The Aga Khan Trust for Culture

Zanzibar
A Plan for the Historic Stone Town
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The Stone Town of Zanzibar, located on an island at the edge of the Indian Ocean, is the largest and most renowned of East Africa’s historic seaports. Its traditional coral stone buildings, narrow bazaar streets, massive carved doors, and intricate multi-storied balconies create a distinct urban context, and are a living testament to the great variety of influences which, over a period of two and a half centuries, created Zanzibar’s unique blend of history, culture and architecture.

Today, the Stone Town is the historic centre of the city of Zanzibar, as well as the urban focus for the island and surrounding archipelago. It contains 1,700 buildings and some 16,000 people. Twice that number, however, come into the historic centre every day to work, study, visit and shop. Moreover, within its relatively small area are concentrated most of the island’s commercial facilities and public and religious institutions, in addition to the large number of prominent residential structures.

The historic Stone Town is also where land values are highest and the pressure for change greatest. Scores of new structures have been built over the past ten years, and more than one third of the old buildings have been altered substantially. At the same time, the vast majority of the town’s historic structures are in poor condition, while dozens of old buildings have collapsed in the past few years.

These adverse developments have spurred growing concern about the future preservation of the Stone Town’s buildings, streets and open spaces which represent an irreplaceable asset not only for Zanzibar and its residents, but also as one of the world’s important cultural and architectural sites.

In recognition of the Stone Town’s significance, the Zanzibar Government initiated preparation of a conservation plan in an effort to reverse the decline and guide future development in the historic area. The Plan was prepared over a period of two years, as a joint initiative of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority and the Historic Cities Support Programme of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, and was formally adopted by the Zanzibar Government in 1994.

(continued on back flap)
Zanzibar

A Plan for the Historic Stone Town
A photograph taken by Edward D. Ropes circa 1880 entitled: "View of the tower, palace and harem, taken on Friday morning at a review of the troops."
(Courtesy, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.)
Planning Team and Contributors

This publication is based on research and materials produced during the preparation of the Conservation Plan for the historic Stone Town of Zanzibar. The Plan, a joint initiative of the Zanzibar Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment and the Historic Cities Support Programme of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, was approved by the Zanzibar authorities in July of 1994.

The work of the planning team was coordinated by Francesco Siravo, an architect and conservation planner. The following individuals were full-time members of the planning team: Jane Covington, who contributed to the presentation of the physical survey, the definition of the general planning framework and to the initial proposals for the Action Areas; Rafael Marks, who worked on the building regulations; and Hemed Nassor Mohammed, who contributed to the survey and planning work and liaised with the various government offices concerned; Kathryn Sather, who was responsible for the Stone Town data base; and Abubakar Ahmad Shami, who contributed to the physical survey and the planning proposals.

The Survey Team was composed of the following: Makame Faki Haj, Fatma Hassan Hamad Mohammed Khamis, Mohammed Zahir Mohammed, and Mohammed Badruddin Mussa and Salma Mohammed Suleiman.

In addition, a number of other professionals were involved on a part-time basis and contributed to specific aspects of the work: Stephen Battle helped develop the criteria for the survey of building types, contributed background material and illustrations on the architecture of Zanzibar and assisted during the initial stage of the planning work; Alfred da Costa assisted with the survey of land and building ownership; Peter Hauspie of UNCHS assisted with the inventory of significant buildings and streetscape features; Jessica Marshall assisted with the development of the criteria and form for the survey of building condition and during the initial stages of the planning work; Jessie Marshall contributed to the work on the Action Areas, particularly the Malindi Action Area; and Ann Pulver assisted with the development of the household survey. The building regulations were prepared in coordination with Group 5 Consultants. Group 5 was also responsible for the preparation of the 1994 Establishment Act for the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, as part of a UNCHS technical assistance project.

A number of special consultants contributed their expertise to the preparation of the Plan.

Dr. Tony Johnston, formerly the Director of Population Information, Education and Communication Research and Training for Eastern and Southern Africa, United Nations Population Fund, provided an assessment of population trends in the Stone Town based on regional information and an analysis of data collected during the household survey.

Landscape architect Don H. Olson, ASLA, a principal with Sasaki Associates, Inc., prepared sketch proposals for the Seafort and Port Entrance Action Areas, and provided general advice on open space design issues.

State Attorney Omar Makungu, Zanzibar Attorney General’s Office, reviewed the Gazette Notices and Building Regulations for the Plan.

Rupert W. M. Watson, Advocate, reviewed the legal aspects of the Plan’s formulation as well as the process to be followed for its approval and legal adoption.

The following individuals contributed to the publication:

David Coulson made a special trip to the Stone Town and is responsible for many of the photographs in the book.

Rosemary Macdonald carried out historical research in Zanzibar, England, Scotland and the United States, and her work forms the basis of the first chapter of the book.

Rafael Marks, in addition to his work with the planning team, prepared many of the maps, illustrations and other background material for the publication.

Ann Pulver worked with the author throughout preparation of this publication as general assistant and editor.

Debora de Moraes Rodrigues provided editorial assistance during final production.
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A very special vote of thanks is due to Stefano Bianca, Director of the Historic Cities Support Programme of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, for his professional advice, guidance and encouragement throughout the preparation of the plan and the present book.

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Introduction

Although certain institutions of the Aga Khan Development Network trace their history in Zanzibar to the turn of the century, the first involvement of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture in Zanzibar dates to 1988, when the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, the oldest of the three established programmes of the Trust, organized an international seminar on the island. This event raised the Trust’s interest in the rehabilitation of the old Stone Town. The initial idea to safeguard the seafront of the old city was soon formalized into a plan to restore and revitalize two landmark buildings in Zanzibar — the Old Dispensary and the Extelcom Building — together with some of the major public open spaces located between the sites of these two buildings.

From 1992 to 1996, the Trust’s “Historic Cities Support Programme” carried out the restoration of the Old Dispensary. By 1997, it will complete improvements to Kelele Square, one of the principal open spaces in the old town. Meanwhile, Tourism Promotion Services — a subsidiary of the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development specialized in tourism development — is converting the abandoned Extelcom Building into a hotel, to be opened in early 1997.

As the work on the Old Dispensary proceeded, and in response to the renewed interest in the historic area and improved prospects for tourism and private investment in Zanzibar, the need became apparent for an integrated plan for the conservation and development of the Stone Town. In 1992, the Trust offered to assist the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) in launching an in-depth survey of the Stone Town and preparing a comprehensive conservation town plan, which not only identifies the heritage to be conserved, but also sets standards for appropriate new development, both at the micro-level of individual plots and at the macro-level of the overall townscape.

It is expected that the plan will constitute a tool for coordinating the future activities of the various national and international agencies...
and private developers interested in Zanzibar, especially with regard to the “Action Areas,” the four major sites identified in the Plan that are in urgent need of general improvement: the Seafront, the Port Entrance, the Central Market, and a new commercial area in Malindi. Recommendations for the Action Areas seek to guide future investment and ensure that new interventions will complement and reinforce the conservation components of the Plan.

The Trust and the STCDA are aware that formulation and approval of the Conservation Plan presented here is but a first step in the series of sustained efforts that will be required to manage the rehabilitation and further development of the old Stone Town in ways that are compatible with (and worthy of) its rich and varied heritage. In coming years, the local authorities will have to demonstrate both flexibility and determination in order to balance emerging development pressures with the long-term aims of the Plan. Indeed, identifying, capturing and making the best use of future opportunities is a demanding urban management task. On the one hand, a multitude of small indigenous resources, often hidden in the local economy, must be mobilized and directed; on the other hand, single large-scale developments, which may arise suddenly through bilateral aid or foreign investment, must be managed in such a way that they are integrated with the objectives of the Plan, thus becoming agents for the rehabilitation of the old city's sensitive fabric, rather than a means of jeopardizing the island's major cultural asset.

The Trust's “Historic Cities Support Programme,” in cooperation with UNESCO and other international organizations, is committed to assist the STCDA in achieving this balanced development through a number of further actions, such as the establishment of a permanent planning office, the dissemination of conservation and building standards, the training of professionals and craftsmen, and the general promotion of cultural heritage awareness through the “Stone Town Cultural Centre” which will be located in the restored Old Dispensary. Furthermore, it is also prepared to help with the definition of project briefs covering both conservation and redevelopment for submission to other donors, with a view to materializing the recommendations of the Plan into concrete proposals. Interested donors and investors will thus be assured that projects will benefit from, and contribute to, a meaningful overall framework.

The present planning effort could not have been brought to fruition without continuous encouragement of the Zanzibari authorities, headed by His Excellency President Salmin Amour who graciously extended his support to the preparation and implementation of the Plan. In particular, I would like to thank Mr. Mohammad Salim Sulaiman, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment, and Mr. Ahmed Sheikh Ahmed, Director of the STCDA for their most valuable support and participation. Through the years, an excellent working relationship with the STCDA has been forged, which should prove propitious for consistent implementation of the Conservation Plan.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation for the diligent professional work on which the report is based. It should be noted that a multi-national team, composed of young Zanzibari architects and a number of expatriates, has produced the base material under the experienced leadership of Francesco Siravo, who has worked on similar planning and conservation projects in Lamu and Mombasa. He and his wife, Ann Pulver Siravo, also made a major effort to turn the planning report into the present book, which, beyond its wealth of technical information, provides a significant tribute to the history and culture of Zanzibar.

Stefano Bianca
Director, Historic Cities Support Programme
Geneva, April 1996
Panorama of Zanzibar taken by Sir John Kirk in 1875 from a roof in Shangani. The many ships anchored in the harbour are an indication of the large volume of trade passing through Zanzibar’s port. The view of the town shows that most of the stone buildings at this time had flat roofs and crenellated parapets. In the early part of the twentieth century, these would be transformed with the addition of pitched corrugated metal roofs.

(By permission of the Royal Geographical Society, London.)
History and Architecture

The town of Zanzibar developed on Unguja, the main island of the Zanzibar archipelago, whose tropical climate, fertile soil, plentiful water and ready supply of building materials offered all that was needed for eventual urban development. The town grew at the western tip of a triangular peninsula which projects into the Zanzibar Channel, about halfway down the island’s western coastline. This peninsula was separated from the main island by a creek to the east, and connected to it by a neck of land to the south.

The choice of this particular site and its subsequent growth into one of the most important urban settlements of the region was determined in large part by its natural harbour, which offered incoming vessels protection during both monsoon seasons. From November to February, the northeast monsoon, the kasaki, brought traders from Arabia, Persia and India. From June to September, the southwest monsoon, the kusi, brought vessels from the south and returned the others to their home ports north and east, around and across the Indian Ocean.

Although the Zanzibar archipelago is now politically part of the African mainland, its Islamic heritage and tradition of foreign trade and urban development continue to link it to the onetime sultanates and harbour-towns that lined the western Indian Ocean — Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu and Mogadishu — as well as to the ancient trading ports of the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf. Thus, although the town of Zanzibar itself is not particularly old, it is very much a product of an ancient pattern of maritime trade and settlement, and, like the other harbour-towns along this coast, it developed an urban tradition that still stands today.

An Outline of Zanzibar’s History and Urban Development

Merchants had sailed with the prevailing winds across the Indian Ocean for centuries. The Arabs called the eastern coast of Africa barr of the Zangh, meaning coast of the black people. In Arabic it became Zinjbar and later Zanjibar, a name that was used by navigators and geographers — somewhat loosely — to connote the island, the archipelago and, in early documents, the entire East African coast. Dhows, lateen-rigged vessels still used today, arrived with porcelains from China, glass beads from India, and cloth from India, Egypt and Somalia. Six months later, they sailed home with the summer monsoon laden with precious cargoes of ivory, timber, tortoise shell, iron and gold.

The traders who had settled along the East African coast between the ninth and the twelfth centuries brought with them a new religion, Islam, and established a series of trading centres from Somalia south to Mozambique. Gradually, up and down this seaboard, there evolved a series of harbour-towns and a new culture, Swahili, resulting from contacts between an established African population along the coast and traders and settlers coming from the north — southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf — and so-called after the Arabic word sabil, meaning coast. The many ruins along the coast and the nearby islands are a testament to the early history of the Swahili civilization, which reached its zenith from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.

There are various reports documenting the early harbour-towns of East Africa, but it isn’t until the very end of the fifteenth century that there is a firsthand account...
which specifically mentions the island of Zanzibar. In 1499, on his return voyage from the East Indies, Vasco da Gama wrote, "we came close to a large island called Jangibar which is peopled by moors."

Settlement on the island, however, dates from a much earlier period. Zanzibar's earliest dated structure is the Kizimkazi mosque, located at the southern end of the island, whose *kaufic* inscription dates the trefoil *mihrab* to the year 1107, one of the earliest recorded dates in the region. Archaeological remains of settlement in the Zanzibar archipelago dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries have also been found at Mtambwe, on the island of Pemba, and on Tumbatu Island. There is also evidence of much earlier settlement, still under investigation, at Unguja Ukuu. The origin of the island's early inhabitants is largely conjectural. Most probably, an early influx of Bantu people from the mainland was followed by the arrival of Muslim traders, who brought Islam and introduced stone architecture to the island.

As the first Europeans to round the tip of Africa and find the sea route to the Orient, the Portuguese sought control of the lucrative Indian Ocean trade, and began to exact tribute from the rich coastal trading towns. With firearms and faster ships, the Portuguese had all of the East African littoral under their control by 1503. When they met resistance, they responded with force. Mombasa was sacked in 1505 and again in 1528. Kilwa suffered an invasion in 1505 and, in 1506, both Lamu and Pate were attacked by the Portuguese intruders.

Zanzibar, however, was never an important part of Portugal's Indian Ocean sphere. No fort was constructed and no garrison installed. Only a chapel was built, which was first documented by a Father Monclaro in 1569 in his *A Journey from Kilwa to Pate*. Nevertheless, by 1591, Zanzibar's harbour was a port of call and, from the seventeenth century onward, references to it by European sailors and travellers become more frequent. In 1634, Pedro Barreto de Rezende describes Zanzibar as an island

...for the most part inhabited by Arabian Moors who have ... a Moorish king.
There is also a church with a vicar of the order of St. Augustine to whom the king does all possible favours.

An English sailing manual published in 1690 provides a more detailed account of Zanzibar, with a description of a fertile and peaceful island

...governed by a Queen of yellow colour and ye Portuguese have a small factory not affected by ye natives but they force a trade with them for Elephants teeth, Ambergis and Gold which they have from ye maine, here is plenty of hogs, fowles etc.

The queen referred to is Fatuma, whose palace is said to have sat on the site of the present Beit al-Ajaib, or House of Wonders. She was married to an Arab from Hadramaut and had a son, Hasan, who succeeded her sometime before 1728. Hasan cleared the bush on the peninsula and is considered the real founder of the town, which gradually superseded the small fishing village of mud and palm leaf thatch huts established by the earliest inhabitants at Shangani Point, the tip of the peninsula. The memory of Shangani is still recalled in the name of the *mtaa*, or ward, that occupies this site at the western tip of the Stone Town.
The passage from the English sailing manual is accompanied by the earliest map of Zanzibar, a rough pencil sketch of the island and adjoining coast which, however, does not show any town or other man-made landmark.

The rise of Oman

Although Portugal tried to consolidate its control over the region throughout the seventeenth century, not enough men were ever sent to effectively rule the coastal towns and sultanates who continued to resist. As early as 1652, the Sultanate of Oman, a new maritime power on the southeastern edge of Arabia, was persuaded to help the Swahili harbour-towns in their fight against the Portuguese. This struggle would last until the end of the seventeenth century.

In 1698, after the capture of Fort Jesus at Mombasa by the Omanis, the Portuguese withdrew from the northern half of the eastern African seaboard, including Zanzibar. If indeed there was a Portuguese settlement on the island, all trace of such occupation has long since vanished. The only remains we know of are those of the chapel and adjoining merchant's house, which are said to have been incorporated in the wall of an early fortification built by the Omanis before 1710. This early construction was later incorporated in the 'Old Fort' built circa 1780, which, though much modified throughout its history, still stands today.

In its present configuration, the Fort is roughly rectangular in shape with four round bastions — a fifth tower was demolished during the last decade of the nineteenth century to make room for the road between the Fort and the Beit al-Ajaib. A rectangular entrance block along the western wall, rebuilt in 1946, recalls a similar earlier gateway destroyed before 1893.

Zanzibar’s Fort, though many have tried to attribute it to the Portuguese, is an Omani structure, much like the forts they built in Lamu and Siu to consolidate their hold on the coastal region at the turn of the eighteenth century. At this time, the Busaidi family of Oman, having settled their internal dynastic struggle for power, took an active interest in East Africa. Evidence of the Omani Sultanate’s claim over Zanzibar and the region was noted by Joseph Crassons de Meudeil, captain of a French slaver who mentions in 1785 a “fortress which belongs to the Imam of Muscat, to whom the Moors and Arabs of Mombasa, Pate and Barawa pay dues.”

Crassons de Meudeil was one of the many European adventurers and traders who established business relationships with the local Swahili merchants. These, through their middlemen, held a monopoly on the traffic with the African interior and profited
A group of stone buildings south of the Fort. The two houses with flag poles were occupied by the O'Seald Trading Co., established in 1849 (left), and Captain Akins Hamerton (right), the first British Agent, who moved here from Muscat in 1841. (Courtesy, E. Organ and R. Macdonald.)

considerably from increased foreign trading interest in Zanzibar during the second half of the eighteenth century, a time of relative stability throughout the region. The traditional trade routes had re-opened after the Portuguese were expelled in 1698 — their attempt to return was rebuffed once and for all in 1730 — and the eastern African coastal towns, now under Omani protection, prospered once more.

In spite of the increased trade and profits, however, there seems to have been little investment in expanding the town itself, which, in 1799, consisted of only a few stone houses and a lot of earthen huts. Of six late eighteenth century maps, only one — from a Portuguese manuscript — shows a small fort, three show scattered houses and one indicates a building with what appears to be a minaret.

With the turn of the nineteenth century, references to the town become more frequent. The French Captain Dallons stopped here in 1804 to buy slaves. He mentions an Ethiopian eunuch commanding the garrison and complains of a Hindu in charge of customs who demanded an exorbitant duty. In 1811, the English Captain Thomas Smee, commander of the British research ship “Ternate” en route from Bombay, found the same Hindu customs officer and noted the presence of a considerable Indian community. He estimated that three quarters of the population were slaves, and that some 6,000 to 10,000 slaves were exported to Muscat each year.

By this time, Zanzibar had been under direct Omani rule since 1785. As a result, the number of Omani Arabs, primarily traders, at the outset of the nineteenth century had grown from 300 in the 1770s to 1,000 in 1819. Records from the early 1800s show that Zanzibar’s early trade in basic commodities had expanded considerably. The town was now an established market for the export of beeswax, tortoise shell, mangrove poles, food grains, dried fish and ivory, in addition to the nefarious traffic in slaves. The town itself had begun to reflect its growing importance in the region, with, as Smee noted, “a good number of stone buildings in the town.”

**Zanzibar under Sultan Sayyid Said**

Sayyid Said, the new Lord of Muscat who had ascended the Omani throne in 1806, became keenly interested in the island’s enormous agricultural potential as well as its prospects as an international centre of trade. With the idea of establishing Zanzibar as the centre of Omani rule in East Africa, Said began a final campaign in 1828 to bring his East African dominions under firm control.
That year, he visited Zanzibar for the first time and resolved to make it his residence. In 1832, he was able to carry out his plan and move his court from Muscat to Zanzibar, thus becoming the first Sultan of Zanzibar. The town's growth was now assured.

The number of Omani Arabs increased rapidly to 5,000, as many important families from Oman followed the Sultan to Zanzibar to become traders and landowners in the large clove and coconut plantations, which began to be established on the island in the 1830s. The population of the town counted close to 17,000 people at this time, while all sectors of the economy expanded with what the Zanzibar historian, Professor Abdul Sheriff, describes as a growing commercial empire based on the twin foundations of transit trade and plantation agriculture.

The establishment of large plantations in response to the steady demand for copra, gum copal and cloves — a new crop introduced on the island circa 1810 — had given further impetus to the economy of the island. With this investment in agriculture and the increasing opportunities for international trade, Sultan Said attracted more and more merchants from East and West. In particular, he encouraged Gujarati merchants from the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent (Kutch and Kathiawar) not only to trade, but to settle and set up businesses in Zanzibar. The number of people coming from across the Indian Ocean would increase markedly over the next decades. Muslim Indians were early settlers in the town. By the 1840s, there were 165 households in Zanzibar, which grew to 500 by the 1870s. The Hindu community counted 214 individuals in 1819. Their number increased to 400, and then to 700 by the 1840s. The majority of the immigrants were relatively poor shopkeepers and artisans, though the most successful would become veritable princes of commerce and finance.

European traders soon followed, sailing ever faster clipper ships from Europe and the Americas. The first to sign a commercial treaty with the newly installed Sultan, in

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A sketch plan of Zanzibar based on Captain Charles Guillain's map of 1846. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of rapid growth for Zanzibar. This map is the earliest detailed record of the town to survive. It shows an established stone town surrounded by mud and thatch houses, which covered most of the peninsula and spread across the creek at Darajani, the narrowest crossing point. The place names are translated from Guillain's original designations.

1833, were the sailing merchants from the young American republic. A few years later, in 1837, they opened a consulate. The American ships carried away a variety of goods, but it was ivory from the African interior they had come halfway around the world to find. In exchange they brought 'merikani', coarse American cotton — today's plain cotton is still called by this name — as well as firearms and ammunition, Venetian coloured beads, copper and porcelains, cereals and a miscellany of other items. The Americans were followed closely by the British and the French, who opened consulates in 1841 and 1844.

The growing trade, together with the need to house the newly installed Sultan and his court, generated considerable building activity. The royal household and extended family needed palaces, harems, mosques and, eventually, country houses. Consuls and merchants wanted residences and warehouses, while local shopkeepers needed houses and shops of their own. The army required permanent quarters and better defences, and the administration had to have a customs house, sheds and offices.

A period of rapid growth followed, which is documented in the earliest reliable map of the town prepared in 1846 by Charles Guillain, a French naval captain. The map shows blocks of large stone houses and palaces (maisons généralement en pierre on Guillain's map) along the seafront on either side of the Fort. Guillain has carefully marked the Sultan's palace and flagpole, the residences of his son and that of the Governor of the town, as well as the American, British and French consulates. The Fort is shown with all five bastions and the battery between it and the seafront.
Guillain calls the part of town behind the seafront the commercial quarter, a clear indication that the complex of bazaar streets had already begun to be developed. The stone town extends all the way to the creek, and includes the wards of Shangani and the upper portion of Sokomuhogo, as well as Forodhani, Kajiwiche and Kiponda. The edges of the Stone Town, both to the south and north, are occupied by earthen structures. These extend beyond the creek to establish the first nucleus of Ng'ambo across the bridge built in 1838. At the southern end of the creek, the ruin of a mosque is shown near the Arab cemetery at Mnazi Mmoja, which occupied the southern part of the present recreational grounds. The northern section of the map shows the Mnareroso mosque (the mosque of the minaret), clearly a prominent landmark in the Malindi area which was characterized by single-storied earthen structures.

These mud buildings (cases en paille et en terre on Guillain’s map) were occupied by the poorer strata of the population and represented by far the most common building form in the Stone Town. Still in 1892, a detailed survey of the town found 1,506 stone buildings as opposed to 5,179 ‘huts’ on the peninsula.

Written descriptions from the 1840s document the town’s seafront and palaces, but also decry the chaos and the filth that lay behind it. In 1847, an American trader wrote:

…houses … are mostly low, thatched hovels, built of clay and mud and timber, with a few rocks to tie together the structure. The buildings in which the nobility and foreigners reside are more respectable in appearance … The streets are near [sic] paths of some six or ten feet in width, dirty and filled with rubbish. The palace of the King, in town, is a large building with paint or whitewash … the Custom House is in a shed covered with thatch and is a miserable place.

The situation was not very different in 1856 when Richard Burton, the British explorer, arrived in Zanzibar to launch his expedition in search of the source of the Nile. He also described the waterfront in somewhat critical terms:

In the centre, and commanding the anchorage, was a square-curtained andless fort, conspicuous withal, and fronted by a still more contemptible battery. To its right and left the Imami palace, the various consulates, and the large parallelo-grammick buildings of the great, a tabular line of flat roofs, glaring and dazzling like freshly white-washed sepulchres, detached themselves from the mass, and did their best to conceal the dingey matted hovels of the inner town.

In 1860, the first photographs of Zanzibar were taken by another explorer, James Grant, on his way to Uganda with James Speke. Grant and Speke stayed with Captain Atkins Hamerton, the first British Consul-Agent in Zanzibar. He had been nearly twenty years on the island, and had served as an informal advisor to the first Sultan and his son, Majid bin Said, who succeeded Sayyid Said in 1856. From the roof of the old British consulate, Grant photographed the town, the beach in front of it, and the slave market. Grant’s photograph of the waterfront shows a piece of the rooftop of William O’Swald & Co., a Hamburg trading company which later became the German consulate, and, in the
distance, the residence of Sultan Majid. The slave market at this time was still located near the waterfront at Shangani. It was not until the late 1860s that it moved to Mkunazini.

**The 1870s and 1880s**

Until 1870, Zanzibar had grown steadily but haphazardly. The third Sultan, Sayyid Barghash, who reigned from 1870 to 1888, took a more active interest in the town itself and initiated a number of public improvements, including roads, an aqueduct and several important new buildings. It was also Barghash who finally signed an agreement in 1873 to end the trade in slaves in Zanzibar. Sir John Kirk, the British Consul from 1873 to 1887, was instrumental in convincing the Sultan to end the traffic and subsequently close down the slave market once and for all.

Zanzibar continued to grow in spite of periodic cholera epidemics, which in 1870 alone claimed 10,000 lives in the town; a devastating hurricane in 1872, which destroyed two thirds of the island’s clove and coconut trees and badly battered the seafront; and the banning of the slave trade in 1873, which depressed the island’s plantation economy. The value of the customs levies, a good economic indicator, continued to increase substantially throughout the 1870s. In 1871, the tonnage of American and European shipping had risen to 27,662 tonnes. Most of the commodities coming into and subsequently re-exported from Zanzibar, a transit trade that constituted an important basis of the town’s prosperity, came from the other islands and from the sultan’s extensive mainland territories.
During his reign, Sultan Barghash built the public baths in the Hamamni section of Mkuwani, and doubled the size of the customs sheds along the seafront, filling the space where the battery had stood in front of the Fort. He also gave the seafront a dramatic face-lift with the addition of a lighthouse and the imposing ceremonial palace, the Beit al-Ajaib.

H. M. Stanley, the journalist and explorer, noted Barghash’s efforts to improve the town. He wrote from Zanzibar in 1887, describing how the town had changed since his last sojourn:

Zanzibar is somewhat changed during my eight years absence. There is a telegraph cable, a tall clock tower, a new Sultan’s palace, very lofty and conspicuous with wide verandahs... There are horses and carriages and steam rollers and lamp-posts.

Stanley failed to mention the huge boat-shaped tank the Sultan built in front of the palace to provide his citizens with clean water. There was now also a small electricity plant to provide the tower and palace with electric light.

Economic patterns began to change as well during this period, in part the result of the ban on the slave trade and, soon, slavery itself, which was finally abolished in 1897. Landowners, reluctant or unable to find paid labour, found it difficult to maintain their plantations. Coves had been an unreliable source of income for many years, and more and more planters lost money and went into debt. The loans and mortgages were provided by a rising class of wealthy Indian merchants and financiers. In 1883, Vice-Consul Haggard commented, “there are many thousands of native Indians here, all British subjects, all the wealth of the country is in their hands.”

Indian merchants and shopkeepers were in fact rebuilding entire sections of the town. The most successful became magnates and outgrew the modest shopfront houses they had built initially. Some built new structures, but most acquired and enlarged the traditional four-square Arab houses, adding extra floors and embellishing their exteriors. They imported Indian builders and craftsmen who, in turn, stayed and continued to build in the town, thus introducing many of the striking architectural features, such as the arched doors, balconies, intricate latticework and ornamental plaster that still enliven so many of the facades in the Stone Town.

In 1887, to celebrate Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee, Tharia Topan, one of the richest men in Zanzibar, laid the foundation stone for his Jubilee Hospital, which came to be known as the Old Dispensary. Grandiose even today, with its plaster mouldings and carved multi-storied wooden balconies, it still dominates the northern
section of the waterfront. The design of the Jubilee Hospital was based on Anglo-Indian motifs, and both the craftsmen responsible for the decoration and the timber used in constructing the building were imported directly from India.

Although atypical of the Indian buildings realized in those years, the Dispensary is a symbol of the many different peoples, cultures and influences that contributed to the development of Zanzibar during the nineteenth century. R. N. Lyne in *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times* provides a vivid description of the great variety of the inhabitants:

The town swarmed with ... carriers and camel-drivers from Baluchistan, gold and silver workers from Ceylon, Persians, Greeks, Egyptians, Levantines, Japanese, Somalis, Creoles, Indians and Arabs of all descriptions.

Zanzibar, with its strategic location and secure year-round port, was fast turning into the undisputed capital of East Africa, a position it would enjoy until the Uganda Railway made Mombasa into the pre-eminent port at the turn of the twentieth century. Thus, in the short span of sixty years, the town had grown from a haphazard collection of mostly mud huts into the cosmopolitan centre of the western Indian Ocean.

**The end of the nineteenth century**

European geopolitical developments during the latter part of the nineteenth century were to have a direct impact on Zanzibar, which, since 1862, had been a separate sultanate. British interest in East Africa until this time had been largely economic and humanitarian. In the 1880s, however, belated German colonial ambitions set off the historic European ‘scramble’ for African territory: Germany and Britain split the Sultan’s mainland territories between them, and the sultanate was reduced to a ten-mile-wide strip along the mainland coast plus the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia and Lamu.

In 1887, Sultan Barghash granted the Imperial British East India Company the concession to manage his mainland possessions in present-day Kenya. The company, however, went bankrupt, and, in 1895, the British Foreign Office assumed direct responsibility for all of the Sultan’s coastal territories, in addition to the interior above the line drawn in November 1886. Zanzibar itself was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1890.

In 1892, the Survey of India was commissioned to carry out a detailed survey of Zanzibar and draw up the first map to accurately show the street pattern and the different *mitaa* of the town. The British Consul General, Gerald Portal, supervised production of this map personally, which in time would provide an important record of the town’s development.

The most striking change, when comparing the 1892 survey with the situation recorded in 1846, is the overall growth of the town. Zanzibar had spread substantially in all
directions: south along the new Mnaazi Mmoja Road, north towards Mtoni, and east in a wide sweep with the general expansion of Ng’ambo. The growing number of merchants, officials and their dependants on the peninsula had increasingly pushed across the creek the poorer strata of the population, particularly Africans, but also poor Indian artisans and shopkeepers, as well as the older Swahili small traders and fishermen. By 1892, Ng’ambo had fifteen mitaa with an established pattern of roads and lanes and some 9,000 dwellings.

To the south of the Stone Town, the compact enclave of Mji Mpiya, a small fishing community just east of the Sultan’s garden for the barem in Vuga, has been carefully surveyed and appears on a map for the last time, before disappearing at the turn of this century to make way for the new British Residency. In 1897, the gardens themselves would be presented by Sultan Hamoud to the town upon the occasion of Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee. Renamed Victoria Gardens, they would later be surrounded by the European suburb of Vuga.

The 1892 map pinpoints the important buildings along the seafront and within the Stone Town, much as the Guillain map did in 1846. A number of changes stand out, including the new light tower and the imposing mass of the Beit al-Ajaib next to the Fort, identified as the Jail. The battery that stood in front of the Fort has been moved north to the Malindi waterfront, giving way to a large complex of customs sheds. There are four more consulates — Belgian, German, Italian and Portuguese — which had been established in the 1870s and 1880s, as well as a number of
Map of Zanzibar drawn by the Survey of India in 1892 under the direction of Consul General Gerald Portal. The map is the first to accurately show the street pattern and indicate all the names of the different mitaa of the town. The names and locations of the mitaa can be compared with those listed by the explorer Burton in 1856, and the names still used today. Shangani, Viga, Mauazini, Malindi and Sokumbogo are all roughly the same. Kiponda appears south of its present location, while Kidulani, Kibokoni, Kokoni, Muchambauma, Hurumzi and Sokokuba, which are marked on the 1892 survey, are no longer recognized wards today, though some remain in the names of individual streets. It is interesting that Katificheni and Forodhani, which appear on present-day maps, do not figure in the 1892 survey, but are listed by Burton. (Courtesy of the Public Record Office, UK.)
new civic buildings — among these the customs office near the Fort and the telegraph office in Kelele Square — heralding the larger public buildings to come early in the next century. The spire of the Anglican cathedral, which had just been completed in 1890, was another very visible change in Zanzibar’s townscape, which would soon be joined by the twin towers of the French mission’s cathedral, completed in 1899.

In spite of many transformations still to come, a comparison of the 1892 map with a plan of present-day Zanzibar demonstrates how little the Stone Town’s basic configuration and street pattern would change over the next hundred years.

A brief episode, and one which permanently changed the appearance of the waterfront, brought the nineteenth century to a dramatic close. After Barghash died in 1888, there followed in quick succession three sultans: Khalifa, Ali and Hamed. Upon the death of Hamed in 1896, Barghash’s son, Khalid bin Barghash, tried to seize the throne. The British were vehemently opposed to Khalid, who had taken over the seafront palace with German support. Khalid managed to assemble some 2,500 soldiers and an assortment of artillery.

His intention, he said, was not to fire unless fired upon. The British issued an ultimatum: unless Khalid withdrew by the following morning at nine o’clock, the British fleet, consisting of three men-of-war and two other ships, would begin firing. The bombardment lasted forty-five minutes and has been recorded as history’s shortest war. The Sultan’s palace and barem were severely damaged, as was the lighthouse. The ruined barem was demolished and replaced by a walled garden, and the clock that had been part of the lighthouse was eventually installed in a new tower added to the Beit al-Ajab. It had survived the barrage virtually intact.

Khalid left the island for German East Africa and was substituted by Sayyid Hamoud bin Mohammed, another of Sayyid Said’s grandsons. His rule, though longer than those of his immediate predecessors, was relatively short. He died in 1902.

The bombardment of 1896 seriously damaged (from left to right) the Beit al-Sabil, the old palace, and completely destroyed the Beit al-Hukum, the barem. The barem and the light tower were subsequently demolished, while the Sultan’s palace was gradually rebuilt, though much reduced in size. The Beit al-Ajib, which had escaped virtually unscathed, was nevertheless in part reconstructed with the addition of a new central clock tower. (From the USPG/UMCA Collection, Folio 223, by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)
The twentieth century

The close of the nineteenth century was the end of an era in Zanzibar. For the next sixty years, the town’s management would effectively be under the direct supervision of a British administration.

A spate of public building was initiated at the outset of the twentieth century with the construction of a new Residency, the Law Courts in Vuga, the Central Market along the creek, and a new post office on the main street. All of these buildings were designed by J. H. Sinclair, a British Vice-Consul with architectural training who first came to Zanzibar in 1896. Eventually, he became Chief Secretary and finally Resident from 1922 to 1924. During this same period, the Vuga South district was laid out and developed as a European quarter at the southern edge of the town, incorporating Victoria Gardens, the onetime garden for the Sultan’s harem. The broad avenues and green areas of the development provide a sharp contrast with the compact and very urban character of the Stone Town.

The first larger attempts at modernization date from this period as well. In 1905, the railway made its debut in Zanzibar when Arnold Cheney & Co., an American trading company with a long-standing connection to the sultanate, was granted a concession to develop a narrow-gauge railway system. The first stretch of the line opened in 1909 and ran for seven miles from the Fort — now converted into a railway yard — along the waterfront to Malindi, from there east to Darajani bridge and north to Saateni and Mtoni until it finally reached the coastal village of Bububu. Not all were pleased with the results. One government official complained in 1911:
...the railway is still with us. The engine and the carriages still pursue their rattling clanking, noisy way along the seafront ... across Darajani bridge ... the whole width is blanked, while the engines, which belch forth clouds of smoke and sparks into the front upper storey windows, cover the goods in the shops below, not to speak of the passengers, with large black smuts. Funeral processions are interrupted, old women are killed, houses and crops are set on fire ... and no redress can be obtained.

Eventually, a temporary wooden bridge was built to take on pedestrians and carts, while the old Darajani bridge was strengthened with steel joists. In 1916, the track was re-routed further north along a new causeway and bridge. These were improved for motorized traffic in 1928 and named the Hollis Bridge and Road after the British Resident at the time. The rest of the proposed rail system was never realized and the Bububu line shut down in 1927, superseded by the motor car. In spite of its difficulties, the railway opened the way for the development of the town’s northern end where, upon reclaimed land, new deep-water port facilities were to be constructed a few years later. Further modern developments during the early part of the century included the establishment of an electric lighting company, which installed street lighting and some 4,000 domestic lamps, as well as a telephone service with an initial forty-two subscribers.
In 1911, Sayyid Khalifa bin Harub became Sultan and was to rule the island for the next forty-nine years, until his death in 1960. Sultan Khalifa lived in a palace on the seafront — now the Palace Museum — which had housed various members of the royal family but was now enlarged and embellished with a new facade. The garden of this new palace substituted part of the old palace, the Beit al-Sahil, which had been built by Sayyid Said before 1834 and seriously damaged during the 1896 bombardment.

It was during Sultan Khalifa’s long reign that the Stone Town assumed its final configuration. A number of public infrastructure schemes were started at this time, the most ambitious being the gradual filling of the creek which was not completed until the 1950s. The upper reaches of the creek were drained and opened as a public recreation area in 1915. The rest of the creek was progressively reclaimed, but may still be recognized in the form of Creek Road and the adjacent open areas which today separate the Stone Town from the Ng’ambo area. Building projects at this time included the construction of a new section of the Government Hospital in Vuga, a number of public schools, several clubs, two cinemas and the Peace Memorial Museum in 1925.
The two railway lines, as well as the various stages in the filling of the creek, can be traced on the British Naval Survey Chart of Zanzibar Island published in 1900 and periodically revised to the present day. The 1926 edition of the chart also shows the situation on the seafront prior to its transformation, with the customs sheds and coal godowns in front of the Fort still in place. In 1928, the large old Arab mansion just north of the waterfront palace complex became the customs house and, in 1929, the seafront road was widened.

The Fort itself, which had been through a variety of disparate uses since the eighteenth century — from garrison to prison to railway yard — was now turned to a more genteel use, that of a ladies’ club, with the reconstruction in 1946 of the entrance block facing the seafront. This entrance was embellished with a door moved from Sultan Khalifa’s brother’s palace in Malindi. The area in front of the Fort had been cleared ten years earlier. Shade trees were planted and a fountain and gazebo built to create the Jubilee Gardens, commemorating the Silver Jubilees of King George V and Sultan Khalifa in 1935 and 1936.

Perhaps the greatest changes occurred at the northern end of town, radically transformed in the 1920s with the creation of a new deep water wharf and cargo handling and storage facilities. Up until this time, everything had to be off-loaded onto barges and pulled into shore. With the creation of the new port, the shape of the waterfront itself was completely altered. As a result of the new landfill, the large mansions that had stretched all the way to the point were demolished or, as in the case of Tharia Topan’s Dispensary, obscured from view behind the cranes and sheds of the new port. Many of these changes were outlined in a programme of urban improvements in Zanzibar’s first formal town plan, completed in 1923 by Henry Vaughan Lanchester.

During this same period, further, though less visible changes, brought the interior of the Stone Town into the twentieth century. Sultan Barghash’s aqueduct was replaced by a modern pipeline and the water supply supplemented from other sources. Stand pipes were put in throughout the old town to replace the remaining wells, and a sewer and drainage system installed. Also, many of the narrow streets within the town were paved. In the late 1950s, attempts were made to improve the flow of traffic by widening roads. A few buildings were demolished, and the corners of a great many more ‘reduced’, in an effort to accommodate the twentieth century within the narrow streets of another era.

Zanzibar was thus rapidly becoming a modern city and, from the following description by Evelyn Waugh in his 1960 A Tourist in Africa, it is difficult to recognize the town described by Burton a century earlier:

There are no beggars or touts in Zanzibar. The narrow lanes are clean and fragrant and shaded ... It is a pretty town. Few
buildings are more than 150 years old, but all are built in the traditional fashion of plastered rubble, painted and repainted, with here and there delicate blue washes relieving the mottled white, with carved doors and hidden gardens...

Since this time, no major physical developments have taken place in the Stone Town. With the economic and social changes after the 1964 Revolution, however, the Stone Town began a steady course of decline and deterioration, while considerable growth and transformations have taken place in Ng'ambo and the newer expansion areas beyond.

The Architecture of the Stone Town

The Stone Town is the product of at least three centuries of continuous settlement, but it was only after 1830 that Zanzibar took on a wholly urban character and that stone buildings were built in consistent numbers. Up until this time, the majority of the houses had been made of mud and wattles and covered with palm leaf thatch, and very few public or specialized structures could be distinguished besides the Fort and a few small mosques.

