From the time the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) first became involved in Zanzibar, it was recognized that individual conservation initiatives could have a lasting effect and contribute to the general improvement of the historic area only if they were part of a coordinated and comprehensive planning effort. Such an effort appeared all the more urgent in Zanzibar as the vast majority of the town’s historic structures were in poor condition and dozens of old buildings had already collapsed. At the same time, scores of new buildings were being built, often replacing valuable structures, and more than a third of the traditional building stock had been substantially altered. This combination of decay and uncontrolled development had begun to jeopardize Zanzibar’s integrity as East Africa’s foremost living historic town.

Growing concern about the future of the historic area emphasized the need for sustained planning and action as well as public and international participation. In 1992, upon the request of the government and in recognition of the Stone Town’s special significance, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture’s Historic Cities Support Programme joined forces with the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority to prepare a Conservation Plan for the historic center of Zanzibar. The plan was produced and adopted by the Zanzibar government in the summer of 1994, and eventually published by the Trust in 1996 as **Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town**. The publication was intended to be a reference for administrators and professionals and a resource to help coordinate donor support and public initiatives for the future conservation and development of the Stone Town.

The Stone Town is the product of at least three centuries of continuous settlement, but it was not until 1830 that Zanzibar assumed a wholly urban character and buildings were consistently built in stone. Before that time, the majority of the houses had been made of mud and wattle and covered with palm-leaf thatch. There were very few public or specialized structures aside from the fort and a few small mosques. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the town occupied only the northeastern portion of the peninsula, extending from Shangani Point to the creek’s narrowest crossing point at Darajani. After the Omani sultan permanently moved to the island, the Stone Town quickly expanded during the middle of the century, filling in the mitaa of upper Sokomuhogo, Forodhani, Kafigcheni and Kiponda. The Omanis erected palaces and residences along and behind the waterfront; tradesmen from the Indian subcontinent built up the bazaar streets with shopfront houses, and seafaring merchants built houses, sheds, and warehouses near the waterfront. After 1850, stone buildings began to extend north into Malindi, south into the lower portion of Sokomuhogo, and east to Mkunazini, areas which up to that time had been occupied mainly by mud buildings.

As contact with Western trading markets increased, particularly once the Suez Canal opened in 1869 and later with the establishment of the British administration in 1890, specialized structures larger civic buildings in particular began to appear. The building up of the Stone Town was more or less completed, and its present limits had been defined by the first quarter of the twentieth century: the new port area to the north had been reclaimed, the area south of Shangani built up, the European garden suburb of Vuga laid out, and the program to fill the creek bordering the peninsula to the east gradually put into effect.

In the relatively short span of 150 years, the confluence of several distinct cultures and the island’s intense cosmopolitan development produced the rich and diverse architectural heritage we see today. Different groups of immigrants from around the Indian Ocean brought with them their cultural and building conventions. These were adapted to the materials available and superimposed upon an urban context that was still fairly undefined but rapidly evolving. In some cases, the diversity of the original imports is still evident in different sections of town. In others, the borrowing and adaptation of forms from other contexts produced a crossfertilization of various building traditions. In yet other cases, buildings were gradually changed over time as newcomers adapted existing structures to their tastes and preferences, thus producing an intriguing hybridization of forms.

This architectural variety produced the diverse spaces and surprising contrasts of Zanzibar’s townscape, where the pedestrian moves from the imposing row of seafront structures to the crowded and lively atmosphere of the Indian bazaars and the quiet, intimate spaces of the narrower residential streets. Thus, although the different forms and building types and their origins African, Arab, Indian, or European can be recognized, it is the synthesis of these cultures and influences that creates Zanzibar’s unique urban and architectural environment.

**Zanzibar’s Two Halves**

Today, the Stone Town is the center of the greater city of Zanzibar, located halfway down the western coast of Unguja, the largest island of the Zanzibar archipelago. As the capital city of the archipelago, Greater Zanzibar is the economic, political, and cultural center of the islands and the administrative headquarters of the Zanzibar government. Much of the capital’s commercial and government activity is actually located in the old Stone Town which is the original part of present-day Zanzibar, once separated from the main island by a creek. The other half across the creek was called, then as now, Ng’ambo, meaning the land on the “other side.” The creek was then filled in in the early part of this century, so today Zanzibar’s two halves are no
longer physically separated, though many differences remain in their relative size and appearance. These differences have become even more pronounced with the rapid development of the outer expansion areas in recent decades.

