CHAPTER - IV
GROWTH OF THE CITY OF ADEN

The growth of the city of Aden passed through many stages, starting from the early times when it was in a flourishing condition between 12th and 15th century. It saw many vicissitudes till 1839 when British occupied the city. Later in 1967 it earned its independence along with the rest of the country. Its total time span could be divided as follows:

i) The early stage upto 1839
ii) The occupied period 1839-1967
iii) The post independence period since 1967 onward.

Early Period:

Much authentic information is not available about the early period but based on fragmentary sources, it could be said that it existed in an area of 3 sq.km. only. Although it was not as a whole suitable for settlement, yet during that period the city was in flourishing condition and served as a centre for trade and commercial activities. Its natural growth and spatial development was in response to the changing political scenario as well as frequently changing condition of trade routes on which Aden was located. The map of that period shows the picture of the city as available in Ibn Al Mugawer's book¹ (Fig.24).

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¹ Based upon Ibn Al Mugawer's map in his book Tarikh Al Mustabsir, (Edited), Leiden, E.J. Briel, 1954, p.129
ADEN SKETCH MAP
12TH CENTURY

Scale

CUSTOMER

ADEN NEW QUARRY

ADEN CITY RED

FIG. 24
During the medieval period (12th till 15th century) the city was in a flourishing condition with crowded population. During 12th century probably, a cistern was built to protect the city from water of Tawela valley and also to supply water to the increasing population.

During this period also the city was walled, and shops, mosques, schools, and sheds were added but the shape of the city was not different from the medieval city where the city too was walled, narrow lanes of irregular shape were built and the construction was made of different building material like mat, reed and stones. The stones were brought from Abyan in the beginning and later on from mountains surrounding the city. The palaces of the rulers were towards periphery inside the walls. Later on people too had houses made of stones. These stones were brought from mountains around the city.

According to Ibn Khałdun, Aden was one of the strongest cities of Yemen and was situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean. The city had become a place of trade since the days of Tubbas. Most of its houses were constructed from reeds and consequently fires frequently broke out at night.²

According to Ibn Batutta who visited the city during 13th century, Aden was on the coastal part of Yemen. The city could

be approached from one side only. The city landscape was
devoid of trees and there were water reservoirs where rain
water was collected. Large boats from Indian, Egyptian and
other origin were coming to it.\(^3\)

One of the Venetian officers of Sulaiman Pasha in 1538
during his expedition to India said that Aden was surrounded
by high mountains on the top of which were small castles.
There was a little opening about 272.32 ms. wide. Besides this,
there were shoals on which was built a port. On the port
there was a tower. This tower was built for defence of the
port, which lies to the south. To the north there was a
harbour with good anchorage and a wall to protect ships from
wind. Only rain water was collected in cistern and pits,
which were 10 fathoms deep.\(^4\)

In 1708, according to La Roque\(^5\) the city was still
surrounded by high walls almost in ruined condition, especially
on the sea side. It was from there that they were strengthened
by five or six batteries of brass guns of large calibre. These

\(^3\) Ibn Batutta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*

\(^4\) Playfair, R.L., *A History of Arabian Felix or Yemen,*

\(^5\) Ibid., p.11.
were left behind at Front Bay with the guns stationed there at intervals. Between this and the other side of the city was another part with a handsome building but that was in almost ruined condition. Amongst the most remarkable buildings were the beautiful baths. These baths were having domes with a hole at the top. These holes were meant to provide light for buildings. Inside were galleries supported by magnificent pillars. Galleries were divided into chambers, closets and other rooms. In the market there were good stores of meat, fish and other necessities. Water was conveyed from Birhamid to the city through an aqueduct. Another source of water was a cistern through which rain water was collected and supplied to inhabitants.

