

A Green Lung for the Stone Town

The challenge of developing a green structure for
the users of Zanzibar historical city core.



Anna Hall

A Master Thesis in Landscape Architecture
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Department of Landscape Architecture
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EN GRÖN LUNGA FÖR STENSTADEN

En grönstruktur för användarna av
Zanzibars historiska stadskärna.

Anna Hall

Email: annajohannahall@gmail.com

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Självständigt arbete vid LTJ-fakulteten, SLU

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Supervisor: Professor Kenneth Olwig,
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Faculty of Landscape Planning, Horticulture and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Landscape Architecture

External Supervisor: Director Johnny Åstrand,
Lund University,
Faculty of Engineering,
Department for Housing, Development and Management

Supervisor in field: Dr. Muhammad Juma Muhammad,
Stone Town Conservation And Development Authority
Research and Coordination Division

Principal and Assistant examiner resp.: Eivor Bucht and Mattias Qviström
Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences
Faculty of Landscape Planning, Horticulture and Agricultural Sciences
Department of Landscape Architecture

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SAMMANFATTNING

Läget är kritiskt för det unika socio-kulturella stadslandskapet i världsarvsstaden Stone Town på Zanzibar, Tanzania. I dag fokuserar det ekonomiska och tekniska biståndet på att bevara och skydda den traditionella bebyggelsen medan det saknas tydliga och aktuella strategier för de öppna platser där invånarna i Stone Town har sitt vardagsliv. Stone Town med sina vindlande gränder och gamla arabiska och indiska arkitektoniska stil har väldigt få öppna tillgängliga platser medan de som finns tas över av antingen privata investera som bygger hotel, caféer och restauranger för den växande turistindustrin, eller av privatpersoner som tar över de öppna platserna och gör dem privata. Stone Town är dessutom överbefolkat, huvudsakligen av fattiga stadsbor som delar en liten boendeyta med många famillemedar. Trångboddheten gör dem beroende av annat utrymme för att de ska kunna arbeta och umgås. Öppna platser är mycket viktiga för stadsborna i Stone Town, i synnerhet för de fattiga, och ger dem en plattform för just detta, för småskalig handel men också för sociala och kulturella möten och utbyten. De öppna platserna ger helt enkelt utrymme åt de strategier som behövs för att stor del av lokal befolkningen i Stone Town ska kunna överleva och leva.

Den här uppsatsen diskuterar den urbana grönskans roll på en generell och en specifik nivå, den för Stone Town. Syftet med uppsatsen är att utgöra ett underlag för diskussion om öppna, gröna platser roll dels för invånare och besökare i Stone Town, dels för dess status som världsarv, främst för de anställda på Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, men också för andra som på olika vis arbetar med utvecklingen av Stone Towns stadsmiljö. Syftet är också att inspirera till utveckling och förändring av de många öppna platser som står oanvända och eller övergivna i Stone Town idag. Detta har gjorts genom att studera tre typer av öppna platser och ta fram förslag för förändring och skötsel av dessa. De ska ses som idéer för hur öppna platser kan utvecklas för att få in fler hyggliga och gröna, öppna platser i Stone Town.

ABSTRACT

The state of the unique socio-cultural landscape in the World Heritage site Stone Town of Zanzibar, Tanzania, is critical.

Current financial and technical aid is focusing on safeguarding the traditional buildings, but there are no clear and up to date planning strategies for the public spaces where the local inhabitants and visitors run their daily life. Stone Town with its winding streets and old Arabic and Indian style in architecture have very few open public spaces while the existing open spaces are being contested either by private developers who establish hotels, cafés and restaurants for the expanding tourism industry or by inhabitants who change them in to private spaces. Additionally the city is over crowded, mainly by the poor local inhabitants where family and extended families live close sharing little indoor space. They are therefore dependent on other space to work, gather and interact. To sum up the public open spaces are of great importance to the locals for interface and livelihood strategies, such as small scale trade, local shops, food stalls and eateries but also social and cultural interaction.

The thesis discuss the importance of green, urban spaces, generally and in the context of the Stone Town specifically. Three types of open spaces, private and public, have been studied and suggestions made for how to develop them. The aim of the thesis is to be a starting point for discussions on if and in what way green, open spaces can benefit to the development of the livelihoods of urban inhabitants in general and the users of the Stone Town specifically, but also on how green open spaces can benefit to the towns status as a world heritage. The focus group is primarily the staff of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority for whom this thesis has been written but also people outside Zanzibar being interested in this treasure of history and culture that Stone Town is. Another aim has been to inspire a development and change of the many unused and/or abandoned open spaces that exist in Stone Town today. This has been done through studying different types of open spaces in Stone Town and their contexts. These studies have ended up in suggestions for upgrading or for new design or/and management of these spaces. They should be considered as ideas of how open spaces might be developed in order to get more green and liveable open spaces in to Stone Town.

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DEFINITIONS

SLUM

According to the UN-Habitat the definition of a slum household is a household that:
suffers from one or multitude of the following conditions:

- . Low quality or no improved drinking water
- . Low quality or no improved latrine
- . Overcrowding
- . Makeshift/temporary housing
- . Insecure housing tenure

(http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/csd/csd13/statements/1304_habitat.pdf)

LIVELIHOOD

In this thesis livelihood is defined as follows: “A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities requires for a means of a living. A sustainable livelihood allows people to cope with and to recover from stress and shocks, to maintain or enhance their capabilities and assets and to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. It also contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in long and short terms.” (Chambers, R., and G. Conway ,1992)

OPEN SPACE

In this thesis open space is all space that is in between the buildings, private or public. Here it has been divided in to different types. The type “Closed open space” is space that have in common that they for one reason or another are not accessible to anyone. This group include school yards, hotel gardens, institutional gardens (of museums or authorities for example). Another type is named “General open space” which means public space that is not defined by any special purpose.

LIVEABLE SPACE

Liveable space is open space that has the basic comforts that enable the visitors to use the space and remain at it, without feelings of discomfort. Here this means it provides shade, a good micro climate and offers possibilities for shelter and sitting.

GLOSSARY

SHEHA Administrative area of which there are six in Stone Town. Malindi is one of them.

SHEHIA Head of the Sheha. The link between government and municipality on one hand and the people on the other.

WAQF Islamic, religious foundation (Nationalencyklopedien, 2009)

BARAZA Bench originally out of lime stone, that exists in front of practically every house. In open spaces it is often used as public goods but otherwise it seems to be considered more private. There are hardly any other types of benches in Stone Town and this is where people sit and discuss, play games and expose their items to sell. Talking about Stone Town people often refer to the "Baraza culture".

DALADALA A sort of mini bus, very popular and cheap.

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PART 1

INTRODUCTION

AIMS

METHODS



STONE TOWN ZANZIBAR

















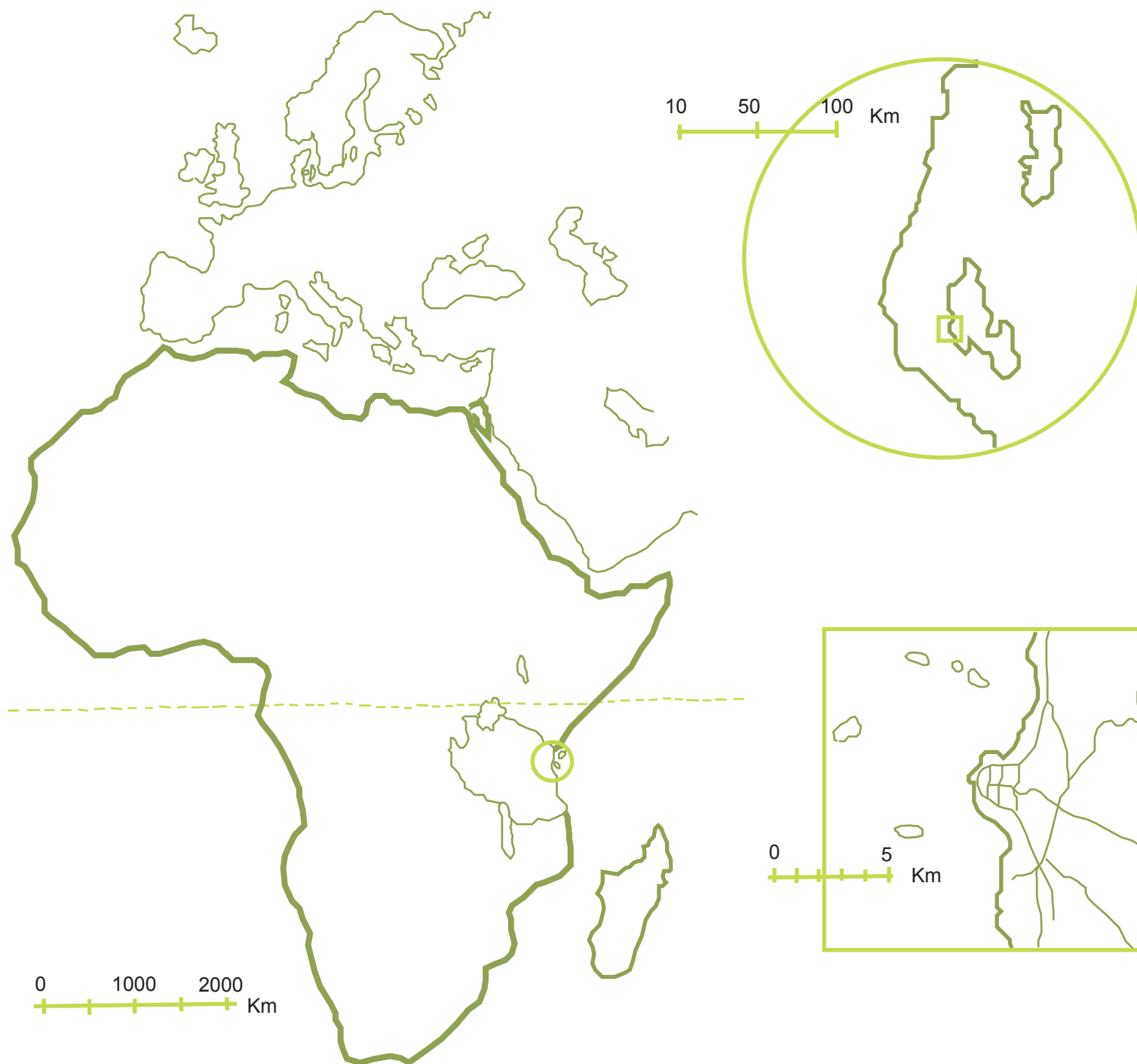




STONE TOWN is the old city core in Zanzibar City situated on the west coast of Unguja island which together with 50 other small islands form the archipelago of Zanzibar. Zanzibar is part of the Republic of Tanzania and situated 35 km from the Tanzanian mainland, in the Indian ocean.

Through its history Zanzibar reflect many of the big events of the last centuries. It has gone from powerful centre for trade and culture during 18:th and 19:th century to colonialism in 19:th century on to protectionistic socialism and one party state system in the 1960's to neo liberalism and multi-party system in the 1980's and 90's, resp., on to the last decades of world heritage status and growing movements of islamism and luxury tourism.

In 2000 Stone Town was appointed World Heritage site for being a splendid example of Swahili culture, mixing Arabic, Indian and European influences with its African origin.



MORE OPEN SPACE IN STONE TOWN

Well functioning outdoor areas are especially important in poor countries with a warmer climate where the areas for public life often have low priority. Here urban outdoor spaces are not seldom characterised by low environmental quality: air pollution, noise, much hard surfaces and a high surface water run off amongst other. In this context green spaces are important from a health aspect as well as from a social aspect. In many countries they also function as people's second, or even first living room -a public platform where people might have the possibility to meet, discuss and rest. This is very much the case of Stone Town where the overcrowding in many cases oblige people, especially children, to spend their days outside.

But Stone Town is much more than this. In 2000 it was appointed World heritage because of its extra ordinary urban fabric which is a splendid example of the Swahili culture existing in some areas (mainly Tanzania) along the East African coast. The combination of a unique historical and cultural urban fabric on one hand and the common needs of inhabitants in fast growing, poor cities, on the other, was to me an intriguing challenge. A challenge that raised many important questions: How can green liveable spaces be designed and managed not only to improve the livelihoods of the users but also the Stone Towns status as world heritage? How can changes and improvements of the outdoor spaces be adopted to the fragility of the world heritage? These queries were the starting point of the exiting journey that this project turned out to be.

