spaces and lived spaces are conflated as conceived spaces. They emphasise that, values attached to informal settlements should not be undermined during the provision of infrastructure (spaces) of which symbolic meaning (identity, culture and ideology) attributed from informal settlements are substantial elements in the construction of conceived spaces. The roles of values of informal settlements, with regard to the production of urban space, has also been articulated by Kornienko (2013), who connected the concept of ‘lived space’ to elaborate the logic behind the informal spatial production of space through the case of the informal settlements of Johannesburg. He argues that space is a product of informal residents’ social actions, which result from rhythm, refrain, milieu and territorialisation (*ibid.*).

Learning from Lefebvre, it has been seen that production of urban spaces is not a matter of the provision of physical spaces by formal professional approaches, but rather the lived experiences of inhabitants. This has been crucial in this thesis to develop a conceptual tool for analysing the phenomenon of recreation in informal settlements by paying attention to lived experiences. Among the triads in Lefebvre's theory, it appears that 'lived space' has a direct connotation with quotidian spatial practices, and addresses that values such as culture, meanings, symbols and perception contributes to the production and appropriation of spaces. Taking from contemporary urban scholars who reinforces Lefebvre's ideas, this thesis has benefited from integrating aspects of contemporary urban to Lefebvre's spatial triad in order to be able to explore and analyses recreational phenomena in the study area.

#### 2.4.2 Production of urban space by appropriation

Taking from Lefebvre's spatial triad, his critique of functionalistic professional ideas and emphasis on everydayness, realises that every space, whether produced by planners, or dwellers, is a lived space component. Planners and architects conceive and design spaces, and residents use spaces in their own ways; sometimes through personalisation, or through territorialisation just to match or represent their life realities. Inhabitants engage physical activities to configure spaces and give their own meanings according to symbolic dimensions and everyday use (Eissa, Khalil, Gabr, & Abdelghaffar, 2019). Additionally, time is another important aspect for the determination of appropriation revealed when particular activities are pursued in urban space within a certain period of time (*ibid.*). Understanding these dimensions of appropriations is crucial for analysing informal settlements due to the fact that such settlements are underpinned by informality cutting across land acquisition, land transformation and land use. It is also important to note that appropriation in the context of informal settlements is usually triggered by space scarcity, poverty, limited services, marginalization, internal power, asymmetries and inequalities.

#### *The concept of appropriation and its application in urban context*

Within the context of urban space, appropriation is widely used to describe how urban spaces are restructured by users to suit their uses. This refers to

the production of space beyond the mere inhabitation of the already formed urban space by which people manage and use their everyday life, whereas people are guaranteed to access, occupy and use urban spaces (Lefebvre 1991). As a process, it is the tentative, ongoing and incremental spatial practice motivated by everyday needs Bayat 1997 in (Lawhon, Pierce, & Makina, 2018). Appropriation also denotes turning space into place through a dynamic process of interaction between the individual and its surroundings (Lara-Hernandez & Melis, 2018). The interaction denotes physical alteration of the surroundings as well as giving meaning to the spaces through perception and use (*ibid.*). Generally it is argued that the concept of appropriation is relevant to comprehend various spatial practices that may include diverging experiences, simultaneous dynamics or successive stages that accommodate or interfere with one another (Guignard & Seri-Hersch, 2019). Indeed, it is insisted that spatial practices involve activities such as naming, signifying and, taking part in social relations and recurrent rituals as a result of living in urban spaces, and humanizing them in the process (Friedmann, 2007; Lemanski & Marx, 2015). The key is to substantiate individuals' meeting their spatial needs.

#### *Appropriation and the rhythm of time*

'Appropriation cannot be understood apart from rhythms of time and life' argues Lefebvre (1991:165). Activities in a particular space may be formal or informal, necessary or optional, or a combination of both, performed regularly at a particular time (Eissa et al., 2019). The component of time, as far as spatiality is concerned, has also been emphasised in terms of transience and/or permanent activities. It is argued that spatial appropriations normally appear as permanent processes, or may be temporary depending on the situation of their setting (Guignard & Seri-Hersch, 2019). Meanwhile, contemporary studies reveal the dominance of temporary appropriation within the urban environment (Lara-Hernandez, Claire, & Melis, 2020). Temporary appropriation refers to fleeting and time-framed dynamic processes of interaction between an individual and its setting, by which urbanity, social cohesion, sense of belonging and identity of specific place are constructed (*ibid.*), also by which social exclusion, exclusionary boundaries or subordination are constructed due to inequalities (Schwab, 2019).

Within the context of rapidly urbanising cities, temporary appropriation is comparable to urban informality portrayed by informal spatial practices, by which individuals' occupation of space for a particular use within a day

does not ensure the ability to use the same space in the next day. However, this is not the only such circumstance, since other forms of permanent appropriation occur too. In the context of rapidly urbanising cities with informal settlements, (Lara-Hernandez et al., 2020) equate the meaning of temporary appropriation to that of urban informality through Bayat's definition of informality, which stresses that informality is not simply an illegal phenomenon, it is an alternative choice enacted by the urban poor onto formal urban structures (Lara-Hernandez et al., 2020:7). Based on that we could understand that everyday ordinary spatial practices performed in informal settlements delineate alternative modes of urban space production. Temporary appropriation as a concept, argues Lara-Hernandez, 'is essentially important to the understanding of the system of activities in the urban dynamics of a local context in a more holistic manner' (*ibid.*)

#### *Spatial appropriation through engaging social activities*

One of the means of manifesting place in quotidian ordinary spaces is through social activities. De Certeau (1984) contributes to the conception of spatial appropriation by showing the influence of the ordinary everyday practices of subjective individuals in generating spaces. He argues that while geometrically defined spaces are created by functionalistic professional planners, ordinary people transform spaces into places by engaging in activities in them. Through such tactics, spaces are transformed into places either transiently or permanently, as a result of the polyvalent functioning (De Certeau, 1984:117). In De Certeau's view, quotidian spatial practices in cities delineate the production of place by reusing the available spaces and location, which inhabit them using meaning. Through the engagement of such tactics, De Certeau signifies that the production of place is not an output or end product of appropriation, but rather an endless process, mirroring the perpetualness of everyday acts.

Processes of appropriation, whether justified or groundless, good or bad, always uphold their products with their grounded and competing qualities and deficiencies which simultaneously echo the shortfall of the circumstantial restructuring of spaces so they are suitable for use. The art of using spaces signifies spatial tactics that may involve walking, reading, talking, moving about, shopping or cooking, operationalising everyday activities without a proper place. Within this framework, 'improper place' denotes physical places designated by technocracies, which are then made 'proper' by ordinary individuals through manipulation (*ibid.*). Furthermore, when tactics are carried

out in space, they are associated with territorial aspects, in the sense that the space is occupied by its operator through the period of its use. During the time of occupation other groups who intend to use the spaces become hindered and in that sense the notion of power is revealed. Despite De Certeau's succinct explication of such tactics as appropriation, he has been criticised in many different ways from different disciplines, including sociology. One of the critiques which is directly related to the production of space is the lack of empirical connection between De Certeau's ideas and real life instead, he attempted to connect to imagined life located in European intellectual culture that may not reflect all urban real life (Crang, 2000). De Certeau's ideas, as a shaper of everyday urban space, have shown a particular affinity in contemporary spatial planning and urban design scholarship, such as tactical urbanism (Lydon & Garcia, 2015; Mould, 2014), messy urbanism (Chalana & Hou, 2016) and the help-yourself city (Douglas, 2018), which address incremental, temporal and ephemeral urban spaces appropriation wherein ordinary individuals retrofit existing urban spaces.

#### *Spatial appropriation through mental perception-meanings*

Beyond understanding appropriation through linking physical activities and time in a particular space, spaces are appropriated when imbued with meanings. By engaging meanings to physical spaces, the spaces are changed to become places (Canter, 1977; Castello, 2016; Cresswell, 2014, 2019; Relph, 1976). It is posited that when meanings are gathered together with materiality and practices, spaces become places. While materiality denotes a geographical location of a particular physical setting, practices which are also referred to as locale, signify activities carried out in such particular setting in the sense that there is an involvement of people and objects. At the same time, when meanings are attached to a physical setting, this makes place (Cresswell, 2004). Central to this, is the involvement of the human dimension in space. Practices mark places when people and objects are combined; likewise, meanings are articulated when human attempt to make sense of objects, smells and sounds in a particular physical setting. The meaning of a place can occur by nominalism or the naming of a place, among other modes. Places are nominalised through the collection of stories and narratives about people and places, functioning as expression of appreciation or even depreciation of a place based on how it is perceived individually or collectively (*ibid.*).

Generally, meanings take form in the presence of people and their relationship with their environment, including how they perceive spaces according to their existential values (Castello, 2016). This means a particular space might exist as a material object maintaining its natural setting, but it can be changed according to the realistic presentation of the human dimension, particularly when people define spaces the way they want to meet their demands. In this sense, meaning is extrapolated as the ideological interpretation of material space, from narratives of people speaking about space (Eissa et al., 2019). At some point people tend to speak about spaces and perceive them as better places because of certain physical qualities spaces have, but there are other instances where spaces are perceived irrespective of their physical qualities but for the function they serve. For instance, Castello outlines eleven attributes through which people perceive spaces, and consequently remake them as places. He posits that places are perceived through narratives, through reputation, through natural asset, through association with historic buildings, through association with political action, through local tradition, through building with emotive connotation, through constructing of fantasy, through sensory enjoyment and comfort, through the availability of goods and services or technological facilities. He grouped these attributes into three parts, namely socio-cultural, morphological imaginary and enjoyment functional (Castello, 2016:2-9). These qualities are the result of individuals' behaviour in the face of phenomena occurring in their surroundings, and provide stimulate place-attraction perception.

Perceiving places because of their allure is conceptualised as 'existential insiderness', whereas individuals' deepest immersion in place results in feeling at home in the place (Relph, 1976:51-61). However, places do not necessarily provide a sense of attraction to each individual; some people perceive spaces as ordinary or even something chaotic. From this viewpoint the concept of 'existential outsiderness' is signified, and place gives a sense of alienation and strangeness to individuals (*ibid.*). Based on the explanation of meanings as a means of spatial appropriation, it seems the human aspect is a key to the process, and can result in the optimistic appropriation of spaces by applying opposing narratives to spaces or depreciating it with superfluous meanings.

This section has essentially described another layer of the production of space in terms of appropriation, by which meaning is central. It is understood

that meanings give merit to space or the opposite and thus not all appropriated space divulges common meaning.

### *Actors of spatial appropriation*

There are three main components to spatial appropriation; namely, actors (appropriators), time and the activities practiced (Eissa et al., 2019). This is also supported by the thought that re-appropriation of spaces is done by individual operations, and signifies socio-cultural production (De Certeau, 1984). Moreover, appropriators in informal space are denoted as ‘marginal groups’ who use numerous creative ways to challenge the dominant discourses relating to the ordering of cities (Lara-Hernandez et al., 2020; Shaw & Hudson, 2009). Appropriators are considered as key agents through the process of creation and transforming urban spaces for suitable demands; as such, the appropriators are also users of the appropriated spaces. Hill (2003) categorises users of appropriated spaces into three types according to the degree that key agents appropriate urban space: these types are the passive, reactive and creative user. The passive user is predictable and does not transform or project meaning onto spaces, while the reactive user ‘modifies the physical characteristics of a space as need changes, but must choose from a narrow and predictable range of configuration...’; and lastly, the creative user ‘either create[s] a new space or gives an existing space new meanings and uses [it]...’(Hill, 2003:27). Out of these three, Hill (2003) claims that the ‘creative user’ is an appropriator by being a key to spatial appropriation practices, processes and the transformation of urban spaces. However, it is important to note that ‘creative users’, in most cases in informal settlements, are the dominant actors suppressing others. They might be a part of a bribe criminal network, taking bribes for protection and to scare others away to take over some spaces. The act and means of spatial appropriation are only on the tip of the iceberg. This inquiry also aims to reveal the contradictory connotations of appropriation.

In the context of rapidly urbanising cities, and particularly the spatialisation of urban spaces for recreation in informal settlements, the concerns of actors requires a lot of exploration. This is for the crucial purpose of understanding how different types of actors form social groups, identifying the most dominant actors as well as the weak, and their influence on the emergence of spaces for recreational uses. This helps clarify another dimension of urban space production from everyday lived experience, as

well as the various local skills involved in the creation and management and handling of spaces beyond the formal professional perspective.

### *Contexts of appropriation*

Spatial appropriation as revealed in the scholarly work of different disciplines refers to practices at diversity of scales that ranges from the large scale of region and cities to the small scale of urban spaces. For example, at a large scale, spatial appropriation may denote many ways in which social actors consider a specific space as their own and/or make spaces theirs, with practices that include claiming borders, territories and belongings as they appear in many countries across the globe (Guignard & Seri-Hersch, 2019). Spatial appropriation at a large scale particularly at the city level, may also be epitomised by the evolution of informal settlements, in residential units and subsequent spaces, boundaries and demarcations. Concepts such as ‘floating boundaries’ address the presence of invisible boundaries in the absence of physical boundaries in informal settlements of which residents are able to identify the boundaries through mental appropriation (Mrema, 2008).

Down at the scale of urban spaces, appropriation denotes individuals’ interventions to reconfigure and modify spaces to attain suitable urban spaces, noted as ‘micro-spatial urban practices’ and/or ‘insurgent urbanism’ (Eissa et al., 2019; Hou, 2010; Iveson, 2013). Spatial appropriation at this scale occurs in various situations that can be grouped into two. The first scenario is the situation by which appropriations take place in prohibited spaces, the prohibition that can be by officials or the state who own space or non-official entities such as the private owners of spaces and properties. The occurrence of appropriation in both such conditions is characterised as ‘silent encroachment’ (Bayat 1996), or ‘transgression’ (Cresswell, 1996) because those who appropriate spaces tend to access and use a restricted space; as a result, the appropriation is inhibited. The inhibition or prohibition of appropriation can either be by the erection of physical boundaries or by allowing activities of a particular type to take place and hinder other activities.

The second scenario is when spatial appropriation takes place in public space such as in urban parks, where people tend to create territories over spaces by reserving them and restricting others. However, this kind of appropriation is relatively temporary, particularly when it occurs in public space although there are circumstances which can lead it to become permanent. According to Hall (1966), this kind of appropriation is conceptually noted as a ‘personal

space<sup>7</sup>/-passive space meaning, with concentric zones of distance around a person, and observing differences between cultural groups. In personal spaces, people create their own distances/territories for themselves, whereas if the spaces are accessed by others, there may be discomfort and anxiety to the host of the space (*ibid.*). Despite ‘personal space’ being studied in planned spaces, the concept remains significant in exploring the production of spaces in informal settlements, in line with Hall’s conception that proximity plays a great role in evaluating people’s interaction in daily life, as well as the organisation of spaces on their premises. In contexts such as informal settlements where spaces are scarce, spatial appropriation seemingly is actualised in ‘personal space’ by territorialisation and the use of internal power to monopolise space.

#### *Territorialisation and power in spatial appropriation*

Spatial appropriation has been described in the previous section as denoting the engagement of physical activities and mental interpretation of a particular space, in the sense that spaces are transformed into places. Furthermore, appropriation goes hand in hand with territorialisation the process by which appropriators define their own boundaries within the physical and social environment (DeLanda, 2006; Duarte, 2017; Sack, 1986). Territory does not refer to a physical space only, but a process by which a physical space is recurrently created and recreated. This process is revealed in the presence of the three elements that constitute place; materiality, meanings and practices (*ibid.*). At a large scale, territoriality is meant as intentional supremacy plans and the means of applying administrative and spatial influences on society. Meanwhile, at the small scale – such as in the context of urban spaces – territoriality is characterised as the individual’s social and psychological behaviour ‘to affect, influence or control people, phenomena and relationships by delimiting the asserting control over a geographical area’ (Sack, 1986:19). With respect to everyday life, territorialisation does not explain intentions but rather it delineates effects brought to space by appropriators, constantly produced and reproduced to maintain the effectiveness and control of spatial boundaries (Karrholm, 2016). This is an unintended appropriation emerging from everyday practices due to recurring steady use and perceptions of a particular space (*ibid.*).

Furthermore, territorialisation as a process indicates the repetitiveness of actions occurring in places, by which the human dimension occupies places, and re-occupies them after a certain moment of abandonment. In Delanda’s

view this is addressed in terms of territorialisation, de- and re-territorialisation respectively (DeLanda, 2006). Territorialisation is known for defining and sharpening the spatial boundaries of a physical setting; it also denotes internal homogeneity as non-spatial processes. De-territorialisation takes form when spatial boundaries are destabilised (*ibid.*). Even though territorialisation and its subsequent terminology was coined to address much of the larger context, they remain relevant in this thesis in the sense of analysing spatial appropriation in the context of saturated informal settlement, where, because of a paucity of urban spaces for recreation, each available space is appropriated and re-appropriated over time.

Furthermore, for a place to be appropriated, there must be some power. Likewise, territorialisation has some elements of power relations over parts of particular places, whereas appropriators create mechanisms that cannot be interfered with outsiders (Elden, 2013). Power can be used to separate and control the use of space for the benefit of appropriators. It is argued that for a space which is not controlled by its residents, outsiders are likely to have chance to conquer the space, and to threaten the safety of the space. This argument explains the role of the owners of spaces in managing these territories against outsiders. However, there are some instances when power relations emerge within users of spaces (insiders themselves) when they compete for space – each being in need of a particular type of use. This happens when one group suppresses another according to age, gender, patriarchy or strangerhood over the use of a portion of space appropriated as a territory (*ibid.*). This parallels Foucault, who posit that power is exercised by individuals or groups of individuals rather than being possessed by those who exercise it, and power can appear as ‘micro-power’ when exercised in the local context, and in everyday practices (Foucault, 2019). For instance, power suppression in a particular space may lead to the suffering of non-beneficiaries of the space due to unequal opportunities over its use and ownership. In some instances, conflict and misunderstanding may arise between groups or individuals in a particular locality. Understanding appropriation by territorialisation and power issues is essential for analysing the phenomenon of recreation in urban spaces in the saturated informal settlement in Manzese, beyond its positive potentialities. It is essential to analyse the production of urban space through appropriation and the quality of produced spaces using a multi-faceted approach, from a spatially beneficial perspective, without ignoring

the invisible territorial and power issues as constraints divulged spatial inequality, segregation and exclusion.

### 2.4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has critically reviewed the contemporary discourses on how urban spaces emerge, and displayed two main theoretical lines of thoughts for understanding spaces in informal settlements: the triadic way and the appropriation of spaces. A deeper comprehension of quotidian spatial practices reveals that spaces are produced through appropriation based on everyday lived experiences. Both permanent and temporary appropriation delineate processes of spatial production from a quotidian ordinary perspective in the presence of an appropriator who engages social activities and meanings to spaces during different periods of time. This comprehension is essentially important for the analysis of urban spaces in the context of saturated informal settlements in rapidly urbanising cities since ordinary individuals are crucial actors in the process of appropriation. Furthermore, as the context of saturated informal settlements suffers from a scarcity of formal urban open spaces for recreation, to explore the phenomenon of recreation and its subsequent spaces requires beginning with the actors. In line with the fact that human beings need some time to relax after the daily hustle of work, it is presumably that people in contexts which lack urban open spaces for recreation have their own ways to recreate in spaces and spots which are 'invisible'. In order to identify such spaces and their physical and social qualities it is crucial to begin by consulting those who know the spaces. It is through the actors associated with spaces where 'invisible' elements - such as territoriality and internal power issues and other related intangible elements – that this issue can be unpacked, revealing diversity and complexities in context. Based on the foregoing, Figure 3 provides a conceptual framework for analysing the production of urban spaces in the context of saturated informal settlements. Synonymous with Lefebvre, who used the spatial triads of the production of urban spaces to provide a critical reflection on formal modernistic production of space, the quotidian spatial practices presented in this thesis are analysed to provide a critical reflection on the functionalistic professional approach. However, quotidian spatial practice is not epitomised in a comprehensive approach due to the sense that it is embedded with internal power issues that are revealed when individuals dominate

others during spatial appropriation to create their own socio-spatial territory.

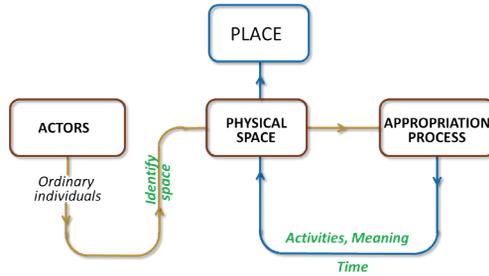


Figure 3. Conceptual framework for the analysis of production of space in informal context.

Source: Author construction.



## 3. Research methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises three sections: the first section describes the research approach to provide an account of how the research was formulated and executed. The second section describes the research strategy and reason behind its selection. It further explains how concepts were obtained from theories to inform the selection of methods, and how the methods are adapted to the case study. The third section discusses the way different methods were used to collect empirical data, and to analyse and interpret of the collected data.

### 3.2 Research approach

The research problem and aim discussed in Chapter 1, as well as the conceptual lenses described in Chapter 2, define this research as qualitative in nature. The ontological and epistemological aspects underpinning this research are underlined by an analytic framework that leads to uncovering deeper meanings and interpretation of spaces from human behaviour and experiences.

In order to address the research problem for this thesis, several steps, from a broad research problem to a thorough *modus operandi* for data collection, analysis and interpretation, were planned. The steps were iterative in nature, which allowed the flexibility to change and shape ideas, with the aim of refocusing the research and knowing precisely where the research intends to arrive. Several iterative processes that involved a sequence of tasks were carried out as the study progressed. The process involved repetitive procedures between academic literature, empirical data and theory, which

were executed in a highly flexible and reflexive manner to ensure that the research is sharpened. These repetitive procedures were experienced at each stage, especially early in the empirical data collection process, which led to repeated returns to refine the pre-selected theories and research instruments. The iterative process was profoundly important to accrue additional information, as well as to purge unnecessary information. The following section describes the four steps involved, from research formulation to the final stage, as summarised in Figure 4.

#### *First step: Initiation*

Before explaining the formulation of the research problem, personal experience was the point of departure. Much of the personal experience has already been explained in the preface where the motive for this research is explained in detail. Briefly, personal experience is all about the mismatch between the intended use of the planned urban open spaces and realities of use of such spaces in Dar es Salaam. Such incongruity observed and raised several questions that could not be answered instantly, and thus remained as a conundrum which called for this systematic investigation. In order to further understand the situation of urban open spaces from a scholarly point of view it was of paramount importance to review the literature relevant to production and intention of public urban spaces. This niche calls for literature about human behaviour, human feelings and experiences with spaces. Theoretical ideas obtained from the literature concretised the observable urban realities and the personal experiences, and thus made possible the making of a sharpened research problem. The process went back and forth, and eventually arrived at a research problem accompanied by an acceptable concept note, research questions, and research instruments. With the research instruments at hand, a pilot study was carried out and came up with two basic outputs, including first the complexities associated with scope of the study; secondly, some more interesting issues arose that demanded inclusion in the study.

#### *Second step: Fine graining and rectification*

Results from a pilot study showed that it was necessary to reformulate the research to make it more focused. It was necessary to add and remove some theories. The concepts and operational variables, as well as the research instruments, were worked out concurrently. For example, theories and concepts relating to hedonism were trimmed down for their previous

formulation, as they really reflect human psychology, which is not the focus of the study. After narrowing down the research problem, theories and research instruments, the main empirical investigation and preliminary data analysis commenced.

*Third step: Analysis, Interpretation and Reflection*

A detailed and more systematic process of analysing and interpreting data was performed, and resulted in the need to reflect back on the research problem and theoretical perspectives. After thoroughly reflecting on the research problem, it was decided to focus more on the spatialisation of recreation instead of exploring recreation in general. Therefore, the research focus was improved by making space for recreation more explicit, while recreation was brought up implicitly as a backup. At this juncture, apart from improving theoretical lenses, it was necessary to get back to the field to obtain supplementary data to enrich empirical evidence for the research, as well as to create consistency in the research flow. A tentative draft of the thesis started to evolve at this stage.

*Fourth step: Fine-tuning*

Fine-tuning was the final process that was carried out iteratively between analysis and interpretation, and reflecting back on the research questions, as well as sharpening the theories. This was the basis for the contribution to knowledge achieved in the research. The process was equipped by, on the one hand, the addition of relevant literature, and on the other hand, trimming irrelevant concepts and redundant findings, making the research flow more consistently. For example, one of the improvements was to reformulate and add another theoretical research question [research question three], which was found lacking as the research questions focused tightly on practical knowledge.

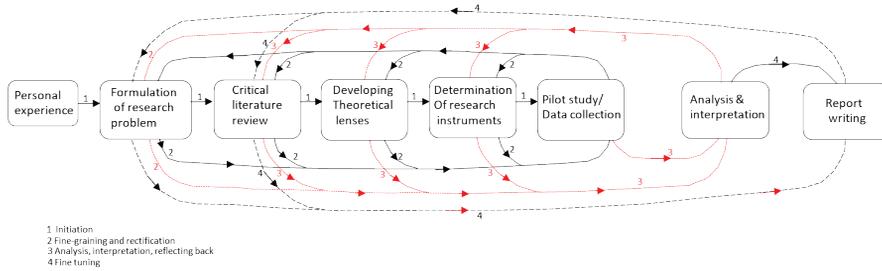


Figure 4. Illustration of the iterative research approach.

Source: Author's construction

### *Reflexivity on the researcher's positionality - Twofold experience*

For any research process it has been a tradition for researchers to identify their position between themselves, by others or by particular discourses necessary for mediating information gathered in the research encounter (Qin, 2016). There are situations when researchers position themselves as outsiders and others as insiders, each depending on their justification. For instance, researchers who are associated with positivist traditions normally position themselves as outsiders, with the notion of optimal objectivity and accuracy of handling the research. On the other hand, in most phenomenological enquiries, researchers position themselves as insiders in order to engage deeply in research that can be people, places and events, and that come up with observations and interpretations of their own (Qin, 2016). Nevertheless, each stance has its own benefit; for example, Botterill (2015) chose to stand as an outsider to explore a phenomenon that could be ideal to make the researcher an insider. Surprisingly, the researcher ended up with unexpectedly rich information and argued that things are not seen as they are but as researchers see them.

Consistent with this framing of positionality, the researcher in this thesis has a twofold position, both as an outsider and an insider during the research process. These two positions were revealed in multiple layers depending on the setting where the researcher was situated and activity performed. The positions varied, as when the researcher was in the field or away from it; that is, during the process of collecting of empirical data or during analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

### *Positions of the researcher during data collection in the field work*

According to the nature of the study, which sought qualitative data by interacting with the context, during data collection the researcher was largely positioned as an insider. For the researcher to become more conversant in the field of study and not to distance himself from participants, the researcher used to speak some vernacular tribal language in addition to the lingua franca (Swahili) which was used for 'data collection'. This was not for the entire process of gathering data but during some moments such as introduction. When respondents were introduced by their surnames, the researcher was able to capture their tribe and proceed by speaking the vernacular tribal languages to enhance the conversation. This was successful, as it harmonised the social environment, as the distinction between the researcher and the respondent was minimized, if not eliminated. This technique established a fluid informal conversation, and decreased reluctance in asking and responding to content the researcher intended to grasp; the result was that rich information was obtained. The technique was also applied in other contexts, especially when enquiring with youth, who prefer speaking slang to the ordinary language. At this stage, the researcher was in the position of an insider; however, the researcher's outsidership was implicitly revealed, as the researcher was a key agent in controlling and guiding what a respondent was supposed to explain. This was the case, for example, when the researcher introduced the subject and left the respondents to continue discussing in detail, which resulted in the collection of data that lacked depth. The insider-outsider position explained here depicts all types of interviews used for gathering information for this thesis.

Furthermore, the researcher's position appeared completely as an insider during the fieldwork, particularly in cases when the researcher was supposed to engage in recreational activities and become part of the events as a participant observer. Various techniques were brought to the surface to blend with the context, including dress codes, partial engagement as spectator and full engagement as player, as well as the aforementioned language technique. It was necessary to employ these techniques due to the sense that the researcher was not living in the context of informal settlements but in a planned settlement whose social environment is quite different. The techniques were also important based on the fact that the researcher's background was equipped with urban planning, design and architectural knowledge about space, while doing research in an informal settlement.

### *Positions of the researcher after data collection*

At the end of the day when the fieldwork was finished, the researcher returned to being an outsider in the process of performing initial analysis and interpretation of the research data. This was done immediately after the end of the fieldwork or just after the researcher got back to his office each day. The researcher was positioned as an outsider at large, distancing himself from the content of the research in order to be able to see and reflect the researched content precisely without taking things for granted. Here again the researcher as an outsider appeared in two positions: first, as a researcher analysing and interpreting the collected data through, and second as a practitioner by reflecting the research process carried out onto the reality/actual practice. The multiple positions of the researcher described in this section were significant and influential to the research process, including observations, interpretations and representations relevant to this thesis.

## 3.3 Research strategies

### 3.3.1 Selection of research strategy and the study area

A case study strategy was selected in order to grasp the phenomenon of spaces for recreation in informal settlement. This strategy was selected because the study sought to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life-context (Yin, 1994, 2014).

As the research intended to provide an explanatory and exploratory account, qualitative methodology and its allied methods were applied to investigate the phenomenon of spaces for recreation in informal settlements. Observations, mapping and interviews were the main methods adapted for qualitative inquiry. However, it would be impossible to perform these methods in the fieldwork without the inclusion of household questionnaires, which were essential to identify spaces for recreation from inhabitants. This is because it is hard to find a physically defined space for recreation in informal settlements. Therefore, household questionnaires served as a first step, prior to other methods, a means to address first research question that sought to identify spaces for recreation in the study area.

These methods were selected on the basis of the theoretical and conceptual framework described in Chapter 2 that accentuates the production of urban places from quotidian ordinary practices. Subsequently, the context

of informal settlements and their evolution epitomises spatial practices rooted in ordinary practices. This point marks the application of a conceptual framework (in Chapter 3), which gives priority to the ordinary individual for empirical inquiry. Thus, its applicability in the fieldwork placed household questionnaires the first approach for empirical inquiry that was a way to directly reach inhabitants as key actors who know the context in detail. Inhabitants were the primary source of information to locate and designate common places of recreation. After being informed about engagement and common spaces used for recreation by inhabitants, it was possible to carry out observations, mapping and interviews. At this stage, observation, mapping and interviews were the methods used to obtain empirical data relevant for fulfilling research question two, which was set to explore the intuitive and creative spatial practices and meanings involved in the production of space for recreation. Empirical data was obtained from ordinary individuals, particularly regular users of the identified spaces, who either live in the settlements or come away from the settlements to perform the recreational activities situated in the settlement. People of different genders and ages were consulted to get their views about the notion of recreation and the quality of space in the settlement. Also, further information regarding the physical qualities of the spaces was obtained from ward and sub-ward leaders through interviews. Figure 5 illustrates the conceptual framework-informed selection of the research methods and its delimitation to scope of data collection in the fieldwork.

In addition, observation methods such as direct observation, participatory observation and micro-ethnography were used to gather information regarding the physical qualities of spaces, while semi-structured and unstructured interviews were conducted to learn about people's emotional connections to the spaces. Ordinary people were the key actors in this context, and other actors consulted were ward and sub ward leaders. A detailed description of how data were collected is described in section 3.4.

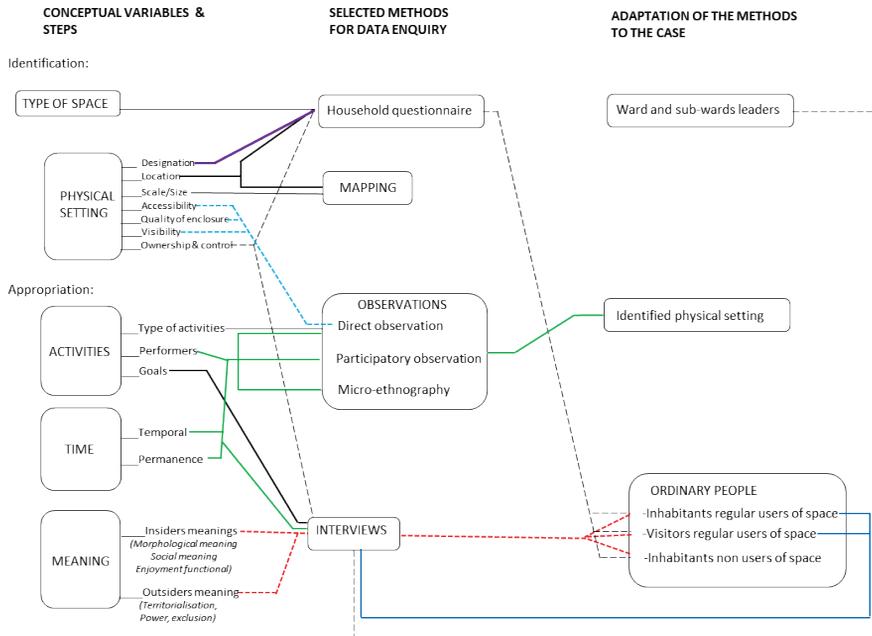


Figure 5. Research methods informed by the conceptual framework and adaptation for empirical inquiry.

Source: Author's construction.

### 3.3.2 Selection and justification of the case area

This research is focused on informal settlements in the city of Dar es Salaam, where 80 percent of the city's population live (URT-NBS, 2012). These settlements involved in three stages: infancy, consolidated and saturated stages (described in Chapter 1). In order to grasp the phenomenon of spaces generated for recreation, this research was based on saturated informal settlements because of their more spatial complexity than the other two. In addition, there were many saturated informal settlements in the city (as shown in Table 1). Manzese settlement was therefore selected as an 'information-rich case' (Stake, 1995, Yin, 2014).

Table 1. Informal settlements of Dar es Salaam and their growing stages.

No	Settlement	Infancy stage	Booming stage	Saturation stage		Infancy stage	Booming stage	Saturation stage
1	Manzese Tandale			X	28	Yombo Vituka/Dovya	X	
2	Mwananyamala Mbuyuni			X	29	Yombo Kilakala		X
3	Mwananyamala Kopa Kinondori 'A'			X	30	Mbagala kuu		X
4	Mwananyamala kisiwani			X	31	Mbagala Kilubungwa Nzasa	X	
5	Kinondori shamba			X	32	Mbagala Kibonde maji	X	
6	Hanna Nassif			X	33	Mbagala rangi tatu	X	
7	Mikoroshini			X	34	Shimo la udongo/ Kurasini		X
8	Mlakuwa/ Survey			X	35	Mtoni kijichi	X	
9	Kawe			X	36	Chang'ombe		X
10	Mikocheni			X	37	Keko		X
11	Namanga			X	38	Kigamboni midizini		X
12	Makongojuu		X		39	Tuamoyo		X
13	Kimara		X		40	Tungi	X	
14	Ubungo Kubangu		X		41	Mtoni		X
15	Ubungo kisiwani			X	42	Buguruni		X
16	Mabibo			X	43	Vingunguti		X
17	Mabibo external		X		44	Kiwalani		X
18	Magomeni makuti			X	45	Kigogo		X
19	Mburahati			X	46	Ilala mchikichini		X
20	Ubungomsewe			X	47	Tabata Mtambani/ relini		X
21	Kunduchi mtongani		X		48	Tabata Kimanga	X	
22	Tegeta/Wazo Hill		X		49	Kipunguni	X	
23	Changanyikeri		X		50	Ukongu	X	
24	Kijitonyama/ Ali maua			X	51	Gongo la mboto	X	
25	Mbezi Luis/Kibamba	X			52	Majumba sita, Sitakishari	X	
26	Temeke			X	53	Kipawa		X
27	Tandika			X	54	Karakata	X	

Source: Adopted from (Kalugila, 2013; Kyessi, 2011).

### *Case selection process*

To be able to select a specific informal settlement for the study, bearing in mind that saturated informal settlements are many, purposeful sampling was used to select four settlements out of many which are in the saturation stage. This was supported by the argument that 'unlike probability sampling featured in other quantitative researches, purposive sampling is vital to sample cases in a strategic way so that those sampled are relevant to research questions that are posed' (Bryman, 2016:408). Thus, the four saturated informal settlements that were taken to come up with one (Manzese) are Mwananyamala Kisiwani, Hananasifu, Tandale as well as Manzese itself. A reconnaissance was done on each of the settlements, for the purpose of obtaining one which is more information rich.