During the Turkish period in the 16th century the city declined and there was no development owing to the transfer of this port to Mocha in North homeland. Turkish authorities were maintaining it as a garrison at the cost of other things. The city had adequate military equipments and houses. According to Salt, who visited the city in 1809 and 1810, it was the centre of trade and had still some importance. It was the chief market of gums and best quality coffee. The town was almost in ruins as the area was full of boats and there
were remnants of old monuments. According to Stocky (1830) and Wellsted (1835) the people of Aden were living in huts made of reed and mat. These huts were convenient as they enable the people to face harsh climatic conditions. It seemed that most of the city was not populated, having only around 800 Arabs and Somalis. Some of them were traders catering to the boats coming from east and west, while the rest were supplying wood and water for pilgrims' boats. The rich traders monopolised the trade and their families were having good houses.

Hains, who visited the city during 1835, and 1837 and 1838 in search of a location for coaling station between Arabian Gulf and India mentions in his memories that at that time Aden was almost a ruined old city having only 90 houses which were almost in dilapidated condition. There were several mosques which survived after repairs. Some houses were made of mat and reed. The trade was not flourishing condition. Streets and harbour were almost in deserted condition. Total population at that time was about 600, among them 180 were Jews, 30 to 40 Indians and the remaining were Arabs and Somalis.

In the past, between 16th century and 19th century there was a remarkable change in the function of the city. This change was from commercial to military especially during

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Turkish invasion.

GROWTH OF THE CITY DURING THE OCCUPATION-PERIOD 1839-1967

Transfer of trade route via Cape of Goodhope affected the city which lost its functions and consequently declined. This state of affairs prevailed till 1839. The city entered a new development period with the first phase starting from 1839 to 1937 and the next phase from 1937 to 1967, when the administration was shifted to the Colonial Office in London.

First Phase of Growth (1839-1937):

The British tried to control the whole area from early times as they were afraid of attack from Arabs and other powers. They made agreements with the rulers of Lahej and Sheikh of Bir Ahmad who was the ruler of Little Aden. In 1849, the British reached an agreement with Sultan of Lahej for having their boundaries in the north of Khromaksar. In 1869 they had another agreement to purchase Little Aden from Akrabi Sheikh. In 1881 their third agreement was to purchase Sheikh Othman, Imad and Hiswa from Sultan of Lahej. Finally in 1886 they purchased track land lying between Hiswa and Bir-Fuqum. Agreements helps in identification of city boundaries (Fig. 25).
In the end the city became a part of Aden Governorate and also capital of People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. The city was at its lowest ebb when it was occupied by Britishers. When Britishers occupied Aden they were afraid of foreign powers and especially the Yemeni tribes, who attacked them thrice. In consequence they started their plans for fortification. The city was very small which was located in Aden proper, spread over about 3.6 kms. from North to South. Houses were single and three storeyed (fig. 26). The British first settled in the Front Bay and shifted the original population from there. Afterwards they occupied the Sultan of Lahej's house and which became the first Resident Office in Aden. Conditions became safe for British when they became masters of the city, especially after agreement between them and Sultan of Lahej. Britishers started expanding towards north from Front Bay to Khosaf valley, and west wards towards Steamer Point, and Tawahi along with the Isthums and Khormaksar. They established quarters and barracks for soldiers, houses for officers and quarters for their subordinates.

The topography was the main obstacle for the development of the city but the Britishers succeeded in expanding it well.

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9. Foreign Political 1839, Secret, Consultation, July 31, No. 32, N.A.I., New Delhi
beyond the wall of Crater. Besides, new settlements started in Tawahi and at Steamer Point. The harbour was shifted from eastern bay where it was from time immemorial. The shifting of the harbour was the main factor in the expansion of the growth of the city beyond its old wall.

Considering the strategic importance, Aden became the most important military base to fight out other European powers. For this purpose they started plans for defence. Along-with the defence plans, city plans also were designed, when cantonment area of north west and south east occupied part of the old city. For the purposes of defence the quarters were strategically and secretly placed. Besides, soldiers were kept aloof from the local inhabitants.

Crater:

In Crater, the area chosen for cantonment was the Front Bay which extended along the existing road towards Hulkat Bay.