The recent development of greater Zanzibar Town was generated by the unprecedented growth in its population, especially after the late 1970s. Current estimates put the population of Zanzibar Town at over 195,000 people and predict a population twice this number by the year 2018. Largely as a result of the rapidly expanding population, the total built-up area of Zanzibar Town today covers an area of 1,600 hectares, approximately seventeen times the size of the Stone Town.

In the early 1970s, in order to respond to the increase in population, the government promoted the construction of large public-housing schemes in the central portion of Ng’ambo. By the late 1970s, however, Zanzibar’s economic situation could no longer support major public investments, as a severe agricultural recession had brought a second large influx of people from the rural areas in search of better economic opportunities in the town.

Since then urban development in Zanzibar Town has taken place largely outside public control, directed by an ever-expanding informal land and housing market. The result has been the progressive filling in of the older parts of Ng’ambo and the spontaneous incremental expansion of scattered new settlements along Zanzibar’s outskirts. These settlements have outgrown the city’s boundaries established by the 1982 master plan, and large tracts of agricultural land are now being turned into residential areas. Because of their rapid and unplanned growth, these areas lack adequate schools and health facilities, nor are there adequate market facilities and public services, a fact that augments the already excessive and unhealthy dependency of greater Zanzibar Town upon the historical center, with thousands of people commuting daily in and out of it. By necessity, the city cannot grow without putting ever greater pressure on the central area.

It is in the light of this close and mutually unsatisfactory relationship between Greater Zanzibar and the Stone Town that future planning decisions for the entire city must be considered and resolved. In the long run, only a coordinated and integrated approach to planning and managing all of the urban area can guarantee both balanced growth for greater Zanzibar and the preservation and appropriate development of the historic Stone Town.

An Uncertain Future for the Stone Town

Before formulating a conservation plan, a survey of the population, land use, infrastructure, and buildings was carried out in the Stone Town. The data collected provide an updated picture of the historic Stone Town and reveal the full extent of changes and pressures that have developed since the last survey was carried out by Habitat in 1982.

The 1992 survey’s mixed results point to an uncertain future for the Stone Town. Among the positive trends is the manageable size of the historic area’s population, which promises to remain relatively low for the foreseeable future. At present, approximately 16,000 people live in the Stone Town; future projections indicate that population growth in the center will be far below that of the rest of Zanzibar an estimated 18,000 people by 2018. A static population, combined with the liberalization of the economy and a greater number of buildings in private ownership, which has increased to nearly 50 percent of ownership in the last decade, can help generate resources for a general upgrading of the town’s building stock. At the same time, a large stock of high-quality land and buildings remains in public ownership: as the single largest landowner, the government is in the best position to play the leading role in the Stone Town’s planning and conservation. This role may be enhanced by current opportunities for donor funding and direct government involvement in the planning of the town’s major public areas, including the port and the central market.

Another positive aspect is the considerable size and relative integrity of the town’s historic urban fabric. More than 40 percent of the old buildings, though in poor condition, are still standing. This stock of houses constitutes a sound foundation upon which to build a comprehensive conservation program which can have a positive impact on the economy of the town as a whole. Finally, the Stone Town has well-designed and fairly solid, if derelict, infrastructure, which can be repaired and upgraded without seriously disrupting the surrounding historic buildings.

There are also negative pressures on the Stone Town, and these are likely to increase as the population in the rest of Zanzibar continues to grow. That growth will undoubtedly lead to demands for more commercial facilities and services as well as increased government use, all at the expense of housing in the historic area. These will, in turn, increase the number of commuters and goods going into and out of the central area, exacerbating the already difficult traffic and parking problems there. Private motor vehicle registrations in Zanzibar almost quadrupled from 1991 to 1994, and automobiles are having an increasingly negative impact on the historic area.