Prior to visiting each of the four settlements, the tools were prepared, including maps, as well as criteria for the selection of a suitable case (shown in Table 2). Maps were prepared to identify areas in each settlement that could physically be visited. Google maps for each settlement were then obtained, and routes and points to be visited were identified. However, the routes and points did not limit the physical visit of the unidentified routes and places of interest seen in the field, but it was essential to enable the researcher to establish at least starting points of reconnaissance. This mode of taking a physical visit to informal settlements that the researcher has never been to before can be likened to a tourist arriving at a new city to visit. But from a research point of view, the approach was adapted from Grady Clay's classic concept of the urban cross-section, which was established to help a visitor/researcher to read cities in order to understand their environments (Clay, 1980; Fitzpatrick, 2015). Large scale places such as the regional, national and city scale, as well as small scale places such as small and medium cities, can be explored using this approach (*ibid.*). The Grady Clay urban cross-section stipulates fifteen basic rules, which once applied can bring a successful outcome of knowing the city. In general, the method demands that the cross-section route must span the entire range of the settlement or city being investigated, and must continue in one general direction and not double back on itself. Then, the route should not be repetitive to already observed areas, therefore should focus on new discoveries. The route should deal with or begin from the centre of a city or settlement to enable grasping important points, such as monuments, landmarks and important nodes, as well as exploring old and new. It should allow passing to highly elevated landscapes for vistas and should not contain a single trip but multiple trips during different periods of time (Clay, 1980). This approach was borrowed for visits to the four saturated informal settlements.

Table 2. Selection criteria.

	Selection criteria	Name of saturated informal settlement and score			
		Hananasif	Mwananyamala kisiwani	Manzese	Tandale
1	Should be less transformed with modern development			■	
2	Should be rich in diversity of social interaction nodes	■	■	■	■
3	Should contain people with mixed cultural backgrounds			■	■

Physical visit/trips was conducted as a way to observe at a glimpse the status quo of the four selected settlements, with Google maps on hand. Visits were done by motorcycle to facilitate access to places which cannot easily be reached by vehicles due to densification of the settlements. At some points the researcher was required to move around on foot, particularly on the inner streets of settlements situated in valleys. The physical visits involved observation of spaces, which ought to facilitate joyful and social activities while also looking holistically at the fabric of the settlements as a whole. The visits were accompanied by little stops in vibrant spots, and informal conversations were performed in order to explore general information about the socio-cultural profile of the settlements. The stops, and the talks with residents were informative, helping to understand conduciveness of the settlements as places for conducting research in terms of safety; that is becoming familiar with unsafe streets as well as the usual times that it is considered safe to saunter around the streets of the settlements.

The first trip, as shown in figure 6, started at Mwananyamala Kisiwani saturated informal settlement, located in the valley of the Ng’ombe River in Kinondoni District. Spatially, the settlement was highly compact with low-rise buildings particularly single storey. These were mainly occupied by owners, with a few rented to outsiders from various parts of the city and country. There was little diversity in the vibrant nodes and spots where people could show up to linger compared to the other three settlements. This is probably due to the fact that the settlement was small and surrounded by

other planned settlements<sup>4</sup> that have more physically defined urban open spaces which could suffice for outdoor activities. Also the dominance of one type of home signified this reason, that the area had less diversity of dwellers. For this reason, the settlement was found not suitable to carry out the study.



Mwananyamala kisiwani Informal settlement

Figure 6. Expedition at Mwananyamala kisiwani saturated informal settlement.  
Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, July 2016

The second trip, as shown by figure 7, was carried out at Hananasif saturated informal settlement of 182 hectares, which stretches along Msimbazi creek on its southern and western sides, and bordered by Kinondoni and Mwananyamala planned housing areas. Due to its improved infrastructure, which includes paved access roads, it was easier to move around on several

<sup>4</sup> The unplanned settlement of Mwananyamala kisiwani is bounded by the two planned settlements of Mwanayamala and Magomeni, as well as Tandale informal settlement

streets and observe the built environment and places for socio-cultural activities. Several nodes and spots which become active during the evening hours were found attached to residential houses on exposed streets. While the majority of inhabitants living in Hanna Nassif were low-income people living in single-storey residential houses, the area was slightly modernised by high-rise buildings, by a prominent eight-floor building which was constructed as a strategy to improve the settlement. The building is inhabited by people with high income, so the settlement includes a mixture of social strata. It was also found that people living in the modernised building have no connection with spots for social interactions located around the settlement because of their different cultural backgrounds. However, this was not enough to encounter the settlement as a study area.

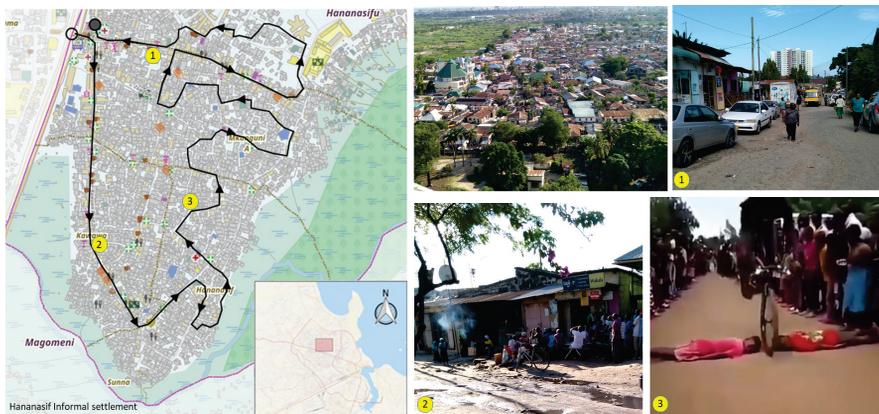


Figure 7. Expedition at Hananasif saturated informal settlement.  
Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, July 2016.

Unlike Hananasif, the trip to the informal settlement of Tandale (the third settlement visited, as figure 8 shows) was important to the study, as it had not undergone a transformation at large compared to others. Unpaved streets and low-rise single storey rudimentary buildings and narrow alleys dominated the landscape of Tandale. To find a transformed building would require a one day's search. Due to the compactness of buildings, the few available streets were highly congested, each with its own activity, notably -vending at stationary or mobile stalls. During an informal conversation in one spot, the research team was told that despite the congestion of both

buildings and people and the lack of urban outdoor spaces, Tandale is very famous in the city as one of the sleepless settlements due to people's engagement with socio-economic activities throughout the day. However, there were rumours that to a stranger, many of the streets in Tandale are unsafe to walk on even during evening hours.

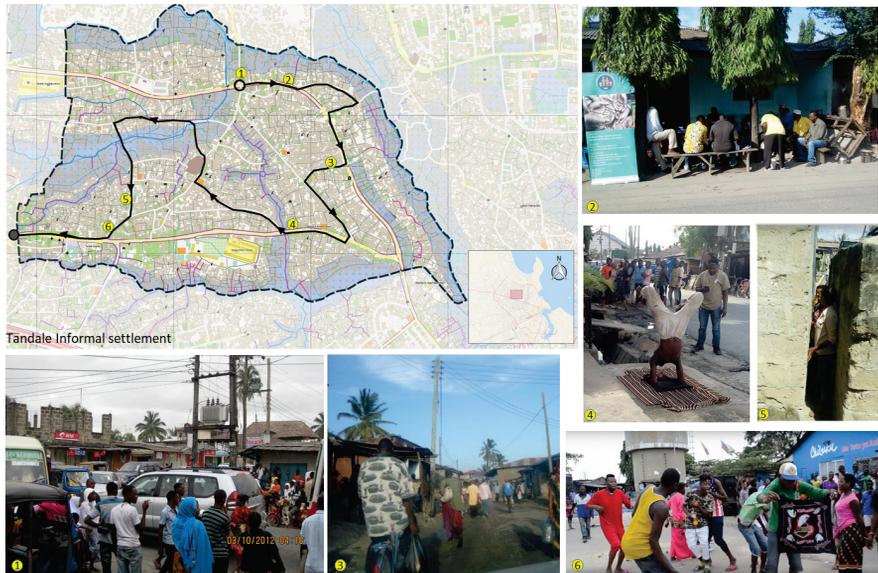


Figure 8. Expedition at Tandale saturated informal settlement.  
Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, July 2016.

Manzese saturated informal settlement was explored fourth (as illustrated in figure 9), and thus deemed to serve a rich case. It shares a border with Tandale, therefore the majority of its qualities, including its spatial and socio-economic and cultural profile, resembles those of Tandale. However, Manzese is distinct because of its eclectic/heterogeneous quality due to the permeation of modern life though some parts of it. The settlement had a mixture of original informal settlements where people with an indigenous/local background reside, while another part of it was still transforming into modern high-rise buildings occupied by people with foreign exposure. For that reason, the settlement was found suitable for conducting the research.

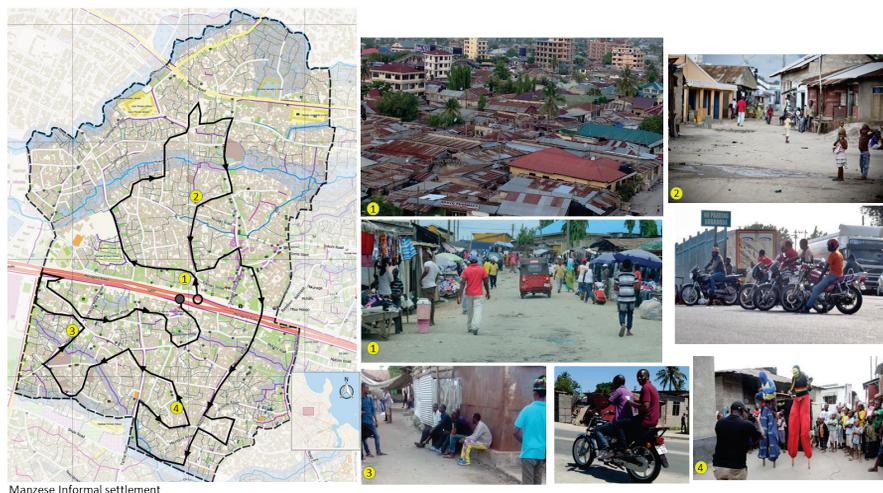


Figure 9. Expedition at Manzese saturated informal settlement.  
 Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, July 2016.

#### *Description of the case study area and sub-cases*

Manzese is divided into two parts, North and South namely Manzese ‘B’ and Manzese ‘A’, respectively. The research was conducted in the Southern part (Manzese A), which comprises four sub-wards; namely, Mferejini, Mnazi Mmoja, Mwembeni and Midizini (detailed description in Chapter 4). The decision to choose the Southern part for empirical investigation was because it was where the mixture of modernised streets and those which had not undergone the modernisation process and thus maintained their original identity, was found. While it was easier to distinguish visually between the Northern part of Manzese and the South part, a similar process of reconnaissance was used to select the Southern part of the Manzese settlement, the same as was used to select the saturated informal settlement, as described in the previous section. Moreover, the entire area of Manzese ‘A’ was used for testing research instruments during the pilot study, as well as conducting a household survey during the fieldwork.

## 3.4 Data collection

### 3.4.1 Preamble for data collection

Data collection was conducted between December 2015 and the end of 2018. Major fieldwork was officially carried out in 2017, supplemented by regular visits to the case study area for collection of additional data in 2018. Therefore, data collection for this research can be explained in three parts; namely, *pre-fieldwork*, *pilot study* and *fieldwork*. The researcher as a key investigator and two research assistants were involved in data collection. One of the research assistants was a female graduate from the School of Sociology of the University of Dar es Salaam, and the other was, a male graduate from the Department of Architecture of Ardhi University.

The research assistants were selected based on their experience in conducting various research in both planned and informal settlements of Dar es Salaam, where they were engaged as research assistants too. The research assistants functioned as data collectors during the pilot study and the major fieldwork. Pre-fieldwork was conducted by the researcher. Prior to the commencing data collection, the research assistants were introduced to the research and provided with guidelines and research tools. Feedback sessions between the principal investigator and research assistants were conducted every evening after collection of data. This was done in the key investigators' office at Ardhi University, where the schedule for the next day was planned.

The language of communication during data collection was Kiswahili. This was essential since it is a widely spoken language in the area, as well as being the national language, being spoken all over Tanzania. Although the inhabitants in the study area originated from different tribes across the country, speaking Kiswahili integrated them. Moreover, the researcher and research assistants are native speakers of the language, something which made it easier to understand and to seek more in-depth information from respondents in the absence of a translator. In some situations, the research team attempted to speak the indigenous language and or locally spoken vernacular (such as slang) in order to entice respondents into a homologous research environment (as explained earlier in insider-outsider section). Even though the language of operationalisation was Kiswahili, all tools for data collection were prepared in English (as shown in appendices 1, 2, 3 and 4)

on the basis that the research as a whole was conducted in English, but then translated into Kiswahili for smooth operationalisation.

### *Pre-fieldwork*

Pre-fieldwork was conducted in December 2015, with the purpose of allowing the researcher to orient himself with the case study area, to introduce the subject and to become familiar with the society in the area of study. Therefore, the researcher was not equipped with detailed questions about the subject but only general questions of introduction and asking about how and where people recreate. The researcher first began by meeting male youth respondents at a motorcycle taxi transport station at the Manzese-Argentina bus -stop. There were seven male youths adjacent to the bus –stop, each with a motorcycle parked in a row, waiting for passengers.<sup>5</sup> The researcher enquired with the youth about several places where people spend their leisure time. Through informal conversation, many places were mentioned, including sports grounds and spots where people gather for local games such as draughts, and for coffee drinking. As the informal conversation went on, one of the men mentioned a space which is popular for local draught board-related games. The place was claimed to be vibrant twenty-four hours a day. This was impressive and intrigued the researcher, and on the same day one of the motorcycles took the researcher to the area; it was located in the Midizini sub-ward on a residential street near a busy road of Midizini. The area is situated on veranda of a residential house open to a leftover kind of amorphous space between buildings, but a bit larger than the common narrow setback in saturated informal settlements. It is named Sisi-kwa-Sisi<sup>6</sup> Sports Club, as it hosts local games such as draught boards, playing cards and other related sports which are pursued day and night. This was the area where the researcher met local inhabitants who lived in Manzese for long periods and knew the area in-depth. It is where the researcher established friends who later became key informants who took the researcher to various places not easily accessible for a stranger. Therefore, the researcher chose this place as a starting point every time he visited Manzese for data collection.

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<sup>5</sup> Transportation of passengers by motorcycles is a contemporary phenomenon in Dar es Salaam and other places in Tanzania (Bishop & Amos, 2015). Since Manzese is an informal settlement where there are places which are not accessible by cars, motorcycles are a means of transport carrying passengers from bus-stops to interior places.

<sup>6</sup> *Sisi-kwa-sisi* is a Kiswahili word literally meaning ‘among ourselves’

It was mentioned earlier that ordinary people were key actors for sourcing information for this research. Sisi-kwa-Sisi is among the places where key informants were obtained. The arrangements and plans to expedite and explore the entire case study area of Manzese 'A', including the selection of a tour guide and means of transport, was organised at Sisi-kwa-Sisi Sports Club. The expedition took two days by motorcycle, which enabled the researcher to pass different streets within Manzese 'A' in order to become familiar with the context. The first day was used to survey the streets in two sections of western sub-wards, then the second day was spent visiting the streets of two sub-wards in the eastern part of Manzese 'A'. The trips were a means to identify various nodes and residential settlements as preparation for fieldwork. Nevertheless, there was some quick-picked data during the pre-fieldwork that was interesting including the performance of temporary recreational activities in undesignated spaces.

#### *Pilot study*

The pilot study was conducted in the first three weeks of November 2016 after the researcher was acquainted with the research area and had sharpened the research problem. During that period, the pilot study was conducted with the research team, equipped with guiding questions for interviews, with key informants and recreational participants and a set of questionnaires for households. Key informants were of two types: ward and sub-ward leaders as officials, and ordinary local knowledgeable inhabitants. Both categories of key informants were informative to explain and identify available urban open spaces in the area, and to explain other possible areas where people pursue recreational activities.

Questionnaires and interview guides were used for households. The idea was to test the clarity of the questions to respondents if they were relevant to acquire the intended information. A total of thirty-five households were asked to respond to the questionnaires, and ten people were interviewed to test the interview guide questions. In the process it was discovered that some of the interview questions designed to be asked to households were too complex, and respondents were unable to understand what actually was being asked. As a result, the questionnaire was made shorter and more precise. Some of the interview guides, which were prepared for in-depth interview were sharpened too at this stage, prior to the fieldwork.

### *Fieldwork*

After pre-fieldwork and the pilot study, formal fieldwork was conducted in 2017. As described in the previous section, data collection began with conducting household questionnaires, prior to other means of collecting data.

#### 3.4.2 Household questionnaire

Household questionnaires were used to obtain quantitative data in four sub-wards during fieldwork. Prior to embarking on fieldwork for data collection, a questionnaire of fifty- one short multiple choice questions was prepared (as shown in appendix 1) with question that probed the respondent for personal profiles, engagement in recreational activities, types of recreational activities engaged in and, most importantly, prominent places where the respondent usually hungout for recreational activities. As explained earlier, the household questionnaire was essential for identification of spaces for recreation in the saturated informal settlement. The questionnaire was diligently interpreted in Kiswahili with the consultation of a research expert at the University of Dar es Salaam to ensure that the questionnaires were well set and translated.

Notably, questionnaires were not issued to households of the entire case study area, but a few were selected using a stratified random sampling. The sampling technique involves separating the population into subgroups according to gender, race, or age, and within subgroups, taking a simple random sample (Jensen & Laurie, 2016). In this research, stratified random sampling was been essential during preparation of questionnaires in order to obtain information from people of different genders and ages.

During data collection a total sample of 227 persons ( $n=227$ ) participated in the survey in four sub-wards within the Manzese A area. The distribution of participants is shown in Table 3. In each sub-ward the sample was selected regarding the availability and willingness of the respondent. The selection was also focused on residents who are most familiar with the sub-ward, especially those who have stayed for not less than four years. To be able to get respondents with such qualifications, the sub-ward leaders cooperated very well with the research team.

Table 3. Participants in the household questionnaire.

	Name of Sub-ward										
	Mferejini		Mnazi Mmoja		Mwembeni		Midizini		Total		
<b>Children/ Teenagers</b>	M	5	M	5	M	5	M	5	M	20	37
	F	4	F	5	F	4	F	4	F	17	
<b>Youth</b>	M	9	M	10	M	9	M	10	M	38	80
	F	10	F	11	F	7	F	14	F	42	
<b>Adult</b>	M	10	M	14	M	14	M	12	M	50	110
	F	15	F	15	F	15	F	15	F	60	
<b>Total</b>		<b>53</b>		<b>60</b>		<b>54</b>		<b>60</b>	<b>227</b>	<b>227</b>	

M stands for male and F for female.

Source: Author 2017.

During the administration of the questionnaire, the research team was taken to respondents in the streets of each sub-ward with the sub-ward leader, who randomly selected houses and introduced the research team to the residents to facilitate them in collecting information. Since the questionnaires were prepared in the form of multiple-choice questions, the idea was that they would be self-administered by the respondent. However, this was not always the case during fieldwork, where the majority of the respondents demanded to be administered. This was also helpful to researchers as, on the one hand, it reduced revisiting to collect self-administered questionnaires from respondents, and on the other hand, reduced the probability that questionnaires would be filled out incorrectly, or not filled out at all.

In order to become acquainted with residents' degree of engagement in recreation in the study area, and to identify common spaces residents use for recreation, the household questionnaires were analysed. Before carrying out data analysis, the raw data collected were pre-processed. Organisation and pre-processing of quantitative data was carried out after data collection was complete. Data screening for incomplete or missing data was thoroughly checked for each questionnaire. Out of 227 questionnaires, 17 were encountered with problems. Eleven of them were filled partially, while six respondents failed to answer almost three-quarters of the questions in the questionnaire. The former was treated by cross-referencing the missing answer with the answers to related questions; the latter were excluded from the analysis. With the aid of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the questionnaires were processed and analysed in line with the theme of the study. Illustrations such as tables, charts and graphs were used to supplement the discussion of the study. At this level, several prominent

spaces for recreation became well-identified, and thus the fieldwork team continued to visit these spaces to internalise the investigation of spaces in terms of their physical qualities and how they emerged. At this point, the research team was equipped with other data collection tools for observation and conducting interviews.

### 3.4.3 Observation

Observations for this study were conducted by visiting physical spaces commonly used for recreational activities in order to understand the physical qualities of the spaces, as well as activities where direct observation, participants observation, and micro-ethnography were deployed. Furthermore, there were some situations during in the fieldwork where recreational activities used to emerge temporarily with no designated space that could be visited regularly. These temporary activities were usually performed over a period of not more than three hours on average. In such activities, direct observation and participatory observation were deployed to grasp the performance of activities, as well as temporary appropriation of spaces. In order to identify such temporary recreational activities a ‘hunting’ exercise was conducted, as explained later.

#### *Direct observation*

After being informed by residents through a household survey on the prominent spaces where people usually gather or linger, for social interaction, preparation to visit and investigate these spaces was done, including mapping the locations of identified spaces and preparing an observation checklist (See Appendix 3). Mapping was done before the physical visit to the identified spaces; the exercise began as deskwork in the sub-ward leaders’ office, asking them to locate on a map the spaces identified in the household survey. Since some of the spaces were repeated with the same activities but in different locations, purposive sampling was used to select a few which represented others for further in-depth analysis. Purposive sampling in this case was essential for selecting spaces which were not only information rich but also unique and not repeated. The observation checklist was adapted from SOPARC<sup>7</sup> and modified to the context of the study. It

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<sup>7</sup> SOPARC is a ‘System for Observing Play and Recreation in Communities, reliable and valid observation tool for assessing park and recreation areas, including park users’ physical activity levels, gender, age, and ethnicity groupings’ (McKenzie, Cohen, Sehgal, Williamson, & Golinelli, 2006)

stipulated items that need to be observed, including activities and time in relation to physical space.

Observation was carried out during different periods of time in a day that was scheduled to range from morning hours, afternoon hours, evening hours, as well as early night hours, so as to investigate in detail the recreational activities in relation to time, as well as to determine the times during which the space becomes more vibrant. A physical visit to each space was conducted with reference to its location on the map, and types of activity at each were documented. Moreover, additional tools such as photographs and sketches were used to document the observed data. Notably, in the process of data collection through direct observation, the research team was mainly made up of outsiders.

#### *Participatory observations and micro-ethnography*

As a way of gathering data on spatialisation of spaces for recreation, participant observation and micro-ethnography were deployed. The research team interacted as recreational activities that were performed in identified spaces, as a means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of redefining and reconfiguring spaces. When the researcher was immersed in recreational activities, the research assistants were involved in collecting information, with the main tools used being audio-visual. The process alternated in such a way that there were moments when the research assistants one or both of them were engaged in the recreational activity while the researcher took the responsibility collecting data. Following the guidelines of participatory observation,<sup>8</sup> the researcher was able to engage in various recreational activities, interacting as a performer or as spectator, and be able to explore the qualities of spaces as far as recreational activities occupy them. The participant observation was similar to the micro-ethnography. The only difference is that micro-ethnography<sup>9</sup> was deployed to collect data recurrently, with the researcher spending long time of about seven months engaged and participated in some recreational activities that were performed on a daily basis. The aforementioned *Sisi-kwa-Sisi* local sports club epitomises one of the areas where data were mostly collected

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<sup>8</sup> It is contended that 'in order to acquire wider information in participatory observation, a researcher should take three precautions. First, to avoid acquiring status in a group of respondents; second to behave in a very responsible manner, and third to remain an objective observer' (Rwegoshora, 2016)

<sup>9</sup> Unlike ethnography, which requires a long period of time in the field with the aim of acquiring knowledge at a large scale, micro-ethnography can be embarked with a focus on a particular aspect of a topic (Wolcott, 1990, cited in Bryman, 2016).

through micro-ethnography to grasp how spaces were generated through local draught board games.

*'Hunting' tactic*

'Hunting' might sound uncommon in the scholarly vocabulary, and also in the traditional scientific method for data collection, simply because it means to fetch animals in the bush. Hunting also means 'to search determinedly for someone or something', and this is the meaning which this research refers to. As said at the beginning of the observation method, there were recreational activities which appeared and performed temporarily as short-lived events or pop-up events where the *'hunting tactic'* was deployed prior to direct and participatory observation. The emergence of short-term events in irregularly spaces used to appear randomly and scattered in a sense where it is not easy to determine which one will happen next and when. One of its kind were the performance of 'ceremonial dances' (detailed in Chapter 5) for which, in order to know the place where the performance would occur and to access for observation, the hunting tactic was diligently applied. The research team was informed by key informants that normally ceremonial dances are performed during the weekends, while by being on the streets of informal settlements, there would be the chance see one or two of the 'ceremonial dance' performances. But occasionally, the 'ceremonial dance' happens from Thursday evenings. The research team, therefore performed the 'hunting tactic' from Thursday to Sunday evening. To be able to 'hunt' (to identify the occurrence and location of ceremonial dance) a tall building was selected in the settlement, and the research team would climb to the top of it for a panoramic view of Manzese settlement. Being on top of the building the research team waited to hear any sound associated with the performance of 'ceremonial dances' from down in the settlement. Once heard, the research team would work to identify where it was coming from, and soon after doing so would make their way out of the building and in the direction of the performance, ready for direct participant observation. This 'hunting tactic' was an exercise that was conducted for four weeks, and which resulted in being able to catch three performances (detailed information about the performances and appropriation of spaces is described in Chapter 5).

#### 3.4.4 Interviews

Interviews for empirical inquiry were deployed at large in this research, starting from pre-fieldwork, during the pilot study and through the fieldwork. During the pre-fieldwork, as explained earlier, interviews were conceived as informal conversations when the researcher interacted with locals to be informed about the presence of spaces for recreation in the settlement. This was a starting point to question if the settlement could have a physically demarcated space set aside for recreation. At this stage, interviewees were sampled at random depending on their availability and willingness to be interviewed, except for ward and sub-ward leaders, who were pre-selected, and interviews were arranged with them by appointment. Interviews were further conducted in a more systematic and detailed way during the pilot study to source out information regarding spaces for recreation in the study area. Interview guides were prepared to acquire information from ward and sub-ward leaders as key informants, and other interview guides were also prepared for discussion with ordinary people, particularly local knowledgeable residents. Being prepared with questions from an interview guide facilitated the research team's effort to probe respondent for information in a logical manner, in order to fully address the topics set out for investigation. This was in line with Bryman (2012), who points out that 'what is crucial is that the questioning allows the interviewer to glean the way research participants view their social world and that there is flexibility in the conduct of the interviews'. Therefore the questions asked to respondents did not carry preconceptions, allowing respondents to freely express themselves in detail. A sample of the interview guides is shown in Appendix 2. Appendix 5 shows a list of 23 respondents, their location and the date when the interview was conducted. The list includes the ward and sub-ward leaders, as well as residents and non-residents of different genders and ages whose interviews were conducted in places of recreation. The limit of 23 respondents was not pre-established but came after saturation of the responses, when the interviewee answers began to become repetitive. The interview guide, as said earlier, was tested during the pilot study in the first three weeks of November 2016 with people of different genders and ages identified in spaces for recreation, and further modified before used in the fieldwork.

### *Semi-structured interviews*

Prior to conducting interviews with ordinary people, the researcher started at a ward leader's office. It was the first day of the pilot study, the day when the researcher went to seek permission to conduct research in Manzese. After submitting of a letter of application to conduct research in the area, and when the letter was briefly read, three women and one man (leaders and assistant leaders in the ward offices) demanded more explanation on what exactly the research dealt with. The researcher explained clearly the concern of the research. Then one woman among the four leaders responded and explained the set-up of Manzese informal settlement and the challenges of urban open spaces that many informal settlements face, including having few urban open spaces whose function is not really recreation (as explained in Chapter 5). Then the researcher would ask more questions (by referring to the interview guide) in order to probe for more information about the phenomenon of recreation in the settlement particularly challenges in accessing and using urban open spaces.

Then the other three leaders, one by one started to suggest areas that were likely being used for recreational activities despite not being designated for them. Such interviews continued the next day with three of the sub-ward leaders at Mnazi mmoja, Mwembeni and Midizini as a way of trying to understand if there could be spaces demarcated for recreation that were owned and managed by the Local Government Authority. A move to interview sub-ward leaders followed the advice of ward leaders met preceding day, who were sure about the scarcity of urban open spaces in the settlement just like they are in planned areas. But their advice to seek information from sub-ward leaders too, was to get to know the spaces commonly used by the people for recreation and leisure activities. Beginning at Mnazi Mmoja, where two leaders were interviewed, the researcher repeated the same questions posed to the ward leaders; the same procedure was also done at the Mwembeni and Midizini sub-ward offices in the following days. Upon interviewing the sub-ward leaders, a few areas were frequently mentioned (explained in Chapter 6) as common spaces people prefer to go for public activities related to outdoor recreation. These spaces also coincided with those mentioned in the responses to the household questionnaire that were administered after interviewing the ward and sub-ward leaders. Notably, the household questionnaire responses pointed out several other areas where people hang-out for recreational activities, in

addition to what the ward and sub-ward<sup>10</sup> leaders reported. It was in the mentioned spaces where interviews were conducted in parallel with observation during the performance of recreational activities.

### *Unstructured interviews*

Interviews with people while they were in places of recreation, took more the form of unrestricted interviews that sought to explore people's perceptions of the environment they used for recreational activities. This was not very much difficult for people who were performing sedentary activities, and the research team tried to carry themselves as insiders as much as possible. To interview those participating in active recreation sometimes meant waiting until after performances were finished. The research team met regular users of the spaces, both inhabitants and others who did not reside in the settlement but came from their own settlements to hang out for various subjective reasons (as discussed in the findings in Chapter 6). Interviews were also conducted with inhabitants who did not use these spaces to get their views about the areas used for recreational activities within their settlement. There was no predetermined limit to the number of residents to be interviewed, interviews continued to be collected until a saturation level was reached as responses started to become repetitive.

## 3.5 Data analysis and interpretation

Unlike the household questionnaires, which were pre-processed after the collection of data, qualitative raw data (Interviews) were pre-processed and organised during the time of data collection as an ongoing process. This involved the research assistants inspecting and streamlining all the interviews, before being accepted and kept for further analysis. Also, the interview responses were transcribed, highlighting experiences and perceptions of spaces for recreation were collected in the field in the form of text from diary, audio and video recorded material. This exercise was done every evening after data collection. This was done purposely in order not to forget nuances or impressions, as well as to become intimately acquainted with the data. After thorough correction and transcription of data, the data was distributed into categories. This was done with the assistance of Nvivo

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<sup>10</sup> Wards and sub-wards are part of administrative structures of the city of Dar es Salaam. The city is administratively divided into five structures; namely, the city council, municipalities, wards, sub-wards and ten- cell units. A ward can comparatively equal a neighborhood.

software in the interest of time as the software was capable of handling large quantities of data, as well as coding the data and retrieving the coded text when needed. Not only interviews but also photographs were analysed to understand expressions and body language of people in places and visual qualities. Photographs were captured in particular places at different times of a day, week and season, to help express the ways these places were appropriated. Aerial photos and plans were analysed to understand various aspects of these places, including the distinction between built and unbuilt spaces, solids and voids, in order to identify probable areas to be used for recreational performances.

### 3.6 Validity and reliability of the research results

To encompass the multiple and diverse realities of the phenomenon explored by this research, methodological approaches were constructed to ensure the findings are valid and reliable.

#### *Validity*

To ensure the validity of the research, two operational measures were applied to avoid subjectivity and biases. First is the use of a conceptual framework which was critically constructed with explicitly outlined variables. The conceptual variables influenced the development of multiple methods (see section 3.3.1) which were used together with tools, including questionnaires, observation checklists and interview guides as multiple sources of evidence for the collection and triangulation of data. Triangulation was essential to assure the accuracy of the information collected and its interpretation, as the findings were compared with data that was collected from different sources.

#### *Reliability*

The logical construction of the conceptual framework and subsequent multiple methods and source of data, as shown in Figure 3.2 depict the reliability of this research. In line with Yin (2014), when a constructed approach for this study is used later by another investigator, following the same procedures as described by an earlier researcher and conducting the same case study over again, the end result in terms of consistency of data, findings and conclusion is expected to be the same. Second, reliability was achieved by opening the data files, which can be retrieved and given to another researcher who might wish to do a similar study or to verify this

study. Third, reliability was achieved by recording the steps taken in the study from pre-fieldwork, the pilot study and the fieldwork.

### 3.7 Challenges and opportunities encountered during fieldwork

This part outlines briefly challenges faced when the fieldwork was conducted, as well as opportunities in terms of timing for conducting interviews and the mood of an interviewee, too many formalities, as well as flexibility in data collection. Sharing this experience is essential, not only for unveiling the friction this research faces and its benefits, but can be a lesson to other researchers when conducting research in similar research context.

#### *Timing and mood*

It is very important to consider timing during data collection, especially with respect to respondent interviews. The researcher should be careful to clearly understand what the proper time is for a particular respondent, a time when the mind of the respondent is in the mood to cooperate with the interview. During data collection on one of the streets in Mnazi Mmoja sub-ward, the respondent was not ready to be interviewed simply because the research team approached her during her peak hours of doing business. It was around 11:30 a.m. when the research team, guided by the local leader, entered a house and met a woman who was a food vendor. The woman was busy with her assistant preparing food that could be sold one hour from the time the research team arrived. When the local leaders introduced the research team to the woman to request an interview, the woman angrily rejected the request and said it has been a tendency every day for the local leader to bring researchers for interviews and to disturb the timetables set out by individuals, and no output is seen at the end of the day. The woman then chased the research team and the local leader out, and no interview was conducted with the woman. The local leader and the research team got out of the intended interviewee's homestead and noted that since the woman was in the middle of her peak hours of food preparation and sales, she was immersed in activities for her livelihood. Therefore, it was decided that the interview would be better carried out during the weekend, on a Sunday evening, which is when the woman pauses from food vending. Then the local leader took

responsibility and apologized to the woman, then asked for an appointment on Sunday evening, and luckily the woman agreed to the interview.

### *The role of casual informal encounters for reliable information*

In several studies, researchers go to the field and introduce themselves formally as researchers, aiming to use a particular area as a case study. This might hinder the availability of reliable information, particularly when the research methods demand interviews. Some people, particularly individuals, do not disclose their subjective information, or rather tend to give out different information because of the formal approach. This happened during the fieldwork when I, as a researcher, approached a man and asked him if he stays in Manzese. The man told me he is not a resident of Manzese, but in fact he was. He had pretended not to be a resident of Manzese because for reasons of his own prestige he did not want to be known as someone who lived in unplanned settlement. He feigned being a resident of a nearby planned settlement called Kijitonyama, and claimed he just came to Manzese for business purposes. It was only after the interview that the local leader who was accompanying the research team divulged that the respondent was indeed a resident of Manzese, but was not proud of it. Indeed, in his response to the question of whether he resided in Manzese he said:

Do you think every person you meet here is a resident of Manzese? How can I live in an informal settlement? I just came here to look for possibilities of purchasing a chain of shoddy houses so that I can pull them down to give room for an elegant hotel. I come from Kijitonyama a planned and serviced area.

The man did not want to respond to further questions from the research team. This encounter calls for an explorative process laden with questions for comprehensive answers. The takeaway from this experience is that the casual informal encounter is a starting point prior to formal information gathering in the case area. Doing this helps to cultivate a harmonious environment between the researcher and respondents.

### *Flexibility in data collection*

Flexibility in data collection denotes avoiding being rigidly following a structured schedule prepared prior to collecting data, as it may reduce opportunities for spontaneity and serendipity. This means allowing flexibility to

switch from one type of data collection to another and back. For example, when household questionnaires were administered, certain people would emerge as key informants, to responding to certain types of questions and being eager to explain phenomena in detail. In such case the researcher would switch to in-depth interviews in the form of informal conversations, allowing the discussion with the respondent to flow organically. This situation happened twice: first time was when the researcher met someone who was knowledgeable about ceremonial dances. While the questionnaires was administered, she asked if possible to explain in detail the whole story behind the ceremonial dances because she has been involved in these activities for a long time. Taking that as an opportunity, the research team asked the respondent whether she was prepared for further inquiry. She agreed and the team switched to an in-depth interview.