10. Foreign Political 1938, Secret, Consultation, 12 June, Nos. 10-11, N.A.I., New Delhi

NOTE: The repaired old Turkish wall was known as Darab al-Arab in Jabel Ha$S. This was the main wall from where Yemeni tribes started their attacks. They fortified the Mansory hills in order to strengthen the city. They started preparing the wall and made a strong defence in the gate way and Darb al-Hosh. They established a battery on Sira Island. They cleaned wells and tanks to supply water for the garrison and people. They made roads which started from the Front Bay to the Main Pass.
Its limit was marked by a low wall from south gate towards the place where the chapel building stands. The area of the camp would be 11.4 acres and the space surrounding the European troops from the sea side would nearly be double. On the other side of the camp was built a new road which was named in 1842 as Esplanade road. The process of urbanization resulted in the segregation of people and settlement pattern, which had taken place from early occupied period, when different communities like Arabs, Jews and Indians were putting up in different streets in Crater. In early period there were 6 streets and of these six streets the 2nd and 3rd were for Jews locally known as Yahudi gali*, fourth and fifth streets were meant for Arabs known as Zafar gali. Another section 'C' consisting of three streets was inhibited by Arabs. These streets were known as 7th and 8th galis and 9th as Sheikh Gohar gali (fig. 27).

The growth of the city was marked by an increase of population. People after obtaining permission from political agents**

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* Yahudi gali in the Indian Language means "Jews' Lane".
** Captain Hains wrote to the Government of Bombay about the sanction of the plan. Captain Hains on his own accord gave them permission to build their houses until the Government had decided on the plan of the town. Meanwhile some houses in the city were being constructed as according to the proposed plan while others were demolished for military purposes and the people were compelled to build temporary houses elsewhere.
built their houses whose outer walls were coloured in order to protect them from glare\textsuperscript{11}. The population of Aden increased in the first three years of the occupation of Aden by the British. In 1942, the population became 16452 including military personnel which was about 3484, and the increased population led to increased need of houses and water. The conflict between military and civil powers took a long time to settle. Still in the city the growth was in a slow stage although the area was separate for military authorities. Captain Hains\textsuperscript{12} encouraged people to build houses and shops and finally to develop the city as the mercantile emporium.

British presence in Aden attracted people from different places such as from the countryside, North Yemen, Somalia, East coast of Africa, India and other places. This was due to the fact that British paid much attention towards development and security. However, it took time for the sanction of the development plan as land was allocated separately for military and civil lines and the military area was not open

\textsuperscript{11} Foreign Political 1845, Consultation, Feb., Nos. 6-24, N.A.I., New Delhi

\textsuperscript{12} Foreign Political, 1843 Secret, A, Consultation, October Nos. 8-24, N.A.I., New Delhi
for the common people to build their houses. The military area covered about 76 acres in the Front Bay. However, there was another area of about 40 acres kept reserved for military and other buildings required by the government. The remaining portion which was about 243 acres, was left for the city. During that time new settlers had to clear old ruins in order to make new houses. For this they had to spend money and time.

By 1844, Crater continued developing and was divided into different lines. For residential area, 55 houses were built in different sections such as A, B, C, D, E and F. For commercial purposes 113 shops and 44 tea houses were built with the result that the main bazar was in the central position. Besides this function, two types of houses, one for wealthy people towards Aidarus valley and the other for poor people towards Khosaf valley were built.

In 1856 Crater continued to grow and the projects for clearing and repairing the old tanks were undertaken. A new

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13. Foreign Political 1843 Secret A, Consultation, Nos. 8-24 N.A.I., New Delhi.

* Captain Hains recommended their cases to Bombay Presidency, that people may pay the rent afterwards and they should be allowed to build their houses. This plan encouraged faster development and houses were of stone having flat roofs with beautiful lawns. Population increased and there was need of more area for building houses. They had to demolish old houses for which they had given proper compensation amounting to Rs.5930 to residents which were mainly Jews.
GREATER ADEN
CRATER
1911

LEGEND:
RESIDENTIAL
COMMERCIAL
OFFICES
GRAVE YARD

SOURCE: BASED ON MAP IN FLORA OF ADEN
FROM ORIGINAL GOVT PHOTO - POONA 1911

FIG 28
treasury building was constructed. Besides, a road was built upto Steamper Point. Crater's landscape was dominated by burial grounds, chapels and arsenals. Water was supplied to Crater from Sheikh Othman via a tunnel completed in 1859. This tunnel reduced the distance to Isthmus via Maalla by 320 metres.