The continued lack of maintenance and the resulting deterioration of most buildings, open spaces, and public infrastructure must also be addressed. Funding for the upkeep of government-owned structures is scarce, and maintenance has often been neglected in the face of more pressing social problems. Private funding for rehabilitation work is also limited, in part
because doubts persist about land tenure and in part because rent levels are far too low. The survey showed, however, that the physical condition of the traditional building stock throughout the town is now critical, with over 85 percent of structures deteriorating or in poor condition. Although these buildings are resilient, their past performance is no guarantee of their future endurance. Once the breaking point is reached, collapse is rapid and the outcome irreversible. Some 100 buildings have either partially or entirely collapsed over the past ten years, and more will be added every year. This problem urgently needs to be addressed by instituting incentives and controls on private initiatives and reinforcing direct government action on public property.

Equally serious is the quickening pace of uncontrolled and inappropriate construction, in part the result of pressure for living space from expanding households. Some 69 new buildings were under construction in 1992 alone. Ninety others had been built during the previous ten years. This new construction is in addition to the many houses 35 percent of the traditional building stock that had been altered. Uncontrolled development is likely to escalate and result in ever more radical transformations and the eventual loss of traditional buildings, as an increasing number of residents take it upon themselves to partition, alter, or add onto traditional buildings, or demolish and replace them with new structures. More and more radical alterations, often fostered by misguided notions of progress, must also be expected as a result of the expansion of private commercial activity.

If left unchecked, there can be little doubt that the combination of neglect and uncontrolled new development will erode the traditional structure and appearance of the Stone Town. Aggravating these threats are the persistent problems arising from an unclear system of land tenure and an unsatisfactory institutional setting which had impeded the development and application of consistent policies for the management of the historic area. In the face of these uncertain prospects, a new planning framework for the historic area was urgently needed, both to enhance the opportunities for positive intervention and counteract negative trends and establish an effective mechanism to direct and monitor future development in Zanzibar's Stone Town.

A New Planning Framework

Following the completion of the survey, the AKTC and the Stone Town Conservation and Development
2. The Zanzibar Conservation and Development Plan combines land-use controls with special protective measures to preserve the stone houses and promote sympathetic development in the historic area.

Listed buildings
- Grade I
- Grade II
- Protected architectural feature
- Protected streetscape feature
- Facade
- Tomb, fountain, gate, etc.
- Vista
- Tree
- Protected green space
- Public unimproved land
- Area to be Upgraded
- Action Area
The public administration is in the best position to take advantage of funds and opportunities to institute a coordinated plan of action. The brief for each of the four action areas was included in the statement accompanying the plan. Through its various components, the plan (1) proposes land and building uses in keeping with the existing land-use pattern and the historical character of the town and identifies uses that conflict with them and that should not be permitted; (2) recommends protective measures for those buildings, facades, architectural features, and open spaces that contribute to the townscape and environment of the Stone Town; (3) regulates private and public building activity so that both new development and alterations to existing buildings will be in keeping with the architectural character of the town; (4) recommends a transport and traffic network within and around the historical area and outlines a coordinated program of infrastructure improvements; (5) provides a framework for the implementation of detailed planning schemes in the specified action areas and areas to be upgraded.

These components form the basis of the four maps detailing the plan’s proposals covering land use, conservation and development, future traffic and

5. TWO PROTECTED BUILDINGS ALONG KENYATTA ROAD. THE PLAN PROHIBITS THE CHANGING OR DEMOLITION OF ANY LISTED BUILDING OR PROTECTED FACADE.
parking, and infrastructure. The maps are complemented by a new set of building regulations which are part of the planning statement and, as such, constitute an integral part of the plan. The plans and proposals should be considered as complementary overlays of a single planning strategy. Together, they constitute the basic tenets of the conservation plan.

The Action Area Plans

Within the general planning framework, the development and implementation of detailed planning programs for the Stone Town’s major public areas was important for solving a number of major problems that affected the functioning of the entire town. The detailed schemes for these action areas were also intended to stimulate official interest and public support for the plan as a whole and offer a model for future interventions in other parts of the town.

The four areas earmarked for detailed planning the seafront, the port entrance, the central market, and the proposed commercial area in Malindi were defined as “action areas” where the plan would achieve the following objectives.

1. The seafront with its outstanding buildings and ample open space would be reorganized to enhance its use as the town’s major social, cultural, and recreational amenity.