Although almost all physical traces have now vanished, the legacy of the pre-nineteenth century town remains in the loose street pattern and the dense fabric of the clustered buildings, which is particularly evident in the older parts of the town. No doubt this is the result of the finite amount of land available on the peninsula, but it also reflects the ways in which settlements in the region evolved, with each new group of recent arrivals tending to stay together and build clusters of interrelated buildings based on family and ethnic affinities. This gradual development determined the system of wards, or mitaa, which may be recognized in other early and still extant towns along the East African coast, such as Mombasa and Lamu.

In Zanzibar, the different mitaa were demarcated by the main paths and tracks crossing the peninsula which, over time, became the thoroughfares that today traverse the Stone Town. These routes, such as present-day Sokomuhogo Street.

A photograph by Sir John Kirk entitled "Street View Zanzibar" taken in 1868. The narrow streets of the Stone Town are difficult to photograph and early views such as the one here are rare. Few examples today remain of the polygonal arches of the building on the right, which is no longer standing. (By kind permission of the descendants of Sir John Kirk and the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.)
The street network of the Malindi area has been highlighted in the plan detail below to illustrate the complex pattern of pedestrian circulation in the Stone Town. Streets are narrow and winding and reflect, in their sharp turns and unexpected vistas, the organic way in which the town grew.

The plan detail above shows buildings rather than streets filled in. A comparison, from top to bottom, of Kajjicheni and Vuga illustrates the different building densities in these two wards as well as the compact clustering of buildings in Kajjicheni. The topmost block is shown in greater detail in the following pages.

and the Changa Bazaar, stand out in the older maps.

Development within the mitaa was an apparently haphazard process which, over the course of time, determined the Stone Town's distinctive morphology. Large plots of irregular shape were acquired by different families, clans or related communities. Plots were then subdivided and built up, while still unoccupied land was settled as new groups arrived and established themselves on the peninsula. Eventually, as the town developed socially and economically, mud huts were progressively replaced by stone buildings. These structures, often built around interior courtyards or communal spaces, were highly introverted and reflected the strong sense of privacy so important in the Islamic urban context. The narrow spaces in between these built-up sections provided access to the individual houses and created the complex pattern of narrow side streets, alleys and cul-de-sacs, which today make it so easy to lose one's way in the historic area.

At the beginning of the 1830s, the town was a mixture of mostly earthen and some scattered stone houses extending northeast from Shangani toward the creek's narrowest crossing point at Darajani. With the Sultan's permanent move to the island, the stone buildings quickly spread, filling in the mitaa of upper Sokomuhogo, Forodhani, Kajjicheni and Kiponda by the middle of the century. The Omanis erected palaces and residences along and behind the seafront; the various Indian tradesmen built up the bazaar streets of shopfront houses; and the
Plan and four elevations of the Kafficho block shown on page 29. This typical block contains a mixture of different building types:
- Arab houses
- Groups of Indian shopfront buildings
- An L-shaped communal tenement building
seafaring merchants built warehouses and offices near the waterfront. After 1850, stone buildings spread further and began to extend north into Malindi, south into the lower portion of Sokomuhogo and east to Mkunazini, areas which up until this time had been mostly occupied 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, civic buildings in particular, began to appear. The building up of the Stone Town was more or less completed and its present limits defined during the first quarter of the twentieth century with the reclamation of the new port area to the north, and the expansion of Shangani and the creation of the European garden suburb of Vuga to the south.

Thus, within the relatively short span of 150 years, the confluence of several distinct cultures and religions and the island's 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 particular cultural and building conventions. These were adapted to the available materials and superimposed upon an urban context that was still undefined and rapidly changing. In some cases, the diversity of the original imports is still evident in different sections of the town. In others, the borrowing and adaptation of forms from other contexts produced a cross-fertilization of different building traditions. In yet other cases, transformations took place over time as newcomers adapted existing structures to their tastes and preferences, determining 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 finally to 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 various cultures and influences that creates Zanzibar's unique urban and architectural environment.

**Omani houses**

The Omani houses are, with the exception of the royal palaces and the few important civic structures, the most prominent of the traditional stone buildings in Zanzibar. Typically they are massive, roughly square in plan and fundamentally simple two- or three-storey structures built around a central interior courtyard. Architectural decoration both on the exterior and interior was minimal, in keeping with the austere-
A fine large three-storey Arab house in Mattrid. The crenellated parapet is still intact. Each level is topped by a moulded plaster string course, a row of oculi punctuates the second storey, and the lower halves of the shuttered full-length windows contain typical decorative metal railings. An imposing central door with carved centre-post and lintel gives access to the house at ground level.

precepts of the Ibadi sect, to which most of the Omaniis in Zanzibar belonged.

The large, heavy and elaborately carved doors — an indication of the family’s status — provided a dramatic counterpoint to the plain, lime plaster walls. The facades were articulated into levels by a simple pattern of solids and voids created by the tall shuttered windows. A line of small round oculi might punctuate the external walls to increase cross ventilation inside the house, and an occasional moulded string course or relief of incised stucco work might decorate the otherwise plain facade, before reaching the crenellated parapet surrounding the flat stone roof. A long stone bench, or baraza, usually built into the facade at ground level, invites casual visits and reflects the very social nature of the town’s streets and open areas.

Religion had a major impact on the development and interior organization of Omani domestic buildings. The Islamic concept of the barem, where the privacy of family life must be maintained and the women kept from public view, called for a private sphere within the house. At the same time, a tradition of hospitality called for a formal public area in which to receive and entertain visitors. The formal reception area of an Omani house in Zanzibar was on the ground floor, while the private family quarters were relegated to the upper levels.

Upon entering the house there is an informal reception hall lined with more stone benches along the sides, known locally as the sebule, from the Arabic sebeh. To one side of the hall, usually through an interior carved door, was the more important reception room or gallery, called majlis in Arabic. This space would have had a black and white tiled floor and recessed niches along the walls and over the windows, which contained porcelain and brass ornaments. The sebule and majlis would have been used by the male members of the family to receive and entertain male visitors. The Omaniis had a passion for wall clocks, imported by American merchantmen during the middle of the century, and there may well have been more than one in this room.

The threshold between the public and private domains was defined by another large carved door or arch, often screened from the entrance and leading into the courtyard. The explorer Burton describes the courtyard as a storage area, a likely use
of this space among the merchant classes. Courtyards varied considerably in size, from mere light wells to large open courts surrounded by arcades in the grander examples. Although initially open to the sky, these courtyards were often covered at a later date to increase the amount of covered space in the building. Off to one side of the courtyard were located the toilets, and sometimes there was a well. A stone stair led from the courtyard to the upper floors. Wide arches overlooking the inner courtyard supported the upper loggia which provided access to the long, narrow rooms running the length of the house on each of the four sides. The narrow width of these gallery-like rooms is determined by the length of the ceiling joists, typically no more than three metres long. The rooms were used as living spaces during the day and bedrooms at night. Light and air penetrated the interior from the courtyard, while the shuttered and grilled windows, often set into tall and narrow arched recesses, provided cross ventilation.

A variation of this building type is an Arab house with an exterior entrance porch, similar to the duka of the traditional stone houses of Lamu. The arched opening facing the street is usually an ogee arch. Within
Verandas, porches or multi-storied balconies were often added at a later stage to the exteriors. The balconies were decorated with delicate ironwork or wooden fretwork and carved bosses. Similar decorative facade elements are found in Gujarat whence many of Zanzibar’s Indian craftsmen and builders had come. Some larger buildings also have elaborate plaster mouldings or carved plaster facade decoration, and the windows have semicircular fanlights glazed with coloured glass. A courtyard was often located, as with the smaller type, in the centre or at the back of the building. In some cases, these larger shopfront buildings were built purely as residences, without a shop on the ground floor.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, large residential buildings were constructed by some of the wealthy Indian merchants. Towards the end of the century, however, with the decline of the Swahili and Arab merchant groups, the most common practice for well-to-do Indian businessmen was to modify existing Omani houses rather than build anew, making interior alterations and adding decorative elements and structures, such as the balconies and loggias mentioned earlier. As a result, many of the later and larger Indian residences are a synthesis of different styles and origins.

A particular and visible variation of the Indian shopfront building, known as the Darajani Chawl, is located next to the market on Creek Road. The Chawl is a combined tenement and commercial structure, constructed in the 1880s by Sultan Barghash as a source of revenue to finance the maintenance of the new water supply system for the town. The Chawl was built in a straight line along the onetime creek. Its principal facade faces the town and forms the east side of Darajani Street, with shops on the ground floor, storage behind and residential space on the upper floors. Each unit is the width of the shop below it, a dimension dictated by the boriti, or mangrove pole ceiling joists. Structural walls separate the individual shop and dwelling units.

Swahili houses

Swahili houses are the most common housing type along the East African coast. Simple, one-storey structures constructed of mud and wattle and roofed with palm leaf
Pen and ink sketch by John Da Silva of an enclosed balcony on the facade of a shopfront building in Malindi.

Wooden decorative carvings derived from Indian models, such as these details of vergeboards and bargeboards, are found throughout the Stone Town.

The creek side of the Darajani Chawl, which stretches 100 metres in length, is still used as mixed retail and residential space.
Although these simple earthen structures were once the most numerous in the Stone Town, they were gradually replaced by permanent stone buildings during the course of the town's development.

Traditional Swahili houses of mud have virtually disappeared in the Stone Town, even though, in one form or another, they continue to be the most common building type in the expansion areas. Builders today continue to follow the basic form of the Swahili house, but, whenever the owner's finances allow, employ permanent materials such as coral or concrete blocks for the walls and corrugated iron sheets for the roof covering. A few of these structures derived from the old mud and wattle model can be observed within the Stone Town.

**Musafarkhanas and charitable housing**

The term *musafarkhana* is a combined Swahili and Persian word meaning 'house of travellers'. The term is used in Zanzibar to refer to a number of structures built as temporary housing for travellers. As such,
they have an affinity with the more widely known *caravanserais* which, in Islamic architecture, are places where travelling merchants and pilgrims, with their animals and merchandise, can rest and be safe for the night. These places were found in the open country along trading routes, usually square or rectangular walled compounds with a large portal. There is also an urban type of *caravanserai* which is known as a *khan* in Syria and Iraq, and *funduq* in North Africa. These structures are smaller than the *caravanserai* in the countryside, but are organized along similar lines with an enclosed open central space surrounded by an arcade. The urban *caravanserai* would have a ground floor with stables and storage areas, and one or more upper floors with living quarters. Often, shops were incorporated on the ground floor.

In the case of Zanzibar, there is no indication that the buildings referred to as *musafarkhanas* were ever used as combined living and commercial facilities for itinerant merchants, where merchandise was actively bought and sold. Rather, the Zanzibar *musafarkhanas*, built exclusively by Indian communities, were used as places to stay by visiting members of these groups. In other cases, these structures appear to have been built as charitable housing for the poorer or needier residents of a particular group, as in the case of the communal house in Kiponda, built to accommodate widows of the Ithnasheri sect.

In yet other cases, structures organized along similar lines were built as a form of investment to generate income. Originally, rooms were rented out to visitors or newly arrived immigrants, single men who had left their families behind. When their families finally joined them, many were still too
View of the internal courtyard of the charitable house built to house the widows of the Ithnasheri community in Kafficbeni. A wooden stair gives access to an upstairs loggia which is supported on the ground floor by wooden columns.

Eight of these communal structures were identified in Zanzibar during the 1992 survey. Generally, the Zanzibar musafarkhana is a two-storey structure with shared cooking and toilet facilities located off the central courtyard. An external staircase leads to the rooms on the upper floor, where a loggia provides access to the individual rooms. Today, this external corridor is used as additional living space by the crowded occupants. The entrance to the building may be through a large carved door set into a decorated opening, displaying the name of the patron responsible for its construction.

The inscription above the Khoja Charitable House, for example, recalls those who entered the institution was "established and endowed by Khoja Esmail Ramjee of Cutch Sama Coca for the use of only the Khoja Caste travellers in the reign of H. H. the Sultan Seyyid Ally bin Sayeed of Zanzibar, December 29, 1892." Today, most of the Zanzibar musafarkhanas are owned by the government or the Waqf and Trust Commission and have become permanent low-income housing.

**Mosques**

The mosques in the Stone Town, like most of the built fabric, date primarily from the nineteenth century and were built by the different Swahili, Omani Arab and Indian Muslim communities who settled and prospered in Zanzibar. Fifty-one mosques are located in the Stone Town alone, an
The unusual minaret of the Mnara mosque in Malindi, an old Sunni mosque rebuilt in the 1830s. It is one of only three conical-shaped minarets in East Africa. This one differs from the other two (the Shela Friday mosque on Lamu Island and the Mandbry mosque in Mombasa) in that it sits on a base rather than tapering all the way from the ground. A similar conical minaret with base can be found in the Great Mosque of Salib in southwestern Oman. Other similarities between the two minarets are round-headed windows and pierced chevron ornamental pattern set into the exterior surfaces.

Abundant indication of the town’s predominantly Islamic culture. Both the Sunnis and Shi’is are represented in addition to the Ibadis, descendants of one of the earliest sects to separate from the main stream in the eighth century. The Sunnis in Zanzibar belong to the Shafi’i and Hanafi schools, while Shi’i sects include Ismailis, Ithna’ashiris, and Bohras.

As is true all over the Islamic world, Zanzibar has two types of mosques: larger congregational Friday mosques and smaller neighbourhood mosques found in the different wards or mitaa. These smaller mosques were built and endowed by individual landowners and merchants as an act of piety, creating in the process an important record of the town’s social and urban development.

**Sunni mosques.** In Zanzibar, Sunnis are the largest and longest standing group, with mercantile associations stretching from the Hadramawt in southern Arabia all the way down to the Comoro Islands. Their ancestors had settled and established ruling dynasties on the eastern coast of Africa centuries before the establishment of the Busaidi Sultanate. This explains the similarities between the mosques found in other settlements along the Swahili coast and the mosques built by the Sunnis in Zanzibar during the first half of the nineteenth century. These mosques are concentrated primarily in the centre of the peninsula, corresponding to the older sections of the Stone Town. They include, among others, the Mbaye mosque in
Sokomuhogo, the Gofu mosque and Barza mosque in Kajifcheni, and the Mnara mosque with its conical minaret in Malindi. The earliest Sunni Friday mosque was in Forodhani, on the same site as the present mosque. Altogether, there are twenty-seven mosques in Zanzibar that were built as Sunni mosques.

After 1860, friction between different Sunni religious leaders led to the creation of a second congregational mosque, the Malindi Jum’a mosque. Its underlying structure is a mosque built in 1831, which was expanded in the 1860s with funds provided by the Sultan. This eventually became the largest of the Friday mosques, with a capacity for some 2,000 worshippers. Such tension, however, was unusual. The Omani rulers promoted an atmosphere of tolerance and respect, and supported religious institutions across denominational lines. One of the reasons for the cordial relations between Zanzibar’s different groups may be attributed to the precepts of the Ibadi sect, to which most of the Omani ruling class belonged. The Ibadi are a moderate branch of the early Kharjite movement whose fundamental ideals are based on egalitarianism, where all true believers should be brothers.

Sunni mosques in Zanzibar are simple and informal structures that provide communities with a place to meet, rest, reflect and pray. Like the domestic buildings in stone, the mosques follow the limits set by the building materials found in the region. A typical Swahili mosque in Zanzibar is a single-storey structure with coral rag walls finished in lime plaster. A bench, or baraza, is built into the otherwise plain facade, and it is here that the men congregate before and after prayer.

Plan and interior view of the small Gofu mosque in Kajifcheni. Built before 1800, it is one of the oldest in the Stone Town. Square in plan, it is divided into three bays by four massive octagonal piers supporting a flat ceiling. The central bay, framing the mihrab, is spanned by arches. The lateral bays are spanned by lintels. The mihrab has a polylobate arch resting on piers and surrounded by a moulded plaster frame.
Steps lead up to the prayer hall which is somewhat raised above ground level. This area is a single square or rectangular space, unfurnished except for the mats covering the floor. The hall is divided into bays by massive masonry piers supporting arches which, in turn, hold up the wooden ceiling joists. The number of piers will vary according to the size of the building. Smaller mosques will have only two or four supporting columns, while the Friday mosques have multiple rows of four, five, six or more piers. In addition to the prayer hall, there is an ablutions area with tank and well which was probably not covered and often separated from the rest of the building by a small open courtyard. Roofs were flat to begin with, but, as with residential structures, they were subsequently covered with pitched corrugated iron roofs.

The focal point of the interior is the mihrab, the prayer niche set into and projecting from the qibla wall, the wall facing Mecca, which in Zanzibar is north. Although the details vary, the basic components of the mihrab in Zanzibar's early Sunni mosques are a slightly projecting polylobate arch resting on chamfered inner pilasters. This arch frames a semicircular recessed niche covered with a semi-dome. Surrounding the entire prayer niche there is a moulded plaster frame formed into an architrave. Examples of this decorative treatment and the basic construction used in building these simple religious structures could be found the length of the Swahili coast during the centuries before the rule of the Omani Arabs.

Another feature of these earlier mosques is the absence of a minaret in the form of a
To the left, a view of the interior open courtyard and detail of the staircase minaret of the Seyyid Hamoud mosque in Malindi, one of the earliest Ibadi mosques, built around 1855. A simple staircase minaret, rising from the courtyard adjacent to the prayer hall, may be found in several nineteenth century Ibadi mosques in Zanzibar. The small dome surmounting the stair of the Seyyid Hamoud mosque, however, is quite unusual, and is the only one of its kind in the Stone Town.

Above and centre, two views of the Lagbbari mosque, one of the most beautiful and the best preserved Ibadi mosque in the Stone Town. The porch encloses the teaching area facing the interior courtyard. Inside the prayer hall, richly decorated plaster panels surround the polychrome arch of the mihrab.

To the left, an exterior and interior view of the Barwani mosque, an Ibadi mosque built before 1872. Outside, the mihrab protrudes slightly from the qibla wall. Inside, the very simple trefoil mihrab is an example of the Ibadi restraint in the use of decoration.
spire or tower — the minaret of Malindi’s Mnara mosque is one of three rare examples in East Africa. Instead, there might be a restrained ‘staircase’ minaret: a simple flight of steps leading up to the flat roof, with possibly a sentry-like box to shelter the person calling members to prayer.

Education has always been closely related to Islamic worship, and, initially, mosques in Zanzibar were used for both religious teaching and prayer. Later, particularly in the case of the wealthier mosques, the two functions were separated and the madrasa, or religious school, was housed in an adjoining or nearby structure. There are many of these throughout the Stone Town. Later, in some of the Ibadi mosques, an attempt was made to incorporate the madrasa as part of the mosque complex, usually across an open courtyard.

Ibadi mosques. Ibadi mosques began to appear during the second half of the nineteenth century in Zanzibar, as the new Omani ruling class established itself on the island. Their general organization is very similar to that of the Sunni mosques. But, while the older Sunni mosques tend to be square in plan, Ibadi mosques often follow a more rectangular plan, with two long galleries lying parallel to the qibla wall. The reason is that, according to Muslim belief, the greatest spiritual reward was to be found in the two rows behind the imam. Ibadi mosque builders therefore strived to create a space that would accommodate as many members as possible within the two desired rows or galleries.

Like Omani houses, Ibadi mosques are plain, even austere in their utter simplicity and lack of decoration. Members of the sect strived to attain the simplicity of traditional

Plans and a section of the Laghibari mosque. From the entrance at street level, there are two small stairs: one leads down to the ablution area and the other leads up to the interior courtyard. The teaching porch and prayer hall are positioned to either side of the courtyard. The courtyard, with its exterior mihrab, also functions as an additional praying area. The raised prayer hall is square in plan, with four central piers supporting arches spanning the internal bays.
nomadic life and frowned upon decoration, which was considered a distraction. Accordingly, their mosques were completely unadorned, and they are difficult to distinguish from the ordinary domestic buildings surrounding them. Even the tell-tale mibrab protruding into the street, which can usually be detected in Sunni mosques, is absent here. Inside, the Ibadi mibrab is a very shallow niche, unadorned and contained within the thickness of the qibla wall. This is thought to be derived from the sect’s revolutionary beginnings, when members were trying to avoid detection. This same consideration may also explain why the height of the prayer hall is raised as much as one or two metres above street level, thus preventing passers-by from seeing into the interior. Examples of the contained mibrab can be found in the Hadith, the Sayyid Humoud

![Image of the Mandhiri mosque in Sokollebogho. The mibrab is contained within the thickness of the wall.](image1)

![Image of the simple entrance and plain external mibrab in the courtyard of the Mandhiri mosque, which lies between the prayer hall and the ablution area.](image2)

and the Mandhiri mosques. A slightly protruding qibla wall became a fairly common variation, of which the Barwani mosque in Kajifcheni is an example.

Although Ibadism remained a minority sect in Zanzibar, its impact was considerable during the later part of the nineteenth century. Its strictures against decoration had a restraining influence on the construction of all mosques in Zanzibar, especially on those built by the Swahili or older Arab groups. Altogether sixteen or seventeen Ibadi mosques were built, of which fourteen remain in use today. The Stone Town of Zanzibar thus still contains the largest concentration of Ibadi mosques outside Oman. In spite of this concentration, however, there was no Ibadi Friday mosque. The Busaidi sultans chose not to have themselves elected imams, and members used the existing Sunni congregational mosques, especially the Malindi Juma mentioned above.

**Mosques built by the Indian communities.**

During the second half of the nineteenth century a number of Muslim communities coming from the Indian subcontinent began to build mosques as well. Afghani Sunnis are said to have built two mosques in Mkunazini, and a third Indian Sunni mosque stands behind the Law Courts. The exteriors of these mosques are similar to the other Sunni mosques in the Stone Town, fairly plain and similar to the surrounding domestic buildings. Inside, however, they were not as restrained as their Swahili and Ibadi counterparts. The mibrab in particular tended to be more decorated. Many Indian Sunnis, particularly those originating from the region of Kutch, attended the large Hanafi mosque built in the 1870s.
Most Indian Muslims were not Sunnis, but belonged to the various Shi'i sects, whose mosques were more ornate and larger. They were also characterized by the presence, in addition to the prayer hall, of extensive communal facilities such as madrasas and meeting halls. The organization and architecture of these mosques, as well as the introduction of minarets, were often based on models imported from India. In some cases, even the craftsmen and some of the precious building materials, such as the hardwood used for the carved decorative elements, came directly from India. The introduction of East African details and forms, however, can be observed in several examples, particularly in the design and carved plaster decoration of the mihrab. A notable example is the mihrab of the Ithnasheri mosque, Hujjatul Islam, built circa 1895.

Built with the support of very rich Indian merchants, these mosques tend to be concentrated in the northeastern part of the town, in the commercial mitaas of Forodhani, Kajificheni and Kiponda. The Bohras built three mosques at the end of the century, one in Sokomuhogo, one in Kajificheni and one in Kiponda. The Ithnasheriis also built three mosques: the first in 1866, the second in 1878 and the third in 1894. The Ismailis built their jamatkhana in Forodhani as early as 1838. It was rebuilt and considerably expanded in 1905.

Public and religious European architecture

European buildings did not have any visible impact on Zanzibar's urban landscape until the late nineteenth century. Early European
The rendering of Christ Church, the Anglican cathedral in Mombasa, shows that neither the spire nor the church itself were built as drawn by the architect. In particular, the tower has a broach spire on top of a square base, rather than the conical spire shown in the rendering. The tower was added in 1890, with a clock given by Sultan Barghash. (From the USPG/UMCA Collection, A100140, by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

and American traders set up their agencies and consulates in existing buildings, primarily along or just behind the seafront, adapting them to suit their customs and requirements. In particular, they tried to overcome the lack of light and ventilation in the old Arab houses by opening up the introverted buildings. An English official describes the condition and work needed in 1841 to convert the Omani house rented from the Sultan to house the British Agency:

The roof was dangerous: the whole of the outside to be plastered to keep out damp; 16 large windows were needed; it was essential to insert smaller windows in the lower part of the house to admit light and air...

Viewed from Mnazi Mmoja at the southern end of the creek, Christ Church dominates Zanzibar’s skyline in this photograph taken by E. D. Ropes shortly before the Mission House, the large building next to the cathedral, was demolished in 1895. A letter from Sir John Kirk indicates that, contrary to popular belief, the cathedral was built next to rather than on top of the slave market. (Courtesy, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.)
It was not until the 1870s that the first European structures were built in Zanzibar. These were the churches and religious facilities built by the Christian missionaries who, like the agents and consuls, established themselves initially in houses near the seafront. In time, they moved inland. The foundation stone of the Anglican cathedral, named Christ Church after Canterbury’s cathedral, was laid, in a highly symbolic move, on Christmas Day of 1873, next to the town’s last slave market at Mkunazini. The cathedral eventually was part of a large compound that included a hospital, schools and a cluster of houses and gardens which for the most part still exist.

The building of the cathedral was supervised by Bishop Edward Steere, the third Anglican Bishop of Zanzibar. The plans for the church were drawn by Charles Forster Hayward, an English architect based in London. The church follows a simple basilican plan and presents an unusual combination of perpendicular Gothic and Islamic details — multifoil arches and crenellations — which were inspired by the building’s Zanzibari context. Construction was completed in 1879 with an unusual barrel vault roof made of crushed coral mixed with Portland cement, much admired at the time. One can only imagine the effect of this massive structure as it loomed over the entire town, particularly when viewed from the south, across the creek. The cathedral’s single spire was added ten years later, around 1890, still a visible landmark punctuating Zanzibar’s skyline.

The imposing Roman Catholic cathedral was built somewhat later, from 1896 to 1899, and dedicated to St. Joseph by the French mission which had come to Zanzibar in 1860. The church’s facade and twin towers topped by pyramidal spires were built from plans imported from France. Like the Anglican cathedral, local materials and labour were employed, but with unabashedly French Romanesque results.

The twin spires of St. Joseph’s cathedral, built by the Roman Catholic mission from 1896 to 1899. The design of this French Neo-Romanesque church was influenced by the school of Leon Vaudoyer, an important architect active in France during the Second Empire.
The Beit al-Ajaib, the House of Wonders, was built in 1883 as the Sultan's ceremonial palace. The clock tower was added after the bombardment of 1896. Today, the building is being converted into a museum. Below, the view from the second storey veranda of the Beit al-Ajaib.

galleries accessible through an imposing staircase.

The original building did not have the central clock tower which today seems such an integral part of the structure. The tower was in fact added after the adjoining old palace and lighthouse were severely damaged during the bombardment of 1896. The House of Wonders, intended as an illustration of the importance and modernity of the sultanate, also served as a showcase for a number of new construction possibilities, heretofore not seen in Zanzibar. Several cast iron balconies appeared in the years following.

With the advent of the Protectorate in 1891, the British began to take on much more

With Britain's growing political influence in Zanzibar, a number of British engineers and architects would leave their mark on the town, particularly in the construction of representative buildings. The most visible is the Beit al-Ajaib, built in 1883 as a ceremonial palace for Sultan Sayyid Barghash and attributed to a British marine engineer. The building dominates the seafront and was originally connected by walkways, to the adjoining buildings. Built as the official baraza (the Sultan's reception hall), this highly visible structure introduced in Zanzibar several new architectural elements and structural solutions. The wide external galleries supported by cast iron columns were a novelty that was made possible by the development of prefabricated cast iron building elements and techniques in England, during the 1840s and 1850s. Inside, the building is arranged around a large covered courtyard surrounded by open
administrative responsibility for the sultanate, and, more particularly, for the town. This greater interest was reflected in the series of new, prestigious public structures which were planned and developed in the Stone Town. J. H. Sinclair, the young administrator posted to Zanzibar in 1896, was to play a determinative role in the many public works which were realized from the turn of the century. He designed a new British residency, a central market, law courts, the National Bank of India — now the Bank of Tanzania — and the main post office. He was also responsible for the design of the Peace Memorial Museum in 1925. Sinclair adopted classical details, as in the case of the post office building, as well as Islamic forms in what contemporary accounts called the ‘Saracenic’ style. He had an imaginative and sensitive touch, and designed buildings which — though certainly quite different from Zanzibar’s traditional buildings — blended well in the context of the old town.

After 1940, and increasingly in the 1950s, western architectural forms and construction techniques became more apparent in the Stone Town, particularly in the small apartment blocks, residences, office buildings and cinemas built along the edges of the historic area, in Vuga, Malindi and near Creek Road. The use of reinforced concrete construction became commonplace, allowing more freedom in the planning of buildings, with larger spans as well as greater heights. The impact of these models and materials on the historic fabric, however, was limited and did not alter in any substantive way the overall appearance of the Stone Town.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, construction in the Stone Town came to a

The Law Courts, or High Court of Justice, was one of the buildings designed by J. H. Sinclair, perhaps the most successful of his ‘Saracenic’ public structures built at the outset of the twentieth century.
virtual halt as urban development and most building activity shifted to the expansion areas, where in-migration was increasing the population at a rapid rate. It was not until the 1980s that the cumulative impact of contemporary building ideas, forms and especially materials based on extraneous western models began to have a negative effect on the Stone Town. The result has been the introduction of a significant and growing number of large and ill-proportioned structures: some are new buildings, but the majority are traditional buildings that have been subjected to an accretionary process of change. This process has determined, far more than the decay and widespread deterioration of the old buildings, the gradual transformation of the Stone Town.

History of Planning

Throughout the nineteenth century, Zanzibar had been described by travellers who were fascinated by this exotic town on the edge of a largely unknown continent. The mixture of peoples and cultures and the bustling atmosphere of every sort of commerce created an irresistible attraction. At the same time, they were put off by the dirt, chaos and lack of sanitation.

This was expressed in rather dramatic terms by the explorer Richard Burton, who published his impressions in 1857. He wrote, “a noxious malaria is exhaled form the shallow inlet ... and the undrained filth ... assist to make Zanzibar a most unhealthy city.” Twelve years later, Dr. James Christie, who witnessed the cholera epidemic of 1869, wrote, “the dark fetid alleys whose open drains, abundant night soil and busy vermin helped erase any image of oriental glamour.” The possibility of fire was a further matter of concern. In 1883, Vice-Consul Haggard noted in one of his letters that “there is always the danger of fire from the thatched roofs of Native houses in this part of the world when they are built up against an Arab building.”

Not surprisingly, early administrators were concerned about health and sanitation, and about the need to build with permanent materials. Their concerns and reactions need to be understood within the context of the general call for social reform in nineteenth century England. In 1842, the Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain was published. The author, E. Chadwick, was especially interested in the problems of public health, which cholera had publicized, and called for the provision of water supply and sewers and the appointment of local health officers. Further, his report stressed that poor sanitary conditions were not inherent to towns, and that cities could indeed be improved.
From the latter part of the nineteenth century, Zanzibar thus became the subject of various urban improvement measures and schemes. It was during Sultan Barghash’s reign (1870 - 1888) that the town first underwent a number of systematic, planned improvements. Sir John Kirk encouraged the Sultan to use some of the substantial revenues generated by the clove tax and port dues to build new roads and an aqueduct to bring water into the town from the Chem Chem Springs. This aqueduct helped alleviate the problems created by contaminated wells.

In the 1890s, the new Consul General, Sir Gerald Portal, introduced further measures. In an attempt to clean the town and make the streets safer, he says:

I have effected an immense improvement by making every Indian and every native and every Englishman put a good lamp over their doors and keep their part of the street both clean and in good repair. If there are any hovels pools of mud now, or rotting vegetation in the street, or dark places at night, these are before the houses of Germans or other Europeans.

Portal had no jurisdiction over the other Europeans residing in Zanzibar. He also wished he could initiate a special levy, as...

...with a small municipal sliding-scale house tax on all alike, I could have the town well-lighted and cleaned, and a sanitary corps started like that in Cairo.

It was Portal who, in his desire to clean the streets and beaches, was probably responsible for introducing the Indian crow to Zanzibar. In 1891, he wrote to a colleague:

...while you are in Bombay ... see if you can pick up any [ideas] from the Bombay system of sanitation, especially as regards the filling in of swamps with rubbish, and the general disposal of sweepings ...

Obtain if you can, about 50 or more scavenger hawks and have them carefully caged and transported here.

Improvements to the town were thus carried out through a series of administrative solutions. The initiation of comprehensive physical planning would have to wait until well into the twentieth century.

The early plans

In 1923, Henry Vaughan Lanchester, a well-known British architect and planner, produced the first planning studies for Zanzibar. Lanchester was influenced by Patrick Geddes, the pioneer of civic planning. He had worked on the Indian city of Lashkar ten years before and, in 1931, was to contribute to the early development of the masterplan for New Delhi. Lanchester’s approach to planning was to refrain from wholesale redevelopment, preferring instead corrective improvements to the existing fabric. This approach was followed in the plan for Zanzibar. He carried out a detailed physical survey of the town and recommended a series of improvements, which were published as Zanzibar: A Study in Tropical Town Planning.

To the east of the town, Lanchester’s plan called for the draining of the creek and the creation of a canal and “tidal basin” to help clear the town of standing water and reduce mosquito breeding grounds. The
The sketch plan above illustrates the existing situation before drawing up Zanzibar's first plan. The sketch plan below illustrates H. V. Lanchester's proposals following his 1923 planning study of the town.

North of the Stone Town, the Plan called for the further development of the port, which had already been initiated with the reclamation of land for the new port area, and construction of a deep water wharf. Lanchester recommended expanding the storage and sorting facilities, relocating the Customs House from Forodhani to Malindi, construction of new workshops and an electrical power station, and the creation of a public square and garden at the entrance to the port. Another public garden was planned in the area in front of the Fort. The Jubilee Gardens were in fact realized on this site in 1936, although the design differs from that proposed by Lanchester. He also recommended the opening of motorized roads around the Stone Town to facilitate circulation. In particular, a road was to cut through Shangani to link the seafront with the Vuga area. Inside the Stone Town, the Plan foresaw the widening of two of the existing bazaar streets that converge at Sokomuhogo Square, and the creation of a "New Central Road" to connect this central square with Creek Road. A portion of this central road was realized in subsequent decades, the present New Mkuunazini Street. Several buildings were demolished to widen the roadway, however, the road stops short of Sokomuhogo Square, and the intended thoroughfare was thus never completed. He also proposed that the government rehabilitate the public baths in Mkuunazini, and redevelop the worst of the very run-down housing in Kiponda and Malindi.
In Ng’amo, Lanchester’s plan envisaged the establishment of a new road network with the creation of an Indian quarter along the east side of the tidal canal and the development of a planned residential area southeast of the tidal basin. The proposals for Ng’amo were never implemented.

During the 1940s, the Town Planning Board set out to ameliorate living conditions in the town in order to “improve and beautify the township of Zanzibar.” These projects were intended not only to bring “contentment and healthier standards of living, but [to] render the country more attractive for our tourist trade.” This reference to the tourist trade is interesting as it draws attention for the first time to the prospects of tourism as a new economic sector for Zanzibar.

A second urban plan was drawn up in 1958 by a team of British planners led by H. Kendall and G. Mill. This plan covered both the Stone Town and Ng’amo, which together had reached a total population of 58,000 people, an increase of 40 percent since the last planning exercise in 1923. The plan sought to reduce the density of population in the Stone Town, at its highest in those years, with planning and building regulations that encouraged people to move to the outlying areas. This was to be accomplished through the development of new roads, and by facilitating the process and financing of land acquisition. The 1958 scheme contained various proposals to control development in the Stone Town through land use zoning and residential and building density controls. In addition, the

Below, elevation of the seafront as proposed by H. V. Lanchester in his 1923 plan. Proposed buildings include, left to right, a post and telecom house, shipping offices and a new minaret for the Friday mosque. South of the Beit al-Ajaib, Lanchester proposed the development of a central hotel. None of these projects was realized.
scheme stressed the importance of reducing certain industrial activities within the historic area. The proposals also included plans for redeveloping the market area, which called for demolition of the Darajani Chawl and the Estella Market, as well as reclamation of the Funguni basin and creation of a bus terminal at the juncture of Creek and Hollis roads, the latter being the present Malawi Road.

The 1958 Plan incorporated some of the road widening proposals put forward by Lanchester. Specifically, a connection was created to enable motorized traffic to reach the other side of the Stone Town through Shangani Street and Kelele Square, thus relieving some of the congestion in the narrow main street, today's Kenyatta Road. Finally, in Malindi, a new road extending Creek Road north was constructed (the present Bwawani Road) as part of a proposal to reclaim Funguni basin and develop a complex of industrial warehousing. This reclamation project was admitted at the time to be a very ambitious undertaking, both in terms of the engineering and the financial resources required, and, in fact, it was never completed. In the 1970s, the large Bwawani Hotel was constructed at the end of the new road at the mouth of the onetime creek.

**Planning schemes since the Revolution**

Following the Revolution in 1964, a Town Planning Scheme was drawn up in 1968 by an East German team. This scheme concentrated specifically on Ng'ambo, though it recognized the unique architecture of the Stone Town and the importance of maintaining its buildings and excluding the introduction of large

- **Two sketch plans illustrating, above, the existing situation in 1958 when G. Kendall and H. Mill began work on the second plan drawn up for Zanzibar, and, below, their proposals to upgrade the town's circulation.**
warehouses and industries. Not all of the 1968 Plan’s proposals were implemented. However, those elements of the scheme that were realized led to the substantial transformation of Ng’amo’s character. This happened most dramatically in the Michenzani area where, as part of a slum clearance programme, a new road system and long, tall blocks of modern flats were constructed to form the “crown of the new town.” Today, these massive rectangular apartment blocks provide a dramatic contrast to the dense patchwork of traditional structures that surrounds them.

From 1980 to 1982, a new plan for the entire town was drawn up by a team of town planners from the People’s Republic of China. Known as the Chinese Masterplan, it was eventually approved by the Revolutionary Council in 1985 and, to this day, constitutes the legal basis for urban planning in Zanzibar. The plan was not specifically concerned with the Stone Town, focusing primarily on the outside expansion areas. It recommended, however, that government functions be removed from the historic centre to a new administrative district, and that the vacated buildings be converted into tourist facilities. In addition, the Chinese Masterplan designated three bazaar streets as priority preservation areas, and called for the widening of roads to facilitate vehicular access into the centre. None of these recommendations were in fact carried out, and, although the Masterplan called for the preservation of the historic area, no specific conservation measures or detailed rehabilitation schemes were implemented following its formal adoption.

The need for specific actions to preserve the traditional structures of the Stone Town, as an issue apart from the planning of the
An aerial view of the Stone Town taken in 1977. The triangular shape of the former peninsula is still clearly visible, separated from the main island by Creek Road which runs north from the Mnazi Mmoja playing fields to the swamp at Funguni. The main link from the Stone Town to Ng'ambo and the northern part of the island has shifted from Darajani Street, the location of the former bridge. Today, Michenzani Road is the primary access to Ng'ambo, while Malawi Road, the former Buluba rail line and later Hollis Road, connects the town and port with the northern part of the island. To the south, the Kaunda/Airport Road, the former Mnazi Mmoja Road, carries traffic along the neck of land which is the original connection between the peninsula and the main island. (Courtesy of the Commission for Lands and Environment.)
newer sections of Greater Zanzibar had been apparent from the early 1970s when the historic houses and monuments began to show serious evidence of decay. Initially, government preservation efforts focused on the Stone Town's most important monuments: six historic structures were gazetted in 1979 and put under the care of the Ministry of Sports and Culture. The scope of this initial effort, however, soon proved too narrow as the vast majority of the buildings in the Stone Town — the many hundreds of old houses of Swahili, Arab and Indian origin — were left out. It was finally plain that this rich inheritance was not only historically significant, but, inasmuch as it represented the bulk of the available housing stock in the Stone Town, these buildings were also of fundamental importance in social and economic terms. Their loss would be felt first and foremost by the inhabitants themselves. The Government responded with a decision to address not only the problems of the outstanding individual monuments, but to try and preserve the Stone Town as a whole.

Action to preserve Zanzibar's historic Stone Town began effectively in 1982 when the Government asked the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS/Habitat) to undertake a comprehensive study of the historic area and recommend appropriate measures to arrest its deterioration. The initial study was completed in 1983, and was followed in 1984 by a more detailed report entitled *Strategy for Integrated Development*.

The most significant result of the Habitat study was the creation in 1985 of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) to coordinate all planning and building activities in the Stone Town. At the same time, the study's recommendation to re-privatize some of the houses taken over by the government following the 1964 Revolution was partially implemented to finance public restoration works in the Stone Town. Habitat resumed its activities in Zanzibar in 1988 with the restoration of a small number of historic buildings, including the Bharal and the Kilosa buildings. Its continued involvement also helped to gazette the Stone Town, declared a conservation area in 1988 by the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment (MWCELE).

Further UNCHS recommendations included: expansion of manufacturing activities and of the fisheries and tourism industries in order to revitalize the local economy; elimination of land use conflicts and the promotion of a rational use of space to enhance the historic character of the Stone Town; comprehensive upgrading and replacement of the Stone Town's infrastructure, accompanied by a programme of preservation and restoration of the buildings; and a traffic network that relies on the existing roads and a series of new cul-de-sacs. Although important in stimulating further interest in the Stone Town, the recommendations of the Habitat report were not integrated in a comprehensive planning scheme and were therefore never formally adopted.