By the end of the 19th century Crater had undergone significant change. Crater now expanded towards the west in Aidarus valley and Tawela valley along the main road. This growth was due to the occupation of the cantonment towards north west, south east and east. By the end of the phase Crater became the main Central Business District of the Greater Aden with shopping streets such as Dana bazar, Kara bazar, Keshi bazar, while the administrative function was concentrated in the eastern part, where municipality building and treasury buildings were located.

Tawahi:

From the early period of occupation, the British tried to make Tawahi and Steamer Point the main stations for the harbour and garrison. They transferred the harbour from Crater to Tawahi and Steamer Point. This necessitated the establishment of a

township in Tawahi and a new cantonment in the Steamer Point. There were wharfs extending over Hujef Tawahi and Rass Marbat. (fig. 29). The function of these wharfs was to serve the harbour with coal and water. The transfer of harbour from the Front Bay to the Steamer Point stimulated the development in Tawahi and resulted in the decline of the old port in Crater especially when the Aden port was declared a tax free port by the Government of India, Act 10, 1850. This resulted in the building of stores by merchants for keeping their goods and they demanded more land to build houses and shops near the new port. The increase in population and the opening of the Suez Canal led to an unsurmounted increase in traffic and created great demand for utility services. As a whole the township of Tawahi became crowded. The western side of the area was reserved for the cantonment, where the pattern of settlement was scattered in character because of the nature of the landscape. By the end of the 19th century only few barracks and quarters were built, but towards the end of the World War I, settlement in the hills of Steamer Point was increased to accommodate the military forces. A road was built to connect the barracks and quarters in the hills. Besides, they established hospitals to replace the old one which was built during the last century (fig. 30).

Maalla:

Maalla is located in the lowlands between Crater in the south east and Tawahi in the west. This district is divided into
two parts: Maalla Bander on the east and Somalpura in the west which is a small village. Developmental process started only in 1850, when the harbour was extended from Tawahi towards Maalla. (Fig 3*) shows the development of growth in Maalla. It will be seen from (fig.3*) that residential structures were towards the west, where the main settlement constituted small houses. At the end of the century the residential growth extended towards the west and about 160 houses were built. It was estimated that about 1000 persons were living in 357 stone houses. Also there were 677 huts with 2650 inhabitants and about 780 persons were homeless 15.

From commercial point of view the district centre was meant for storing and supplying merchantise namely rice, wheat and sugar. Afterwards they re-exported some of these goods to surrounding countries. Commercial business continued during the early occupation period, but after World War I, as coal was replaced by oil in the steamers, the need for storing oil increased considerably. This affected the function of the district centre in matter of storage and led to the building of many oil tanks close to the harbour. The building of the tanks took place mostly in the western part. By transfer of harbour from Crater to Maalla, some offices such as customs office, 15. Javain, R. Port of Aden, Annual 1961, p.35
police station, telegraph office were established in Maalla. It will be seen from (fig. 32) that a railway line was constructed, joining Maalla to Sheikh Othman. Further growth was retarded as most of the area was kept vacant since an open policy promoting the construction of buildings would have meant great pressure on provisions and infrastructure during the war. The British prevented the entire peninsula from developing. As a result of this policy houses were not allowed to be built.

Khormaksar:

Khormaksar district of Greater Aden consists of two parts, (i) Isthmus and (ii) the northern parts from the foot of Jabal Hadied to Khor Bridge. These two parts constitute Khormaksar. First part of Khormaksar, that is Isthmus is located between Jabal Hadied and Jawhar range. It was a cantonment area from the day of occupation. The northern part was occupied by the British, according to an agreement signed between them and the Ruler of Aden and Lahej in 1849. The low land consists of flat sandy plain. This area in the past was covered by sea. For a long time the area remained under-developed as it was occupied by military troops. There was only one camp known as Champion and there existed a golf club in the northern part of Khormaksar. (fig. 32). The peninsula of Aden was connected with Sheikh Othman both by road and rail.