2. The redevelopment of the port, which is being sponsored by the European Union, will have a new passenger terminal away from the cargo-handling facilities; by creating a new entry way into Zanzibar and revitalizing the northern portion of Mizingani Road this will provide an opportunity to add further amenities to the town.

3. The rehabilitation of the Central Market, with financing from the United Nations Capital Development Fund and the potential of generating more investment from private sources, could lead within a short time to the complete reorganization of the town’s major commercial and transportation hub.

4. Finally, the establishment of a new commercial and mixed-use area in Malindi along the northeastern edge of the Stone Town would provide a convenient alternative with sizable plots and parking to the present pattern of haphazard and piecemeal commercial development which too often is poorly sited and harmful to the historic properties. Opportunities for development in these public areas, which can result from both present and prospective donor financing, called for prompt action to identify development objectives as well as suitable standards.

4. The Old Dispensary, built in Zanzibar in the 1890s and restored by AKTC in the 1990s, was reopened as the Stone Town Cultural Centre in 1997.
for future intervention. For each of the four areas singled out for priority intervention, the preliminary design schemes prepared as part of the plan suggest ways in which specific issues can be resolved as well as how the quality of each of these special areas may best be preserved and enhanced.

**The Seafront Action Area.** Zanzibar's seafront is the most visible and significant public open space in the town. Depicted time and again by visitors and artists who came to Zanzibar during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the seafront's imposing row of large mansions and monuments soon became the town emblem. Today, as in the past, the seafront retains this emblematic quality and continues to serve as the gateway for the town from the sea. The seafront defines the town's edge and creates an intermediate space between the densely built-up area and the water. During this century, with the dismantling of the arsenal and military barracks along the shore and the creation of Forodhani Park in the 1930s, the seafront has acquired more and more social and recreational significance. People come here to stroll along the shore, mix and relax, and, in the evening, wander among the vendors and sample the many foods for sale in the park. Children of all ages have also come to use the park more and more, to play ball and other games.

Overall, the seafront is suffering from a protracted lack of maintenance and a rapidly deteriorating infrastructure. Poor services, environmental degradation, and unsatisfactory vehicular and pedestrian circulation are all matters of concern. But despite these problems, it remains an irreplaceable asset which deserves careful rehabilitation so that it can continue to fulfill its function as the city's foremost public open area. The proposals for reorganizing the seafront focus on arresting general deterioration, resolving potential land-use conflicts, using spaces more efficiently, and enhancing the appearance of the seafront for the benefit of the entire community. The plan proposes no radical changes; rather, it seeks to maintain the area's character as well as its lively range of activities and established patterns of use through a program of repairs and improvements to the area's infrastructure, circulation, building façades, landscape, and street furniture.

**The Port Entrance Action Area.** The Zanzibar port at the northern end of the Stone Town plays a critical role in the economy of Zanzibar and its islands. All incoming and outgoing domestic and international cargo passes through it, whether carried on large container ships or on one of the traditional dhows which link Zanzibar to neighboring destinations and ports all around the Indian Ocean. Zanzibar's port is also a busy passenger terminal.
for people traveling to and from the mainland and Pemba. In addition, it has become in recent years a port of call for occasional ocean cruise liners carrying tourists to exotic destinations. Although an increase in all three functions is expected in future, a study commissioned by the European Development Fund in 1991 concluded that the port’s location and size would be able to meet Zanzibar’s anticipated expansion if a recommended program to upgrade and extend its facilities were carried out. The program, financed by the European Union, foresees the addition of deep-water berths and more container storage, as well as improvements in the cargo-handling facilities. In addition, it calls for the construction of a new terminal, pier, and RoRo ferry service at the southern edge of the site close to the Marine Institute and the Old Dispensary across Mizingani Road.

The European Union program to upgrade the existing facilities was incorporated in the plan and harmonized with the surrounding fabric in order to improve pedestrian access to the town, reintegrate the port and northern seafront into the rest of the town, and stimulate a general revitalization of the upper portion of Mizingani Road. The plan calls for a three-stage program. In stage 1, the government petrol station north of Mizingani Road would be relocated to a less congested area outside the Stone Town, a new parking area would be built to accommodate about fifty vehicles, the area in front of the Old Dispensary re-landscaped, and a pedestrian link between the Old Dispensary and the Banyantree square established. In stage 2 a new passenger terminal will be built and a scheme for improved traffic flow in the port and along Mizingani Road installed. Finally, stage 3 would complete the reorganization with the demolition of the Marine Institute and the creation in its place of a public square south of the new passenger terminal. In addition, a series of dutyfree shops along Mizingani Road could replace the present underused government warehouses.