Since 1991, there has been substantial renewed interest in the Stone Town and its future preservation and development on the part of the government and international aid organizations. Activities which are relevant to the Stone Town's preservation and economic development, and which are either under consideration or presently being carried out with international donor assistance include: restoration and adaptive re-use of the Old Dispensary, one of the finest historic structures in Zanzibar (AKCS-Z); renovation and adaptive re-use of the Fort and Beit al-Ajaib (EU); rehabilitation of the seawall along the Stone Town seafront (EU); reorganization of the port area (EU) and Central Market (UNCDF); feasibility studies and implementation proposals for major rehabilitation works of the town's sewers and stormwater disposal system (KWF), as well as the water supply network (FINNIDA); and, finally, development of a centre for conservation in the Customs House, including a restoration training course and materials conservation laboratory (UNESCO).

These many initiatives sprang from the recognition that action is urgently needed in the face of the widespread deterioration of the old Stone Town. Their aim is to contribute to the physical rehabilitation and economic development of the area, which, with its rich and diverse architectural heritage, remains the largest and most important living historic town in the eastern African region.
A pen and ink sketch of Gizenga Street, one of the principal bazaar streets in the old Stone Town.
The Survey of the Stone Town

Following a review of Zanzibar's architecture and urban development, this chapter places the Stone Town in its larger urban context, and presents the results of the surveys of population, land use, infrastructure and buildings, carried out in the historic area prior to formulation of the Conservation Plan.

The chapter begins with a summary of Zanzibar's economy and a description of the city surrounding the historic centre, which occupies an area several times the size of the Stone Town, followed by a discussion of the town's current development trends and future prospects.

The subsequent detailed presentation of the Stone Town is prefaced by an explanation of the scope and methods of the survey, and a list of the topics investigated. The findings begin with the results of the population survey. The chapter then reviews how land use patterns and ownership trends have changed since the last survey of the Stone Town in 1982. The analysis of the Stone Town continues with a closer look at the town's buildings and urban fabric, including an inventory and classification of buildings, an appraisal of their condition and an analysis of the ongoing changes to traditional structures. Infrastructure and town services were also assessed, including water, drainage, sewage and electricity networks, based on interviews with government officials and technical assistance personnel.

The chapter ends with a review of the city's institutional framework for physical planning, a summing up of the findings, and a look at the constraints and opportunities that will affect future planning of the historic area.

The Urban Context

The Stone Town is the centre of the greater city of Zanzibar, located halfway down the western coast of Unguja, the largest island of the Zanzibar archipelago. The archipelago comprises two large offshore islands, Unguja and Pemba, and a number of smaller islands, and lies across the Zanzibar Channel some forty kilometres off the mainland coast of Tanzania, approximately six degrees south of the Equator.

Today, the islands are an autonomous part of the United Republic of Tanzania. The Republic, which is named after the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, was formed following Zanzibar's Revolution in January 1964, shortly after the British granted the former sultanate independence in December 1963. Under the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, Zanzibar maintains its own government with a separate president, chief minister, cabinet and house of representatives.

Unguja, commonly known as Zanzibar Island, has a narrow and elongated shape and a total surface area of 1,660 square kilometres. The western and northern parts of the island are the most fertile, with a rich and deep soil covering deposits of sand, clay and coral limestone. This area has traditionally been cultivated with rice, coconut, cloves and sugar cane. The climate is tropical with an average temperature of twenty-six degrees Celsius. The long rains fall between March and May and are followed by the southwest monsoon, the kusi, which blows from June to September. The short rains and the northeast monsoon, the kaskazi, come in November. January, February and March are the hot, dry months. Annual rainfall is between 1500 to 2000 mm. A plentiful supply of water is one of the island's most precious natural resources.

The Zanzibar islands, with an overall density of 318 persons per square kilometre, are among the most densely populated areas in Africa. Current estimates put the total population of the archipelago at 742,500 with some 435,000 people living on Unguja alone. Around 60 percent of Unguja's inhabitants live in the rural areas, small villages and scattered rural dwellings sustained largely by subsistence farming and fishing. The remaining population lives in the city of Zanzibar.
The economy of the islands

The economy of the Zanzibar islands is described in a number of recent studies, in particular the 1989 *Review of the Economic Recovery Programme*, and the Settlement Structure Plan, 1993 - 2015 of 1993. According to these sources, the economy of the two large islands is based predominantly on agriculture, which accounts for approximately 44 percent of the Gross Domestic Product. The export of cloves is the major source of foreign exchange, bringing in over 80 percent of the hard currency earned. Remaining agricultural production is almost entirely subsistence farming. Fishing is also a factor, contributing an estimated 7 percent to the GDP.

The agriculture sector provides employment for as much as 70 percent of the labour force on the islands, somewhat higher on the less developed island of Pemba. The *Review of the Economic Recovery Programme* estimates that only 15 percent of Zanzibar’s working population is formally employed outside agriculture and fishing. With current programmes to reduce employment in the public sector, this figure may be less today.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, worldwide over-production brought about major reductions in the price of cloves, severely affecting Zanzibar’s economy. Between 1976 and 1986, GDP declined 27 percent at a rate of 2.8 percent per annum. The declining economy was reflected by high unemployment, while inflation rose steeply throughout the 1980s to an average of 25 percent per annum. This had a corresponding deleterious effect on income levels, and real wages went down sharply.

*The island of Unguja with the city of Zanzibar projecting into the channel, halfway down the island’s western coastline.*
In 1990, wages were worth only 52 percent of their 1985 level. According to the *Household Budget Survey*, in 1991, the average monthly income per household was approximately 12,000 Tanzania Shillings (about $40 at 1991 rates).

Since 1984, in part to mitigate the risk inherent in an economy dependent on a single cash crop, the government began to liberalize the economy, in particular the trade and tourism sectors. Liberalization brought about some improvement and the economy grew by an estimated 2.5 percent between 1985 and 1990, while in 1993 GDP grew at a rate of 3.3 percent. Today, trade and tourism represent Zanzibar's second most important source of income (26 percent); construction alone increased an estimated 135 percent, and hotel development and trade 80 percent. Economic growth, however, has not occurred in all sectors. During the latter part of the 1980s, agriculture declined 7.5 percent, industry 38 percent, and transport and communication 63 percent. These figures would seem to indicate that the structural weaknesses of Zanzibar's economy are likely to persist for some time to come.

Employment in the formal wage sector absorbs approximately 56 percent of the available work force in the urban areas, where the public sector remains the most important employer. Formal wage employment, however, declined 13 percent from 1985 to 1990. The surplus has in part been absorbed by the informal sector which is becoming an increasingly important component of the economy. With fewer formal jobs and declining real wages, a growing number of households depend on the informal sector for their livelihood.
Construction, retailing, small-scale manufacturing and service activities are major sources of informal employment and income, particularly in Zanzibar Town, where economic opportunities are greater than elsewhere on the islands. Today, approximately 44 percent of the workforce in the urban areas finds employment outside the formal economy, including a growing number of women. These account for 40 percent of total employment in the informal sector.

The Settlement Structure Plan for 1993-2013 indicates the priorities for the development of Zanzibar’s economy. The agricultural sector is to be reinforced by increasing the islands’ self-sufficiency with greater production of staple food crops, and by expanding food earnings through the diversification of produce and export crops. Large-scale industrialization is not envisaged for the immediate future. Although possible developments include the establishment of food processing plants and the rehabilitation of existing factories, now operating below capacity, the role of industry is likely to remain at a minimum in Zanzibar for several years to come. With respect to the commercial and tourism sectors, the government aims to attract more private investment with additional incentives such as tax relief and the possibility of repatriating more of the dividends. There are also plans to establish a Free Trade Zone and designate Zanzibar a free port. These initiatives will probably require more time, also in view of the limited progress so far in creating an adequate banking and financial system. The prospects for tourism development in Zanzibar are more encouraging. The number of visitors between 1987 and 1990 increased 44 percent, and many plans and projects are under way to develop additional tourist facilities throughout the islands. The challenge in the years to come will be to prevent the negative impact of mass tourism in favour of investment that emphasizes higher quality tourism, in an effort to protect Zanzibar’s long-term interests and take into account the area’s delicate ecological balance.

Overall, although the economic liberalization policies initiated in the 1980s are beginning to have a positive impact on the economy, investors and economists remain conservative in their assessments of Zanzibar’s prospects for economic growth in the years to come. Much will depend on the government’s ability to reduce inflation, improve its balance of payments and sustain a financial environment that is conducive to private investment, while mitigating the short-term effects that anti-inflationary economic policies are likely to have on the weaker strata of the population.

Zanzibar Town

Zanzibar Town is the capital city of the archipelago, the economic, political and cultural centre 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, the original ‘half’ of present-day Zanzibar. The earliest settlement was separated from the main island by the creek. With the construction of the first bridge in 1838, the Stone Town was permanently linked with the ever-expanding settlement across the creek and the agricultural fields beyond. This other half was called, then as now, Ng’ambo, which means the land on the “other side.”
Today, with the filling in of the creek during this century, Zanzibar's two 'halves' are no longer physically separated, though many differences remain in the relative size and appearance of the two settlements. These differences have become more pronounced with the rapid transformation of the expansion areas during recent decades.

The recent development of greater Zanzibar Town must be viewed against the background of unprecedented growth in the urban area's population since the late 1960s, and especially from the late 1970s. Greater Zanzibar's population figures since 1910 are summarized in the graph above. It shows that the town's growth was steady until 1967, at which time the figures start to show substantial increases. In the period 1967 - 1978, the population increased 61 percent, and from 1978 to 1988, it jumped a further 69 percent.

The figures indicate that the population of the city as a whole has been growing at a rate of around 3.6 percent per year over the past ten years, much faster than the 2.3 percent natural rate of increase for the rest of the island. The city's much higher rate (a difference of 1.3 percent) is due to the considerable in-migration from the rural areas and other parts of the archipelago, particularly Pemba. An estimate prepared by the government's Commission of Land and Environment in 1990 indicates that, in the foreseeable future, population growth in Zanzibar Town will remain at these levels. Based on this estimate, the population of Zanzibar Town in 1995 should have been in the order of 195,000 people. The same estimate predicts a population twice this number (413,500) by the year 2018.

Largely as a result of the rapidly expanding population, the total built-up area of Zanzibar Town today covers 1,600 hectares, approximately seventeen times the size of the Stone Town. This comprises the older and more established portions of Ng'ambo in the immediate proximity of the Stone Town, as well as subsequent developments extending out to Ring Road C and beyond.

Ng'ambo developed originally in clusters of single-storey structures made of mud and wattle and roofed with palm leaf thatch, the traditional and still the most common type of dwelling found all over the East African coast. These mud and wattle houses are markedly different from the stone buildings found in the central urban areas. This separation between stone and mud was common in traditional Swahili settlements, and in earlier times reflected pronounced differences in the economic and social status of the inhabitants.
In the early 1970s, the central portion of Ng’amo, in particular Michenzani, was permanently transformed with the construction of a large public housing scheme made up of a series of multi-storey apartment blocks. Most of these blocks are three to five storeys, and some are eight-storey structures. The small two-bedroom apartments inside have generally proven unsuitable for the extended-family lifestyle of Zanzibar’s inhabitants. The massive concrete structures surrounded by open space provide a striking contrast to the dense low-rise pattern prevailing in Ng’amo and the compact appearance of the Stone Town.

During the latter part of the 1970s, Zanzibar’s economic situation could no longer support major public investment, while at the same time a severe agricultural recession brought about the first large influx of people from the rural areas in search of economic opportunities in the town.

The centralized planning process applied during the 1970s, which relied on highly formalized land and housing procedures, could not keep up with this unprecedented migration into the urban area. Even the 1982 Chinese Masterplan, with its emphasis on large-scale public investment, was unable to guide or control the town’s development. Most of the 1982 Plan’s proposals were beyond the government’s means as soon as they were conceived, and have in fact remained on paper for lack of public funding. Moreover, the land set aside in the Plan for various civic, housing and infrastructure projects was already being informally developed at the time the Plan was being drawn up, and today none of it is available for the designated purposes.
In actual fact, urban development in Zanzibar Town has taken place largely outside public control, directed by an ever-expanding informal land and housing market. This process involves a complex set of informal and semi-legal practices including the speculative reselling of plots reserved for low-income people, and the sale and subdivision of designated agricultural land for development into illegal housing outside the boundaries of the town. In addition, there is outright squatting, where vacant land is occupied with temporary cheap shelter which over time is gradually improved and made permanent. Such unplanned development has been facilitated by weak public controls and increasingly widespread speculative practices.

An estimated 370 plots of land are allotted annually by legal means, compared to the approximately 1,000 plots which enter the market informally. Similarly, 230 houses per year are added by the formal sector, compared to the approximately 1,300 added through the informal sector. Exact figures, however, are not available and the actual size of the informal market may be much greater.

The result of the lack of public control has been the progressive filling in of the older parts of Ng'ambo and, at the same time, the spontaneous incremental expansion of scattered new settlements along the outskirts. These settlements have outgrown the city boundaries established by the 1982 Masterplan, and turned large tracts of agricultural land into residential areas.

The quality of the new developments varies according to the economic means of the residents. The area of scattered villas along the Mazazini coast, for example, is characterized by lower densities and higher standards of construction and services. Also, the residential developments at Mwana Tanga along Ring Road C have fairly low population densities — no more than fifty inhabitants per hectare — with larger plot sizes and relatively high construction standards.

In comparison, the northeastern section of Ng'ambo is more densely populated, and construction standards are lower. These areas have developed without prior planning; agricultural land assigned to small farmers at the periphery of the town, typically three-acre plots, has been subdivided into smaller plots and sold to individual holders. In some of the older sections, buildings and streets follow a regular grid, and building sizes are uniform, with an average floor area of 100 to 120 square metres. Initially built as temporary structures, these buildings have been progressively transformed into permanent structures, with concrete blocks replacing mud walls and corrugated iron in lieu of palm leaf thatch roofing. Further north, the character of the settlements is looser, without the geometric pattern of the older sections. The distance between buildings is minimal, making access and ventilation difficult. The narrow spaces between houses and the inadequate or frequently non-existent drainage result in flooding and sanitation problems, particularly during the rainy seasons. These squatter areas are generally very crowded, and population densities are never less, and usually higher, than 150 inhabitants per hectare. This in an area where the buildings are almost universally only one storey high.
Four views of Zanzibar's expansion areas (clockwise from top left): the Michenzani flats in the centre of Ng'amo; a communal water stand pipe in Miembenti in the southwestern section of Ng'amo; one of the new squatter areas on the northeastern outskirts of the town, towards Welezo; and new high-income houses under construction on a large plot along the Mazazini coast, a new low-density area.
The newest portion of Ng'ambo, east of Ring Road C, has been built up during the last decade alone. It is the fastest growing part of the town, with a growth rate estimated to be four to five times that of the rest of Ng'ambo, and a population of about 35,000 people in 1994. The quality of the housing varies from permanent and good in the southeastern section to temporary and poor in the northeastern section.

In addition to residential development, most of the island's industry, including cigarette, leather and shoe, oil, soft drinks and furniture factories, various workshops and larger warehouses, and the government printing press, are all located in the northeastern sector of Ng'ambo, primarily in the industrial areas of Saateni and Maruhubi. A newer workshop area has recently sprung up in Welezo, beyond Ring Road C.

Ng'ambo also contains the urban area's major water distribution centre, in Saateni, as well as the Mtoni and Saateni power stations which supply the town with electricity. In spite of these two major installations, Ng'ambo's infrastructure systems and social services are inadequate or non-existent. In the best of cases, these residential areas which developed without any preliminary planning have been connected to the principal distribution systems after the fact. By and large, however, there are no infrastructure networks to service the new development areas. The older parts of Ng'ambo are the exception, particularly Michenzani where the houses are supplied with water, conventional sewage installations and overhead electrical cabling. The remaining residential areas of Zanzibar Town, especially to the northeast where spontaneous settlement is the rule, lack piped water and must rely exclusively on pit latrines. Also, there is no regular collection of solid waste, and inhabitants either burn or dump their refuse.

In addition, schools and health facilities are scarce or totally lacking. Only nine primary schools exist for the whole of Ng'ambo, whose population is twelve times that of the Stone Town, which, in comparison, is served by eleven schools. Most of the people of Ng'ambo must rely on Mzaizi Mnoja, Zanzibar's hospital located at the southern edge of the Stone Town, not only in case of serious illness, but also for lesser medical problems as the nine dispensaries in Ng'ambo lack essential facilities and medicines. Further, Ng'ambo has neither public services and offices, nor adequate market facilities, a fact that augments the already excessive and unhealthy dependency of greater Zanzibar Town upon the historic centre.

Because of its rapid and unplanned growth, Ng'ambo's development today is fundamentally distorted in that it remains completely dependant on the Stone Town — for services, employment, schools, commerce — with thousands of people commuting daily in and out of the historic centre. By necessity, Zanzibar Town cannot grow without putting ever greater pressure on the central area. Thus, the future development of the two 'halves' of Zanzibar cannot be viewed in isolation. Decisions made for greater Zanzibar Town, such as those concerning decentralization and increased public investment, will have a considerable impact on the Stone Town. Conversely, decisions regarding the town's central area can have an important effect on rebalancing greater Zanzibar's future urban development.

It is in the light of the close and currently mutually unsatisfactory relationship between Ng'ambo and the Stone Town that future planning decisions for the entire city will have to be considered and resolved. In the long run, only a coordinately 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.

Introduction to the survey

The built-up area of the Stone Town, up to Creek Road and including the port, measures eighty-seven hectares. This comprises about 5.4 percent of the municipality's total area of 1,600 hectares. An estimated 16,000 people live in the Stone Town, representing 8.2 percent of the city's overall population.

The Stone Town's relatively small size when compared to the rest of Zanzibar is, however, a misleading indicator of its real importance. Within its limited confines are concentrated the vast majority of Zanzibar's public and commercial facilities, and it is here that land values are highest and pressures for development and change greatest.

The methods of the survey

A field survey of the Stone Town was carried out between June and December of 1992. Its purpose was to update previous surveys and gather new information needed to formulate the Conservation Plan. Many changes had in fact occurred since 1982 when UNCHS/Habitat carried out the last survey of the Stone Town.
In some cases it was possible to update prior investigations, thus avoiding repetition and providing a basis for valuable comparisons. Where lacking, data was collected and synthesized for the first time.

All investigations were conducted on a plot by plot basis by survey teams of three to four people. The town was divided into eighty-three survey areas — which corresponded to the eighty-three blocks making up the historic area — and several survey forms were filled in concurrently. These included a block survey form, a building survey form, a streetscape inventory and a building condition form, which together produced a complete inventory of the urban fabric and its condition. The information was cross-checked in the field and subsequently transferred onto the newly revised base map and entered into a specially created data base for further analysis.

The revisions to the base map were carried out by comparing the plan prepared by the Municipality in 1960 to more recent maps, and by recording and plotting data gathered in the field. Where new buildings were constructed after 1960, the footprints of the new structures have been inserted by positioning them in relationship to known and unchanged structures. Finally, the revised map shows the internal layout of each of the eighty-three blocks that make up the Stone Town. This physical survey has resulted in the first map to show every built structure in the Stone Town as well as the internal configuration of each of the blocks, providing an essential tool for the planning and future management of the historic area.

The other important planning tool created during the course of the survey is the information system. A computerized data base was created to record comprehensive information on each of the plots and buildings, including their location, land use and ownership, as well as their condition, architectural significance, typology, materials and construction, and any distinguishing architectural features.

Information can be accessed and manipulated to provide comparative summaries, calculations or special inventories, while the data base itself can be expanded to accommodate additional categories and information at a later date. The records can be updated periodically in order that timely information on all plots and buildings is available. This will help the authorities keep track of developments in the Stone Town, and facilitate the formulation, adaptation and implementation of policies and programmes over time.

Throughout the survey, a particular effort was made to consult government and municipal officials, as well as the general public about their ideas and opinions of current planning issues. This information was solicited during meetings with officials and interviews with the households visited during the socio-economic survey.

The Scope of the Survey

The map opposite shows the extent of the area investigated, as well as the Stone Town's administrative zones. The area comprises the Stone Town and the surrounding land that has a direct bearing on the functioning of the historic area. This includes the parks and playing fields along the eastern border of the Stone Town, as well as the old part of Darajani Street. In total, the area surveyed covers 125 hectares, including the eighty-seven hectares which constitute the built-up historic core.
The specific topics investigated are discussed in the following pages and are briefly summarized below.

- **Household survey.** This survey focused on building up a reliable social and economic profile of the people living in the area. The survey was carried out by interviewing a representative 10 percent sample of the Stone Town's population. The findings include information about household sizes, employment, tenure, occupancy, in- and out-migration, schooling and access to services. The data collected during this survey are also the basis of the projections for population growth in the Stone Town.

- **Existing land use.** This survey recorded the location and distribution of activities and building uses in the Stone Town, which formed the basis of the Plan's land use proposals.

- **Present building ownership.** Updated information was gathered on land tenure and building ownership in order to quantify private, public and religious ownership, and document occupancy and tenure patterns. Data was collected from the Land Registry, Municipal Council and the files of the Waqf and Trust Commission.

- **Existing infrastructure and public services.** This survey, in addition to observations in the field, consisted of collecting information and maps of existing and proposed infrastructure works, and interviewing the technical personnel directly involved. In particular, the supply of electricity and water were investigated, as well as the drainage and sewage disposal systems. This helped determine the capacity and adequacy of existing services and highlighted the need for a coordinated programme of infrastructure improvements.

- **Existing traffic and parking.** The survey investigated existing circulation patterns, transportation options and available parking in the Stone Town. This effort is the basis of the recommendations for an improved traffic and parking network.

- **Building typology.** The survey identified the major building types in the Stone Town according to antecedents and original use. In addition to providing a valuable historical record, the classification of buildings was a key element in setting up the socio-economic survey which consisted of interviewing households in 10 percent of each type of building. An understanding of Zanzibar's building typology will also be important in establishing the design criteria and building guidelines needed to protect and rehabilitate the different types of historic structures.

- **Significant buildings, architectural elements and streetscape features.** The many buildings and architectural and streetscape features which represent architectural, historical or cultural achievements, or which are significant examples of their type, were identified in this survey of Zanzibar's architectural heritage. This survey is the basis for the selection of listed buildings and of the architectural and streetscape features designated for special protection.

- **Assessment of building condition.** This survey recorded the external condition of all structures in the conservation study area, and is the basis of the analysis of the Stone Town's building stock. At a later stage it will also help in identifying the best strategy and in determining the scope, extent and provisional cost of future rehabilitation works.

- **New buildings and alterations to historic buildings.** Based on previous records and direct observation in the field, the survey recorded and evaluated the most common changes made to the historic buildings. Current trends were assessed with a view to designing planning strategies that will counteract inappropriate transformations of the historic fabric.

- **The legal and institutional framework.** A review of the present institutional setting helped identify the major stumbling blocks that impede implementation of effective, coordinated planning in the Stone Town. This, in turn, helped determine the most appropriate legal route for the approval of the Plan as well as the specific institutional arrangements needed to ensure better management of the historic area.

### Profile of the Population

As part of the general assessment of the Stone Town, a demographic and household survey was carried out at the end of 1992. The survey focused on households living in a carefully selected 10 percent sample of the Stone Town's residential buildings. The buildings chosen corresponded to the relative percentages of each of the major building types prevailing in the historic area.

A total of 137 dwellings were selected for the survey. These contained 300 household units, of which 270 were inhabited. The
sample population interviewed consisted of 1,641 persons, of which 488 were men, 458 were women and 695 were children under the age of eighteen. These figures represent a 10 percent sample of the Stone Town’s population which, at the time of the survey, was computed by extrapolation to be 15,954 people. Based on this estimate, the average population density in the built-up portion of the Stone Town is 183 people per hectare.

**Origins and religion**

The population of Zanzibar, and of the Stone Town in particular, has traditionally been made up of many different groups from all around the Indian Ocean. Most historical descriptions, as well as the censuses taken during the pre-revolutionary period, emphasize the multi-ethnic character of the Stone Town’s population. Today, demographers consider ethnicity a fragile concept as it is subject to different interpretations and therefore devoid of absolute value. Questions regarding perceived places of origin were nevertheless included in the survey in an effort to obtain information on recent patterns of migration in and out of the Stone Town.

The largest group, approximately 51 percent of the households interviewed, claimed local origin and indicated the islands of Unguja and Pemba or the mainland as their family’s place of origin. Almost 20 percent identified the Oman as their ancestral home, while 18.5 percent said they came from India. Another 8.5 percent said their ancestral home was the Yemen, and a small number indicated the Comoro Islands. Less than 1 percent of those interviewed considered the Stone Town their ancestral home.

The inhabitants of the Stone Town are primarily Muslim. The majority are Sunnis of the Shafi’i school. Fewer belong to the Ibadhi group, a religious movement which originated in the Oman during the middle of the eighth century and was introduced to Zanzibar in the nineteenth century. Muslims originating from Persia and parts of India tend to belong to the different Shi’i sects. In addition to the Muslim population, there are small Hindu and Christian communities. The latter is composed of Catholics and Anglicans, with the former originating mainly from Goa in India.

Despite their varied origins and religious beliefs, however, what should be stressed about the inhabitants of the Stone Town is less the notion of diversity and more the concept of commonality. Most follow the same religion, and all speak the same language, Kiswahili, which is also the language used in school. Moreover, they are engaged in interdependent economic activities and the majority are now by birth citizens of Tanzania. In fact, the most recent census did not even assess ethnic status.

**Household size**

The prevalence of Stone Town residents with local origins reflects the changes that occurred after the 1964 Revolution, which determined a diminution in the number of older, more established families inhabiting the historic area, and their replacement with people from the surrounding rural areas and the other islands of the archipelago.

Historical data concerning household size and structure in fact show a pattern of relatively high mobility and turnover during the 1960s and 1970s, while a more stable picture emerges in the early 1980s. In particular, it may be noted that prior to the Revolution household structure was dominated by large extended families with little multi-family occupancy of the buildings. Following the 1964 Revolution, the number of households in the Stone Town increased, while the average household size decreased as more smaller families took the place of larger extended families. The corresponding decrease in the number of people per room can be

---

**Percentage of population in the Stone Town according to ancestral home**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ancestral Home</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unguja</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemba</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainland Tanzania</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoro Islands</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zanzibar Stone Town</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Household size and structure (1958-1992)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Total no. of households</th>
<th>Average size of households</th>
<th>Average no. of persons per room</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>17,800</td>
<td>2,957</td>
<td>6.02</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>16,604</td>
<td>3,237</td>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>15,493</td>
<td>3,346</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>15,854</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>5.60</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>15,594</td>
<td>2,708</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employment picture among women living in the Stone Town is not dissimilar. According to the survey of households, nearly one third work. More than half of these, 16.8 percent of the women in the Stone Town, are involved in self-employed income-generating activities. The prevailing enterprises are dressmaking, followed by activities related to food and retailing. Among women working in salaried jobs, the largest number are working in offices, both public and private, while the rest are involved in health or education, or service activities.

Natural rate of growth in the Stone Town

Crude birth and death rates specifically for the Stone Town are difficult to ascertain as the data from past censuses were not published in a disaggregated form, and births and deaths recorded at the hospital often refer to people who live outside the Stone Town. It was possible, however, to calculate birth and fertility rates from the present survey, while information on mortality was extrapolated from data provided by the Office of the Registrar General.

Prior to the 1964 Revolution, the birth rate in the Stone Town was lower than in the rest of the town, approximately forty-five for every 1,000 inhabitants. Mortality rates had also decreased to about twenty per 1,000 due primarily to improved public...
health and sanitation. Recent data indicate that birth rates today are lower still, about twenty-five per 1,000, while crude death rates have also decreased, albeit more slowly, to sixteen per 1,000. These figures, taken as a whole, indicate a slow rate of natural increase for the population of the Stone Town over the last fifteen years. The natural rate of growth today is an estimated 0.9 percent, less than half the rate for the rest of the town (2.3 percent). There can therefore be no doubt that there is a definite and consistent trend toward lower rates of natural increase in the historic area.

To understand why, one must consider a complex set of circumstances. To begin with, marriage patterns have changed considerably during recent decades. As this survey shows, girls remain in school longer and tend to be better educated. As a result, the average age for girls to marry has risen over the last twenty years from 17.3 to 21.2 years of age. This delay has determined a dramatic and rapid decline in fertility rates for the fifteen to nineteen year old age group, which in the last decade alone has gone down by half.

Furthermore, the findings indicate that at the time of the survey, approximately one third of all women who had married were either separated, divorced or widowed. Of these, three quarters were in the fertile age group (fifteen to forty-nine years). The relative frequency of separation and divorce is probably the result of a regional trend toward serial monogamy, where men tend to marry and divorce in turn rather than support several households simultaneously. The loss of one quarter of the women in the fertile age group would suggest a significant depressive factor on overall fertility rates.

Finally, fertility rates are depressed as a result of the very structure of the female population in the Stone Town. The influx of people into the Stone Town, which occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, was comprised of young families. These people have now aged, and the women in large part have passed out of the fertile age group. Contrary to what might be expected, however, their daughters have not replaced them, as marriage seems to determine a pattern of migration out of the Stone Town. The survey confirms this pattern: 62 percent of all females resident in the Stone Town are either under age fifteen (47 percent) or above age forty-nine (15 percent), creating an age structure that is consistent with the lower fertility rates observed in the Stone Town.

In conclusion, the later age at which women marry, the relatively high proportion of women not currently married, the wider use of family planning in urban areas in the region, and the disproportionately low number of fertile women residing in the Stone Town — the last due to the tendency of young adults to migrate out of the historic area — all contribute to a reduced rate of fertility. These factors explain why the 0.9 percent rate of natural increase in the Stone Town is considerably lower than that found in the rest of Zanzibar where the growth rate is 2.3 percent.

**In-migration and out-migration**

The Stone Town's 0.9 percent rate of natural growth is still higher than the rate at which the population is actually increasing. In examining the growth rates for the historic area since 1978, it can be observed that the population has actually increased by only 0.2 percent per annum, not even one quarter the rate of natural increase. The only explanation is that all the people born in the historic area are not staying there, and that out-migration is higher than the rate of natural increase plus any in-migration which may occur.

When questioned about the length of residence in their present neighbourhood, 45 percent of the households answered that they had been in residence for more than ten years, while 55 percent indicated a lesser period of residence. One quarter of the households interviewed had in fact arrived during the previous five years, many from Pemba and the mainland, but most from the outskirts of Zanzibar Town. This figure suggests an ongoing pattern of migration into the Stone Town.

This in-migration, however, is more than offset by the number of people leaving the Stone Town. As already noted, the number of people living in the historic area has remained more or less stable for the past twenty years, a fact that, given the young age of Zanzibar's population, can only be explained through out-migration. This, as mentioned above, is also confirmed by the unexpected dearth of women of childbearing age.

People leave the Stone Town for several reasons. Young educated men find job opportunities elsewhere, and many others leave to work on the mainland or abroad. In addition, young married couples move away from the Stone Town in search of better housing opportunities along the outskirts of the urban area. The young perceive this move as an opportunity to establish a more independent life, away from the crowded conditions that prevail in
A group of children in the historic area. Forty-two percent of the Stone Town's population is under the age of eighteen.
many parts of the old town. Such a move also offers better prospects for home ownership, which, unlike in the Stone Town, can be achieved at relatively low cost over time.

When the estimated 1 percent in-migration is added to the 0.9 percent natural rate of increase, the total rate of population growth is 1.9 percent. As the actual rate of growth is only 0.2 percent, out-migration must be in the order of 1.7 percent. It should be noted, however, that although helpful in quantifying migration patterns, these statistics must be treated with caution, as they are estimates based on small numbers where a margin of error is to be expected.

**Population projections and future trends**

The population projections for greater Zanzibar and the Stone Town, obtained by projecting current rates of growth, are shown in the adjacent graph. In the case of the Stone Town, a slightly higher rate of growth than the current one (0.5 percent versus 0.2 percent) has been assumed after the year 1998. Based on these calculations, greater Zanzibar will double its population by the year 2018 and reach 413,500 people. Population growth in the Stone Town, on the contrary, will increase moderately and reach 18,000 people by the same date.

Any significant increase in population for the Stone Town is in fact unlikely in the foreseeable future. Most of the forces at work point towards negative growth or, at best, a very limited increase. Lower infant mortality rates, increased family planning, as well as rising costs of living and housing, are all incentives to producing fewer children and maintaining smaller family units. Lower fertility rates in urban areas is a familiar trend in Western countries, and it is beginning to manifest itself throughout eastern and southern Africa. There is evidence that even in greater Zanzibar crude birth rates have begun to decline. In addition to these general trends, the pattern of out-migration from the Stone Town is likely to remain, with the result that prospects for growth in the historic area will continue to be depressed.

Limited growth in the Stone Town is not in and of itself a negative factor, as congestion, environmental degradation and overcrowding can be contained, and a more appropriate and balanced use of the resources and building stock promoted. The greatest threat to the Stone Town, however, is not represented by its own internal dynamics, but by external factors. It is in fact the rapid population growth outside the historic area that will put more and more pressure on the Stone Town and its buildings, as well as its already stretched educational, health, administrative and commercial facilities and services. These external factors and their importance vis-à-vis planning decisions in the historic area will be discussed at greater length in the following chapter.

**Land Use Patterns**

The Stone Town has always been, and remains today, the institutional, civic and commercial centre not just of the city of Zanzibar but of the entire island and archipelago. The variety of residential, commercial, educational, religious and public functions and activities creates a rich and diverse pattern of land and building uses, which gives the Stone Town an unmistakable urban quality.

Within this lively mix, different uses tend to predominate in different parts of the town. These uses are reflected in the various types of buildings that were built over time. Thus, mixed retail and residential activities still
prevail in the house-and-shop buildings built along the old bazaar streets that traverse the Stone Town, while the large old houses along the Forodhani seafront and in Vuga, originally built as residential palaces or public buildings, are occupied by government and other institutional functions.

The recent policy of economic liberalization has had a significant impact on the use of land and buildings. Since 1982, commercial land use in the Stone Town has increased almost 160 percent, from 43,846 square metres to 113,958 square metres, while residential use has decreased, though only by a modest 4,236 square metres (from 190,023 to 185,787). Public and religious uses have remained virtually unchanged, while educational uses have declined somewhat, due to the closing down of a number of schools. A comparison of the totals for the Stone Town's built-up areas during the past decade shows that the net amount of usable space in the town has increased roughly 25 percent, from 305,401 to 383,414 square metres.

The survey assessed all the different land and building uses within the Stone Town. These fall into six broad categories: residential use (including private gardens); mixed use (buildings used as residences as well as for commercial activities); commercial use (comprising retail, light manufacturing, warehousing and services); public and government use; educational and religious facilities; and public open space.

### Land use in square metres: 1982 & 1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land use</th>
<th>1982 (m²)</th>
<th>1992 (m²)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>190,023</td>
<td>185,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>43,846</td>
<td>113,958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>35,582</td>
<td>35,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>15,580</td>
<td>15,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10,307</td>
<td>9,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under construction</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>12,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>10,063</td>
<td>10,192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While residential and public land use have remained largely unchanged over the ten-year period 1982 - 1992, commercial land use has increased dramatically.

Residential and mixed use. Today, nearly 60 percent of the built-up area of the Stone Town is residential, or mixed residential and commercial. Approximately 35 percent of these buildings are used exclusively as dwellings. Kajificheni, Kiponda and Malindi South have the highest building densities. Vuga South, by contrast, is the least built-up area with less than 1 percent of the Stone Town's residential buildings and population. The density of residential areas has increased in the past few years as...
private gardens and open areas, once interspersed among residential buildings and within the town blocks, have been built upon as a consequence of the mounting pressure for land and development throughout Zanzibar.

**Commercial.** Commerce is thriving in the Stone Town. Approximately 30 percent of the land is used for commercial purposes. The survey found nearly 600 shops and businesses in operation, including many combined retail and small-scale manufacturing enterprises such as tailoring, shoe-making and furniture. These are mainly small, privately owned businesses. More than 50 percent of the retail activities are found in Mkuquizi and Kiponda, around the Central Market and Creek Road and along the bustling bazaar streets, which provide a sharp contrast to the vacant shops reported in the 1983 UNCHS study. In addition, there are the many neighbourhood shops, or madikas, scattered throughout the Stone Town.

There has also been dramatic growth in the service sector, with many more banks, travel agents, printers and, most strikingly, hotels, guesthouses and restaurants catering to the growing tourist industry. In early 1995, there were fourteen hotels in the Stone Town and its immediate environs, as well as thirteen private guesthouses with several more proposed. These figures are high when compared to the combined total of eight hotels and guesthouses in 1983. Most of the present-day tourist facilities, however, are substandard and have fairly low occupancy rates, particularly the smaller guesthouses and the government-owned hotels.

Warehouses make up around 10 percent of commercial land use. This category includes both purpose-built godowns as well as storerooms at the backs of shops. Many of the larger warehouses are located in Malindi North and Malindi South, and are used for storing import and export goods, reflecting the significance of the port to the local economy.

**Public.** This land use category accounts for 8.4 percent of the total built-up area and reflects the importance of the Stone Town as the seat of the central and municipal governments and their institutions. The majority of the public buildings are concentrated along the seafront, in Shangani and in Vuga South, where over half of all government structures are located. Government offices occupy some of Zanzibar's finest buildings, a use which is generally appropriate to the character of these old buildings and helps ensure their continued maintenance.

**Educational.** The Stone Town contains six primary and five secondary government schools, with a total enrollment of about 12,000 schoolchildren. In addition, there are four kindergartens, two educational institutes and eight Qur'anic schools attached to mosques. Because of the scarcity of educational facilities outside the centre, the eleven government schools cater for a much wider area. Only slightly more than half of the children enrolled in these schools live in the centre. The rest, representing approximately 5,500 schoolchildren, commute every day into the Stone Town, putting additional pressure on the ageing school buildings and aggravating traffic problems in the central area.

**Religious.** Scattered throughout the Stone Town there are fifty-one mosques. Most are
small neighbourhood mosques, though a few of these are used by larger congregations on Fridays and during important festivities. The Sunni and Ibadi mosques may include an additional structure to house a madrasa (Qur'anic school), while the mosques belonging to the Bohra, Ismaili and Ithnasheri communities contain various communal facilities and educational spaces in addition to the prayer hall.

The small Hindu community has six temples. Two of these were built as temples, while the other four have been adapted inside mixed use structures. The Christian community has two churches, the Roman Catholic St. Joseph's cathedral in Sokomuhogo and the Anglican Christ Church cathedral in Mkunazini. Both of these structures are surrounded by ancillary structures housing offices, educational facilities and community spaces. A small convent is attached to St. Joseph's cathedral.

Open space. The Stone Town contains few open spaces within its densely built-up interior, and these few are beset by problems, including inadequate drainage, poor paving and lighting, and a general lack of planting. In some cases, where buildings have collapsed, the resulting open sites are covered with debris and have progressively become unsightly informal rubbish tips. In addition, there are several cemeteries and numerous small, old burial grounds throughout the historic area which create small gardens and open enclosures adjacent to mosques or within family yards. Over forty of these can still be identified out of the many more that have gradually been built upon.

In spite of the lack of open areas within its core, the Stone Town is surrounded, from the seafront south to Vuga and all along Creek Road, by a “green belt” of open grounds and public gardens. The distribution of these open spaces among the town’s wards is very uneven. Forodhani, with the Jubilee Gardens, now often called Forodhani Park, contains 36 percent, and Vuga South, with the Tenga and Victoria Gardens, contains as much as 45 percent of the open space in the old town. Outside the Stone Town, but closely linked to it, are the Mnazi Mmoja sports grounds, Jamhuri Gardens, and the Mbuyuni Esplanade which line the eastern side of Creek Road. At the northern tip of the town, opposite Malindi, is the large Funguni basin. Together, these areas provide much needed social and recreational open space in an otherwise very compact and densely built-up urban area.
Ownership and Occupancy Trends

In 1982, the public and the private sector each owned approximately one third of all properties in the Stone Town, while religious ownership accounted for 27 percent. With the progressive liberalization of the economy and increased privatization during the 1980s, the pattern of building ownership in the Stone Town began to change. The number of buildings in private hands today is twice the number held by the public sector. The comparative bar graph below summarizes the changes which occurred between 1982 and 1992 in each of the ownership categories.

The transfer of publicly owned properties to the private sector started in 1985 when the government embarked upon a programme of property privatization. Houses and other properties were sold to private owners on the assumption that the new owners would have the means and be better able to improve the old buildings than the public sector, which lacked both the organizational and the financial resources to rehabilitate them. To date, more than 300 buildings have been sold by the government to the private sector. The privatization programme was officially suspended in 1989, having obtained poor results and drawn heavy criticism. Government houses, occupied and in poor condition, had been sold at prices considerably below their real worth, sometimes by as much as 80 percent. Once freed of tenants, the properties were then resold at market prices. Unwittingly, the programme encouraged speculation, and it was the speculators rather than the government who realized the capital gain. Subsequently, the buildings were altered, often radically, and converted from residential to other uses.

The problems encountered in implementing the privatization programme showed that while increased private ownership can generate resources and offer new opportunities for rehabilitation, such a programme must also be carefully formulated and monitored in order to avoid speculative practices, tension between new owners and sitting tenants, and unwanted transformations or, worse, outright replacement of the historic fabric.