Thus the military camp dominated the landscape and its development.
GREATER ADEN KHORMAKSAR
1930

SALT PANS
SALT WORKS
SALT WORKS

POLICE STATION No.4

P.OFFICE
AERODROME
R.A.F.

GOLF COURSE
POLO CLUB

TECHS.
CAMP
R.A.F.

REMOTE CONTROL
STATION
ADMIRALTY

BARRIER GATE

ISTHMUS TUNNEL

WATER SUPPLY STATION

1 : 31680

BASED ON MAP IN ADM REPORT 1935

FIG 33
Sheikh Othman:

Sheikh Othman owes its name, it is believed, to a tomb which was called Othmani, whose grave lies towards the east and to a small village named Sheikh-al-Dawel. During 15th century this area was known to inhabitants of Aden because it was an outlet to the interior from Aden.

When British occupied Aden in 1839, the area consisted of a small village of 66 mud houses and about 300 inhabitants. From the early time the British wanted full control of the interior and therefore, they made Sheikh Othman the limit of the external boundary. With the increase of population, the problems of water supply became acute. The British in order to get full control over the harbour and water supply decided to purchase whole of Sheikh Othman. By the end of 1881 the British flag was hoisted in Sheikh Othman and the agreement was finalised on 30th May 1881. They then purchased Little Aden from Akrabi Sheikh in 1886.

After the British took control over Sheikh Othman and Little Aden, the growth of these areas was mainly confined in the beginning to residential functions.

16. Forieng Political, External, A., 1883, Consultation August Nos. 36-38, p. 24, New Delhi
British removed the surplus population from the fortress or the inner zone. It was estimated that about 7000 persons were transferred from the fortress to Sheikh-Othman. Almost all houses were made of mud and some houses were made of reed in Imad and Hiswa. By the end of 1884-85 more mud houses were built. However, in the outer zone where the people were transferred from the fortress malarial conditions prevailed and consequently the population decreased. Death rate reached 89.21 per thousand in Sheikh Othman in 1891, and at the end of the year it reached 116.47 per thousand and the total population during the 1887 was 9423. Towards the beginning of the 20th century, two factors sprang up in Sheikh Othman, one an Italian company (for collecting salt) in 1885 and the other an Indian salt company. These companies offered jobs and the population increased. Dispensaries were built in the area and educational institutions were also set up.

It will thus be seen that the growth during first phase i.e. 1839-1937 was slow, mainly because Aden was made a fortress rather than a commercial centre and was ruled by military authorities. Another reason was that a long time was taken to finalise the administrative function of Aden, between the Government of India and the Colonial Office. This problem was settled in 1937 when Aden was transferred to Colonial Office.

17. Foreign Political, External, B., 1891, Consultation April, No. 4-9.1, New Delhi
GROWTH PERIOD (1937-1967):

In 1932 the administrative set-up of Aden was transferred from Bombay to New Delhi and in 1937 from New Delhi to the Colonial Office. This change in administrative set-up brought some change in the growth pattern of the city particularly in respect to its function as a military base which was established at Aden. The Middle East Command at Aden, also controlled the British forces in Arabian peninsula and Royal Air Force in East Africa. This was an important part of the defence and security system in the British sphere of influence of the Middle East. At that time, the sphere of influence covered a large area extending from Libya to India and from the Caspion Sea to Madagascar. In the post-war years it had assumed a great importance due to its geo-strategic significance. British forces closed their base in Suez Canal and transferred it to Aden. From 1954 the headquarters of Middle East Air Force was also shifted to Aden and influenced the area as well as the city landscape and affected the city in diverse ways:

(i) The population of the city which was about 46638 in 1931 nearly doubled in 1946 (85949) and tripled in 1955 (138441).

(ii) Similarly the number of houses were about 6128 in 1931 while in 1973 the number of houses reached 42928. This means the city witnessed a period of tremendous growth.
The increase in population and the development of capital led to an increase in commercial activities. The sudden spurt in the city's commercial activities as well as the opening of new Bazars influenced the city's morphology. The suburban areas were added and the total built up area of the city increased very rapidly.