## 4. Manzese: Saturated informal settlement

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of Manzese informal settlement in order to situate the geographical and historical context of the study. The chapter commences by describing a general profile of the settlement, then its spatial growth and expansion traced back from its history to the recent period when the settlement is densely urbanised. Then the chapter describes spatial challenges that led to various interventions to improve the settlement. Finally, the chapter explains the situation of unbuilt spaces and public outdoor activities in Manzese saturated informal settlement, which is the study area.

### 4.2 The profile of Manzese

#### 4.2.1 Heading to Manzese – The mental confusion and the physical actuality

My first encounter with Manzese could be described as one of confusion. Before I ever set foot in Manzese, I used to see the area when riding in the ‘daladala’ (commuter buses) in my daily commute to the city centre. There has been a tendency for individuals to remind themselves to shut the windows of their vehicles, whether in a private car or a ‘daladala’, and not to expose belongings such as mobile phones and wallets, as they approach Manzese. This is to avoid the efforts of purse-snatchers pickpockets, which are rampant at Manzese. Since Manzese is connoted as an unsafe place, many individuals automatically take these precautions when passing through.

However, this thought process was somehow proven wrong when I started to walk around in the settlement instead of passing by in a car or 'daladala'. The first time I entered Manzese on foot was when I got an opportunity to do this study. Because I was gripped by the mentality of insecurity, I was very sceptical of my ability to conduct a study in such a settlement. Nevertheless, as I began roving in the inner streets of the settlement I gradually realised that the conceived connotation I had about Manzese was not reflecting the reality on the ground. I walked around with my mobile phone, chatting with residents without being disturbed or robbed. Undeniably, I did not walk around myself but with a guard -a -resident who had lived in the settlement for more than a few years. When the guard was asked about the way Manzese is perceived by people who do not live in the settlement, he said that some years back the settlement was truly unsafe, with a lot of crimes and thefts by pickpockets (*vibaka*) and drug users (*mateja*) living in the settlement. However, robbery was eliminated as residents took mob justice against the criminals by beating them to death. Deo (the pseudonym for respondent 7) said:

There was a time when we were having fear in our settlement because of continued theft and robbery in vast numbers, even during daytime. The situation changed as many of the youth involved in robbery died and others were imprisoned. The deaths were either immediately after being caught doing a robbery and being harshly beaten or by prolonged loss of health for drug abusers. Also the abolishment of 'maskani'<sup>11</sup> helped the settlement to be safe as *maskani* were believed to stage robbery and drug abuse by youth.

This explanation cleared out the terror of insecurity to me especially at night. On the other hand there might be some theft and robbery like in many other parts of the city, but not to the extent in my prior imagination.

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<sup>11</sup> Maskani is a Swahili word which literally means a place like outdoor spots in urban settlements for youth casual gatherings for relaxing and hanging out.

#### 4.2.2 General background of Manzese

Manzese is one of the oldest and largest informal settlements in Dar es Salaam situated in Ubungo Municipality. Dar es Salaam, which is the largest city and commercial centre in the country, is located on the eastern coast of Tanzania along the Indian Ocean, with an area of approximately 1800 square kilometres and a population of 4.36 million (URT-NBS, 2012). The city consists of five municipalities; namely, Kinondoni, Ilala, Temeke, Kigamboni and Ubungo. Each municipality consists of a number of wards, with Manzese forming one of the wards of Ubungo Municipal Council (Figure 4.1). With reference to the central business district of Dar es Salaam, a Manzese ward is located approximately seven kilometres from the city centre to the west, straddled along the Morogoro arterial road. As the road passes from the east to the west of the settlement of Manzese, it divides the settlement into northern and southern parts; namely, Manzese 'A' to the south of the road and Manzese 'B' at the north of the road (Figure 10). Manzese is an intermediate part of Dar es Salaam Region, the second from the city centre -after the planned ward of Magomeni, and is surrounded by many other informal settlements in the northern, western and southern parts (Figure 10).

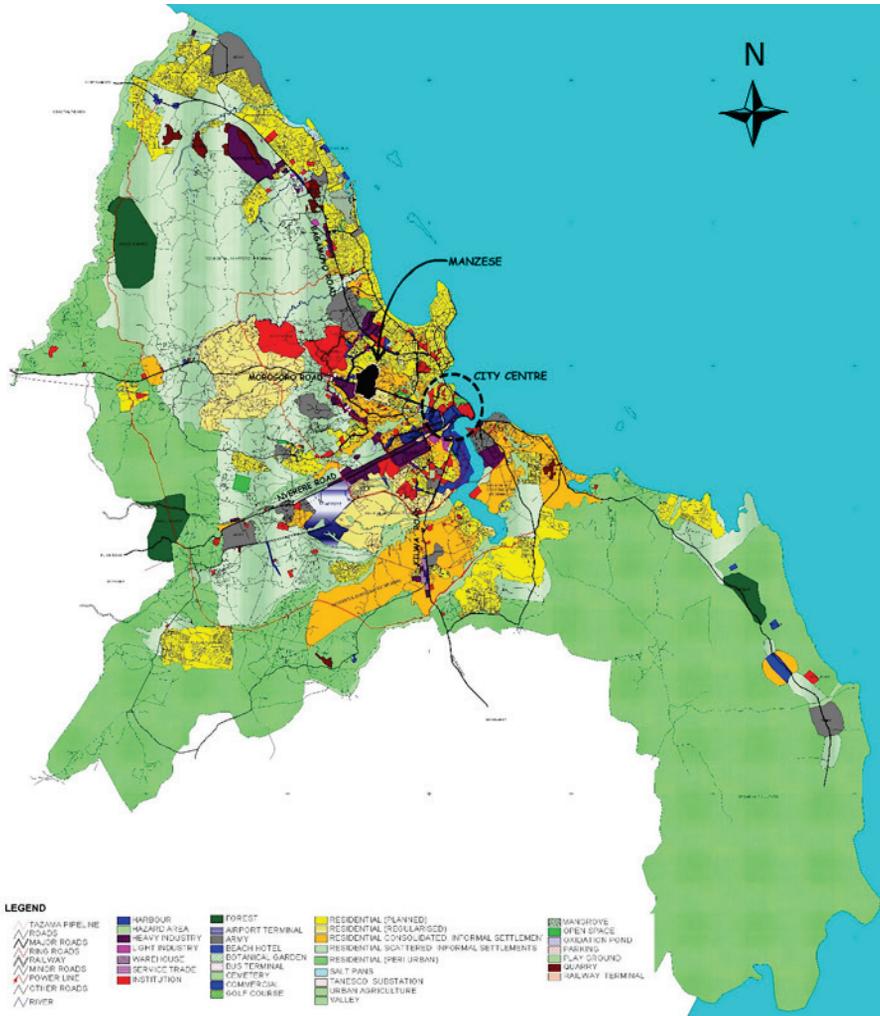


Figure 10. Manzeze settlement in the context Dar es Salaam city.  
Source: Dar es Salaam master plan (URT-DMP, 2016).

Manzeze is bounded to the west by the former Ubungo industrial area and Ubungo Friendship Textile Mill flats; to the south by Mabibo and Mburahati road; to the east by the valley of the River Luanga and Kagera Road; and to the north by the River Ng’ombe (Figure 11). The settlement covers 186 hectares; until 2016 its population was 86,019 with a total of 9,504 buildings as per Ubungo Municipal Profile 2016. Administratively, Manzeze is a ward

that follows the administrative setup of Tanzania, a two tier-system of central government and local government (either in urban or rural). The local government in urban area is divided into five hierarchies, which descend according to responsibilities, beginning from city level, municipalities, wards, sub-wards and ten-cell units. Thus, Manzese itself is a ward comprising six sub wards (*Mitaa*) –four more were added in 2016, making a total of ten sub-wards. The sub-wards were added due to the increase in population at the settlement, which led to difficulties in management and delivery of services to the settlement. The six sub-wards of Manzese are located north of Morogoro Road and other four sub-wards south (Figure 11). As highlighted in Chapter 3, this research was conducted in the southern part of Manzese settlement within the four sub-wards.



it encompassed some social services including four primary schools and one secondary school, two private dispensaries and three markets. Moreover, for the case of water services, residents depend on mainly two sources of water. First, residents obtain piped water at water kiosks at different points within the settlement, and second, by purchasing water in buckets supplied by trucks in the settlement. While this was the main source of clean water, other residents used underground boreholes and wells locally constructed in their residences. In some houses water was pumped to overhead tanks to allow flow by gravity. However, due to the congestion of houses and irregular patterns of spaces between buildings there was no public sewerage system in the area, and thus waste water was treated onsite through pit latrines or septic tanks with soak-away pits. Solid waste collection was commissioned to private companies administered by the local government at the sub-ward level (URT-UBM, 2016).

Manzese experiences a sultry climate similar to that of Dar es Salaam and other parts of the East African coast, due to its location. The city of Dar es Salaam experiences a coastal climate which is hot and humid throughout the year, with the annual mean maximum temperature varying between 29° Celsius and 32° Celsius, while the annual mean minimum temperatures vary between 19° Celsius and 25° Celsius (Figure 12a), with slight seasonal changes due to the proximity to the equator. From May to September the temperature is cool, with an average of about 29° Celsius, while between December and March is the warmest period, with an average temperature of 35° Celsius. Manzese experiences the same temperature at a macro scale, but the temperature increases at a micro scale due to compactness of buildings, which occupy more of the land than vegetation. The warm and humid climate is also affected by monsoons, which appear in two distinct seasons, mostly influenced by an intertropical convergence zone (ITCZ): the northeast monsoon between March and October and the southeast monsoon between October and March (Mahongo, Francis, & Osima, 2011). The monsoon winds influence the rainfall. Usually the city experiences bimodal rainfall seasons: the long rainy season (*masika*) occurs March -May, with a monthly average rainfall of 150 -300mm, and the short rainy season (*vuli*) that occurs October -December, with a monthly average rainfall of 75 -100mm (URT 2011) cited in (Macchi & Tiepolo, 2014). During the long rain, settlements situated in lowland areas are affected by flooding. However, Manzese settlement has reported little flooding despite being located in a bit of a

lowland morphology. Dar es Salaam also has relative humidity, which remains high throughout the year- most of the time 75 percent- although it may vary from 55 percent during the day to almost 100 percent during the night. That means Manzese experiences a similar amount of relative humidity, which means the settlement's weather is always warm. The average vapour pressure in Dar es Salaam is considerably higher during the warm and wet season (29 hPa in February) than cool and dry season (23 hPa in July) (Mahongo et al., 2011; Yahia, Johansson, Thorsson, Lindberg, & Rasmussen, 2018). From December to March, the city experiences high solar radiation and wind speed (figure 12b). In Manzese and other saturated informal settlements, it is quite normal to see residents spending much of their time in outdoor spaces, including verandas and streets, to take advantage of the breeze, especially during the hottest months.

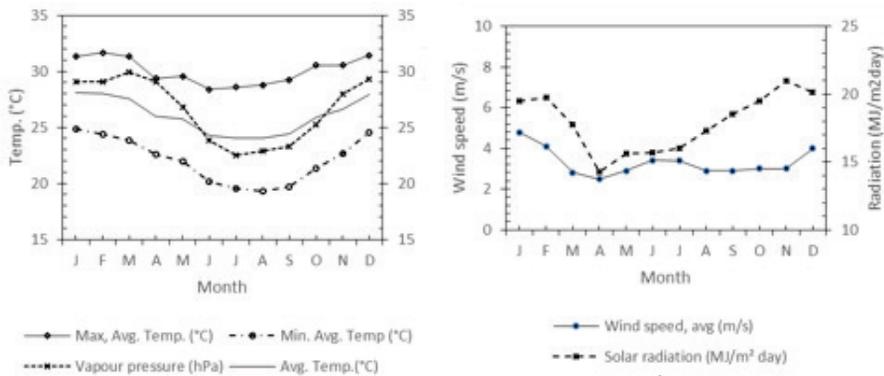


Figure 12. The climate of Dar es Salaam Tanzania a) Average maximum and minimum temperatures and vapour pressure, b) Mean daily wind speed and global solar radiation. Source: Meteonorm v.7 (Meteotest 2014).

#### 4.2.3 Ethnicity and diverse culture in Manzese

The ethnicity of residents living in Manzese was in one sense not that mixed, since many of the residents are native Africans. But in another sense the settlement is understood as ethnically rich and diverse with respect to many tribes represented among the area's residents. The residents belong to more than 120 tribes from all over Tanzania. Therefore, Manzese is clearly a mixed cultural society, which is a contemporary phenomenon in various parts of the

world where it is rare to see an entirely homogeneous society (Landry & Wood, 2012).

Manzese was once a settlement populated by the Zaramo, Nyamwezi, Ndengereko and Manyema tribes that originated from the coastal area, the middle and the west of Tanzania, respectively. Recently the area is a melting pot of many tribes from all over the country, who amalgamate to live in the area. During the study, the majority of respondents mentioned their places of their origin including Gogo and Rangi from the central part of Tanzania, Luguru from Morogoro region near the coast, Pare and Chaga from the northern part of Tanzania, Sukuma from lake Victoria zone, Hehe and Ngoni from the south, and Sambiaa and Digo from northeastern coast. The Zaramo and Ndengereko, are affirmed to be native tribes in Manzese, while other aforementioned tribes moved to the settlement mainly through the rural -urban migration process. Gradually, the tribes fused together as residents, continuing to live and work in the settlement irrespective of their places of origin. And above all there have been intermarriages among them something which increases ethnic heterogeneity. Furthermore, the majority of them tend to forget even their tribal languages, as communication is predominantly in Swahili, the national language. This implies that even their social way of living, including social interactions, are amalgamated from such different tribes.

The diverse people in Manzese did not appear naturally in the settlement but were the result of efforts initiated by the first president of the country (Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere) under the philosophy and practice of the African tradition of ‘family-hood’ (ujamaa in Swahili) with the aim of uniting all Tanzanians. The efforts were made in various ways, including, among others, a villagisation programme, the creation and use of a national language as well as establishing the Ministry of National Culture and Youths<sup>12</sup> (Lal, 2015; Lemelle, 2006). The villagisation programme required citizens to compulsorily resettle from their scattered homesteads and inhabit in Ujamaa villages, with the aim of increasing economic productivity through the easy provision of social amenities (Kikula, 1997; Mosha, 2005; Seel & Mgawe, 2014). Although the focus was to improve the economy and the standard of living, there was also a unification of cultures, as different

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<sup>12</sup> The ministry of National Culture and Youths was established by the first president of Tanzania to inspire the cultivation of a distinctly Tanzanian culture (see Lemelle, 2006).

societies belonging to different cultures compulsorily lived together (*ibid.*). It was the beginning of the people's mixed culture.

Another point of view which substantiates diversity and mixing of tribes in Manzese is connected more broadly to the national strategies of creation of the country's identity over tribal identity as the '*ujamaa* policy'. This is depicted through adoption of Kiswahili as a National language (Pratt, 1999) in (Doyle, 2017). The establishment of the Swahili language by the Tanzanian states is described as homogenisation from above, and its success on the ground is termed as diversification from below (Blommaert, 2014). While homogenisation from above, which is also termed as top-down approach, successfully made every Tanzanian a Swahili speaker, the rise of social diversification revealed heterogeneity from below. The latter was stimulated by the presence and continuity of *ujamaa*, which was enhanced by the establishment of the national language (*ibid.*). Apart from the establishment of National language, the dimension of culture was also an important element to unification of citizens in the nation. The establishment of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth was driven by the notion that culture is believed to be the basic element contributing to a sense of unity as a nation. The establishment of the Ministry of National Culture also aimed to unify the over 123 tribes, each with its own subculture, and to discourage foreign culture brought during colonisation which suppressed the preexisting traditional culture (Blommaert, 2014; Mbughuni, 1974). At the time the newly formed ministry was inaugurated, Nyerere by then declared that;

I have set up this new ministry to help us regain our pride in our own culture. I want it to seek out the best of the traditions and the customs of all our tribes and make them a part of our national culture. I believe that culture is the essence and spirit of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation. Of all the crimes of colonialism, there was none worse than the attempts to make us believe we have no indigenous culture of our own; or what we did have was worthless -something we should be ashamed of rather than a source of pride. Some of us, particularly those who have acquired a European type of education, set ourselves out to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become 'civilized'. And by that we meant that we had abandoned everything connected with our own past and learnt to imitate only European ways. At one time it was a compliment rather than an insult to call a man who imitated the Europeans a 'black-European' (quoted in (Mbughuni, 1974).

This inaugural and the other aforementioned efforts to unify citizens were made at national level but highly influenced the mixing of citizens at the level of settlements. The movement of citizens from one locality to another regardless of tribal and cultural differences leads to mixed settlements unified by a National language; this makes Manzese a ‘melting pot’. Some of the sentiments expressed above<sup>13</sup> illustrate the planning and design concerns regarding urban open spaces described in Chapter 1; namely, the provision of urban open spaces in cities of the global south by using ideologies inherited from the global north. In relation to the caption of Nyerere, continuing provide spaces with generalised standards ends up with what Lefebvre (1991) called ‘abstract space’, a space that lacks contextual attributes like culture. Taking advantage of mixed tribal ethnicity in Manzese, this study benefits from grasping the way people from different culture appropriate spaces for recreation (see Chapter 5).

### 4.3 Emergence and evolution of Manzese

As also described in Chapter 1, the spatial growth of informal settlements in Dar es Salaam undergoes three stages: infancy, consolidation and saturation. The stages of Manzese’s growth resemble these and most likely even went beyond with the substitution of low-rise buildings with high-rise. Definitely, by passing through all the stages of growth that resulted in densification, with buildings compacted together, there is no doubt that the status quo of urban open space in informal settlements is debatable. This section provides a chronology of the emergence and growth of Manzese, and present the current situation of urban open spaces in the settlement.

#### 4.3.1 Emergence of Manzese

Prior to become a settlement, Manzese was once a farmland at the outskirts of Dar es Salaam in the mid of 19<sup>th</sup> Century. During that time the city was town covering just a small portion of the present city centre. As the city grew, Manzese also gradually grew to become a small village habited by Zaramo and Ndengereko tribes (originated from the coast), and Nyamwezi and Manyema tribes (from north west of the country) as their tribal land and part of the land was used for grazing while the other remained as a land for

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<sup>13</sup> ‘Some of us, particularly those who have acquired a European type of education, set ourselves out to prove to our colonial rulers that we had become ‘civilized’ (extract from inaugural speech quoted above)

coconut plantation owned by natives with sparse growth in the mid-1960s (Kironde, 1994). These natives apart from practicing grazing and agricultural activities they were also descendants of porters during the peak of Arab trade (Tripp, 1997). Manzese was once located outside Dar es Salaam's boundaries until 1957 when part of the area was already been included within the city boundaries (Hozefa, 2011; Kironde, 1994).

As Dar es Salaam town continued to expanded, the demand of more land for habitation in villages surrounding the city increased. This was led by the migration of people from upcountry regions increased for people seeking better living environments including job opportunities. The land was obtained from tribal chiefs for farming. As time went by, the farmlands were converted into residential uses without any services. This was the genesis of mushrooming of Manzese and other informal settlements in the city of Dar es Salaam such as Mtoni, Tandika, Buguruni, Kigogo, Temeke, Mburahati and Msasani. Buildings were developed without planning by incremental construction such as construction of room after room as the family size increases, as well as construction of extra rooms for rental (Mlonda, 2009). At Manzese in particular the pace of increase in informal settlement was fueled by the 1968 Master plan which located Ubungo Industrial area in the Western part of Manzese and the construction of Morogoro Road at the same year. The two became attracting features for individuals to choose to reside at Manzese rather than other informal settlements. As a result the population of Manzese shot from 5000 people in 1967 to 60,000 in 1998 making the settlement by then the largest informal settlement in the country (Mlonda, 2009). Such a population growth paralleled mushrooming of houses in good land and later spreading out to hazardous land including valleys and sloping terrains noting that the landform of Manzese is irregular and undulating with several rivers and shallow lake valleys (Kironde, 1994).

#### 4.3.2 Rapid growth and expansion

One of the drastic growth periods of the area was from 1967 to 1980, with percentage of housing increasing from 45 percent to 95 percent, and where the coverage of houses per hectare grew from 22 in 1967 to 32.5 in 1980 (Kironde, 1994; Sliuzas, 1988). During this period Manzese grew by infilling rather than lateral extension. The settlement grew and occupied most of the open spaces in marginal and hazardous land, including lowlands that were not suitable for habitation due to being prone to flooding. The rate of increase

of the built area in bad land was 5 percent, compared to growth in good land, which was 2 percent (*ibid.*). Densification of houses, which surpassed open spaces, limited access, and the emergence of the social behaviour of violence in the 1960s and early 1970s prompted government efforts to upgrade the area. According to Kironde (1994) ‘Manzese underwent lawlessness in the late 1960s and early 1970s and was given a name of “Soweto” to reflect the image of the South African Black township where violence was rife’.

Manzese has been an attractive settlement for many people in Dar es Salaam and from other parts of the country, due to its geographical position and surrounding context. It has been described in the emergence of Manzese that the establishment of the Ubungo Textile Industry and Morogoro road were features that attract people to establish their residences and businesses in the settlement. During that time the settlement grew rapidly, making it larger than any other in the country. Moreover, the extent of growth increased because of its geographical location, being near to the central business districts. The majority of low-income people who worked in the city centre, who could not afford to rent houses in planned settlements, preferred to stay in Manzese. That led house owners to create additions on their plots of land in order to rent rooms (Nguluma, 2003; Sheuya, 2004). This situation in its totality increased, and turned the unbuilt landscape of Manzese into densely saturated informal settlement with scarce urban open spaces. Moreover, the rapid growth of Manzese was merely horizontal sprawl dominated by single-storey buildings. Buildings were constructed with mud-and-pole walls with thatched or corrugated iron roofs and a six-room Swahili house layout (Ramadhani, 2007). With time, the houses were modified to employ more durable construction materials in parallel with other newly constructed houses being built with more permanent materials such as sand blocks, or burnt bricks and roofed with iron sheets or tiles, while maintaining the layout of the Swahili type (*ibid.*).

#### 4.3.3 Increase in densification and intensification

In the 2000s, the spatial growth and development of Manzese began to take another form, with the mushrooming of multi-storey buildings along major streets. This growth occurred at the individual level, being practised by people with high incomes particularly businessmen. This was caused by the demands of land from investors who found that Manzese was a better place due to its nearness to the city centre compared to other informal settlements,

as well as the affordability of land. The majority of investors are businessmen working at Kariakoo,<sup>14</sup> who purchase existing single-storey houses, then pull them down to produce plots on which they construct multi-storey commercial buildings. The process necessitates purchasing at least four adjacent houses in order to create a plot of adequate size for multipurpose commercial buildings. Even though the settlement of Manzese is informal, development must abide by standards stipulated by the municipality. The guidelines for the development of a unit include plot ratio, plot coverage, setbacks and floor heights. Building developer required to follow procedures and to prepare drawings according to these conditions and apply for a building permit. This is another dimension where planning is revealed to intervene development of the informal settlements beyond the upgrading programmes (explained in section 4.4). It is important to know that just like there is no planning intervention for the development of urban open spaces in saturated informal settlements, similarly no individual developer may purchase land in Manzese with the aim of creating urban open space. The developers invest in buildings with the logic of land value increase and return on investment resulting from densification. Furthermore, based on my experience and observation during the research, and by some researchers who conducted the study in Manzese (such as Nayingo 2013) it appears that even though individual developers are urged to abide by development standards, there are some situations where actual construction on site pays little regard to some standards, especially adequate setbacks, as indicated in the drawings (Nayingo, 2013). This leads to spaces between buildings decreasing as a result (see Figure 13).

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<sup>14</sup> Kariakoo is, a ward which is part of the city centre of Dar es Salaam, prominent as a commercial business hub, with a variety of goods sold at retail and wholesale serving Tanzania and the surrounding countries (Ombeni & Deguchi, 2009).



Figure 13. Densification and compactness of building in Manzese 'A'.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, May 2018.

Notably, development of multi-storey buildings was predominant along major roads, where most of the buildings are commercial. High-rise buildings gradually change the skyline of the settlement, making major roads with pockets of tall buildings, while the inner streets continue to have a low-rise profile. Even though the development was mainly along the roads, buildings are more highly concentrated in the northwestern part of Manzese 'A', in the Mferejini and Mnazi Mmoja sub-wards. According to the sub-ward leader, the two aforementioned sub-wards were once one sub-ward, namely Mnazi Mmoja, but they decided to divide it into two in order to ease service delivery as Mferejini sub-ward was transforming rapidly with high-rise buildings. One of the sub-ward leaders said,

Formerly, Manzese A used to have three sub-wards (Mnazi mmoja, Mwembeni and Midizini) but because the northern part of Mnazi mmoja was developing fast, due to its strategic location which attracted investors, we decided to make it as its own sub-ward which is now named Mferejini. We did so in order to distribute services of our offices, which we found was overwhelmed by visitors who seek for services relating to sale and purchase of properties.

As the development of multi-storey houses began and increased land value along the roads, the perception of increase in land value to residents' was such that even those who lived in areas far from roads tended to create a mentality of valuing their houses synonymous with those located along roads. During fieldwork for this study, residents living in houses far from main roads communicated their wish to sell their houses by begging the

research team to help them to find investors who were interested in buying houses to convert to multi-storey buildings. This means that at some point the research team were perceived as *'madalali'* (brokers).

Another factor which accelerated densification and intensification in the settlement apart from land demand pressure from investors, is from the residents themselves. Manzese residents are known to be low-income, and to possess their land without title deeds, which leaves them with no hope for access to bank loans. Therefore their only option to relieve their poverty is to accumulate capital through selling their property, then establishing a new life in one of the peripheral settlements (Mlonda, 2009). It is also important to note that despite the speed of densification and intensification processes and practices that were taking place in the settlement, this does not mean the settlement was entirely transformed (as shown in figure 14). This was because still a large part of the settlement remained unchanged, except the change of building materials as a way of renovating the buildings.



Figure 14. Skyline of Manzese ‘A’ portraying high-rise buildings at Mferejini sub-ward and low-rise buildings predominant in the rest of the sub-wards.

Source: Fieldwork observation, July 2016.

#### 4.4 Government intervention to upgrade and improve Manzese

As the settlement of Manzese continued to grow rapidly and spontaneously, it was not left isolated by the government. Together with other informal settlements in Dar es Salaam, Manzese has benefited from several interventions by the government aiming to improve informal settlements. The most prominent include *squatter clearance*, *site and service upgrading*, *community infrastructure upgrading* and *regularisation*. These programmes were implemented during different periods of time to eliminate the spatial and environmental challenges of the informal settlements.

Manzese is one of the informal settlements in Tanzania which benefited from squatter upgrading and a site and service programme which was initiated by the government of Tanzania in the 1970s to recognise informal settlements as part of the urban fabric (URT-NHSDP, 2000). Prior to that slum clearance in Dar es Salaam was the main approach in the 1960s, which involved clearing slum sites and erecting buildings with high construction standards. However, the slum clearance approach was not realised successfully, in the view that it was creating as many problems as it was solving (UNHabitat, 2003). Many residents were evicted from cleared sites without being resettled. Consequently, displaced residents who had no alternative for habitation, squatted in undeveloped areas at the city's fringe, and new informal settlements were established (Magembe-Mushi, 2011). Following such an outcome, the approach was halted, and the government changed its approach in 1970s and 1980s from slum clearance to squatter upgrading and service provision as a national strategy to manage the growth of informal settlements (*ibid.*). As a way to recognise squatter settlements, the program intended to legalise land holding by titling, providing a minimum level of social and economic infrastructure and services in informal settlements (URT-NHSDP, 2000). In 1974, upgrading began to target improving the physical infrastructure, including provision of roads, drainage facilities and electricity as well as other types of social services like education, healthcare and markets, all of which had been absent in the area.

The only available service was water taps, and the majority of inhabitants used onsite pit latrines for excreta disposal. Despite the implementation of the programme, further subdivision of land continued, which overexerted the installed services; before long, even the access roads built during programme implementation could not be identified.

### *Community Infrastructure Upgrading Programme (CIUP)*

Manzese also benefited from a Community-driven Infrastructure Upgrading Programme, which was funded by the World Bank and targeted informal settlements in Dar es Salaam (UN-Habitat, 2010). The programme was introduced as a programme in 1993 and implemented as a project in phases from 2004 to 2010, for the purpose of improving the productivity and well-being of urbanites and strengthening municipal systems for upgrading and maintaining infrastructure and services. The main focus of the project was to improve infrastructure services like roads, and footpaths, storm water drainage, sanitation, solid waste management, water supply and street lights (ibid). The program's first phase was implemented in 2005 -2008, during which sixteen settlements were upgraded, Manzese being among them (Magembe-Mushi, 2011). Construction of infrastructure, including access roads, drainage structures and public toilets, was also carried out (Magembe-Mushi, 2011; Mazwile, 2013). As both programmes prioritised minimal intervention on basic infrastructure, the situation of urban open spaces that could cater to outdoor and recreational activities remained a challenge amidst densely developed informal settlements.

## **4.5 Situation of unbuilt spaces and public outdoor activities in the study area**

So far the previous sections have described how Manzese has been growing by passing through several stages, including lateral expansion and vertical expansion. All these stages signify continuous densification dominated by built up spaces that surpass unbuilt spaces, as shown in Figure 15. This section describes the situation of unbuilt spaces in the settlement that remained as voids for one reason or another, and their significance for public activities.

### **4.5.1 Unbuilt spaces at Manzese**

While Manzese is mostly occupied by buildings rather than urban open spaces, the only urban open spaces where outdoor public activities take place are unbuilt spaces or voids, mainly roads, streets, narrow streets and a few available green pockets. There are three major roads, including Morogoro Road, that bisect the settlements, with Midizini Road to the east and Mabibo Road to the west marking the boundaries of Manzese 'A', the study area; these spaces are thus referred to as outer-skirt unbuilt spaces.

The streets within the settlement, such as Tip-Top Road and other streets created during the upgrading programme to allow at least the passage of one car, make other important unbuilt spaces in the settlement, referred to as inner-street unbuilt spaces. Previously, many streets in Manzese were narrow and not networked, most being dead ends. However, through government interventions, particularly squatter upgrading and the community infrastructure upgrading programme, at least some of the streets were widened and networked to make the settlement permeable. Within the inner part of the settlement there were many narrow streets compared to the preceding two unbuilt spaces. These were spaces between buildings which evolved as a result of the compactness of buildings. Narrow streets differ in size and they can be visualised in two forms. The first type of narrow streets is *large narrow streets* which allow passage of at most one motorcycle. These are basically setbacks to buildings which are straight or meandering in shape. They serve as major access routes to houses which are not accessible by cars. The second type of narrow streets are *tiny narrow streets* or 'vichocho' in Swahili, which are small in size and allow passage of only one person mostly found between densely developed areas with tiny setbacks to buildings. These are popularly used as shortcuts.

There are few green pockets, which make another type of unbuilt space in Manzese. They include open spaces in private premises like school football grounds, as well as open spaces belonging to religious campuses including churches and mosques. There are two school football grounds situated in the northern part of Manzese within the fenced-in Muungano Primary School. The fence is made up of a tall masonry wall to limit public access.

Additionally, in the vicinity of Muungano Primary School there was a Catholic Church compound with fenced-in grounds to disallow physical and visual access to the compound meaning that they were not for public use. In the southern part of Manzese (Manzese 'A', the case study area), there were four tiny green patches of land, as well as a green corridor in the very south of the settlement that stretches from east to west across the settlement, as shown in Figure 15. The four green patches remained unbuilt spaces, not for their significance as urban open spaces for outdoor activities like parks, but set aside as burial spaces. They have been in place from when the settlement was a small village. Currently they are conserved as a cemetery.

The smaller cemetery located at Midizini sub-ward was for children, while the other three were for adults. However, all the four cemeteries have

no more space to accommodate further burials. Despite the densification of the settlement, no social activity was carried out in the publicly accessible cemeteries. In addition to the cemeteries there was a strip of green land that was used as an electricity corridor. The corridor was stringently left unbuilt because of high tension electricity supply. However, informally the corridor served as an urban open space, as described in the next chapter.

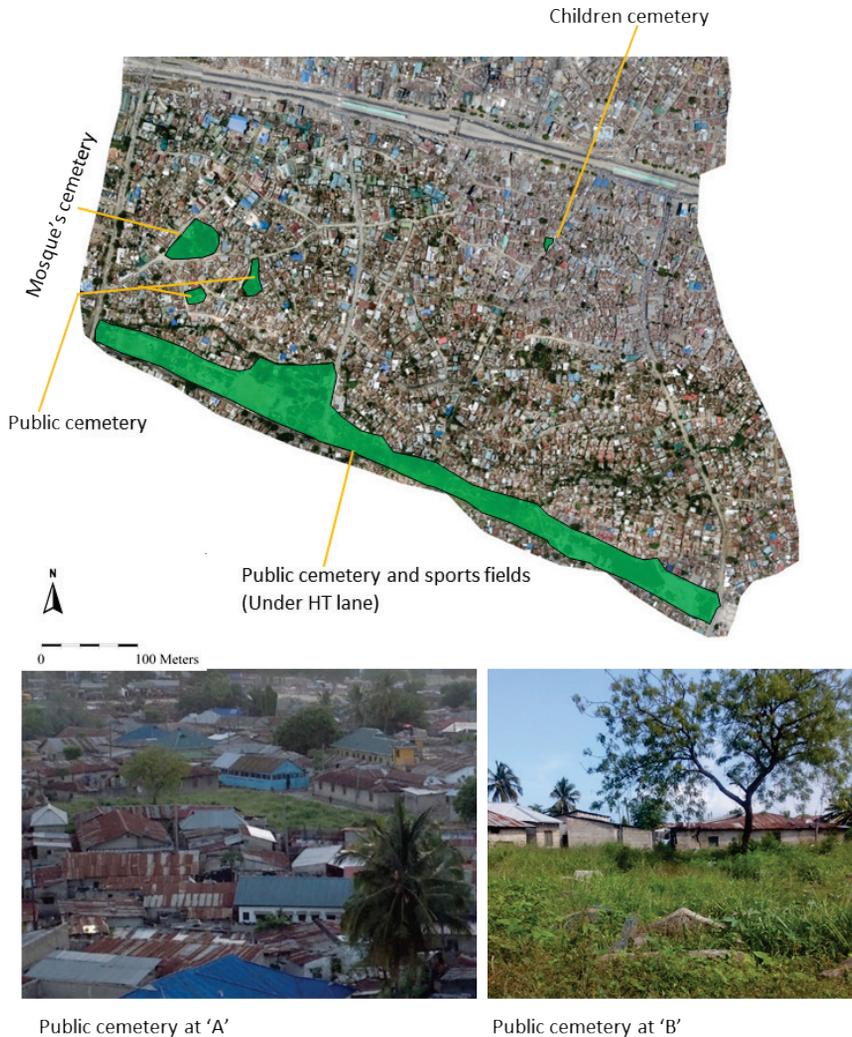


Figure 15. Cemetery and corridor under high-voltage cable as urban open spaces in Manzese 'A'. Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, July 2016.

#### 4.5.2 Outdoor public activities in unbuilt spaces in Manzese

Except for the green pockets and private urban open spaces explained above, the rest of the unbuilt spaces were seriously lacking spaces for outdoor public activities. Moving from the inner streets to the edge of the settlement, these voids were constantly congested with to-and-fro movements, as well as stationary social and commercial activities, which made the streets extremely vibrant. Commercial-related activities were much more dominant in every street around the settlement. However, streets along three major roads at the periphery of the settlement (Morogoro Road, Mabibo Road and Midizini Road) were the busiest. It is where movement (of vehicles, motorcyclists and pedestrians), and commercial activities all together keep the streets vibrant. All three roads accommodate *daladala* buses with numerous stops for loading and unloading passengers in and out of the settlement. Morogoro Road was much busier due to having more vehicles from upcountry regions apart from the *daladala* buses. Adjacent to the roads there were several commercial outlets where many people from within the settlement and other settlements come for shopping. Similarly, Mabibo Road and Midizini Road bear the same character but at a small scale. Mabibo Road provides access to Mabibo market at Urafiki-Mabibo, which is the biggest open food market in Dar es Salaam. This is the place where all the required agricultural produce from all over the country is found, it is a retail and wholesale market. However, the conduct of businesses in this area is to a great extent informal. There was another market along Midizini Road which was more or less similar to Mabibo market. As Mabibo market was famous for selling fresh goods from upcountry, it stirs up social and economic activities in Manzese. It was a commercial hub networking different businesses, people and agricultural produce. It is where youth sell labour. Mabibo Road is also used as a route for *daladala* buses linking several parts of the city of Dar es Salaam.