The Central Market Action Area. The market area is the commercial crossroads for the entire city of Zanzibar and a critical node for the island’s overall marketing, transport, and passenger-movement systems. Located west of Creek Road, at the confluence of traffic routes and public transport lines, it links the agricultural hinterland with Ng’amo and the busy bazaar streets of the Stone Town. The central market is the main distribution center supplying both suburban and country markets, and it is there that most of the island’s produce and imported goods, both wholesale and retail, are brought for sale. The problems affecting the market area are the result of the combined effects of serious

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5. SECTION FROM ZANZIBAR. A PLAN FOR THE HISTORIC STONE TOWN ILLUSTRATES THE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE SEAFRONT ACTION AREA TO ENHANCE THE GARDENS AND PROMENADE AS ONE OF THE TOWN’S MOST IMPORTANT AMENITIES.
infrastructure deficiencies, traffic congestion, poor use of existing spaces, lack of maintenance, and lack of investment in existing as well as new facilities, and the proliferation of container shops and other unplanned structures. Because of its central location and primary importance in the town's economy, the market was earmarked by the government for priority intervention. Donor assistance was sought for this purpose, and, in 1993, the United Nations Capital Development Fund (UNCDF) undertook a project-identification mission. The mission concluded that the Central Market is fundamentally efficient and that with improvements and limited expansion, it can continue to fulfill its function well past the year 2000.

The detailed proposals for the market area developed for the Conservation Plan incorporated both UNCDF's recommendations and the reorganization of both sides of Creek Road: the retail system on the western side, with its meat and fish market, sheds, open vending areas and shops; and the transportation hub on the east side with its terminals and parking, concourse and auction space, containers, and informal vending areas. The two components are complementary, and both are essential to the economic vitality and continued development of the market.

The Malindi Action Area. In the discussions that led up to the conservation plan, officials and planners agreed on the need for additional commercial and office space in the Stone Town. The problem was that no large undeveloped sites remained in the central area, which is already congested and where both vehicular access and parking are limited. A site at the eastern edge of Malindi, on the periphery of the Stone Town, but near the port and the city's center, was thought to be the zone best suited for the development of a small commercial and business area: it offered a tract of undeveloped land, easy vehicular access, and potentially adequate parking.

The plan's final action-area scheme provides sketch proposals for developing the area. Two building types are proposed, one square in plan and the other L-shaped, which can vary between two and three stories in height. They may be oriented in various directions, according to the shapes and locations of particular plots, but always in such a way as to create an internal, semipublic courtyard, reminiscent of the interior courtyards in the old buildings of the Stone Town. The principal façades of the units are laid out along Bwawani Road, resulting in a discontinuous and yet homogeneous frontage resembling the traditional fabric of the seaport and parts of the adjacent Creek Road.

In developing the proposals for the commercial area in Malindi, an attempt was made to design contemporary structures which are physically and visually compatible with the surrounding historic fabric. This has been achieved by establishing similarities in scale and texture and by maintaining a sense of continuity in the design and positioning of the new structures within the existing context. The Malindi scheme thus sought to create a coherent, up-to-date environment that fulfills the current needs of business and commercial operations with buildings that fit into the existing historic fabric. A design approach similar to the one followed in developing the Malindi Action Area scheme could be applied in other parts of the Stone Town where new developments and infill solutions are needed.

Participatory Planning and Implementation

The conservation and future development of the Stone Town cannot be tackled at the planning level alone. The measures foreseen by the plan can become operational only when they are sustained by political will and public support, backed by the necessary legal and institutional framework and implemented through effective management.

The approval of the Stone Town Conservation Plan and passage of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Act have created in Zanzibar the conditions for better planning in the historical area. An effort should now be made to translate these objectives into a series of specific actions. Some will be physical interventions, reorganization of the traffic network and some of the major public areas. Others will result in the enactment of specific regulations and implementation guidelines. Still others may involve defining alternative administrative or management procedures, establishing a public subsidy initiative, or creating a mixed public/private investment program. The recently approved plan should not be considered a single comprehensive document defined once and for all, but a regulatory framework for the actions required to plan and manage the historic area over the long term.