Private ownership. Today nearly half of the property in the Stone Town, mostly residential and commercial, is privately owned, compared to 34 percent in 1982. The considerable volume of building activity presently going on in the Stone Town is largely taking place in the private sector. At the time of the 1992 survey, 87 percent of the buildings under construction and 63 percent of the buildings undergoing renovation were in fact privately owned.

Public ownership. Much of the property currently in public ownership was transferred to the government after the Revolution of 1964. Thus, besides public facilities, government buildings and public open spaces, government-owned buildings include residential structures and commercial spaces that were part of the private sector prior to the Revolution. As a result of the more recent privatization programme, however, the amount of public property has gone down to 24 percent. Although less than the 33 percent in public ownership in 1982, this percentage still represents a very sizeable portion of property in the Stone Town, and the government remains the preeminent landlord in the historic area.
Religious ownership. Approximately 20 percent of all properties in the Stone Town are under religious or *waqf* ownership. *Waqf* is an Islamic practice whereby an owner surrenders his rights to a property and turns over the income from it to a specified charity. A permanent endowment is thus created to benefit a mosque or school, or occasionally a family. Property owned by religious groups in the Stone Town includes residential and commercial buildings, in addition to mosques, temples, churches and their associated facilities. Many families fleeing the 1964 Revolution surrendered their buildings to the *waqf*. After the revolution, the new government established the Waqf and Trust Commission and all *waqf* properties were placed under its jurisdiction. The percentage of buildings in religious ownership has declined from 27 percent in 1982 to 19.5 percent in 1992.

**Occupancy**

The survey found that almost 90 percent of all buildings in the Stone Town are occupied. The remainder are either vacant, in ruins or under construction, and therefore not inhabited. Building densities in the Stone Town vary with the type of building. The average number of people living in the Indian shopfront buildings, for example, is 12.7. Typically, two households with an average of six persons each will occupy a shopfront building. In addition, young single men will often occupy the ground floors, either the shops themselves or the back storage areas. The numbers are somewhat higher for Arab residences, with an average of 13.3 persons, and slightly lower for the Indian residences, with an average of 12.3 persons per building. European residences average 8.7 occupants, while the smaller Swahili houses and contemporary buildings are occupied by an average of 6.6 persons. The *musafarkhanas* are an atypical category. An average of sixty-four people occupy these large tenement buildings, with the average number of related household members in these crowded buildings decreasing to 4.3.

The differences in the level of occupancy in relation to the different building types also has an effect on overall population densities in different parts of the Stone Town, where particular building types may be more diffused than others. For instance, in Malindi North, where there are many Swahili houses, population density is 127 persons per hectare, while in Kiponda, where the Indian shopfront building is the prevailing type, densities are much higher, with 480 persons per hectare.

In evaluating the data on how households occupy buildings, it was noted that the average number of people sharing a room had decreased from 2.3 in 1958 to 1.1, while the number of unrelated households sharing the same roof had gone up. This should not be taken as an indication that the density of occupant in the Stone Town has gone down, but only that households are on average smaller — no longer the large, single extended families of pre-revolutionary times — and buildings have been subdivided into smaller units to provide the new unrelated occupants with the privacy they need.

**Tenure**

Tenure, the way in which property is owned and occupied, also has a bearing on building density. Public and *waqf* housing tends to be more crowded. This ranges from single-family buildings occupied by several unrelated families to the large *musafarkhanas* which are stretched to capacity. In contrast, private owner-occupied buildings are generally occupied by half the number of households, but the size of the individual households tends to be larger. There is thus a relationship between the type of tenure and the number of households per building, as well as the average size of households and the number of persons per room.

The 1992 household survey found that 76 percent of Stone Town households rent
their accommodation, while 24 percent own and occupy their homes. Of the 76 percent who rent, the survey showed that 31 percent rent their apartments from the government, 35 percent rent from the Waqf and Trust Commission and 34 percent rent from private landlords. An average of 2.5 households occupy government-owned and an even higher average of 2.9 households were found in buildings owned by the Waqf and Trust Commission. In both cases the number of households occupying a given building is relatively higher than in buildings in private ownership. An average of 1.7 households occupy privately let buildings, and an average of 1.4 households occupy privately owned and occupied buildings.

Rents charged range from 100 to 700 Tanzania Shillings for government apartments (average 360 Tshs.), 100 to 2,500 Tshillings for Waqf and Trust Commission properties (average 830 Tshs.), and anywhere from 100 to 10,000 Shillings for private sector rentals (the average private monthly rent is 2,400 Tshs., roughly the equivalent of $5 in 1993). Although not unusual in Tanzania, even the rents at the higher end of this scale are low compared to other urban centres in Eastern Africa. More importantly, these rent levels are simply not enough to cover the cost of keeping up the buildings, much less repairing them.

| Type of tenure with average number and size of households and number of persons per room |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|                                 | Average no. of households | Average size of households | Average no. of persons per room |
| Owner occupied                  | 1.4                          | 7.7                           | 0.95                           |
| Private rental                  | 1.7                          | 4.9                           | 0.94                           |
| Government rental               | 2.5                          | 6.8                           | 1.14                           |
| Religious rental                | 2.9                          | 4.8                           | 1.24                           |

It is therefore not surprising that 80 percent of the tenants interviewed during the household survey had to undertake repair work on their own, particularly to replace rotten ceiling joists which are Zanzibar's most frequent and recurrent maintenance problem. This shows that tenants, when necessary, are capable of making essential repairs in their dwellings.

However, when asked whether they would be willing to invest in further repairs, which most agreed were needed, only 45 percent of the rental households interviewed were in fact willing to do so. When this group is broken down according to type of tenants, 38 percent rent from the government, 37 percent are waqf tenants and 24 percent rent from private landlords.

The data suggest a difference in attitude towards maintenance work among government and waqf tenants, on the one hand, and people renting from private landlords on the other hand. In the case of private rental tenants, there seems to be a greater assumption of landlord responsibility, while government and religious tenants appeared more willing to take responsibility for maintenance work.

Of the respondents not willing to take action, about half said it was for lack of funds. Another reason cited is that tenants do not feel sure of their tenure, whether in fact they will be allowed to remain in the units they occupy.

Doubts persist about security of tenure, both on the part of tenants and owners. Little more than half of those who own and occupy their dwellings said they were willing to invest in further repairs and maintenance. Even though no building has been transferred to the public domain since 1985, owners still seem to hesitate at investing in their properties. Owners need to be reassured of their hold on their properties and feel confident — through clear titles and ownership transfer procedures — that the money and effort they put into their buildings will constitute a safe, long-term investment.

Tenants need to be reassured as well. Although formal rental agreements and specified periods of occupancy are more prevalent than ten years ago, such arrangements are by no means universal and renters continue to be very cautious about taking more responsibility for the buildings they occupy. In addition to improving the agreements between tenants and owners — whether government, waqf or private landlord — rents must be raised to levels that can realistically cover the cost of basic maintenance and repairs. Until these issues are resolved, the Stone Town buildings will continue to decline.
The Architectural Heritage Quantified

A total of 1,709 buildings have been identified in the Stone Town. Of these, 1,453 are traditional structures which have been classified on the map opposite according to their origin, taking into account similarities in use, structure, materials and decoration, as described in Chapter One. The largest class of traditional structures is the shopfront building derived from Indian precedents. These make up 32 percent of the total building stock. A further 25 percent of the buildings are derived from Arab models.

Two other categories of buildings have been identified: the European-influenced structures built during the British colonial period and the Swahili houses. The latter are similar in plan to the traditional structures of this type, but made of cinder blocks and covered with a *mahali* roof rather than the mud and wattle and *makuti* still found in the expansion areas.

In addition, the map identifies two other categories. The first, "traditional unknown," eighty-seven structures or 5 percent, applies to buildings where the construction technique used is traditional, but the building's origins and original use could not be ascertained. The other, "contemporary," comprising 256 structures or 15 percent of the building stock, covers buildings built during the second half of the twentieth century, particularly since the 1980s, which, for the most part, do not conform to the traditional urban fabric of the Stone Town. These structures plainly stand out by virtue of their size: usually no less than three to four stories high, they appear out of proportion while the use of reinforced concrete and cantilevered balconies further underline their dissonance with the surrounding historic urban context. The table below complements the map with a list of traditional residential, religious and civic buildings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of traditional buildings</th>
<th>No. of structures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian shopfront buildings</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab-influenced structures</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian-influenced houses</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili houses</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European-influenced residences</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European civic structures</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunni and Ibadi mosques</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musafirkhanas</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shī'ī mosques and related facilities</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu temples</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian churches</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Significant buildings and streetscape elements

Although it is the overall urban fabric that gives the Stone Town its character, there are many individual buildings of architectural merit and historical significance as well as hundreds of elements such as doors, balconies and decorative details which are distinctive features in and of themselves. The map on the facing page identifies these buildings and features, as well as streetscape elements such as groups of facades, vistas, tombs and trees which make a significant contribution to Zanzibar's townscape.

Monuments. These buildings and structures are considered landmarks due to their unique or outstanding architectural qualities, as well as their historical and cultural value. Twenty-four such buildings have been identified and their demolition or alteration would constitute an irreplaceable loss. Twenty-one of these were listed in the 1983 UNCHS report and as yet remain to be gazetted.

Significant buildings. A total of 587 significant buildings have been selected from the 1,453 traditional structures. These are architecturally or historically significant and make an essential contribution to the character of the Stone Town. In singling out these buildings, their construction, use of materials, architectural details as well as cultural significance have all been considered.

Significant streetscapes and facades. These have been noted where a street or a group of building frontages, taken as a whole, contribute to the character of the town. These streets and ensembles are noted not for any
The carved doors are one of the Stone Town's outstanding architectural features. Below, a full view and detail of an earlier door type, used for the Omani houses of the mid-nineteenth century. These massive doors had plain panels topped by a rectangular lintel carved with pronounced floral and geometric patterns. The detail shows a centre-post with the popular lotus motif.

Below, one of the many teak Gujarati doors brought by traders from Kutch. Its four folding coffered panels, rectangular lintel and delicately carved frame are distinguishing characteristics of this type. The drawing shows a detail of the moulded door frame which surrounds the coffered panels and is topped by a lintel carved in a foliated pattern.

The lighter curvilinear foliated patterns and arched top of the door above reflect the Indian influence which prevailed in the development of later Zanzibar doors, and remains the most popular today. The centre-post detail shows a spiked boss made of brass.
specific architectural feature, but rather because together the individual facades have retained the best of the Stone Town's traditional appearance, scale and proportions.

Architectural features. Although there are many hundreds of different architectural elements, only those considered architecturally and historically significant, as well as viable for conservation, have been noted. Such features include carved doors, of which 277 notable examples were identified, 127 balconies, verandas and teahouses as well as hundreds of samples of decorative plasterwork, tilework and vergeboards.

Streetscape elements. These are distinct from buildings, yet form an intrinsic part of the urban fabric. Streetscape elements include old tombs, fountains, trees and vistas, the most significant of which have been marked on the map.

Open spaces and graveyards. The parks, gardens, lesser green areas and graveyards identified on the map are precious assets within the densely knit fabric of the Stone Town. Moreover, the graveyards provide an important religious and historical record of the different communities, families and personalities that have inhabited the Stone Town.

Balconies are a notable feature in the Stone Town (clockwise from top left): elaborate tracery and balustrade entwine a balcony added to the top storey of a house; decorative vergeboards and screens of a covered balcony; detail of a bracket; detail of a balcony post and railing of the Old Dispensary; elevation of an elaborate multi-storied balcony in Kiponda.
Closer inspection of Zanzibar’s facades reveals a series of unexpected decorative features (clockwise from top left): detail of a painted frieze on a house in Kiponda; different vergeboard patterns; wrought ironwork detail; and moulded plaster string courses and ventilation oculi on the facade of another house in Kiponda.
Buildings at Risk

The lack of maintenance and outright neglect of the Stone Town buildings is the principal cause of their widespread decay. The generally poor condition of the buildings is exacerbated by the island's difficult climate, and by problems inherent in the building materials and technology employed for centuries along the East African coast. In recent years, the use of inappropriate new materials and techniques in a belated effort to repair the buildings has caused further damage to their historical and structural integrity. The drawing above shows the sections of buildings most susceptible to deterioration and decay.

Traditional masonry is made of coral rag bonded in lime mortar and finished, both internally and externally, with lime stucco. Zanzibar's damp tropical climate poses a constant threat. Water penetrating the walls via failing roofs, broken gutters and downspouts, and cracked or missing exterior plaster, loosens the mortar binding the stones and causes the masonry to break away. Recent repairs with Portland cement render and other improper mixes hasten rather than hinder the process, as they are incompatible with the traditional and more supple lime mortar underneath. All too quickly, the new cement patches begin to detach from the coral rag. Eventually they break away, leaving the masonry core once again exposed and prone to decay.
The floors and flat roofs of the old buildings are made of closely laid joists supporting a thick masonry slab made of a coarse aggregate of coral and mortar. The most widely employed structural timber is mangrove, a tropical plant of the genus *Rhizophora*, known locally as *boriti*, which grows in the swampy creeks along the East African coast and its archipelagos. In some cases, particularly in palaces and important buildings, joists were square beams made of dressed hardwood imported from the mainland. All of the structural timbers, embedded at both ends directly in the masonry, are especially susceptible to damp and water infiltration. As water seeps through the masonry and creates wet conditions, particularly near the joists’ bearing ends, the timber becomes subject to wet rot and insect attack. In time, the resulting softened joists lose their capacity to bear loads and begin to separate from the masonry. Eventually, the walls lose their lateral stability and collapse.

Zanzibar’s decorative timberwork is also very susceptible to wet rot and insect attack. In many instances, valuable carvings have been lost, particularly where wooden fittings have been in protracted contact with water. The timber used for Zanzibar’s famous carved doors, as well as for the balconies, frames of openings and other decorative elements, is hardwood brought from the mainland or occasionally from India. Originally and throughout the nineteenth century, imported teak, ebony (*Diospyros ebenum*) and pod mahogany (*Afzelia quanzensis*) were used for the carved doors. In recent times, more readily available types of woods have been used.

The decorative plasterwork introduced in Zanzibar by Indian craftsmen during the late nineteenth century is also highly susceptible...
Cracked and falling plaster and leaking pipes encourage water penetration and eventually lead to serious structural problems.

Decayed timber along the lower section of a carved door.

Missing and decayed timber on a wooden balcony overlooking the interior courtyard of a multi-family building.

to damage as a result of water infiltration. Lime and soil plaster impregnated with water will progressively turn to powder and then literally blow away with the wind. The use of poor primary materials and the original practice of attaching plasterwork to the structures of buildings with iron pins and nails are further causes of stucco failures. As water infiltrates, the nails rust and expand, and the plasterwork cracks and eventually falls away.

Metal is also a common element in Zanzibar’s old buildings. It was introduced during the latter part of the nineteenth century as European architectural trends and construction systems began to spread. Metal elements include steel beams and the ubiquitous corrugated iron, known locally as *mabati*, used to cover the flat stone roofs, as well as cast iron columns, brackets, balustrades and other precast decorative elements. These elements are subject, first and foremost, to rust which is particularly insidious in Zanzibar where the high relative humidity and salty air act as powerful corrosive agents. The oxidation process is rapid, particularly when protective coatings of paint have not been maintained or broken elements repaired.
Survey criteria and results

The survey included an assessment of the condition of all buildings in the Stone Town. Wall, floor and roof structures as well as individual exterior building components, including door and window frames, lintels, door leaves, window shutters, screens and balconies, were appraised according to a weighted point system which corresponded to the relative importance of the various building elements. Inside the buildings, elements such as floor finishes, ceiling beams, walls, plasterwork and staircases were assessed. Based on the results of these investigations, buildings were grouped according to the four categories described below.

- **Good.** These buildings appear structurally sound and show evidence of regular maintenance.

- **Deteriorating.** These buildings do not have serious structural defects, but do show unmistakable signs of deterioration and no evidence of recent repairs. Missing exterior plaster, exposed stonework and loosened mortar, damaged roof surfaces as well as timber fittings in poor condition indicate a need for prompt repair and general maintenance work.

- **Poor.** These buildings and their individual architectural elements are in advanced states of deterioration and may have serious structural problems such as structural cracks or water-infiltrated wall and roof structures. These buildings are in need of urgent intervention. In some cases, complete sections may have to be rebuilt.

- **In ruins.** These buildings have either partially or totally collapsed.

The results of the survey show that the bulk of the Stone Town’s building stock — some 85 percent of the structures — is either in deteriorating or poor condition. More particularly, 62.5 percent are deteriorating and 22 percent are already in poor condition. In addition, eighty-five buildings collapsed between 1982 and 1992, while a further fifteen structures are today partially in ruins. Only 226, or 13.2 percent of the 1,709 buildings in the Stone Town, are considered in good condition.

These figures, when broken down according to location and type of ownership, indicate the wards of Mkunazini and Shangani as those with the highest percentage of buildings in deteriorating and poor condition, while Vuga South has the highest percentage of buildings in good condition. Further, buildings in the worst condition tend to be residential and commercial properties owned either by the government or the Waql and Trust Commission, whose rents are so low they cannot even begin to cover the cost of basic maintenance. Ninety percent of these buildings are in deteriorating or poor condition. The figures are somewhat better for privately owned buildings, particularly
commercial properties, where income-generating activities provide an incentive and the means for maintaining the buildings.

The results of the 1992 survey were compared with the findings of the building condition survey carried out by UNCHS in 1982. The differing results of the two surveys reflect changes that have taken place in the overall condition of the building stock over the past ten years. Several landmark buildings as well as lesser known but important structures have been rehabilitated during this period, including the buildings which were sold by the government to private owners. In addition, some of the buildings in ruins or in very poor condition in 1982 were substituted altogether with new constructions and rated in good condition in the 1992 survey. These developments explain the increase in buildings in good condition and the corresponding decrease in buildings in ruined or poor condition from 1982 to 1992. However, the geographical and numerical range in the percentages of buildings in deteriorating condition — accounting for the vast majority of Stone Town buildings in both surveys — proved fairly constant across the entire Stone Town, both in 1982 and 1992.

Thus, while the survey figures suggest some improvement in the condition of buildings since 1982, the spate of construction in the early 1990s has had only a very limited impact on the continued preservation of the majority of the old buildings. Moreover, where interventions have taken place, the effect on the traditional structures has not necessarily been positive. Too often, alterations have been radical or, worse, the traditional fabric has been replaced altogether.

Urgent action is now required to initiate repairs and tackle the underlying causes of building decay. The longer such intervention is delayed, the greater will be the cost, not only financial, but social and cultural as well. The end result of protracted neglect is a city with increasingly substandard and unsafe housing, and an architectural and cultural heritage that is more and more at risk of being lost forever.

Patterns of Change

While poverty and neglect will hasten the deterioration of historic buildings, wealth and unregulated new development can be equally detrimental. With increasing development activity in Zanzibar, new structures are being built and historic buildings altered or renovated in ways that are incompatible with their surrounding context and original building materials. To a great extent, this may be attributed to changes in contemporary lifestyles which alter people's expectations and standards of living, and result in the indiscriminate adoption of imported building models. Too often, the old buildings are perceived as a hindrance to progress, and the historic fabric is thus slowly but irreversibly transformed.
Much of the ongoing building activity in the Stone Town is carried on outside any formal building approval process. Ignorance of the planning application process is widespread, and, even when owners and contractors are aware of building regulations, these are often ignored or circumvented. At the same time, the existing building regulations, which were originally formulated for new development, are inadequate and difficult to apply in the context of the old town, while the staff needed to review applications and monitor construction is poorly organized and insufficient. The situation is aggravated by the gradual disappearance of traditional artisans who have left or died, or have had to adapt to the demand for the quicker and newer techniques of contemporary construction. As a result, the traditional building systems best suited to the Zanzibar context have been progressively abandoned or lost, while the specialized manpower needed to repair and maintain the old buildings has become increasingly scarce.

**Recent trends**

Approximately eighty-five buildings have been newly constructed or radically altered since the 1982 survey. This figure represents 5 percent of the Stone Town building stock. The majority of these buildings are privately owned and, in general, are used for commercial purposes. Almost one quarter may in fact be found in the commercial area of Mkunazini, while the largely residential areas of Forodhani, Shangani and Kiponda have fewer new or altered buildings.

While the present survey was under way during 1992, a further sixty-nine buildings were under construction, almost as many as had been built during the previous decade. The past ten years have also seen thirty-one unauthorized new constructions encroach upon public spaces, open plots and even graveyards. In addition to new construction, some 485 structures, representing one third of the town's traditional buildings, have been altered with additional storeys, exterior modifications and inappropriate finishes.

This sudden increase in construction is a matter of considerable concern. If allowed to continue unchecked, there can be no doubt that eventually it will indeed change the very character of the town. But improvements and new development are not in and of themselves a negative phenomenon. The problem, rather, lies in how and where it takes place.

**Common types of alterations**

*New and radically altered buildings.* New developments in the Stone Town are generally built on top of ruins or on one of the few remaining pockets of undeveloped open land. In some cases, while repairing an existing building in poor condition, ill-considered and incompetent interventions bring about the unnecessary, and possibly not altogether unintentional, collapse of the old structure which is then replaced with a new, and usually much larger building.

New buildings tend to be built as free-standing structures. Even when it is to be part of an existing row, the current regulations require that a new structure be set back and apart from the neighbouring buildings. New constructions often resemble free-standing tenement houses surrounded by narrow passages of dead unusable space. The results are completely out of place in the context of the Stone Town.

Builders of new buildings also tend to use the crudest forms of concrete and blockwork construction. The results are usually taller than the neighbouring traditional buildings, and their massing and
A third-storey, reinforced concrete frame is added without proper attention to the placement of the new columns, creating structural instability.

Inappropriate canopies added over windows.

Proportions and rhythm of fenestration for new addition do not relate to those of the historic building.

Poorly detailed bars placed over ground-floor windows.

New openings cut into exterior wall for air-conditioning units.

Large new two-storey addition covers part of courtyard, eliminating light and air at lower levels. Also, existing walls and foundations are not designed to support the added storeys.

Precast concrete balustrade on top of the addition is out of character.

New partition added without placing new walls on top of existing walls for structural support. Ceiling beams alone cannot support the new load.

Parapet crenellations are bricked up to support a new mahavu roof. A new cantilevered balcony projects from the upper part of the facade.

New partition wall about the middle of a window opening.

Informal lean-to extension at the back encroaches upon a public street.

Figure showing common alterations to Zanzibar's traditional stone buildings.
Examples of inappropriate new structures, additions and alterations (clockwise from top left): a large new structure in Sokomubogo, an unfinished added storey, new canopies added to a traditional building converted into a hotel, and a new cement facade with a base and string courses rendered with painted and ribbon-pointed random coral stones.
proportions are generally out of scale with the surrounding context. Openings tend to be much wider than in traditional buildings, an effect which is emphasized with the installation of horizontal security bars. Popular details for new structures include cantilevered concrete balconies, round arches, precast concrete ventilation blocks and balusters, gabled window awnings and rusticated or pebbled facade finishes. The result is a patchwork of contemporary and pseudo-historic elements which are completely extraneous to the Stone Town.

More and more, these same elements are being used to renovate the historic buildings, with the result that the old buildings become difficult to distinguish from the new developments described above.

Added storeys and extensions. Storeys and extensions are most commonly added to provide residential structures with additional living space, or to enlarge existing commercial premises. It is an incremental process which usually begins with the raising of the existing mahati roof covering and eventually leads to the full enclosure of the original flat rooftop. These additions are strikingly different from the pre-existing structure and their exteriors often remain unfinished. More importantly, rooftop extensions are built with little regard for structural stability, and without first reinforcing the walls and foundations below.

Exterior modifications. The modification and introduction of new windows and doors, and the addition of concrete balconies all contribute to undermining the historical integrity of the old buildings. Often, a single building which has been altered in this way will compromise the appearance and character of the entire street.

Interior transformations. Although not immediately visible and more difficult to quantify, extensive changes have also been effected inside the historic buildings. For example, when the large Arab mansions which had been built to house single, extended families were converted into multiple-family dwellings, they were subdivided and considerably altered to meet the need for privacy among the new unrelated occupants. Partitions were constructed to subdivide the long narrow rooms, while new stairs, mezzanine floors and services were often inserted to accommodate more households within the same limited spaces.

Inappropriate finishes. This is by far the largest category of alterations occurring in the Stone Town today. Exterior wall finishes include cement and pebble dash renders as well as random coral stones that are ribbon-pointed with painted cement. Current building practices often involve removing entire facades of lime plaster in relatively good condition and replacing these with cement plaster, a wholly inappropriate finish for the historic structures due to its inability to breathe and its low expansion rate compared to that of the coral limestone and mortar underneath. These finishes not only detract visually, but will actually accelerate the deterioration of the old buildings.

Public Services and the Urban Environment

For much of the twentieth century, the Stone Town had an efficient and fairly effective infrastructure, including a clean water supply, functioning stormwater drainage and an operational sewerage system for at least part of the historic area. Most of these infrastructure networks are now old and have been poorly maintained. Repairs and improvements are in order throughout the area, and some are required urgently. The supply of electrical power also needs to be upgraded, while the collection and disposal of rubbish is inadequate. Finally, increasing motorized traffic is creating congestion and parking problems along the narrow streets of the Stone Town.

Public utilities

Water is supplied to the town from two springs, located at Bububu and Mtoni, and a number of boreholes. An additional source of water is the underground coral limestone caves at Dimani, about ten miles southeast of the town. The Saatani waterworks is the main distribution centre for Zanzibar Town, with two lesser waterworks at Welezo and Migombani. The existing water supply system consists of two separate pressure zones. The low pressure system covers the network of mains between the Saatani waterworks and the Bububu and Mtoni springs, and between Saatani and the harbour. These cast iron mains were laid between 1920 and 1945 for a total length of 13.5 kilometres. A high pressure network covers the rest of the system for a total length of 145 kilometres, constructed at various stages with cast iron, asbestos cement and PVC pipes. The majority of the mains, approximately 100 kilometres, was realized between 1950 and 1975 with asbestos cement pipes.

The quality of the water supply service has deteriorated steadily since water charges were suspended for domestic users in 1982.
No other reliable means were identified to effectively maintain and renew the equipment and the network of pipes. Basic maintenance items have therefore turned into substantial problems involving major repairs. In addition, problems stemming from inadequate water storage facilities — none of the existing waterworks have sufficient storage to supply water in cases of mechanical or other failure — and below-capacity electrical installations in the pump stations are aggravated by widespread leakage in the network’s pipelines. As a result, there is not sufficient pressure to effectively operate the supply system. The irregular supply of water, in turn, has led to the installation in many buildings of private overhead tanks. The combination of unhygienic water storage practices in people’s homes and seepage of contaminated groundwater into the mains and service mains while water pressure is low have resulted in the pollution of drinking water. This is considered the most serious water-related public health problem in Zanzibar. The entire situation, failing improvement, will be seriously exacerbated with the predicted increase in demand. Water consumption in Zanzibar Town is expected to increase fourfold over the next twenty years, calling for a search for new water supply sources and a safer and more efficient distribution system.

Sewerage. The Stone Town has an old network of sewers that were installed in the early part of this century. This system, made of underground cast iron pipes, connected a limited number of houses within the Stone Town with a series of sewers, each with its own outfall to the sea or, alternatively, into the creek along the eastern edge of the town. Today, most of these sewers are dilapidated and in need of extensive repairs or outright replacement.

At the time of the 1992 survey, approximately 80 percent of the buildings in the Stone Town were served by septic tanks whose outflow, in combination with stormwater, continues to discharge into the old sewers. The rest of the households are served by pit latrines whose condition and viability is also questionable. Sewage from the western part of the Stone Town flows directly into the sea which is not only unsightly, but poses an obvious health risk. Analyses of the sea water around the Stone Town in 1990 showed serious faecal pollution around Funguni and the port, as well as Ras Shangani where many children play and swim. The situation is somewhat better in the eastern part of the town where sewage is discharged into a 1.5-metre concrete sewer running under Creek Road. This pipe was installed in the early 1950s to channel both waterborne waste and stormwater north to the pumping station in Funguni, where it is supposed to be partially treated before being discharged into the sea. This combined system, however, is highly unsatisfactory as the pumping arrangements are no longer operational and there are no flap valves to prevent the flow of sewage from going backwards. Severe rainfall, in particular, brings about the backward flow of sewage causing the flooding of the low-lying areas around the Central Market, with serious public health implications.

Stormwater is discharged through natural drainage lines determined by the topographical structure of the Stone Town. Thus, the downward natural slopes in the southwest and northwest sections of town channel the stormwater directly into the sea, while stormwater from the eastern portion of the town discharges into the large sewer under Creek Road. This area, as its name implies, was a large shallow inlet from the sea which was not completely filled until the second half of this century. Stormwater today is carried above ground along the surface of the streets and eventually channelled into the combined stormwater and sewer drains. The system does not function satisfactorily. Streets flood during heavy rains, with rubbish and overflowed
Existing Infrastructure

- Limit of survey area
- Public toilet
- Stormwater drain/Sewage pipe
- Primary water distribution pipe
- Fire hydrant
- Public water stand pipe
- Water fountain
- Telephone cable
- Electrical substation
- Underground electrical cable
- Informal rubbish dump
- Watershed line
sewage washing through the narrow streets. The principal causes of the flooding are the silting up and blockage of the combined sewers and lack of regular maintenance. The insufficient size of most of the sewers also contributes to the overflow. One of the consequences of unsatisfactory drainage is the formation of stagnant pools of dirty water along streets and open areas, which become ideal breeding grounds for mosquitoes. Malaria accounts for one third of all deaths in Zanzibar and is particularly dangerous for children.

Electricity. An estimated 91 percent of the buildings in the Stone Town are served by electricity. The present system is supplied from mainland Tanzania via a submarine cable installed in 1980, and distributed via an underground high-voltage cable which links the Mtoni station located on the outskirts of the town to six substations in the Stone Town. Electricity is carried to individual house connections via overhead lines attached to building walls. The supply of power suffers from a number of serious shortcomings related both to the supply and distribution of electrical power. While the submarine cable from the mainland is in good condition, the supply of electricity within the Stone Town is presently insufficient and will require the laying of more high-voltage cables and the establishment of other substations. In addition, periodic rationing of the supply of electrical power from the mainland brings about complete interruption of electrical service for Zanzibar, as there are no standby sources of power provided by the State Fuel and Power Corporation. One of the by-products of this situation is the proliferation of private generators throughout the town which are a source of increasing noise and pollution. Individual power connections are also in need of improvement. At present, unsightly and haphazard tangles of wire are strung along the exterior walls of the houses and criss-cross the narrow streets of the Stone Town. Many of the wires are in dangerously poor condition, calling for repairs and the installation of safer connections. Finally, street lighting is sparse and poorly maintained, and extensive areas of the Stone Town are ominously dark, making night-time travel hazardous.

Telephoone service. There were 625 buildings in the Stone Town connected to the telephone system in 1992. A single telephone exchange outside the Stone Town is linked to three underground cables which, in turn, are connected to various distribution points within the town. From these, individual buildings are reached via overhead wires, much in the same haphazard way as the wires carrying electricity.

Services to households

The provision of public utilities in the Stone Town is generally higher than in the rest of the Zanzibar urban area. The results of the household survey indicate that 91 percent of the household units have a direct supply of piped water. However, approximately 47 percent of the households interviewed complained about inadequate pressure, while some 5 percent said that although they are connected to the supply system, they no longer received any water. The 9 percent of households without direct supply said they relied on community stand pipes.

Sixty-four percent of the respondents reported that they possess at least one flush toilet in the household. A further 17 percent share with other households within the same dwelling. A further 18 percent of the households interviewed had no flush toilet.
Ninety-three percent of the households interviewed are connected to the public supply of electricity, although most complained about the periodic black-outs. A few households (1.5 percent) claimed to have a connection, but no supply. The remaining 7 percent of the respondents have no electrical connections and rely upon paraffin or gas lamps. Finally, 34 percent of the households have telephone service.

**Waste disposal and traffic**

*Rubbish collection* is the responsibility of the Municipal Council. The service comprises both street cleaning and refuse collection. Early in the morning teams sweep the main streets of the old town, while handcart collectors gather the refuse left by residents near their houses. Eventually, the waste is taken to the closest refuse tip, Saatani, which lies approximately two kilometres north of the Stone Town. The handcart collectors make several trips to the tip each day, a procedure which is time-consuming and highly inefficient. The Municipal Council also owns three garbage vehicles which collect waste from the market area, Forodhani Park, and the principal hotels and restaurants in the Stone Town.

The rates charged for refuse collection by the Municipal Council are very low and cover only a fraction of the actual cost sustained. As a consequence, the service suffers from insufficient manpower and lack of adequate resources and equipment. The result is piles of rubbish around the Stone Town, which often remain uncollected for protracted periods of time. These are both unsightly and a health hazard. There is also a need for more suitable dumping sites outside the Stone Town as the three tips which are presently in use are insufficient and poorly located. Solid waste at the Saatani dump can be washed out to sea during high tides and the dump is thus considered a health hazard. A second refuse tip at Mikunguni, a discontinued quarry located 2.6 kilometres from the
Stone Town, has the advantage of being relatively close to the Stone Town, but is located in a dense residential area and therefore constitutes a health hazard for the nearby population. The other available dumping area, Mwana Kwerekwe, is considered the safest site at present, but is located approximately six kilometres away from the town centre. It can therefore be reached only by motorized vehicle.

**Roads and traffic.** The Stone Town is surrounded by a triangular loop of vehicular roads, and served within its compact interior by narrow streets accessible to two-wheeled traffic and pedestrians. The Stone Town is well connected by road to the rest of the town and island, via Malawi Road to the north, Michenzani Road near the market area and Kaunda Road to the south. Due to various road widening initiatives in the past, vehicular access is now possible to those sections which lie adjacent to the town’s peripheral loop, including Vuga South, Shangani, Forodhani and Malindi. Vehicular movement around the loop is open to all vehicles, including heavy lorries. Their vibrations damage road surfaces, building foundations and the infrastructure underground. Lorries also cause traffic jams. The flow of traffic tends to be obstructed in particular at the bottleneck along the narrow section of Kenyatta Road, between the National Bank of Tanzania and the roundabout in front of the Law Courts.

The condition of the major vehicular roads is uneven. Creek Road is in fairly good condition, while the pavement along the seafront has gaping holes which have developed as a result of the falling seawall. Mizingani and Malawi roads are poorly maintained and have drainage problems. Sidewalks along the major vehicular roads are rare, which means that pedestrians, bicycles and cars often compete for the use of the same circulation spaces. Most of the Stone Town’s internal thoroughfares were surfaced with concrete paving during the decades prior to the Revolution, though lack of maintenance, regular flooding and repeated excavations to lay or repair underground pipework have taken their toll. In some of the alleysways, paved surfaces are covered by layers of accumulated dirt and debris. Most of the internal streets should be improved to facilitate disposal of stormwater.

The Stone Town developed as a town for pedestrians, and is not properly equipped to handle motorized traffic. Most people continue to travel on foot or by bicycle. The increase in motorized traffic, however, has begun to create problems of congestion, noise and pollution, vibrations and road accidents, which together are having a deleterious impact on the environment of the historic area. From 1991
to 1994 the registration of private two- and four-wheeled vehicles in Zanzibar almost quadrupled, increasing from approximately 3,500 to 13,200 vehicles. In addition, approximately 6,200 vehicles are registered as government transport, bringing the total number of vehicles in circulation to over 19,000. This figure is actually considered low as registration records are not up to date. The household survey revealed that 14 percent of Stone Town households possess an automobile, while another 14 percent own some other form of motorized transport.

As a consequence of the increasing number of cars, parking is becoming an issue as well. As there are no clearly defined rules or spaces earmarked for parking, virtually all available spaces, including open and green areas and sidewalks within the town which are not fenced or protected by bollards, are turned into parking spaces.

### The Legal and Institutional Setting

The difficulties encountered in the past in effecting preservation and controlling development in the Stone Town may, to a great extent, be attributed to the lack of a plan and the absence of an institutional setting with supporting legislation.

Although concern for the rapid pace of deterioration in the historic area goes back to the late 1970s and a subsequent planning study which was completed by UNCHS in 1982, no formal plan for the Stone Town was prepared until the present one, ratified in July of 1994. Until this time, the government planning offices have had to rely on the general planning schemes prepared for the entire city of Zanzibar. The latest was the Chinese Masterplan prepared in 1982 and formally adopted in 1985. Like the previous planning schemes, the Chinese Masterplan was not specifically formulated for the Stone Town. Thus, the specific issues prevailing in the historic area and its particular development and conservation problems had never been addressed independently.

### Existing legislation

Except when they have been expressly repealed, the laws in force before the 1964 Revolution are still applicable in Zanzibar. This includes both statutory law as well as customary and Islamic law which may have a direct bearing on planning, development and land tenure. The laws controlling town planning, building controls, land use, new development and urban services are largely those introduced by the British administration in the 1920s and later updated in the 1950s. In particular, the principal decrees regulating planning and building controls are Chapter 79, “Towns” of 1939 (revised in 1955), and Chapter 85, “Town and Country Planning” of 1955. Specific planning measures are also contained in the Zanzibar Planning Scheme of 1958 and, to a lesser extent, the Chinese Masterplan of 1982.

Chapter 79 includes building regulations and other controls related to new development in urban areas, such as streets, drainage, lighting and water supply. The principal legislation in Chapter 79, however, was repealed in 1986 and replaced with the Local Government Act, which is concerned with the administration of the town as a whole and does not contain detailed building and development regulations. The
legislation in Chapter 85, contrary to Chapter 79, is still in place and gives the Minister — during the colonial period it was the British Resident — the power to declare a town, or part of a town, a planning area, and to appoint a Planning Authority to prepare a "planning scheme" for the area. The Minister then has the power to put into force, with or without modifications, according to his discretion, the planning scheme. The Planning Authority, or a delegated body, is then responsible for enforcing the plan.

In addition to general legislation, specific planning measures, which are legally binding, were foreseen by the different planning schemes adopted over time. The Town and Country Planning Decree of 1955 did in fact provide the legal framework for the preparation of the 1958 Zanzibar Planning Scheme. It covered both the Stone Town and the full extent of the surrounding urban area, and included provisions for the opening of new roads, the definition of zoning categories, as well as norms for building development and siting. Only a part of the scheme's proposals were actually implemented, even though, at least formally, the plan remained valid until the adoption of the present one. The measures for the Stone Town contained in the Chinese Masterplan, however, are very few and, as already indicated, remained on paper and were never implemented.

In addition to these decrees and planning schemes, Zanzibar's legislative framework includes legal provisions for the protection of monuments which are of some relevance for the historic area. These were enacted under Chapter 102, the Ancient Monuments Preservation Decree of 1927. This decree defines a monument as "any structure... which is of archaeological, historic, or artistic interest" and includes the site of the monument as well as any portion of land adjoining the site. When a building is considered worthy of protection, the Department of Museums, Archives and Antiquities prepares a report justifying the decision. The proposed gazettement is subsequently submitted to the Minister of State for Special Duties within the President's Office as well as the Attorney General's Office before being ratified and put into effect. Once gazetted, the care and protection of the monument comes under public supervision, if necessary through a specific agreement with individual owners.

To date, forty-nine monuments have been gazetted under Chapter 102, six of which are located in the Stone Town. The gazettement process required under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Decree has proven lengthy and bureaucratic, while protection over time is possible only if owners cooperate fully. Furthermore, although appropriate in the case of individual monuments and archaeological sites outside the town, the decree is not adequate for the protection of inhabited structures or groups of buildings in the historic area.

The laws governing land tenure are also of particular relevance in effecting preservation and controlling development in the Stone Town. After the 1964 Revolution all land was transferred to government ownership under Presidential Decree 13/65, and vested in the President to be held for the common benefit of the people of Zanzibar. As a result, even though public ownership of land and buildings has decreased since 1982, the government remains a major property owner and landlord in the Stone Town. Zanzibar's land tenure system, however, maintains the fundamental distinction of Islamic law between the land itself and what is developed on the land. Thus, although the land belongs to the government, an individual may have the "right of occupancy" for the land and effectively own the building that is built upon it. Inheritance of these properties is regulated by the customary laws of the Muslim and Hindu communities inhabiting the historic area.

The creation of a coherent legal framework to regulate the registration and tenure of land, and its effective implementation, has important implications for the planning of the entire town as well as for the historic area. The importance of the land tenure issue is reflected in the four bills related to land which have been tabled before the Zanzibar House of Representatives since 1988. These include the Registered Land Act, Land Adjudication Act, Land Surveyors Act and Land Tenure Act. Ultimately, the aim of these legislative acts is to create a legal framework in which the land and property market can operate efficiently and equitably.

The absence of secure titles for land and buildings creates a climate of uncertainty in which owners and tenants are unlikely to invest in the properties they own or occupy. Furthermore, as the land is unregistered, titles cannot be used as collateral for loans and mortgages. This has further discouraged the ongoing investment needed to keep up the old buildings. This situation is likely to change with the approval of the Land Tenure Act in 1993, whose implications are discussed in Chapter Five.
Institutional responsibilities

Other problems arise at the institutional level. Responsibility for planning, exercising development controls and administering the Stone Town is split between several government and municipal offices.