The tasks for a landscape architect are many in Stone Town, although the needs of the town are several and basic: clean water, enough and affordable water supply, efficient refuse collection and well functioning traffic etcetera. The role of landscape architecture can be illustrated by an example from Stone Town, the upgrading

of a place called Jaws corner. It is not only a plot that has been cleaned, paved and planted so that people like to gather here but a second living-room to many citizens, an example of an important socio-cultural landscape. This is where much of the political life is taking place, being the unofficial "office" for the political opposition. It is not the solution for clean water, but a platform for discussions that might have this as a result.

The unique value of Stone Town, where the open spaces are one part, is also important and interesting to enforce the identity and solidarity among the citizens and its' future generations. Knowledge and pride of the common history and culture are of fundamental importance to inspire people and enforce the national identity.

Loss of these values have great negative impact from both an economical and social point of view. (<http://www.sida.se>, 2009)

Intangible values such as art, social interaction and recreation are essential to people and are often conditions for a positive and democratic development of a society. (www.sida.se, 2009)

A landscape architect is working with creating platforms for such values. She is working with socio-cultural landscapes.



AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of the thesis is to be a starting point for discussions on if, and in what way, green open spaces can benefit to the development of the livelihoods of urban inhabitants in general and the users of Stone Town specifically, but also on how green open spaces can benefit to the towns status as a world heritage. The target group is primarily the staff of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), for whom this thesis has been written but also people outside Zanzibar being interested in this treasure of history and culture that Stone Town is. Another aim is to inspire a development and change of the many unused and/or abandoned open spaces that exist in Stone Town today. This has been done through studying different types of open spaces and their contexts. These studies have ended up in suggestions for upgrading or for new design or/and management of these spaces. They should be considered as ideas of how open spaces might be developed in order to get more green and liveable open spaces in to Stone Town.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

A. IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

- 1.Can green, public areas improve peoples livelihoods?
- 2.In what way can green, public spaces improve the livelihoods of urban, and especially urban, poor inhabitants? Economically, socially and environmentally?

B. IN A LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

- 3.Who is the target group and what are its needs for these new public spaces?
- 4.How are the open spaces used today? Public and non public?
- 5.Is anything lacking in the urban, physical fabric? What is lacking?
- 6.Who are the stakeholders and what impact do they have on the public, open spaces?
- 7.If there is a need for more public, open spaces in Stone Town, what possibilities and restraints are there to upgrade abandoned or worn out sites to public, open spaces- in a social, cultural, environmental and economical aspect?
- 8.How can new or improved green open spaces be in benefit to the towns status as a World heritage?

METHODS

Initially literature and map studies were conducted in order to get to know the local and global context. In Stone Town transect walks and inventories were conducted to get a notion of the context of the Town as a whole but also of the sites that were eventually chosen, and of their neighbourhood. Semi-structured as well as open interviews, altogether 23 of them, were conducted with key persons either because these could provide deeper information within certain areas and thus help identifying important issues as well as possibilities and restraints with the work with upgrading open spaces in Stone Town. Some interviews were made because the persons represented a group (young, old, male, female etcetera) of potential users of open spaces. As a result of the transect walks and inventories different types of open space were identified and a typology elaborated. Three types of sites were chosen and a brief questionnaire conducted for 30 persons to better understand if, how and why they use open spaces in general and the three sites in particular. In order to understand the needs for open spaces observations (counting of people and behavioural mapping) were performed at four different places in one neighbourhood (among these were the three chosen ones), registering what people (age and gender) used which spaces in what way and at what time of the day. These observations were conducted during 3 days: one weekday, one Friday and one Sunday, in order to get a range. Friday is traditionally the big day for going to the mosque while Sunday is simply a holiday. The registrations endured between 7 am and 10 pm. Although the first prayer starts around 5 am and this should be a suitable time for starting the registration, we choose to start at 7 simply because it was a more reasonable hour. The hour for finishing the registrations was chosen for the same reason. Altogether we were eight people working with the registrations,

the majority being local students. Before leaving a workshop was organized with the inhabitants in the neighbourhood to get to know their view on the many open spaces and their opinions on future development of these.

Back in Sweden the material was analyzed and put together. Additional interviews were made with different experts in urban climate and city planning. Finally workshops were performed where friends being landscape architects and planners came together to brainstorm about the development of the three different sites.



DELIMITATIONS

TIME: The field study was conducted during three months, from July to October 2008, September being the month of Ramadhan. Since Ramadhan affects the society in many ways (many shops and restaurants were closed during day time and less people were moving around in the city) the observations mentioned above were conducted when it was not Ramadhan, since the use of open spaces weren't representative then. The temperature when the study was performed varied from around 27 in July to 32 °C in October.

AREA: The study was conducted in the Stone Town of Zanzibar, the area more specifically studied was Malindi South. I chose this area because it is representative to the non touristic and more residential areas of Stone Town and because these kind of areas risk to be neglected now when the focus is more and more on the touristic areas. Many poor live here and a big part consist of young people or children: 41 % of the inhabitants are under 19 years old and 21% under 9 years old. (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2006) According to a report on open spaces in Stone Town Malindi South is also one of the areas in the Stone Town with the least open spaces.(Mlenge, 2003) The sites I have chosen represent three of altogether 10 types of open spaces that I found in the town during my inventories. The types chosen for further studies were: a ruin, a grave yard and a general open space. The types have different contexts and different constraints and possibilities for being developed and improved into green open spaces for parts of or for the whole of the community.

SUBJECT: The subject is dealing with issues at global and local levels: Green areas as livelihood improvers to people living in urban environments on one hand, and on the other hand open spaces in Stone town focusing on a specific neighbourhood and its inhabitants, and offering design suggestions for three sites within the neighbourhood. The choice of subject has been triggered by the fact that there has been a proposition for amendment of the Conservation Act of 1994. If approved (hopefully by the end of 2009) it will give the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority the right to claim private, open space that have not been used for at least two years. (M.J, Muhammad, 2009). This opens up for a whole new range of possibilities for the city to develop its abandoned and/or unused plots. The type of spaces I have worked with are suitable for creating a net with small recreational areas for the inhabitants of Stone Town.

STONE

CH SHABA PAPA WO PILO KABUGO

TO W

ALIMABANGI

AFRICA
BIG
COUNTRY

DIKO

RAMA

NGASA

JIRAN

BWEEEREKE

BAICHI

MA

PART 2

URBANIZATION AND POVERTY
WORLD HERITAGE
URBAN VERDURE

URBANIZATION AND POVERTY

For the first time in history more than half of the world's population live in urban areas. In another twenty years the figure will be nearly 60 %.(United Nations Human Settlements Programme, 2008)

This trend is especially strong in the developing countries which today hold more than 2/3 of the world's urban population. Sub-Saharan Africa is the least urbanized area in the world, but in 2020 it's estimated that half of the Africans will reside in cities(UNCHS, 1991). Urban growth has been extraordinary in Africa which today is the fastest urbanising area in the world. (Sida, 2006)

Poverty in urban areas is different from poverty in rural areas. Urban poor are more cash depending. They are also often forced to live in poor environmental conditions, which affects health. Other aspects of urban poverty are lack of access to land creating a vulnerability to economic shocks, weakened social networks, poor contact with political decision makers, social fragmentation and segregation, low salaries and weakened safety net of friends and family (which is not replaced by a governmental safety net) when leaving the countryside for the city (Battle, Melin and Forsman, 2006). Further on environmental urban problems like lack of water and an extreme demographic increase is "putting an enormous pressure on the urban environment and its infrastructure ". (Battle, Melin and Forsman, 2006).





Photo: Isolated Iguana

WORLD HERITAGE AND POVERTY

Besides the complexity of urban poverty, as opposed to rural, there is yet another problem to the urban poor in historical cities in developing countries since the historic city core is often where the slum is. The standard is low and the infrastructure often fragile and un modern. At the same time these areas are often containing rich cultural and historical layers which attracts positive attention that can generate financial support. Today there is a growing cultural tourism which is beneficial to areas with world heritage, especially if they are world heritage sites of a whole unity such as old Habana or Stone Town of Zanzibar. Tourists spend money and create jobs and “promote” an area to the rest of the world. To a poor area with a world heritage site, tourism can really be a starting point for increased attention, support and higher incomes. But it is important to monitor it to be as profitable as possible for the hosts. For example to encourage locals to involve in the business and thereby keep the investments and the finances within the country, to avoid a sell out of buildings and plots to foreigners and instead rent them etcetera. However increased tourism is not uncomplicated. It puts a higher pressure on a site, it demands increased preservation which requires technical skills and finances and it risks to bring along gentrification as a result, chasing the poor from their homes. The act of balancing is delicate between providing cheap shelter for the poor, conserving and developing the heritage and meeting commercial demands for exploitation. (Battle, S., Melin, T., and Forsman, Å., 2006) There are other reasons than financial ones to care for the heritage values. Poverty is not only income related. To attain a sustainable economy both tangible and intangible assets need to be estimated and not capital alone. Poverty can also mean lack of knowledge, sanity and culture. Culture is one of several assets that contribute to people’s livelihoods and it is in that

perspective that world heritage can be significant to alleviate poverty. The significance of culture to all people’s livelihoods is also emphasized in the UN Millennium development goals “A program for sustainable environment should necessarily include the cultural environment.” Further on the Stockholm Action Plan from 1998 which has the objective to “make cultural policy a key component of development strategy”. But of course culture also has a financial value. This has been studied by Dr. Ruijgrok at the University of Leiden in Netherlands who defines the economical value of world heritage as the amount of welfare, tangible and intangible, that heritage generates for a society. Through studies of the economical value of conservation and development of heritage she has found that investments in conservation and development heritage pay off and this concerns not only the built heritage but also the geographical. (Ruijgrok, E.C.M., 2006). A World heritage site such as a historic city core is a unity of buildings and monuments but also of the spaces in between the buildings. However people tend to value the built elements higher as carriers of heritage even if the streets, alleys, squares, gardens and parks etcetera often are inseparable from the buildings and their urban context. The outdoor spaces is often where the intangible values such as art, music, cooking and discussing take place and develop. They are indeed part of a world heritage. A world heritage can generate pride and awareness of the local culture as well as a shared identity and sense of belonging for the locals but can also provide positive attention, fame, respect, interest and none the least financial input from the rest of the world. To succeed with this a holistic view on what world heritage really is, is necessary. This includes tangible as well as intangible values, physical elements as well as platforms for life, buildings as well as outdoor spaces.



GREEN AREAS AND OPEN SPACES AS LIVELIHOOD IMPROVERS

In the final report on green structure and urban planning in the European Union Bernard Duhem, the chairman of the European Cooperation in the field of Scientific and Technical Research (COST) underlines the importance of green elements in the urban fabric:

“We need to consider the green aspects of planning as a physical structure forming an integral part of the city (e.g green belts or green corridors), as a network of “green” elements, as a physical infrastructure playing a role in water management, in the urban micro-climate and in biodiversity and also as a social infrastructure for leisure, relaxation, human interaction and other social activities. Therefore, green structure is not equivalent to green areas.” (Werquin, A.C. Et Al. 2005) Even if green structure is a modern concept, with roots in the idea of the public park which is a very western idea, verdure has always existed in cities all over the world, only in different ways, and today it has been proved a very efficient way of improving environments and livelihoods.

ENVIRONMENTAL AND SANITARY ASPECTS

Green areas affect the urban climate and help creating thermal comfort. The tree top gives shade, the leaves give breeze and oxygen as well as humidity (transpiring water). In a very hot and humid climate shade and ventilation are important. In a study on urban climate and outdoor comfort performed in Fez, Morocco, it was noticed that the temperature in the alleys shaded by vegetation was 10 °C lower than in an open, parking lot exposed to the sun. (Johansson, E., 2009) An easy way to regulate the temperature is through shade. At the University of Manchester a group of researchers has also found that an increase of only 10 % of green areas would lower the temperature in our cities with four degrees.

(Eriksson, 2008) This is equivalent to the anticipated rise of temperature by 2080 due to the climate changes.