(iii) In spite of the brick house construction activities, there was increase in the houseless population during the 1946 and 1955 census which reached 6336 and 12558 persons, respectively, while in the temporary demarcated area the number of population living in huts reached 15287 persons in 1955 census. This constituted about 11 per cent of the total population. In different regions the percentage fluctuated from 21 of the total population of Maalla, 19 in Tawahi, 13.5 in Sheikh-Othman and 6 in Crater according to 1955 census.

(iv) The network of roads became dense to keep the city organically united and well linked and inspite of increase in the population and the addition of areas. The organic unity of the city remained intact.

GROWTH IN THE MODERN PERIOD

Crater:

During the modern phase of growth, Crater flourished
mainly because of the wealthy foreign communities which had settled there and built their houses and extended their commercial business. It was highly congested and there was practically no room for further expansion. Expansion took place mostly on the periphery. However, after the transfer of military from cantonment area in Crater to Khormaksar and Steamer Point, there was some space for settlement. These vacant places were afterwards occupied by civil population and public services (fig. 34).a.

It will be seen from fig 34 that some of the old buildings were occupied by schools. Growth of Crater took place towards the periphery where a multistoreyed building was set up to accommodate British families in Queen Arwa, Khosaf valley, and in the eastern part of the city known as Front Bay. Moreover, the growth of the city continued in the same direction which started in the last phase towards the valleys of Khosaf and Tawela. The rapid growth of Crater and the demand for land led to the utilisation of the vacant land so much so that no land was left even for road and recreation purposes with the result that it became difficult for planners to plan the city for roads and other services. (Fig. 34) b.

Maalla:

Maalla constitutes one of the districts of Greater Aden
and from the population point of view it comes next to Crater. Maalla's growth was stifled for a long time. The only area which had buildings was towards the eastern side while the rest of Maalla was under the charge of the military. (Fig. 35) shows that in 1955 the growth started towards the western side of Maalla where the area was kept for military purposes and it was in the western part of the area that roads, buildings and schools were established. However, there were rows of houses to accommodate the increased number of labour in the port and light industries which started in the early phase of the modern growth of Maalla. Coffee and gum were also re-exported from Aden. (Fig. 35) shows that the vacant land was used as grave yard and Christian cemetery. The land which was not suitable for buildings was kept for the poor people.

By the end of 1950, Maalla witnessed tremendous growth in population and in commerce. As a result of transfer of the British military base from Egypt to Aden, land was much in demand for the construction of new houses. The Port Trust reclaimed sea area for construction work. As a result, more land was available for harbour facilities and civil population. Main Maalla road, named Madran Road, possessed multi-storeyed houses on either side. About 1500 flats were constructed along sides of this road. This was done to accommodate the British families. Besides, 1500 tenements were built to
accommodate labourers. Today the area is known as Revolution Quarter. It will be seen from (fig. 36) that Maalla witnessed major changes in morphology and growth pattern. Harbour facilities were established and some public offices were also added towards the back of the harbour.

Tawahi:

Tawahi is another district of Greater Aden located towards the western part of the Aden peninsula. Its function related to the port but when the port declined Tawahi also lost its significance. Owing to the closure of the Suez canal, Tawahi to some extent lost its significance and the settlement also declined. It will be seen from (fig. 37) that the settlements are dispersed in character. This pattern of growth is mainly because of its site, which was along the beach and in the hills where due to spurs there is no land space for the construction of buildings. However, towards the end of the last century the area saw its development and by the beginning of the present century the area became crowded and there was no land for building. This led to the reclamation of two areas: one was towards the Post Office, and the second towards Tawahi Bay where the land was reclaimed from the sea.

Towards the end of the last phase, the functional pattern changed. This change in function arose owing to the necessity
of supplying fuel to the ships. The coal grounds and wharfs which were not in use were utilized by the oil installations and pipes to give fuel to ships and the buildings were occupied as offices of the companies. The pattern of the growth of settlement was related to the harbour as the Army base was transferred from Egypt to Aden. In consequence the shopping centres in the neighbourhood of the harbour area grew up to meet the requirements of tourists. Industries started flourishing in the last phase of growth. A number of hotels were constructed during last phase of its growth and in the modern period. (Fig 38.)