Overall planning responsibility for the historic area, as for other urban settlements elsewhere on the islands, is with the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment (MWCELE). This responsibility is discharged by the Ministry's various departments: the Commission for Land and Environment (COLE) is responsible for land and surveys, urban planning and the environment; the Planning and Administration Department is responsible for administering and collecting rents for government-owned housing; and all public properties, including government-owned housing, are maintained by the Construction and Maintenance Department. Further, religious properties, including housing, are owned and administered by the Waqf and Trust Commission, while monuments and museums come under the Ministry of Culture.

Specific responsibility for the Stone Town is assigned to the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) which is also a department of MWCELE. The Authority was created upon the recommendation of the UNCHS report of 1983, and, at least on paper, endowed with very broad responsibilities. These included general planning and coordination of activities in the Stone Town, implementation and management of an integrated shelter, infrastructure and community development programme, the establishment of a Housing Management Authority and a Housing Finance Institution, and the implementation of restoration projects. In fact, since its creation in 1985, the Authority has not been able to carry out most of these tasks and has concerned itself mainly with the restoration of a limited number of historic buildings. The major obstacle impeding the Stone Town Authority from effectively discharging its responsibilities has been that until last year, it had never been legally established and fully empowered to control development and building activity in the Stone Town.

Nominally, the enforcement of building regulations remained the responsibility of the Zanzibar Municipality. The approval of building applications and the exercising of building controls, however, were actually assigned to the Joint Building Authority (JBA), a body which was set up under the Local Government Act of 1986. The JBA never worked effectively, and an informal technical committee was eventually set up to review building applications. This committee consisted of representatives from COLE, STCDA and the Municipality. Even under this new arrangement, obtaining planning permission in the historic area remained a complicated and time-consuming process, which more often than not was simply disregarded. The result was a spate of unauthorized and uncontrolled building projects in the Stone Town, including several cases of historic buildings being demolished to make way for new and generally inappropriate structures.

Responsibility for services and infrastructure is also split between central and municipal agencies. MWCELE's agencies regulate the supply and maintenance of water resources (Water Development Corporation) as well as the supply and distribution of fuel and electricity (State Fuel and Power Corporation). The Municipal Council is responsible for rubbish collection, fire protection, sewage and stormwater drainage, and the upkeep of public parks. Maintenance and improvement of roads is the responsibility of the Ministry of Transport, while telephone service is handled by the Ministry of Communications. This ministry is also responsible for planning and managing all aspects of the Zanzibar port facilities.

Even this brief description illustrates how many and diverse are the institutions involved in managing the historic area, all with varying degrees of executive responsibility and decision-making power. As a result, confusion, duplication and a lack of coordination between different branches of the administration have often hampered efforts in the historic area. Quite apart from the problems which are common to all institutions in Zanzibar lack of personnel, very limited resources, insufficient powers of enforcement the principal reason for the difficulties in planning and managing the historic area is the lack of a clear legal and institutional mandate.

Over the past three years, the Government of Zanzibar has addressed these important issues and established a new framework for conservation and development in the Stone Town. These recent legal and institutional changes, and their implications for the future planning and management of the historic area, are discussed in Chapter Five.
Constraints, Opportunities and Conclusions

The data collected during the survey provides an updated picture of the historic centre and reveals the full extent of the pressures and the changes that have occurred since the last physical survey carried out by Habitat in 1982.

The results of the household and physical surveys indicate that:

- the rate of population growth in the Stone Town has been low — a mere 0.2 percent. At present, approximately 16,000 people live in the historic area. Future projections indicate that population growth in the Stone Town will be limited — 18,000 people in 2018 — and far below that of the rest of Zanzibar;

- the population of Zanzibar as a whole, however, will increase greatly, by as much as 3.6 percent per year and double by the year 2018. The result will be more and more pressure on commercial land and public institutions and services in the central area;

- commercial land use has tripled over the past ten years, recovering much of what had been lost in the previous two decades, and pressure for commercial land and buildings continues to grow;

- there is a higher concentration of social services and facilities in the Stone Town than anywhere else in the city. However, these are overcrowded as, for lack of sufficient facilities elsewhere in Zanzibar, they must cater to the entire urban area;

Zanzibar artist John Da Silva uses pen and ink to capture the widespread decay of the buildings and streets in the historic Stone Town.
• the Government and the Waqf and Trust Commission continue to be the largest landowners in the historic area, and together control approximately 44 percent of all property;

• private ownership, however, has increased since 1982 and today nearly 50 percent of buildings are privately owned;

• twenty-four percent of Stone Town households own and occupy their homes, while 76 percent rent their accommodation. Rent levels, however, are generally nowhere near enough to cover the cost of keeping up the buildings. Also, doubts persist, both on the part of owners and tenants, as to the security of their tenure which depresses private participation in the rehabilitation process;

• the great majority of Stone Town buildings are traditional structures. Of these, more than 40 percent are of historical, cultural or architectural significance, including twenty-four outstanding structures. In addition, there are hundreds of balconies, carved doors and other architectural and streetscape features of note;

• over 85 percent of the building stock is in deteriorating or poor condition, while some 100 buildings have either partially or entirely collapsed over the past ten years;

• the most common building defects are the result of water penetrating the coral masonry and reaching the structural timber. Poor maintenance exacerbates the problems, and recent inappropriate repairs have hastened rather than impeded deterioration;

• some sixty-nine new buildings were under construction in 1992, in addition to ninety others that had been built over the past ten years. This new construction is in addition to the 35 percent of the traditional building stock that had already been altered;

• the present infrastructure system suffers from protracted neglect. It is in urgent need of repair, particularly the sewage and stormwater drainage network which overflows regularly during the rains;

• fourteen percent of households in the Stone Town possess a motor vehicle, while another 14 percent own some other form of motorized transport. Motorized traffic is expanding throughout Zanzibar — private motor vehicle registration almost quadrupled from 1991 to 1994 — and is having an increasingly negative impact on the historic area.

These 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. A static population, combined with the liberalization of the economy and a greater number of buildings in private ownership, can help generate resources for a general upgrading of the town's building stock. At the same time, there remains a large amount of high quality land and buildings in public ownership. As the single largest landowner, the government is in the best position to play a leading role in the development of the Stone Town's planning and conservation effort. 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, such as the port and the Central Market.

Another positive aspect is the considerable size and relative integrity of the town's historic urban fabric. A large percentage of the old buildings, though in poor condition, are still preserved. This stock of houses constitutes a sound foundation upon which

A pen and ink sketch of a traditional stone house.
The survey brought to light the Stone Town's many positive aspects. A view north from the Beit al-Ajaib shows the many prominent, government-owned historic seafront residences which today house Zanzibar's civic and cultural facilities.

An example of uncontrolled and inappropriate construction, one of the negative trends increasing in the historic area.
to build a comprehensive conservation programme which can have a positive impact on the economy of the town as a whole. Finally, the Stone Town has a well designed and fairly sound, if derelict, infrastructure system. This can still be repaired and upgraded without seriously disrupting the surrounding historic buildings.

Despite these positive aspects, one must consider the pressures on the Stone Town which are likely to increase with the rapid population growth in the rest of Zanzibar. This growth will undoubtedly lead to a demand for more commercial functions and service activities as well as increased government use, all at the expense of residential use in the historic area. In turn, more public offices and expanded commercial use will increase the number of commuters as well as the transport of goods in and out of the central area, exacerbating the already difficult traffic and parking problems in and around the Stone Town.

Further negative aspects that need to be addressed are the continued lack of maintenance and the resulting deterioration of most buildings, public spaces and infrastructure. Funding for the upkeep of public structures is scarce, and the issue has often been neglected in the past in the face of more pressing problems. Private funding for rehabilitation work is also limited, in part because doubts persist about tenure and in part because rent levels are far too low. As shown by the results of the survey, however, the physical condition of the traditional building stock throughout the town is now critical. Although these buildings are resilient, their past performance should not be considered a guarantee of their future endurance. When the breaking point is reached, as proven by too many recent examples in Zanzibar, collapse is rapid and the outcome irreversible. The problems need to be addressed urgently by creating incentives and controls on private initiative and reinforcing direct government action on public property.

Equally serious is the quickening pace of uncontrolled and inappropriate construction which is spreading throughout the Stone Town. This is in part due to the pressure for discrete living spaces from expanding households. Uncontrolled development is likely to escalate and result in ever more radical transformations and the eventual loss of traditional buildings, as more and more residents take it upon themselves to partition, alter, create additions, demolish and replace the traditional buildings with new structures. Radical alterations must also be expected as a result of the ongoing and foreseeable expansion of private commercial activities, often fostered by misguided notions of progress. 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 of an unclear system of land tenure and an unsatisfactory institutional setting, which so far have 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 is urgently needed. This framework should aim at enhancing the opportunities for positive intervention and counteracting the negative trends discussed above. Moreover, it should establish an effective mechanism to direct and monitor future development of the Stone Town.
View of the Stone Town from the Beit al-Ajaib. In the foreground is the Fort and in the distance the minaret of the Bagh Mubarmt mosque in Sokomubogo. This historic urban landscape is largely intact and the Conservation Plan seeks to preserve its integrity.
A New Planning Framework

Based on the results of the survey, a number of questions can now be answered which help in formulating a coherent strategy for the Stone Town. In particular: What problems will the historic area face in the future? and How can its conservation and future development be made part of a process of balanced and sustainable growth for Zanzibar’s entire urban area?

At present, all seems to indicate that although the population in the Stone Town is unlikely to increase, considerable pressure will be exerted on the town centre from the surrounding areas, both in terms of ever greater demand for public services and commercial outlets, and as the principal destination of goods and commuters. This pressure is the result of the lack of services and facilities in the rest of the city, and it is in great part responsible for the changes in the Stone Town’s traditional land use pattern and the rapid transformation of its historic fabric. This pressure is likely to have an even greater impact in the future.

The solution put forward in 1982 by the Chinese Masterplan was to create two new separate centres outside the Stone Town to reduce the town’s dependency on the historic area. A government and administrative centre was proposed at the junction of Creek and Center roads, and a cultural and commercial centre was suggested along Felix Moumi Road. The Stone Town itself was to become a residential and tourist area with most of the existing government buildings converted into hotels, restaurants, clubs and dwellings.

Today, this solution appears unrealistic and difficult to implement. The complex and costly effort required to reorganize the existing spaces and create the new cultural and administrative centres would certainly exceed the already stretched resources of the government. It is also doubtful that, given the complexity of the public administration, the important cultural and administrative functions presently located in the central area could be easily and speedily transferred elsewhere. Even if this were to happen, the establishment of more commercial and tourist activities in the buildings vacated by the government would certainly take precedence over maintaining and strengthening residential use in the central area. This would only add to existing congestion, and pave the way for further uncontrolled and negative transformations of the town’s historic core. The complete transfer of government and administrative activities out of the centre does not, therefore, seem either very achievable or desirable.

In the foreseeable future, a more realistic approach would consist of maintaining the principal civic and social functions as well as the existing residential fabric in the central area. These activities sustain and give life to the Stone Town and are generally compatible with its historic buildings. Moreover, the continued public use of the major buildings will facilitate the application of stronger controls and prevent undesirable changes, thus ensuring the appropriate conservation of the old buildings in the future.

At the same time, however, some activities should be selectively and gradually decentralized to the surrounding developing areas to relieve pressure on the centre and phase out incompatible land uses. For example, the construction of the proposed wholesale market outside the Stone Town, in Mwana Kwerekwe, would provide welcome relief of the present congestion in and around the Central Market. Many other conflicting and cramped activities could also be relocated away from the centre, such as larger industrial workshops and storage facilities as well as public and recreational activities which require extensive parking or involve a large influx of people and goods. Most importantly, however, land should urgently be set aside in the newer developing areas to accommodate greater Zanzibar’s need for essential infrastructure, and educational and public facilities which at present are either inadequate or totally lacking. This would lessen the expansion areas’ present dependency on the Stone Town and promote a more balanced development of Zanzibar as a whole.

The various possibilities for decentralization and urban improvement should be examined as part of a coordinated development strategy for the entire city. The establishment of such a strategy goes beyond the scope of the present Conservation Plan, but it is a comprehensive planning effort that should be initiated as soon as possible to complement and reinforce the planning activities that are under way in the historic area.

In the long run, Zanzibar should pursue a model of balanced growth, in which the Stone Town maintains its capital role and
traditional urban character, and the rest of the urban area is gradually equipped to respond to the needs of its neighbourhoods. Only in this way can the future pressure on the Stone Town be contained, its historic character preserved and a process of sustainable growth for the city as a whole satisfactorily pursued.

**General Strategies**

Within this perspective of balanced growth and development for the entire urban area, the strategies for future planning may now be identified. Following is a summary of the policies that should be pursued to enhance positive interventions and counteract negative trends in the historic area.

- **Curb the uncontrolled proliferation of commercial and tourist land uses and decentralize inappropriate activities** in order to maintain the traditional balance of retail and residential activity, reduce congestion and commercial pressure, and contain the rapid transformation of the historic fabric. This can be done by monitoring land use as well as strengthening planning controls over new developments and alterations to existing buildings.

- **Reinforce residential land use.** The majority of the structures in the Stone Town were built as dwellings. In most cases, the continued use of these historic structures as residences is the use most suitable to the configuration of the buildings and that which entails the least amount of change over time. A public policy aimed at keeping the present inhabitants in the historic area is therefore one of the more effective ways of preserving the buildings and avoiding their uncontrolled transformation.

In effecting this policy, the government can take advantage of its position as the largest landowner and explore innovative programmes for the housing sector. Programmes would have to consider the needs of the tenants -- secure tenancy and safe and comfortable living conditions -- as well as the requirements of the historic structures -- timely repairs and appropriate uses in order that they are preserved and maintained over time. One possibility would be the creation of tenants' associations to help manage the buildings and raise funds for structural work, basic repairs and regular maintenance. If successful, these programmes could eventually be considered by the Waqf and Trust Commission in shaping a policy for their properties which represent the second largest group of collectively owned buildings in the Stone Town.

- **Reform the building privatization programme.** Even with the implementation of such programmes, resources will not suffice to upgrade and maintain all of the building stock in public ownership. Private investment will also be needed. A privatization programme of government-owned houses was carried out from 1985 and temporarily discontinued in 1989 because of its poor results. Far from promoting the renovation and facilitating the upkeep of the historic properties, as intended, the sale of houses too often led to their radical transformation or outright replacement.

Privatization, however, should not be abandoned as a means of rehabilitating the historic building stock, but more stringent safeguards will have to be instituted. The sale of public property should be contingent upon certain conditions, including the definition of realistic market values for the properties, the most appropriate uses for the structures and the rehabilitation criteria that will be required.
Only the institution of a disciplined and orderly process will make the most of privatization as a means of revitalizing the historic area, and avoid the programme being undermined in the future.

- **Promote conversion from residential to other uses where appropriate.** While advocating the pre-eminence of residential use in the Stone Town, it must also be recognized that this may not always be the best solution for every building. In the past, large mansions built for single extended families and, in some cases, even public structures designed to accommodate non-residential functions were haphazardly transformed into multifamily dwellings. Awkward partitions and improvised modernizations not only destroy the character of the buildings, but also seriously compromise the livability of these spaces. Overcrowding can also lead to problems, as the resulting transformations and intense use by many unrelated groups can be hard on the residents as well as the structures themselves. In these instances, particularly when the buildings are in public ownership, the best course is to discontinue residential use and promote their rehabilitation and conversion into other needed uses.

- **Facilitate maintenance of the historic buildings** in order to contain the widespread deterioration and preserve them for future generations. Also in this case, the government can take advantage of its position as the largest landowner and identify the most effective means of improving the condition of the old buildings. Public policy to this end could include the raising of artificially low rents to cover actual maintenance and running costs, and, as already mentioned, issuing rent credits in exchange for basic repairs by tenants and tenants' associations, and the granting of secure tenancy agreements to motivate tenants to take a direct interest in the properties they occupy.

In the private sector, programmes and incentives that create opportunities for positive action and direct resources and investment toward the rehabilitation of the old houses should be instituted. The reform and re-establishment of the building privatization programme as a means to facilitate direct private investment has already been mentioned. Further measures and incentives might include access to credit and tax relief for owners who invest in the upkeep of their properties. Also, the institution of grants for listed buildings and special revolving funds to pay for rehabilitation works may be considered. These incentives have proved successful in other contexts, but they require strong administrative support and constant monitoring, and may thus be more appropriate at a later stage when the Planning Authority is in a stronger position and can mobilize means and personnel for the task. Finally, there is a need to reintroduce traditional construction techniques and sound conservation methods. Local awareness of the value of traditional buildings will need to be raised, specialized contractors licensed, and a new generation of craftsmen trained to carry out repairs and rehabilitation works. Only a public policy pointed firmly in this direction can reverse the present unsatisfactory trends and revive the increasingly threatened and dilapidated historic fabric.

- **Reorganize the principal public spaces** and offer integrated solutions for key areas in the Stone Town. The reorganization of maintenance standards are poor. Here the lime plaster is being substituted with an incompatible cement mix which, as a result, will soon dewetch.
these public spaces will contribute to resolving a number of important problems which have a bearing on the functioning of the entire town. This exercise will also provide an opportunity for identifying innovative solutions which can subsequently be applied to other parts of the town. Above all, it will place public initiative at centre stage, and reassert the role public planning can and should play in the development of the town's civic spaces and as the catalyst of future urban development.

- **Upgrade the existing infrastructure.** Although the Stone Town remains the better serviced part of the town, with a fairly extensive and solid infrastructure network, there is an urgent need to rehabilitate the systems which were for the most part installed fifty or more years ago. According to the technical advisers who have studied the problems of water, drainage, sanitation, electricity and waste disposal in the Stone Town, the emphasis of future action should be on maintenance and selective improvements of the existing networks, rather than on installing totally new systems which would be prohibitively expensive and highly disruptive of the historic area's fragile environment. In carrying out the necessary upgrading, solutions will need to be environmentally and aesthetically appropriate, while particular attention should be focused on the impact that given interventions will have on the surrounding buildings.

- **Improve the delivery of public utilities and services.** Beyond the urgent need to repair and improve existing installations, however, it is the continued upkeep of the system and delivery of reliable services that will promote better living and working conditions in the historic area. A long-term strategy should include training of personnel, improved coordination of the different departments, proper equipment and, above all, the provision of adequate operating and maintenance funds. These are now insufficient or altogether lacking due to difficulties in collecting and making available revenues from services.

Future policies in the sector should be based on reintroducing realistic charges for the public utilities and services delivered, and on enabling the different departments to collect and use the revenue directly to operate, maintain and upgrade the various infrastructure networks. Innovative, more effective solutions to improve the delivery of services and facilitate operations can also be devised in closer cooperation with community groups. These groups can and should be consulted in shaping policies and decisions concerning essential services. Together with properly functioning infrastructure networks, consistent and effective delivery of services may be the most important single factor in sustaining a positive economic climate in Zanzibar's historic area.

- **Rethink circulation and parking.** Recent years have seen an unprecedented expansion of motorized traffic in Zanzibar with its accompanying hazards and environmental problems: road accidents, pollution, noise, vibrations and urban congestion. The last is particularly severe in the central area where circulation and parking are becoming increasingly problematic. The planning policies proposed in the past to resolve the issue in the Stone Town, including the 1982 Masterplan, focused primarily on road widening interventions, and on devising
complicated circuits to ease circulation. These policies have added to, rather than alleviated the problem. In future, solutions must not be based on creating mere roads inside the Stone Town, but should focus on managing the traffic, reducing the number of motorized vehicles entering the historic area and facilitating alternative means of transportation.

The use of private cars will need to be discouraged with a series of carefully worked out controls and incentives, including access restrictions, traffic-calming devices, peripheral parking, and the institution of a public transport circuit around the Stone Town. Moreover, cycling and pedestrian alternatives, which are ideally suited to the compact urban environment of the Stone Town, should be encouraged by making streets safer for people and cyclists and establishing secure, conveniently located bicycle stands throughout the central area.

- **Mobilize resources to finance conservation and development in the Stone Town.** No plan or programme of action, however desirable or beneficial, can be implemented without funds. Resources must be identified and mobilized prior to initiating any concrete improvement programme. In this respect, the public institutions responsible for the Stone Town should pursue a comprehensive strategy for the mobilization and use of resources, both in terms of generating additional public income and channelling private and donor funding towards objectives benefiting the historic area.

As already noted, prospects to be explored for mobilizing public resources include increased taxes on private property, the collection of reasonable user charges for services, and the charging of rents based on recurrent and maintenance costs for government-owned buildings. These measures should be implemented gradually and in ways that do not penalize the weaker strata of the population. Also, better coordination and monitoring of recurrent public expenditures can help identify savings and synergies that can be put to good use.

In addition to public funds and the residents' potential to contribute directly to improving the historic area, there are opportunities for mobilizing resources from the international, non-governmental and private sectors. Public policies to this effect might include securing international support to finance capital intensive programmes and creating incentives to attract investment to the historic area in an effort to generate more employment and revitalize economic activity. In the end, the administration's ability to use public funds properly, identify and manage resources creatively, and improve living conditions in the central area are the key to establishing public credibility, raising the revenue base, attracting additional funds from external sources and receiving active support from the community.

The implementation of the general strategies outlined above will set the stage for the future development of the Stone Town in ways that are compatible with its historic fabric and consistent with a model of balanced growth for the entire town of Zanzibar. The planning framework presented in the following pages translates these strategies into concrete policies and outlines the specific measures which will be required.
Introducing the Plan

The Conservation Plan for the Stone Town was approved in July of 1994. It covers a total surface area of 125 hectares, comprising the built-up portion of the Stone Town and the open areas along its eastern border plus the older part of Darajani Street. As stated in the accompanying Planning Statement, the Plan's general objective is "to establish guidelines for, and controls on future development in the Stone Town which will encourage growth while preserving the town's natural environment, historical character and important architectural features."

The Plan pursues its objective through two distinct but complementary levels of action. The first is the setting up of a general planning framework which provides the broad policies necessary to coordinate the organization of the Stone Town and regulate its future development. This includes controls on the use and development of land, measures to protect individual buildings, street elements and open areas, as well as measures to develop and improve parcels of land and other larger spaces in the central area. The planning framework also includes a set of measures designed to improve parking and circulation of vehicular traffic in and around the Stone Town, and incorporates the principal actions which have been planned by the relevant government agencies to improve the infrastructure for public utilities.

The second level of action is the identification of Areas to be Upgraded within the town, and the development of planning proposals for selected Action Areas. The latter correspond to the most critical parts of the Stone Town which are presently suffering from conflicting pressures and require an integrated and comprehensive planning approach. 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 Action Areas has been included in the Planning Statement, and a number of preliminary physical plans for these areas are presented in the following chapter.

More specifically, through its various components, the Plan:

- proposes land and building uses that are in keeping with the existing land use pattern and the historic character of the town, and identifies uses that conflict with them and that should not be permitted;
- recommends protective measures for those buildings, facades, architectural features and open spaces that contribute to the townscape and environment of the Stone Town;
- 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;
- recommends a transport and traffic network within and around the historic area, and outlines a coordinated programme of infrastructure improvements;
- 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 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.

Although discussed separately, the plans and proposals presented in the following pages should be considered as complementary overlays of a single planning strategy. Together, they constitute the basic tenets of the Conservation Plan.

The Land Use Concept

The land use policies are the backbone of the Conservation Plan. Their purpose is to maintain the traditional pattern of land use in the town by reinforcing the close correlation between functions and building types as well as the existing balance of diverse uses throughout the town. This mix of diverse activities is recognized as a positive factor which distinguishes the historic area from the more recently developed areas of the town and helps determine its lively and wholly urban character.

Accordingly, the Plan identifies the predominant recommended use for each zone, but does not preclude other existing uses or the development of new activities which are compatible with the traditional urban fabric. However, in a
Land Use Plan for the Conservation Area

- Limit of conservation planning area

Land Use Zones

- Zone 1 - Residential
- Zone 2 - Mixed use
- Zone 3 - Commercial
- Zone 4 - Proposed commercial expansion zone
- Zone 5 - Cultural / institutional / public
- Zone 6 - Health facilities
- Zone 7 - Port facilities
- Zone 8 - Public open space

Conflicting Land and Building Uses

- Illegally blocked street
- Inappropriate use of building
- Land use encroaching upon public space
- Inappropriate land use in this location
number of cases, the Plan contains measures to discourage or altogether ban certain land uses, particularly those which introduce conflicting activities or tend to lead to radical transformations of the old buildings.

Land use zones

Eight different zones of land and building use have been designated, as shown in the land use plan on the previous page.

Zone 1 - Residential. The Plan maintains and protects residential use in all the areas which have a high concentration of residential buildings. A limited amount of commercial activity is permitted, subject to a maximum surface area. No further hotels or guesthouses than are presently in operation will be allowed in order to limit the number of tourist establishments in the residential area. In the past ten years, the lack of land use restrictions to this effect has led to the spreading of low-level accommodations which are not only unsuitable for attracting the quality tourism the government is seeking, but often results in inappropriate transformations and demolition of the historic structures. This restrictive measure on hotel development will be subject to review in 1999, five years after the Plan came into effect.

Zone 2 - Mixed use. The bazaar streets that traverse the Stone Town are an invaluable part of its economy and traditional urban structure. They are made up of predominantly shopfront buildings, housing a variety of retail and small manufacturing activities at ground level, with apartments on the upper floors. The designation of these streets as mixed use zones recognizes their lively character and their socio-economic importance, and encourages a continued wide variety of uses in the future.

Zone 3 - Commercial. The market buildings and other commercial and storage facilities along the west side of Creek Road, and along Malawi and Mizingani roads are easily accessible compared to other parts of the Stone Town. Buildings are also larger and better suited to house commercial activities. The Plan's land use policies seek to reinforce this pattern of use in these areas and encourage the location of a limited number of new commercial activities. The nature and size of any proposed commercial facility, however, should be reviewed on a case by case basis, with a particular view to discouraging the development of large storage facilities or any substantial increase in the present market, as well as any wholesale facilities requiring large loading areas. These commercial facilities would only add to the present congestion and are better located in the newer parts of the town.

Zone 4 - Proposed commercial expansion zone. In order to respond to the increasing pressure for commercial development, the Plan proposes Zone 4 as an expansion zone to accommodate this growing category of land use. The proposed commercial expansion area is to be located in Malindi, at the northern edge of the Stone Town. This area is close to the port, it is easily accessible by car and, once developed, will help relieve the commercial pressure on other, more sensitive parts of the historic area. This zone has been designated as an Action Area in the Plan, for which preliminary proposals are presented in Chapter Four.

Zone 5 - Cultural / institutional / public. The Plan recommends that two areas in the Stone Town be earmarked for

A housewares shop in one of the bazaar streets. With living quarters above, these buildings contribute to the lively character of the mixed use zones identified in the Plan.
The Sultan's Palace in the foreground with the tower of the Beit al-Ajaib in the distance. These two prominent structures along the western seafront are to serve as museums, a function that will ensure their careful use and lasting presentation in an area the Plan reserves for cultural and institutional activities.

predominantly cultural, institutional and public uses: the seafront and Vuga South. The large mansions and palaces along the waterfront are used or can easily be adapted to these functions, which help ensure their continued maintenance, while many of the buildings in Vuga South were built especially for institutional purposes.

**Zone 6 - Health facilities.** The Plan confirms the health-related land use of the existing Mzazi Mmoja Hospital complex and sets aside land next to the complex for the future extension of hospital facilities. Any activities in the hospital area which are noxious, noisy, hazardous or polluting should not be permitted.

**Zone 7 - Port facilities.** This zone is reserved for port-related activities under the jurisdiction of an autonomous Port Authority which is presently being established by the government. The Plan foresees the relocation of the port entrance and passenger terminal, for which preliminary proposals are incorporated in the plans for the Port Entrance Action Area presented in the following chapter.

**Zone 8 - Public open space.** This zone identifies and protects all public open spaces, such as recreation areas, public gardens, playing fields and open land throughout the historic area, but particularly along the seafront and the eastern edge of Creek Road. These precious spaces provide much needed green and breathing space in and around the congested Stone Town. The Plan also protects the open areas traditionally reserved for harbour-related activities such as boat building, and net and sail mending. Any form of private development in these areas, whether with temporary or permanent structures, will be disallowed, and a serious effort should be made by the administration to restore to public use any of the many areas that were once public spaces, but have now been usurped by private activities. Infrastructure and environmental improvements in these areas should be encouraged. To this effect, some of these areas have been designated as *Areas to be Upgraded* by the Plan.

**Conflicting land and building uses**

At present, there are many activities that conflict with the land use policies recommended in the Plan, either because they encroach upon public spaces or because they are inappropriate in certain buildings, locations or areas within the Stone Town.
These include, among others, illegal structures occupying graveyards, automobile workshops in public open areas and storage facilities in inappropriate locations. As it would be unrealistic to eliminate these activities all at once, the Plan's policy is to discourage their future expansion and facilitate their substitution with less conflicting uses through restrictions in commercial licensing and stricter public controls on land use.

Other informal activities, such as the fish market in Malindi and the food stalls in Forodhani Park, though problematic, are a part of the life of the town and should be maintained. There is, however, a need to regulate informal activities and prevent the deterioration or permanent occupation of public areas, a phenomenon which is already taking place along Creek Road where container shops are being turned into permanent structures. Stricter controls on informal land use and development are necessary. Of equal importance is the need to improve the organization, infrastructure and landscaping of public open areas where these activities take place, in order to mitigate their negative impact and enhance their integration with the other uses of the spaces. Some solutions to the problems posed by these activities are presented in Chapter Four.

**Conservation and Development Measures**

These proposals shown on the opposite page complement and reinforce the land use policies with specific measures designed to protect and improve the traditional urban fabric and guide development in Zanzibar's central area.

The conservation measures seek to protect those buildings considered architecturally and historically important, as well as significant architectural elements, streetscape features and public open spaces. The development measures identify those areas within the Stone Town that are suitable for development, including public areas in need of upgrading or comprehensive planning, and seek to ensure that the modalities for new development are in keeping with the character of the historic area.

**The conservation measures**

In general terms, the Plan prohibits demolition of any building of historical or architectural importance, as well as any significant streetscape feature. Furthermore, all applications for major repairs are to be reviewed by the Planning Authority and are subject to the building regulations contained in the Plan. Specific measures apply to the protected categories that follow.
Conservation and Development Plan
--- Limit of conservation planning area

Conservation Measures
Listed buildings
- Grade I
- Grade II
- Protected architectural feature
- Protected streetscape feature
  - facade
  - tomb, fountain, gate, etc.
  - vista
  - tree
- Protected green space

Development Measures
- Public unimproved land
- Area to be Upgraded
- Action Area

Note: Architectural features are not shown on listed buildings or protected facades.
Architectural and streetscape features designated for protection in the Plan (clockwise from top left): a particularly fine carved door, a balcony with decorative arches and vergeboards, a typical street with vista, and a small burial ground.
Listed buildings. These have been categorized into Grade I and Grade II listed buildings. Grade I buildings are those which are noted for their unique or outstanding architectural, historical and cultural value. Twenty-four such buildings have been identified by the Plan, including the six monuments gazetted by the Ministry of Sports and Culture in 1979. No exterior or interior alteration of these buildings is allowed which will compromise their historical and architectural integrity. Any building work carried out on such buildings must aim at preserving the original architectural fabric and its individual components. Grade II is assigned to buildings of architectural significance. The map identifies 191 such structures. Any exterior building work must be aimed at preserving the traditional materials and architectural features. Internal changes will be permitted subject to the discretion of the Planning Authority, and shall be limited to necessary improvements of living and working spaces. These shall be executed with special care for the architectural form and features of the buildings, and should be of such a nature that if later removed, the integrity of the building shall not have been affected.

Protected architectural features. In addition to identifying buildings worthy of protection, the Plan indicates individual architectural elements, such as carved doors, balconies, surface decoration, timber fittings, and exterior or interior decorations which are of particular note. These features may be part of a listed building or may constitute a significant aspect of any other unlisted building in the historic area. Their identification serves as a reminder to the Planning Authority that a particular building requires special attention, both with respect to its maintenance and in case a building application is submitted.

Protected streetscape features. The Plan seeks to safeguard those physical, environmental and visual features that, whether associated with a building or part of its surrounding context, contribute significantly to the townscape of the historic area. Thus, significant groups of facades, tombs, ruins, landmark trees and street elements (fountains, entrances, ornamental fencing, etc.) have been singled out for protection. Vistas are also included in this category, as they greatly enhance the character of a number of streets. Views of minarets, spires and towers as well as street focal points, such as individual trees or unobstructed views of the sea, can be preserved by controlling development and building heights, and by protecting the open areas and complementary features contributing to the vistas.

Protected green space. These protected landscapes include the major green spaces and public gardens indicated on the Land Use map as well as private gardens, communal areas, graveyards and lesser green spaces found throughout the town. The Plan seeks to protect these areas and their vegetation, particularly the trees, and ensure that, unless there are exceptional circumstances, no development take place.

The development measures

All applications for alterations, additions and extensions to existing buildings as well as new construction are to be reviewed by the Planning Authority and are subject to the building regulations contained in the Plan. These regulations control planning -- siting, height, scale and massing, etc. -- the building materials and details, and the health and sanitation provisions for all building activity in the historic area. The Plan identifies private and public unimproved parcels of land within the historic area where, subject to the above guidelines, new development may be allowed. Any and all other extensions and new development, whether realized with temporary or permanent constructions, are forbidden. This ban should be strictly enforced, particularly with respect to protected green spaces and other protected public open areas. Finally, the development measures contained in the Plan identify a number of public areas subject to detailed planning, as indicated below.

Areas to be Upgraded. The Conservation Plan recommends the upgrading of all public spaces in the Stone Town and identifies nine areas in particular for immediate action. These include public squares, vacant land, playing fields, and areas catering to informal activities such as food stalls, boat building and the fish market. Depending on the specific condition of these spaces, upgrading may involve improving the supply of water, sanitation and drainage as well as requirements for paving, landscaping, signage and lighting.

Action Areas. These are key locations in the Stone Town earmarked for comprehensive planning. The improvements proposed for the Action Areas include the upgrading of infrastructure, addressing of traffic and
A derelict public square off Mizingani Road which is to be upgraded as part of the detailed programme to reorganize and improve the Port Entrance Action Area.

Parking problems, the refurbishing of open spaces and the provision of additional structures and activities. Developed according to the framework and guidelines set out in the Conservation Plan, these Action Areas will serve as examples of how the Stone Town can be carefully and appropriately developed. Four such areas are identified on the map: the seafront, the Central Market, the new port entrance and a new commercial area in Malindi. For each of these areas, individual briefs have been incorporated in the Plan. Preliminary planning proposals have also been prepared and these are presented in the following chapter.
Rethinking the Circulation Network

The Plan addresses the issue of traffic with various measures designed to manage and gradually reduce vehicular access to the historic area. To this effect, the Plan's proposals seek to limit motorized traffic to the principal roads that circle the Stone Town, create more parking along its edge, and enhance bicycle and pedestrian circulation inside the old town. Accordingly, the scheme outlined on page 132 provides an integrated system of peripheral roads and parking areas linked to an internal network of pedestrian and cycle routes throughout.

The proposals are complemented by the traffic regulations accompanying the Conservation Plan, which establish controls on motorized access and impose speed and other limits to promote smoother and safer conditions for the circulation of pedestrians, bicycles and motorized vehicles. These provisions, as outlined below, have been divided into measures and proposals for motorized traffic, non-motorized traffic and parking.

Motorized traffic. The Plan concentrates all circulation along the triangular loop surrounding the historic area which includes, moving clockwise, Creek Road, Kaunda Road, Kenyatta Road, Shangani Road, the seafront, Mizingani Road, and Malawi Road. Vehicles above two tonnes, however, are not allowed to use the loop other than Creek Road and Malawi Road, thus maintaining large-vehicle access to the port area, but prohibiting these from traversing the seafront and the southern side of the Stone Town circuit. Heavy vehicles are not only dangerous in this area with its high concentration of pedestrians, but damage buildings, foundations and the infrastructure pipes underneath the roads.

To discourage vehicular access to the inner part of the Stone Town, the Plan formally closes off many of the minor roads that are currently used by cars, but which are really too narrow to be safe or even serviceable. To this effect, the map indicates where bollards are to be positioned to prevent cars from entering these narrow lanes. Limited access is maintained to a few streets, particularly near the market and the port area, so that vehicles can reach warehouses and other loading zones. These access restrictions also apply to motorcycles and motor scooters, with the exceptions noted on the map.

To improve safety, the Plan calls for traffic-calming devices where cars and lorries tend to speed, particularly along the straight stretches of Creek Road and along the seafront. The Plan leaves the choice of the most appropriate devices — signs, speed bumps, traffic lights, traffic police, special road markings and changes in level or surface material — up to the Planning Authority in consultation with the Municipality and the Zanzibar Traffic Police. Speed limits should in any case be enforced throughout the historic area. It is also recommended that traffic lanes and crossing points be well marked to facilitate safe driving. In addition, the placement of traffic mirrors is recommended where visibility is limited, particularly at the bottleneck along Kenyatta Road between the National Bank of Tanzania and the roundabout in front of the Law Courts.

The Plan's parking and traffic proposals are designed to work in conjunction with a proposed system of public transport. This service — which could be initiated on an experimental basis with a private operator — would transport commuters and visitors along the Stone Town's triangular loop. The Plan calls for the placement of conveniently placed stops near the peripheral car parks so that people coming to the centre by car would be able to park and complete their journey by public transport.

Similarly, commuters arriving at the dala-dala terminal in front of the Central Market would be able to pick up the loop service and reach destinations on the other side of the Stone Town. If implemented, the proposed service would help reduce the need for private cars inside the historic area.

Non-motorized traffic. Zanzibar's climate together with the flat terrain and the small size and compactness of the Stone Town make it an ideal place to develop bicycle and pedestrian circulation. Both need to be encouraged by improving safety and security along the principal roads and easing non-motorized movement along the busy bazaar and other cross streets.

The traffic controls and calming measures discussed above are intended to improve safety of movement for both cyclists and pedestrians in and around the Stone Town. In addition, the preliminary plans for the Action Areas foresee the creation of sidewalks and
Proposed Circulation Plan

- Limit of conservation planning area

Motorized Traffic Measures

→ Two-way vehicular traffic
← One-way vehicular traffic
Θ Proposed bus stop along Stone Town loop
△ Streets open to motorcycles only
--- Limited vehicular access permitted
• Bollards to prevent motorized access
★ No access for vehicles over 2 tonnes
▲ Mirror

Area requiring traffic-calming measures

Non-Motorized Traffic Measures

Pedestrian and bicycle route

Pedestrian and one-way bicycle route

Parking Measures

CP Peripheral car-park
--- Official car-park or on- and off-street parking area
Tr Dala-dala parking and passenger loading area
☑ Godown proposed for secure motorcycle parking
- T- Taxi rank
- c- Handcart holding area
Cars, pedestrians, porters and bicycles passing along and crossing Creek Road in front of the Central Market, one of the most congested areas in the town. The Plan calls for traffic-calming devices and a pedestrian crossing point to regulate circulation and make the area safer for two-wheeled and pedestrian traffic.

Sokomuhogo Square in the heart of the Stone Town is a popular meeting point and a busy two-wheeled traffic node at all times of the day. The square was paved and provided with seating areas in the late 1980s. The Plan includes the square among the internal pedestrian routes subject to further improvement.

The informal dala-dala parking and loading area opposite the Central Market along Creek Road. The Plan maintains this as the main dala-dala terminal to be improved and equipped with paving and passenger shelters.

regulated crossing points in the most congested areas, such as the seafront and Mizingani Road, as well as near the Central Market. Inside the historic area, it is recommended that a number of lanes be lit, paved and signposted to facilitate circulation, especially at night. These lanes, which are the bazaar streets and the main thoroughfares traversing the Stone Town, are the most frequently used by residents and visitors and are shown on the map as 'pedestrian routes subject to improvement'. They include Gizenga Street, the Changa and Khod bazaars, Sokomuhogo Street, Baghani Street and Mkuunazini Street. Of these, the improvement of Gizenga Street will be funded by German development aid as part of the Zanzibar Sewerage, Drainage and Solid Waste Disposal Project, a pilot programme to overhaul subsurface networks and repave streets.

Cycling can also be made easier and safer with improved paving and street lighting along the inner lanes of the Stone Town and separate, well marked bicycle lanes where motorized traffic is intense and road widths are sufficient. The single most important measure that will promote bicycling, however, is the establishment of secure bicycle parking. To this effect, space for bicycle racks has been incorporated in the Action Area improvement plans.

Parking. Adequate parking facilities are a basic pre-condition to reducing motorized traffic and haphazard parking in and around the Stone Town. The Plan proposes three types of parking facilities:

- larger car-parks located at strategic points near the Stone Town loop, north, east and south of the historic area. One is proposed near the port and the new passenger terminal off Mizingani Road, one at the northern end of the Stone Town close to the new commercial area in Malindi, one in front of the Central Market, and one near the hospital. These car-parks - which are to be paved, landscaped and shaded - are within easy walking distance of the central Stone Town and are linked to the proposed public transport loop;

- a series of regulated small off- and on-street parking areas which are accessible from the circulation loop, particularly in the Vuga South area, near the seafront, and along New Mkuunazini Road. During the day, these parking spaces would be metered with short time-limits;

- official car-parks belonging to ministries and other public office buildings. These parking spaces are forcibly limited and would be reserved for specific cars. Some of these spaces could be used at night by automobile owners living in the Stone Town.