The same number of degrees are experienced much more intensely in a humid, hot climate than in a dry, hot one. 30 °C in a dry is experienced as 40 degrees in a humid one. (Johansson, E., 2009) The ideal temperature to reach thermal comfort outdoors, is simply lower in a humid, hot climate. At the same time it is not so much the temperature per se that is hard to deal with but the sun radiation. Close to the equator the sun stands high in the sky exposing people to a lot of sun radiation. Therefore access to shade, provided by trees or climbing plants on pergolas for instance, is extremely important in these areas. Urban climate is also affected by the amount of hard surfaces that attract and radiate heat. Heat radiation thus comes from above, from the sun, but also from the walls and the paving. A way to decrease the heat is to use climbing plants (preferably on a construction and not on the walls) or to use so called “Green walls”. Avoiding dark and impermeable paving could be another way. When it comes to ventilation it is important to make way for it, for example by using trees with the crown high up on the stem. One argument against vegetation in this context could be that it increases the humidity (which in its turn makes the hot climate less endurable). According to an expert on urban climate however the difference it makes in an already humid climate is negligible. (Johansson, E., 2009) Trees and green areas are also important to the biodiversity, something that is emphasized in the Agenda 21. (UN, 1992, 15:2) They provide habitats for insects and birds that are important for the spreading of seeds, leading to a richer biodiversity, but also for the embellishment of the city. To function at their maximum green areas and green corridors should be interlinked but also linked to the surrounding landscape. This

in order to create a “green infrastructure” permitting birds, insects and plants (and human beings!) to thrive. The need to take ecological responsibility in land use planning is also highlighted in the international convention on biodiversity (SCBD) from 1992 which is also the case in nature protection legislation in all European countries. (Werquin, A.C. Et Al. 2005) Further on trees and green areas improve water and air quality. One hectare of mixed forest filters up to 15 tons of particles in the air, every year. Coniferous forest filters up to two or three time more. (Bolund, P., Hunhammar, S., 1999) In Chicago, USA, researchers have tried to calculate the monetary value of the services the trees in the city of Chicago provide, their so called eco system service. All together they reduce the air of 5600 tons of pollution every year. They protect against cold in the winter time and heat in the summer time, and if one planted three trees next to a building its energy consumption would decrease with two to seven percent because of the lowered need for heating and cooling. The researchers estimated that every tree in Chicago had a value of about US \$ 400, and that the benefits of planting more trees would be twice as big as the costs for planting and managing them. (McPherson, E.G. et al, 1997) Trees also enhance natural processes by filtrating and cleaning water as well as they are functioning as “buffer zones” in cases of flooding, retaining the flood water. (Werquin, A.C. Et Al. 2005) Along with growing cities or increased density usually comes a higher percentage of hard surface, which makes it difficult for the water to penetrate the soil and burdening the sewage system as a result. It is also important that the rainwater enters the soil in order to prevent sinking groundwater tables. In other words green areas can help prevent or reduce environmental problems that otherwise would require expensive engineering solutions.



Photo: Karin Sunde Persson

Trees and green areas also expire oxygen, absorb carbon dioxide emissions, create moist and ventilation and by this improve air quality which in its turn can decrease the number of people suffering from allergies and other deceases related to polluted air.(Nowak, D.J. 2002) According to the world health organization all citizens should have access to at least 9 m² of urban green space pereach to mitigate a number of undesirable environmental effects and provide other benefits. In the city of Munich studies have been conducted on how green areas can lower the temperature. Through areal photos surface temperatures have been obtained and the results showed that green spaces have a big climatic importance: An increase of vegetated surface by 10% reduced surface temperatures on average by 1 °C. (G.Scudo , "Environmental comfort in green urban spaces: an introduction to design tools" COST Action C11) The more mature the trees were the more effective they were in mitigating the heat. A Large contribution to lowering the radiant temperature is also given by green surfaces, such as green walls or lawns. Even if the difference of air temperature between a street with or without vegetation is only 1 °C. Trees, plantations, hedges and green facades also have the ability to absorb and reduce noise. Sounds tend to bounce less on soft surfaces than on hard, the reduction being about three dB. (Bolund,P.,Hunhammar,S.,1999)

Least but not last green areas provide spaces for relaxation and recreation. In the field of health and psychology several studies have proved that there is a strong link between well being and green areas. Decreased blood pressure and lower stress have been proved results in research .(Grahn and Stigsdotter, 2003) One study showed that patients at a hospital got well quicker if they had a view of a green area than if the view was a

building.(Ulrich, 1984)

For recreation, small green areas of a 150 m² does not fit for football games or other activities requiring big space. But it offers a space to take a break from the busy city life and sit down and relax in the shadow for example, or it offers a playground for the small children that can not manage to go to the bigger parks and football grounds on their own. Researchers on environmental psychology in Sweden have found that small parks about this size (1-5 Ha) is most popular for cultural or festive purposes or simply for socializing and are among the most used ones if they are located near the home. (Grahn, Stigsdotter och Berggren-Bärring in Werquin et al, 2005)These kinds of spaces are especially important to people that can't easily move around on their own: small children and old people. The Manchester study quoted above also state that a park affects the climate of the surrounding environment within a radius of 500 meters.(Eriksson, SDS, 2008-06-15)

Green elements can do a lot to improve the environment. However one must keep in mind that many factors are important for green spaces to fulfil their environmental functions: size, the over all provision of green spaces, their diversity and distribution, design and management.(Werquin, A.C. Et Al. 2005)



SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

In warm countries and especially in poor and overcrowded ones, much of the social life take place in the public areas, the streets squares and parks. People meet for a coffee or tea, they meet and talk or discuss, they play games, they eat dinner or even watch Tv together outside The public outdoor spaces have great potential and are often used to its maximum. People use them for every day activities but also for big events such as wedding parties, funeral ceremonies or religious events like praying. But people need basic facilities such as paving, shade and breeze to make public open space even more useful to them.

ECONOMICAL ASPECTS

Trees and green areas also play a role in the urban economic life. First and foremost by contributing to create good places and thus providing places for business. The informal economic sector must not be neglected and not even fought. In many societies in developing countries, it is thanks to the informal sector that the majority of people survive. In a big extent the informal business sector is depending on public open spaces that are free to use, and that are enduring enough, for example by offering shelter from the sun. In this regard trees play an important economic role by providing good microclimate for people that depend on the business in the informal sector. Secondly trees and green areas help prevent diseases by creating better air and water. Their ability to take care of flooded water is also something that in long term is an economic favour to the city. Finally, a trend in many parts of the world, is that wealthy families tend to move to places where they can afford a garden. This creates a segregation between rich and poor, leaving the poor in the city centre with the less healthy environment. A greener urban fabric might help keep a mix of people from different classes in the city centre. (Werquin, A.C. Et Al. 2005, p. 23)





PART 3

STONE TOWN AND ITS OPEN
SPACES IN DIFFERENT
CONTEXTS

A NEED FOR MORE OPEN SPACES

The Stone Town of Zanzibar is a very dense city mainly populated by poor people. The average density is about 300 persons per hectare (the total area of Stone Town being about 60 Ha.) or 30 000 persons per km² which is as much as in Bombay! According to a report from Sida there are in average six people per room in Stone Town, which is very high. The Zanzibari average, annual income per capita in 2003 was as low as \$ 220 ,a bit more than a third of the Tanzanian which by then yet had the second lowest per capita GDP in the world.(Battle, Melin and Forsman, 2006,)

The urban structure is highly influenced by Arabic and Indian building techniques and traditions, aiming to protect the outdoor users from the strong sun, and therefore very dense. Although there have been more public, open spaces for social gathering and recreation in Stone town (Suleiman, 2009, Mughery,2009 Bi Nazra, 2009 and Mlenge, 2003), today most of these are outside the historical city core, or simply being the narrow streets of the old town. In particular spaces for small children and old people are needed. For example only two playgrounds can be found in Stone Town.

18.000 people are living in the historical city core but as many as 80.000 people visit the city every day (J.M.Muhammad, 2008) and lacking the appropriate infrastructure to take care of all the users the old city core is under an enormous pressure. An interesting thing in this case is that the density of users vary totally from day to night: going from 30 000 persons per km² in night to 133 333 persons per km² in the day, which is more than four times as many! There is a need for more green, public spaces in Stone Town and the challenges are several: new ones need to be created, existing ones need to be improved and the access to some of these has to be ameliorated.

MANY UNUSED OPEN SPACES

There are many abandoned and unused plots in Stone Town. Due to lacking or inappropriate management and maintenance, many houses have collapsed, leaving empty, in most cases messy, gaps in the old, dense urban fabric. Between 1985 and 1992 85 buildings collapsed (Battle, Melin, and Forsman, 2006) and in 2006 experts stated that 85 % of the buildings in Stone Town were in a very bad shape .(Pound and MacDermott, 2006) Some of the spaces are being built on but many are left empty for years or even decades. The reason for this is in many cases the lack of resources in combination with the all increasing interest in investing in land in Stone town, which make people cling on to their plots waiting for an opportunity to sell it. A common sight in Stone Town is like the one to the right: a site with a foundation only, probably built by someone eager to claim the sight but without means to continue the work and so it can remain like this for a decade. To build or not on the empty spaces is a tricky question. Stone Town is traditionally a dense town but in many cases the new buildings are inappropriate to the historical and architectural context and it is common that the new buildings are aimed for tourism and/or being partially owned by foreign investors with the great financial benefit risking to leave the country. Some of the plots could and should reasonably be upgraded as open spaces and used for common recreational and social interests instead of buildings.

The lack of public open spaces, the need for it, all together with the fact that there have been more open spaces in older times and the current access of plots that could be used are all together an argument to develop some of the unused and abandoned spaces into green, liveable, open spaces.



A CHANGING TOWN IN A CHANGING WORLD

Stone Town originated as a fishing village situated on the Shangani peninsula in the 12:th century (Sheriff, 1994) and the city itself started to materialise in the 17:th century. In 1728 the indigenous ruler Hasan decided to make the Shangani peninsula his capital and he has been described as the one who really started developing Stone Town. The islands were on and off ruled by different local emperors but Portuguese traders and rulers influenced and finally conquered the island in the 16:th century. (Veijalainen, 2000)

Stone Town had a strategic position not only from a military point of view but also from an economic since many wealthy traders used it as a port. Oman domination of the island began in 1696 and In 1840 the Sultan of Oman moved his court to the town. This was the starting point for Stone Town as the most important harbour along the African east coast. Earlier Stone Town had mainly consisted by mud huts with roofs of leaves but now it started an intense expansion with a new Arabic, architectural style with stone houses. A major immigration of mainly Arabs started but also Indians and later on Americans and Europeans were attracted by the great trading opportunities. In 1837 an American consulate was established followed by the opening of the British and other European consulate offices. (Mlengi, 2003)

In 1890 Zanzibar became British protectorate, the Sultan remaining but powerless. The opening of the Suez canal in 1869 increased the trading possibilities and strengthened Stone Town's status as East Africa's harbour number one. Stone Town became a wealthy city with a sultan (Sayyid Barghash bin Said, 1870-1888) who introduced much modern infrastructure for the city's wealthy inhabitants. In the outskirts, on the other side of the creek, lived the under class: slaves and poor people. The city was indeed segregated. In 1963 the British left Zanzibar which became inde-

pendent. A new government led by Arabs was formed but only 3 months later it was overthrown in a revolution as a consequence, among others, of the arising African nationalism. A new socialistic government took the power and later on in 1964, after some pressure from the U.S.A who feared it would become "the new Cuba of Africa" it formed a union with Tanganyika and is since part of the United Republic of Tanzania. (Utrikespolitiska institutet, 2006)

Since the two parts of the union differed a lot a complete compound turned out to not be successful, different religions and historical, economical and cultural background and status was a too big gap to be overlapped. As a result Zanzibar since 1985 has its own government, parliament and president with elections being held every five years. It has its own constitution with separate legislation, including its own land management under its own rules. (Veijalainen, 2000)

The ruling party of Zanzibar and the Mainland is Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) which means The Revolutionary Party. It is the former Shiraz Afro Party and has been in power ever since 1964. It is the most "African" party, opposed to the CUF which is the only existing alternative to the current regime. In theory Zanzibar is practicing a multi-party system, but in reality it is a one party state, being ruled by the socialistic CCM. The so called "free" elections have been criticized amongst others by Amnesty International, accusing CCM of electoral rigging and claiming that violence has been used towards supporters of the opposition. (Utrikespolitiska Institutet, 2006)



Stone Town Community
Development
Bureau



H. H. The Sultan.

Have just arrived back in Mombasa after a fortnight in Zanzibar. Jan 28. 1907
 and Pemba. Zanzibar is the most interesting town I have ever
 been in in my life. Hope you are all keeping well. A.H.