On the other hand, along Midizini Road, there was a vibrant small market named Soko Mjinga. The market is located at the junction between Morogoro Road and Midizini Road. It was a node which made the entire surroundings area commercially busy. Also, Midizini Road was increasingly busy because it was a gate to Mburahati settlement. As said earlier, Midizini is among the three sub-wards (except Mferejini) where transformation and intensification was less; nevertheless, it is the busiest sub-ward, particularly the zone around Midizini road. In general, the three explained roads -

Morogoro, Mabibo and Midizini, as well as part of Tip-Top -constitute unbuilt spaces which are highly congested by movements and commercial activities, and thus presage the sense of a commercial zone as shown in Figure 16.



Figure 16. Unbuilt spaces, commercial-residential zones and common uses in Manzese 'A'. Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, July 2017.

While the busiest roads at the fringe of the settlement, were dominated by congestion from traffic and commercial activities, the inner unbuilt spaces were also congested, only with few traffic rather than vehicular traffic, as their streets were not meant for commuter buses and lorries. The inner unbuilt spaces included those which were upgraded through the community

infrastructure programme, as explained in the previous section, to facilitate permeability as well as easy management of the settlements including management of solid wastes. As the streets had little vehicular movement, they contained a large number of commercial activities, including small-scale commercial outlets encompassing barbershops, bars, salons, green groceries, shoe shiners, sports betting and mobile phone-based money transfer kiosks.<sup>15</sup> Tip-top Road epitomised streets with less vehicular movement and simmering small scale commercial activities. Even though the streets (inner unbuilt spaces) were kept busy with commercial activities and pedestrian movements, it was found that the chances for recreational activities were likely to occur. This is because there was the least likelihood of vehicular movement. Similarly, the narrow streets that also constitute unbuilt spaces in Manzese were also occupied with recreational activities. These recreational activities were either permanent or temporary (Chapter 6 brings insights on how recreational activities are spatialised in the streets).

## 4.6 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed the context of the study in terms of geographical location, population, weather conditions and the diversity of people living in Manzese. The chapter has also described the emergence, growth and development of the settlement from when it was a small village, up to the recent state of transformation. During the whole period of growth, the output was the increase in built-up areas and decrease in unbuilt space. It is evident and apparent that unguided incrementalism ate up public open spaces, and the same squeezed public activities in the private domains, utility lanes and marginalised spaces. The figure-ground of the settlements portrays that there were few unbuilt spaces, which were basically public domains. This gives a clear picture on how the settlement was saturated and the probability of deficiency of physically demarcated spaces that could serve for recreation. The chapter has also described the occupational characteristics of the unbuilt spaces that were highly congested by multifaceted activities, including vehicle and pedestrian movements, as well as outdoor public activities. The concentration of the congestion decreases from the outskirts to the inner streets. If recreational activities were encouraged in physically defined

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<sup>15</sup> Since the innovation of mobile phone-based money transfer services in East Africa, kiosks offering the service are omnipresent throughout several streets of Dar es Salaam.

spaces such as parks, which were non-existent in the saturated Manzese informal settlement, the question of recreation in saturated informal settlements remains puzzling. Perhaps the unbuilt spaces were also used as spaces for recreation apart from commercial activities and movement. However, a question remains as to how recreation is possible in such highly congested unbuilt spaces. Based on empirical investigation carried out in the settlements, the following chapter attempts to unveil the conundrum of recreation in the study context.

## 5. Possibilities and possible spaces for recreation in Manzese

### 5.1 Introduction

Following the conundrum of recreation in saturated informal settlements which spatially are characterised by densification of buildings and a paucity of urban open spaces (as described in Chapter 1), the empirical analysis in Manzese reveals possibilities for participating recreation within the spatially complex urban form. The analysis has shown possible spaces, processes and practices, as well as actors involved in the aspect of recreation, and thus manifesting recreational convenience in saturated informal settlements. This chapter starts the process of unveiling the phenomenon of recreation in saturated informal settlements by presenting empirical findings on possibilities and possible spaces for recreation in Manzese.

### 5.2 Possibilities for recreation in Manzese

Characterised by a large part of its landscape being built up space, the urban form of Manzese brings an imagination that residents living in such a settlement are running short of spaces for recreational performance and perhaps are not recreating at all. However, empirical findings reveal that recreational activities are performed by a relatively a large number of people. It was noted that 75 percent of the respondents ( $n=227$ ), declared that they set aside time to engage in recreational activities, as shown in Figure 17.

## Time set aside for recreation of the respondent

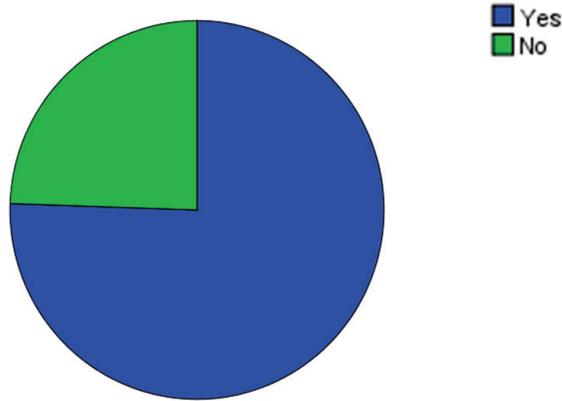


Figure 17. Percentage of respondents having time for recreation.  
Source: Household interviews, November 2017.

Furthermore 50 percent of the respondents ( $n=227$ ) declared that they considered setting aside time for recreation as a necessity, for purposes of social interaction and active living as shown in Figure 18.

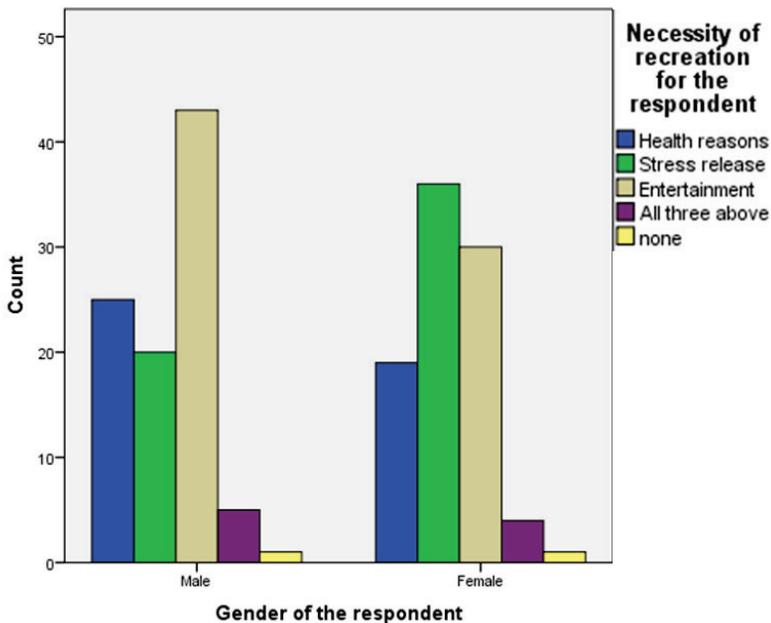


Figure 18. Response on the necessity of engaging in recreational activities.  
Source: Household interviews, November 2017.

Additionally, it was explained by respondents that engagement in social interaction has added advantages beyond enjoyment, as it encompasses learning as explained by Deo (Pseudonym for respondent Respondent 7):

There are types of recreational activities which cannot be undertaken by an individual person, for example draught games which involve two or more persons. It becomes enjoyable when players are surrounded by spectators. I learned draught games through mixing with others where draught is played.

In line with the above, it was found that in Manzese people mix with others in spaces situated in homes as well as in public domains, as indicated in Figure 19.

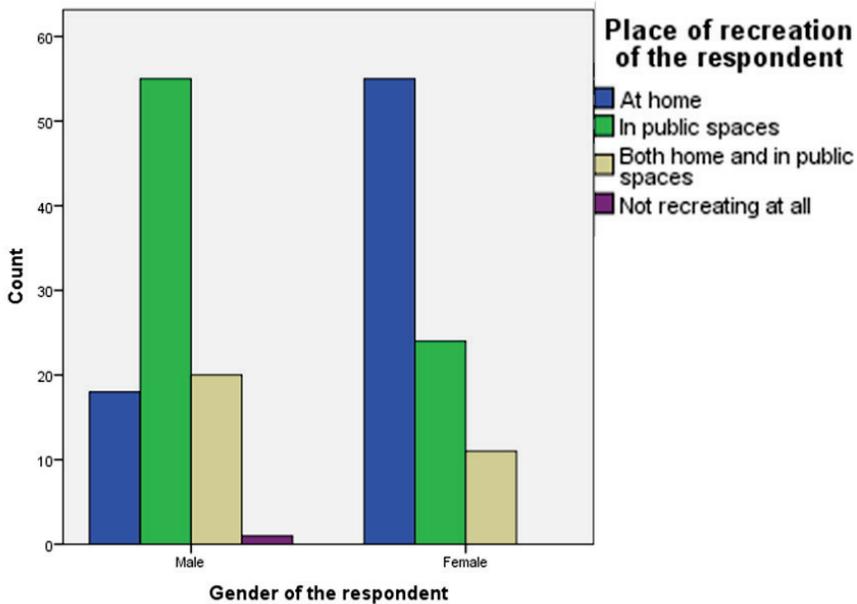


Figure 19. Response on place of recreation.  
Source: Household interviews, November 2017.

The necessity of engaging in recreational activities with others was further concretised by the previous respondent Deo, who said,

As a human being you cannot have fun alone, you need to go out and meet people and talk to them or just be in a crowd to feel different from staying at home. By going out you become amazed by seeing others enjoying themselves. The good thing about living in an informal settlement (uswahilini) is that there are countless and endless kinds of activities from people who are trying to be creative and thus make the settlement continuously vibrant with humorous things as frequently noted in public spaces and streets.

While the above caption is trying to justify the necessity of public premises for recreation, it was found that large groups of male respondents affirmed regular visits to recreational spaces located in public premises which were far from their home. A large number of female respondents reported undertaking recreation in spaces adjacent to their homes (Figure 20). Mariam (Pseudonym for respondent 8) put it this way:

We prefer undertaking recreation within or near our homes because going out tempts us to spend the little money we have to buy a drink. Also while on the way we are attracted by displayed commodities such as nice clothes in shops and we do not hesitate to buy or take out a loan to buy. In order not to expose ourselves to such a tempting environment, we decide to refrain from going out and just linger around our home areas.

She also affirmed that recreational activities for women do not require special spaces and facilities:

Women residents prefer to undertake recreation within their home premises because their kinds of relaxations do not necessarily require a special environment. Storytelling for instance, or hair dressing and henna tattooing are daily relaxation modes that do not require moving to public spaces. Engagement in these activities also helps us to get a little money to run our families. For example, see the many women on verandas talking while hair-dressing their customers while others are queuing for the same services. Occasionally, women move to public spaces for outings, something which can happen once a week or even once a month, depending on individual preference.

This narration substantiates the fact that residences and recreation can be tethered together. It also underlines the dominance of publicness on private

premises, in the sense that residential premises are homes for family but also the gathering areas of neighbours. Moreover, this highlights the probable interweaving of recreation and income generation. Such understanding resonates with the fact that recreation is a potential financial opportunity which can be supported by intuitive and creative livelihood practices.

### *Recreation in public premises*

While many women declared that they engage in sedentary recreational activities situated on their home premises, this does not mean they do not go out to public areas. It was noted that there was a quite considerable number of women who prefer to recreate in public spaces. It was noted that when females decide to recreate outside the home premises they prefer to go for 'outings', 'storytelling' as well as the 'ceremonial dances' (Figure 21). The 'ceremonial dances' were found to be unique as they were performed in the form of pop-up events, in temporary spaces that cannot be easily predetermined. The ceremonial dances are typically performances of women, however men are also engaged in some instances. The depth of the ceremonial dances and the space they occupy signify the production of spaces which is explicated in Chapter 6.

Recreational activities carried out on public premises include physical fitness, playing board games, betting, watching television, storytelling, drinking, outings and ceremonial dances which are performed mostly by women as shown in Figure 20.

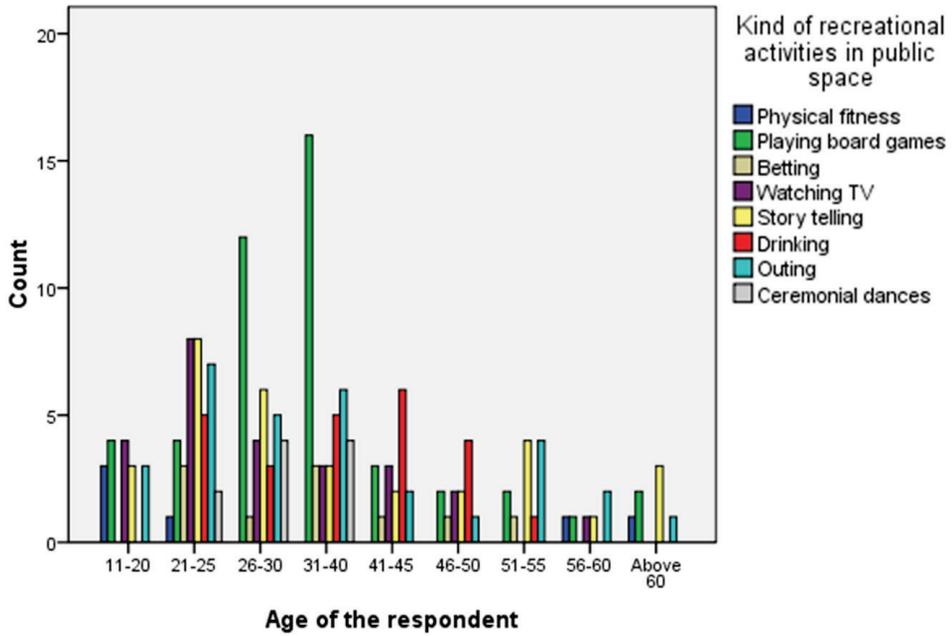
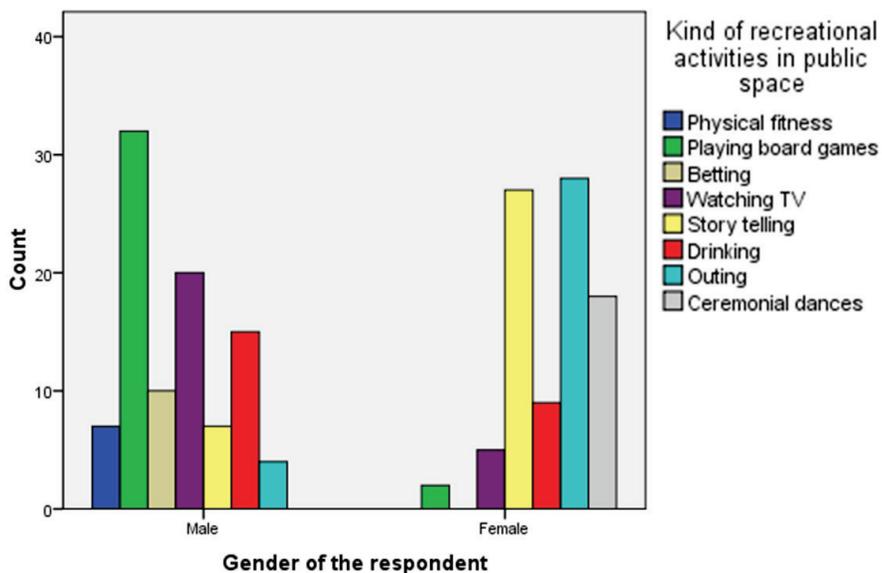


Figure 20. Response on the recreational activities carried out in public premises based on gender and age.  
 Source: Household interviews, November 2017.

It was also found that the performance of recreation in public premises goes along with income-generation activities. It was either players or providers of the activities from within or outside the settlement who benefitted from the income generated. For example, playing board games was associated with coffee drinking, which was supplied by hawkers based around the settlement.

This section has presented the recreational profile and activities in Manzese informal settlement. It has also presented the way recreation is related to livelihoods and the realities of life. A high percentage of residents who engage in recreational activities, recognise that public recreation can be carried out in saturated informal settlements. The complexity of the spatial form of saturated informal settlements does not restrain the habit of recreation. Eventually, the responses indicate the presence of spaces in which recreational activities were performed. Moreover, the flexibility of using residential spaces for varied activities accentuates the need to produce flexible residential spaces. Furthermore, gender-based preferences of recreational spaces from both men and women divulge the issue of gender differentiation in spaces.

### 5.3 Possible spaces for recreation in Manzese

This section presents various spaces used for recreation in Manzese by people in quotidian life, based on analysis of the phenomenon of recreation. It elucidates the informally generated spaces for recreation which are categorised into three groups; namely, public infrastructure, outdoor spaces in residential premises and indoor transformed spaces.

#### 5.3.1 Informally generated spaces for recreation

Manzese has diverse recreational activities which make the settlement vibrant in the absence of formally planned and designed spaces such as parks, squares, plazas, streets and public gardens. Recreational activities in Manzese are infiltrated in ordinary spaces. Based on interviews from key informants, including ward and sub-ward leaders, as well as residents who were asked to identify urban open spaces, it was revealed that Manzese settlement has no conventionally preconceived spaces for public recreation. The reason was due to the nature of the informal settlement itself, which was characterised by high development density.

Residents perform recreation on roadsides, in streets, in spaces attached to residential premises, and in any available outdoor space regardless of the designated function. This reply raised another question to the respondents on the possibility of recreating in the cemetery because it is also an outdoor space. The answer was that it was not possible to find people recreating or spending time in a cemetery unless the person was mad.

Another reason for the absence of the planned urban open spaces for recreation was related to place attachment to the settlement. It was noted that some residents, especially those who were born in Manzese, were hesitant to shift and establish new habitations away from the settlements, in order to make way for the creation of urban open space, because they felt as if they were losing their socio-cultural sense of home, which had been rooted in Manzese since long ago. 'It is difficult to ask such kinds of residents to vacate their homes with compensation when their plots are needed for development of public amenities', said one of the sub-ward leaders, to represent residents living in the inner part of the settlement where there is less marketable land than in the outskirts. This kind of explanation tells how people, despite any spatial challenges they might have, still recognise the essence of a particular place as a home.

Furthermore, when ward and sub-ward leaders were asked more on the essence of urban open spaces in the settlements, they replied that they were knowledgeable and recognised the necessity of urban open spaces for recreational purposes; however, they had no capacity to ensure they can introduce the spaces in the settlement. This was mainly due to, first, the financial incapability of the local government, which was extremely low to be able to establish urban open spaces in a densified environment, and second was the sense of place attachment of some of the residents living in Manzese (as explained in the previous paragraph). The issue of financial incapability was narrated by one of the ward leaders (Respondent 3), who explained,

Since the settlement is already densified, to introduce an urban open space for public recreation is very challenging and complicated. It requires demolishing some of the houses, ten or more, to get a space. In order to do that, planning for reallocation and compensation is needed. All those require solicitation of funds from the local government. On the other hand, to demolish one's house means to reallocate him out of this settlement and resettle him or her in a less saturated settlement in the outskirts of the city. One or two can agree but others might refuse, as they recognise

the potential of living near the city centre. Again, another point of view is associated with the developers who purchase land at exorbitant prices and develop highrise buildings. Residents believe that if they sell their properties to land developers they will get more money than if the local government pays to compensate for the existing building and land. These complexities shrink the possibilities of availing conventional public open space for recreation in Manzese.

Additionally, the research team wanted to know from local leaders whether there were riots, protests or public gatherings demanding that the local government produce urban open spaces in the area. On this matter the leaders responded that people in the settlements often raised public demonstrations with other demands, but that no single protest has been raised to demand for provision of public spaces. The key informants declared the pedestrian overpass bridge, the high-voltage corridor, roads, streets, courtyards and veranda, as well as the undeveloped plots within the residential neighborhood as the key recreational places. (90 percent of male youth asserted that they normally go out to watch live football broadcasts in sports bars, betting centres and ‘TV show huts’).

Generally, the ordinary spaces used for recreation differ in many ways, including the locations, sizes and quality of their enclosures. Such spaces, however, can be categorised into three groups; namely, public infrastructure, residential premises and indoor transformed spaces, as shown in Table 4. The table also indicates recreational activities and the degree of occurrence of each activity in relation to ordinary space within the aforementioned categories. Such a relation unveils the possibilities of recreation and possible spaces in the saturated informal settlement.

Table 4: Ordinary spaces for recreation and their respective recreational activities in Manzese.

		Playing board games	Coffee Drinking	Outing	Drinking	Story telling	Hair dressing	Henna tattooing	Ceremonial dances	Watching football	Betting	Jogging	Warm-ups	Weight lift	Marital arts	Playing football	Boxing training	
		Sedentary recreation										Active recreation						
Public infrastructure <i>-Large Outdoor -Public domain</i>	Pedestrian overpass bridge	●	●	●		●							●					●
	Corridor under high voltage cables		●	●								●	●					
	Streets									●							●	
Outdoor spaces in Residential premises <i>-Medium and small -Outdoor &amp; semi outdoor -Public domain</i>	Undeveloped residential plots																	
	Building setbacks (Space between buildings)	●	●	●		●	●	●	●								●	
	Veranda	●	●	●			●	●	●									
Indoor transformed spaces <i>-Small -Indoor -Privately owned public spaces</i>	Courtyards		●										●	●	●			●
	TV show huts		●				●	●	●	●			●	●	●			●
	Sports bars									●								
	Local bars					●				●								
	Modern bars		●		●													
	Betting centres										●	●						

Normal rate of occurrence ●  
 Seldom rate of occurrence ●

Source: Household interviews, November 2017.

### 5.3.2 Public infrastructure as recreational spaces

Public infrastructure used for recreational activities in Manzese includes roads, streets, corridor under high-voltage cables. These were public domains which were freely and easily accessible by Manzese residents, as well as others who come from away from the settlement for recreational activities.

The major roads that bound the settlement at its periphery, together with outer streets, were most of the time busy with commercial activities. However, recreational activities were rarely observed. A surge of temporary recreational activities was found on the inner streets. People of different age groups and genders, from teenagers (*aged below 20*), youths (*aged 21-35*) and elders (*aged 36 and above*) used the inner streets for various sedentary and active recreational performances. Teenagers occupied spaces on the inner streets for long periods, while youths and elders engaged in short-term performances.

The corridor under high-voltage lane and the pedestrian overpass bridge were heavily used as an alternative to urban parks, because of being large in size. Many people of different gender groups would hang out in the utility lane and on the pedestrian overpass bridge because they were within proximity and supported the attainment of health, happiness and well-being.

Moreover, public infrastructure had no enclosures, neither laterally nor vertically, a situation which characterises them as outdoor spaces. In these linear open spaces, wind speed was enhanced. The breeze was appreciated, and attracted people to these spaces.

### 5.3.3 Outdoor spaces between residential buildings as recreational spaces

Undeveloped residential plots (empty plots, plots with unfinished or dilapidated buildings), building setbacks and building verandas formed a group of outdoor spaces in residential premises used for recreational activities. One of the attributes which distinguish them from public infrastructure was their size, in that they are relatively small.

*Undeveloped residential plots* were relatively few in the settlement, as the settlement was densified by buildings. Few ruins and unfinished buildings were found in the southeastern part of Midizini, Mnazi Mmoja and Mwembeni, while none of them was observed in Mferejini sub-ward, which was the most developed, as well-off investors purchase the land of native dwellers and substitute low-rise buildings by the high-rise. The undeveloped residential plots were dominantly used by children and teenagers to play, although occasionally they were also used by youth. In these spaces, children, teenagers and youth participate in active recreation such as football and handball. Building setbacks and verandas were the smallest outdoor spaces between residential buildings in which, because of their sizes (ranging between one and one-and-a-half meter), they heavily occupy sedentary recreational activities mostly played by youths and elders. *Building setbacks* were commonly located as midpoints of passages or routes, which makes them easily accessible except for a few which were situated at dead ends or cul-de-sacs. They were either surrounded by buildings' front or back yards, depending on the morphology of the streets to which they belong. Those which were surrounded by buildings' front yards were sometimes connected together with verandas (for houses which have verandas) for recreational usage.

*Building verandas* were the smallest in size compared to any ordinary space used for recreation in Manzese. They were basically outstretches of residential houses, outdoor spaces sheltered by a roof to provide shade, and others enclosed with a half wall by height. The vertical coverings mostly created by rudimentary materials were essential to facilitate players, even during the rainy seasons, for the protection of both players and their playing

materials. Although the verandas were the smallest among all the ordinary spaces used for recreation in Manzese, some of them were the most popular designations for sedentary recreation such as board games.

Generally, outdoor spaces within residential premises were irregular in location, shape, size and use, and are thus amorphous due to the spontaneity of the land transformation. Most of the roads and streets are crescent-shaped, with varying widths, lengths and open or dead ends. Wandering in Manzese, one frequently encountered various sedentary recreational activities taking place on residential premises. Furthermore, access to these was free, meaning that they were public spaces too just like the public infrastructure. However, many of the residential spaces were owned by people living in the houses surrounding them. This leads to the point that even though access was regarded as free, the experience was somewhat different to the spaces situated far from busy streets where visitors were hesitantly accepted. Only until briefly introduced about themselves to where do they come from, then they were fully accepted to be part of the participants in the sedentary recreation. In some situation they were completely disallowed. This situation is quite common for 'spots for sedentary recreations', where participants were just regular people who knew each other, and when a stranger came it was easier to be identified. It was reported that strangers were regularly asked to identify themselves for better or worse.

It was also noted that fewer females preferred to linger in these spaces due to a lower degree of publicness compared to the public spots in the public infrastructure, and thus opt for remaining in at-home courtyards. However, *undeveloped residential plots* were occasionally used by females on demand, and were regularly used by children and teenagers for active recreations, football games being the most dominant. In case the play time of different groups overlapped, negotiations would be carried out, as explained in Chapter 6.

Besides the restrictions on the use of private premises for recreation by unknown participants, there were loose restrictions on temporary recreational activities whereby evening hours were reserved for recreational purposes, and thus leaving morning and afternoon hours for non-recreational activities, including vending and home-related outdoor activities.

#### 5.3.4 Indoor transformed spaces as recreational spaces

Indoor transformed spaces epitomised another group of ordinary spaces used for recreation in Manzese, including buildings or parts of buildings which were primarily designated for residential or commercial use, but were eventually changed and furnished to serve for urban recreation.

Unlike *public infrastructure* and *outdoor spaces on residential premises*, which are basically outdoor and freely accessed, the *indoor transformed spaces* are semi-indoor or indoor spaces, publicly accessed but characterised by enclosures to control access. Since they were established by individuals, access to such places are highly controlled by owners. The reason behind such high control was because the spaces were primarily created for two intertwined purposes, one being facilitation of recreation to users and the other being income generation for owners.

*Indoor transformed space* includes spaces such as local gyms, ‘TV show huts’, local bars, betting centres, sports bars and ordinary bars scattered all over the settlement. The aforementioned spaces were primarily located in two zones, the residential and the commercial zone,<sup>16</sup> as shown in Figure 21. The location and distribution of *indoor transformed space* is influenced by two primary factors, which are, firstly differences in socio-economic stratification, and secondly, proximity to centres of economic activity. These factors delimit investor’s site preferences.

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<sup>16</sup>As expounded in the context chapter, a large part of Manzese constitutes a residential area, less transformed into high-rise buildings situated in the inner area of the settlement. A small portion of the settlement is also a commercial area along major roads that includes the transformed sub-ward of Mferejini in the northwest.

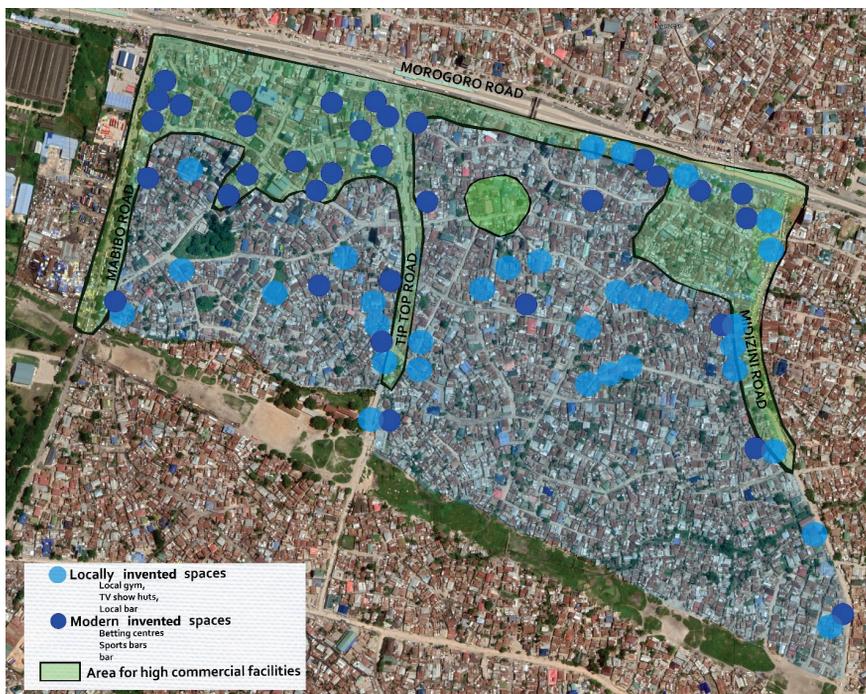


Figure 21. Locations of indoor transformed spaces in respective residential and commercial zones.

Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, November 2017.

### *Influence of socio economic stratification on the location and distribution of indoor transformed space for recreation*

Manzese settlement was occupied by residents of different socio-economic stratifications, with the majority being low income earners, while few are middle-and high-income earners as spatially depicted by the zones in the settlement. The commercial zone along the major roads and Mferejini sub-wards were relatively zones of people with middle and high income, while the inner part of the settlement is the zone for low-income people. Such a socio-economic difference has an implications on the establishment of *indoor transformed space* for recreation. Low income earners tend to establish spaces for recreation on residential premises, and do minimal alterations to buildings because of their lower financial capability. On the other hand, well-off people buy houses and intensively convert them into places for recreation in the commercial zones, as they can afford to buy land and property. For example, the locally invented “TV show huts” and

modern ‘sports bars’ both facilitate live watching of football broadcasts. However, the local *indoor transformed* show huts were packed with low-income residents while the modern bars in the commercial zone are full of high-income residents (see Figure 22).

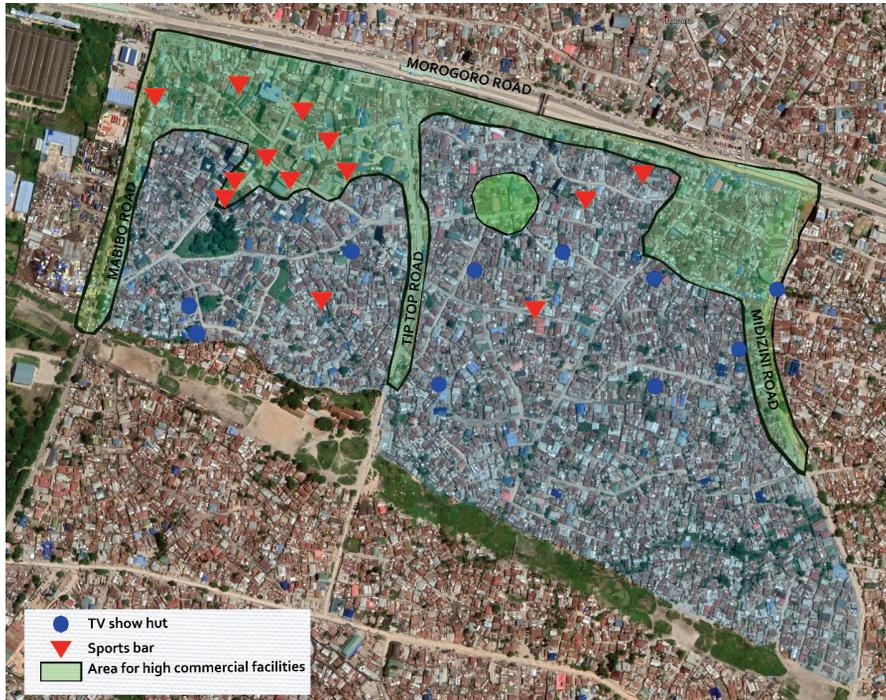


Figure 22. Locations of locally transformed indoor spaces and modern transformed indoor space in their respective residential and commercial zones.  
Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, November 2017

In corroborating the location preferences of ‘TV show huts’ in Manzese Respondent 9, who owned and operated a ‘TV show hut’ for about ten years, said:

I have been operating this business for quite a long time at this place and that is why it is a well-known place for football fans. They come here to enjoy watching football. In the beginning I thought of opening a ‘‘TV show hut’’ in the commercial area along Morogoro Road but I was unable to do so because of high rental costs, and for that matter I was forced to come to the inner streets which are not as vibrant

as the commercial zone. Later I realised that if I could open the hut in the commercial zone, there could be strong competition for customers between ‘‘TV show huts’’ and ‘sports bars’. Finally I did not regret locating my hut here in the residential zone, as there are several people who need to enjoy watching live football but cannot afford to hang out in sports bars.

According to this narrative, it is evident that a person’s financial capacity is a factor in decisions about any type of recreation. This calls for a diversity of recreation facilities in order to ensure access to all income and social groups.

*Indoor transformed space for recreation complemented by centres of economic activities*

The location and distribution of indoor transformed space for recreation were determined by the financial capacity aspect as previously described. Furthermore it was found that other indoor transformed spaces were established adjacent to the centres of commercial activities as catchment areas of customers working in the centres. For example, it was found that local bars were kind of *indoor transformed spaces* which were located close to marketplaces, in order to attract people working at them. The presence of Mabibo market<sup>17</sup> influenced the establishment of two local bars. Moreover, there were three local bars adjacent to the farmers markets, or Soko Mjinga<sup>18</sup> (Figure 23 illustrates the location of the local bars and markets). The local bars were essential for provision of the bucolic taste of local beverages in urban areas, since many of the local drinks available in the bars originated from rural areas and were locally brewed. The available local bars were potential spaces for sedentary recreation in the settlements. Furthermore, it was explained that the local bars were not only serving people residing in the settlement but also outsiders from upcountry bringing farm produce and goods. Jack (pseudonym for respondent 10), who own one of the two local bars at Mferejini, had this to say:

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<sup>17</sup> Mabibo market is a famous market for fresh produce from upcountry, which many Dar es Salaam residents heavily depend on, including Manzese.

<sup>18</sup> Soko Mjinga market is a small markets that caters to various household commodities including food, in Midizini sub-ward and its surrounding sub-wards.

The majority of our customers here are residents working in the marketplace, as well as non-residents from upcountry who bring produce to the marketplace. Moreover, residents from different parts of Dar es Salaam come to the market to buy things in bulk at wholesale prices. Jitegemee local bar was established in 1980, and during that time it served as a local bar for a few residents living near the bar. Later it was demolished and became a vacant lot when the owner stopped the business. Children used the area as a playground. Later the site was rebuilt with rental huts surrounding the area, after the death of the owner. The huts were rented out as local bars. As the local bars were situated in the middle of the highly transformed Mferejini sub-ward, they are threatened by modern buildings in the vicinity.



Figure 23. Locations and distribution of local bars in Manzese ‘B’ influenced by the presence of markets.

Source: Fieldwork Mapping and observation, November 2017

The influence of markets on the locations of local bars found in Manzese is similar to findings obtained during the pilot study at a famous square, namely ‘Uwanja wa Fisi’, which literally means *Hyena Square*, and which is located in Tandale sub-ward. Hyena Square is famously known because of its

vibrancy, which is underpinned by a lot of entertaining facilities in the surrounding buildings. In a different scenario, there were local bars located around Tandale grain market.<sup>19</sup> The local bars were shifted to Hyena Square in the sixties, whereas the present square was just an open area near the market. The local bars were particularly for porters<sup>20</sup> in the market. The local bars at Hyena Square gradually became places not only for porters from Tandale market but also porters from other markets, and thus attracted other recreational facilities including barbeques, sports bars and lodges. In recent years the square has been used as a public space for various performances, including political, social and economic meetings. Essentially this square is used for business promotions.