This requires that the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), recently designated as the principal public institution responsible for the historic area, pursue its mandate actively and effectively. At the implementation level, STCDA will have to determine the priority and complementary actions needed to achieve the plan's objectives, identify resources and possible partners to carry out the programs, and assume the role of broker to promote initiatives and mediate between the different groups, constituencies, and organizations involved in the historic area. In terms of management, it means striving for an efficient and fair administration, ensuring either directly or through other parties the monitoring of building activities, delivery of services, maintenance of public structures, and unbiased control of resources and public spaces in the best interest of the entire community.

The involvement and participation of public institutions, constituencies, donors, and private groups active in the historic area have been essential in preparing, reviewing, and endorsing the plan, but need to be reinforced and
expanded during the implementation phase. Public participation and partnership arrangements in Zanzibar can be developed in many different sectors. A number of initiatives and proposals have been discussed and could rapidly be developed to stimulate private investment from the business sector, involving government tenants in the improvement of government housing, rehabilitating historic buildings as public facilities, and bettering the delivery of public services. Although individually these initiatives can only have a limited effect on the town as a whole, strong action at the general planning level, combined with careful coordination between government institutions and external organizations, and sustained dialogue with the historic area’s community can bring about a climate of confidence and trust, and thus the consensus needed to act.

An Agenda for Action

No plan is ever final. If it is to serve the town over time, it must be flexible enough to respond and adapt to changing circumstances and requirements. While open and responsive, however, the plan must also promote and stimulate concrete actions that carry the process to implementation as rapidly as possible. The following agenda summarizes the actions and priority issues to be addressed in the immediate future.

Institutional strengthening. Increase the operating budget and build up the capacity of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority’s technical staff and its advisory committees to enable the authority to carry out its expanded mandate. In addition, define with the government offices concerned, and in line with the provisions of the 1994 STCDA Establishment Act, the concrete modalities by which the authority can operate as a selffinancing entity with the necessary degree of financial independence.

Land-use controls and protection of the Stone Town’s traditional fabric. Apply the land-use policies and protective measures contained in the plan consistently and without exception, by providing free preconstruction advice, reviewing and ruling on building applications, monitoring private and public construction activities, and enforcing the sanctions indicated by the law in case of abuses. In particular, indiscriminate changes of use as well as the demolition or radical transformation of any historic property should be brought to a halt.

Building repair and maintenance. Review in depth the social and physical reasons for the widespread deterioration of buildings in the Stone Town; promote public awareness and practical training in conservation; and establish public policies and incentives to repair and maintain residential and public buildings. Public action should focus on:

- identifying the funding needed to initiate a general program of emergency repairs and regular maintenance of historical buildings owned and used by the government.
- reviewing the condition, use, present rent levels and potential rental market value of government-owned properties, and exploring ways to repair and improve these public properties leased to private tenants. This may include raising rents, especially when they are found to be unrealistically low, as well as facilitating tenants’ participation in selfhelp or cooperative housing programs so that resources can be mobilized for repairs and maintenance.
- creating incentives for conservation and rehabilitation work on privately owned property. This may include matching grants, tax incentives, easier access to credit, free technical advice and supervision of work, and soft loans for the procurement of appropriate building materials.

Traffic and circulation. Put the traffic regulations indicated in the plan into effect through increased controls and the positioning of street signs and other regulatory devices. In particular, parking restrictions, speed limits, and the banning of vehicles above two tons in the historical area should be strictly enforced. At the same time, road work in the central areas should be coordinated with a view to introducing deterrents against parking and vehicular access, speedcalming devices, and provisions for safer circulation of pedestrians and bicycles. Finally, concrete possibilities for the funding and realization of peripheral parking such as the recently finalized program for data data and taxi parking on Creek Road as well as the installation of secure bicycle racks should be actively explored. These practical actions in the historical area should be complemented by discussions at the appropriate levels of government to curb private motorized transport and encourage alternative means of transportation.