Altogether, the car-parks and the on- and off-street parking add up to approximately 600 parking spaces. In addition, there are approximately 120 parking places reserved for official cars.

In addition to car parking, the Plan addresses the issue of the informal transport terminal in front of the Central Market on the eastern side of Creek Road. At present, this area is used both as a loading area by large buses delivering produce from the rural areas and as a passenger terminal by the many private vans or combis, known locally as dala-dalas, which bring commuters from the outlying areas. To reduce the present congestion, the Plan identifies a separate loading zone near the market as well as an alternative parking area where the large produce buses can park after
unloading. This area is on the same side of Creek Road, but somewhat further north. The data-dala parking and loading zone is to remain in the same location, but the entire area is to be improved and equipped with paving and shelters, as shown in the preliminary proposals for the reorganization of the Central Market presented in the next chapter.

In this same location, the Plan identifies standing space for approximately forty taxis. Other taxi stands are located around the Stone Town loop, as shown on the map. Some of these are already used as such, while others are newly identified spaces. In addition, handcart parking space has been reserved in different locations, as they represent the most efficient way of ferrying goods inside the Stone Town. Their importance, and that of taxis, is likely to increase in future as the Plan's proposals to limit cars and lorries inside the historic area are implemented.

Finally, to provide secure motorcycle and motor scooter parking in the historic area, five government godowns have been singled out for the purpose. The lack of secure parking facilities was identified during the public hearings for the Plan as the principal impediment to being able to restrict motor scooter access along the internal alleyways. People are reluctant to park and leave scooters in unguarded locations, and therefore take them everywhere for fear they will be stolen.

It is recommended that the proposals for motorized and non-motorized traffic and parking be instituted gradually to allow both the public and the authorities charged with their enforcement to learn and adapt to the new regulations. Implementation should be accompanied by a public education campaign and a special enforcement training programme for traffic police.

Further, the Plan recommends that within the framework established for traffic and parking, the Planning Authority, in consultation with the Traffic Police and the Municipal Council, test and evaluate the specific practical measures needed to implement these policies. Circulars can then be issued and the map regulating vehicular circulation amended. In this way, it will be possible to gradually establish safer and more efficient circulation in and around the Stone Town, and effect the necessary adjustments until the desired results have been achieved.

**Coordinating the Stone Town's Infrastructure**

The rehabilitation and proper functioning of the various infrastructure networks has an enormous bearing on the general improvement of the historic area. Although no specific infrastructure plans were prepared for the Conservation Plan, special attention was focused on analyzing the technical programmes and proposals prepared by the relevant agencies for electricity, water, sewage disposal, stormwater drainage and refuse collection.

These programmes call for the rehabilitation and recommissioning of the existing networks, and do not foresee the installation of new systems. The Plan endorses this conservative approach as it is the most appropriate means of improving services within the historic area without incurring the vast expense and major upheaval that new installations would entail.

There is concern, however, that work on the infrastructure be coordinated to avoid conflicts in the timing and sequence of the different contracts. Constant digging and redigging of the streets to rehabilitate different networks would not only be expensive and inefficient, but could also weaken the adjoining buildings. For this reason, all actions to upgrade the infrastructure should be undertaken in close coordination with the Planning Authority responsible for the Stone Town to ensure that implementation is effective and integrated within the general framework of the Conservation Plan.

In addition, the technology and detailed solutions applied must be environmentally and aesthetically appropriate to the Stone Town context throughout the complex and lengthy process of planning and implementing infrastructure works. To this effect, the Plan requires that all plans and works be coordinated with the planning authority in order to assess their likely impact and define the most appropriate solutions for the historic area. Also the choice of new street lighting, paving materials, refuse skips, signage, and the detailed plans for the proposed electrical substations should be in keeping with the historic context and developed in close consultation with the Stone Town Planning Authority.

**Infrastructure improvements**

Following is a summary of the infrastructure improvement programmes
Poor stormwater drainage causes severe flooding near the market. The infrastructure programme foresees improving drainage in the eastern catchment area with the recommissioning of the stormwater system, including the large pipe underneath Creek Road.

which have been proposed or are already under way. They have been synthesized into a 'plan of reference', shown on page 137, to facilitate future coordination of these improvement programmes with the various actions and proposals contained in the Conservation Plan.

Water. A revised urban water supply masterplan has been finalized by the Department of Water Development with technical assistance from the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA). The water masterplan foresees an improvement programme carried out in stages. Initially, work will concentrate on upgrading the water intake, storage and supply systems located outside the Stone Town. Within the Stone Town, attention will be focused on rehabilitating the distribution network and restoring it to a higher capacity than currently possible. It is estimated that the supply can be doubled by merely reducing the high rate of leakage in the existing pipework. Pipes will be rehabilitated and replaced up to individual house connections. The map opposite shows the route of the proposed new water mains which are to be laid along Creek Road and the northernmost section of the seafront. Upgrading the pipework of individual buildings will be the responsibility of the owners. The issue of how to pay for this when owners cannot afford it has yet to be addressed, as has the issue of how to monitor and supervise work on individual connections.

There are no plans to rehabilitate the existing network of fire hydrants as the system is not operable with the low water pressure prevailing in the Stone Town. An alternative which would work in the narrow and congested streets of the historic area will need to be investigated.

Sewerage and stormwater drainage.
Sewerage is the responsibility of the Municipal Council. Existing sewer pipes in the Stone Town are in the process of being cleaned and they are to be repaired where necessary as part of the Zanzibar Sewerage, Drainage and Solid Waste Disposal Project funded with German development aid. Other immediate measures include emptying, cleaning and rehabilitating septic tanks in individual houses, fixing and replacing manhole covers and providing the Municipal Council with dislodging and cleaning equipment. The programme is to be complemented by a community health education campaign.

Long-term plans call for a separate system for foul water and stormwater drainage along Creek Road, which at present is combined. The existing large-capacity sewer, running from the Bwawani Hotel to Mnazi Mmoja, is to be retained to carry only stormwater, while an independent pipe is to be laid to carry foul water. In addition, a new interceptor sewer is to be established along the coastline bordering the Stone Town, with a small lifting station in Kelele Square, to collect the existing outfalls and thereby eliminate the present foreshore pollution. This interceptor will meet the Creek Road sewer at Mnazi Mmoja, where there will be another small lifting station. From here, the trunk line will flow to a new treatment plant just beyond the airport. The map shows the route of the new interceptor sewer along the western, southern and eastern sides of the Stone Town.

Although not part of the existing sanitation programme, the Conservation Plan recommends that the seven existing public toilets in the Stone Town be rehabilitated and two additional facilities constructed, one in the Central Market and one near the data-data terminal (see map for locations).
Within the narrow confines of the Stone Town, stormwater will be disposed of with a surface run-off system, as it is neither practical nor economic to install drainage pipes underground. Paved with concrete pre-cast pavers, and following a new V-shaped profile, the streets are to act as drains and should facilitate the discharge of rainwater. Gizenga Street, identified on the map, is to be repaved following stormwater drainage improvements as part of a pilot rehabilitation project funded by the German government. Rainwater from the western catchment areas will drain into culverts at various locations along the coast, from where it will drain through the seawall into the sea. Rainwater from the eastern catchment areas will drain into the existing large-capacity pipe running north under Creek Road to outlet into the sea at Funguti Creek. The map opposite shows the location of the stormwater drainage system along Creek Road.

Electricity and street lighting. The Stone Town has an underground high voltage cable with six substations located near the port, at the market, next to the Fort, on Vuga Road near the Majestic Cinema, and two more at Mnazi Mmoja Hospital. These are not sufficient to improve the supply throughout the Stone Town, as buildings need to be within a 250-metre radius of the substations. Four new substations have therefore been proposed, to be located in Shangani, Malindi South, Mkunazini and Darajani.

Other improvements involve the replacement of the existing underground mains and the laying of new cable, as indicated on the map. Individual houses will continue to be connected via aerial cables, as maintaining an underground system at present would be costly and impractical given the available equipment and capabilities of the State Fuel and Power Corporation. While a system of above ground cables is cheaper and easier to maintain, it can be unsafe and very unsightly. The Conservation Plan recommends that, until such time as underground connections become feasible, wiring which is defective or poorly secured be replaced. Special solutions should also be explored for the wiring of monuments and other significant buildings in order to minimize the visual impact of the electrical connections.

Although there are no plans at present to rehabilitate street lighting, the Conservation Plan proposes a scheme for the main vehicular and pedestrian routes. Much of this system already exists but is in need of extensive repair and general maintenance. In particular, it is recommended that the old brackets and lamps attached to the buildings be rehabilitated and, where missing, replaced. It is also recommended that the naked bulbs strung across streets be removed.

Refuse collection. The present solid waste disposal service composed of street sweepers and handcart collectors is potentially the most effective means of removing refuse from the Stone Town, where the narrow lanes impede the use of sophisticated equipment and motorized vehicles. Currently, the refuse collected in the Stone Town is transported by handcart to the Saatani rubbish tip, some two kilometres to the north, a process which is time-consuming and inefficient. Plans to ameliorate the situation call for the placing of larger containers or garbage skips in strategic locations around the Stone Town, where the handcart operators can then deposit the rubbish they have collected. It could then be transported by a large garbage lorry to Saatani or one of the other tips.

In addition, local constituencies should participate in investigating more efficient ways of organizing the collection of solid waste, such as residents using agreed upon collection points instead of leaving rubbish haphazardly on the streets. There are also proposals to improve the service by providing better equipment, such as more efficient handcarts and collecting implements (brooms, gloves, shovels, dustpans, etc.). Finally, a revision of the rates charged for rubbish collection and disposal has been proposed in order to increase the frequency and efficiency of the service. Although these measures are all feasible and would require only limited capital expenditures, they are far from being carried out. The Municipal Council will need to address implementation within the frame of a general reorganization of this essential service.
Plan of Infrastructure Improvements

--- Limit of conservation planning area

Sewage and Stormwater Drainage Systems

**** Route of proposed interceptor sewer
--- Route of proposed stormwater pipe
● Existing public toilet to be rehabilitated
⊕ Proposed new public toilet
□ Area recommended for general drainage improvements

Water Supply

● Existing public stand pipe
◊ Proposed public stand pipe
◆ Existing drinking fountain
○ Proposed drinking fountain

Electricity and Street Lighting

--- Existing underground electric cable
— Proposed underground electric cable
● Existing electric substation
○ Proposed electric substation
♦ Proposed street lighting
View of the southern edge of Jubilee Gardens from a balcony of the Beit al-Afaith. Completed in 1936, the gardens are commonly known as Forodhani Park. The park is the most visible and significant public open space in the town, and is in need of comprehensive planning. To the far left is the Orphanage building.
Planning the Major Public Areas

Within the general planning framework set out in the preceding pages, the development and implementation of detailed planning programmes for the Stone Town's major public areas is important in addressing a number of crucial problems affecting the functioning of the entire town. Moreover, the development of detailed schemes for these key areas will stimulate official interest and public support for the Plan as a whole, and offer a model for future interventions in other critical parts of the town.

The four areas under consideration — the seafront, the port entrance, the Central Market and the proposed commercial area in Malindi — are defined as Action Areas within the Plan. They have been selected either because they are critical and congested parts of the town, or because of their strategic location and potential for future development.

- The seafront, with its outstanding buildings and generous open space, can be reorganized to enhance its use as the town's major social, cultural and recreational amenity.

- The redevelopment of the port, which is being sponsored by the European Union and foresees a new passenger terminal away from the cargo handling facilities, also provides an opportunity — by creating a new entry way into Zanzibar and revitalizing the northern portion of Mizingani Road — of adding an important amenity to the town.

- Further, 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, may lead within a short period of time to the complete reorganization of the town's major commercial and transportation hub.

- 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 sizeable plots and parking — to the present pattern of haphazard and piecemeal commercial developments which too often are poorly sited and harmful to the historic property.

Opportunities for development in these public areas, possible as a result of both present and prospective donor financing, call for prompt action to identify development objectives as well as suitable standards for future interventions. The following sections describe the character, problems and planning potential of each of the four areas singled out for priority intervention, and present a number of preliminary design schemes that suggest ways in which specific issues can be resolved, as well as how the quality of each place 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's visual emblem.

Today, as in the past, the seafront retains a symbolic quality and continues to serve as a gateway for all approaching the town from the sea. Observed from the town, the seafront defines the town's edge and creates an intermediate space between the densely built-up town and the sea. During this century, with the dismantling of the customs sheds and godowns along the shore, and the creation of Jubilee Gardens in the 1930s (today known as Forodhani Park), the seafront has acquired more and more social and recreational significance. People come here to stroll along the sea, mix and relax, and, in the evening, wander among the vendors and sample the many foods for sale in the park, while children of all ages have come to use the park to play ball and other games.
Forodhani Park looking north along one of the axial paths. The bandstand is the focus of the central portion of the park, opposite the Fort. To the left is the ornamental arch framing the landing which in recent years was converted into a restaurant.
**Planning issues**

The seafront area runs from the so-called Orphanage building, at the southern end of the seafront, to the port at the opposite end. This stretch of land is made up of three distinct parts: to the south, Forodhani Park with its green lawns, mature trees and pedestrian walkways; in the middle, Mizingani Road, the broad vehicular way running parallel to the sea; and, at the northern edge, the boat building area, dominated by the large Indian Fig, or Banyan-tree.

The seafront is defined by the town's two most prominent buildings: the solid, white mass of the former Sultan's Palace, now converted into a museum, and the Beit al-Ajaib, with its stacked verandas and tall clock tower, which is due to be converted into a museum as well. Next is the town's oldest building, the old Fort, recently converted into a space for public performances. These landmarks are protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Decree and listed as Grade I buildings in the Plan.

The open area in front of the Fort and the Beit al-Ajaib became a public garden in 1935 when the Jubilee Gardens, commonly known as Forodhani Park, were laid out to commemorate King George V's Silver Jubilee. The bandstand, pier, ornamental fountain, shelters and seats were added the following year through a public subscription campaign to celebrate a second Silver Jubilee, that of Sultan Khalifa.

Forodhani Park was designed as a passive park and is composed of three distinct but related zones. The central area directly opposite the Fort is laid out in a formal...
The keep of the Omani Fort, rebuilt in 1946, faces the park and is the main entrance into the monument, recently converted into a space for public performances.

The row of large Arab mansions along the northern seafront includes several buildings in public ownership, listed as Grade II protected structures in the Plan.

The area under the large canopy of the Banyan-tree at the northernmost end of the seafront is used for informal vending and boat building.

manner, with axial paths radiating in two directions from the bandstand; the northern zone opposite the Beit al-Ajaib is irregular in outline, with the Sultan's fountain serving as its central focus; and the southern zone, located opposite the Orphanage building, constitutes the terminus of the developed portion of the waterfront. This southern edge has no distinctive features other than the obsolete public toilets. The western edge of all three zones is connected by a promenade along the seawall which includes food kiosks and a central pier framed by an ornamental arch. The latter was recently converted into a restaurant.

Leading away from the park and the Sultan's Palace toward the port, Mizingani Road is lined by the row of mansions that were built from the 1840s onward by the families related to the Sultan. The majority of these buildings are today in public ownership and are used as government offices. Because of their historical and architectural significance, they are listed as Grade II buildings in the Plan.

The area surrounding the Stone Town's largest tree, at the seafront's northern end, is used for boat building and other informal activities, and gives access to the square in front of the Jum'a mosque, an important religious structure recently renovated and enlarged. In sharp contrast to the mosque, and in spite of the fact that the area in front of the mosque was recently paved, the square itself appears derelict, with randomly parked cars and scattered building materials.

Overall, the seafront is suffering from protracted lack of maintenance and rapidly deteriorating infrastructure. Poor services, environmental degradation and
Plan of the existing seafront area, showing landmarks and the present organization of public open spaces, as well as the principal planning issues to be faced in re-landscaping the area. The park can be divided into three zones: a southern edge, a central formal garden, and a triangular northern section. A pedestrian promenade runs along the seawall at the western edge of the park. The northern portion of the seafront, from the end of the park up to the Marine Science Institute, was never planned for pedestrian use and has no walkway or formal edge.

unsatisfactory vehicular and pedestrian circulation are all matters of concern. Following is a summary of the major problems affecting the area.

Infrastructure. Foremost is the seawall's serious state of disrepair, the combined result of pressure from wind, wave and tidal action; poor drainage of the retained landfill; and the town's failing underground drainage system. Faulty or blocked drains, and broken stormwater pipes are also putting pressure on the seawall and causing periodic flooding of Forodhani Park. In certain areas, particularly near the park, major cracks and gaps in the seawall masonry are proof of the advanced stage reached in the deterioration process. Telltale depressions and holes along the seafront are further evidence of the damage caused by the retained soil being pulled out to sea from behind the wall.

Circulation. The lack of a sidewalk along Mizingani Road and the eastern edge of Forodhani Park is the most apparent circulation problem. Pedestrians are disoriented by the absence of clearly defined walkways. The use of the seafront route by heavy lorries, which so far have had unrestricted access to the Stone Town, is another serious problem. The impact of these vehicles not only discourages pedestrians, but also damages the infrastructure underneath. In addition, there are no clearly defined parking areas and, as a result, cars are parked haphazardly. The area's circulation and parking problems are likely to become more pronounced as more and more vehicles are licensed on the island. Pedestrian circulation in the park and along the seafront is also unsatisfactory: the poor state of the paths and paved areas is aggravated by ineffectual drainage and the seawall’s poor condition, as well as by the increased activity in Forodhani Park, some of which conflicts with the original passive design of the garden.
Constant wear and tear and inappropriate uses have had a devastating effect on the natural features of Forodhani Park.

To the right, food vendors on the lawn in the central portion of Forodhani Park; to the far right, compacted ground around tree roots.

These examples illustrate the need for improved services and the upgrading of park structures and outdoor furniture; to the far left, a derelict cannon with missing emplacement; to the left, uncollected garbage in Forodhani Park.
**Trees and planting.** The increased use of Forodhani Park as a meeting point, playground and informal food bazaar has had an adverse effect on the grounds and trees. Constant trampling, particularly around the food vending area, has compacted the ground around the tree roots, impeding the trees’ absorption of essential nutrients. As a result, this wear and tear, the plants appear neglected and unhealthy, and their life expectancy is considerably reduced. Also, the Banyan-tree at the northern edge of the seafront, a veritable landmark and a much admired specimen, suffers from the food vending and boat building activities taking place under its canopy. Here, the air roots of the tree — needed to nourish and support the weight of the plant’s branches — are constantly trimmed to make room for traffic and people. The conflict between the present use of these areas and the requirements of the plants is not necessarily irreconcilable. With tree surgery and proper aeration and replenishment of the surrounding soil, many of the endangered trees can be saved and integrated within a revitalized landscape. This, however, will require careful planning of the future use of these spaces and active management of potentially conflicting activities.

**Street furniture and lighting.** The poor condition of the various park structures and outdoor furniture is also apparent. The few remaining benches are badly broken, the fountain is in disrepair and the bandstand unused. Some of these elements appear abandoned because they are poorly positioned. The placement of the benches, for example, limits their social and conversational function. In addition, the promenade and the park lack protective elements and other conveniences, such as railings — which at one time were in place along the waterfront — pedestrian lighting, water taps and rubbish containers. Finally, few of the vehicular street lights along Mizingani Road are in working order.

**Building facades.** All building exteriors are subject to wear and tear. However, the facades along the seafront have suffered especially, as a result of their continuous exposure to the shore’s winds and humid salty air. Also, in cases where repairs have been carried out, too often it has been with cement patches which are incompatible with the original lime plaster. These tend to crack and flake off, leaving walls exposed again and subject to further deterioration.

**Public services and utilities.** The supply of water and the disposal of sewage, both of which have a major bearing on the rehabilitation of the seafront, are the responsibility of the Municipality. Little maintenance of either network, however, has been effected over the years. In addition, the Municipality is responsible for maintaining the park, including rubbish collection and street cleaning. Although street cleaners paid by the Council sweep the area daily, refuse collection is still considered unsatisfactory. In some cases, townspeople resort to disposing their waste along the seafront, the beach or simply straight into the sea. As a result, the harbour is dirty and a health hazard, particularly for the children in the area.

Despite these problems, the seafront remains an irreplaceable asset that deserves careful rehabilitation in order that it may continue to fulfil its function as the city’s foremost public open space.

**An improved front and enhanced meeting point for the Stone Town**

The proposals for reorganizing the seafront focus on arresting the general deterioration of the area, resolving potential conflicts of use, using spaces more efficiently and enhancing the appearance of the seafront all round for the benefit of the entire community. The Plan’s proposals do not suggest any radical changes. Rather, they seek to maintain the area’s character as well as its lively range of activities and established patterns of use through a programme of priority repairs and improvements to the area’s infrastructure, circulation, building facades, landscape and street furniture.

This programme is summarized below, and the sketches on the following pages illustrate the suggested improvements in the park and along the seafront.

**Carry out priority work on the infrastructure.** The state of the seawall calls for immediate repairs to stop the weakened portions of the wall from being washed out to sea. In future, radical action will be required to either extensively rehabilitate or completely rebuild the structure. Concurrent to the work on the seawall, the stormwater drainage system will need to be overhauled, and the other major infrastructure improvements, already foreseen for this area, will need to be carried out: namely, the installation of new water supply pipes and a new interceptor sewer. The improvements suggested below are predicated on these priority infrastructure works being carried out, as without these any additional works would be cosmetic and short-lived.
Sketch plan showing the proposed reorganization of Forodhani Park into three distinct areas: a play area, a passive park and a food bazaar. The proposal aims at preserving the original design of the park and protecting its natural features, while introducing a number of changes to facilitate the recreational and social activities that have developed in recent years.

**Improve circulation and parking along Mizingani Road.** Traffic along the road will be made safer with the banning of vehicles above two tonnes, as specified in the Plan. In addition, the proposals call for safe, adequate and clearly indicated routes for vehicular and pedestrian traffic, together with clearly marked parking areas on the eastern side of the road, taxi ranks and bicycle racks opposite the public garden. The existing road lights will need refurbishing and, in some cases, total replacement.

**Relandscape Forodhani Park.** The park would be improved following its original design, which should be preserved as an integral part of the Stone Town's physical form. A number of changes are proposed to facilitate the recreational and social activities that have developed in recent years, and to mitigate the effects of the resulting damage to trees and vegetation. The proposals are developed following the three zones in which the park can be subdivided, and strive to work out a more satisfactory fit between the present activities and the different spaces within the park. Accordingly, the southern zone has been earmarked for active play, the central area becomes a passive green park, and the northern zone is reserved for the evening food bazaar.

- **Play area:** the southern area of the park, opposite the Orphanage building, is well positioned to serve as an intensive play area as well as provide additional space for social activities during evening hours. Because it is defined on three sides by the seawall and the roadway, it can be enclosed along its fourth side with a protective edge without disrupting the park's circulation. The play area would be planted along its edges and surrounded by a low wall with built-in seating. The play surface would be designed to withstand constant use, with a surface made of sand and clay supported by an underdrainage layer of gravel. Lighting can extend the play area's use after dark, if desired. New public toilets would be built along the southernmost edge.
Cross sections of the park showing the proposed relandscaping and distribution of activities. The section above illustrates the food stalls area in the northern part of the park. The section below illustrates the central passive portion of the park, looking north from the re-established seafront landing.

- Passive park: the central zone of Forodhani Park is to be maintained as a passive park, in keeping with its original design. The existing soil should be aerated and replenished with nutrients to rehabilitate and preserve the remaining shade trees and give the planned new trees a chance to grow. The proposal shows trees following a formal scheme. This arrangement would in practice be modified to incorporate all remaining trees. To prevent re-compaction of the soil and future damage to grass and trees, only picnicking and the informal play of young children would be allowed in this area. The park would be fenced along the road with a railing to replace the existing one which is broken. This fencing may be backed by plants to provide a more defined edge. The old walkways would be repaved and an additional paved pathway created to improve access to seating and avoid the damaging of trees and vegetation. New semicircular baraza-type benches would be introduced around the rehabilitated central bandstand as well as along the pathways and the promenade facing the sea. Finally, the restaurant structure on the pier would be relocated in order to restore the pier as the seafront's central landing. The existing kiosks would be renovated and the seating expanded.

- Food bazaar: this activity will be shifted to the northernmost part of the park, thus removing it from the passive central zone where the food preparation and vending activities have had a devastating effect on the park's surfaces. The entire area would be reorganized for this purpose, with Sultan Khalifa's fountain refurbished as its centrepiece. The existing grass panel along the road would be protected by a bench, or baraza, creating an edge and maintaining the unity of the park along its eastern side. A large plaza would be created with two panels along either side of the fountain's axis, paved with modular bricks to withstand the heavy pedestrian traffic of the food bazaar. This configuration will allow for flexibility in arranging the vending stands and provide a place for special events.

The western edge of the park, along the water's edge, is an integral part of the seafront and the seawall. Surfaces and lighting would be consistent with the treatment proposed for the waterfront promenade.
General view, above, and elevation, below, of the Forodhani seafront. The principal buildings along the water’s edge are indicated, as are the proposed central landing and other recommended improvements along the seafront.
Re-establish the seafront promenade. If implemented, the rebuilding of the seawall would make possible a limited widening of the seafront. This, in turn, would allow for the creation of a safe pedestrian promenade parallel to the seawall. A cap along the top of the rebuilt wall would provide improved safety as well as seating at the water's edge. The promenade would have pedestrian lights mounted on low posts fixed at regular intervals along the seafront, similar to the original cast iron lantern-type fixtures seen in early photographs of Zanzibar's seafront. The entire promenade would be paved with modular pre-cast concrete blocks to distinguish this pedestrian area from the vehicular traffic route of Mizingani Road.

Emergency repairs and a facade improvement programme. A facade improvement scheme is recommended for the buildings facing the seafront and the park. Most facades urgently need proper replastering of exposed stonework and periodic limewashing, as well as repairs to windows, shutters, balconies and doors. Roofs and rainwater disposal systems also need to be overhauled. As the majority of the buildings are government-owned, it

Cross section of Mizingani Road showing the proposed promenade along the water's edge. The proposed design includes extending the parapet wall and the new light fixtures along the seawall (as introduced in Forodhani Park), special paving of pedestrian areas, planting of palm trees, refurbishment of existing street lighting and the delineation of bicycle lanes. These elements help to unify the entire seafront and create an uninterrupted pedestrian link from the southern end of Forodhani Park all the way to the new port entrance and future passenger terminal.

Seawall reconstructed and enhanced as part of seafront promenade
Open pavilion with cannon emplacement
Food bazaar area moved here
Restored covered landing with floating dock
Sunken play area surrounded by palm trees
Key plan and site plan of the proposed reorganization of the area around the Banyan-tree and in front of the Jum’a mosque. The proposal aims at preserving the tree and its immediate surroundings with the construction of a protective baraza and the shifting of the boat building activities. The proposal also includes parking for up to twenty cars.
View of the landmark Banyan-tree. The tree's aerial support roots reach the ground and are threatened by the activities presently taking place under its canopy.

Informal parking in front of the Jam'a mosque.

would be possible to apply common standards of repair and maintenance throughout, with an effective, publicly funded renovation programme.

Resolve the conflicts of use around the Banyan-tree and relandscape the adjacent square. The most important issue for the area around the stately Banyan-tree is how to accommodate the ongoing activities and at the same time ensure the protection of this landmark tree. The proposals suggest shifting the boat building activities away from the roots of the tree to the back of the adjacent seafront building, where a canopied structure would be built to provide shade for this important activity. A circular baraza-type wall would be built around the tree to protect the roots and provide seating under its canopy. The baraza would be backfilled with good soil and the air roots, thus protected, would be encouraged to reach the ground. The proposed remodelling of the area behind and around the Banyan-tree, including the open area in front of the Jam'a mosque paved during its expansion in 1994, will incorporate parking for eighteen to twenty cars.
The dhows, harbour at the northerm end of the port, developed in the 1920s upon reclaimed land.
The Port Entrance Action Area

The Zanzibar port at the northern end of the Stone Town plays a crucial role in the economy of Zanzibar and its islands. All incoming and out-going national and international cargo passes through here; whether carried on large container ships or on one of the traditional dhowes which link Zanzibar to neighbouring destinations and ports all around the Indian Ocean. Zanzibar’s port is also a busy passenger terminal for people travelling to and from the mainland and Pemba. Passengers arriving must find their way on foot through the industrial port area to the customs offices and exit. It is a long and hot walk among lorries loading and unloading, porters carrying goods and cargo handlers supervising deliveries. The busy port is an uncomfortable and, especially for visitors, a confusing entry point to the town.

The volume of cargo and passenger traffic has remained fairly stable during the past decade, although an increase in both is expected in future. A study commissioned by the European Development Fund in 1991 concluded that the present location and size of the port are such that, with a recommended programme to upgrade and extend its facilities, the port would be able to meet Zanzibar’s future needs. To this effect, a three-phase programme financed by the European Union foresees the addition of deep water berths and more container storage area, as well as improvements to the cargo handling facilities. In addition, at the southern edge of the site, close to the Marine Science Institute and the Old Dispensary across Mizingani Road, the EU programme calls for the creation of a new terminal, pier and Ro-Ro ferry service to provide special access to short-haul ferries that cars and cargo roll on and roll off of.
The port's deep-water freight and passenger wharf seen from the Banyan-tree along Mizingani Road.

View of the wharf along the western edge of the port used as a container storage and loading area.

All vehicles entering and leaving the port must go around the roundabout at the intersection of Mizingani and Malawi roads.

The development of a new passenger terminal in this location has the potential of improving pedestrian access to the town — most people still arrive in Zanzibar on foot — and it would help reintegrate the port and northern seafront with the rest of the town, as well as stimulate a general revitalization of the upper portion of Mizingani Road. If not properly planned, however, the new facility is likely to cause more problems than it would solve. Careful planning is needed to accommodate the new facilities and the foreseeable increase in both vehicular and pedestrian traffic. The proposals discussed here seek to incorporate the 1991 plans for a new terminal into the town's general context, and create a coherent and attractive public gateway into the Stone Town.

**Planning issues and opportunities**

The area is bisected by the northernmost portion of Mizingani Road — the main link between Forodhani and Malindi — which runs from the port entrance roundabout at its northern end south to the Marine Science Institute complex. Along the western side of the Mizingani Road artery lies the port area with many empty and underused warehouses. This area, containing part of the port compound's cargo handling and storage facilities, is closed to the general public. The area on the opposite side of Mizingani Road is occupied by public buildings, government warehouses and the government petrol station. There is a large derelict site behind the two empty long government warehouses adjacent to the road, which is littered with debris and surrounded by smaller warehouses and residential buildings.
Two prominent landmarks distinguish this neighbourhood: the Old Dispensary, built in 1894 and recently restored, and, just outside the area's boundaries, the Mnara mosque, Zanzibar's earliest surviving mosque. Both structures are Grade I buildings in the Plan. While manageable at present, this area's shortcomings will become more problematical once the new facilities are introduced. The specific planning issues are discussed below.

Traffic and parking. The main problem along the upper portion of Mizingani Road is the severe flooding after heavy rains. Water accumulates on the road surface due to the poor drainage and blocked stormwater pipes, disrupting pedestrian and vehicular traffic for days at a time. In addition, the poor street lighting along this stretch of road makes the area uncomfortable for drivers and unsafe for pedestrians during evening hours. Traffic congestion is a problem only intermittently. The situation, however, is likely to worsen once the new passenger terminal is in place. There will be a need for parking, and the flow of traffic to and from the terminal will have to be regulated. At present, there is no parking available in the area and cars are left randomly along the road. If planned, the derelict open area flanking Mizingani Road, together with the space around the proposed terminal, could accommodate two new parking areas.

Plans for the new terminal. The southern portion of the port area, along the waterfront, is a jumble of warehouses and open storage areas without any physical or visual link to the rest of the town. For example, views of the Old Dispensary, originally built as an...
important seafront building, have long been blocked by the later construction of the Marine Science Institute and the workshops near the harbour. Current plans for a new passenger terminal and quay extension could serve as the catalyst needed to reverse this area's increasingly isolated and derelict status, and reconnect the town with its port and waterfront.

The Marine Science Institute. This facility occupies a triangular plot at the southwestern end of the port area. The building was built in the early 1960s and is not of any historical or architectural interest. Moreover, because of its position, the complex limits pedestrian access to and from the waterfront and completely obstructs the view to and from the harbour. The building, which belongs to the University of Dar-es-Salaam, is in fact a major obstacle in the way of any future reorganization of the area. Although the university decided several years ago that it wanted to transfer the institute to a different location outside the Stone Town, and in spite of a more recent decision early in 1994 to hand the complex over to the Ministry of Transport and Communication to accommodate administrative offices for the proposed Port Authority, the building is still occupied by the Marine Science Institute.

Renovation of the Old Dispensary. The building sits opposite the Marine Science Institute and has recently undergone a major rehabilitation, financed and implemented by Aga Khan Cultural Services - Zanzibar. The building, renamed the Stone Town Cultural Centre, has been adapted as a mixed use facility offering various commercial and cultural services to residents and visitors.

The initiative includes the renovation of the public open area surrounding the Old Dispensary, which, because of its position near the waterfront and its visibility from the future passenger terminal across Mizingani Road, is particularly important. These works can serve as a catalyst for the improvement of other open spaces in this area.

The Government warehouses along Mizingani Road. These structures are presently underused or empty, and their conversion to different uses provides an opportunity to inject new life into the area. In discussions with city officials during the course of preparing the Conservation Plan, there was a general consensus in favour of replacing the warehouses with duty-free shops and other commercial activities in response to the considerable demand for commercial space near the port.
A new entrance for Zanzibar

The drawings on the following pages illustrate how the public spaces outside the port compound can be reorganized following a three-phase programme of gradual transformation. Each phase focuses on resolving a particular problem and, in some cases, suggests ways in which a given structure or urban space can be brought back to useful life. Even though the area’s full potential would only be realized once all three phases have been completed, each group of works is designed to stand on its own and make a contribution to improving the area. In this way, implementation of the full programme can take place gradually, as opportunities arise and funds become available.

**Phase 1** - The following proposals can be implemented relatively quickly and inexpensively, either because ongoing projects permit immediate action or because the scope of works involved is fairly limited. The proposals are to:

- **relocate the government petrol station** north of Mizingani Road to a less congested area outside the Stone Town;

- **create a new parking area** to accommodate about fifty vehicles in the square behind the long warehouses. This will help absorb part of the increased traffic and need for parking resulting from the reorganization of the port area. Vehicular access to the new car-park is through a new covered passage built over the site of the electrical substation along Mizingani Road. The substation would be transferred to the middle of the plot behind it and upgraded, a suggestion which has preliminary approval from the...
The changes foreseen during Phase 2 (top) and Phase 3 (bottom) of the proposed reorganization of the area. The establishment of a new passenger terminal and public square would create a fitting entrance to the Stone Town and establish a complement to Forodhani Park at the northern end of the seafront.

electricity authorities. Access for deliveries to neighbouring warehouses would be from one of the two present roads off Malawi Road, thus avoiding unnecessary congestion on Mizingani Road. Looking further into the future, the plan proposes that the use of the godowns facing the plot be changed so that lorries entering from Malawi Road may be avoided altogether;

- **remove the small government warehouses and relandscape the area in front of the Old Dispensary.** The partial removal of the warehouses has already been agreed upon in the context of the ongoing rehabilitation of the Old Dispensary by Aga Khan Cultural Services. Partial landscaping of the area surrounding the building is also part of the work underway. It is envisaged that the area immediately in front of the building will become a paved forecourt, to allow an unencumbered view of this landmark building once the new passenger terminal is constructed and the waterfront area reopened to the public;

- **establish a pedestrian link** between the Old Dispensary and the Banyan-tree square, on the one hand, and between the Dispensary and the new car-park, on the other. Five parallel parking spaces are provided in front of the public building adjacent to the Dispensary.

**Phase 2** - The works during this stage, particularly those south of the Malindi Wharf, are the centrepiece of the Port Entrance Action Area programme, and are predicated upon implementation of the European Union’s project to rehabilitate the port. The feasibility plans prepared by the European Development Fund consultants in
1991 were limited to the area inside the port. These plans have been modified in the scheme presented below to render the European Union's port development compatible with the Conservation Plan and the general reorganization of the Port Entrance Action Area. The works consist of:

- the creation of a new passenger terminal and establishment of an improved traffic layout within the port complex. The proposed circulation scheme foresees all lorries arriving and leaving along a new route inside the port. This route would be accessible directly from the dock gate near the roundabout, thus keeping lorries away from Mizingani Road and clearly separating all cargo and car operations from foot passenger activities. The scheme shows an expanded container area and a separate parking zone for lorries. The new terminal building is in the same position foreseen by the European Union plans, close to the pier and the new roll-on roll-off (Ro-Ro) ramp. The building itself is a two-level structure, with passenger services below and offices above, organized around a central covered atrium and surrounded by a ground floor arcade. In addition to a pedestrian entrance on the south side, the building has a vehicular drop-off point and entrance on the east side. On the north side of the building there is an open area for private vehicles waiting to depart with the ferry;

- the reorganization of pedestrian and vehicular traffic along Mizingani Road and around the new passenger terminal. In the proposal, vehicular access to the passenger terminal is either from the north or the south, while all vehicles leaving the building must turn left toward
A view of the poorly and underused open area behind the warehouses along the east side of Mizingani Road. This space is to be upgraded into a parking area for about fifty cars.

A view of the wall around the warehouse space adjacent to the Old Dispensary. This wall would be retained in the proposed reorganization of the area, and its exterior appearance improved.

A view of the Marine Science Institute which is to be replaced by a public square in front of the planned passenger terminal building, linking the new port entrance to the seafront promenade and the centre of the Stone Town.
Malindi to reduce the amount of unnecessary traffic passing through the Stone Town. A vehicular loop enables cars to drop off passengers in front of the terminal's main entrance. The car-park on the western side of Mizingani Road accommodates about thirty vehicles as well as a taxi rank, and is fenced and screened from the container area by a landscaped buffer zone. Proper stormwater drainage and new street lights are provided, as well as sidewalks and regulated crossing points for pedestrians along both sides of Mizingani Road. The pedestrian crossing at the southern end in particular will establish a link between the paved plaza in front of the Old Dispensary and the seafront promenade that is to be reopened to the public during Phase 3.

Phase 3 - During this final phase, the reorganization of the area would be completed with:

- demolition of the Marine Science Institute and creation of a public square on the southern side of the new passenger terminal. With negotiations to hand over the Marine Science Institute building to the proposed Port Authority in progress, it becomes possible to seriously consider the organization of the open space around the new terminal and how to connect it to the town. In lieu of adapting the former Marine Science Institute into more offices for the Port Authority, for which additional space can be found in one of the many underused warehouses within the port compound, the Plan proposes the creation of an open plaza in front of the new passenger terminal. The open space created by the demolition of the Marine Science Institute would open up views of the Old Dispensary and the town behind it from the waterfront, and provide a visual anchor at the northern end of the seafront. The new square is a triangular space strongly oriented toward the sea and directly linked to the seafront promenade. Its northern edge is defined by the ground floor arcade of the new passenger terminal, while its eastern edge is separated from Mizingani Road by planters with small trees.

Sketch plan showing the proposed reorganization of the Port Entrance Action Area upon completion of all three phases. The proposal revolves around the planned construction of the new passenger terminal and adjacent public square which will provide a comfortable place for people to congregate and wait for the ferry.
which will provide shaded seating. A pedestrian crossing would also link the new square with the Old Dispensary and its forecourt, across Mizingani Road. The Sultan’s barge — a present from Queen Victoria to Sultan Khalifa and currently stored in a nearby warehouse — is the square’s proposed centrepiece, to be mounted in a lightly constructed pavilion. The northern waterfront, thus reorganized with newly opened public areas and promenades, would become a fitting pedestrian gateway into the Stone Town;

- establishment of duty-free shops along Mizingani Road in place of the present underused government warehouses. This proposal combines current programmes to create more port-related commercial activities with future plans to establish a free-trade zone in Zanzibar. The new facility, which could be realized through a consortium of private investors, would refurbish the existing warehouses. Inside, the commercial space would be organized into a series of small shops and offices within a large hall. A mezzanine level would provide additional retail space, and would be linked to a covered passage connecting the two blocks of the former warehouses. The new commercial complex would be accessible from Mizingani Road, thus enhancing public use of a street which so far has been limited by the introverted character of the buildings facing the road. In the long term, this development could have a major impact on the various efforts to revitalize the area in and around Zanzibar’s port.

The Central Market Action Area

The market area is the commercial crossroads of the entire city of Zanzibar, and a critical node for the island’s overall marketing, transport and passenger movement systems. Located 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 serves as the main distribution centre, supplying both suburban and country markets, and it is here that most of the island’s produce and imported goods are brought and sold, both wholesale and retail.

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 to define the terms for the assistance required, and explored, among other options, the possibility of developing a new market away from the Stone Town.