The reclaimed land was also occupied by such buildings as Port Trust, Indian Embassy and the American consulate. The population of Tawahi gradually increased from 7502 in 1931 to 12,316 in 1946, to 20,263 in 1955, but only 16,444 in 1973. The decline between 1955-1973 was due to the closure of the Suez Canal in 1967. The closure of the military base after independence prompted the merchants and the traders to leave the place and this contributed further to the low growth. As a result commercial activities declined. In addition to these factors the government nationalised all the commercial and marine activities. So many people left the settlement due to change in the political system of the country. The population which lived in huts in 1955 was 39,066 which constituted about 19 per cent of total population.
Steamer Point:

This area is one of the old cantonment in Greater Aden. The settlement in this area is more than 100 years old, but during the modern period some barracks, stores and quarters were built for the Royal Air Force. This led to an increase in the growth of the Steamer Point.

Sheikh Othman:

The change in the administrative system and social and economic condition influenced the growth of the outer zone (fig. 39). This region was dominated by traditional pattern of growth during the last 100 years. This was due to the fact that people obtained jobs with great difficulty. Besides jobs, housing facilities were also not easily available. After the fifties, the outer zone grew rapidly in population.

During 1931 the total population of the outer zone of Aden was 12167, while in the town of Sheikh Othman it was 10,701 and in the villages of Imad, Hiswa and Little Aden it was 172, 296 and 998 respectively. In 1946 the number reached 23,667 which included the population of some villages. After Second World War there was rapid growth of the settlement. The population in 1955 reached 39,156 which was equal to 28.3 per cent of total population. In 1973 the population of outer
GREATER ADEN SHEIKH OTHMAN 1954

RE = 1:10,000

SOURCE BASED ON TOPOGRAPHIC SHEET 1956

Fig-39
zone of Greater Aden reached 107420 which was 44.7 per cent of the total people of Greater Aden which was 240370. This increase in population of the outer zone of Aden led to the expansion of the city. After the Second World War, mud houses were built in the south and west of Sheikh Othman. New settlements where houses were built of stone sprang up in the outer zone, resulting new suburbs due to migration of people from the countryside, North Yemen, India and Somalia. The growth of housing however could not keep pace with the increase in population. The middle class people could not afford to pay the high rent of the houses. In consequence clusters of huts made of mat and reed were built here and there (Fig. 40). In the plains of the northern region, there were different types of suburbs: residential, industrial, military and administrative. They were dispersed in the outer zone owing to the extension of roads, availability of land in the outer zone and scarcity of land in the inner zone.

Residential suburbs:

Numerous residential areas are located around Sheikh Othman. Well planned Al-Mansora, started as a residential suburbs in 1960 at a distance of one km. from Sheikh Othman towards the south west. The suburb Al-Mansora thus became one of the nine districts of Greater Aden. (Fig. 41 & 42) Towards the north east and north west there were some clusters of huts and brick houses
which led to the development of the surrounding areas including Al-Mansora, but Sheikh Othman itself did not increase the size. In the outer zone the population settled in Al-Oahera, Bustan Mehdi, Al-Memdara, Darsaad and Sheikh Al-Dawel. These villages are still without water, electricity and sewage facilities.

Industrial suburb:

During the British occupation which lasted for 129 years there was no industrial establishment. It was only small scale and cottage industries which were developed. In 1952 an oil refinery was constructed in Aden which started functioning in 1954 and this became the main industry in the city (fig. 4). The industry was established by British Petroleum to meet the increasing demand of fuel oil for ships and steamers. During the establishment of this refinery, about 2500 British American and European labourers were working. Besides these labourers, 10,000 labourers were from Yemen, Somali land and India. This refinery covered 270 acres of land. The main product of this refinery was petrol, diesel and fuel oil for ships. Besides this, gas fuel was also extracted which was supplied to the local market and to certain areas in the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. About 2100 labourers worked in the refinery. Besides a hospital, schools, cinema and churches along with a market were also established (fig. 4).
Administrative Subrub:

In 1960 the town of Al-Ittiihad was founded and made the capital of the Federal Government of Southern Arabia. It was located between Sheikh Othman and Little Aden. Several departments of the government were located in Al-Ittihad. These offices were: Ministry of Education, Ministry of External Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Interior. Subsequently, after independence the Ministry of Defence and Ministry of Interior were shifted to Steamer Point and Crater respectively. The town of Al-Ittihad was now renamed Al-Shaab. Some faculties of University such as law and economics were transferred to Al-Shaab. In addition to the above functions, the suburb too have some residential areas.