Town Panoramic View.



H. H. The Sultan's Palace.



Outline of Zanzibar, Zanzibar, Vol. 2.



H. H. The Sultan.

Have just arrived back in Mombasa
 and Pemba. Zanzibar is the most
 been in in my life. Hope you are

Town











Indian jugglers.

Zanzibar.....

14





AERIAL VIEW, ZANZIBAR.



DARAJANI CREEK VIEW, ZANZIBAR

Coutinho Bros., Photographers, Zanzibar.



Fish market Street.

View of Bandar-Abbas



Bird's-eye view of town



Mehangani
Road



Malindi Road



Customs Beach



Native Village



Ngambo Road





Native Dhows, Zanzibar

A. C. Gomes & Sons, Zanzibar







Zanzibar, Bububu (Railroad train)



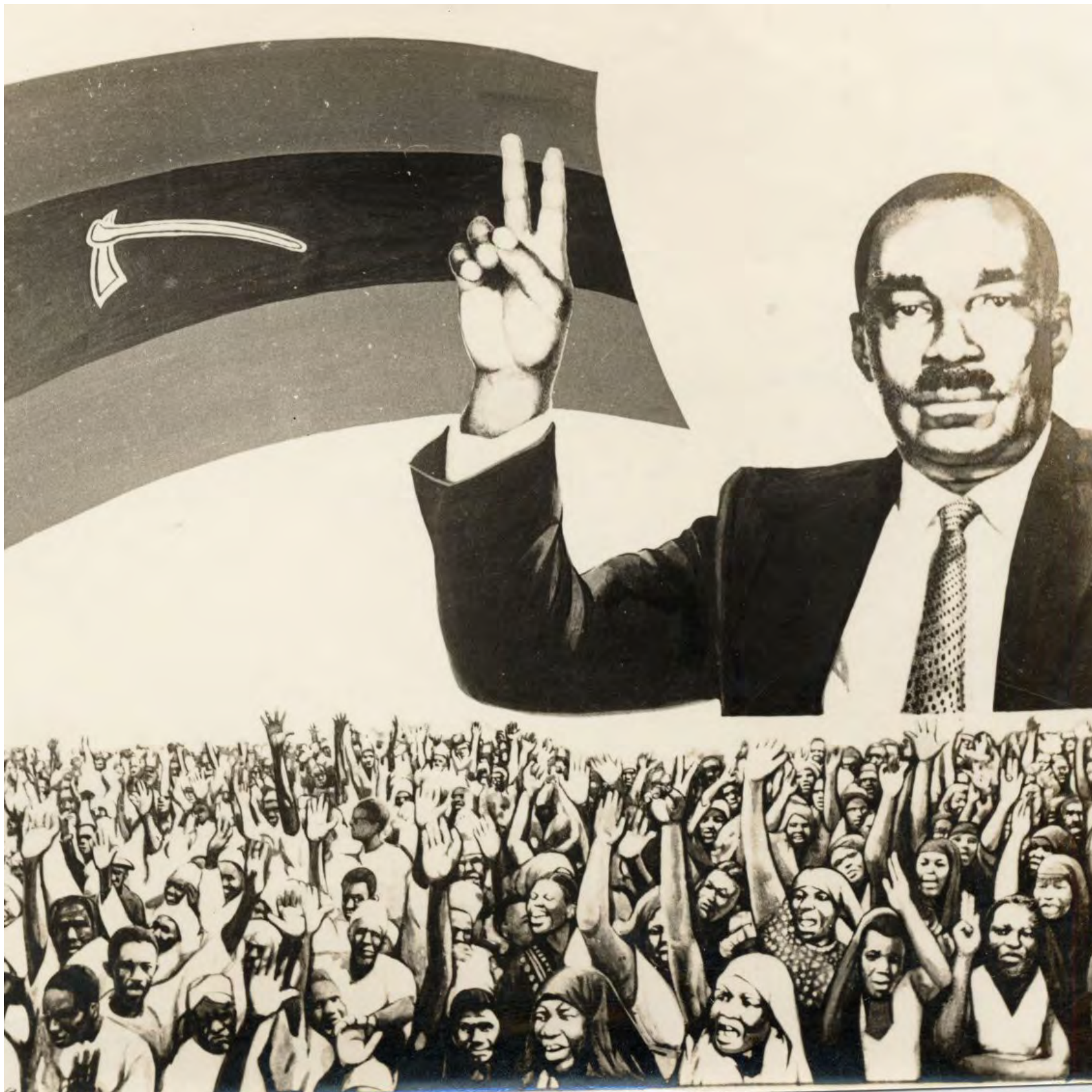




Zanzibar

Mizigani Road







DEMOGRAPHIC UPHEAVAL IN AN URBANIZING TOWN

Although the culture on Zanzibar appears to be a mixed one, the society is defined by different ethnic and racial groups: Mainlanders and Islanders, Arabs and Africans, Christians and Muslims. (R. Boswell, 2008) There are also immigrants from the east coasts of Tanzania and Kenya and more recently from other parts of east Africa as well as from central Africa.

However a great deal of the physical heritage is indeed mixed: Arabic houses being ornamented with Indian balconies and having a Swahili house as a neighbour for example. The Zanzibari identity is strong as well as the awareness of the islands impressive history as a centre for the trade along the East-African coast and there is a strong conception of the Zanzibaris as being different from the mainlanders. According to the population census of 2002 the population on Zanzibar was by then 984 625 persons which is almost twice as much as it was in the 1980's. The population of Zanzibar city was at the same time 391 000. Since 1988 this is an annual growth of 4, 5 % . This is a remarkably high figure. For instance the annual growth rate for Manila, the capital of the Philippines, 1975-2005, was 2, 53 % whereas the expected 2005-2015 is 1, 90%. For Mexico City that hosts one of the biggest informal settlements in the world, the equivalent figures are 1.99 % and 1.05% respectively. (United Nations, 2006) Zanzibar is an example of the fact that "The world's least urbanized countries have been the most rapidly urbanized ones for the decades since the 1960's." (Myer, 2005) Why does Zanzibar city which is a relatively small African city, and not so accessible either, attract so many new citizens? On Unguja, the main island, the majority, 60 %, still live in rural areas while 40% in urban. (Tanzania National website, 2008) But these figures are rapidly changing. Today people pour in

not only from the countryside but also from the mainland: from Dar es Saalam, from Arusha, even from Kilimanjaro to look for a job on Zanzibar.

The increasing tourism is one answer. This in combination with the fact that Zanzibar had a very protectionistic approach towards the rest of the world until the 1980's which has delayed the urbanization. As a result the boom has come the last decades and therefore the effect is so intense now. The lack of regional planning and investments in the rest of Zanzibar is another answer. (Muhammad, J.M, 2005) All focus has either been on Stone Town or on Zanzibar City. Not much has been done to develop a sustainable infrastructure for the rest of Zanzibar. One can only speculate about how the situation will be in Zanzibar City and its fragile historic city core in 10-15 years if nothing is done to slow down this development. However experts predict the trend will rather go the other direction: Today the population for the Urban west (Zanzibar city and its surroundings) is 435,827. In 2019 it is expected to be 590,526, an increase with almost 20 %. (Tanzania National Website, 2009) In average the population of Unguja, which is the main island, has increased by 3 % every year. Urban west (Zanzibar city including Stone Town) is the region that has the second highest annual intercensal growth rate in Tanzania. Meanwhile the population of Stone Town decreased 1967 to 2002, to start growing again after that reaching today's number of about 18 000 inhabitants. (Mlinge, 2003) Even if the population of Stone town was decreasing it does not mean that the daily use and financial, administrative and environmental pressure on it has increased. The population of Zanzibar city has been steadily growing and this is of course affecting Stone Town. One interesting thing however is that

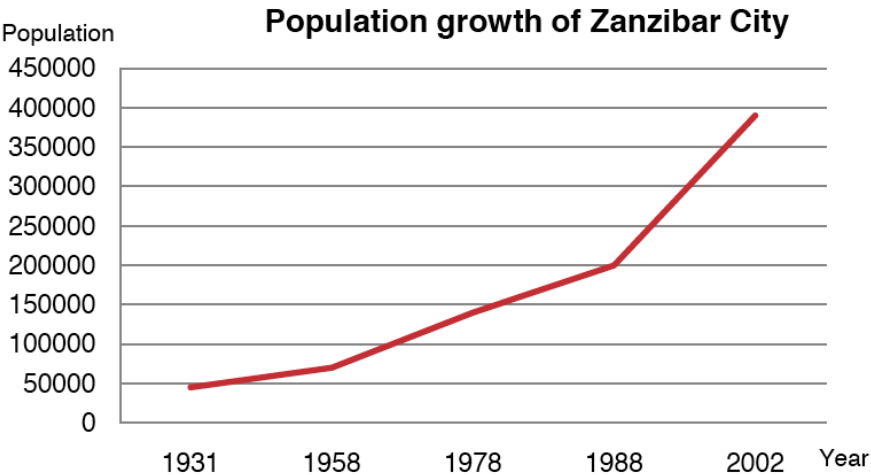


while the population in Stone Town decreases the density does not. In 2002 it is higher than it was in 1967, even if the population is about 3 500 people less! (The United Republic of Tanzania 2002 Population and Housing Censuses) The explanation might be that many houses have collapsed, something that is also supported by the fact that there are about 400 less households in 2002 than in 1967. Another explanation could be that people who can move out from Stone Town, to get a newer and less maintenance demanding house in the surroundings.

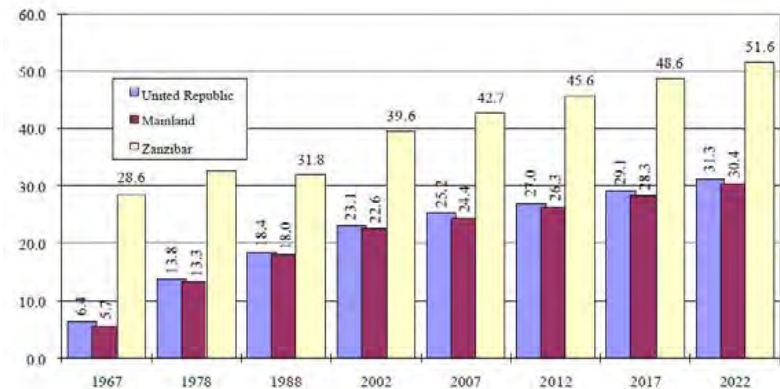
Population in Stone Town 1958-2002

Year	Population	Total Nr of HH	Average size of HH
1958	17 800	2 957	6.02
1967	16 604	3 237	5.13
1978	15 493	3 346	4.63
1992	15 854	2 831	5.60
2002	12 955	2 831	5.30

Source: Mlenge, 2003



Source: Myers, 2005 (Original source: Bureau of statistics, United Republic of Tanzania)



Source: Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2002 population and housing census.

FROM TRADING CENTRE TO CAPITALISM VIA PLANNED ECONOMY

The economical conditions of Zanzibar are typical for a developing country with a weak economy and a high poverty. The informal sector is probably the most important form of economy on Zanzibar and concerning the formal sector much of the income come from the public sector or from tourism. Even if there have been several local industries like cigarette- and milk factories there are none today. The agriculture is weak and much of the products needed are imported although the soil is fertile and suitable for agriculture. Today the economy is getting more and more depending on tourism and the official policy is to get more oriented towards the luxurious forms of it. Zanzibar used to have an economical system strictly controlled by the state, even more so than on the mainland of Tanzania. However in the mid 1980's neoliberalism was introduced and pretty much left the big majority of poor inhabitants in a vulnerable state, with less security of income but on the other hand with more possibilities of earning money.

Being the capital of trade along the east coast, then on to strict controlled economy to end up in today's liberal economy: Stone Town has made a long journey since its glorious days.



LAND TENURE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The indigenous people on Unguja had their own laws that stayed unknown until the 1940's. (Veijalainen, 2000) In the early 20's most inhabitants had their origin outside the island and many in Islamic countries. For example inheritance, followed Islamic law and rules and no land was under indigenous tenure. (Veijalainen, 2000) In some areas of Zanzibar resemblances to these rules are still existing. Before the revolution there was a system of using and managing the open spaces in between different households. This system seems to have been informal. With the revolution and the abandoning of many homes, these spaces lost their former status. Some things are still the same: All land is communally owned (by the state) and there is still a division between the land itself and what is constructed upon it. (Veijalainen, 2000)

The Omans introduced the plantation economy, based on clove production and slave labour. Being big plantation owners they also had a great influence on the land use. During the Arab regime land tenure moved from being communally based towards becoming more private. The Arabs believed that land was owned by god but governed by the sultan, who in his turn granted rights of occupancy for life to his supporters and family. As in the indigenous areas the developer owned the buildings etcetera but not the land. The land itself was considered to have no value at all. (Veijalainen, 2000) Until recently, this traditional way of valuing land still seems to have been common in Stone town. This attitude might explain the confused situation of land tenure where old systems based on traditions and shared values, fail to keep up with the changes of the economical and social systems and the increasing interest from the rest of the world.