The mission advised against developing an alternative market site, and concluded that the Central Market is fundamentally efficient and that the best option at the moment is to rationalize and improve the existing facilities. With improvements and limited expansion, the present market can continue to fulfill its function well past the year 2000. Accordingly, UNCDF prepared a detailed project document containing a financial and technical appraisal of the scope of works to be undertaken. The UNCDF civil works programme concentrates primarily on the existing market located west of Creek Road, and calls for the upgrading of infrastructure, renovation of the market buildings and provision of additional wholesale and retail facilities. The main components of the UNCDF technical programme have been incorporated in the proposals presented in this section.

The commercial potential of the area along the eastern side of Creek Road has attracted the attention of a major private company with a long-standing relationship with Zanzibar. Following negotiations with the government, British Petroleum (BP) was given back the site of its former petrol station at the corner of Creek and Michenzani roads, and granted permission to re-establish its petrol station at the southern edge of the site in exchange for a contribution to upgrade the bus and lorry parking area north of the site.

The combination of the UNCDF and BP initiatives has the potential of setting in motion the development of the two physical poles of the market area: the retail system on the western side of Creek Road, with its meat and fish market, sheds, open vending areas and shops; and the transportation hub on the opposite side of Creek Road, with its terminals and parking, concourse and auction space, containers and informal vending areas. Each of these two components is complementary to the other and both are essential to the economic vitality and continued development of the Central Market area.

The proposals presented in this section seek to address simultaneously the reorganization of both sides of Creek Road and thus give a comprehensive answer to the problems of the entire area and its future role within the broader framework of the town.

**Site description**

During the nineteenth century, the principal market for the town was located behind the old Fort. To this day, this section is known as Sokonuhogo which means cassava market. The present market, on the edge of the Stone Town, was developed by the
British administration at the turn of this century on reclaimed land. The Central Market includes the Sayyidieh Market and the Estella Market buildings located along the western side of Creek Road.

The Sayyidieh Market includes a large open fenced area where vegetables are sold, in addition to the market building used to retail meat and fish. The latter is the most visible and imposing structure of the Central Market, designed by J. H. Sinclair and inaugurated in August of 1904. It is a long single-storey building in the eclectic style of the time. A tall central entrance is flanked by two lower retailing halls, divided into a series of individual stalls. A colonnade along the front of the building is used as an additional vending area by vegetable sellers. The original poultry market, built at the same time in a similar style as a separate structure at the southern end of the main building, is today converted into a store selling hardware and agricultural implements.

Directly behind the main building is the fenced open area in which food staples — cassava, sweet potatoes, coconuts, bananas — are auctioned during the early morning hours. The space west of this area is occupied by two long metal sheds and a series of timber stalls built against the surrounding fence, selling a variety of fruits and vegetables.

North of the Sayyidieh Market is the Estella Market, built in the early 1900s and named after the widow of Earl Cave who had been the Lord Chancellor of Britain. Surrounded by market stalls, this space originally contained two large structures in which fruit and vegetables were sold. The larger structure was demolished in the 1970s, and the resulting space is now used as an open area to auction fruit and vegetables in the early morning. The same produce is then sold on a retail basis later in the day. The area also contains a sprawl of informal concrete block structures housing eating places for market workers. The smaller of the two structures is the surviving portion of the original Estella Market. It is an open hall supported by cast iron columns and covered with a tile roof. Today, this structure is used as a poultry market and slaughter area.

To the east of the Estella Market and across a busy bazaar street is the Darajani Chawl, a three-storey building 110 metres long, which contains shops on the ground floor and tenements above. It was built in the 1880s by Sultan Sayyid Barghash to
generate income to pay for improvements to the Stone Town's water supply network. The building was designed to face the Stone Town, with its back turned to the creek and the Ng'ambo area beyond. Its rear elevation is now fully visible along the western side of Creek Road.

In view of their architectural and historical interest, the market building by J. H. Sinclair, the Darajani Chawl, the remaining portion of the Estella Market and the Municipality shops facing the Chawl along the bazaar street have been designated as listed buildings in the Conservation Plan.

Key plan and site plan showing the location, existing organization and principal planning issues of the Central Market Action Area. Creek Road divides the area into eastern and western halves. Each of the two sides complements the other and the entire area requires a comprehensive planning approach.
Across Creek Road, directly opposite the market, is a busy public open space in which a variety of activities take place. Part of the site is the terminal for the buses carrying goods and produce to the market and the \textit{dala-dala}s bringing passengers to town. Early in the morning, it is yet another produce auction area which later in the day is used for informal retailing. Vehicles and taxis are parked randomly throughout the area, while the rest of the site, particularly the strip of land opposite the Dara-jani Chawl, has been taken up by a solid row of 'container' shops selling imported foods and sundries. Behind this row, open-air vendors sell cloth.

Before the creek was drained, the Dara-jani Bridge, which was located north of the Chawl of the same name, linked the Stone Town and Ng’ambo. The bridge led to Dara-jani Street on the eastern side of the creek which was the main commercial street serving Ng’ambo. Today, this historic crossing point continues to be the principal pedestrian link between the two sides of the town, while Dara-jani Street has maintained and reinforced its commercial importance with a proliferation of shops selling general houseware, clothing, and electrical appliances. Not surprisingly, Dara-jani Street contains a number of historic structures very similar in character to the buildings found along the bazaar streets of the Stone Town. This historical and functional link with the Stone Town and the similarities of streetscape and architectural detail are the reasons underlying the inclusion of Dara-jani Street in the Conservation Area.

\textbf{Planning issues}

The problems affecting the area under consideration — both sides of the central stretch of Creek Road which measures
approximately 500 metres in length — are the result of the combined effects of serious infrastructure deficiencies, traffic congestion, poor use of existing spaces, lack of maintenance and investment in the buildings and needed new facilities, and the proliferation of container shops and other unplanned structures.

The deteriorated infrastructure is by far the most critical and pervasive issue. The combined sewage and stormwater drainage pipe along Creek Road, which discharges into the pump station at Funguni creek, serves not only the market and Creek Road but the entire eastern catchment area of the Stone Town. This pipe is presently blocked by rubbish and sand carried into the system by rainwater and tidal movements. In addition, the pump station has been out of order for the past six years. As a result, the entire market area is subject to severe flooding. During heavy rains, the water level can rise considerably. Inadequate and broken paving, as well as the lack of surface water drainage, exacerbate the situation. Aside from the resulting commercial losses, the flooding creates a health hazard in the market area as well as on the opposite side of Creek Road.

In addition, the solid waste collection and disposal system is stretched to capacity. Though functioning at present, it will need to be overhauled and radically improved in future. Further, water pressure is low in this area and insufficient to clean the market and ensure that adequate standards of hygiene are maintained. Lack of lighting is also a problem, particularly along the main road and near the parking areas. Finally, the two existing public toilets in the Sayyidieh Market have not been maintained and are in a deplorable state of disrepair.

Traffic and pedestrian circulation is the other major issue. The market area lies at the juncture of several major traffic routes and it is heavily used during most of the day. Market activities start very early in the morning, with shamba buses arriving from all over the island to unload produce at the southern end of the dala-dala parking area (eastern side of Creek Road), where the produce auctions take place. After the auction, the shamba buses stay parked in the area or somewhat north of Darajani Street. Smaller pick-up vehicles arrive to take away the produce bought during the auction, while the goods to be sold in the market are carried away or moved by handcart.

During the day, more traffic develops along the western side of Creek Road, as lorries arrive from the countryside to unload more produce and take away wholesale goods from the warehouses in the Darajani Chawl. Pedestrians and motorized traffic compete for access at the same entry points into the market area. At peak times, the congestion is so severe that even pedestrians find it difficult to walk through the bottlenecks that build up in the alleyways around the market. In addition to the traffic related to the market activities, there is a continuous flow of motorized traffic along Creek Road, one of the town's major arteries. Drivers often proceed at high speed in spite of the confusion — particularly at crossing points — of pedestrians, handcarts and bicycles. At present, no speed limits are imposed and no traffic-calming measures are in effect. Further, parking areas have developed spontaneously with vehicles parked randomly along both sides of Creek Road, as well as in and around the dala-dala loading area. Finally, there are no bus
The market buildings are plagued by the lack of maintenance. All have been subjected to inappropriate alterations and are in serious disrepair, with leaking roofs, broken paving, and doors and windows missing. Some of the historic features of the meat and fish market have been vandalized or unnecessarily replaced, and the Chawl has been considerably changed at ground level to open up spaces for new wholesale and retail outlets. In addition, there has been a proliferation of additional selling points. These are accommodated randomly in areas subject to flooding or under badly constructed sheds, and lack security, overnight storage and services, making business difficult and less efficient than it could be. The combination of low sales volume and bad planning result in uneconomic and inefficient uses of the available space.

The proliferation of uncontrolled commercial structures and spreading of informal vending areas along the eastern side of Creek Road is a relatively recent phenomenon, with serious and potentially disruptive implications for the future of the entire area. With the liberalization of the economy and increased imports from neighbouring countries, particularly Kenya and the Gulf states, a large number of metal ship containers have been converted into food and dry goods shops along Creek Road. Some of these containers have now been encased by walls and roofs, thus becoming virtually permanent structures. Erected without planning permission, they are technically illegal, but are tolerated by the administration and allowed to remain. Licensed as vendors, they pay only for the
'Container' shops selling imported foods and dry goods have sprung up along the east side of Creek Road. Initially temporary kiosks, many of these shops have been transformed into permanent structures.

Other stalls have proliferated behind the containers along Creek Road, selling imported cloth and women's dresses. There is widespread concern that unregulated commercial development in the area could transform the town's open spaces and green areas.

Electricity they consume in the evening, when they do a brisk business. These 'container' shops are a growing feature all over Zanzibar Town: in a 1993 survey, forty-four were counted just along Creek Road, and new ones appear all the time.

Behind the Creek Road container shops are the cloth vendors who set up stalls and open-air vending areas outside the walls of the Darajani and Vikokotoni schools. They used to pay license fees until their sheds were demolished by the Municipal Council.

Now they are back in business, but no longer pay for licences. Often selling on a commission basis for local shops, they store their materials either in these shops or in the containers alongside the Darajani School.

The Municipality and other government offices have stated that removal of the containers is one of the first priorities in the reorganization of the area. This confirms a long-standing planning policy to maintain this side of Creek Road as public undeveloped open space and protect the line of large trees and green spaces between the Stone Town and Ng'ambo. Unless promptly checked, however, the unregulated commercial development of the area could become irreversible and eventually overrun the green spaces along the eastern side of Creek Road.

The many problems and conflicting patterns of use that are concentrated in and around the market area make it the town's most complex public area. Only carefully
The proposed reorganization of the Central Market area includes improvements to the buildings and open areas on the western side of Creek Road, as well as the upgrading and relandscaping of the parking and informal vending areas along the eastern side. The scheme also includes measures to facilitate pedestrian circulation and regulate traffic along the Creek Road artery.
coordinated regulatory measures and planned improvements will enable the area to function properly and fulfill its role as the town's principal market and crossroads.

**A reorganized commercial core and transportation hub**

The proposals presented below suggest how the market area and the spaces east of Creek Road can be upgraded and reorganized. Infrastructure improvements to the sewage and stormwater drainage system are a prerequisite for the future reorganization of both sides of Creek Road. This work has already been planned as part of the infrastructure masterplan prepared by Dorsch Consult for the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and the Environment, and incorporated in the proposals prepared by UNCDF.

The market areas on the western side. The recommended improvements call for repaving the public open areas of the Sayyidieh and Estella markets with concrete pavers. In addition, a new water supply storage tank and distribution system would be provided as well as adequate toilet facilities and public lighting for the market areas. Specific measures for the Sayyidieh Market include rehabilitation of the meat and fish halls, with removal of inappropriate accretions to the building, and reorganization and refurbishment of the food staples vending area and the metal structures at the back. Vehicular access to the area around the Sayyidieh Market would be closed, with bollards positioned near the present electrical substation. The only exception would be to allow solid waste collection vehicles to enter and empty the proposed containers, or skips, located behind the meat and fish...
market building. Finally, it is proposed that new bicycle racks be positioned along the front and at the back of the meat and fish market building.

As proposed by UNCDF, the poultry selling area in the Estella Market would be transferred back to its original location in the building south of the present meat and fish market. The covered hall of the Estella Market would be restored to its former use as a covered fruit and vegetable selling pavilion. The adjacent open area would be reorganized, with the removal of the temporary sheds and the provision of a new storage and food-vending pavilion along the northern edge. Eventually, also the Darajani Chawl could be rehabilitated with the removal of the accretions to the original building and the repositioning of the entry ways so as not to interfere with the major pedestrian crossings on either side of the building.

The transportation crossroads and public areas on the eastern side of Creek Road. The proposal includes measures to control parking and vehicular traffic, and facilitate pedestrian circulation along and across Creek Road. Speed bumps and pedestrian crossings are proposed near Darajani Street and the new square opposite the market.

The square will serve as a general gathering space as well as an extension of the market for auctions during seasonal peaks. To the immediate south of the square is the delivery and loading area for the shamba buses, as well as additional auction and retail space. Next to this is the waiting and parking area reserved for data-dalas and taxis. The area is equipped with bus shelters, public toilets and a water tap. The new BP petrol station, whose concession was recently renewed by the government, is shown at the southern end of this area. The entry and exit points for the petrol station are along Michenzani Road in order to avoid additional vehicular movement across Creek Road. The BP station
Pedestrian Crossing Point

Darajani Chawl

Pedestrian Crossing at Site of Former Darajani Bridge

Darajani Chawl: replaster facade, repair shutters to uniform design and attach new canopy

Delineate pedestrian crossing between Darajani Street and entrance to Stone Town

is screened by the large existing trees along Creek Road, and its structures have been designed to blend with the surrounding traditional urban context.

Additional parking for private vehicles is proposed on part of the open plot belonging to the CCM (Revolutionary Party), which at present is fenced and only occasionally used for public rallies. The need for more parking is foreseen in order to accommodate the increasing numbers of private cars commuting into the area. As shown in the scheme, access to the new car-park would be from Michenzani Road, thus drawing traffic away from Creek Road and helping to alleviate congestion along the artery.

North of the central square, opposite the Darajani Chawl, the scheme shows the proposed reorganization of the area following the relocation of the container shops. Informal vending would be allowed along Creek Road, but on a strictly temporary basis, with stalls set up and removed daily. A garden would be positioned along the eastern side of the new paved informal vending area to screen it from the adjacent Darajani School. Access to Darajani Street from Creek Road would be opened up with the removal of the existing illegal structures and containers. Further

Elevation illustrating the principal buildings and measures covered in the proposals for the Central Market Action Area along the east side of Creek Road.
north, the present informal parking and waiting area used by the *shamba* buses during the day would be reorganized and the surface paved for this purpose.

**The Malindi Action Area**

During discussions held prior to finalizing the Conservation Plan, public officials and planners stressed the need for additional commercial and office space in the Stone Town. While recognizing that there are no large undeveloped sites available in the central area, which is already congested and where both vehicular access and parking are limited, an area was identified at the eastern edge of Malindi, on the periphery of the Stone Town. Located near the port and relatively close to the city's centre, the site identified is well suited for the development of a small commercial and business expansion area. It offers both a tract of undeveloped land as well as easy vehicular access and potentially adequate parking.

The site is an inclined strip of open land along Bwawani Road. The northern edge of the site is flanked by the backs of one- and two-storey residential structures all built in recent years with the exception of one or two old Arab houses. At the southern end of the site, at the corner of Malawi and Bwawani roads, there is a government workshop and automobile showroom in a long rectangular, single-storey structure. Presently, the open area is used to store bulky goods, building materials and firewood, as well as for the drying of noodles. The space is also used informally by children playing football, and periodically by fishermen to repair sails and nets.
On the opposite side of the road lies another undeveloped strip of land overlooking the swampy area that used to be a part of Funguni creek. Various schemes, including a public recreation and sports facility, have been considered for this partially reclaimed land, but to date none of these ideas have been realized. Today, part of the swampy area continues to be used by urban farmers growing rice and various other crops.

All the open land is owned and controlled by the government, which is under increasing pressure by commercial interests to allocate new land for development in the central area. The Malindi Action Area site, if improved and properly developed, could meet, at least in part, the need for additional commercial land in the Stone Town, and help relieve the pressure on other, more sensitive historic areas.

**Planning issues**

Of all the Action Area sites, this is the least congested and the one in which open, undeveloped land is still available. However, it does present a number of problems and issues that need to be addressed.

**Infrastructure.** The soil underneath the site is mostly landfill, as it lies along the mouth of the original creek that used to separate the Stone Town from the rest of the island. Drainage is poor as the area lacks proper infrastructure services. Although there is combined sewer and stormwater drainage running under the site from south to north toward the sea, it frequently becomes blocked and overflows. Eventually, in order to develop the site, a separate sewage and
stormwater drainage system will have to be installed, the water and electricity supply overhauled, and parking areas and pedestrian routes repaved. In order to raise the funds to cover these development costs, a joint public and private initiative could be considered as the site, given the limited availability of undeveloped land in the centre and the commercial potential of the area, may be expected to generate keen interest on the part of investors.

Relocating displaced activities. A consequence of the new development is the displacement or, in some cases, the reintegration of activities that presently occupy the site. The government automobile showroom could easily be re-integrated within the new commercial development, while an alternative and more suitable location would have to be found for the garage. The other informal activities taking place in the undeveloped portion of the site — children playing football and fishermen periodically repairing sails and nets — could be moved to the area across the road. In this case, the issue is not so much finding available open land, but the suitability of the space available.

The Funguni swamp is in fact a huge underutilized area, part of the former creek which was never properly drained at this end. The Plan recommends that the swamp be part of a long-term 'upgrading' scheme to turn it into a large urban park. The area could easily accommodate the displaced informal recreational activities and provide the open space needed for the harbour-related work of nearby fishermen. Reclaiming a limited portion of the Funguni swamp for these uses could be considered in conjunction with the redevelopment of the Malindi commercial development.

The low-lying Malindi Action Area site. redevelopment of the area will require an initial investment to improve roads, drainage infrastructure, electricity service, and parking.

Buwawani Road looking south toward Creek Road. The Bharat building can be recognized in the distance. The side of the road along the Funguni swamp is lined with cement benches.

Close-up view of the Malindi site west of Buwawani Road. Informal fencing and obsolete vehicle parts occupy part of the site.

The Funguni swamp from Buwawani Road, with the Buwawani hotel in the distance. Upgrading the Funguni basin as an urban park could accommodate the informal recreational and harbour-related activities that presently occupy part of the Action Area site.
Architectural considerations. A key issue is how the new development can be made to fit into the existing urban and architectural context. Rather than following the prevailing pattern of haphazard and piecemeal development, a single mixed-use development programme has been prepared for the area. Particular attention has been focused on designing an ensemble which responds to the functional requirements of the new commercial area — housing, offices and quality retail outlets — and which at the same time blends satisfactorily with the traditional context. This section of Malindi is typified by individual low-height building units rather than the large-scale, multi-storey structures preferred in contemporary new developments elsewhere in Zanzibar.

Proposals

The Action Area scheme provides 'sketch proposals' for the development of the area. Two building types are proposed, one square in plan and the other L-shaped, which can vary between two and three storeys 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, semi-public courtyard, reminiscent of the interior courtyards in the old buildings. The principal facades of the units are laid out along Bwawani Road, resulting in a discontinuous and yet homogeneous frontage resembling the traditional fabric of the seafront and parts of the adjacent Creek Road.

Small side-access roads run between each structure and lead to loading areas at the back. The proposed blocks wrap around the corner, linking the new development to

Site plan showing the redevelopment of the proposed commercial area in Malindi. The mixed use scheme, including housing, offices and retail shops, lines the west side of the road.
Malawi Road and replacing the container shop that presently sits on this portion of the site. An informal public footpath connects the new development to the existing residential area behind.

On the opposite side of the road, bordering the swamp, a new car-park is proposed to serve the new development. The car-park is part of the Plan's proposed traffic circulation and parking network for the Stone Town.

In developing the proposals for the commercial area in Malindi, an attempt has been made to design contemporary structures that are physically and visually compatible with the surrounding historic fabric. This has been achieved by establishing similarities in scale and texture between old and new, and by maintaining a sense of continuity through the design and positioning of the contemporary structures within the historic context.

Scale has been controlled by creating similarities in the overall massing and...
proportions of the new development. This applies to the proportions of individual openings, the relationship between solids and voids on facades, and the overall width and height of the new buildings. Similarities in texture can be maintained by using plaster finishes with tactile and light-reflective qualities like those found in the Stone Town. Overall continuity is achieved by establishing close analogies with the morphology of the traditional fabric. In this case, the character and components of Zanzibar's old buildings have been integrated in the contemporary designs to establish a close relationship with the historic setting.

The Malindi scheme thus seeks to create a coherent, up to date environment that fulfils the current needs of businesses and commercial operations with buildings that fit into the existing historic urban context. 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.

Elevation showing the proposed buildings. The design draws physical and visual analogies with Zanzibar's traditional fabric in scale, proportions, and in the choice of textures and details.

Cross section of the new mixed use complex facing east toward Bwawani Road. The proposed units, to the left in the drawing, are similar in weight and scale to the existing houses on the right. The section through the L-shaped three-storey infill unit shows the organization of the interior semi-public courtyard.
Residents in front of the entrance to a masafarkhana in Malindi, one of the most densely populated areas in the Stone Town. The future of these old buildings cannot be separated from the requirements of the people who live in them.

Participation by the public in the planning process will be fundamental to implementing the Plan.
Implementing the Plan

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 recent approval of the Stone Town Conservation Plan and passage of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Act have created the preconditions for better planning in the historic area.

In preparing the Stone Town Conservation Plan, an effort was made to assess the conditions prevailing in the historic area, identify the pressures and ongoing changes to the urban fabric, and define policies and planning objectives to improve the future organization and functioning of the central area. An effort should now be made to translate these objectives into a series of specific actions. Some will be the physical interventions discussed in the previous chapters—a different traffic network and the reorganization of some of the major public areas. Others will result in the enactment of specific regulations and implementation guidelines. Others again may involve defining alternative administrative or management procedures, establishing a public subsidy initiative, or creating a mixed public/private investment programme.

In this respect, the recently approved Plan should not be considered a single comprehensive document that is defined once and for all, but as a regulatory framework for the different actions required to plan and manage the historic area over the long term. As such, the Plan is not frozen in time, but part of an ongoing process in which programmes and actions are woven together to achieve the specified objectives. Situations will change over time, as will the opportunities for implementing specific actions and programmes. For this reason, it is important to maintain flexibility and leave the actual identification of resources and implementation modalities to subsequent detailed planning work, when the most appropriate and expedient measures can be developed.

It is, however, upon implementation that the effectiveness of the Plan’s policies and programmes will be assessed. The sooner the planning process is taken to its implementation phase, the sooner its results can be evaluated and, if necessary, adjusted. This requires that the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), recently designated as the public institution responsible for the historic area, pursue its mandate actively as the premier agent of conservation and development.

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 desired programmes, and assume the role of broker to promote initiatives and mediate between the different groups, constituencies and organizations active in the historic area. In terms of management, it means striving for an efficient and fair administration, ensuring 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 following sections review the recent changes in the legal and institutional framework, discuss the role of STCDA in the management of the historic area, highlight some of the implementation strategies that can be pursued with greater community involvement, and define an agenda for the immediate actions that need to be carried out to advance the Plan’s objectives.

The New Legal and Institutional Framework

The principal changes in the legal and institutional framework regulating planning in the historic area are the formal approval of this Conservation Plan and establishment of STCDA as a legal entity.

Approval of the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan has been effected through existing legislation, namely the Town and Country Planning Decree (Chapter 85) of 1955. The approval requirements under Chapter 85 are relatively straightforward and had been applied before, in particular with the approval of the Zanzibar Planning Scheme of 1959. The principal difference this time was that only the Stone Town would be subjected to the planning exercise, thus acknowledging the Stone Town’s special character and the need to address its future preservation and development with specific planning measures.

Based on the requirements of Chapter 85, Section 3, the Stone Town was first declared the “Stone Town Planning Area” with the Declaration Order of 1 September 1993. Concurrently, an Ad Hoc “Planning Authority” was established to prepare and review the
planning scheme for the planning area on behalf of the Government and submit it for final approval to the Minister of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment (MWCELE). Following the Plan's submission and completion of the required review period, the Plan was formally adopted by the Minister on 1 July of 1994, under Section 7 of Chapter 85.

The Plan comprises four plan maps and the Planning Statement presented in the Appendices. The statement contains a detailed description of the proposals and maps, together with regulations applicable to land use and conservation and development actions, as well as regulations concerning circulation and parking, infrastructure, and the environment. The regulations are to be read in conjunction with the proposal maps, and are not intended as a substitute for the building and planning regulations contained in Zanzibar's principal legislation. Rather, they should be considered complementary provisions or further specifications to meet the particular requirements of the historic area.

Under the 1955 Decree, it was envisaged that, following approval of the planning scheme, the same "Planning Authority" would be responsible for the Plan's implementation and the enforcement of its regulations and provisions. In the case of the Stone Town, it was decided that implementation of the Plan would be undertaken primarily by the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, which in fact was created to coordinate planning activities in the historic area, but never effectively empowered to do so. The proposed delegation of implementation powers from the Planning Authority to STCDA was effected under Section 35 of Cap 85, and ratified on 1 July 1994. Thus, under the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Decree, and without recourse to any new legislation, STCDA has been empowered to act as the authority responsible for planning and building in the historic area and enforce the regulations attached to the Plan.

Approval of the Plan and making STCDA legally responsible for its implementation creates a much clearer institutional and legal framework, inasmuch as it identifies both the policies and planning measures as well as the agency responsible. But it does not establish the conditions or internal organization needed by the Authority in order for it to carry out its expanded mandate. This important aspect has been addressed with the preparation and recent approval of the Establishment Act for the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority of 1994. The draft of this Act was prepared in 1991 for the Ministry of WCELE by an independent legal consultant and subsequently amended by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS/Habitat) prior to its final adoption.

The Act defines STCDA's mission and tasks as well as its organization and legal powers. The Authority's mission is to stimulate, guide, plan and coordinate conservation activities in the Stone Town, while its principal tasks are the preparation of a plan and supervision of all conservation and development in the Stone Town. The latter includes the issuing of building permits and restoration notices, monitoring of construction works and prosecution of illegal building activities. The Establishment Act also calls on the Authority to advise, coordinate and monitor other government agencies and departments charged with building and infrastructure projects as well
as agencies responsible for the use and maintenance of public areas and government buildings in the Stone Town.

In terms of organization, the STCDA remains a department of MWCELE under the direct authority of the Minister. It is headed by a Director General who is assisted by an Advisory Board. The board has five to seven members and is presided over by a chairman appointed by the President. The function of this board is to advise the Authority on all matters related to the conservation and development of the Stone Town, and to appoint subcommittees to handle specific issues.

Finally, the 1994 Act provides STCDA with special legal powers which are intended to give the Authority the independence and means to operate effectively. In particular, STCDA will have the power to enter into contracts; acquire, hold and dispose of movable and immovable property; spend, lend, borrow and receive money from the government or any other source; issue repair notices and bring suit in its corporate name; and exert any other power as may be vested in it by the Minister. These provisions allow STCDA to act as an independent corporation and, as such, assume sensitive legal and financial responsibilities.

Although not specifically indicated in the Act, the recommendations of UNCHS identify four subcommittees, namely (1) Master Plan, Building Applications and Development Controls, (2) Conservation Trust Fund, (3) Infrastructure Improvement Coordination, and (4) Community Development, Public Relations and Information. Other subcommittees may be established as the need arises. Members of these subcommittees should be officials of relevant public institutions and government departments as well as people from the community. Finally, UNCHS recommended that STCDA have its own professional and support staff organized into four distinct departments entitled (1) Planning and Project Preparation, (2) Plan Approval and Supervision of Works, (3) Information, and (4) Finance and Accounts. The implications of this new institutional setting and STCDA’s expanded mandate for the management of the historic area will be reviewed in the following section.
A further addition to Zanzibar's legislation that should be mentioned here is the approval in 1994 of the Land Tenure Act. Although it focuses primarily on rural land, its provisions may also be applied to urban areas and the historic Stone Town in particular. Specifically, this new act contains measures that can facilitate private investment in the property market and the rehabilitation and upkeep of existing houses. These measures would apply to owners and, under special arrangements, tenants of government buildings, and include the introduction of land registration and land allocation procedures, the definition of rights of sale as well as clearer and more secure tenancy agreements. Also of great relevance is the introduction of building loans and mortgages through authorized lending institutions, which could lead to the development in Zanzibar of much needed housing finance, as well as access to loans for emergency repairs in the historic area.

Enhancing Planning and Management

With the establishment of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority as a separate agency, the preconditions have been met for the effective planning and management of resources and development activities within the historic centre of Zanzibar.

The empowerment of a single public institution with jurisdiction over the entire historic area has a number of important implications. As a public agency, STCDA is in the best position to subordinate short-term or special interests to superior considerations, such as the preservation of open areas or structures of architectural significance. In a complex urban environment such as Zanzibar, where different groups coexist and often compete for space and resources, it is important that the institution in charge be perceived as a non-partisan organization capable of acting in the general interest and giving fair consideration to the needs and expectations of all the different parties concerned.

As the principal institution responsible for the Stone Town, STCDA is also in the best position to ensure proper coordination between the various government agencies and external aid organizations, as well as private individuals or groups operating in the area. Coordination is all the more essential in the Stone Town where every small decision will inevitably set in motion a series of political and physical repercussions, and where activities and building works need to be carefully phased to ensure that the results are compatible with each other and appropriate to the historic context. Finally, as a public body with a permanent mandate and a well-defined brief, the Stone Town Authority can ensure the continuity of effort and sustained commitment needed to plan and manage a complex historic area over the long term.

In order to fulfill its much expanded role, the STCDA should aim at reinforcing its two-tiered internal organization as well as the composition of its advisory board, subcommittees and staff in order to represent the historic area's principal interests and constituencies, and to acquire the technical, analytical and advisory expertise in key planning and management sectors.

The role of STCDA's advisory board and subcommittees should be strengthened by enlisting the support and participation of prominent members of the community, representatives from different constituencies, and officials from ministries and other local authorities in order to ensure a broad consensus for the programmes envisaged by the Plan. During the Plan's preparation, this approach was followed in setting up the Stone Town Planning Authority which helped in shaping the Plan's objectives and contents, and reviewed and endorsed it before passing it on for final approval. A similar consensus should be sought during implementation. Priorities, policies and targets should be set with the help of the various committees, which should then steer negotiations with the community and external parties to arrange implementation and obtain funding if needed.

At the technical level, STCDA should aim at reinforcing its management capacity and translating the Plan's broad policies into detailed plans of action. It is unrealistic to imagine that responsibility for all services and activities in the historic area can be concentrated solely within the Stone Town Authority. But it is possible to envisage a highly integrated group of professionals providing technical inputs in key sectors and acting as facilitators between government departments and community groups, developing appropriate solutions and monitoring planning and building initiatives in the historic area. This corps will require the expertise of a civil engineer, an architect/planner, an economist, a legal advisor and a traditional construction and conservation expert. When such expertise is not readily available within STCDA, it can be provided by other government employees on temporary secondment or through external consultants. In the long term, however, STCDA's staff must be competent in these fields. Training and strengthening its capacities should therefore be part of the
The area in front of the Old Dispensary, recently restored by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, is being refurbished to serve as a pivotal public open space at the future entrance to the Stone Town. Projects of this kind, when coordinated and linked to one another, can create new urban amenities and improve the city’s image.

The institution’s ongoing development programme.

According to Habitat’s recommendations, STCDA’s technical staff should be divided into the aforementioned four departments corresponding to the Authority’s principal areas of activity.

Planning and Project Preparation. One of the Authority’s primary objectives is the preparation of a plan for the historic area. This task was in fact carried out by the joint STCDA - AKTC team from 1992 to 1994, more or less during the same period the Act was under review and eventually approved. Although the Plan provides a general policy and physical planning framework, much detailed planning work still remains. The proposed Department of Planning and Project Preparation would have an important role to play, independently and in coordination with other government, donor and private institutions, in developing the detailed area plans for the historic area, including the four Action Areas envisaged by the Plan.

This department would also have to monitor ongoing and planned infrastructure improvements in the Stone Town. At a general level, it would need to deal with the authorities responsible for infrastructure installations and services, particularly the electricity, water and sewage systems and rubbish collection, to ensure that public works are properly coordinated and that the special requirements of the historic area are taken into account. At a detailed planning level, STCDA could contribute directly to the engineering and designing of open spaces, and to the landscaping of public areas where appropriate standards for paving, street furnishings, landscaping and other details must be established.

An infrastructure improvement project under way in 1995 along Creek Road. Coordination of this programme to rehabilitate the sewage, drainage and solid waste disposal system has involved various municipal and governmental departments, including STCDA, with technical and financial support from the German government.
A new storey is added onto a partially collapsed building with little consideration given to the stability of the structure. In future, additions and alterations will be reviewed to ensure that the structural and historical integrity of the old buildings is not undermined.

Planning Approval and Supervision of Works. This is a key area concerned with developing conservation and building standards, and exerting development controls over private building initiatives. This is of paramount importance in the dense context of the Stone Town, where the positioning and detailing of any individual building has a considerable impact both on neighbouring structures and on the overall townscape. The building application process is a very sensitive area where private interests and partisan pressures are likely to arise and negatively affect implementation of the Plan's conservation measures. In discharging its mandate, STCDA should avoid two opposite extremes. On one side, it must avoid a lax building application review policy, with scarce controls and little or no enforcement, as this will inevitably lead to unwanted developments. The other extreme is a maze of complicated bureaucratic procedures, exasperating and autocratic controls, and unsustainable enforcement measures. This approach will not work in the long term as it is enormously time-consuming, requires a great deal of personnel, and involves the public administration in endless litigation. A more sensible approach is to strengthen the administration's presence in the community and create a climate of trust and cooperation with enterprises, groups and individuals who will want to invest and build in the historic area. Apart from the particular procedures followed, the Authority should aim at simplifying and speeding up the building application review process, and adopting standards and requirements that are easily understood and applied. This can be accomplished by issuing guidelines, circulars and information pamphlets. In addition, an effort should be made to provide applicants, at an early stage in the application process, with informal advice and technical assistance,
Information. The acceptance and eventual success of the Plan hinges on good relations with the public and an effective information and community development service. The proposed Information Department would be responsible for promoting an understanding of the aims of the Conservation Plan and helping residents benefit from the advisory services discussed above. Enquiries should be channelled through this department which should also distribute building and conservation guidelines, circulars, and leaflets. More ambitious initiatives might include publicity campaigns, education programmes for the media and schools, as well as meetings with local leaders and constituencies where common problems can be discussed. Another important function of this department would be to promote training opportunities in conservation work, as these can have important implications for both the dissemination of appropriate building standards and the creation of new job opportunities.

Finally, the Information Department could help mobilize private resources and investment toward the rehabilitation and conservation of historic houses by facilitating access to housing financing, now possible with the recent approval of the Land Tenure Act. In addition to conventional mortgages, whose terms are likely to be beyond the means of low-income groups and which may have strict eligibility criteria, this department could explore, either directly or through other institutions, the development of a revolving fund for short-term loans and small grants for home improvements and emergency repairs. These could be tailored to the needs and financial means of low-income groups and made accessible to both home-
owners and tenants of government property. In particular, the setting up of an emergency repair scheme aimed at stabilizing buildings in some of the more vulnerable parts of the Stone Town should be one of the immediate priorities of STCDA's conservation programme.

Habitat's recommendations attach great importance to STCDA's public information and community development activities. Two of the four Advisory Board subcommittees are intended to promote community and financial support for conservation activities, namely the subcommittee for Community Development, Public Relations and Information and the Conservation Trust Fund.

Finance and Accounts. This recommended department's key function would be to raise and manage the funds needed to support the Authority's staff and cover its operational costs. This will not be an easy task as STCDA's mandate and its public outreach responsibilities have been considerably expanded. In the past, STCDA's activities were financed in part by the sale of public properties, a practice now suspended, in part by technical assistance and donor support, and in part by an annual allocation from the Ministry of Finance. To the extent possible, it is hoped this allocation will be increased in future to reflect the Stone Town Authority's expanded mandate and thus allow it to meet its additional responsibilities. Public funding is limited, however, and the yearly amount allocated by the Ministry may be insufficient. STCDA will therefore have to continue to explore other funding sources to support its programmes and activities.

The special legal powers granted to the Stone Town Authority in the 1994 Act—particularly the provisions to hold and dispose of property, and receive and spend money from sources other than government—provide the Authority with new opportunities for financial independence. These opportunities will need to be explored with relevant ministries, the Municipality and other branches of MWCELE to see how they can be concretely realized. Further, although it cannot be considered a permanent solution, external aid is another possible source of independent funding. A strong case for recourse to external financing during this initial stage of STCDA's expanded operation can reasonably be put forward as the Authority is starting off on a new course of integrated planning action in the historic area.

Ultimately, the surest means of attracting and sustaining both local and external financial support will be for STCDA to establish its credibility as an institution by carefully administering the funds currently at its disposal and carrying out its mandate to the best of its ability, with an eye toward building up and expanding its capacities as new means become available.

Participatory Planning and Implementation

Centralized planning and attempts to mold the future organization of towns and their historic areas following preset "ideal" schemes have generally failed for lack of support and because they do not reflect the problems and needs of the people concerned. Successful plans are those that consider central historic urban areas as a common good and mobilize resources and people to improve it for all concerned. This requires the involvement, at the outset of the planning process, of all the public institutions, constituencies and private groups active in the historic area.

This approach has been followed to the extent possible during preparation of the Zanzibar Conservation Plan, with the participation of the different branches of the public administration and selected constituencies in reviewing and endorsing the Plan, but it should be reinforced and expanded during the implementation phase. There are important reasons for this.

To begin with, public institutions in Zanzibar do not have sufficient resources to act alone. In order to mobilize the necessary means and achieve visible results, private individuals and community groups will need to be involved. Even in cases where the public institutions involved have an inclusive mandate and all the resources needed, it is unlikely that significant progress will be made without the consensus and participation of those directly affected by the Plan.

This is why it is crucial to create lasting links and partnership arrangements with the various groups active in the historic area, and to integrate public participation in the implementation and management process. Without such arrangements, ideas and plans are not likely to move beyond the planning stage. Broadly speaking, the different groups operating in the historic area of Zanzibar can be identified as:

- ministries, other government institutions, municipal departments and parastatal agencies which provide services or which have interests or properties in the historic area,
• local constituencies, religious groups, and
residents sharing similar problems and
expectations for improved public services
and housing;

• shopkeepers, artisans, small manufacturers,
café and restaurant owners, as well as
vendors and people in the informal sector
who are concerned about better working
conditions;

• developers and hoteliers as well as larger
business concerns which are often eager for
investment opportunities and an improved
business climate in the historic area;

• international aid organizations and bilateral
donors working in Zanzibar in different
areas such as infrastructure development,
housing, health, small business
development, conservation and education
which can be linked directly or indirectly
to initiatives in the Stone Town;

• local and international NGOs which are
beginning to emerge in Zanzibar. These
organizations have a particular interest in
promoting activities at the grass-roots level
and establishing direct links with the local
community. As such, they can be
instrumental in stimulating public
awareness and participation in the
planning process.

One way of ensuring participation in the
Plan’s conservation and development
programmes has already been mentioned. It
consists of involving representatives of the
various public bodies and constituencies
active in the town at the institutional level in
identifying priorities, seeking the necessary
support and mobilizing the wide range of
resources needed during the Plan’s
implementation.

Other initiatives that can facilitate
participation include informal meetings,
where local elders and leaders, longtime
residents, and experienced administrators can
help with gathering information and
identifying specific objectives and
implementation modalities. Public meetings
open to one and all require careful
preparation, but are indispensable in
evaluating firsthand people’s expectations
and reactions to different ideas and
proposals. Open meetings can also help
identify opportunities for direct involvement
and partnership. These initiatives should
become a permanent feature of STCDA’s
management of the historic area.

Public participation and partnership
arrangements can be developed in many
different sectors. The merit of individual
initiatives will be determined by evaluating
their contribution toward resolving issues of
public interest — which remains the
Authority’s first priority — and by assessing
their impact on improving living and working
conditions, safeguarding and enhancing the
physical environment, and in promoting the
social and economic development of the
Stone Town. Below are a few examples of
how STCDA may cooperate to mutual
advantage with other public institutions,
international and non-governmental agencies,
and private groups and individuals.

• A public service agency which has trouble
providing its service efficiently or collecting
user charges may benefit from STCDA’s
collaboration to facilitate cooperation from
the community, whether by assisting with
operation of the service or by promoting
quicker payment from users. For instance,
residents can be organized to deposit
garbage at more accessible collection
points, thus helping the municipality save
on staff. The savings can then be invested
in increasing collection and improving
delivery of the service. In most cases,
deteriorating public services are part of a
vicious cycle that can only be interrupted
and overcome with dialogue and better
cooperation between users and providers.

• STCDA could help persuade shopkeepers
with shops along the bazaar streets to
contribute to improving the paving or
lighting of their street in return for tax
deductions, in order to enhance business
in the central urban area.