#### 5.4 Concluding remarks

If saturated informal settlements are taken for granted due to their complexity and the irregularity of spaces, it is easy to draw the conclusion that they have no spaces for recreation and thus recreation is nonexistent. In contrary the results have revealed several possible spaces for recreation in Manzese. It can be concluded that public recreation through retrofitting of the available spaces is demand-driven rather than a mere provision. The available spaces -including public utility lanes, spaces between residential buildings (streets and paths), outdoor spaces within residential premises, as well as buildings' indoor transformed spaces are appropriated for recreation. Based on the parks and squares deficit in Manzese, residents manipulate 'primary real-life spaces' to accommodate 'secondary life realities', including recreation. This notion calls for rethinking the production of spaces in multi-layered perspective.

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<sup>19</sup> Tandale market is one of the famous markets in Dar es Salaam for trading cereals from upcountry regions. The market is located at Tandale sub-ward, near Manzese sub-ward.

<sup>20</sup> Porters in this case refers to individuals whose work is to off load and on load goods from vehicles in market places through their shoulders, goods which arrived from farms.

## 6. Retrofitting recreation to public infrastructures through spatial adaptation

### 6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 identified ‘public infrastructure’, ‘outdoor spaces within residential premises’ and ‘indoor transformed spaces’ as possible spaces for recreation in Manzese. This chapter analyses quotidian space-production practices for recreation. The case study reveals the adaptation of public infrastructure for recreation through activities and meaning-making.

### 6.2 The pedestrian overpass bridge as space for recreation

#### 6.2.1 Creation and intended function

The pedestrian overpass bridge commonly known as Manzese Darajani is one of the famous element of public infrastructure in Dar es Salaam. The bridge is located in the middle of Manzese settlement, an overpass to allow residents to cross the busy Morogoro Road. The bridge was constructed in 1991 by the Government of Tanzania, in collaboration with the Japanese International Cooperation Agency JICA in order to link the two busiest parts of Manzese settlement (Shariff, Ali, & Tamba, 2008; URT, 1991) This is public infrastructure that is owned and maintained by the TANROADS.<sup>21</sup> By 1999 the pedestrian overpass bridge at Manzese was the only overpass

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<sup>21</sup> TANROADS (Tanzania National Roads Agency) is a government agency under the Ministry of Works, Transportation and Communication. The agency deals with the construction and maintenance of all inter-district and inter-regional roads and bridges across the country.

bridge in Dar es Salaam, and thus became well known not only to Manzese but also to other parts of the city. The bridge is a pre-stressed concrete structure with a five-metre-wide platform at a height of five metres, supported by eight columns set side by side, and spanning forty-eight metres (Figure 24). It is accessed by a set of four stairs situated at each of its corners.



Figure 24: Location and view of the pedestrian overpass bridge in Manzese.  
Source: Fieldwork mapping and observation, November 2017.

Parallel with the construction of the bridge, a steel barricade was also constructed along the road to prohibit pedestrian crossing, and thus encouraged residents to use the overpass bridge to cross the road. However, some residents prefer not to use the bridge, but rather cross the high traffic Morogoro Road, as demonstrated by the pulling down of the steel barricade (Figure 25). The barricade was removed in 2012, when the Morogoro Road expansion project commenced. The road was expanded from a normal two-lane carriageway to a six-lane thoroughfare for a rapid bus system (Ka'bange, Mfinanga, & Hema, 2014; Swai, 2016). However, the expansion of the road did not affect the bridge, as it remained the way it was. The removal of fences and establishment of four zebra crossings alongside Morogoro Road encourage individuals to cross the road instead of using the bridge, thus leaving the bridge for recreation by youths.



Figure 25. Broken barrier which had been constructed to direct pedestrians to use the overpass bridge along Morogoro Road to avoid accidents and traffic jams.  
Source: Michuzi blog (Michuzi, 2008).

### 6.2.2 Changing designated function through use

Since the pedestrian bridge is no longer used to separate traffic from motorists and pedestrians, one would expect the bridge to be redundant; this is not the case. This study found that the bridge is always used for recreation. People of different genders and ages- especially youths are found hanging out, walking around or relaxing, and others engage in active recreational exercises. These jovial activities were noted at different times of the day (morning, afternoon and evening), on a weekly basis and during holidays between 2016 and 2019, as shown in table 5. Thus, the bridge serves functions beyond those intended.

Table 5. Activity vs time at the Pedestrian Overpass Bridge.

Activity type	Time					
	Morning		Afternoon		Evening & night	
	06:00-07:30	07:30-11:00	12:00-02:00	14:00-16:00	16:00-18:30	18:30-the whole night
1 Active recreations						
-Jogging						
-Aerobics	████████					
-Boxing training	████████					
-Playing football						
2 Transportation (Crossing the road)		████████████████████	████████████████████	████████████████████		
3 Passive recreations						
-Chatting				████████████████████	████████████████████	
-Photographing				████████████████████	████████████████████	
-Linger				████████████████████	████████████████████	
-Playing board games				████████████████████	████████████████████	
-Breezing				████████████████████	████████████████████	
4 Strictly no recreational activities						□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

██████████ High occupation  
 ██████████ Low occupation  
 □□□□□□□□ No occupation

Source: Observational studies, November 2017.

During weekdays in the morning hours the bridge is less occupied by people for sedentary recreational activities; instead, a few people gather to perform physical exercises. Between six and seven o'clock every day in the morning the bridge is occupied by groups of youth and adults who climb up and down the staircases to warm-up their bodies, while another group trains in boxing on the platform of the bridge (Figure 26). Some of the boxing trainees also train in boxing training centres located in residential courtyards. When asked about the issue of privacy the reply was that the training in the morning at the bridge is not official but rather a partial continuation of what they had been doing in the training centres a day before. It was also noted that most of the users of the bridge for recreational activities during the morning were male youth and adults. In corroborating why female residents do not use the bridge for recreation Tina (Pseudonym for respondent 11) had this to say:

Most of the time when I pass under the bridge during the morning around six, going to the city centre to buy commodities for my business, I usually find this place fully packed with people, particularly young men doing physical exercises. They take advantage of the high risers and wide carriage platform for different types of

physical exercises. While some stretch their bodies in yoga, others climb up and down the staircases and others practice boxing and karate. I have never seen women engaging in physical exercises at the bridge. I think ladies engage in home activities. Even myself, I don't engage in any active recreation because I am a hawker. I become active as I walk through the settlement selling commodities.

In corroborating non-participation of women in physical exercises at the bridge it was explained that women are afraid of being mugged, as Kobelo (Pseudonym for respondent 12) explained:

Between 6:00 and 6:30 we normally come here for physical exercise, as by that time the bridge is empty. From 6:30 onwards we experience having students going to school and people going to work, and thus we do not enjoy engaging in physical exercises, as pedestrians are also using the bridge, although the great majority prefer to cross the zebra marks. Regarding ladies, I know there are few, ladies who wake up for morning exercises, and a few, dislike to come to the bridge because they engage in light exercises like jogging in streets next to their houses. They say they are afraid of robbers, who were many in the years past.



Figure 26. Engagement in physical fitness during morning hours.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2017.

Those who perform physical exercise at the bridge felt responsible for its cleanliness (Figure 27). One of the respondents affirmed that most of those who come to the bridge for physical exercises in the morning are regulars staying in Manzese who know each other because they also meet in the evening at other training grounds away from the bridge. By knowing each other and getting together at the bridge they developed a habit of cleaning the bridge just after they finish training. A cleaning exercise is also done once per week on Saturday. This is not only to keep it neat; they also believe that the local authority responsible for public infrastructure, including the bridge,

will not hamper them from using the bridge as they show their commitment and accountability for the facility. This is because training at the bridge is done without permission from the local government.

Around half- past seven, the bridge becomes empty and ready to serve its intended use as an overpass bridge. On 30<sup>th</sup> January 2017 at around 8:00, two photographers appeared at the bridge with their cameras waiting for customers wishing to be photographed.



Figure 27. Boxing trainees cleaning the overpass bridge after completing their morning exercises in Manzese.

Source: (Elisashuda, 2015)

During the afternoon, the bridge is appropriated for other uses as people go out for leisure activities. Diverse groups including teenagers, elders, men and women perform numerous sedentary recreational activities at and around the bridge; such activities include chatting, playing board games, breezing and taking photographs. People sit at the steps along the edge of the balustrades, leaving the middle space for vertical movement (Figure 28).



Figure 28. Use of the pedestrian overpass bridge at normal hours and peak hours. Left: afternoon situation. Right: evening situation. Source: Fieldwork observation, December 2016.

The pedestrian overpass bridge is generally used as a meeting point for youths, outing space for juveniles, economic spot for portrait photographers and spot for business advertisements. For example, it was noted that the bridge attracts coffee vendors who traverse the city of Dar es Salaam on foot in the morning and early evening, selling freshly brewed Arabica coffee and snacks (*kashata na karanga*). Moreover, in terms of recreational activity, the bridge is intensely occupied during the weekends regardless of weather conditions, as affirmed by Hassan (pseudonym for respondent 13), a photographer who said:

One of the most interesting things with this bridge is its continuous use in spite of seasons and weather conditions. This is why we photographers are always here even when it is raining. When it rains heavily, we just stay under the staircase waiting for the rain to stop. After that, we photographers get up again to continue waiting for customers.

It was also noted that the billboards mounted on the bridge serve two purposes, including advertisement and shading during morning and evening hours, as they are aligned in a north-south direction along the edges of the bridge. During late morning hours the concentration of people is on the western side, while in the evening many people linger on the eastern side taking advantage of the shade (Figure 29).



Figure 29. Shadows cast by billboards create comfortable zones for recreation.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2018.

During festivals including Christmas, New Year and Eid, the pedestrian overpass bridge and its surroundings become very active from morning to evening hours (Figure 30). This is when families go out together and spend time in the area. Moreover, people from other parts of the city come for recreation involving casual relaxation and vending of various types of things, including foods, snacks, beverages and ice cream (Figure 31).



Figure 30. Different parts of the pedestrian overpass bridge sparkled with flocks of people using the bridge as an outing space during the Eid al-Fitr festival.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, June 2019.



Figure 31. Different parts of the pedestrian overpass bridge sparkled with flocks of people using the bridge as an outing space during the New Year festival.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, January 2018.

In extreme cases, especially when the bridge is overcrowded with a huge number of users, the local government intervenes to ensure security and safety. It was also noted that even though access to the bridge is for free to inhabitants and strangers, every day –whether weekdays, weekends or holidays, from 19:00 hours onwards, people were not allowed to remain on the bridge. This was when policemen patrolled the bridge until the following morning (Figure 32) in order to prevent the criminality, including theft, violence, drug abuse and rape experienced in the past.



Figure 32. Policemen during evening time to ensure people vacate the bridge in a safe manner.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, June 2019

This subsection has presented the informal activities carried out by ordinary residents through appropriation of the pedestrian overpass bridge. As recreational activities were carried out daily and intensified during holidays, appropriation is undoubtedly a common spatial practice. This indicates that

the public infrastructure acquires qualities beyond the intended/designated functions when imbued with recreational activities by residents.

### 6.2.3 Embedded meaning(s) to the pedestrian overpass bridge

Appropriation of the pedestrian overpass bridge produces innumerable meanings. For instance, the bridge was interpreted as '*a touristic attraction*' because of its monumental form. Like many other monumental structures across the globe, Manzese monumental bridge attracts local (people living in Dar es Salaam) and domestic tourists from elsewhere in Tanzania, who enjoy seeing numerous traditional ways of behaving in the urban settings. This was affirmed by Hobokela (Pseudonym for respondent 14) one of the residents found at the bridge:

This bridge is more than a bridge, because it was constructed as the first pedestrian overpass of its kind in the country by then. Therefore the notion that it allows people to pass over when cars are passing under was an amazing experience that enticed people from different parts of the country to come and see. People from upcountry normally come to the bridge when they are in Dar es Salaam for their own businesses just to gain the experience of crossing over the road. Nowadays different overpass bridges have been constructed in different parts of the country. Currently what attracts people is the way crowds of people hangout at the bridge for leisure...

#### *'The pedestrian overpass bridge as a photo studio'*

Another viewpoint that makes the bridge a monumental masterpiece was the fact that it is used as a photo studio. Photo taking is one of the leisure activities essential for keeping memories of major events and activities at the pedestrian bridge. Some people use smart mobile phones while others hire professional photographers who stay at the bridge all day long waiting for people lingering and resting at the bridge. One of the photographers affirmed that there were twelve photographers running their businesses at the bridge. Hassan (pseudonym for Respondent 13) said:

We as photographers prefer to come here because it is a place where most people prefer for photo taking as the bridge is unique compared to other areas. This bridge to us is like an office. Whenever residents in their homes or social places need a photographer, they normally come here to pick one of us, as they know it is

impossible to miss one here, and that is why we always hang around here. Some of us who had offices or studios elsewhere in Manzese settlement shut down their offices and operate from here.

It was also noted that the twelve professional photographers at the bridge have established their territory and informal organisation disallowing other photographers to use the bridge for the same purpose. They have two leaders, whose responsibilities include giving important notices regarding any circumstance that might have happened in the area and helping each economically and socially. In line with that, Respondent 13 added that in 2011 there were two photographers and he was the third. The number increased over time, and until 2016, there were eleven photographers. One of them, who would have made twelve, decided to shift to Mwanza (the second largest city in the country) doing the same business. Respondent 13 also showed concern over the large number of photographers, especially during the low season. He outlined the informal organization system to protect their business, and to prevent new photographers from grabbing their customers. In this sense, the bridge is appropriated through territorialisation for livelihoods, and power issues are divulged. In wishing to know why the pedestrian overpass bridge attracts customers for photo taking, Hobokela again (respondent 14) said:

The good thing about coming here for photo taking is that there are a variety of attractive positions that produce good backgrounds of photographs. I usually change positions, from the upper deck, to the steps and under the steps and to the pillars. Sometimes I take photographs away from the bridge, and thus use the entire bridge as a background.

In addition to the appreciation of different components of the bridge essentially for photo taking, it was revealed that other people prefer photo taking at the bridge with some added subjective values, such as personal composure. One of the respondents said that her excitement to the bridge emanated from her first time she was seeing a crowd that she could never imagine. From that time, she has been attracted by the bridge and consistently she takes photographs, and more interestingly with new outfits. The same person, Respondent 15, added,

One of my favourite places for relaxation is this bridge. Before I came here I used to hear many people talking about the bridge. Later I realised it is an amazing place. It was during the 2009 new-year ceremony when I saw a crowd of people hanging around the bridge. From that time onwards I was lured to come here and linger with friends. I normally take photographs, especially when I am in new clothes. Most of my high-quality photographs are taken on the upper deck. I regard this bridge as my photo studio. However, some of my friends prefer going to photo studios. To me what matters most is the dressing style, and not the position I took at the bridge.

Based on insight that the bridge is used as a photo studio, its monumental form depicts spatial affordances for showing off, attachment and affinity to modernity.

*'The pedestrian overpass bridge as a dry beach'*

Apart from being perceived as a masterpiece which stands out and portrays monumental values, the bridge has been imbued with several functions which help to heighten enjoyment. It was explained in the context chapter that the compactness and the congestion of buildings in the case study area leads to insufficient breeze in the settlement, which is a warm, humid, tropical climate. However, the presence of Morogoro Road, which bisects the settlement, acts as a wind tunnel propelling air between buildings.

The pedestrian overpass bridge receives maximum air flow, and thus attracts many residents to linger at the bridge, thereby causing it to be perceived by residents as a beach. Dar es Salaam city is bounded by an enormous beach strip spanning the entire eastern perimeter, where a large number of people usually hangout to enjoy the ocean breezes. However, the majority of respondents admit to using the bridge in the same way that others use the ocean beaches. The act of hanging out at the bridge is termed by residents *kubarizi* meaning 'enjoying breezes', while the bridge is termed as *bichi kavu*, literally meaning 'dry beach', as affirmed by Baraka (Pseudonym for respondent 16), who said:

This bridge is a comfortable place because the wind which we enjoy here is natural and better than the air propelled by ceiling fans in our homes. People who come here see this as an alternative to going to the beach where many residents of Dar es Salaam go. We call the bridge 'bichi kavu'-[dry beach], a beach with no water but wind. When we come here 'kubarizi'-[to enjoy the breeze] we get the same feeling

as those who go to the ocean. After all, being here reduces the cost of transport. Therefore, to us this is the beach.

*'The pedestrian overpass bridge as a vantage point'*

Another feature that makes people perceive the bridge as a significant infrastructure for enjoyment is related to its elevation, which facilitates panoramic views of the city over top of the prevailing single-storey buildings with irregular streets. Respondent 17 continued:

Our settlement is occupied by buildings which are closely packed and thus difficult to get a wide view just like we do here. Sometimes it becomes difficult even to open a window and view outside. And in many cases it happens that if a neighbour opens a window and you open one too, you get total lack of privacy because of the nearness of buildings. For that matter, we prefer coming to the bridge to get pleasant views and to see things from afar.

This section has presented how the pedestrian overpass bridge as a public infrastructure as various recreational activities are improvised on it, and new meanings are created for it which eventually change the original meaning in unintended ways. The appropriation of the bridge was maneuvered without negating the intended functions, without additions or subtractions, and was used with humility and in adherence to regulations from government organs. The quotidian spatial practices at the bridge produce a new sense of public utility through improvisation. These practices tell how public infrastructure can be used beyond the single functions laid out by professionals concerned with provision of infrastructure. The way the bridge has been appropriated as undesignated space conveys a message to urban designers and planners to understand public infrastructure in a different way.

### 6.3 Corridor under high-voltage cables as spaces for recreation

This section present the appropriation of a corridor under high-voltage cables for recreational activities to delineate the production of recreational spaces based on quotidian spatial practices. The section is divided into three subsections; namely, creation and intended function of the corridor, changing

designated function through recreational use and embedded meaning of the corridor under high-voltage cables.

### 6.3.1 Creation and intended function

The ‘corridor under high-voltage cables’<sup>22</sup> is a long narrow open space with a width of about fifty metres, set aside to accommodate steel poles holding high-transmission electric cables from hydroelectric power stations in the upcountry regions. The corridor takes the form of a green strip covered by short grass, and in some places away from Manzese, it is covered by vegetables, due to being encroached on by urban agriculture (Figure 33).



Figure 33. Horticultural activities in the high-voltage cable corridor at Kondo informal settlement, Ununio area, Dar es Salaam.

Source: Fieldwork observation, July 2017.

As the corridor has tall steel poles of about 300 metres, its space on the ground has been encroached on for various activities despite being prohibited, simply because the corridor has no enclosure. In the 1980s, when the corridor was set aside, it was primarily in farms and forests which are

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<sup>22</sup> The ‘corridor under high-voltage cables’ belongs to the Government of Tanzania, under TANESCO (Tanzania Electric Supply Company Limited), an authority under the Ministry of Energy of the United Republic of Tanzania. The corridor as an infrastructure has two tall electric lanes, one constructed in 1980 to transmit electricity from Mtera Dam Hydroelectric Power Plant located in Morogoro Region, and the other lane constructed in 1984 transmitting electricity from Kidatu and Kihansi Dams, which is also located in Morogoro region (Mwakabuta & Kyaruzi, 2005)

currently human settlements. As the city continued to grow, the corridor slowly became surrounded by houses. In some instances, due to demand for land, people started to encroach on the corridor to construct houses. However, as the corridor and its high-tension electricity lines are strictly protected to avoid encroachment for informal housing, the houses were demolished by government authorities without any compensation to the homeowners. As it remains open, the majority of residents in Manzese and its neighbouring settlements of Mabibo benefit from it as an urban lung circulating oxygen around the settlements.

It was noted that there was a time during 1990's when the corridor was not as empty as it was while this research was being conducted, as it had been intruded on small-business vendors. Hawkers moved to the 'corridor' and gradually established vending spaces and began running small-scale retailers. The entire corridor along Manzese was turned into a vending place. The intrusion did not appear abruptly but gradually, as individuals constructed sheds, stalls and kiosks by using reject-timber-pieces and pieces of corrugated iron sheets. But the vending did not endure, as the sheds were brought down by TANESCO, which claimed that it was dangerous for permanent activities to be located in the high-voltage corridor. Another reason to keep the corridor open was to keep open access for the power lines and emergency vehicles in case of maintenance. As there was no compensation for the exercise, many people refrained from further encroachment.

Afterwards, the corridor was used for temporary and non-fixed activities, including informal recreational activities. It was observed that apart from the dominance of recreational uses, some parts of the corridor were used as parking spaces, garages and storage for goods, including timber and logs. Some parts of the corridor were occupied burial patches. These functions do not involve the construction of permanent structures; they are carried out informally despite restrictions from TANESCO (Figure 34), which ban agricultural activities, animal grazing, vending, meetings, car parking, residential use and cemeteries.



Figure 34. Signage in the corridor under high-voltage cables restricting human activities, although active recreational activities are undertaken here daily. Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2017.

The signage is written in Swahili, and can be translated into English as follows:

TANZANIA ELECTRIC SUPPLY COMPANY (TANESCO)

**DANGER**

IT IS STRICTLY PROHIBITED TO UNDERTAKE ANY ACTIVITY INCLUDING  
 AGRICULTURE, LIVESTOCK GRAZING, BUSINESS, MEETINGS, VEHICLE  
 PARKING, RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT, BURIAL ACTIVITIES ETC.

ORDER

### 6.3.2 Changing designated function through use

Despite the efforts put by TANESCO to safeguard the intended uses, the corridor is still adapted as a recreational place for considerable activities, football game, being dominant. The entire stretch in Manzese is informally and invisibly divided into segments, monopolised by groups of residents who control use (Figure 35).

There is a portion which is used as a primary school playground by Mpakani Primary School which is located adjacent to the corridor. Teenagers also use the portion for sports. The corridor has two more segments used as playgrounds by two football teams from Manzese which are formally recognized in the National Football League of Tanzania. The two teams are

Faru Dume and Palianda, the former is in Class Two of the National League and the latter was in Class Three as of 2017. The two teams totally depend on the corridor as the only area for training. It may sound strange-albeit not the focus of this study-for the two teams to be formally registered by the Football Federation of Tanzania without having formal training grounds. However, it was later noted that Faru Dume has a football training ground at Mkuranga<sup>23</sup> in the Coast Region (about 30 kilometres south of Dar es Salaam).

It is the same playground which was used for registration. However, as the playground is very far from Manzese, the team decided to continue using the corridor to minimise operational costs. It was divulged that in case of an unavoidable circumstance the team would shift to another nearby football pitch but not to Mkuranga.

While the previous paragraph shows how the corridor was informally segmented and controlled in terms of use by different groups of residents, there was one part which was informally managed by an individual resident. It is a well-known segment known as *kwa bubu* located where Midizini Road meets the corridor in the southeast of Manzese (Figure 35). The segment occupies an area of about 2800 square metres, usually a free playground for youths and teenagers. It is known as *kwa bubu* playground because of an individual who is *bubu*<sup>24</sup> who maintains the area. The reason why *bubu* informally monopolises the segment was narrated by Abdul (pseudonym for respondent 17), who had this to say:

Bubu was born here and he has lived here for a long time. His house was one of the earliest houses constructed at the edge of the settlement adjacent to the corridor. He has been volunteering to maintain and keep the area clean. He considers the corridor as his front yard although it is owned by TANESCO. He does not restrict public access to youths and teenagers. The wish to keep the segment clean started when the area was a kind of a bush, which created a habitat for dangerous snakes. Bubu used to clear the bushes and remove the unwanted plants to avoid snakes. Bubu allowed people to play in the segment, believing that they hold back the growth of bushes, and thus reduce his responsibility to the bush clearance and maintenance.

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<sup>23</sup> Mkuranga is one of the six districts of Pwani Region in Tanzania, located 36 kilometres south of Dar es Salaam city centre.

<sup>24</sup> *Bubu* is literally a Swahili word which means a dumb person (unable to speak, normally because of congenital deafness).



Figure 35. Informal football grounds and playfields for active recreation in the corridor under high-voltage cables.

Source: Adapted from (DarRamaniHuria, 2016) and fieldwork mapping, November 2017.

In line with the above explanation, it was noted that the ‘corridor under high-voltage cable’ was adapted for active recreation dominated by football games. Furthermore, other active recreational activities such as jogging during the mornings and evenings were observed in the corridor (see Figure 36). The majority of joggers were football players of the aforementioned two teams, with few ordinary residents among them. A few groups of female youth engaged in aerobics for health purposes. During the morning hours the corridor was occupied by joggers and footballers doing physical fitness activities. In the afternoon hours the area was empty, while during the evening the corridor was full of players and spectators in the playgrounds, as shown in table 6. Like the pedestrian overpass bridge, which is highly vibrant during festivals, the corridor becomes more vibrant during football and jogging bonanza days.

Table 6. Activity vs time at the corridor under high-voltage cable.

Activity type	Time					
	Morning		Afternoon		Evening & night	
	06:00-07:30	07:30-11:00	12:00-02:00	14:00-16:00	16:00-18:30	18:30-the whole night
1 Active recreations						
-Jogging	████████				████████	
-Aerobics	████████					
-Boxing training						
-Playing football					████████	
2 Passive recreations						
-Chatting						
-Photographing						
-Linger						
-Playing board game						
-Breezing				████████	████████	
3 Strictly no recreational activities						□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

██████████ High occupation  
 █████████ Low occupation  
 □□□□□□□□ No occupation

While under normal circumstances doing any kind of activity in the area under electric cables is considered dangerous and scary, performers of recreational activities in the ‘corridor under high-voltage cables’ seemed not to have any fear. They claimed to feel safe to play in the corridor since the cables were constructed in the 1980s, and no hostile occurrence has been encountered. In digging out more information on safety the spokesman of TANESCO said:

Normally the corridor where high tension cables pass, is not surrounded by fences in order to allow people to cross from one side to another. But we disallow permanent activities that take a long time, for instance the whole day, as anything can happen.

The above discussion illustrates how the ‘corridor under high-voltage cable’ is adapted for recreational use. Apparently the corridor is taken as a loose space for recreation at specific times, and therefore portrays the sense of permanent spatial practices.



Figure 36. Active recreation in the corridor under high-voltage cable.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2017.

### 6.3.3 Embedded meaning of the corridor under high-voltage cables

While the pedestrian overpass bridge is spatially appropriated through activities and meanings, the situation in the corridor under high-voltage cables is slightly different. It was noted that the corridor is more redefined by activities carried out than meanings. The corridor was also perceived as an important avenue for breezes in the warm humid season, as it acts like a tunnel. For that reason residents turned up during the hot humid temperature seasons for evening breezes. Respondent 16, who assigned the sense of ‘dry beach’ to the bridge, also asserted that the corridor is another place where people go to enjoy breezes. Additionally, he said that the people living adjacent to the corridor were the ones who were found at the edges of the *corridor enjoying breezes* in the evening hours. In investigating residents’ awareness of safety and security in the corridor it was noted that residents are not scared at all, as exemplified by the high magnitude of residents’ spatial appropriation through active recreational activities, and to a lesser extent, sedentary leisure.

Informal subdivision of the corridor for various use groups for recreation unveils residents’ perceptions of silent opportunities for mono-functional public spaces. It also highlights the possibilities of controlling such spaces through diverse temporal territorialities to avoid the notion of ‘no man’s land’ and/or ‘common spaces common problems’. The ability of TANESCO to stomach the illegal use of the corridor, highlights the need to establish minimum standards of use of utility corridors in order to attain polyvalence of spaces for diversity, richness, identity, personalisation and livability. This signifies the relevance of the temporal informal appropriation of spaces

which are not officially imbued with functions in order to increase the visibility for such spaces for urban safety, security and conviviality.

## 6.4 Streets as spaces for recreation

This section presents the appropriation of streets for recreational activities as one of the quotidian spatial practices. The section is divided into three subsections; namely creation of the street and the intended function, changing the designated function of the street through recreational usage, and embedded with socio-cultural meaning on the streets through ceremonial dances. The section explores in-depth the performance of the ceremonial dances due to its peculiarity, including temporality and in ability to predetermine the place of occurrence.

### 6.4.1 Creation and intended function

Streets are normally arteries for traffic and transportation whereas walking, driving, cycling and transit also occur. In Manzese, residents build houses, and the remaining amorphous space remains as streets. Most of the streets in Manzese are narrow, irregular, dead-ended, and varied in width. Streets are devoid of connectivity, soft-scape, pattern, themes and clear fabrics. Public activities and recreational activities are carried out on the streets. Busy streets, especially those located at the fringes of the settlement, were less occupied by recreational activities because of high traffic of pedestrians, cyclists and motorists. Recreational activities were observed on the inner streets, particularly those located close to residential houses. Recreational activities are more likely to occur when traffic is lighter.

### 6.4.2 Changing the designated function of streets through recreational use

As a common character in many streets in informal settlements, streets in Manzese were used as playgrounds for children and teenagers. Play alternates with other public uses of the streets. For instance, moving around on the inner streets of Manzese, it was common to see children playing in the evenings at the same time as street vendors were moving up and down them, hunting for customers. Also on the narrow streets it is common to hear the sound of a coming motorcycle, which compels playing children to pause a bit to make way. Even though streets were used as playgrounds, alternating

with non-recreational activities, it was noted that the streets were used by children and teenagers on an everyday basis. Based on observations carried out on Kione and Irangi streets, it was noted that as the inlets of the two streets did not allow vehicular access because of their narrowness, the streets were turned into centres for evening play. Children and teenagers played different kinds of sports at the middle of the street, while young men linger on the sides of the street, and in nodes of board games (Figure 37). As the recreational performances were on a daily basis, such repetitiveness produced a permanent spatial appropriation of the streets. While this was the case, it was also found out that streets in Manzese were variably and temporarily spatialised with recreational and non-recreational activities, to the extent of producing streets with short-lived events.

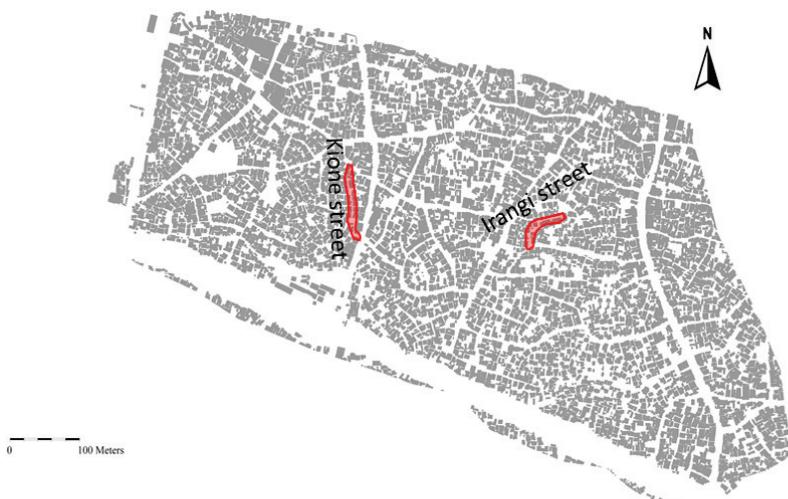


Figure 37. Recreational activities at Kione (left image) and Irangi streets (right image). Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2017.

*Changing function of streets through pop-up ceremonial dances*

Ceremonial dance is a well-known recreational activity that occupies and redefines streets temporarily. The dance had no specific spot within the streets because it appeared as a pop-up event, making it difficult to locate in the setting. A hunting tactic, was coined and deployed as discussed in Chapter 4.

Originally, ceremonial dances famously known as *vigodoro* (a popular *uswahilini*<sup>25</sup> dance) emerged in informal settlements in the 2000s, and gained popularity as a well-known kind of dance in many informal settlements in Dar es Salaam. Initially the dance was performed by groups of people, each with at least ten young women, with the aim of conveying certain messages to the community—mostly gossip through singing and dancing. The singers move from their destinations to a targeted gossipers' home or place of work while singing and dancing. The intention of this type of dance was to reprimand some of the notorious residents.

With time the aim of the dance changed from singing and dancing for gossipers, to singing and dancing for ceremonies. Ceremonial dances are popular in amusing social settings such as pre-wedding, birthday parties and initiation rites. These ceremonies are occasionally performed in outdoor spaces. The shift of the ceremonial dances from conveying messages to gossipers, to ceremonial entertainment, was not sudden. At a slow pace the dance started improving and being appreciated by residents who are fond of dancing. Interested dancers established groups in the form of informal troupes to make themselves easily found when required to perform in particular places. Halima (Pseudonym of respondent 18) had this to say:

Since the emergence of ceremonial dances which are famously known as 'ngoma za uswahilini', aspirants established groups of dancers for performances during ceremonies. My group is known as 'team nyodo' [which means elegant gait], which is one of the famous groups in Manzese. We are five young ladies, and we normally meet at a beauty salon as a gathering place prior to moving to a place for the intended ceremony. We do not have a specific leader of the group but we depend on each other and once one gets an invitation the entire group chips in. Because of our fame, we get booked to dance inside and outside Manzese, and even in other cities as well. We put on 'madira' (a women's gown) of different colours and styles. In spite of the different colours and tailoring designs, these uniforms make us appear as a team when performing. There are also several groups like ours doing similar entertainments. For example, here in Manzese, apart from us there is another group

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<sup>25</sup> *Uswahilini* stands for areas in Dar es Salaam particularly informal settlements where people live according to norms and customs related to Swahili culture. Notably not all informal settlements are *uswahilini*, and also there are a few planned settlements such as Magomeni which are also *Uswahilini*. The word originates from the Swahili parlance the three colours of the city's geography Uzunguni, Uhindini and *Uswahilini*, literally the places of Whites, Asians and Swahili (Africans) respectively. During the post-colonial period *Uswahilini* outnumbered the first two, due to high proliferation of informal settlements. *Uswahilini* are therefore the settlements that seem to be the domains of poor marginalised urbanites (Lewinson, 2013)

known as 'ukakamavu' [which literally means strength] where some of my friends belong. All these groups were chiefly influenced by the emergence of vigodoro ceremonial dances.

While the ceremonial dance groups seemed to be operated by women, there were also informal troupes of men, which operate sort of local brass bands with a focus on producing music for dancers. The local brass bands use locally made drums instead of modern musical instruments, which were expensive. However, some of the local bands use trumpets as the only modern musical instruments complemented by local instruments. According to one of the local respondents who owns a local brass band, there is a mutual relationship between the men's brass bands and the women's dancing groups. Babu Kipara (Pseudonym for respondent 22) said:

My troupe is called 'waasi' [Rebellions] which was established in 2005 for the purpose of self-employment. We are nine boys in the group, and we beat drums and sing traditional songs originating from different local tribes. Previously, we were part of another large troupe called 'Amani na Upendo'[Peace and love]. We are available on Ukombozi street opposite Ukombozi Primary School at Manzese, a place where we perform every evening. There are many other troupes in Manzese which perform like us. When an individual has a function, he or she invites a women's dancing troupe and a brass band like ours to perform together. Sometimes when a leader of a women's troupe gets invited to a ceremony, she invites us to collaborate. We are normally rewarded with meals and drinks before the commencement of the ceremony, and a token amount of money at the end of the ceremony.

### *Participants in ceremonial dances*

Like many other recreational activities, ceremonial dances entice people of different genders, men and women. However, in all cases females dominate (Figure 21 in Chapter 5). A small number of men are engaged in beating local drums and singing while women sing and dance. Engagement in ceremonial dances was by free will, although there were limitations on age. Children and teenagers were strictly not allowed to engage in ceremonial dances because it was believed that the dancing styles contain some bits which were not conducive to children and teenagers. However, teenagers and children informally join the performances depending on the nature of the area

where it is taking place. For the case of women performers, the outstanding number of women ranges between 20 and 35 years of age (Figure 21 in Chapter 5). Apart from ceremonial dances, women engaged in various recreational activities, as Respondent 22 went on to say:

Not all young ladies in our place prefer ceremonial dances though it is the 'talk of the town' for the majority. For example, my friend and I prefer mingling with others in a nightclub which is not far from here. That is why you find me sleeping this evening. Now my co-workers and I are preparing ourselves to go to the nightclub as usual. So we are not fond of local dances, as we think of them as a primitive way of enjoying the contemporary world.