Infrastructure. Ensure coordination between the ongoing and planned infrastructure improvement programs for water, sanitation, and electricity; and monitor the nature of interventions and selection of materials to be sure these are environmentally sensitive and aesthetically appropriate to the Stone Town.

Delivery of services. Review the principal shortcomings and the difficulties of maintaining and operating public services as well as the problems related to collecting revenues. Hold discussions with agencies and municipal services to foster greater autonomy and improve management, increase staff, and raise the level of training, secure the necessary equipment and spare parts, and reduce absenteeism. At the same time, discussions should be initiated with constituencies and local groups to increase and improve collection of charges, and explore possibilities of in-kind contributions and direct community involvement in return for better and more reliable services.

Action areas and areas to be upgraded. During the initial feasibility phase, priority actions should aim at:
- clarifying among the government offices concerned what their respective roles and responsibilities are vis-à-vis the use of land, facilities, and infrastructure within each of the public areas under consideration.
- confirming the briefs and design options included in the plan through further consultations with the concerned public offices, private interest groups, residents and users.
- promoting renewed negotiations with donors and other prospective partners to determine the modalities of financing and the phasing of works for the reorganization of the Action Areas and the Areas to be Upgraded that are identified by the plan.

Mobilization of resources. STCDA should explore either directly or in coordination with other agencies and institutions, or on behalf of groups of residents and users, the possibilities for making resources available in the historical area by
- increasing direct revenues. This can be done by raising property taxes, increasing rents for government property and user charges for public services, and stipulating that the revenue thus raised in the Stone Town should be, at least in part, reinvested in the area. These funds can be used both to improve the condition of public buildings and spaces and to maintain and operate public services.
- raising capital from external donor and private sources in the form of grants, loans, joint-venture agreements, and in return for tax incentives granted to companies and individual entrepreneurs. This form of financing is the most appropriate to fund capital-intensive initiatives such as the reorganization of the action areas and the upgrading of infrastructure.
- activating self-help capabilities and initiatives to support and enhance participation by residents and other groups in the Stone Town. This is a form of indirect financing ideally suited to cases where direct public intervention may be too fragmented and difficult to carry out. In such cases, a policy of public incentives will help release existing resources and stimulate the private sector's potential to act. The examples already mentioned include in-kind contributions from users to improve the delivery of services; financing emergency repairs by tenants of government buildings in return for secure tenancy agreements; and the establishment of credit facilities to facilitate the repair and maintenance of historic property by owners who otherwise could not afford to do so.

This agenda illustrates the wide range of issues to be addressed as well as the different public and private entities and interests that are likely to be affected by the plan's implementation. Although many of the sectors of action identified come under the responsibility of other government offices, it is the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, as the principal agency responsible for the historical area, that will have to provide the essential stimuli and coordinate planning activities over time. It is a key role which must be sustained at the highest levels of government and facilitated through the input and active cooperation of the many other branches of the public administration involved in the Stone Town.

Donors, nongovernmental organizations, political constituencies, community groups, religious entities, professionals, users, and private individuals can and should also play a role in the implementation of the actions envisaged by the plan. Their support and active participation will gain momentum as positive results and direct benefits to users and residents become increasingly apparent. Both the public administration and the private sector have much to gain from a thriving, well-maintained historical area, and both can contribute in very important ways to its improvement. Neither will be served by the Stone Town's continued deterioration, declining standards of living, and uncontrolled development.

The proposals contained in the newly approved plan provide the necessary framework with which to create a living and working environment in the Stone Town that is attuned to today's requirements and in line with Zanzibar's traditional urban character. These proposals are both realistic and achievable. Realistic because they are based on an in-depth review of the current situation and are designed to enhance and build on the potentials and positive trends identified in the Stone Town. Achievable because the majority of the measures proposed do not require the implementation of farfetched programs or complex technical measures. Instead, it is a shift in attitude that is required a shift toward a more sensitive approach to the Stone Town's fabric, recognition of the specialized nature of conservation action and management, reorganization of the institutional arrangements and administrative procedures, active mobilization of resources, and better overall coordination of investment and planning activities. Ultimately, it is only through concerted and continued effort at all levels political, institutional, economic, technical and community that the present cycle of deterioration and unplanned change can be stopped and a process of conservation and sustained development for the Stone Town begin.

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