The Cantonment:

We have seen from the early modern period that the growth of the city and all its economic development was conducive to the development of cantonment. Besides, the port activities had increased the importance of the city. Cantonment area, which was located in Crater in the early phase of the growth, was transferred to Steamer Point, Isthmus and Khormaksar. A new Cantonment was developed away from the civil lines in Little Aden. This resulted in the rapid growth of the city owing to the increase in the size of the cantonment.
Fig 45

Based on topographic sheet 1854

H. Shuki
Khormaksar:

The cantonment area of Khormaksar since the occupation was under the control of the military. This was kept reserved for military and saw no development. In the past, most of the cantonment was concentrated in Isthmus. The increasing importance of Aden as a military base led to the development of the cantonment, towards the northern part of the Royal Air Force station (Fig. 45). It will be seen from (fig.45) that Khormaksar accommodated the civil air port. This airport was used as Royal Air Force provided air field navigation and meteorological communication facilities to civil aviation authorities.

The cantonment was the biggest Royal Air Force centre and the air port linked Aden with United Kingdom, Singapore and Sustralian Airports. Flights from these countries passed through this air port. The station being the focal point was meant for transhipment of passengers on their way to Arabian Gulf.

The military base establishment in the city after the second World War had increased the activity of the port. Fig. 45 shows the growth pattern of the cantonment in Khormaksar. It will be seen from (fig. 46) that the southern part of the cantonment was kept for the Singapore line (renamed Tariq camp after independence.) Residential buildings sprang up towards the right side of the road of Sheikh Othman for
GREATER ADEN KHORMAKSAR 1983

RESIDENTIAL
GOVERNMENT OFFICES
MEDICAL
EDUCATIONAL
INDUSTRIAL
COMMERCIAL

LEGEND

RESIDENTIAL
GOVERNMENT OFFICES
MEDICAL
EDUCATIONAL
INDUSTRIAL
COMMERCIAL

SOURCE: LANDUSE MAP TOWN PLANNING ADEN 1980

FIG. 46

H. Shukri
hospital is under the police personnel, which is under the control of the Interior Ministry. Secondary schools were established in each district.

There were major developments in the establishment of industries and construction of houses. Many new buildings were constructed and the old buildings were renovated. Apart from new buildings, new factories were established in Khormaksar such as milk factory, agricultural tools and a plastic plant in 1976. An oil mill was constructed at Al-Mansora followed by the establishment of an electric power station. In Al-Shaab a large electric power station is under construction. A printing press and factories for manufacturing cigarettes, match boxes and paints were started in Maalla also in 1971. An oil mill was constructed at Al-Mansora. Followed by the establishment an electric power station in Sheikh Othman.

A number of housing schemes were established in Al-Mansora, Darsaad, Khormaksar and Crater (fig. 47). Most of the growth had taken place in the outer zone e.g. in Al-Mansora towards the eastern part of the district where there was a large vacant land available. In this area there were about 2000 houses. Out of them about 600 houses were made of stone. In Khormaksar two separate areas witnessed the growth of residential localities one to north of
the embassy quarters on the right towards the airport road and the second on the east side towards beach. The second area had about 300 prefabricated houses. The Ministry of Defence built separate quarters which were meant for its officers in Al-Mansora. In addition hotels started coming up in Khormaksar and Gold Mohr. This was accompanied by extensive road; building and repair programmes to cope with the dense traffic. Many recreation areas were established and the city became more beautiful and attractive. Much emphasis is being placed on the functional linkage and integration and therefore the post-independent development is well planned and controlled.