The same old traditions concerning land tenure that existed in the country side existed as well in Stone Town, even if the sultan were

much more in control of it there. (Veijalainen, 2000) According to Veijalainen there was an unofficial system where land rights were inherited, and this still seems to be the case.

The British created a land register to register valuable land and soon after the first world war they finally managed to make a revision of the land system. But it was voluntary to register ones land and many people chose not to do this, this is one of the explanations to the lack of maps from that time. Finally the British administration called in the British town planner Lanchester who elaborated a town plan in 1923 which in many ways was very colonial, putting the foreign emperors interests first. In 1925 there was a rent-strike and the British administration decided to put an upper limit to the rents. (Veijalainen, 2000) This seems to have become some kind of tradition and still the government has a policy to keep the rents very low, although this means there will be little money for management and renovations. All in all one can say that these were times of great confusion in land tenure and land management on Zanzibar. In 1955 the town and country act, which in much was a copy of British legislation, was approved. 1964 to 1977 was a period of socialistic planning where focus was on the other part of Zanzibar city, the part outside Stone Town, N'gambo ("The other side"). (Veijalainen, 2000) Now the roles were reversed and Stone Town would be financially and politically neglected for a long time on. However the ameliorated situation in N'gambo, cheap land and net work possibilities made more and more people move into the city and the pressure on Stone Town as an administrative centre arose. Soon after the revolution ownership of land became a state monopoly and the government confiscated about 40.000 acres of land, most of it from Arabs.

This land was then distributed to the people through the distribution decree the Three Acre Plot (TAP). It gave three acres of land to 22.000 people. It lasted for life but could not be inherited or sold and in cases of expropriation there would be no compensation.(Törrönen, 1997) The process was very quick and not always fair and was suffering from a lack of surveillance and mapping. Some people have abandoned land and some people have informally assumed the right to vacant plots. Many have sold their lands. At the moment rights to land in the three acre plot areas are often unclear.

A LAND TENURE SYSTEM EMERGING

In Stone Town the buildings belong to different owners, but the land itself-and thus the urban, open spaces, are governmental property. Today there is no register of land tenures but this is about to be established. One issue stressed in the Heritage Management Plan for Stone Town (HMP) elaborated by the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), is the importance of reclaiming abandoned spaces for public purposes before these turns into private ownership. This is also the suggestion for an amendment of the Conservation and Development Act of 1994 which will be presented in January 2009. If approved it will give the right to STCDA to claim the management and the lease of all open space within the conservation area.

Before the 16:th century when the Arabs started to gain influence and conquer land on Zanzibar, land was mostly communally owned, although with some elements of feudalism through Zanzibari rulers. (Törhönen, 1998) However the Arabs introduced Islamic land laws which dissolved communal ownership of property. The Arabs became the most influent landowners, owning big plantations of clove mainly, but after the Zanzibari revolution in 1964 many Arabs flew the country amongst others as a result of arising African nationalism. In 1965 the new socialistic government nationalised all land and distributed it to the landless people and those who had less than three acres of land, the so called Three Acre Plot tenure.(Törhönen, 1998) Even if the land was nationalized old, informal land tenure systems with land passing from father to son or between relatives through heritage, or being sold and purchased, continued to exist.(Törhönen, 1998) All this in spite of the fact that any interest in land is invalid unless it is registered under the Registered Land Act (LTA) 1989. This means that the majority of land holdings in Zanzibar are not valid as a few

are registered.(Veijalainen, 2000) In 1992 the LTA was “designed to define all relationships in Zanzibar.” (Törhönen, 1998) being worked out to regulate mortgaging and leasing, to restrain fragmentation and to set rules for the transactions. It carried along the old tradition of all land being communally owned: “All land in Zanzibar, occupied or unoccupied, is declared as public land held by the president of Zanzibar.” (Törhönen, 1998)The LTA from 1992 is still the basic land law and gives in some cases the ministry the right to terminate grants without compensating the owners for the value of the land. Such cases could be when the land is not being used in accordance with the proper planning regulations. It could also be when a building or a house falls into a state of disrepair which is quite common in Stone Town. (Veijalainen, 2000)

The colonial Town and country planning Act from 1955 is still in use. It states that in areas where development is officially allowed, a permit is needed. Within the Stone Town area it is the STCDA that provide these permits. (Veijalainen, 2000) However the LTA enables individuals to possess land through the registered Right of Occupancy, which is a very strong land title. The right of occupancy (RoO) give the holder the right to the use and occupation of land with provisions of LTA, 1992. With a few limitations the RoO can be sold but the RoO does never mean that the holder owns the land. (Veijalainen, 2000) One person can own this title or lease it, the RoO itself regulates this lease and other kinds of lease of public land. The areas used by the tourism industry are most often handed over through a lease.(Törhönen, 1998) This is always the case if an investor is an expatriote. A registered RoO can also be mortgaged, something that is approved by the government. An RoO can be gained in the following ways 1) a grant 2) adjudication as a rightful interest 3) inheritance 4) purchase 5) a

gift. (Törhönen, 1998)

According to Törhönen “the termination of the rights to occupancy has been made very difficult” and always requires a decision in court. But sometimes even this is not enough. During an interview one expert claimed that even with the law on its side, the state would’nt be able to take back land that have been squatted by private persons because the court would simply judge in favor of the private person, in spite of the law. Even if all transactions have to be registered to be valid the law declares that all confiscations of land made after the revolution in 1964, no matter what procedures were used, are legal. (Törhönen, 1998)The problem was, and still is, even if there is legislation there is no implementation of it. Since there has been no proper land registration, breaking of the land law has hardly led to any legal consequences and it seems that the unofficial land tenure system is sometimes stronger than the official! In practice land that according to the law should belong to the government is actually being used, sold and bought by private persons or even private businesses.

However in 2005 the land tribunal was created and in 2007, the Office of Land Registration was established and a register of land owners is now being established with the support from Fin-nida. The Office of Land Registration is currently searching every house and/or land owner in Stone Town for registration. The lack of control has not only given poor people opportunities to acquire their own land, but also lead to corruption benefiting the wealthier classes, dealing with land in between their own local group or with foreign investors.

According to Mr Silima, chairman of the land tribunal and chief execute officer one reason to the current situation is that people for a long time simply didn’t know the value of land. It is with the

appointment as World Heritage site and the all increasing tourism that the awareness has risen. “Nowadays everybody knows the importance of land, its value.” He sais and continues “People are making business now, all people want to do it. But mostly busines-men have earned money from it.” (Silima, 2008) Meanwhile, the demographic pressure keeps increasing. Considering the popula-tion growth in Zanzibar city, the availability of plots to build on have been small (Veijalainen, 2000) which might explain why people tend to hold on so hard to their plots even if they can’t afford to build upon them. In 1995 the most recent land law was approved: the National Land Use Plan (NLUP). According to Veijalainen it is more to be seen as a policy paper. What is interesting with it is that it supports an increased privatisation and Private Public Partnership (PPP). It also underlines a more efficient distribution of responsibility where the government should take care of the stra-tegic development projects, the authorities should be responsible for the social and community services and the development of housing areas should go to the local communities! However what this local community would look like seems unclear. In the NLUP it is proposed that communities would facilitate urban land acqui-sition and delivery and use their own labour, finance and skills to implement the development. A local development control authority should be the land allocator.

If implemented it will be very interesting to see where these suggestions will lead since they indicate a more bottom-up and community based approach to planning, something that might be one of the answers to an increased awareness for land of Stone Town as well as its values.

MANAGEMENT AND RESPONSIBILITY, IMPORTANT ACTORS

MINISTRY OF WATER, CONSTRUCTION, ENERGY AND LAND (MWCEL) is officially the institution with most authority over Stone Town and its management, planning and conservation, but has in reality delegated its responsibilities to STCDA.

STONE TOWN CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (STCDA) is the authority responsible for conservation and development in Stone Town. It is recognized by UNESCO as the manager of Stone Town. Originally its areas of mandate was for both conservation and development, in terms of planning, but in reality no planning has been executed for the last 13 years when AKTC made the Master Plan for Stone Town in 1996. The main task for STCDA ever since it started has been conservation and it was not until 2008 that a revision and visions of the situation has been elaborated by the STCDA. The building brigade is part of STCDA and controls the state of the buildings and other physical heritage. They make regular controls and report violations against the laws of conservation on to the SDTCDA.

Since 2002 STCDA is working hard with developing as an institution to be able to deal with the new challenges concerning heritage and conservation of Stone Town and concerning strategies for sustainable development. This ambition is visible in the new visions of STCDA presented in the HMP: "STCDA will protect and enhance the Stone Towns cultural heritage leading to its cultural diversity and maintaining its outstanding universal values."

ZANZIBAR MUNICIPALITY COUNCIL (ZMC) is the overarching, local authority recognized by the UNESCO as the custodian of Stone town as World heritage site, but for practical reasons day to day work is done by the STCDA.

ZANZIBAR STONE TOWN HERITAGE SOCIETY (ZSTHS) is an NGO established in 2000 with support from Sida, aiming to give a voice to the citizens and different actors of Stone Town. It is open to everybody and has elaborated programs concerning restoration, international networking, communication and outreach. They have also produced reports on open space and verdure in Stone Town.

AGA KHAN TRUST FOR CULTURE (AKTC) is a private fund which "focuses on the physical, social, cultural and economic revitalisation of communities in the Muslim world" (www.akdn.org/about.asp) They have a local office in Stone town and have been very active in the upgrading of both buildings and outdoor areas. They were also responsible for the elaboration of the Plan for the historic Stone town from 1994.

The Shehas are local administrators executing administration of the different Shehias (areas) of Stone Town. They don't really have authority to make decisions on their own but are very important as the link between authorities and the inhabitants.

PRIVATE INVESTORS are beginning to play a role in the development of urban space. Today Serena and Maezon are two hotels that have enrolled in Public Private Partnerships on green, open spaces, with a varying result.



Photo: Karin Sunde Persson

MANAGEMENT

One of the basic requirements for improving the situation of Stone Town's urban carpet, is to have a well functioning management of buildings and out door areas. Awareness of the cultural and historical values of Stone Town arose quite late, and it was not until a report from UN-Habitat rang the alarm bells, that the planning authority responsible for the management of Stone Town, STCDA, was established in 1985. One of the reasons to why Stone Town after all is so well kept is that not much was constructed or torn down in the city after the 1960's. However since then, pressure has increased constantly; demographically as well as financially and skillwise. When a big part of the owners of the great palaces and buildings of Stone Town flew the country after the revolution the skilled craftsmen that maintained and managed these buildings found themselves unemployed and thus lot of skills and knowledge disappeared. Many buildings were either given to the Wakf (which at that time was not under the government) or left empty for squatters to take over.

Stone Town is currently facing many different problems concerning its management. They range from lack of cooperation between authorities, scarce legislative implementation and corruption to issues like lack of traditional skills and materials. One problem concerning the management is the lack of monitoring and cooperation between different authorities. For example licenses are given for businesses that from a heritage point of view are unwanted. This is what happened when one embassy got permission to build on a very attractive site in spite of the will of STCDA and it was not until the UNESCO intervened that the project was stopped. Another problem is that one and the same authority within the STCDA both give permission to construct and makes the drawings for it, itself. The administrative responsibility for stone Town primarily be-

longs to the STCDA but sometimes it clashes or overlaps with the interests and responsibilities of the municipality. The management of the buildings depends on the owners: private ones (24 %) and the governmental institutions Waqf (26 %) and Department of Housing and Human Settlements (24 %) There are 2700 Households in Stone Town and 76 % of these are renters. According to a Sida report "buildings in the private sector tend to be in better condition, which is hardly surprising given that tenants pay realistic rents and owners are motivated to invest in their assets". (Battle, Melin and Forsman, 2006). In other cases tenants often have contracts of only a few months which make them unwilling to invest in reparations or renovations.