• With institutional support from STCDA,
tenants of government-owned buildings
may show an interest in forming
cooparatives and themselves funding
emergency repairs or basic service
improvements in their homes in return for
security of tenancy and government-funded
technical advice and supervision of
home improvement works.

• Under the auspices of STCDA, public
buildings of historical importance can be
rehabilitated and turned into needed
neighbourhood facilities, such as a local
dispensary, small training centre or
nursery, with funds provided by public or
external organizations. If proper restoration
techniques are used and if there is an
understanding and respect for the original
structure, these new functions will give
many more years of life to buildings that
otherwise might be neglected and left to
deteriorate.

Individually, these initiatives can only have
a limited effect on the town as a whole.
However, strong action at the planning
level, combined with careful coordination
of diverse initiatives 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. Eventually, available resources and specific conditions will determine the best mechanisms and the most appropriate course of action to be pursued. While open and responsive, however, the Plan must also promote and stimulate concrete actions today in order that the planning process is carried toward 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 self-financing 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 exceptions, by providing free pre-construction advice, reviewing and ruling on building applications, monitoring private and public construction activities, and by 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 in this respect should focus on:

  - identifying the funding needed to initiate a general programme of emergency repairs and regular maintenance of historic 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 rent levels, especially when found to be unrealistically low, as well as facilitating tenants' participation in self-help or cooperative housing programmes 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

The poor condition of this government housing illustrates the need for a repair and maintenance programme for publicly owned buildings.

Large lorries such as the tanker above will not be allowed to pass through the Stone Town.
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 indicative street signs and other regulatory devices. In particular, parking restrictions, speed limits and the banning of vehicles above two tonnes in the historic area should be strictly enforced. At the same time, road works in the central areas should be coordinated with a view to introducing deterrents against parking and vehicular access, traffic-calming 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 programme for dala-dala and taxi parking on Creek Road — as well as the installation of secure bicycle racks should be actively explored. These practical actions in the historic 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 programmes 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 the different 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 kind contributions and direct community involvement in return for better and more reliable services.

- **Action areas and Areas to be Upgraded.** During this 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;
  - finalizing 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 in 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 historic area, by:

- increasing direct revenues. This can be done by raising property taxes, increasing rents for government property as well as user charges for public services, while upholding the principle that the revenue raised in the Stone Town should be, at least in part, reinvested in the area. These funds can be used directly to improve the condition of public buildings and spaces as well as 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 private 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 of 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 during 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 historic area, that will have to provide the essential stimuli and coordinate the different planning activities over time. It is a key role which will need to be sustained at the highest levels of government and facilitated through the active cooperation of the many other branches of the public administration.

Also, donors, non-governmental organizations, political constituencies, community groups, religious entities, professionals, users and private individuals can and should play a role in the implementation of the different 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 historic 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 transformation.

The proposals contained in this document 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, as such, designed to enhance the potentials and positive trends identified in the Stone Town; achievable because the majority of the measures proposed do not require the implementation of far-fetched programmes or complex technical measures.

Instead, it is a shift in attitude that is required to a more sensitive approach to the Stone Town's fabric, including 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 a 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.
A gate in Kajifechen.
Gazette Notices

Legal Supplement (Part II) to the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar Gazette
Vol. CIII, 5647 of 16th July, 1994

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING DEREE (CAP 85),
ZANZIBAR STONE TOWN CONSERVATION PLANNING SCHEME. PUTTING THE SCHEME INTO FORCE
(under section 7)

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred upon me under section 7 of the Town and Country Planning Decree, Cap 85, I, SALUM HASHIM RAJAB, Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment, do hereby direct that the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan be put into force from 1st July, 1994 for the area known as the Stone Town Conservation Planning Area, part of the Stone Town Planning Area established under Cap 85, section 3, Declaration Order, on 1st September 1993.

Copies of the Plan as approved by the Minister have been deposited in, and are open for inspection during normal office hours, at the offices of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, Forodhani, Zanzibar.

General Notice No. 816 of 1959 is hereby repealed.

Zanzibar,
1st July, 1994
SALUM HASHIM RAJAB
Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING DEGREE, CAP 85

APPOINTMENT OF THE AUTHORITY TO IMPLEMENT THE CONSERVATION PLAN,
(under Section 35).

IN EXERCISE of the power conferred upon it under section 35 of the Town and Country Planning Decree, Cap 85, the Zanzibar Stone Town Planning Authority do hereby appoint to implement and put into force the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan as approved by the Planning Authority, and the Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment, with effect from the 1st day of July, 1994.

Zanzibar,
1st July, 1994
SALUM HASHIM RAJAB
Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment

Legal Supplement (Part II) to the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar Gazette
Vol. CIII No. 5647 of 16th July, 1994

THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING DEGREE (CAP 85),
PUBLICATION OF STONE TOWN CONSERVATION PLAN
(Made under section 5)

WHEREAS on the 1st day of September, 1993, I, SALUM HASHIM RAJAB, the Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment declared the Zanzibar Stone Town Planning Area and appointed accordingly the Planning Authority to prepare on behalf of the Government a Planning Scheme relating to that area;

AND WHEREAS the Planning authority has submitted to me its Descriptive Report and Planning Statement with Plan Maps (hereinafter called the “Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan”) which I approved accordingly;

AND NOW THEREFORE IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred upon me under section 5 (2) of the said Decree, I have the pleasure of publishing the same in the Gazette, and depositing copies of the submitted Plan for inspection and comments, during normal office hours, at the offices of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) at Forodhani, Zanzibar.

SIGNED this 14th day of February, 1994

ZANZIBAR
14th February, 1994
SALUM HASHIM RAJAB
Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment

OCTHAM BAKARI OTHMAN
CHAIRMAN PLANNING AUTHORITY

AHMED SHEIKH AHMED
SECRETARY PLANNING AUTHORITY
The Town and Country Planning Decree (Cap 85)

REGULATIONS
(Under Section 37)

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred upon me under Section 37 of the Town and Country Planning Decree, Cap 85, I, SALUM HASHIM RAJAB, Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment, do hereby make the following Regulations:

PART I - Preliminary

1. Title and Commencement
   These regulations may be cited as the Stone Town Planning Regulations 1994 and shall come into operation on the 1st July, 1994.

2. Application
   These regulations shall apply to the area of jurisdiction known as the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Planning Area, as shown on the Stone Town Conservation Plan 1994 Maps P1-P4, and is the Town and Country Planning Decree, Cap 85, Section 3, Declaration Order, signed on 1st September 1993, by the Minister for Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment.

3. Maps
   These regulations shall be read in conjunction with the Plan Maps, P1 - Land use and Zoning, P2 - Conservation and Development Measures, P3 - Circulation and Parking, and P4 - Infrastructure Improvements.

4. Interpretation
   In these regulations, unless the context otherwise requires:

   Action area means an area designated as such on the Conservation and Development Plan P2. This area shall be developed in accordance with a detailed planning scheme approved by the STCDA and other relevant authorities.

   Addition means any structure added to an existing building either onto the roof or at any of its sides.

   Adjacent building means any building that abuts along a full side of the building or vacant plot in question.

   Architectural features means parts of a building, or elements attached to or built into a building. Such features include carved doors, covered passages, decorative plasterwork, decorative tilework, entry porches, fascia boards, fenestration, niches and arches, balconies and terraces, and timber staircases.

   Balcony means a platform with railings projecting from the side of a building.

   Baraza means a stone bench built into an interior or exterior wall.

   Building line means a line defined by the frontages of existing plots and buildings.

   Carved door means any wooden door and door frame carved in the traditional manner.

   Commercial establishment means a place where business is transacted, such as wholesale and retail shops, offices, restaurants and cafes.

   Conservation Plan, also referred to as "the Plan," means the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan 1994 which comprises the planning statement and maps, and applies to the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Planning Area.

   Dala-dala means a public transport vehicle operating within the area of Zanzibar Town.

   Facade means the exterior wall of a building.

   Garage means land or a building used for the purposes of repairing cars and other motor vehicles.

   Godown means a building built or adapted and used for the storage, but not the sale, of goods.

   Guest house means an accommodation for visitors which does not exceed a total of 10 beds.

   Height of building means the height measured from the ground level to the top of the parapet on the flat roof or to the eaves of the roof whichever is the higher.

   Hotel means an accommodation for visitors that exceeds 10 beds.

   Listed buildings are those buildings protected under the terms of the
Conservation Plan. Grade I listed buildings are those of outstanding historical, architectural or cultural significance. Grade II listed buildings are those which make a significant architectural, historical or cultural contribution to the urban environment.

*Mixed use* refers to uses where commercial and other activities are combined.


*New development* describes change of land use, demolition of existing buildings, and the construction of temporary or permanent structures.

*Open space* describes all unbuilt-on land, excluding streets and other public highways and passages, and includes squares, parks, recreation grounds, graveyards and beaches.

*Plot* means a legally recognized parcel of developed or undeveloped land, the position and boundaries of which are delineated on a plan indicating plot subdivision and recognized as such by the Commission for Lands and Environment.

*Private open space* means open space kept for private use such as private gardens and private graveyards.

*Protected architectural features* means those architectural features protected as such under the provisions of this Plan.

*Protected streetscape features* are those streetscape features protected as such under the provisions of this Plan.

*Public open space* means open space for public use, such as recreation space, public gardens, public graveyards and land used for sea related activities.

*Public use* refers to educational, governmental, administrative, cultural and social uses.

*Regulations* means the regulations contained in this Conservation Plan and apply to land use, conservation and development, circulation and parking and environmental concerns within the Stone Town Conservation Planning Area.

*Residence* means a building or part thereof built, and used solely, for the purpose of habitation.

*Shamba bus or lorry* means a public transport vehicle operating between Zanzibar Town and other parts of the island.

*Small workshop* means a building or part thereof used for the purposes of making and repairing furniture and other handmade goods, employing a maximum of 10 people.

*STCDA* means the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, hereinafter referred to as the Authority, and which is responsible for the enforcement of the Plan.

*Street furniture* includes items such as benches, rubbish collection and receptacles, bus shelters, bicycle racks, and other conveniences placed in public spaces.

*Street paving, details and fitting* includes all street paving materials, as well as elements such as kerbs, drains, manholes, manhole covers, bollards, pedestrian crossings, ramps and steps.

*Streetscape features* are both natural and constructed features which contribute to the character of the street and urban environment. This category includes features such as facades, fountains, gateways, external stairways, tombs, trees and vistas.

*Upgrading area* means an area designated as such on the Conservation and Development Map and subject to environmental and infrastructure improvements, to be approved by the Authority and other relevant authorities.

*Warehouse* has the same meaning as godown.

*Zone* means an area of land shown on the Land Use and Zoning Map PT and within which land and buildings must be used in accordance with the provisions of these regulations.

### PART II - Application of these Regulations

#### 5. The ambit of these Regulations

(1) These Regulations shall be read together with the ancient Monuments Preservation Decree (Cap 102) and any other principal and Subsidiary legislation regulating planning and building in Zanzibar Stone Town.

(2) Where there is conflict between these Regulations and other regulations contained in other principal legislation, these Regulations shall prevail.
6. **Compliance with these regulations**
   Any person who builds, alters, removes or demolishes a building, part of a building, an architectural or streetscape feature, or occupies any open space, or alters the use of a building or open space shall comply with the requirements of these regulations.

7. **Planning and building applications**
   (1) No person shall occupy any open space, or alter the use of a building or open space without first making a planning application to the Authority for written permission.

   (2) No person shall build, alter, remove or demolish a building, part of a building, an architectural feature or streetscape feature without first making a building application to the Authority for written permission. Any application for demolition shall be accompanied by new development proposals.

   (3) Any planning and building application shall be accompanied by a set of drawings, description of works, including proposed method of drainage and water supply, and specification of materials to be used, such that the full scope and nature of the works can be understood by the Authority.

   (4) The Authority may request additional information and structural calculations from the applicant before considering a particular planning or building application.

8. **Granting of permits**
   (1) The Authority, within sixty days of receipt of all the necessary drawings, description of work, specification and any other information with which to consider a planning or building application, shall, in writing, either grant or refuse to grant permission to start work.

   (2) The Authority may specify certain amendments to, or conditions for, the proposed works in order for a planning or building permit to be granted. In certain cases, it may also specify additional works to ensure the structural stability or effective maintenance of the building.

   (3) The planning and building permit is valid for twelve months, after which time it is no longer applicable. If building works do not commence within that period, a fresh application will have to be made as if it were a first application.

9. **Refusal of permits**
   (1) If the Authority considers that the planning or building application fails to meet the requirements of these or any other existing regulations, it shall, within sixty days of descriptions of work, specifications and any other building application, issue a written notice of rejection to the applicant accompanied by an explanation of the reasons for the rejection.

   (2) The Authority may make recommendations for changes to the proposed work in order that the application may comply with these and other relevant regulations.

10. **Procedure of appeal**
    An unsuccessful applicant may appeal, in the manner prescribed by the Authority, against the rejection of a planning or building application.

11. **Public notice of intention to carry out works**
    (1) Any person intending to carry out any works as specified in paragraph 6 of these Regulations, shall post a notice of their intention to do so on the site, plot, or building so affected, stating the nature of the intended works and that the plans are available for inspection at the offices of the Authority.

    (2) This notice shall be posted for the period during which the Authority is considering the said planning or building application.

12. **Safety of operations**
    (1) Any person who carries out repairs, alterations, restoration, excavation and new building work, demolition work, or the erection of scaffolding or any other apparatus used for building operations shall ensure that the work is carried out in a structurally sound and safe manner. Public routes must be kept clear at all times.

    (2) The Authority may give guidance on how to comply with these Regulations for the purposes of securing the safety of the building works and of the general public.

13. **Inspection of building works**
    (1) The Authority may at any time during the execution of any works described in these regulations make an inspection thereof, without giving previous notice of its intention to do so.

    (2) If, upon such an inspection, the Authority finds that the work is being carried out in contravention of these regulations, it may, by written notice and within a given period of time, require that the work be altered in such a way as to make it comply with the regulations.

14. **Completion of building works**
    (1) Any person who executes any work as described in these Regulations
shall, within one month of completion of the work, give to the Authority notice in writing of the completion and shall give to the Authority all necessary facilities for the inspection of such work.

(2) If the Authority decides to inspect the work, it shall be done within twenty-one days of receipt of the completion notice.

(3) Upon inspection, the Authority may, in writing:
(a) give permission for the occupation and use of such building or works;
(b) refuse to give such permission if the works have been carried out in contravention of these and other applicable regulations. In this case, the Authority may specify, in writing, how the building or works may be altered in such a way as to comply with the regulations.

(4) No person shall occupy any such building or works until written permission by the Authority has been granted, or if the Authority fails to inspect such works within twenty-one days of receipt of the completion of works notice.

15. **Issuing of guidelines**
(1) Whenever deemed necessary, the Authority may issue guidelines and make additional and/or specific provisions with regard to conservation and development within the Conservation Planning Area.

(2) All guidelines issued under this regulation will be made public through the issuing of notices and other appropriate means.

16. **Offences**
Any person who wilfully or negligently fails to comply with, or contravenes, these regulations is guilty of an offence and shall be liable to the punishment as provided for under the Act No. 3 of 1994, the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority Act, 1994.

17. **Use of land and building**
(1) No land or building situated in any zone shown on Map P1 contained in the plan, shall be put to any use other than a use approved by the Authority in accordance with the Plan. Table 1 in Part VIII provides a schedule of uses.

(2) The use of land or building other than those specified in the Plan will be at the discretion and approval of the Authority.

(3) If, when these Regulations come into force, any land or building is then being put to a use other than that prescribed for the zone in which it is situated, it may continue to be put to such use until further development of the land or building occurs, at which time the new development must conform to these zoning regulations.

18. **Shops, workshops, and trades**
Where shops, workshops and trades are permitted they shall be situated or carried on only in buildings especially constructed for such purpose or otherwise suitably adapted to the satisfaction of the Authority.

19. **Garages and warehouses**
(1) In general, garages and warehouses shall not be permitted within the Conservation Planning Area except in areas indicated on the maps as accessible to vehicles and subject to the discretion of the Authority.

(2) Any land or building used as a garage or warehouse when these Regulations come into force, will be permitted to remain as such until further development of the land or building occurs, at which time the new development will conform to these zoning regulations.

(3) Table 2 in Part VIII lists those garages or warehouses which currently contravene the provisions of these zoning regulations. These shall be changed as the Authority may direct.

20. **Zone 1 - Residential**
(1) The predominant use in this zone shall be residential. Educational, religious and cultural establishments, as well as private open spaces, are also permitted.

(2) A limited amount of commercial activity may be allowed on the ground floor, subject to a maximum floor area of 200 m².

(3) Subject to a review five years after these Regulations come into effect, no further hotels or guest houses than are presently in operation, or for which planning permission has already been granted, shall be allowed within this zone.

21. **Zone 2 - Mixed use**
The predominant use in this zone will be mixed residential and commercial. Land and building uses specified for Zone 1 will also be permitted, as well as small workshops.

22. **Zone 3 - Commercial**
The predominant use in this zone will be commercial, including small
workshops. Land and building uses specified for Zone 2 will also be permitted.

23. Zone 4 - Proposed business expansion zone
   This zone is designated as an Action Area on the Conservation and Development Measures Map P2. The area is reserved for expansion of business activities and as such, permitted land and building use will be mainly commercial or mixed use. All future development in this zone will be subject to planning measures described in section 39 and Part VII, section E of these regulations.

24. Zone 5 - Cultural/institutional/public
   The predominant land and building use in this zone will be for cultural, institutional and other public activities.

25. Zone 6 - Health
   Permitted land and building uses in Zone 6 are those related to the provision of health services. No other land and building uses will be permitted.

26. Zone 7 - Port
   This zone is for port facilities and related activities only.

27. Zone 8 - Public open space
   (1) Land in this zone shall be kept open for public use. No other land uses will be permitted.

   (2) Development of these areas, including the erection of temporary or permanent structures, will not be permitted except in order to improve the landscaping and infrastructure of these areas.

28. Conflicting land uses
   No expansion of the conflicting land uses, as indicated on Map P1, shall be allowed. They may be continued until such time as a change of use can result in a use that conforms with the prescribed land use.

29. Illegally blocked streets
   The Authority may at any time restore any illegally blocked streets to public use.

PART IV - Conservation Regulations

30. Repair and restoration notices
   (1) The Authority may issue a written repair notice to the owner or user of any building, listed or non-listed, if the building or part thereof, including architectural and streetscape features, is in a ruinous condition or in urgent need of repair.

   (2) The Authority may also issue written restoration notices to the owner or user of any building if any part of that building has been changed, purposely or by accident, without prior written approval from the Authority.

   (3) Within a period stated in the notice, the owner or user of the particular building in question is compelled to comply with the repair or restoration notice. If the owner or user does not undertake the stated work within this period the Authority may, if necessary, undertake the work itself, with costs recoverable from the owner.

31. Repairs to existing buildings
   All repair work to existing buildings including listed buildings, and architectural and streetscape features shall use the same, compatible, or similar materials and finishes as the original materials and finishes.

32. Listed buildings
   (1) The Conservation Plan designates Grade I and Grade II listed buildings within the Conservation Planning Area. These are identified on the Conservation and Development Measures Map P2, and Table 4 in Part VIII lists the Grade I listed buildings.

   (2) Grade I: No alterations or additions, either externally or internally, will be allowed to Grade I listed buildings, except in exceptional circumstances as authorised by the Authority. Any building work carried out on the building must involve preserving and/or renovating the original building fabric and its associated architectural features.

   (3) Grade II:
      (a) No alterations or additions to the structure or external walls of Grade II listed buildings will be allowed, except in exceptional circumstances as authorised by the Authority. Any building work carried out on the structure or external walls must involve preserving and/or renovating the original design.

      (b) Internal changes will be permitted, subject to the discretion of the Authority. Alterations shall be limited to necessary improvements of living and working spaces and shall be executed with special regard to the historical and architectural features of the buildings. These changes shall be compatible with, and sympathetic to the old building and should be of such a nature that, when removed, they will not affect the original building design.

33. Protected architectural features
   (1) The architectural features identified on Map P2 are historically, architecturally or culturally significant and are protected as such. In any case, all architectural features over 50 years old shall be preserved.
(2) Changes to protected architectural features are not allowed except to preserve and/or restore the original design.

(3) All materials and finishes used on protected architectural features for renovation and restoration work shall be the same or compatible with the existing materials and finishes as may be specified by the Authority.

34. **Protected streetscape features**
   (1) The streetscape features identified on the Map P2 are historically, architecturally or culturally significant and are protected as such.

   (2) Changes to protected streetscape features are not allowed except to preserve and/or restore the original design.

   (3) All materials and finishes used on protected streetscape features for renovation and restoration work shall be the same or compatible with the existing materials and finishes and may be specified by the Authority.

   (4) Trees identified individually on the Map P2, as well as all trees within protected green space, upgrading areas and Action Areas are to be protected.

35. **Protected green space**
   (1) The open spaces specified on Map P2 are culturally or historically important and make a significant contribution to the urban environment, and are protected as such.

   (2) The use of any protected green space for the storage of building materials or any other goods is not permitted without the permission of the Authority.

**PART V - Development Regulations**

36. **New development, additions and alterations**
   (1) The regulations set out in this Part are applicable to all new development, as well as to additions and alterations to existing buildings, within the Conservation Planning Area.

   (2) In all cases, sites for new development shall be of appropriate size, location and siting, and subject to approval by the Authority. New development is not permitted in protected green space, streets and squares and any other public open space.

37. **Planning**
   (1) Plot subdivision: A plot may only be subdivided with the Authority’s approval.

   (2) Building lines:
   (a) Any new building or addition shall be sited so that walls and facades facing onto streets are in line with adjacent building lines. This applies to the ground floor and all storeys above. Balconies, canopies, roof overhangs and gutters may be built beyond the building lines to a maximum of one third the width of the street, or in any case not more than 1m. Barazas and steps may be built beyond the building line to a maximum of 0.4m and signboards may extend to a maximum of 0.5m.

   (b) When a new development is replacing an existing or collapsed building, it should generally follow the existing building line. The Authority may recommend a new building line if in doing so the streetscape will be improved.

   (c) All regulations regarding building lines also apply to garden walls, fences and any built-up boundary. Only durable materials shall be used for such constructions. Wire fences, barbed wire and corrugated iron sheeting are not permitted. No building may be built to extend beyond the plot boundary.

   (3) Siting: The Authority may specify particular or additional requirements for the siting of new buildings, alterations and additions in response to the particular characteristics of a given “infill” site.

   (4) Height: The height of any permanent addition to an existing building, or of any new building, may not exceed the maximum height of the adjacent buildings, and in any case, may not exceed three storeys. The Authority may limit the height of a building to protect a Grade I or Grade II listed building or a protected architectural or streetscape feature. Penthouses, teahouses and other such rooftop additions may be permitted subject to the discretion of the Authority.

   (5) Scale and massing: New buildings, alterations and additions shall be compatible in scale and massing with the character of the Stone Town.

   (6) Streets:
   (a) No person shall build, set up or place against or in front of any building any structure or fixture which will in any way encroach upon or obstruct the safe and convenient passage of the public along any street, or project into or encroach upon any drain or open channel so as to interfere with the proper working of such drain or open channel.

   (b) The Authority may give notice in writing to the owner or user of such an offending structure or fixture to remove it, or alter it to the Authority’s satisfaction, within a period stated in the written notice.
38. **Structure and finishes**

(1) Building materials: Standards and finishes of building materials must conform to the existing buildings in the Stone Town.

(2) Details and fittings: Details and fittings for new buildings and additions shall be compatible in appearance and proportion with the traditional character of the Stone Town.

(3) Colours: used on the outside of new buildings and additions must blend with the range of tones and colours found in the Stone Town.

39. **Health and sanitation**

(1) Approval by the Authority: All health, sanitation and water supply provisions must be approved by the Authority.

(2) Light and ventilation: The Authority will review all applications with respect to the proper siting of buildings to allow enough space for light and ventilation.

(3) Drainage: Plans for new buildings and, if appropriate, additions must show that satisfactory provisions have been made for drainage. Roofs must be provided with sufficient gutters and down pipes to prevent rainwater from infiltrating any part of the building and to carry rainwater to the street drains. No rainwater shall be discharged directly into the street from a height above 20 cm.

(4) Sanitation:

(a) Construction plans for new buildings and, where appropriate, additions and alterations shall show that satisfactory provision has been made for sanitation and waste water facilities.

(b) The Authority may require the owner or builder to do additional work to ensure satisfactory discharge of household waste water and sewage into the existing sewage network, including the reconstruction, if necessary, of the sewer pipe outside the new building or addition.

40. **Action Areas**

(1) The Conservation and Development Map identifies four public areas as Action Areas. These are:

   - the Seafort
   - the New Port Entrance
   - the Creek Road and Market Area
   - the Malindi Business District

(2) The development of these areas is subject to comprehensive planning measures approved by the Authority and no development will be allowed in these areas until such plans have been approved. All future development within these areas will be subject to the planning framework detailed in the Action Area plans. These are outlined in Section E of Part VII.

**PART VI - Circulation and Parking**

41. **Issuing of Circulars**

(1) These section is to be read in conjunction with Map P.3.

(2) The Authority, in consultation with the Traffic Police, Municipal Council and other relevant Ministries, will issue circulars detailing specific traffic regulations covering private and public transport, parking, access and any other measures that may be deemed necessary. The Map P.3 will be modified and amended in accordance with such provisions.

42. **Motorized traffic circulation**

Only those streets indicated on Map P.3 as motorized vehicular routes may be used for motorized traffic. Both two-way and one-way streets are identified as well as those open to motorized traffic for access only. All other areas within the Stone Town are closed to motorized traffic.

43. **Weight limit**

The maximum weight of any vehicle permitted within the Stone Town will be two tonnes. Signs will be located at the relevant road junctions indicating this restriction.

44. **Traffic calming**

To reduce the speed of motorized traffic and encourage safe driving in the Stone Town, the Authority, in coordination with the Traffic Police, may institute traffic calming devices such as signs, speed bumps and demarcation on the roads. These will be specified in special traffic circulars.

45. **Motorcycles**

(1) Motorcycles are classified as motorized vehicles and as such will be restricted to the streets indicated for motorized traffic. In addition, three other routes are accessible to motorcycles. These are indicated on Map P.3.

(2) The riding of motorcycles anywhere else in the Stone Town will not be permitted.

46. **Parking**

The parking of motorcars, taxis, lorries, shamba buses, dala-dalas and
other motorized vehicles is only allowed in places specifically marked for such purposes on Map P3.

47. **Godowns for motorcycle parking**  
Map P3 shows certain godowns that can be used as secure lockups for motorcycles. These are also listed in Table 3 in Part VIII. As and when appropriate, the Authority, in conjunction with the MWCELE, and other relevant bodies will issue notices indicating new godowns that can be used as secure lockups.

48. **Bicycles**  
Bicycles are allowed on all streets in the Stone Town. Certain internal streets, however, are designated as one way only for bicycles. These are:  
(a) Mkurazini Street and Tharia Street - running north to south;  
(b) Khod Bazaar and Changa Bazaar - running east to west;  
(c) Sokomugho Street - running south to north;  
(d) Cathedral Street - running north to south;  
(e) Gizenga Street - running east to west.  
Clearly marked bicycle lanes will be provided on the main roads.

**PART VII - Environmental Provisions**

49. **Infrastructure improvements**  
Whenever deemed necessary, the Authority, in consultation with the Municipal Council and other relevant authorities, may issue instructions on the implementation and details of infrastructure improvements. The Infrastructure Improvements Map P4 will be modified and amended in accordance with these measures.

50. **Excavation work**  
All excavation work, except in the Creek Road area, shall be carried out manually to minimize the impact on the surrounding buildings. In any case, all excavation work will be subject to approval by the Authority.

51. **New pipework**  
Where new pipes are laid, flexible joints between connections shall be used, particularly where they enter the buildings and penetrate existing walls.

52. **Rubbish disposal**  
1. All streets shall be kept clean and clear of rubbish.

   2. All rubbish shall be disposed of in appropriate containers and shall be left in such places as approved of by the Municipal Council for collection.

53. **Septic tanks**  
Individual septic tanks shall be emptied when necessary by the individual building owners or users.

54. **Cables, wires and street lighting**  
Cables, wires and street lighting shall be mounted on the walls of buildings or hung between buildings in an organized, safe and sympathetic manner with regard to the preservation of the architectural environment. Their visual impact on the appearance of the buildings must be minimized. All fixtures and fittings, including free-standing lamp posts, must have the prior approval of the Authority.

55. **Street paving, details and fittings**  
1. Street paving materials shall be in keeping with the existing historical and architectural character of the Stone Town. They, and other landscaping materials, and their detailing jointing shall be approved by the Authority.

2. Expansion joints must be provided at the junction between the new paving slabs and the base of the buildings to allow for differential movement.

3. Any damage resulting from the excavation and digging of streets and street paving while installing services or infrastructure works will be repaired as new by the individual or authority responsible for carrying out the works.

56. **Street furniture**  
Any new street furniture shall be designed and installed in keeping with the existing historical and architectural character of the Stone Town and must be approved by the Authority.

57. **Storage**  
1. No storage or sale of building materials or any other goods shall be permitted in the streets and open spaces without prior written approval by the Authority. Approval for such storage will be dependent, among other considerations, on the applicant observing health and safety regulations and keeping the area generally clear for public passage and use.

2. The Authority may order the removal of building materials, goods, garbage or debris from collapsed buildings. These materials will be disposed of in a safe manner outside the designated Conservation Planning Area.
58. Signs and advertisements

(1) The erection of signs and other forms of advertising is subject to approval by the Authority.

(2) The use of large projecting signboards, signs made of plastic materials or illuminated signs, as well as any other form of advertising considered inappropriate in character, form or scale for the Stone Town will not be permitted.

PART VIII - Appendices

A. Table 1 - Showing permitted land and building uses in each zone

"P" means development which is permissible by the STCDA in accordance with the Conservation Plan and Maps.
"D" means development which is permissible subject to the discretion of the STCDA in accordance with the Conservation Plan and Maps.
"X" means development which is not permissible by the STCDA.

B. Table 2 - List of warehouses in the Stone Town recommended for residential or commercial change of use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLOT NO.</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>PRESENT CONDITION</th>
<th>PRESENT USE</th>
<th>RECOMMENDED USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>903/904</td>
<td>Malindi North</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>Mixed-use infill plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN1D</td>
<td>Malindi North</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Storage of foodstuffs</td>
<td>Return to original intended use as nursery school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>310T</td>
<td>Malindi North</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Storage of foodstuffs</td>
<td>Drastically reduce frequency of deliveries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>otherwise convert to residential or community use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1C/MS1E</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Warehouse</td>
<td>Retaining (part of Port Action Area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS1F</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>STCDA workshop and storage</td>
<td>Demolition (Part of Port Action Area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1259A</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Wholesale cigarettes</td>
<td>Commercial or auction space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Building contractors office</td>
<td>Commercial or mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>Commercial or auction space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1247A</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>Commercial or auction space or residential infill plot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620A</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Storage of heavy goods</td>
<td>Commercial or mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>542</td>
<td>Sokomuhogo</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>Commercial or mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001A/2002</td>
<td>Kaificheni</td>
<td>Ruin</td>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>Residential or mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Kaificheni</td>
<td>Ruin</td>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>Residential or mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947A-1949</td>
<td>Kaificheni</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Storage of building materials</td>
<td>Workshop or mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>Storage of chemicals</td>
<td>Residential infill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>Mixed use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>751</td>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>Ruin</td>
<td>Vacant</td>
<td>Residential or mixed use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### C. Table 3 - List of warehouses recommended for use as motorcycle storage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLOT NO.</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>PRESENT USE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3102</td>
<td>Malindi North</td>
<td>Storage of foodstuffs by Bizanje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>956 - 958</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Storage of foodstuffs by Bizanje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5115/5A</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
<td>Storage of spare parts for adjacent shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142A</td>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>Storage of foodstuffs by Sukta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VN2H</td>
<td>Vuga North</td>
<td>Storage of building materials by MWCELE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### D. Table 4 - List of Grade I listed buildings in the Stone Town (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUILDING</th>
<th>PRESENT CONDITION</th>
<th>GAZETTED</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22. Darajani Chawl</td>
<td>Poor</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Kiponda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Khoja Ismaili</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Kiponda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charitable Musafirkhana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Old Dispensary</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Bhamali Building</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Malindi Mnara Mosque</td>
<td>Deteriorating</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Malindi South</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E. Action Area Briefs

Detailed planning proposals for the Action Areas are to include the following:

#### Seafront

1. Infrastructure upgrading along the seafront including a suggested minimum rehabilitation programme for the seawall, landing steps and piers.

2. Rationalization of vehicular traffic and the pedestrian promenade along the seafront, including suggestions for paving, street furniture and public lighting.

3. A facade improvement scheme for the monuments and historical buildings facing onto the seafront as well as suggestions on the re-use of some of the buildings presently vacant.

4. Re-landscaping of the square in front of the Sayyid Humoud Friday Mosque. This is to include measures regulating parking in the area and the accommodation of traditional boat building activities around the big tree.

5. Re-landscaping of Forodhani Park to serve both as a public park and an informal selling area in the evening. Improvements in and around the park are to include better drainage, new paving, street lighting, green areas, street furniture, garbage collection points, public water taps and public toilets.

#### Port Entrance

1. Rationalization and improvement of vehicular and pedestrian traffic as well as the provision of additional parking, drop-off points and unloading areas close to the new passenger terminal.

2. The provision of additional parking facilities in the public square behind the existing warehouses.

3. Relocation of the existing petrol station in order to ease traffic congestion and facilitate circulation.
4. Appropriate siting of the new passenger terminal and re-organization of the public areas surrounding it, including re-organization of the proposed passenger quay.

5. The appropriate reuse of the presently underused warehouses for duty-free retail shops.

6. Suggestions for the reuse of the Government owned historical building adjacent to the present petrol station.

Central Market
1. Re-landscaping of the entire area, including new paving and proper surface drainage, and rehabilitation and repair of the existing infrastructure. Suggestions of typical details for street furniture, such as fences, walls, benches as well as lighting and paving.

2. Improving pedestrian access and circulation within and through the market as well as expanding storage and selling areas and public facilities such as toilets and standpipes.

3. Recommendations on the appropriate restoration and rehabilitation of the Market Building, Darajani Chawl and Estella Market.

4. Re-organization of traffic and pedestrian circulation to ease congestion along Creek Road and around the market. This will include:

- the provision of paved pedestrian routes, bicycle lanes and traffic calming measures along Creek Road;
- the provision of improved and expanded parking facilities for private cars, taxis, dala-dalas and shamba buses as well as shelters and public toilets for passengers.

5. The removal of the containers along Creek Road in proximity to the schools and re-landscaping of the area into a park.

Malindi Action Area
1. Plans for the redevelopment of a new commercial/business district along the northwest side of Bwawani Road with provisions for public and private parking and commercial on- and off-loading.

2. The development of a generic building type that could be used for the new business area.

3. Consideration of other proposed plans for buildings and land in the area. These include proposals to:

- convert the Motor Trade Building into a hyper-market;
- redevelop the swamp area in front of the Bwawani Hotel in part as a religious centre and in part as an urban park.

4. Suggestions for the design of public pathways, open areas and potential infill sites in the Malindi North area behind the proposed business district.

Zanzibar,
1st July, 1994

MINISTER FOR WATER, CONSTRUCTION, ENERGY, LANDS AND ENVIRONMENT

SALUM HASHIM RAJAB
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Glossary

**Baraza** — Swahili for stone bench; a sitting or meeting place, as well as a reception, town council or public meeting.

**Bisara** — Swahili for commerce.

**Boriti** — Swahili for the mangrove poles used as structural timber.

**Chowk** — a small courtyard, usually no more than three square metres, used for cooking and other domestic activities.

**Daka (pl. Madaka)** — the recessed entrance of a traditional Swahili stone house, opening onto the street and lined with stone benches.

**Dala-Dala** — privately operated, public transport vehicle in Zanzibar.

**Dhow** — traditional wooden sailing ship with a lateen rig; names vary according to size and shape.

**Gedun** — Anglo-Indian word for store or warehouse.

**Harem** — Arabic for the separate, private part of a house where women are protected from public view.

**Imam** — a leader or the adult male who leads prayers during congregational worship in a mosque.

**Kaskazi** — Swahili name of the northeast monsoon, which blows across the Indian Ocean from November to February.

**Kibutba** — a sermon delivered to the congregation during the Friday midday prayer.

**Kusi** — Swahili name of the southwest monsoon, which blows from June to September.

**Mahali** — Swahili for the galvanized corrugated iron sheets used to cover the roofs.

**Madrasa** — Arabic word meaning ‘place of study’, often a school for religious teaching associated with a particular mosque.

**Majlis** — the main reception room of an Arab house.

**Makuti** — Swahili for the palm leaf thatch traditionally used to cover earthen houses.

**Masalabiyas** — screens usually made of small pieces of turned wood socketed together.

**Mihrab** — Arabic word for the prayer niche set in the qibla wall of a mosque.

**Minbar** — a pulpit in a mosque used to deliver the khatuba, or sermon.

**Mita (pl. Mitaa)** — in a Swahili town, ward or cluster of houses that make up a neighbourhood.

**Musafarkhana** — a large quadrangular building enclosing a spacious courtyard, built as temporary housing for travelling merchants or as charitable housing for members of a particular community.

**Qibla** — the direction of prayer towards Mecca, which in Zanzibar is north.

**Sabit** — Arabic for coast.

**Sayyid** — Arabic for prince or lord.

**Sebule** — Swahili for the entrance or informal reception hall, often lined with stone benches.

**Waqf** — the Islamic practice whereby an owner surrenders his rights to a property and turns over the income to a specified charity, often a mosque.

**Wiko (pl. Wiko)** — Swahili for an enclosed upper-level passage or room which bridges the street and connects two related buildings.

Abbreviations

AKCS-Z — Aga Khan Cultural Services - Zanzibar

AKTC — Aga Khan Trust for Culture

BP — British Petroleum

COLE — Commission for Land and Environment

EU — European Union

FINNIDA — Finnish International Development Agency

GDP — Gross Domestic Product

HCSAP — Historic Cities Support Programme

JBA — Joint Building Authority

MWCELE — Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment

NGO — Non-Governmental Organization

SADCC — Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference

STCDA — Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority

TPS — Tourism Promotion Services

UNCDF — United Nations Capital Development Fund

UNCHS — United Nations Centre for Human Settlements

UNDP — United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO — United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
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Frontispiece: a photograph taken by Edward D. Ropes circa 1880 entitled: “View of the tower, palace and harem, taken on Friday morning at a review of the troops.” (Courtesy, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts)

Introduction: a Zanzibar door by David Coulson.

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Sources for historical and archival materials are acknowledged in the captions.

End photograph by D. Coulson. The photograph shows a Zanzibari fisherman in a ngalawa, a dug-out canoe.
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This publication presents the documentation and proposals prepared for the Conservation Plan. It begins with a review of Zanzibar's urban development and the character of its architecture, then surveys the Stone Town's present condition and looks at the pressures threatening its historic fabric. It ends with a presentation of the Plan itself, including land use policies, protective measures, and a series of programmes and proposals to improve the town's infrastructure and principal open areas.

The book advocates that growth and new development are not incompatible with the preservation of the Stone Town's old buildings and spaces. On the contrary, they can contribute to protecting the cultural heritage, while improving standards of living and promoting economic activity in Zanzibar's central area. The Conservation Plan provides the framework needed to encourage appropriate development, and foster a living and working environment in the Stone Town that is both attuned to today's requirements and in line with Zanzibar's traditional urban character.

With its many historical materials, plans, photographs and illustrations, this publication is intended as a reference not only for administrators and professionals working in the historic area, but for all who are interested in Zanzibar's history and architecture, and in the future of the Stone Town.
Zanzibar A Plan for the Historic Stone Town
documents one of the planning projects carried out under
the auspices of the Historic Cities Support Programme of
the Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), established in
1988, focuses on the built environment in societies in
which Muslims have a significant presence. It seeks to
encourage cultural renewal processes which are based on
both local traditions and a sensitive integration of
contemporary facilities and techniques. In projects
promoted or recognized by the Trust, architectural heritage
and environmental values are important assets which can
and should be used by local communities in realizing their
aspirations and improving their development opportunities.

The Trust has three components: the Aga Khan Award for
Architecture, the Historic Cities Support Programme, and a
professional education programme which provides support
to the Aga Khan Programme for Islamic Architecture at
Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of
Technology and other architectural education programmes.

The Trust's Historic Cities Support Programme was
established in 1991 to support conservation and
development efforts in historic cities throughout the
Muslim world by providing planning assistance to local
government bodies and community groups. In addition to
the Zanzibar project, the Historic Cities Support
Programme currently has projects in Cairo, Samarkand and
Hunza (Northern Pakistan). These projects go beyond
specific physical interventions. They strive to improve
living and working conditions and promote cultural, social
and economic initiatives with a view to achieving a
harmonious and sustainable overall development process.

In this endeavour, the Programme cooperates with other
entities of the Aga Khan Development Network, including
the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED),
the Aga Khan Building and Planning Services (AKBPS),
the Aga Khan Education Services (AKES), the Aga Khan Health
Services (AKHS), the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) and the
Aga Khan University (AKU).