### *Performance of ceremonial dances*

Ceremonial dances were performed in two ways: first in fixed spaces such as residential courtyards, street segments and functional halls; the second type of performance was mobile, wherein performers moved from one street to another either on foot or in vehicles. Basically, the dancing trip spanned between the performers' place of business and the place hosting the intended ceremony.

When the ceremonial dance is performed in a fixed place it is commonly known as *kigodoro*,<sup>26</sup> and when it is mobile the dance is called *kigoma*. At some point *kigoma* changes into *kigodoro* when the movement is halted at the ceremonial place to allow dancing until the end of the ceremony. *Kigodoro* were orchestrated by either a sound system brought by a disc jockey, or simply by a local brass band, depending on the preferences of the host. In contrast, *kigoma* performances were completely dependent on the local brass bands of male youths. The word *kigoma* itself is a Swahili word which refers to a small portable drum. Subsequently, songs and dancing styles accompanied by *kigoma* were of different types, such as *Kigoma cha uruguwai*.

It was noted that when performances were undertaken for *kigodoro* orchestrated by a sound system from a DJ, what was important from the music was not only the melody but also the lyrics. Respondent 22 also explained:

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<sup>26</sup> *Kigodoro* is a Swahili word which literally means 'little mattress', which symbolically means the dance goes on till dawn. The term originated from the fact that the dancing performances were normally done the whole night without sleeping which means 'the dance itself is a mattress', as reported by one of the key informants.

As a group of dancers we normally know what kind of music we prefer. Therefore we give our DJ a radio cassette which has a selection of music we want, and nowadays in the absence of radio cassettes we use memory cards. The DJ then mix it with the music with borrowed portions to stimulate our senses to dance. The majority of preferred music is that related to the 'taarabu' kind of music containing 'mipasho'.<sup>27</sup>

It was also reported by Respondent 22 that the local brass band was heavily preferred by many people since it was performed live with singers and dancers. Moreover their songs were tribal songs, which allowed dancers to echo their rural cultural settings.

#### *Places for performance of ceremonial dances*

As stated earlier, performances of ceremonial dances in Manzese were carried out in streets, residential courtyards and rarely in social halls. However, streets were the most dominant host, as they also accommodate the spillover of people from courtyard ceremonial performances. Therefore, it was a necessity rather than a desire to dance in the streets. In some cases the verandas were also used together with streets during performances, as they both become packed with fans and spectators. On average, the number of people at each ceremony ranged between fifty and one hundred, and thus these groups were possible to accommodate in residential courtyards, as well as on the streets of Manzese. There were some instances when residential courtyards served as independent ceremonial venues, especially when the population was less than average. This included birthdays and girls' initiation ceremonies, which involved a few invitees, neighbours and relatives. Wedding ceremonies, which involved a large assembly of people, were put up in social halls. Despite this, there was a tradition of holding all-night traditional farewell dances on a street adjacent to the bridal home prior to the wedding day. On occasion, bridal parties would instead prefer to hold the farewell and wedding ceremonial dances serially in the same social hall for two days.

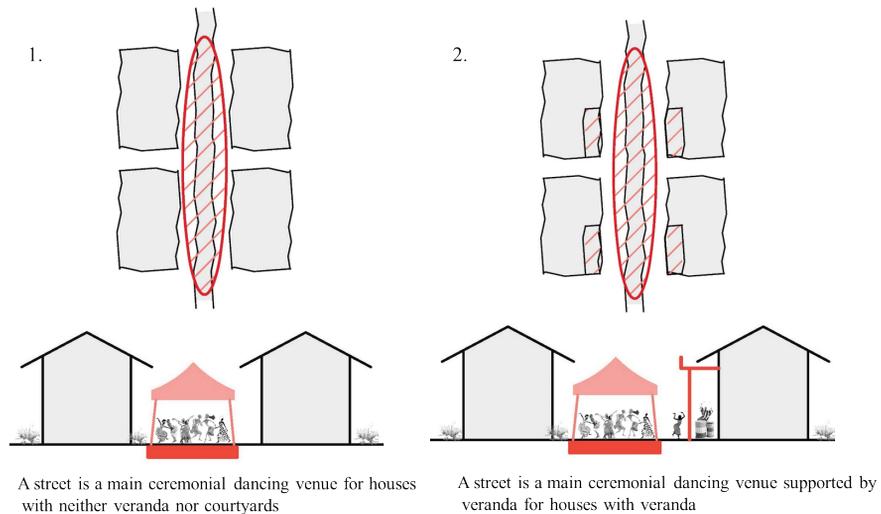
Performances of ceremonial dances in the streets were connected with verandas and courtyards (Figure 38). For residential houses which have neither courtyards nor verandas, the streets became the default dancing place,

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<sup>27</sup> The informal meaning of the Swahili word *mipasho* the use of indirect words to convey a message, a word which can be spoken or be set to music.

and were usually closed to disallow vehicular traffic (as shown in figure 38 plate 1).

For residential houses with no courtyard but with verandas that opens to the street, both were used for the ceremonial dances (as in figure 38 plate 2), in this case the verandah is used as a focal point. Also for a house with a courtyard and also adjoining a wide street but no veranda, the street and the courtyard would be used for the ceremonial dances, the street being the focal area (as figure 38 plate 3 shows). Also, there were some houses, very few of which had both a veranda and courtyard, and were positioned adjacent to streets. In this case the three (street, veranda and courtyard) served as ceremonial dancing venues. The residential courtyards served as backyards and private ceremonial dancing venues, while the street became the main ceremonial venue, and the veranda become a focal point (as shown in figure 38 plate 4). There were also houses in the settlement which were located far away from streets (as shown in figure 38 plate 5), in this case the performances are done on the nearby street.



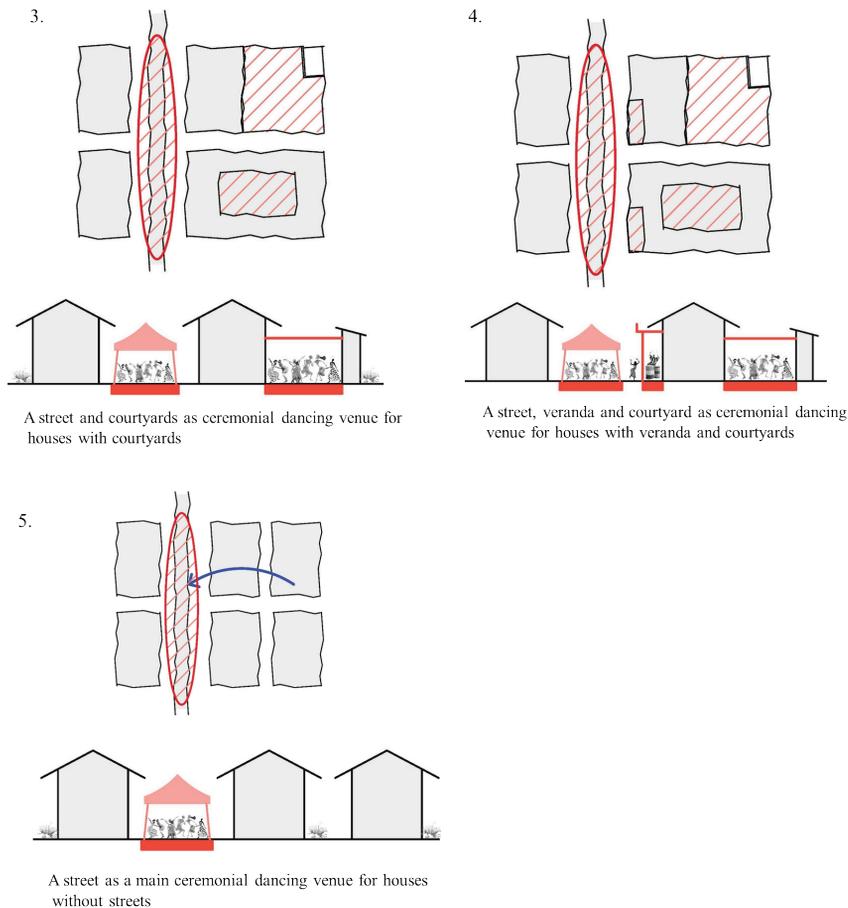


Figure 38. Performance of ceremonial dances in three different spaces: streets, verandas and courtyards.

Source: Author's construction based on fieldwork observations, November 2017.

*To acquire a street space for performances-Permissions from local government*

Different from the way the pedestrian overpass bridge and corridor under high-voltage cables were adapted, performances of ceremonial dances in the streets require acquiring permission from local government authorities. The owner of the ceremony would be required to seek permission from the local government by sending a letter at least two days before the ceremony. The

application for permit was sent to the Municipal Cultural Officer via the sub-ward (Mtaa) leader, as explained by the Cultural Officer of Ubungo Municipality:

For any public event to take place within settlements, including religious meetings, adverts for promotions or leisure activities, or any other social activity, it is mandatory to seek for permission. The permission aims to control use of streets in order not to disturb other individuals in the surroundings who are not involved in the events. The cultural officer gave an example of the performance of ceremonial dances which were once done overnight, but because of complaints from neighbours who were not involved in the performance the time was limited to midnight.

Adaptation of streets for ceremonies was accompanied with improvisation which include use of tents, mats, dancing stages and seating arrangements which block pedestrian and vehicular access (Figure 39). When the Municipal Cultural Officer was asked about this situation, the reply was ‘no complaints from neighbours about blockage of streets when ceremonial performances are carried out’, as the events are known to be just temporary. That is why permission was strictly on time and not the way residents improvised the streets for ceremonial events.

### ***The appropriation of the street through dancing***

Normally ceremonial street dances were performed during weekends and thus possible to see one or two while moving in the streets. But they may also occasionally happen during weekdays, especially Thursdays and Fridays. ‘Hunting tactics’ were therefore applied repeatedly in order to identify a street and spot of the pop-up of the ceremonial dances. One among the three visited ceremonies was performed at Mkunguni Street in Miembeni sub-ward on 10th December 2017, a Sunday evening. The performance began at 16:00 to celebrate the ‘gift giving’ to a woman who had delivered a baby.

Spatially, the configuration of the street was achieved by installing tents, and the road was laid with mats at the perimeter parallel to the residential house hosting the ceremony (Figure 39). The veranda was a point of focus of the entire ceremony, and was decorated with large textile and flowers. The street segment was totally changed into a ceremonial place.



Figure 39. Street reconfiguration for social celebration.  
Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2017.

The above illustration elucidates the arrangement of the street for ceremonial dances; additionally, Respondent 22 explained how the courtyard was re-configured as a place for private ceremonial dance:

Ceremonial Street dancing is normally preceded by courtyard dancing to officiate the opening of the ceremony. The event is commonly known as ‘*fagia uwanja*’<sup>28</sup> which mainly stirs up preparation of food and ornaments for the upcoming ceremony. At this time we normally sing slowly, with low voices and subdued dancing. We normally put the huge drum in the middle of the courtyard with us surrounding it, some of us sitting while others standing. Every half a minute the drum is beaten once to elicit an eruption of joy. For the courtyards which are not paved, we dig a hole in the middle and put the drum in it in such a way that half of the drum is immersed in the soil to ensure the drum stays still when beaten. After food preparation we move to the front of the house and occupy part of the street with active dancing. The drum is removed from the hole in the courtyard, and is taken to the street. Now the courtyard resumes its intended daily uses.

<sup>28</sup> *Fagia uwanja* are Swahili statements which literally mean ‘sweep the ground’, meaning to prepare a space for the forthcoming ceremonial event. It is a dancing style performed prior to ceremonial activities such as a wedding.

It was noted that the feelings people got during courtyard and street dancing, substantiate the production of spaces through lived experiences. Residents re-configured courtyards and streets before dancing. Normally, a women's troupe initiated the dance followed by fans. The songs were a combination of rhythms from local brass bands and melodies from a music system controlled by local DJs'.<sup>29</sup>

Following the rhythm of drum beats the dancing would start slowly, and would gain pace as time went on. The dancing style was fine-tuned by the women's troupe moving around in a circle with arms extended to the rolling hips and legs and rapid facial contortions that went along with the shaking of tongues and eyes, accompanied with whoops (Figure 40). As the dancers met fans the dancing become concentrated, some of the dancers would start to dance humorously, including waist and hip-wriggling with flat feet and hands on the ground. They also lifted up their gowns to expose their pants and thighs, something which depicted a towering intensity of emotions. This was what residences term as *kupandisha mzuka* (literary to reach immutable power of unconsciousness), it occurred when participants almost inevitably become emotionally aroused and moved to dance. In investigating residents' feeling of recreation during street dancing, it was noted that residents enjoyed the performances through seeing dancing styles and listening to spectators' replication of the songs as a way of accentuating the singers and dancers. On the other hand, the response from the dancers themselves said they enjoy seeing their colleagues dancing, as well as be seen by others, as explained by Pili (Pseudonym for Respondent 20) who is one of the dancers:

When we dance, at the beginning we are like normal people but there comes a time when happiness increases, especially when we discover the audience has increased in number. This is when each dancer will try to dance with a unique style, and one of the dancers goes to the centre of the circle of the dancing group, performing special dancing styles. While the dancer gets to the middle of the dancing group the drummers increase the pace of their beating to over-excite the dancer. This is also the time when whoops increase. At this moment the dancer feels as if people from the whole street and settlement are watching him/her, and that is the strength of

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<sup>29</sup> Nicknames such as 'Kad-rida' [for card reader] and 'Msaga sumu' (poison grinder) are used for popular local DJ s and music composers in ceremonial dances. The DJs stimulates dancing through *singeli*; a contemporary music genre which originated in *uswahilini* (informal settlements especially of low income people in Dar es Salaam). Singeli carries 'contents' relating to the everyday life of *uswahilini*.

street dancing. You will also see individuals from the audience coming in front to give gifts to dancer.

At this particular moment the street becomes completely territorialised and appropriated for recreation and amusement.



Figure 40. Ceremonial dances enhanced by a melodious chant produced by a Waasi group, imbuing new meanings to the street.

Source: Fieldwork observation, November 2017.

#### *Permeation on the planned area - beyond the streets of informal settlements*

The ceremonial dances redefine and reconfigure streets of informal settlements; meanwhile, it was noted that the same dances were also performed in planned areas. The researcher noted the diffusion of street dancing in Mikocheni Ward, which is one of the planned wards in Kinondoni Municipality about 2.5 kilometres from Manzese. It was interesting to observe the ceremonial dances reaching to the designation of performance in the planned area at Mikocheni through a trip from Manzese as explained in the box in figure 41. During the trip, the whole route was changed into a temporary ceremonial dancing venue. Figure 41 illustrates the trip from Manzese to Mikocheni.

It was mid Saturday of November 18, 2017 one of the hottest days of the month, when the researcher received a call from a key informant (owner of Team Nyodo Group, a group of dancing women at Manzese). The call was made as an invitation to participate in the ceremonial dances that began from the Tip-Top area in Manzese. The meeting place for the participants was the Tip-Top area, near Kione Street, where the ceremony began in front of a residential house. There was a crowd of people, some in special costumes and others carrying drums and trumpets, standing just in front of a residential house at the junction where two streets meet. It was a starting point of the journey to Mikocheni to celebrate a farewell day for a girl who was expecting to get married the following day. Before the journey started, and just after people finished eating, dancing held the fort.

The group of men started hitting their instruments while women in special costumes danced in an informal way. Soon a commuter bus arrived and people began to enter without stopping dancing. Women, including dancers, entered with several gifts for the celebrant. The researcher was asked to hold a goat with a noose around its neck as one of the gifts. Then dancers, performers and invitees entered the commuter bus. The journey to Mikocheni started, and on the way, performers continued banging the drums while dancers continued dancing and singing enthusiastically. As the bus was moving, people outside stopped their business to watch. They made joyous shouts - while engaging in singing and dancing, and thus made the whole street a ceremonial dancing venue. The journey took about twenty-five minutes in Manzese and Tandale, and another twenty minutes between Kijitonyama and Mikocheni. Spectators along the road were numerous, as the commuter bus passed by Manzese and Tandale settlements, and decreased as the bus headed to Mikocheni planned settlement. When the commuter bus arrived at the intended destination, dancing and singing ceased as people were disembarking the vehicle. But almost immediately it began again when people moved to a large defined kind of square surrounded by blocks of houses. There, a few other people joined the dancers from Manzese and formed a kind of a dancers' circle and continued dancing. People from the surrounding blocks of houses watched from their windows, some with angry faces and others with smiling faces. The dancing went on until midnight with little stops for few announcements.

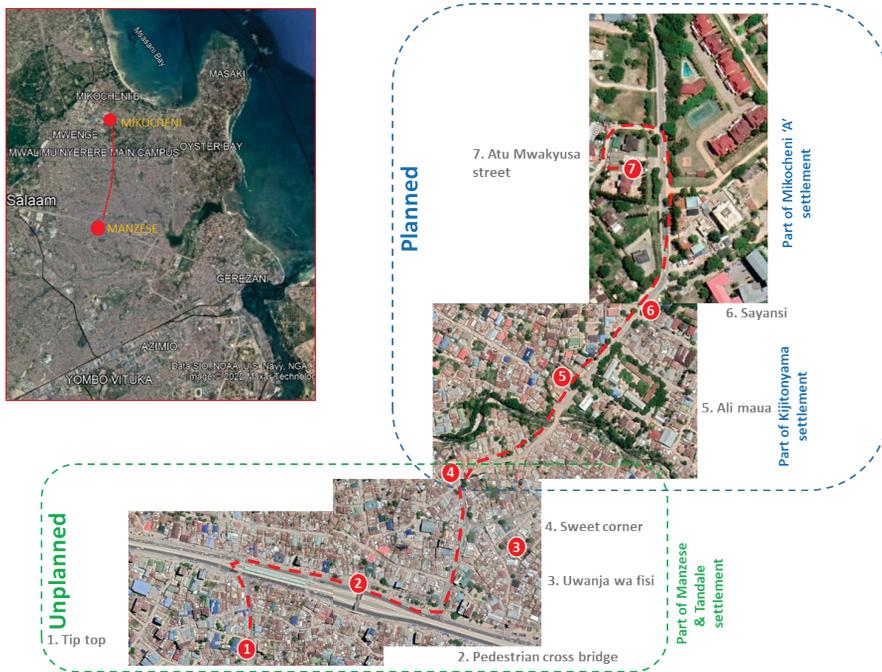


Figure 41. Appropriated segments of the urban street through ceremonial dances in informal and planned settlements in Ubungo-Kinondoni Municipalities. Source: Mapping and fieldwork observations, November 2017.

### 6.4.3 Socio-cultural meaning embedded the streets through ceremonial dances

It was revealed that residents used streets as dancing venues not simply because the informal settlements are deficient of public open spaces but rather they wanted to share the silent meanings of streets, beyond configurations and layouts. Manzese informal settlement is a heterogeneous society with almost fifty different tribes with different amusement styles (Chapter 4), and thus when they got to hear a street festival they rushed to get exposure to it and experience it. The dancing itself made people from different tribes gather and enjoy different dancing and singing styles from different tribes of Tanzania. Such an amalgamation of different tribes through ceremonial dancing created an urban culture of its own kind that did not belong to a single tribal culture. In addition, the ceremonial dancing in streets in Manzese’s did not belong to any specific tribe. In line with this understanding, Respondent 18 said:

We enjoy dancing vigodoro because it is where we get singing and dancing flavours of different tribal communities. Some really know how to shake their bodies especially those who grew up in the rural areas of the coastal regions namely Tanga, Pwani, Dar es Salaam, Lindi and Mtwara. We see them dancing and learn from them and eventually actively engage in it. We normally enjoy flashbacks of tribal songs.

In spite of the fact that streets were used as civic places of socio-cultural significance, ceremonial dances have brought negativity to ‘outsiders’ who were not fond of street dancing. The immediate community and the government perceive street dances differently. They believe that when the streets are occupied with ceremonial dances they become vulnerable to criminality, indecency and laziness, as explained by one of the residents:

People who don’t know about ceremonial street dancing associate it with bad behavior, especially seen through the dancing modes. As the dances are performed in the streets, there is little control over spectators, among whom are children and teenagers who can easily copy whatever fuss is available.

Government officials considered informal settlements and the associated lifestyles to be spontaneous. It was believed that the performances stimulate illegal activities, including excessive drinking and unbridled erotic behaviours. These are immoral into Tanzanian culture. It was also believed that thieves take advantage of ceremonial dances when performing at night in residential settlements. This led to a ban of ceremonial dances during nighttime hours in the 2000s. For instance, in 2014 the Ministry of Information, Culture, Arts and Sports prohibited ‘ceremonial dances’ which are at night and sometimes until dawn, because they stimulate acts that lead to the violation of Tanzanian values (Timothy, 2014).

## 6.5 Concluding remarks - Spatial appropriation through adaptation in public infrastructure

This chapter describes the spatial appropriation of public infrastructure of different types in a saturated informal settlement through adaptation and improvisation. The public infrastructure was retrofitted with recreational activities and meanings, and thus portrays the actualisation of spaces on the

ground (Table 7). It has been seen that the way public infrastructures are used and interpreted as spaces for recreation, multiple layers of comprehending spaces are revealed. Understandings taken from the pedestrian overpass bridge and corridor under high tension cables reveal the way the infrastructure are permanently appropriated. This is due to prolonged improvisation of recreational activities and meanings to the infrastructure. It has also been noted that public infrastructure such as streets are turned into recreational spaces through repetitive activities, as well as pop-up recreational activities. Retrofitting recreational activities in the streets as ceremonial dancing areas, highlight the need to redefine urban spaces and demonstrates the need to improve the multi-usability of urban spaces and facilitation of urban recreation with minimal cost implications in the rapidly developing cities of developing countries. In general, understanding public infrastructure as spaces for recreation illuminates the adaptive reuse of spaces, and facilities, the temporal dimension of spaces, and flexibility and multipurpose use of urban spaces.

Table 7. Summary of spatial appropriation by adaptation for recreation in public infrastructures.

	<b>Category of spaces</b>	<b>Type of spaces</b>	<b>Designated function</b>	<b>Spatial appropriation practice</b>	<b>Appropriated function and meaning</b>
1	Public infrastructure	Pedestrian overpass bridge	To enable crossing the road	Adaptation	-Fitness centre, -Sedentary recreation -Informal beach -Vantage point
Corridor under high-voltage cable		Green belt for high tension electrical cable	Adaptation	-Playground -Informal beach	
Streets		Movement (Access to places)	Adaptation	-Playground -Temporal civic space -Socio-cultural values	



## 7. Retrofitting ‘outdoor spaces in residential premises’ for recreation

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter divulges retrofitting of outdoor spaces in residential premises for public recreation through negotiations and superimposition. The outdoor spaces within residential premises includes undeveloped residential plots, building setbacks and verandas.

### 7.2 Undeveloped residential plots used as places for recreation

In Manzese informal settlement, the undeveloped residential plots which falls under land value speculation and/or ownership conflict are appropriated for recreation. However, in some cases residents were denied access to the plots as owners fear repossession of their plots for community activities. Access to the undeveloped plots was restricted through the use of walls, barbed wires, hedges and guards. For the unrestricted undeveloped plots imbued with recreational functions, it was noted that access was granted to all by owners through negotiation. To provide an in-depth description of how undeveloped residential plots in were appropriated, Manzese, Tishio Square is used as a typical example.

### 7.2.1 Appropriation of undeveloped residential plots through negotiations

Tishio Square is a name given to an undeveloped residential plot that is used for public recreational activities for the past fifteen years - between 2002 and 2017, when the fieldwork was conducted. The word ‘Tishio’ is a Swahili word meaning ‘threat’ intended to keep away land grabbers telling them that if they take hold of the plot they will die through witchcraft before the commencement of building construction. However, the statement was meant to scare people off from land invasion. The plot is located at Midizini sub-ward, about two hundred metres, from Midizini Road.

It is about 1500 square meters which is almost equivalent to six ordinary plots in the same neighbourhood, where plot sizes range between 200 to 250 square metres (Figure 42).

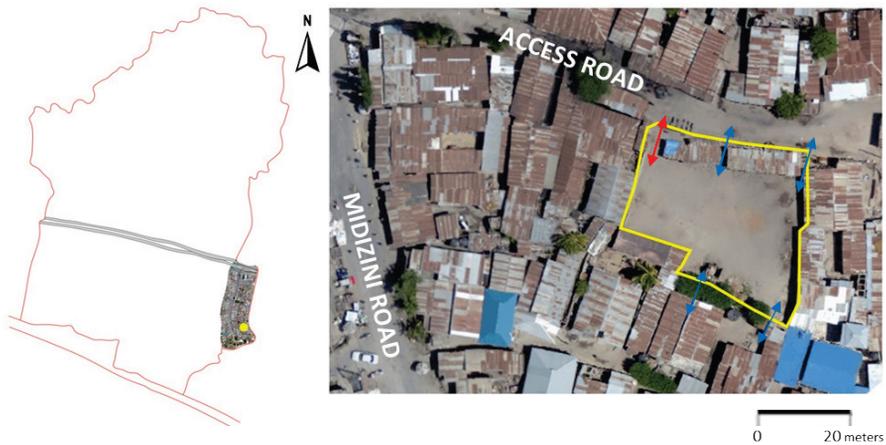


Figure 42. Location and accessibility of Tishio Square at Midizini.

Source: Adapted from (DarRamaniHuria, 2016) and fieldwork observations 2017.

### 7.2.2 Changing designated function through recreational use and meaning

Tishio Square was once a residential plot owned by an individual. The plot remained undeveloped for many years due to financial problems. Residents started using it for social activities and low-key economic activities including charcoal and vegetable vending at its edges. Gradually, sheds were erected at its periphery without permission from the owner. The interior part of the



was also noted regarding the use of the pedestrian overpass bridge (Chapter 6), which people perceive as 'dry beaches'. This tells how people strived to find their own ways of using available opportunities amidst the densified vicinity and paucity of preconceived urban open spaces.

Apart of the quest to understand the use of the square by women, it was noted that the square is occasionally used by young women who play netball. Women living in the houses adjacent to the square had their own netball teams, which depend on the square for training that happens at least once per week, and sometimes for tournaments. It was also noted that boys are frequent users (figure 43a) and when women want to play they just negotiate to give a chance to each other. For instance, on 25th November 2017 in the evening, it was a day when two netball teams 'Vagi' and 'Wakitaa' - both from Midizini-played. It was a netball tournament that was sponsored by two warmhearted businesswomen who are residents of Midizini (Figure 43b).



a



b

Figure 43. Regular and occasional active recreations changing the unbuilt residential plot into a playground.

Source: Fieldwork observations, November 2017.

During the tournament, boys left the square for women and stayed outside as spectators. The tournament was aimed at improving women's participation in active recreation. However, players and non-players gathered to enjoy the day. At 16:00 the square was full of spectators watching the game. The young women played very well and spectators were so excited by the game. Players

were stirred up by the promised ‘trophy’ which was a dozen *madera*<sup>30</sup> donated by two female sponsors. The game started with players full of enthusiasm. They demonstrated a high level of skills and motivation to win. Spectators were divided into almost two equal halves supporting each team. Every time a team scored, the spectators got carried away and wanted to enter the pitch to cheer, but fortunately they were controlled by a *sungusungu* leader who stopped them. It was also noted that during the tournament several of the female participants expressed a sense of refuge during the tournament, and had been attracted to come out to the square because of the presence of *sungusungu* security guards, as well as the crowd. For instance, during the halftime break, when Respondent 21 was asked to explain her delight during the tournament she said:

I am very free and I feel very safe to be here to enjoy the tournament. It is something which attracts many women to come out and enjoy other women playing as you see. It is very rare for a lady to come out here when there is no tournament like this because we are afraid of robberies.

The fear that women had about the space did not come from its physical attributes or location, but rather the symbolic connotations attached to the space. The absence of a crowd and the fear of being robbed manifest symbolic meanings onto the space. Therefore, as the respondent expressed her confidence and freedom by being in a crowded public space at Tishio Square, this communicates a sense of safety in numbers. It also conforms to the observation that the square is a space for recreation usually used by men teenagers who play football and young men who linger for the breeze. By this logic, women did not use the square frequently for the breeze. As the settlements are warm and humid, outdoor spaces with a breeze are much needed.

In the effort to understand how women experience the breeze if they avoided the square, it was noted that they spend time in outdoor spaces attached to their homes in building setbacks, in the verandas and in the courtyards. It was noted that courtyards were much preferred because of their high degree of privacy. The building setbacks and verandas, though they had a considerable amount of wind, were too exposed.

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<sup>30</sup> *Madera* is the plural of *dera* which is a traditional women’s gown in the coastal areas of Tanzania.

Tishio Square was appropriated without conflict, and control over its use was transparently made amongst residents themselves. Mutual understanding between the land owner and residents made the production of temporal public recreation in residential areas possible. However, there was no guarantee of the survival of the plot as an 'informal urban square' because it was not known when the owner of the plot would decide to erect buildings. The appropriation of and improvisation in unbuilt plots on residential premises for recreational activities and negotiations of use by different gender groups highlights the need for mixed land use beyond the uses of buildings. This also calls for temporal activities in redundant spaces as a means of eradicating crime-prone areas and land invasion. According to the researcher's experience in Dar es Salaam, there had been some instances wherein unknown people invade empty plots and start erecting buildings, especially when the plot has remained undeveloped for years.

### 7.3 Building setbacks and verandas as places for recreation

Building setbacks and verandas are the smallest outdoor spaces on the residential premises, and are primarily used for recreational activities in Manzese. Due to their sizes they are appropriated for passive recreation. The prominent recreational activities undertaken in the building setbacks and verandas were local board games.

#### 7.3.1 Physical setting and features

To understand how the local board games were played in the *building setbacks* and *verandas*, an exploration was carried out at Sisi kwa Sisi Sports Club. There are several local board games nodes in Manzese; however, Sisi-kwa-Sisi was selected due to its peculiarity, particularly in terms of its activity-vibrancy. Despite its location in an unexposed area within Midizini sub-ward (Figure 44), the club is well known and full of people compared to other sports clubs in Manzese. It is famous because of the diverse types of local board games which attract residents.

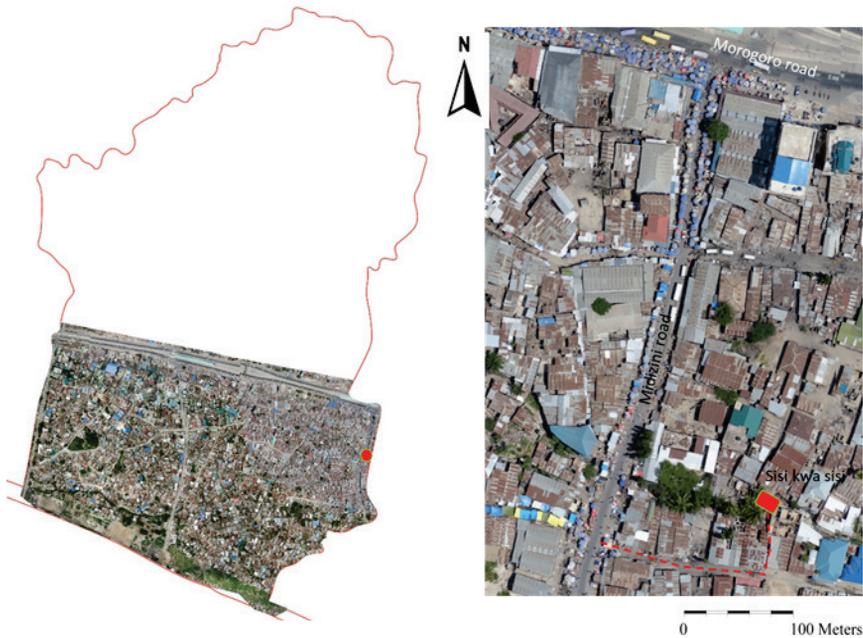


Figure 44. Location of the prominent all-night Sisi-kwa-Sisi local board game spot at Midizini.

Source: Author's construction adapted from (DarRamaniHuria, 2016).

Sisi kwa Sisi local board game spot occupies a projecting backyard veranda which had no access to the residential house on whose property is stood (Figure 45). It was covered with corrugated iron sheets, with its floor made of cement sand screed, with mats spread on top of it where players sit. There was a notice board which is literally a small piece of blackboard of about 60cm x 120cm hung on the wall to display matches and tournaments anticipated in a week. It was noted that the owner of the residential house had decided a space to his home for the Sisi kwa Sisi Sports Club because he was a fan of local draught-board games. Mzee Yunus (Pseudonym for respondent 22) explained why the spot is famous despite being unexposed.

Before settling here six years ago, our club was located on the roadside of Midizini, where it was highly exposed and gained many fans. That is why when we shifted to the unexposed location, we maintained our fame. The number of fans here is far beyond compared to other board game spots located on exposed streets.



Figure 45. Physical environment of ‘Sisi-kwa-Sisi’ local board game spot.  
Source: Mapping and fieldwork observations, November 2017.

### 7.3.2 Superimposition of recreational activities in building setbacks and veranda

Sisi-kwa-Sisi spot is famous for the variety of local board games available, unlike other spots in Manzese where a few local games are played, mainly the popular. African stone game *bao*, is very popular in several spots within Manzese. This variety of games attracted the majority of people from within and out of the settlement, as Mzee Yunus continued:

If you have never heard about Sisi-kwa-Sisi, here you are. Everyone living in Midizini knows this place because it is an old and renowned centre where we play, enjoy and compete in local board games every day and night. Bao, ‘African stone game’ and ‘zuna’ are our popular games. As a club we used to play these sports among ourselves, but also during competitions with other teams from other sports clubs within Manzese and from other settlements. We also do the same by moving to other local draught spots for tournaments.

The variety of games made the spot busy the whole day. With the assumption that residents engaged in recreational activities in the evening hours, it was noted that Sisi-kwa-Sisi spot was vibrant before and beyond the assumed time while its peak hours were evenings. It was also noted that Sisi-kwa-Sisi spot is also active during the morning and afternoon hours as well as at night, as table 9 shows.

Table 9. Activity vs time at Sisi-kwa-Sisi spot

Activity type		Time					
		Morning		Afternoon		Evening & night	
		06:00-07:30	07:30-11:00	12:00-02:00	14:00-16:00	16:00-18:30	18:30-the whole night
1	Active recreations						
	-Jogging						
	-Aerobics						
	-Boxing training						
	-Playing football						
2	Passive recreations						
	-Chatting					████████	
	-Photographing						
	-Linger					████████	
	-Playing board game	████████	████████	████████	████████	████████	████████
	-Breezing					████████	
3	Strictly no recreational activities						

██████████ High occupation  
 ██████████ Low occupation  
 □□□□□□ No occupation

However, throughout the days and nights no female residents appeared at Sisi kwa Sisi spot. When its hosts were asked about the absence of women and the reasons for it, it was understood that there was no prohibition of access to women. It is very uncommon to see women playing board games. Occasionally women were found playing cards, but not in public spots according to Mzee Yunus. This response corroborates another response obtained during the household survey (Figure 21, Chapter 5), which showed a low rate of women spending time in public spaces. In addition, the number of male elders was small compared to youth at the spot. According to Mzee Yunus there were many factors which made Sisi kwa Sisi famous:

For all the time you visited Manzese, have you seen youths and elders? Definitely youths dominate. And many elders have been in this club from when they were youths and actively engaging in tournaments. Nowadays many elders come here for

leisure. They can play or not play, but stay here for many hours just to be with other people. It is a place where we enjoy traditional coffee bought from hawkers who pass by here every day. We linger here because it is where we can get news from the media. Being here you can share a newspaper with a friend. But again we prefer to come here because we can hear and discuss anything interesting regarding the status of our country.

In order to be satisfied with the response from men about the absence of women at the spot, an effort was taken by the researcher to seek responses from women themselves who lived around the spot. According to casual conversation with two women it was noted that it was true they don't prefer to access and use the space in front of men. They would do so only if the space were attached to a residence and include a private semi-indoor space for family members and just a few neighbours. The women continued, saying that they were forced to squeeze themselves in courtyards, backyards and tiny spaces between buildings. This was a bit challenging because many residential houses in Manzese lack adequate public outdoor spaces, and spaces between buildings are very minimal in terms of size. They also mentioned that children too have no access to the front-yards of their houses due to the dominance of men in the use of these spaces. This unveils the issue of gender and age segregation in residential spaces.