Bad organization of data of tenants and the land tenure is yet another problem. Regarding the tenants of buildings belonging to Wakf or DHHS information is often outdated and not in a digital form, which makes it difficult to know if the righteous person is living in the apartment, what repairs have been made, by whom, etc. This is well described by Battle, Melin and Forsman, 2006: "When a tenant comes to the authority with a request for assistance with maintenance it is difficult for the housing officer to know whether he is the rightful tenant, up to date with the rent, or what has been invested in his home before, and in the absence of an overview, decision-making is paralyzed!" In short there's a lack in communication between residents and authorities. Some of the consequences of this is that collection of rent is not always working properly. This in combination with the governments policy to keep rents low, meaning remenants are poor and means to renovate and manage are small, of course have negative financial consequences, affecting the possibilities for good management, maintenance and restoration of the properties as well as the urban

landscape. Further on there is a problem with black-market and sub-renting. Economically the system is unsustainable. The STCDA is well aware of the situation and is working to find a solution. In 2008 they presented the new Heritage Management Program (HMP) which is a complement to the Strategic Conservation Plan (SCP, a review of the Conservation Master Plan from 1994) by the STCDA. While the HMP is focusing mainly on the protection and conservation of the heritage, the SCP is concentrating on general planning and conservation proposals. The status of the urban landscape within the heritage context is clarified by the Heritage Management Plan. It states that landscape and natural elements should be "acknowledged and understood as integral parts of the conservation area" and be managed accordingly. And that the public realm should be "regarded and understood as a historic element of the town, and that any alterations to it should take the historical and cultural significance of the public realm into consideration." In the plan the importance of visitors experiencing an discovering Stone Town is also stressed. A new trend within the heritage management is to create awareness among the inhabitants to ensure good management of the heritage. Long term holistic planning instead of short term is favored. The ambition of the heritage Management Plan is that all planning should be done within the context of heritage. In spite of all many of the above mentioned problems are also assets: tourism and a boom in construction can also be a motor for development to the whole region. Some of the objectives concerning the management of the urban landscape is to improve provision of furniture, lightening, road signage. Further on to encourage planting of traditional Zanzibari trees and to encourage optimal use of open areas by identifying those areas that can be developed and fully utilized by the public

for cultural and social purposes as well as to analyze beach access and initiate appropriate rehabilitation.

One ambition is to develop minor open spaces, such as ruins etc, for play grounds for example so that they can be catalysts for social interaction of Stone Town. Safe open spaces for social interaction is especially needed for women and children. The HMP states: "To design an abandoned open space is to reclaim space for public realm; the whole process plays a tremendous role in improving life of surrounding neighbourhoods."

The significance of verdure in Stone town is equally underlined. In HMP it is stated that "Trees play a tremendously important role in Stone Town. (...) Green spaces and grass help diminish dust particles in the air. They contribute to make the town more liveable."



A GREEN STRUCTURE IN STONE TOWN

As a lead in the discussion of urban verdure and its significance to Stone Town, I wanted to investigate the possibilities of developing a green structure. The idea was to elaborate a typology of the open space and from it choose some types that would be suitable to develop into green liveable spaces. I found three types that i called The Graveyard, The Ruin and The General open space, with three different approaches. One, The Grave yard, was already a beautiful oasis, but a hidden one: It needed to be exposed and informed about. The second, The Ruin, was just a mess bothering people but also allowing them to take initiative. They planted bananas and dried their laundry on it, but could not do more since it had a private owner. It needed a temporary change, allowing people to use it. The third and last type was The general open space. It was simply quite good the way it was and people in the area liked it. But it could still use a shape up! This was the story of the three little types living in Stone Town, Zanzibar.



THE RUIN



THE GRAVE YARD



THE GENERAL OPEN SPACE



THE GENERAL OPEN SPACE



THE RUIN



THE GRAVE YARD

ARE MORE OPEN SPACES REALLY SUITABLE FOR STONE TOWN?

It should not be a purpose in itself to create more open spaces in the stone Town of Zanzibar. One might say that the beaches and the big, green areas in the outskirts of the city are enough for recreation and play, and that it is a waste of money investing in public open spaces when houses can be built on the plots instead. Another objection is that more public, open spaces would disturb the urban fabric of Stone Town and not fit in to the architectural context which has given it its status as World Heritage site. There are different answers to these objections.

MORE OPEN SPACE DO FIT THE URBAN STYLE OF STONE TOWN

The urban fabric of Stone Town is a mix of European, Indian, Swahili and Arabic influences where the foundation is the Arabic houses. As said earlier the concept of green structures is based on western ideas and it is important to adapt it to the local context. Many principles of building guidelines in Arabic cities, are based on Islamic laws. (Hakim, B.S, 1988)This has of course also affected the building of Stone Town. However Stone Town is a cosmopolitan city and has been influenced by the British ideas of the garden city for example. Although traditional Arabic cities are dense, and do not have the tradition of neither representative civic space nor undefined public open space as in the western context (Bianca, S., 2000) it does not mean that they don't have public open spaces. However they are often adjacent to public institutions such as a mosque or a market. According to the architect and researcher B.S. Hakim, public spaces as a result of junctions, as well as public and private grave yards are common in Arabic-Islamic cities.



MANY OPEN SPACES HAVE DISAPPEARED AND SHOULD BE REPLACED

According to several interviewees many open spaces in Stone Town have disappeared. This is also confirmed by the Stone Town Open Space-report, stating that the size of public, open space have decreased with 2,2 hectares (1,8%) between 1997 and 2003. (Mlengi, 2003) It is likely that the area is even less today, unless the new ruins are included. Out of 15 interviews 17 open spaces were mentioned that for different reasons are no longer accessible to the public. Four of these were private graveyards, while another two were private gardens, the other 11 public open space. Although the information might be uncertain one can claim that a considerable number of open spaces have disappeared during the last half century. A report made on Open Spaces of Stone Town also declared that the number of graveyards have diminished from 93 cemeteries in 1921 to 34 cemeteries today. Some have been converted into dumping grounds but many have been built upon, while others have been invaded by restaurants (as with the Baobab tree) or hotels (the green Lodge hotel). There are several reasons to the decreasing number of open spaces in Stone Town. Some have been built in (thus becoming semi-private or private. Walking around in Stone town one can see that many of the small, public alleys leading to these former open spaces, have been gated and closed), some have been built on. Some have been enclosed and fenced. In some cases these latter are officially still public (as in the case of the open space close to Tembo hotel) but since they are fenced people conceive them as private and don't use them. This is the case with the small garden in front of the Maezons hotel. It is an example of a failing Private-Public-Partnership (PPP). The deal between the municipality and the owners of the hotel was originally that the hotel would get the right to develop the space and in return the municipality would get a nice open,

spaces for the inhabitants of the Stone town. Although the plot was designed in such a way that it looks private; it is fenced and lacks facilities such as benches, and when asked people say that they are not allowed to use it. Instead they hang out in a corner close to the hotel and the heavily trafficked Kenyatta Road, playing games and socializing. A similar, but much more well functioning PPP was made between the municipality and the Serena hotel. Here the open space developed, the Kelele square, is actually being used by people. Yet other open spaces have become parkings and garages, while others, like the victoria Garden, has changed character from public to representational, making people unsecure whether they have the right to use it or not. One big problem is that many open spaces where buildings have collapsed remain undefined without a clear hierarchy making people think that they can do what they want with it. They tend to see the spaces as "empty" spaces that should be filled in.



The Baobab tree



Tembo hotel



Maezons hotel



Green Lodge

A GROWING POPULATION DEMANDS MORE OPEN SPACE

Stone Town is already overcrowded and the number of inhabitants will probably be even higher in a near future. The recommendation from WHO of at least 9 m² urban, green space per capita Stone means that Stone Town with its 18.000 inhabitants needs 16. Ha. of green open space. It has 11,2, with only about 12 % within the old city core. One also has to take into account the high number of daily users (80.000). Then the open space needed is 72 ha, more than six times the size of what actually exists. (Hall,A., 2008) Another problem is that the great majority of these open spaces are situated in the outskirts on the other side of big roads such as Creek Road and vuga Road and therefore not accessible to old people and small children. Researchers in Urban Forestry at the Swedish University of agricultural Sciences has also confirmed that people use small spaces close to their home more often than big spaces that are more than 300 m away from their homes.(Grahn och Stigsdotter, 2003) To create a platform for recreation on daily basis, it is hence more important with many small green areas that are easily accessible than a few big that are further away from peoples homes.

Several interviewees claim the need for more open, green spaces. One of the strongest voices belong to Mr. Mohamed Bhaloo, Project Co-ordinator at Aga Khan Cultural Service in Zanzibar:

“I would definitely say that we need more open spaces and playgrounds in Stone Town. We also need community centres, places where people can gather. Now there is only The Old Fort, and the only thing happening there are discos.” Mr. Bhaloo says he would like a place for both young and old with playground and recreational possibilities, and states “The city is overcrowded. People need outdoor spaces!”





PART 4

INVENTORIES AND ANALYSES
OF STONE TOWN AND ITS
TYPES OF OPEN SPACE

INVENTORY OF STONE TOWN





TRAFFIC, SERVICES AND INSTITUTIONS

The traffic in Stone Town is heavy and inappropriate to the urban structure of Stone Town. In the 1960's, before the revolution, the government made efforts to block heavy traffic from the vulnerable city core but it was rejected a couple of years with the new government and maybe also with the spirit of the 60's and the all growing belief in the car. the traffic expanded in 1986 just after the government took away the monopoly on trade people where free to have business and they earned money and bought motor vehicles. The government also put priority on Tourism and the tourism industry was developed and many people moved to Zanzibar to make business. (Mugheiry, 2008)

Today this is a big problem. Children playing in the streets as well as men and women socializing on the barazas or simply walking around in the narrow alleys are all threatened by the traffic. The houses get cracks in the walls by the vibrations from the vehicles. But efforts are being made to change the situation. STCDA has presented a new traffic plan which proposes regulations for heavy vehicles as well as pedestrian streets. The work has started and the first successful project has been to turn Kenyatta road into a one way road which is also the case for the rectangular loop surrounding Stone Town (Mnazi Mmoja, vuga, Africa House, Serena, Forodhani, Mizingani until Malindi). These improvements will not yet affect Malindi south in a larger extent. It is still heavily influenced by the heavy traffic on the big roads surrounding the area. Since these are main roads for the access to Stone town it is unlikely that the traffic on these roads will be regulated. Even if it is not a touristic area with much less business than most of the other areas in Stone Town, Malindi South is somehow hosting and surrounded by many of the most important institutions in the city. The harbour, the fish market, the food market, the Dala-Dala bus station and some warehouses are all situated in

The overdimensioned traffic is another big problem to Stone Town, being framed by heavily trafficked roads such as Creek Road, Kaunda Road, Mizingani Road and Malawi Road. Until the 1990s cars were not so common in the old city centre but ever since it has been all increasing. (Badudrin, M.,2008)



Malindi South surrounded by three big roads.