### 7.3.3 Embedded meanings to recreation in the building setbacks and veranda

Based on the previous empirical findings, building setbacks and veranda portray two layers of meaning, one being explicit and the other invisible.

#### *Explicit meaning*

Drawing from the creation and use of the Sisi-kwa-Sisi spot as a representative case of building setbacks and veranda, it signifies the increased publicness of private premises. As the spot is retrofitted with recreation and leisure activities, it contributes to the increase in liveliness, vitality and vibrancy, not only to the spot but to the street surrounding it. Therefore as the spot was accessed for leisure, there were elements of liveliness attached to it. There were youths who went to the spot, particularly during the morning hours, and played for the purpose of earning money. This usually involved two players who pledged a certain amount of money towards domestic

expenses. In some cases, some spectators promised to give a certain amount of money to those who win. Although the money earned from the play is little (An average 0.2 to 1 USD), players would be highly motivated and compete vigorously. Such an explicit meaning of leisure and livelihood noted at Sisi-kwa-Sisi spot is taken as an essence of recreation.

#### *Invisible meanings*

Behind the portrayal of the sense of vivacity of the building setbacks and verandas, there were hidden meanings that depict power, exclusions and segregation based on narratives from women who did not benefit from such spaces even when they were attached to their premises. Women and children find themselves excluded from the vibrant building setbacks and verandas, not by force but implicitly, by the domination of men. It was noted that many of the building setbacks and verandas in Manzese were established as spots for recreation by men, as women were never consulted to present their desires, and in that regard a sense of patriarchal power was revealed by the male-dominated space use patterns.

## 7.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter has described the way *outdoor spaces on residential premises*, including *undeveloped residential plots, building setbacks and verandas*, are used as alternative spaces for ‘outdoor urban recreational space.’ It has also discussed their associated challenges with respect to power relations in the saturated residential areas. Users’ control of publicly used residential spaces is exemplified in their cleanliness, maintenance and protection. Moreover, the superimposition of recreational activities on the building setbacks and verandas delineates the probable layers of the spatial dynamics. In general, the analysis of the use of outdoor spaces on residential premises reveals the possibilities for public recreation to permeate private spaces.

Table 10. Summary of spatial appropriation practices for recreation in outdoor spaces within residential spaces.

	<b>Category of spaces</b>	<b>Type of spaces</b>	<b>Designated function</b>	<b>Spatial appropriation practice</b>	<b>Appropriated function and meaning</b>
1	Outdoor spaces within residential spaces	Undeveloped residential plots	Residential plots	Negotiation	-Playground -‘Informal urban square’
		Building setbacks	Setbacks	Superimposition	-Centre for local draughtboard games
		Veranda	Residential spaces		-Sports for leisure and livelihood



## 8. Improvising indoor spaces for recreation through transformation

### 8.1 Introduction

While chapter seven presented the appropriation of ‘outdoor spaces within residential spaces’ for recreation, this chapter analyses how indoor transformed spaces are converted into recreational spaces through alteration of a physical setting. There were several types of spaces in Manzese that had been altered for various recreational purpose. ‘TV show huts’ and betting centres, both venues for watching live football, epitomise this phenomenon.

### 8.2 Transforming residential buildings into “TV show huts”

“TV show huts”, famously known as *vibanda umiza*, are crowded venues for watching live football matches in many informal settlements in Dar es Salaam. *Vibanda* means ‘huts’ and *umiza* means ‘to cause pain’. The two are Swahili words that combine to form a nickname for “TV show huts”. The name references the way the huts are small in size but accommodate huge numbers of people who enjoy watching football matches in a collegial setting. Normally the “TV show huts” were overcrowded with people tightly sharing seats, to the extent that people were unable to twist their bodies or to turn around. The sitting position allowed one to look at the television only. It was even difficult for viewers to stand up to cheer when a team scored a goal in such a sitting arrangement. This situation happened when the “TV show huts” were few, and because many people in informal settlements were unable to own televisions. As of 2019, “TV show huts”

are numerous and widespread, and are therefore less crowded, but the nickname *vibanda umiza* is still prevalent. In Manzese, many of the “TV show huts” were locally established, situated in a residential zone. Based on observation, the “TV show huts” existed in residential courtyards, partially in residential rooms, through the addition of rooms or by changing the use of some existing residential rooms or even a whole house. Other “TV show huts” were constructed in plots with ruined buildings.

### 8.2.1 Physical features of the “TV show huts”

In Manzese, “TV show huts” were accommodated in rented spaces or family properties, and operated mainly by youths. They were constructed with low- quality building materials with low-key architectonics. The “TV show huts” established in the residential courtyards depended on the surrounding buildings for enclosure, and some of their walls were covered by corrugated iron sheets. “TV show huts” located in plots with ruined buildings used corrugated iron sheets for walling and roofing, while others were walled with irregular wooden planks which were byproducts of sawn wood. “TV show huts” that were attached to houses were made up of masonry walls. Basically, many of the “TV show huts” are shoddily built and in a ramshackle state. Nevertheless, they serve the intended purpose. All “TV show huts” were provided with signage and display boards for advertising and presenting the games schedule (Figure 46).



Figure 46. Typical “TV show hut” in a courtyard with signage positioned at an exposed area, at Kwa Steve-Midizini.

Source: Author’s construction from a Google map and fieldwork observations, November 2017.

In corroborating why ‘TV show huts’ are of substandard, Jack (Pseudonym for Respondent 10) said:

We don’t hire building contractors to erect our ‘TV show huts’ as we cannot afford their expenses. We normally do it ourselves by using simple materials. For some of the difficult parts like making roofs we work together with local carpenters.

Jack further explained that they pay careful attention to ensure that the ‘TV show huts’ were properly roofed, to avoid rain water leakage. He added that there was no need to invest heavily when most of their customers were low-income people. The ‘TV show huts’ were furnished with fixed or moveable benches (Figure 47). For the ‘TV show huts’ located in courtyards, their benches were affixed to the ground, but in those located in indoor rooms they were moveable. The benches also vary in height to avoid visual obstructions.

In terms of capacity, the ‘TV show huts’ could accommodate between 20 and a peak capacity of about 100 persons.



Figure 47. Left: Typical ‘TV show huts’ in the courtyard at Kwa Steve ‘TV show hut’-Midizini sub-ward. Right: Typical ‘TV show huts’ in the indoor space at Kwa Imma ‘TV show hut’-Mwembeni sub-ward.

Source: Fieldwork observations, November 2017.

### 8.2.2 Function and operation

The ‘TV show huts’ were at peak activity particularly on Saturdays and Sundays, as most football matches were played on weekends. The ‘TV show huts’ also become crowded during weekdays over the course of Football International tournaments. During weekdays and in the absence of Football International tournaments, the huts remain operational as places to watch movies, mostly for children and teenagers. Through participants observation a few ladies were found in the ‘TV show huts’, and one lady at a ‘TV show hut’ in Midizini, explained that she went there not for the purpose of watching live football but just to accompany her boyfriend, who was a football fan. She insisted, though, that she had come to enjoy football as a result of becoming a regular goer to the ‘TV show hut’ (as shown in figure 21, Chapter 5).

### 8.2.3 Embedded meanings

The ‘TV show huts’ resonate different meanings amongst residents in Manzese. While insiders who did not use them had negatively tinged perceptions, users had a high appreciation for them. Some of the residents perceived ‘TV show huts’ as sources of noise pollution and chaos, particularly when fans cheered during matches broadcast on weekday nights.

The immediate residents complained about the amplified sounds from different 'TV show huts' in their vicinity. When asked about the significance of the 'TV show huts' as far as economic benefit, though the respondents had no objections. They recognised that owners of the 'TV show huts' striving to earn a livelihood, they only thought something should be done to reduce the noises. The owners of the 'TV show huts' said that they understand that noise pollution disturbs some of the residents in the settlement but thought such disturbances should be endurable since nighttime football matches happens only occasionally.

According to the informal conversations carried out during participant observations, the spread of 'TV show huts' in the settlement was increasing the sense of enjoyment. One of the respondents said that before the coming of 'TV show huts' they used to listen to the radios, which was less entertaining. Nowadays 'TV show huts' are perceived as means of globalizing the game of football, as reported by Respondent 17. Additionally he said:

These huts facilitate watching live football watching and movies. Previously we had a tradition of enjoying football through radio broadcasting. But now that is old-fashioned, although there are a few who still do that. The 'TV show huts' have brought to us the possibility of seeing real matches, and that is what many of us want.

### 8.3 Transformation of buildings to 'Betting centres'

Betting centres constitute another type of *indoor transformed spaces* in Manzese. The centres began to emerge in 2000 alongside the 'TV show huts', as both focused on live football watching. Betting centres were slightly different from 'TV show huts' in the sense that they involved gambling, unlike the 'TV show huts' where owners generated income from the entry fee. The majority of betting centres in Manzese were located along commercial streets for more visibility (Figure 48).



Figure 48. Location and distribution of betting centres in commercial areas.  
 Source: Author's construction from a Google map and observations 2017.

### 8.3.1 Physical features of betting centres

Betting centres embraced pleasant and appealing exterior and interior appearances (Figure 49). Each betting centre had its own exterior design style in terms of colour schemes, logos, textures and signage, as shown in Figure 50.



Premier bet at Midizini



Throne bet at Tiptop



Meridian bet at Midizini



Playmaster bet at Mwembeni

Figure 49. Various billboards illustrating the locations of various betting stations in Manzese.

Source: Fieldwork observations, November 2017.

A typical betting centre in Manzese is characterised by an indoor space with a modern interior ambiance. The sizes of the betting stations range between 30 and 60 square metres. They tend to be located in either residential houses or commercial buildings. The layouts of betting centres are similar to those of ‘TV show huts’, as both had halls for spectators, show boards, and focal points for displaying broadcasts. However, betting stations have additional features, including a notice board, betting area and counter, which are essential for betting activity.

The notice board displays the competing teams and their respective time schedules. The counters are normally located at inward areas from the entrances, and highly secured with grilles from potential burglars, as they are places where money from betting machines is kept. Betting areas are slightly bigger than counters, as they contain computers for self-service gambling. The audience area contain a 90 cm TV screen mounted on the wall to ensure maximum visibility to the audience. It was also noted that many betting centres consisted of more than one televisions to show different matches at

the same time. They also contained moveable modern chairs (Figure 50), unlike the fixed and banal benches in most of the ‘TV show huts’. The interior architectonics of betting centres attracted customers and created a sense of identity, as they could be easily distinguished from one another.



Figure 50. Interior architectonics of betting centres in Manzese.  
Source: Fieldwork observations, November 2017.

### 8.3.2 Function and operation of betting centres

Betting centres in Manzese operate day and night. Various betting centres open from 8:00 to 22:00 regardless of whether there is a match to air, because they are commercial entities. When there are no live football matches, especially during the morning hours, the centres are occupied with betting activities. During the live football matches the centres become highly populated, with both betting and watching taking place. Some of the fans pay-per-match entry fees, while others take advantage of the entry fee and bet while watching. The former are just enjoying the entertainment while the latter have chances to win or lose money depending on the game results. Betting centres set low wagers that were affordable to low-income people. Betting centres threatened the survival of ‘TV show huts’, as the majority of youths prefer betting centres as affirmed by Respondent 9 who had operated a ‘TV show hut’ for more than ten years:

I used to have between sixty and eighty people in my ‘TV show hut’ during football match-seasons of famous tournaments. But now the range is between twenty and thirty people. I thought maybe it was because of the low quality of my ‘TV show hut’ and subsequently I decided to improve it. I changed the floor finish and bought new benches with varied heights to increase visibility. Also I bought an additional TV flat

screen. However, with all those efforts, still the population remained small compared to the way it used to be. Eventually I recognised that many of my customers have shifted to the betting centres, where they can also make money. Sincerely the coming of the betting centres threatens the future of our business, as we cannot afford the running cost of the ‘TV show hut’ with a smaller number of people.

When betting centres and ‘TV show huts’ are not in operation, some of the youths at Midizini area spend their spare time in spaces between buildings while playing board games and cards as observed at ‘Wakubeti Camp’ (Figure 51), located on Soko Mjinga Street in Midizini sub-ward.



Figure 51. Spokesman of ‘Wakubeti Camp’ (left seated) describing the camp to the research team.

Source: Fieldwork observations, November 2017.

During the conversation with the spokesmen, it was noted that the camp was established as a social gathering place for people who work in the market. Members used to gather at the camp after work to enjoy themselves in the evening. The camp itself is a small space averaging four square meters - situated in the rear setback of a residential house. The owner of the house allowed youths to use the space, as he was also a fan of sports (Figure 52). Respondent 23 had this to say:

After we are done with betting and jogging we start discussions on various societal issues, and if someone is tired he shifts to places where board games are played. Some go to Steve’s ‘TV show hut’ or Saidi’s ‘TV show hut’ to watch football matches. We enjoy rotating between in the three sports spots, as we encounter new faces and open new dialogues.



Figure 52. Triangular movement route for recreational experiences on Midizini Soko Mjinga Street.

Source: Fieldwork observations 2017.

## 8.4 Concluding remarks - on spaces converted for recreation

Conversion of spaces in the residential settlements to accommodate recreation insinuates the need for planning and designing for open-ended solutions for multiple functions. It also calls for dynamic use of space, spatial control and, and spatial change to match with needs, desire and time. Alterations of buildings and land use in favour of recreation can ameliorate the rigid monolithic planning and architectural practices which rely on the

compartmentalisation of cities through mono-functional land use parcels. It also refutes the notion of public activities and public spaces as probable sources of criminality. Instead, the intuitive production of spaces for recreation reinforces the idea that recreation is an integral part of everyday life. However, recreational spaces within residential parcels are temporary, as the property owners can change their use anytime depending on demand. The analysis on the creation of indoor transformed spaces for recreation in this chapter reveals the issue of rethinking recreational spaces as an opportunity for income generation.

Table 11. Summary of spatial appropriation practices for recreation in invented indoor spaces.

	<b>Category of spaces</b>	<b>Type of spaces</b>	<b>Designated function</b>	<b>Spatial appropriation practice</b>	<b>Appropriated function and meaning</b>
1	Indoor Transformed spaces	'TV show huts' and betting centres	Residential /Commercial buildings	Transformation	- 'Informal cinema theatres'  - Places of livelihood



## 9. Discussion of findings

### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter brings into view the themes that emerge from the empirical findings, discussing them in light of quotidian recreational spatial practices, and provides a critical reflection on production of urban recreational spaces in cities. Following the analysis of findings in Manzese from the empirical chapters 5-8, several interesting themes for the discussion have emerged. For the purpose of discussion in this thesis, six key themes have been chosen on the basis that they involve the production of places beyond the dogmatic practices of conventional urban planning and design. Chapter 5 presents the possibilities and possible places for recreation in informal settlements, whereas a key theme, namely *'rethinking production of spaces with multiple layering'*, is raised. Chapter 6, presents appropriation of public infrastructure for recreation through adaptation, and highlight a theme on the perspective of *'production of temporal spaces for recreation'*. Chapter 7, provides an intricate description of performances of recreation in outdoor spaces on residential premises and brings up the theme namely *'public recreation in private spaces'*. Chapter 8 analysed recreation in indoor transformed spaces, and a theme on *'recreational spaces as opportunity for income generation'* was raised. Drawing from chapters 6 and 7, appropriation of spaces was embedded with meanings, divulging an emerging theme, namely *production of recreational 'places'*. Within the same chapters 6 and 7, the analysis of territorialisation of spaces in residential parcels and in spaces between buildings reveals another interesting theme on *'territorialisation, power and exclusion'* in the presence of recreation in informal settlements. The outlined

themes are discussed in this chapter in light of the literature on production of spaces described in Chapter 2.

### 9.1.1 Rethinking production of spaces with multiple layering

The puzzle of how people living in informal settlements engage in recreation in the absence of physically defined spaces for recreation was answered in Chapter 5. The key finding in chapter five reveals the facilitation of outdoor public recreation in informal settlement through retrofitting public infrastructure, outdoor spaces in residential premises as well as indoor transformed spaces.

In general, outdoor public recreation overlaps in ordinary space. With the exception of indoor transformed spaces created purposely for recreation, the other two (public infrastructure and outdoor spaces in residential premises) reveals recreation in undesignated spaces; that is, spaces not created to host recreational activities. They accommodate different functions, different actors and different users at different periods of time. This phenomenon is informative for rethinking the production of spaces with multiple layers of functions. To recreate in undesignated spaces means to add another layer of function to the spaces, making them multifunction.

This dynamism conforms to Lefebvre's concept of 'differential space', which denotes the reproduction of spaces through ordinary use, changing the original use (Lefebvre, 1991). This change, Lefebvre added may be in the form, function and structure of material space. Out of these three aspects of change of space, the analysis the in informal settlement has revealed the change of functions of the spaces compared to change in form and material structure. Public infrastructure were retrofitted with recreational activities without physical manipulation, while the forms of verandas and building setbacks, were slightly changed, including provision of shade.

The key message with regard to 'differential spaces' as a manifestation of 'undesignated recreational spaces' is the way they challenge the functionalistic/dogmatic way of provision of spaces. The functionalistic production of spaces is characterised by provision of predefined, monofunctional spaces. In Lefebvre's view, 'functionalism stresses functions to the point where because each function has a specially assigned place within dominated space, the very possibility of multi-functionality is eliminated' (Lefebvre, 1991:369). Spaces such as urban parks and urban squares are normatively planned and designed through zoning as discrete spaces, highly demarcated

from other city spaces for the purpose of recreational benefits. This connotes that production of spaces based on a functionalistic/dogmatic approach can be viewed as a separation or fragmentation of the urban setting, contrary to the quotidian spatial practice of integration of space, making it possible to host multiple functions within a single space.

The context of informal settlements where this study was carried out is a manifestation of dynamism and vibrancy because of the spatial complexities. Moreover, the phenomenon of multiplicity of layers does not only exist in the context of this study; it is also common in rapidly urbanising cities in developing countries. Many of these countries share common characteristics, including the presence of informal settlements as a result of increases in the urban population. As explained in Chapter 1, population increase can lead to devastating effects on the urban environment. The continuous occupation of land for construction of buildings leaves no adequate outdoor spaces to access for outdoor urban recreation. Many efforts have been carried out differently to counter the problem including upgrading by providing new spaces.

Building on the existing body of knowledge, this thesis argues that provision of spaces for recreation in the rapidly urbanising cities in developing countries require multi-layered thinking. Taking this idea on board, will lead to the creation of habitable urban environments that the optimise quality of urban life.

### 9.1.2 Production of temporal spaces for recreation

Based on the analysis of production of spaces for recreation in Manzese, this study has found that spaces are produced through appropriation by the use of existing spaces as well as the creation of new space. This appropriation involves engaging in recreational activities in the spaces at different periods of time, making them visible as recreational spaces during the performance of recreation, and invisible as recreational spaces when recreational activities are not in the spaces. This phenomenon accentuates the temporal aspect of the production of spaces for recreation. The repeated use of the overpass bridge for active and sedentary recreation, the pop-up recreational activities such as ceremonial dances in streets, as well as the use of high-tension cable corridor as informal football grounds, connotes the changing meaning of the spaces during a particular period of time. The agent of change is the users, through their own recreational demands.

The appropriation of existing spaces, as analysed in Manzese, on the one hand conform with Lefebvre's idea of production of spaces, particularly in the concept of 'lived space' (representational space), in the sense that the 'lived space' is conceptualised as the everyday space that people produce, inhabit and act within. However, Lefebvre did not include the aspect of time in the spatial triad. This thesis found out that time is crucial in the production of spaces, particularly 'lived spaces', based on the analysis of appropriation of existing spaces in Manzese, of which the temporal aspect was revealed. The temporal aspect, as revealed in space appropriation in this study, resonates with Unwin (2000) critique to Lefebvre on the exclusion of the aspect of time in his production of space triad. Unwin (2000) interprets Lefebvre's epistemological thoughts on production of space as an end product instead of being a continuous process. In line with Unwin's critique, evidence in appropriation of spaces analysed in Manzese divulges that production of space is a continuous process, because of the recurrence of recreational activities. For instance, ceremonial dances tend to occupy streets and change the meaning of those streets at a particular period of time, and there are no specific streets to host ceremonial dances. This is due to the fact that the dances appear by just popping-up depending on an ordinary individual's arrangement. At this juncture it is evident that if Lefebvre's idea on production of space could be integrated with the time aspect, this could result in a suitable epistemological conceptualisation of the production of spaces in rapidly urbanising cities. This because rapidly urbanising cities, particularly those situated in developing countries, encompass informal settlements, and within the informal settlements is where spatial challenges are heavily faced as a consequence of how these spaces are appropriated over time.

Moreover, it should be noted that spaces appropriated for recreation in Manzese are not owned by those who appropriate them. This might be a reason why the appropriation is temporally dependent. For instance, the use of undeveloped residential plots for recreational activities depicts the temporal dimension because it is not known when the owners of the spaces will decide to reoccupy the plots for their own use including erecting buildings. Similarly, the pedestrian overpass bridge and the high-tension cable corridor are owned by the local authority. This means on the one hand that their temporal appropriation depicts the temporal dimension in the production of space; on the other hand, it is a portrayal of urban informality. To support this phenomenon, current studies including Lara-Hernandes and

Melis (2020), argue that there is a relationship between temporary appropriation and urban informality, particularly in the context of rapidly urbanising cities. They claim that informality is not an illegitimate thing, but a substitute for formal urban structures. On this basis the temporal appropriation of spaces for recreation in Manzese can be viewed as more of the production of temporal spaces based on quotidian practices than being perceived as urban informality in action. This is evident from the fact that even though the appropriated spaces are not owned by those who appropriate them, there is an element of loosening restrictions to the spaces. For instance, there are no tight restrictions on use of the high tension cable corridor, which seem dangerous because of the electric cables that pass through them, since people use these areas for recreation temporarily.

Furthermore, thinking on the production of spaces through a temporal lens, is not only based on the side of rapidly urbanising cities with informal settlements. It is also significant to the current planning and design of urban recreational spaces. And it is important to note that some of the temporary recreational activities performed in unplanned informal settlements are also performed in planned cities, although in a more structured manner. For instance, the temporal appropriation of streets by the pop-up ceremonial dance is comparable to the carnival performances in Brazil and some countries in Europe, when streets are colonised for one or two weeks in summer (Richards & Palmer, 2012). This phenomenon signifies the necessity of rethinking the production of spaces, particularly infrastructure such as roads, with consideration of temporal activities that might occur.

Additionally, production of spaces for recreation with the temporal dimension, as analysed in informal settlements, is contrary to production of the spaces from a planning perspective. This is due to the sense that planning and design of urban recreational spaces across many cities has taken functionalistic professional approach indoctrinated by thoughts emanating from CIAM. The establishment of urban recreational spaces focused on producing 'fixed' spaces, meaning that spaces were provided with one type of function (recreational functions). This was to enable people to access the spaces for recreational usage almost all the time. And it might be associated with historical significance for the establishment of the recreational spaces during the industrial revolution period, to provide adequate urban spaces to allow recreation and relaxation after work (Chapter 2). However, from that period onward it has been a trend for planning urban recreational spaces by setting

aside areas and zoning them specifically for recreation (urban parks, urban squares etc.). As the spaces are specified for recreational activities only, there is no room for other activities to take place, and hence they become 'fixed' with one function. This is contrary to the analysis of informal settlements, in which spaces are dynamic, vibrant and diversifiable to accommodate multiple functions during different periods of time. It sounds uncanny to continue using a doctrine inherited from functionalistic planning in the recent planning and designing of spaces particularly in rapidly urbanising cities where the demand for land is exponentially increasing. Producing urban recreational spaces as 'fixed' spaces for a specified limited use is also criticised by Scott (2003), who argues that the creation of abstract spaces is never comprehensive without inclusion of the grounded realities. Some of these realities are exemplified by the production of spaces for recreation through temporal appropriation, as analysed in Manzese. The temporal appropriation analysed in Manzese conforms to current planning thoughts that emphasises production of spaces through quotidian spatial practices.

### 9.1.3 Public recreation in private realm

To reiterate the categories of possible spaces for recreation in Manzese, there are in three: public infrastructure (*includes pedestrian overpass bridge, corridor under high tension cable and streets*), outdoor spaces on residential premises (*including undeveloped residential plots, building setbacks and veranda*) and indoor transformed spaces (*including courtyards, 'TV show huts', sports bars, local bars, modern bars and betting centres*). Some of these spaces are public entities, particularly those in the category of public infrastructure. Others are private especially those in the group of outdoor spaces in residential premises and indoor transformed spaces. They are private in the sense of belonging, as they are owned by private individual living in the settlement. However, based on the analysis of the appropriation of spaces for recreation, it was noted that private spaces are publicly used. For instance, Chapter 7 presented the way undeveloped residential plots are used for public recreation both active and sedentary, as the plots are turned into football and netball playing grounds, as well as an 'informal urban square' for people to linger in, while actually they are owned by private individuals. Similarly, the verandas are semi-outdoor spaces belonging to residential houses, but it was noted that they host recreation as people gather from various places to play board games, hence turning these spaces public.

It is evident that public recreation in informal settlements is interwoven into private spaces. From this viewpoint, it can be argued that informal settlements are dominantly public, as the public and private spaces overlap through their use.

The 'publicness' in the informal settlements of Manzese is associated with the process of spatial change of the settlements through the infancy, consolidation and saturation stages, as a result of high spatial density (Chapter 1 & 4). As the spatial density increases, much of the land is occupied by built up spaces, leaving few open spaces (Chapter 4). In this sense, the sharing of private outdoor spaces for public recreational use is accelerated. At some point, this phenomenon depicts the distinctiveness of informal settlements and conforms to the notion that informal settlements are characterised by dynamism in terms of fluidity, vitality and vibrancy (Schindler, 2017). There are some advantages for a settlement or neighbourhood to have the aforementioned dynamic characters, one of these being to enhance greater flexibility and more control over security. For instance, drawing from insights gained at Tishio square (one of the undeveloped residential plots in Manzese), the owner of the plot allowed nearby residents to use the plot and make it vibrant, although his main goal was to protect invaders who grab land. This comprehension builds on Lefebvre's spatial triad on production of spaces by addressing the aspect that he did not develop, that of the security of spaces. Perhaps Lefebvre's epistemological thoughts on production of space were developed in the context of concerns over the security of space/land where this was not an issue. In contrast, in the context of informal settlement, thinking about spaces with the dimension of security is crucial.

Furthermore, the theme of 'public recreation in private spaces', as revealed in Manzese, is by contrast, counter argue the binary and categorical thinking of functionalistic planning, which uses zoning as a tool to clearly separate between public and private spaces (Chapter 2). Cities have been planned and designed with attention to creating public zones separated from private zones, including the separation between urban recreational spaces and residential spaces. The purpose of zoning is to prevent the mixing of incompatible land uses, as well as facilitating the relocation of potential nuisance uses away from residential or other sensitive areas. From a functionalistic planning perspective this might hold true, since people need to shift from one area to another to seek for publicness or privateness. However, as

far as urban recreational space is concerned, to consider publicness and privateness as separate entities it works against mixed-use planning and design ideas. Many scholars address the sense of lack of safety and violence in urban recreational spaces; I argue that perhaps this is happening because of too much separation of the public from private space. Urban parks, for instance, which normally are created to cover a large portion of urban land compared to urban squares, are portrayed as being a long distance from the surrounding private environments such as residential houses. The risk of lack of insecurity with such spaces is high, particularly during times when the population of the spaces is small. This is somewhat different in the context of informal settlements, as observed in Manzese, where private spaces are assured of security because of the public recreation taking place in private spaces. For instance, Sisi-kwa-Sisi node (Chapter 7), a representation of a veranda famous for board games, was actively used for almost two-thirds of any twenty-four hour period. This signifies that safety is enhanced by publicness due to the availability of players over such long hours. Conversely, the sense of safety for players themselves is experienced by being in the vibrant spaces. Based on this comprehension, it can be argued that thoughts on production of spaces in contemporary urbanism, with regard to public and private perspectives, should be taken further beyond relying on the functionalistic professional approach and its emphasis on separation. Contemporary cities, particularly rapidly urbanising cities, are imbued with dynamics and heterogeneous characteristics as a result of quotidian spatial practices. Thinking separation of public versus private in planning, design and intervention in these cities is likely to create fragmentation.

#### 9.1.4 Recreational spaces as opportunities for income generation

One of the distinctive features that makes rethinking urban recreational space, beyond the perspective of recreational provision, was noted in the analysis of indoor transformed spaces (Chapter 8). The analysis revealed that for establishment and creation of the indoor spaces was influenced by the trend of watching live broadcast football games for recreation. It could be possible for such games to be displayed in spaces other than indoor spaces, such as to outdoor spaces like undeveloped residential plots, or to any public outdoor urban space. However, it was noted that these indoor spaces only accommodate watching live football games. Moreover, according to interviews with owners of these indoor spaces, as well as some users (particularly

of the betting centre), it was evident that they are associated with generation of income (Chapter 8).

This comprehension brings the discussion back to the context of informal settlement and their social economic status. Manzese, like many other informal settlements in Dar es Salaam, is populated with low-income people (Chapter 4). And this is a common characteristic for people living in other informal settlements worldwide, their socio-economic status is associated with poverty and unemployment (UN-Habitat, 2004). Cities in developing countries have been facing challenges of poverty and unemployment. Because of that, residents in informal settlements use whatever opportunities are available to shore up a livelihood. Likewise in Manzese, the transformation of indoor spaces for recreation portrays creative and intuitive skills as alternative ways of creating facilities for income generation. It was noted that the decision to alter spaces comes from the family as a whole, who sacrifice their own space in order to reduce the burden of renting other spaces when establishing a livelihood. This parallels Sheuya (2009), who observed the same phenomenon in the spatial transformation studies whereby buildings and spaces are converted willingly by owners to create spaces that can generate income.

The creative and intuitive skills people use in the production of the transformed indoor spaces resonate with ‘tactics’, as coined by De Certeau (1984), to denote an informal way of navigating or advancing within a given form. Similarly, the creation of indoor spaces in Manzese operates within the confines of a complex and densified environment. To the people of Manzese the complexity is revealed ways: through spatial and socio-economic challenges. As the settlement is densified, it is difficult for them to establish indoor recreational space in virgin land; instead, they transform existing spaces, and in doing so the spatial tactic is actualised. Again, within the limits of their economic status (low income), they navigate difficult conditions to ensure the creation of space. Based on this understanding, it can be argued that intuitive talents can be revealed when an individual is subjected to a complex environment. This is where ‘tactics’ are revealed in the ability to think of alternative means to survive conditioned by the environment. Furthermore, as tactics to manipulate one’s own environment are carried out by individuals themselves to transform indoor spaces for recreation, the capacity of quotidian spatial practices as bottom-up informal practices to persist without influence of professionals becomes objectified. This affirms

contemporary spatial planning and urban design scholarship such as tactical urbanism, messy urbanism, DIY urbanism, as well as help-yourself city (described in Chapter 2). These urbanism concepts underlie the production of spaces, with the ordinary individual is the key actor.

### 9.1.5 Production of recreational 'places'

The finding in Chapter 6 and 7 presented the production of spaces for recreation through appropriation by linking recreational activities to particular spaces. It was noted that in some spaces, activities are not the only way of appropriating the spaces, cultivating meanings was also a means of appropriation. Reiteratively, a meaning such as '*the bridge as a touristic attraction*', '*the bridge as a photo studio*', '*the bridge as a dry beach*', '*the bridge as a vantage point*' were given to the pedestrian bridge by its users. The undeveloped residential plots were perceived as '*informal urban square*', and users of the 'TV show huts' perceived the huts as '*multiplexes*'. This way of appropriating meaning reflects the production of spaces beyond provision of physical settings and conforms to Relph's and Cresswell's thoughts, that a physical setting becomes a place when meanings are attached (Cresswell, 2014; Relph, 1976). Meanings people give to the bridge, for instance, express their appreciation to the spaces as the bridge, is nominalised with qualities intuited to the insider which might not be the same to the outsider (a person who does not use the bridge). At some point it may sound like appropriating space through meaning is subjective; however, in some other cases, this is something substantial, particularly when the appropriation comes from many users of the space. This is evident from the meanings given to the analysis, from both the bridge and undeveloped residential plot, as attributed from the stories and narratives of the insiders (Chapter 6 and 7).

The appropriation of spaces by giving them meaning that is different from the original meaning as it appeared in Manzese is an actualisation of Lefebvre's idea of 'representational space' (Lived space). According to Lefebvre, a space becomes a representational/-lived space when it is inhabited and acted on by the daily social processes of people. Some of the inhabited values that define a representational/lived space, are visible (such as symbols), while others (such as meanings) are invisible and cannot easily be seen by the outsider. For instance, an outsider can easily recognise the symbols of 'TV show huts' by the signboard attached to it (Chapter 8); however, embedded meanings such as 'TV show hut' *as multiplex*' cannot be recognised by

outsiders; this encompasses representational/lived experiences. In this sense a 'TV show hut' is defined beyond physical characteristics and manifests production of 'place'.

Furthermore, the production of 'places' for recreational purposes as analysed in Manzese, is contrary to the functionalistic professional way of producing spaces, in the sense that the functionalistic approach has much to do with provision of physical space. It was described in Chapter 2 that outdoor urban recreational spaces, including parks and squares, have been provided as preconceived spaces. Lefebvre refers to the spaces produced by professionals as 'abstract space', spaces which are measurable and quantifiable geometrical spaces, evoking the image of an empty area (Lefebvre, 1991). Accordingly, functionalist/professional spaces are rich in quantitative values, while lacking qualitative social values that come from users of the space, making them like containers waiting to be filled by content. Lefebvre adds that the user's space is lived, and manifests the concrete reality grounded by the everydayness of people. It is not represented or conceived as 'abstract' functionalistic space.

The analysis of production of 'place' in Manzese consolidates Lefebvre's argument to contrast 'abstract', functionalistic space with evidence regarding the way quotidian spaces are produced beyond physical quantification. Both activities and meanings of appreciation embedded in the recreational spaces manifest 'representational spaces'/lived space in informal settlements and signifies the notion that people take their lives into their own hands irrespective of the professionals' intentions.

The production of 'place', discussed in this section, brings an understanding on thinking of ordinary spaces beyond ordinariness. Ordinary urban spaces and objects should not be taken for granted, as they implicate existential qualities embedded by insiders. Understanding of urban spaces and objects beyond the literal requires deeper investigation and analysis of lived experiences from those who inhabit them.

### 9.1.6 Territorialisation, power and exclusion

The previous section underlines the discussion on production of recreational space ,whereas 'embedded meanings' is seen as a central element to make recreational spaces into places, based on an analysis of the Chapter 6 and 7 findings. However, further analysis of these chapters revealed that spaces and their production processes are associated with 'invisible meanings'

which are characterised by territorialisation and the dominance of power, which caused invisible exclusions and segregation. These characteristics are demonstrated in the imbalance in use of the spaces for public recreation, where women and children are least considered. Additionally, it was noted that some parts of the pedestrian overpass bridge, as well as the corridor under high-voltage cable were territorialised and dominated by the social groups who were felt to belong to these spaces most. For instance, regarding the pedestrian overpass bridge, it has been noted that photographers informally territorialise the bridge, dividing it among an established group of them such that new photographers cannot penetrate to earn their own livelihood. Similarly, the subdivision and informal ownership of the corridor under high-voltage cables (Chapter 6) manifests the way territorialisation is enacted through quotidian spatial practices. This kind of territorialisation signifies the existence of power within ordinary space users who tend to exclude others. This notion corresponds to power characteristics in informal settlements, including inequality, social exclusion and marginality as critical interrelated aspects that influence suppression (Kühn, 2015; Musterd, 2020; Pettas, 2019; Schwab, 2018b; Soliman, 2021; Tonkiss, 2013). Moreover, as the territorialisation of both the pedestrian overpass bridge and corridor under high-voltage cables is within people themselves without the presence of the state, this substantiates what Foucault, (2019) and Pettas (2019) termed it 'micro-power'. According to Foucault, micro-power is exercised by an individual or group of individuals in a local context in everyday practices (Foucault, 2019). This conforms to the domination of groups of photographers at the pedestrian overpass bridge and to the informal subdivision of the corridors under high-voltage cables. Pettas (2019), discusses further aspects that might be reasons for individuals to exercise micro-power, which includes economic, spatial or political preference. This is similar to the groups of photographers who territorialise the bridge for economic benefits through livelihood. The existence of power at both pedestrian overpass bridge and the corridor under high-voltage cables through territorialisation, reveals the direct exclusion of outsiders and connotes the production of space and conforms to the argument by (Elden, 2013) who said that appropriators create mechanisms that cannot be interfered by outsiders.