CIRCULATION AND PARKING



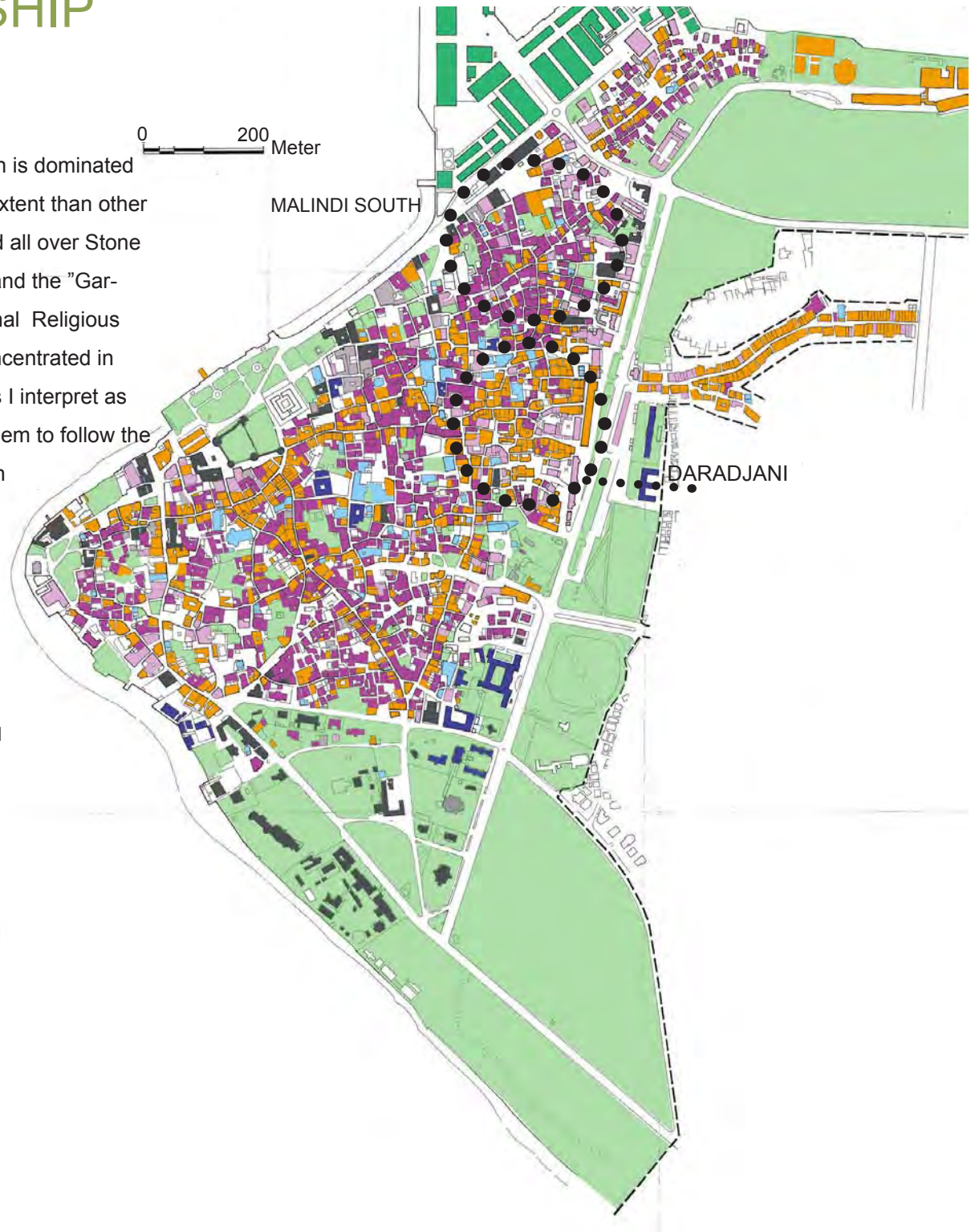
EXISTING LAND USE AND OWNERSHIP

The map confirms that Malindi South is dominated by residential buildings in a higher extent than other areas. The functions are quite mixed all over Stone Town with exceptions for the coast and the "Garden Suburb" which is more institutional. Religious buildings (mosques) seem to be concentrated in the center of the town. Mixed use as I interpret as both commercial and residential seem to follow the most busy and also touristic alleys in Stone Town. The area of Daradjani is also dominated by

-  Public open space
-  vacant building
-  Under construction or undefined
-  Residential
-  Mixed
-  Commercial
-  Public purpose
-  Educational
-  Religious
-  Port

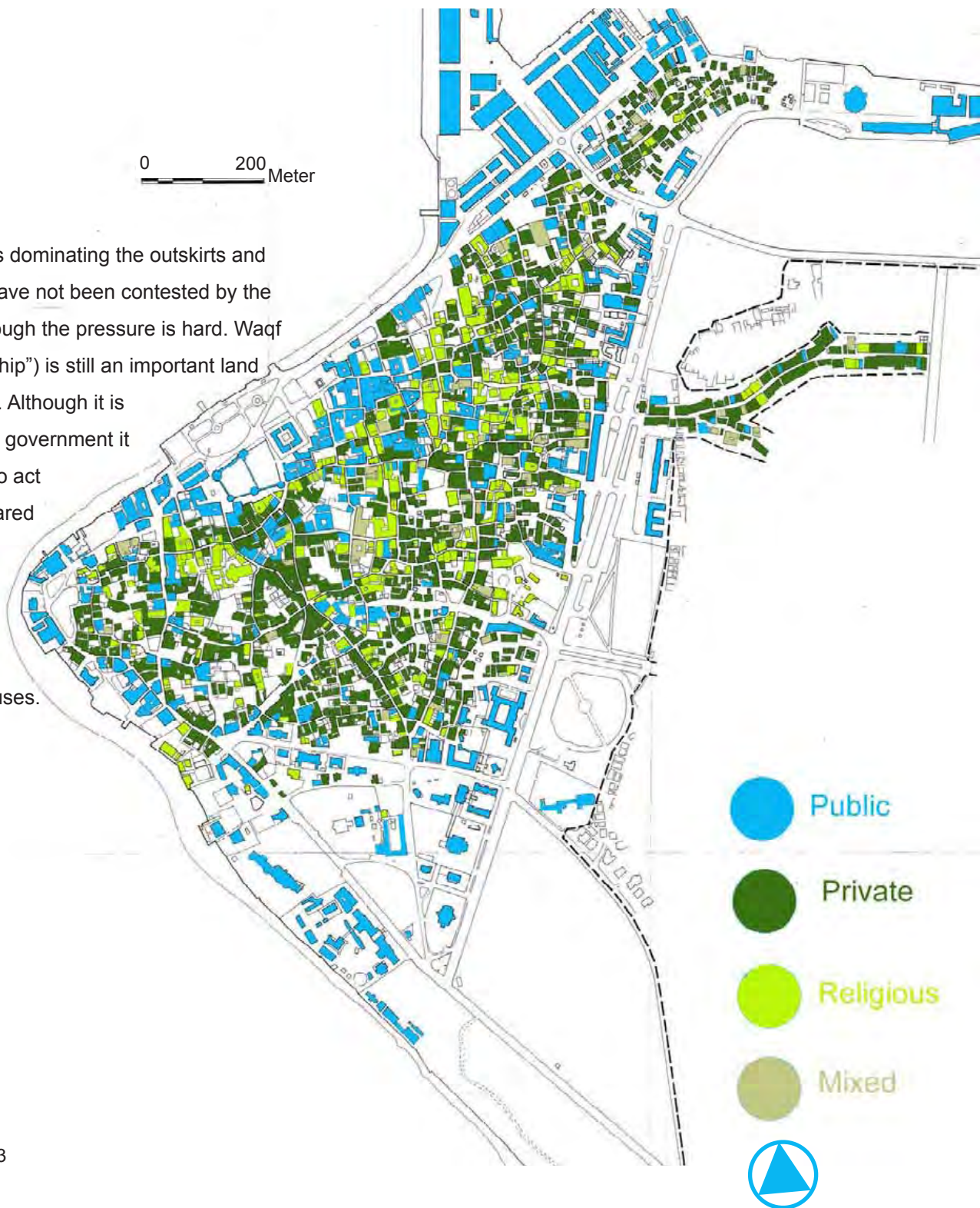


Map: Syversen, 2003



OWNERSHIP

Public ownership is dominating the outskirts and the coast. These have not been contested by the private sector although the pressure is hard. Waqf ("Religious ownership") is still an important land lord in Stone Town. Although it is officially under the government it seems to be able to act quite freely. Compared to other areas Malindi South has a quite high percentage of publicly owned houses.



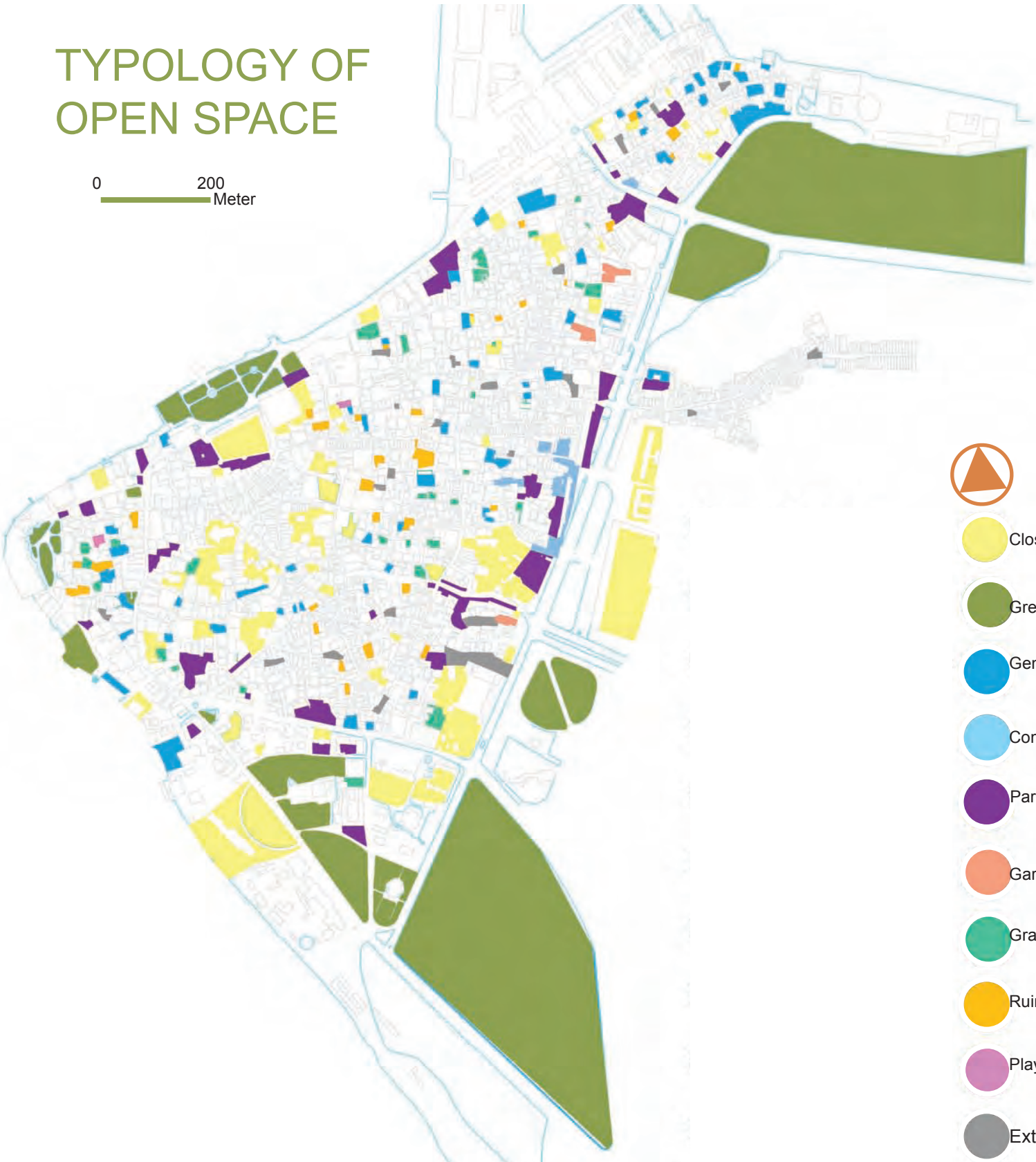
Map: Syversen, 2003













Walking around Stone Town inventering. Here I am with Sabry Majara, local investor in tourism.

TYPOLOGY OF OPEN SPACE

0 200
Meter



-  Closed space
-  Green public space
-  General open space
-  Commercial space
-  Parking
-  Garage
-  Grave yard
-  Ruin
-  Play ground
-  Extended street

EXISTING PUBLIC, GREEN SPACES

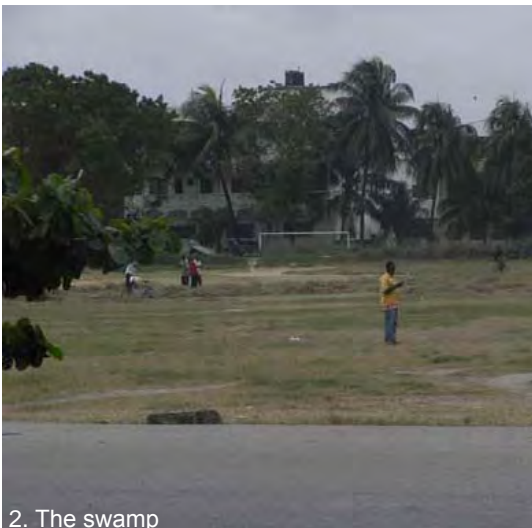


Public, green space represent 18,7 % of the area of Stone town. Out of this 16,5 % are in the outskirts, on the other side of Creek road. Only 2,2 % remain within the historic borders of the old city core. (Hall, A., 2008) The largest of the public green spaces are Mnazi moja and Jamhuri Garden, both very well used, especially by young people and students. However these two areas are both situated on the other side of Creek road which make them less accessible for small children and old people. The green, public areas within Stone Town are Forodhani garden, victoria garden, the area in front of Africa House and the park at the Peace museum. Forodhani garden is currently undergoing a renovation. It is an extremely popular area both for tourists and locals providing eateries, shade and a great view over the sea. But the pressure on Forodhani is big and tourists are taking over the place more and more. victoria gardens is also being renovated. It used to be a public, popular park, but now it is turned into some kind of park for representation belonging to the municipality. People simply do not feel comfortable using it, and they might not be welcomed to do that either. The area at Africa House is very popular among young people and intensely used, as for the park at the Peace museum which seem to be more frequented by older people and women. However as seen on the map these green areas are all in the outskirts of Stone Town or along the coast where many tourists are. There are few green, public areas in ordinary residential areas.