Furthermore, beyond the direct exclusion of an individual from a space, another form of micro-power was attached to the outdoor spaces within

residential premises, at the building setbacks and verandas. Within this context power is revealed implicitly through domination of public recreational use of private spaces. It was noted that the majority of men use building setbacks and verandas as nodes for playing board games, and as a result women and children are hindered from also using such spaces (Chapter 7). In this circumstance, micro-power is revealed in terms of implicit exclusion and segregation by gender and age. This means that the phenomenon of recreation and its subsequent produced spaces in informal settlements include some elements of bias among the different social groups. On this basis it can be understood that the production of spaces based on quotidian spatial practices in informal settlements is not merely nurtured with positive aspects of ‘lived experiences’; however they need to be considered in the light of ‘invisible meanings’. Furthermore, ‘invisible meaning’ characterises the ‘lived space’ of informal settlements beyond Lefebvre’s spatial triad which did not expound on gender aspects social differences aspects. Production of spaces in informal settlements based on quotidian spatial practices beyond Lefebvre’s idea, resonates with the current body of knowledge, which brings attention to the consideration of power issues from the perspective of gender and social difference, including Kinkaid (2020), who address aspects of gender and other categories of social difference, to expand the limitation of Lefebvre’s ideas in the analysis of production of spaces. In Kinkaid’s view, aspects of social differences are inhabited and lived through real-life experiences, and thus should be paid attention in the analysis of space. Paralleling Kinkaid’s ideas, I argue that since ideas about the production of space in the context of real-life experiences manifest the formation of space, the concept of production of ‘lived spaces’ should include gender aspects.

### 9.1.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the discussion on production of spaces for recreation in light of quotidian spatial practices has brought an understanding that the production of spaces for recreation can be thought of beyond dogmatic practices. These dogmatic practices involve the engagement of functionalistic professional ideas in the production of space, and the produced spaces are by means of provision of physically defined spaces through zoning. In contrast, the analysis of production of spaces for recreation based on quotidian spatial practices in Manzese denotes several dynamics beyond

dogmatic provision. The production of spaces goes beyond provision of the monofunctional physical spaces to include a multiplicity of activities within a single space. The aspect of temporality has also been emphasised in the production of spaces for recreation rather than provision of permanent spaces. It has moreover been discussed that it is not enough to produce a geometrical space, as professionals and planners do, to provide physical spaces. Beyond thinking of recreational spaces as just physical spaces, quotidian spatial practices reveal the thinking behind production of spaces, within which embedded meanings are ingrained.

## 10. Conclusion and implications

### 10.1 Conclusion

This thesis was undertaken with the aim of exploring how recreation is enacted in dense informal settlements, a context with a paucity of outdoor urban recreational spaces. Its focus was on the analysis of quotidian recreational spatial practices in order to gain an understanding of how such practices could contribute new perspectives to urban planning and the design of urban recreational spaces. Guided by theoretical tenets pertaining to quotidian spatial practices, it has been possible to unveil possibilities and possible spaces used for recreation in the named context, as well as to divulge appropriation practices involved in the generation of spaces. Manzese has been used as an instrumental case for the realisation of unconventional perspectives on production of spaces through quotidian spatial practices, beyond dogmatic practices. Manzese epitomises the recreational spatial practices in informal settlements whose creative and intuitive lived experiences, and quality of spaces, are different from those developed by dogmatic professional ideas. Comprehending quotidian recreational spatial practices in Manzese has a lot of implications for theorising and conceptualising recreation, implications for planning and design practices, as well as implications for national and global policy.

## 10.2 Implications

### 10.2.1 Implication of the conceptualisation of recreational spaces

Following the analysis of the phenomenon of recreation in the informal settlements in Manzese, this study has realised that recreation is interwoven with places where we live, work and relax, due to the overlapping of recreation in ordinary spaces. This compression accentuates diverse thinking and categorizing urban recreation spaces based on context, including *redefining recreation, rethinking categories of spaces for recreation*, as well as *producing integrative thoughts in production of spaces for recreation*.

#### *Redefining recreation based on context*

Recreation as defined by scholars is conceptualised as something which brings about leisure, enjoyment and the sensation of feeling good (Dillard & Bates, 2011; McLean & Hurd, 2015; Nash, 1960; Tribe, 2020), and as such the reason for establishing recreational spaces during CIAM was to encourage leisure pursuits in outdoor urban space (Chapter 2). Due to this conceptualisation, planning and design across many cities continue to provide urban outdoor spaces for leisure. However, evidence from Manzese through the analysis of the creation of indoor spaces contrasts the meaning of recreation as being for leisure only, as it also encompasses the cultivation of livelihoods. People take advantage of the recreational activities as discussed in empirical chapters.

Comprehending recreation with these dual meanings in mind is a substantiation of context specificity that corroborates with the ‘Southern turn’ in social theory (as explained in Chapter 1), which challenges the generalisation of knowledge and advocates for the development of urban theories, concepts and ideas vocabularies to be situated within their social contexts (Miraftab & Kudva, 2015; Myers, 2011; Parnell & Oldfield, 2014; Roy, 2011; Watson, 2009). Therefore for the sustainable planning and design of recreational spaces in rapidly urbanising cities, rethinking recreation with multiple meanings is crucial.

#### *Rethinking categories of spaces for recreation*

In the dogmatic functionalistic ideas, urban recreational spaces are categorised as predefined spaces such as parks, squares, promenades and other related spaces set aside for recreational activities. The spaces are categorised

according to the population of a particular area ranging from city, community and neighbourhoods. For instance, City Park, Community Park and Neighbourhood Park, are categorised as standard sizes. However, in informal settlements spaces for recreation are not categorised in this way, due to spontaneity, overlapping of functions, dynamics and complexity. It is very difficult to categorise space types in a context where activities are temporal and performed in undesignated spaces, as it appears in the analysis of space typologies in Manzese. This thesis has been able to synthesise one way of categorising spaces in the complex environment of Manzese, and there could be various other ways. On this basis, rethinking space categorisation in complex environments should be compressed as something dynamic and context based in order to enhance production of sustainable urban recreational spaces in cities.

#### *Integrative thoughts in production of spaces for recreation*

Furthermore, rethinking the production process of spaces and infrastructure in rapidly urbanising cities through integration of multidisciplinary professions is crucial. This is in the sense that it has been the norm for professionals involved in the planning and design of cities to focus their work according to the ideas developed in their discipline. For instance, engineers invent ideas, formulate standards and release them for implementation in the provision of infrastructure like roads, bridges, etc. Relatively, planners, landscape architects and other related professionals usually develop ideas based on their own disciplines. However, the reality of quotidian spatial practices in informal settlements reveals the diverse use of different spaces and infrastructure for recreation. For instance, if bridges in informal settlements have another meaning of recreational designations, and also roads are designated for recreation, the planning and design of such infrastructure in the context of informal settlements would be different from the dogmatic professional approach. This means that formulation of spatial ideas and standards in informal settlements in rapidly urbanising cities, require an integrative approach among different disciplines.

#### 10.2.2 Implications to planning and design practices

Production of spaces for recreation based on quotidian spatial practices as analysed in this thesis, is significantly important for urban spatial planners and designers' roles in the creation and improvement of urban open spaces

for recreation. This is due to the sense that urban spatial planners and designers are key actors and hold responsibilities in shaping cities and their spaces. The analysis of quotidian spatial practices casts light on urban spatial planners in many different ways, including; *implications for upgrading informal settlements, the significance of loose restrictions on the use of undesignated spaces, the positionality of the planners and designers and the iterative planning of urban recreational spaces*, as well as the role of *ordinary individuals as final-user innovators in planning for urban recreational spaces*. Each of these roles is as described below.

#### *Implication for upgrading informal settlements*

Informal settlements, particularly in Tanzania, have been subjected to interventions time and again under the guides of government policies and strategies through a top-down approach. Various approaches for intervention, as described in Chapter 4, have been shifting, from *squatter clearance/demolition policies, to site and services upgrading, to participatory upgrading* up to the recent *regularisation* policy (URT-DMP, 2016). In most cases upgrading of informal settlements focuses on improving roads, providing clean water and storm water drains only, while little attention is paid to recreation. Even the recent regularisation policy has little focus on production and/or improvement of spaces for public recreation. Based on the exploration of recreational real-life experiences in Manzese, there is a need to formulate an informal settlement upgrading policy underpinned by recreational spaces to reflect the quality of urban life and urban spaces. Moreover, there is a need to revisit the terms of reference for regularisation of informal settlements, as the current ones address the survey and demarcation of parcels and registration merely for land property taxes.

#### *Significance of loose restrictions on the use of undesignated spaces*

Urban planning and urban design practices have, for a long time, been allocating spaces with a particular function, and expecting or hoping that each would be utilized as intended. When a particular space is used otherwise, tight restrictions are applied over the spaces. Users are considered by the planners, authorities and managers as encroachers, transgressors of regulations. According to the experience in Manzese, the strict regulations over the designated use of spaces functions should be loosened to allow their appropriation for the common good, as recalled by the use of the pedestrian overpass bridge and the corridor under high-tension voltage cables, as well

as the streets for recreational purposes. This reflects the concept of fluidity and flexibility and as one of the attributes for production of spaces based on quotidian spatial practices, as discussed in Chapter 2. Borrowing from the experience in Manzese, planners, authorities and urban managers ought to rethink suitable means of controlling and managing urban spaces with the notion of loosening restrictions, leaving some ordinary activities to take place in undesignated spaces.

*Positionality of the planners and designers and the iterative planning of urban recreational spaces*

The experience of quotidian spatial practices in Manzese that delineates the continuous production of urban recreational spaces conveys a message regarding the urban planners' and designers' roles in the upgrading, restoration, regeneration and revitalization of existing human settlements. The time has come for planners and designers to stop producing abstract spaces and formalistic standards. Instead they should start focusing on real-life application, and consider how the beneficiaries of such spaces could be used in quotidian lived experiences that are dynamic over time. This shift should not be a once-in-a-while practice but a continuous and repetitive one. By practising this shift, urban planners and designers should convert themselves into ethnographic planners, and subsequently the planning process will transform from normative urban planning to iterative urban planning and design. We are living in an era in which life is not static, as things are constantly changing, meaning that the planning and design professions would benefit from enacting dynamic processes. Planners and designers of cities and urban spaces should regularly adjust their planning practices, responding to the ever-changing dynamics of quotidian life in cities. It is therefore posited by this thesis that producing urban recreational spaces through 'iterative place making' is very important in rapidly urbanising cities, particularly those with informal settlements characterised by spontaneous change.

*Space users as innovators in planning for urban recreational spaces*

Production of urban recreational spaces and other urban spaces from the perspective of the formal professional approach regards ordinary individuals as space users rather than producers. At least the contemporary planning approaches attempt to involve ordinary individuals in the planning process, though professionals are in control and users are merely invitees. In line with

this argument, Hill (2003) emphasises that cities and their spaces are ‘made by use and by design... the glory of architecture lies in both the creation of the theoretical realm through building [spaces] and the creation of an experienced reality’. Hill’s central message to planning and design is on the creativity of users who reproduce space through each use and interpretation (Hill, 2003).

From the empirical observation it was noted that some individuals tend to be reluctant to freely share their intuitive ideas, believing that their ideas will be marginalized, and others believe that ideas from professionals are perfect and can result in the creation of ‘proper’ spaces for them to use. Furthermore, it was noted that an ordinary individual is the main actor in the production of recreational space from the perspective of quotidian spatial practices. In the absence of formal professional control, the intuitive and creative skills of ordinary individuals are highly exposed through quotidian lived experiences. This notion accentuates the recognition of intuitive skills of ordinary individuals in the production of urban spaces. Many examples of the intuitive skills that emanate from ordinary individuals were explicated in the empirical chapters. Although the intuitive skills manifest the quotidian actuality of life experience in the context of informal settlements, they are marginalised by professionals. As insisted by Hill (2003), it is imperative to note that ordinary individuals should no longer be conceptualised as passive receivers of the spaces provided by the formal professionals; instead, they should be considered as possible end-user innovators. In this sense, the creative and intuitive skills of ordinary individuals used to appropriate spaces should not be taken for granted but properly considered in the production of spaces. Skills from ordinary individuals can enrich the quality of produced spaces as through social and cultural values.

### 10.2.3 Implications for policy

#### *National planning policies*

The production of spaces for recreation based on quotidian spatial practices as analysed in this thesis, has significant implications for policies regarding provision of urban recreational spaces at both the national and global level. Presumably, countries with rapidly urbanising cities have policies and strategies to enhance provision of urban recreational spaces for their citizens. The policies might vary from one country to another but have some roots in

the functionalist approach or in global policy. For example in Tanzania, policies regarding urban recreational spaces are stipulated in the Urban Planning Act of 2007, and the National Human development policy of 2000 (URT, 2000). Both policies address production of spaces by means of reserving land for open spaces that could be private or public parks, sports grounds or play fields (*ibid.*). This way of guiding production of spaces is first of all a functionalistic approach; it reveals the top-down and ‘abstracted’ nature of design solutions. Currently, planning for public recreational spaces is left at the planning level and thus cannot reflect use. Secondly, it is challenging to set aside land for the creation of urban open spaces in a densely built environment such as informal settlements. On this basis, there is a need to revise the policies and improve them to suit the context. The research has demonstrated various quotidian spatial practices, of which residents living in informal settlements perform recreation within the complex environment. Appropriation of existing spaces, multiple use of existing spaces and infrastructures, as well as the use of private spaces such as undeveloped residential plots through negotiation, illuminate additional means of formulating policies. Policy-makers should learn from the kinds of lived experiences which emanate from people’s everyday lives to improve policies in order to produce suitable spaces for rapidly urbanising cities. It should not be a matter of developing policies that guide provision of new predefined spaces only. Recognition of existing spaces as temporal spaces for transient activities should be encouraged. Through integration of quotidian ideas, on the one hand, the burden of relying on formalistic ideas will be minimised, while at the same time the process of contextualisation will be heightened.

### *Global planning policies*

The research has demonstrated various spaces used for recreation based on quotidian spatial practices, and delineates alternative forms of space for recreation. This has implications for the global planning policies involved in improving the condition of cities for sustainable development. The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11 in its target 11.7, expects that by the year 2030 cities should be ‘provided with universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities’. The target enhances the average share of the open spaces in the built up area of the city for public use for all (UN-Habitat, 2015). This means cities should be

provided with adequate open spaces for people of different social groups to access. For the success of the target 11.7 to be operationalised there is a need for recognition of other alternative forms of urban recreational space, rather than relying on provision of physically predefined open spaces. The quotidian use of public infrastructure, undeveloped residential plots and spaces between buildings manifest alternative forms beyond the dogmatic provision of open spaces. The alternative forms of space demonstrated by this research have a high level of safety because they are vibrant, lively and heavily used. It is therefore very important to create policies regarding public spaces in light of alternative forms of spaces emanating from quotidian spatial practices.

#### 10.2.4 Reflection on methodology

##### *Towards inventing tactics to support research methods*

It has been a tendency for many researchers to equip themselves with widely known and applied methods of conducting research. The known methods are regarded as fundamental standards, and good references to enable the proper way to handle fieldwork. For example, methods such as observations, interviews and others are commonly deployed in qualitative research. However, researchers may not stick to the known and common methods, and instead invent other supportive methods that could be used alongside the standard methods. The reason is to strengthen or rather deepen the capacity of empirical data collection from complex phenomena. For instance, the ‘hunting tactic’ detailed in Chapter 3 was invented and used in this research as a pre-method to support direct and participatory observation methods. The idea behind the hunting tactic was due to the fact that recreational activities were conducted in locations, which could not be easily spotted from a single glance.

### 10.3 Further direction of this research

This thesis was neither definitive nor exhaustive in attempt to explore the recreational spaces and spatial practices involved in the making of the spaces. However, this thesis alone could not be enough to exhaust all of these aspects. In this respect a number of areas for further study have been

identified and outlined which could provide further understanding on the phenomena of recreation as outlined below.

*Inequality and power relations in space generated for recreation in informal settlements*

One of the areas of interest to expand further in the understanding of production of spaces for recreation beyond dogmatic practices is the issue of exclusion and power relations. In this thesis such issues were implicitly highlighted, since the study had not started with a more specific research question and social analysis which could strategically capture issues of exclusion and power relations, but with more exploratory questions. Those issues surfaced during the fieldwork, then attempts were made to integrate the relevant lenses. Involving literature such as Kinkaid's article (Kinkaid 2020) the research had tried to bring nuanced analytics to the study to address those issues. But, this came after the empirical study, not before. Therefore, such dimensions remained superficial. Based on that, intensive research is deemed to delve into these issues more deeply, as they establish entirely new avenues to explore. The direction of future research suggested is relevant to affirm contemporary discourses of inequality, power and planning, and to expand knowledge to planners and designers of urban spaces on how to conceptualise, how to perceive problems and how to conceive interventions into complex and ever-changing urban realms.

*Production of informal settlements regularisation model, underpinned by quotidian spatial practices, from dwelling grounded facts*

Since the recognition of many spatial challenges facing informal settlements in cities, there have been various measures taken to intervene in settlements for the purpose of improving them. However, it is still questionable whether the means for regularising such informal settlement are derived exhaustively from the context in which they are applied. We see that experts, planners and urban designers who are equipped with knowledge originating from formalistic ideas are the ones who are tasked to upgrade and improve informal settlements. On that basis, an urgent study is needed that may focus on production of informal settlements regularised models underpinned by quotidian spatial practices, with deep insight into the grounded realities of dwelling.

### *Quotidian recreational spatial practices in planned settlements*

The research for this thesis was conducted in informal settlements which are characterised by informality and habitation in the context of a changing urban landscape. In such a context the production of spaces for recreation is actualised by ordinary individuals through quotidian practices. It is also important to note that the city of Dar es Salaam is made up of both informal settlements and planned settlements. As the focus of this research was to explore the phenomenon of recreation in informal settlements, there is a need to conduct research on quotidian recreational spatial practices in planned settlements for the aim of understanding the whether and how the dogmatic provisional spaces indoctrinated with professional ideas are adequate for urbanites with rural culture by origin. Extensive research along these lines will be a fascinating endeavour for comparative analysis between the 'informal' and 'planned' contexts, as they both host people of similar socio-cultural backgrounds, but the spaces are developed from two different thoughts processes.

The study shall be significant to inform the current planning policies and regulations on embedding culture as an essential contextual aspect.

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## Popular science summary

Cities have been planned and designed with the inclusion of urban open spaces such as urban parks, squares and promenades for recreation. In the context of rapidly urbanising cities, their spontaneous growth without planning and design guidance leads to the emergence of informal settlements. Within these informal settlements, planned urban open spaces for recreation are rarely available, and provision of predefined urban recreational spaces in the informal settlements is critical, due to densification of buildings.

According to research carried out in informal settlements, people pursue recreational activities in ordinary spaces which, includes public infrastructure (streets, overpass-bridge and corridor under high voltage cables), open spaces within residential premises and other spaces belonging to residences – such as setbacks and verandas which are primarily not designated for recreation. The spaces are transformed into recreational spaces only when recreational activities are conducted. In light of these findings, it can be concluded that urban recreational spaces in cities are not merely predefined spaces such as parks, squares and promenades; instead, there are other forms of urban recreational spaces that result from the way people use spaces for recreation. Therefore, it has to be understood that processes of creation of urban recreational spaces should not rely on professional approaches only, spaces can also occur by means of quotidian spatial practices, which reveal flexibility and dynamism.



## Populärvetenskaplig sammanfattning

Planeringen av städer har inkluderat öppna ytor för rekreation, såsom stadsparker, torg och promenadstråk. I samband med den snabba urbaniseringen pågår en spontan tillväxt i städer, utan planering och designvägledning, som leder till uppkomsten av informella bosättningar. Inom dessa informella bosättningar är öppna rekreationsytor sällan tillgängliga, och tillhandahållandet av fördefinierade urbana rekreationsutrymmen i de informella bosättningarna är avgörande på grund av förtätning av byggnader.

Enligt forskning som genomförts i informella bosättningar bedriver istället människor fritidsverksamhet i ”vanliga” offentliga utrymmen som inkluderar offentlig infrastruktur, öppna ytor inom bostadslokaler och andra utrymmen som hör till bostäder, såsom verandor, som i första hand inte var avsedda för rekreation. Utrymmena omvandlas till rekreationsutrymmen först när där bedrivs rekreationsverksamhet. Man kan därför dra slutsatsen att rekreationsutrymmen i städer inte bara är utrymmen tilltänkta för rekreation, som parker, torg och promenadstråk; istället finns det andra former av urbana rekreationsutrymmen som ett resultat av hur människor använder utrymmen för rekreation.

Därför måste det förstås att processer för att skapa urbana rekreationsutrymmen inte endast bör förlita sig på professionella tillvägagångssätt; utrymmen kan också uppstå med hjälp av dagliga aktiviteter som avslöjar flexibilitet och dynamik.



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# Appendix 1 Questionnaires for households

## Preface

I am Edson Sanga, a student from Department of Architecture, conducting a study titled, 'Recreation types and their respective spaces in informal settlements'. The purpose of this interview is to collect data and get information as required for the study. The information which will be collected is confidential and will only be used for the purpose of the study under investigation and not otherwise.

## Identification

Region	District	Ward	Sub-ward

Name of interviewer	Name of household (Optional)

## SECTION A: Personal profile

**In each question below tick (✓) where appropriate**

1. Gender of the respondent

<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>

2. Marital status of the respondent

<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>	<i>Widowed</i>	<i>Separated</i>	<i>Divorced</i>

3. Age of the respondent

<i>5-10</i>	<i>11-20</i>	<i>21-25</i>	<i>26-30</i>	<i>31-40</i>	<i>41-45</i>	<i>46-50</i>	<i>51-55</i>	<i>56-60</i>	<i>Above 60</i>

4. Occupation status of the respondent

<i>Full-time employed</i>	<i>Part-time employed</i>	<i>Self employed</i>	<i>Unwaged worker</i>

5. Education level

<i>Primary certificate</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Diploma/degree</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

6. How long have you been in this area?

<i>30 years</i>	<i>20 years</i>	<i>10 years</i>	<i>5 years</i>	<i>1 year</i>	<i>6 months</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

7. What is your place of origin?

<i>Coastal area</i>	<i>Lake zone</i>	<i>Northern highland</i>	<i>Southern highland</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

**SECTION B: Residents' type of recreation**

8. Do you have time to spend for recreation and relaxation?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

9. If yes, why is recreation and relaxation so important to you?

<i>Health reasons</i>	<i>Stress release</i>	<i>Entertainment</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

10. What kind of activity do you normally do to make yourself recreate and relax?

<i>Staying idle</i>	<i>Sleeping</i>	<i>Sitting</i>	<i>Praying</i>	<i>Playing</i>	<i>Others (Please specify)</i>

11. Where do you perform recreational activities?

<i>At home</i>	<i>In public spaces</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

12. If staying at home what kind of activities makes you more relaxed?

<i>Sleeping</i>	<i>Watching TV</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

13. If in public spaces then what kind of public spaces?

<i>Sleeping</i>	<i>Watching TV</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

14. If in public spaces what kind of recreational activities as a means of relaxing?

<i>Chatting With friends</i>	<i>Playing local sports</i>	<i>Betting</i>	<i>Watching TV</i>	<i>Dancing ngoma</i>	<i>Story telling</i>	<i>Other (Specify)</i>

15. How many times in a year do you spend time for relaxation and entertainment?

<i>Once</i>	<i>Twice</i>	<i>Everyday</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

16. Which days do you spend relaxing?

<i>Everyday</i>	<i>Weekends</i>	<i>Weekdays</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

17. If weekends what is the specific day?

<i>Saturdays</i>	<i>Sundays</i>	<i>Both Saturday and Sunday</i>

18. If weekdays then what is the specific day?

<i>Mondays</i>	<i>Tuesdays</i>	<i>Wednesdays</i>	<i>Thursdays</i>	<i>Fridays</i>

19. Why do you prefer to relax in a chosen day above in question 18 or 19?

<i>Availability of time</i>	
<i>Availability of money</i>	
<i>Availability of friends</i>	
<i>Availability of recreational service</i>	
<i>Others (Specify)</i>	

20. What time do you use for relaxing and recreation?

<i>Morning hours</i>	<i>Afternoon hours</i>	<i>Evening hours</i>	<i>Night hours</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

21. Do you recreate and feel entertained alone or with others in a group?

<i>Alone</i>	<i>With others</i>

22. If alone then why do you feel good to recreate alone?

<i>I don't want disturbance</i>	<i>Make me feel comfortable</i>	<i>I want to be stress free</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

23. If you prefer to recreate with others then what makes you feel good?

<i>I want interactions</i>	
<i>I want to learn how others recreate</i>	
<i>I cannot manage to recreate alone</i>	
<i>Always I come with the family</i>	

24. Again if you prefer to recreate with others then who are they?

<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

25. Do you prefer to recreate with people of which age group?

<i>Children</i>	<i>Youths</i>	<i>Elders</i>	<i>Mixture (Specify)</i>

### SECTION C: Attractiveness of recreational area

26. What is the name of the area you prefer to go for recreation?

<i>Square</i>	<i>Sportsground</i>	<i>Church</i>	<i>Mosque</i>	<i>Sports bar</i>	<i>Bar</i>	<i>Others</i>

27. Is the physical environment of the area attractive?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

28. What makes the area attractive?

<i>Publicity</i>	<i>Privacy</i>	<i>Proximity to home</i>	<i>Good environment</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

29. Do you feel safe to spend time in the area?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

30. If yes what do you think makes the area safe?

<i>Presence of guardsmen</i>	<i>The area is enclosed with fence</i>	<i>Not fences</i>	<i>Has many Entries and exits</i>	<i>Allow people to pass through</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

31. If you think the area is unsafe then what might be the reasons?

<i>Theft</i>	<i>Noise</i>	<i>Unsecured</i>	<i>No light</i>	<i>Others(Specify)</i>

32. How conducive is the physical environment of the area?

<i>Natural features</i>	<i>Design of the area</i>	<i>Service it offers</i>	<i>Others(Specify)</i>

33. If natural features then what are they?

<i>Rocks (Stones)</i>	<i>Plants</i>	<i>Sand</i>	<i>Soil</i>	<i>Others(Specify)</i>

34. If designed features then how does the design make the area attractive?

<i>Form</i>	<i>Colour</i>	<i>Pattern</i>	<i>Texture</i>	<i>Light</i>	<i>Others(Specify)</i>

35. How does 'form' of the space attractive to you?

<i>Enclosed</i>	<i>Semi-enclosed</i>	<i>Open to sky</i>	<i>Congested</i>	<i>Spacious</i>	<i>Too high</i>	<i>Too low</i>

36. Is the area quiet or sound?

<i>Quiet</i>	<i>Sound</i>

37. If sound then what are the sources of sound?

<i>Natural sources</i>	<i>Man-made sources</i>

38. If natural sources then what are they from?

<i>Birds</i>	<i>Wind</i>	<i>Water</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

39. Do you like the area because of its soundness or quietness?

<i>Soundness</i>	<i>Quietness</i>	<i>Both</i>	<i>None</i>

40. How do you experience sound effect?

<i>Disturbing</i>		<i>Enjoyable</i>	
<i>Too loud</i>			
<i>Too much echoes</i>			

41. What about smell in the area?

<i>No smell</i>	<i>There is smell</i>

42. If there is smell, is it good smell or bad?

<i>Good</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>None</i>

43. Is the smell of the area contribute to attractiveness of the space for you to regularly go to the area?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

44. What kind of smell makes the area attractive?

<i>Plants</i>	
<i>Flowers</i>	
<i>Trees</i>	
<i>Others (Specify)</i>	
<i>Food</i>	
<i>Others (Specify)</i>	
<i>Drinks</i>	
<i>Coffee</i>	
<i>Beer</i>	
<i>Others (Specify)</i>	
<i>Smoke</i>	
<i>Cigarette</i>	
<i>Shisha</i>	
<i>Others (Specify)</i>	

45. What kind of building materials according to you makes the area attractive?

<i>Smooth texture</i>	<i>Rough texture</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

46. Do you like to spend time here because of weather?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

47. If yes what kind of weather condition makes you feel good?

<i>Rain</i>	<i>Sun</i>	<i>Wind</i>	<i>Others(Specify)</i>

48. How does such a weather affect/influence your recreational activities?

<i>Warm</i>	<i>Cool</i>	<i>Others (Specify)</i>

49. Does the place of recreation contain foods and beverages?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

50. Is to eating and drinking makes you enjoy and feel relaxed?

<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>

51. Is the area has sitting spaces?

<i>Chairs</i>	<i>Benches</i>	<i>Ledges</i>	<i>Others(Specify)</i>



## Appendix 2 Interview guides

### 2.1 Guideline for Key Informants Interviews (Ward/Sub Ward Leaders)

PLACE: Mnazi mmoja sub ward office

DATE: 08<sup>th</sup>November 2016

INTERVIEWEE: Mnazi mmoja sub ward officers

#### *Presence of recreational areas*

1. Is the area have urban open spaces?
2. What are different areas where people use for recreation?
3. Where are they located within the ward/subward? Near or far from roads?
4. Are they free for someone to access or there are some restrictions?
5. How many people can be occupied in the spaces?
6. Is it possible to move from one area to another? Or how are the spaces linked?
7. If possible then by what means? By car, two cycles or only foot?

### 2.2 Guideline For Key Informants Interviews (Local Leaders And Knowledgeable Local Residents)

#### *Presence of recreational areas*

1. Is the settlement have urban open spaces?
2. Where does people of Manzese for recreation and social interaction?
3. Was there any complain and probably riot and protest to claim for need of urban open spaces for recreation?
4. What are different areas where people use for recreation?

5. Where are they located within the ward/subward? Near or far from roads?
6. Are they free for someone to access or there are some restrictions?
7. How many people can be occupied in the spaces?
8. Is it possible to move from one area to another? Or how are the spaces linked?
9. If possible then by what means? By car, two cycles or only foot?

### ***Formation of the areas***

10. How does the areas emerged?
11. When did the areas established?
12. Give reasons upon its establishment
13. Who was/were involved in establishing the area(s)?

### ***Use of the areas***

14. What kind of activities are done in the area?
15. At what time do the activities start?
16. When do the activities get to end?
17. Who are the participants involved?

### ***Management of the areas***

18. Is the area(s) freely to be used by anyone?
19. Who is involved in managing use of the area?
20. How management of use is done?
21. What is the structure or protocol of controlling use of the area?
22. Who is responsible for security and safety for use?

## Appendix 3 Observation checklist

Date	
Name of the area	
Name of observer	

### Condition of the area

Accessible to the public	
Size	
Shape	
Type	
Usable for physical activities (i.e. not excessive wet or windy)	
Equipped with urban furniture	
Managed	
Light	

PEOPLE	ACTIVITY	AGE GROUP				TIME				ACTIVITY LEVEL		WEATHER	
		Child	Teen	Adult	Old	Morning 0630-0730	Afternoon 1400-1500	Evening 1600-1830	Night 1900-000	Sedentary	Active	Dry	Rain
<b>Participants</b>													
Male													
Female													



## Appendix 4 Guidelines for recreational participants interviews

1. Why do you prefer to relax in this area?
2. Being here what makes you amused?
3. Do you come here every day?
4. Where else do you go for relaxation apart from here?



## Appendix 5 List of respondents

- RESPONDENT 1 INTERVIEW WITH GROUP OF YOUTH, held at Manzese Argentina bus stop with seven youth bodaboda (motorcyclists) commuters on 30-December-2015.
- RESPONDENT 2 INTERVIEW WITH GROUP OF MEN, Held at Sisi kwa Sisi sports club in Midizini subward on 31-December-2015
- RESPONDENT 3 Interview with four leaders and assistant leaders at Manzese ward held at the office of ward leaders located at Muungano street on 04-November-2016.
- RESPONDENT 4 Interview with two sub-ward leaders of Mnazi mmoja subward, held at their office located at Mabibo market street on 07-November-2016.
- RESPONDENT 5 Interview with a sub-ward leader of Mwembeni subward, held at his office located at Kione street on 07-November-2016.
- RESPONDENT 6 Interview with a sub-ward leader of Midizini subward, held at her office located at Midizini road on 11-November-2016.
- RESPONDENT 7, Deo (Pseudo name) a youth man aged 33, member of Sisi Kwa Sisi draught board club and champion of draught board in Manzese, met at Midizini
- RESPONDENT 8, is Mariam (Pseudo name) a woman aged 29, working as a food vendor, met at Argentina bus stop in her food selling vendor.
- RESPONDENT 9, is Riziki (Pseudo name) a youth man aged 36, owner of 'TV show hut' [Kibanda umiza] at Kwa Msija area in Miembeni sub-ward.
- RESPONDENT 10, is Jack (Pseudo name) famously known as 'Dancer' a man aged 38, working as a painter but also manager of Jitegemee local club at Mferejini sub-ward.
- RESPONDENT 11, Tina (Pseudo name) a young lady aged 33 clothes hawker, dwelling in Manzese for fifteen years, also a leader of group of joggers ladies at Kilimani street. Interview held under the pedestrian bridge on 24-December-2016
- RESPONDENT 12, Kobelo (Pseudo name) is a young man aged 35, owner of Ndam boxing training centre, at Midizini. In depth interview held at Tishio square, Midizini 08-November-2017
- RESPONDENT 13, Hassan (Pseudo name) a man aged 28, a photographer who has been in the bridge for more than five years doing business of taking photographs in Manzese. Interview held under the pedestrian bridge on 24-December-2016.

- RESPONDENT 14, Hobokela (Pseudo name) a young lady age not mentioned, fond of photographs, stay in Mwembeni-Manzese. Interview held under the pedestrian bridge on 25-December-2016
- RESPONDENT 15, Joy (Pseudo name) a young lady age 29, lived in Muungano subward for 12 years, she is a fond of photographs. Interview held under the pedestrian bridge on 25-December-2016
- RESPONDENT 16, Baraka (Pseudo name) a man aged 28, dwelling in Manzese for more than twenty years. Interview held under the pedestrian bridge on 24-December-2016
- RESPONDENT 17, Abdul (a man aged 31), born and lived at Mpakani street in Manzese, interviewed through informal conversation at Mpakani primary school on 15-January 2017, narrated about how the corridor under high-voltage cables used.
- RESPONDENT 18, Halima (Pseudo name) a young woman aged 33, live at Tip-top. She is a fond of ceremonial dances and she own a group which deals with providing services of dancing in ceremonies. I met Halima at Lunch time street near the famous Tiptop street, and she was a key informant on issues of ceremonial dances because she had enough experience. The interview was done several times at her house and sometimes at ceremonial events.
- RESPONDENT 19, Babu Kipara (Pseudo name) a young man, aged 27, leader of 'Waasi youth men troupe', dwelling at Ukombozi street at Mvuleni Subward Manzese, in depth interview held at Kione street during ceremonial performance 10-December-2017
- RESPONDENT 20, Pili (Pseudo name) a young lady aged 28, met at her house at Tip-top street, interviewed about women's engagement to ceremonial dances. The interview was performed on 17<sup>th</sup> January 2017.
- RESPONDENT 21, Salama (Pseudo name), a young woman aged 23, spectator and supporter of Vagi netball team, one of the respondents during informal conversation at Tishio square, Interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> November 2017.
- RESPONDENT 22, Mzee Yunus (pseudo name), an old man aged 61, living at Midizini, active member of 'Sisi-kwa-Sisi' sports club, met and interviewed at the 'Sisi-kwa-Sisi' local draughtboard spot on November 2016.
- RESPONDENT 23, Salum is a young man aged 36, spokesman and member of 'Wakubeti jogging club'. In depth interview held at Soko Mjinga Street, Midizini sub-ward 08-November-2017.

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Urban open spaces in cities are vital in human life for recreation and leisure. However, rapid urbanizing cities comprises informal settlements which exist without planning. This thesis steps away from professional ideas and grounds itself on the exploration of production of spaces for recreation based on quotidian lived experiences in informal settlements. Based on the findings it provides a critical reflection to the professional thoughts on production of recreational spaces based on context particularly context of cities with rapid urbanisation.

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