1. Mnazi Moja



2. The swamp



3. Jamhuri garden



4. Peace garden



5. Forodhani garden



6. Kelele square



7. Green open space

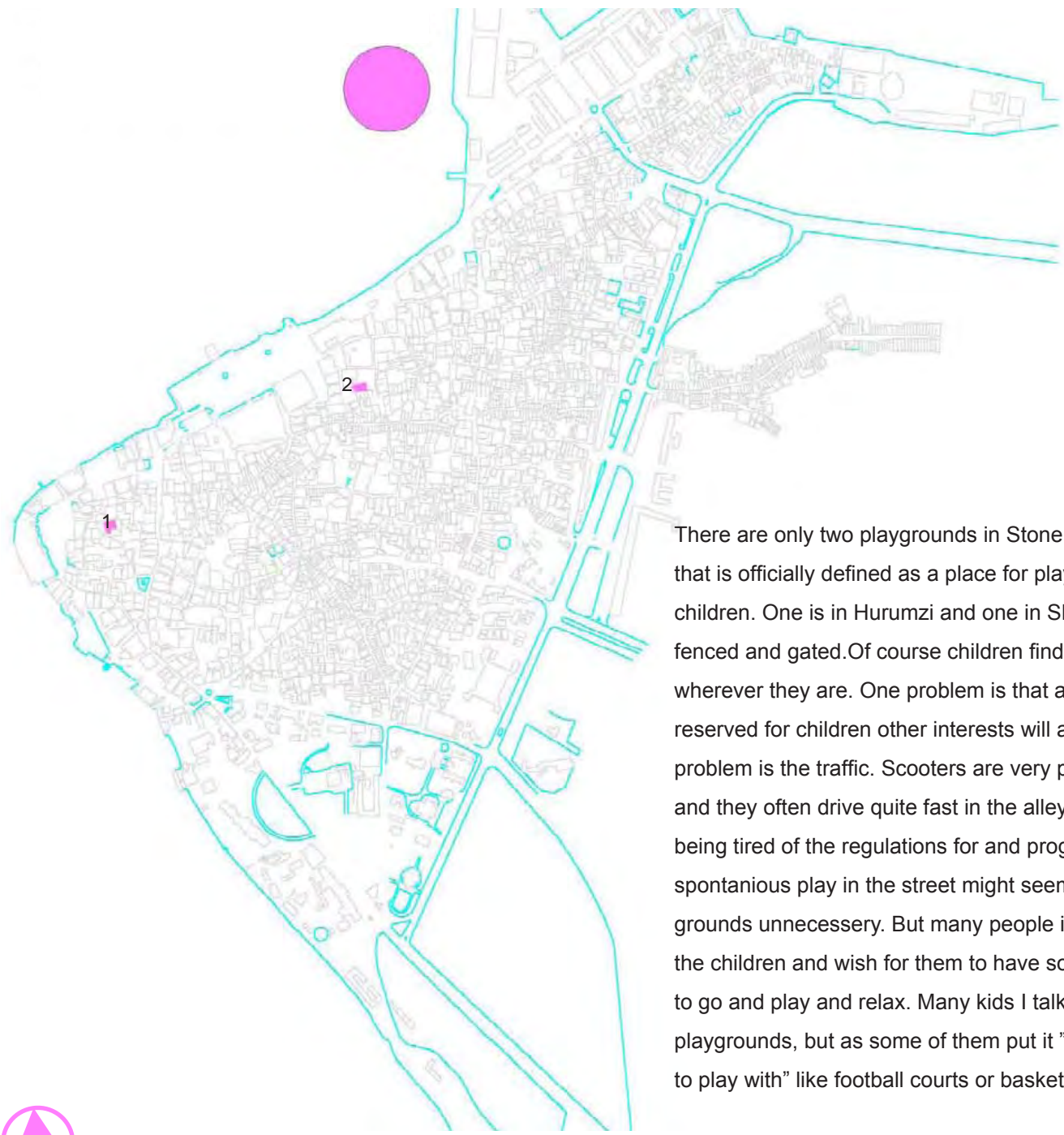


7. In front of Africa House



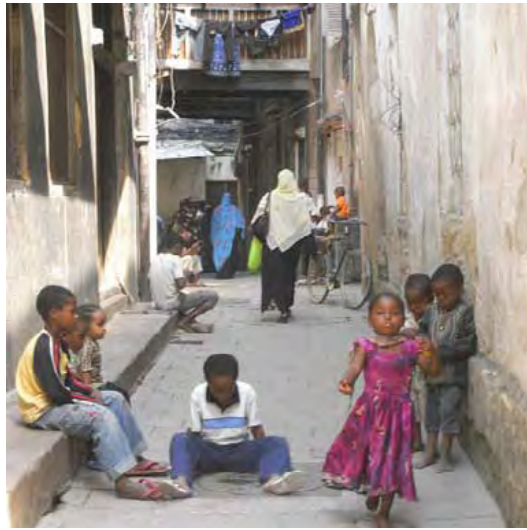
9. Victoria garden

PLAY GROUNDS

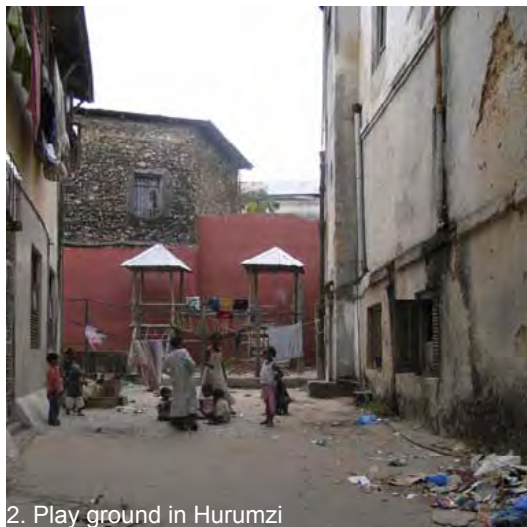
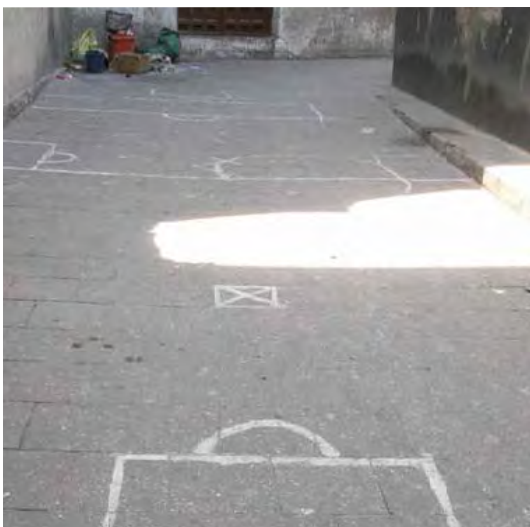


There are only two playgrounds in Stone Town, meaning a space that is officially defined as a place for play and primarily made for children. One is in Hurumzi and one in Shangani. These are both fenced and gated. Of course children find ways and places to play wherever they are. One problem is that as long as space is not reserved for children other interests will always come first. Another problem is the traffic. Scooters are very popular in Stone Town and they often drive quite fast in the alleys. To a western person being tired of the regulations for and programming of all space, spontaneous play in the street might seem very charming and playgrounds unnecessary. But many people in Stone Town worry for the children and wish for them to have somewhere more sheltered to go and play and relax. Many kids I talked to didn't explicitly want playgrounds, but as some of them put it "clean places with things to play with" like football courts or baskets for playing basket ball.





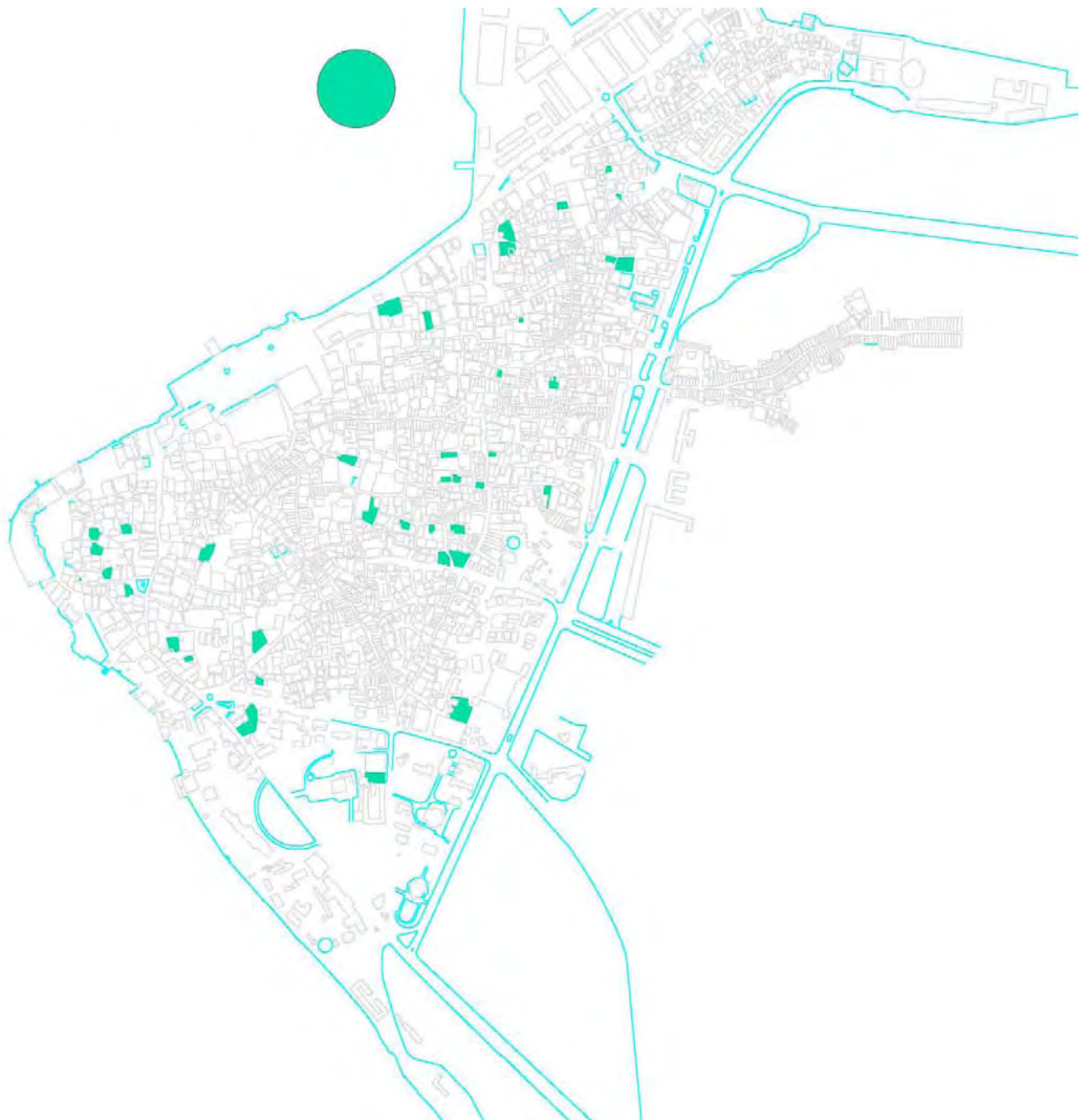
1. Play ground inShangani



2. Play ground in Hurumzi



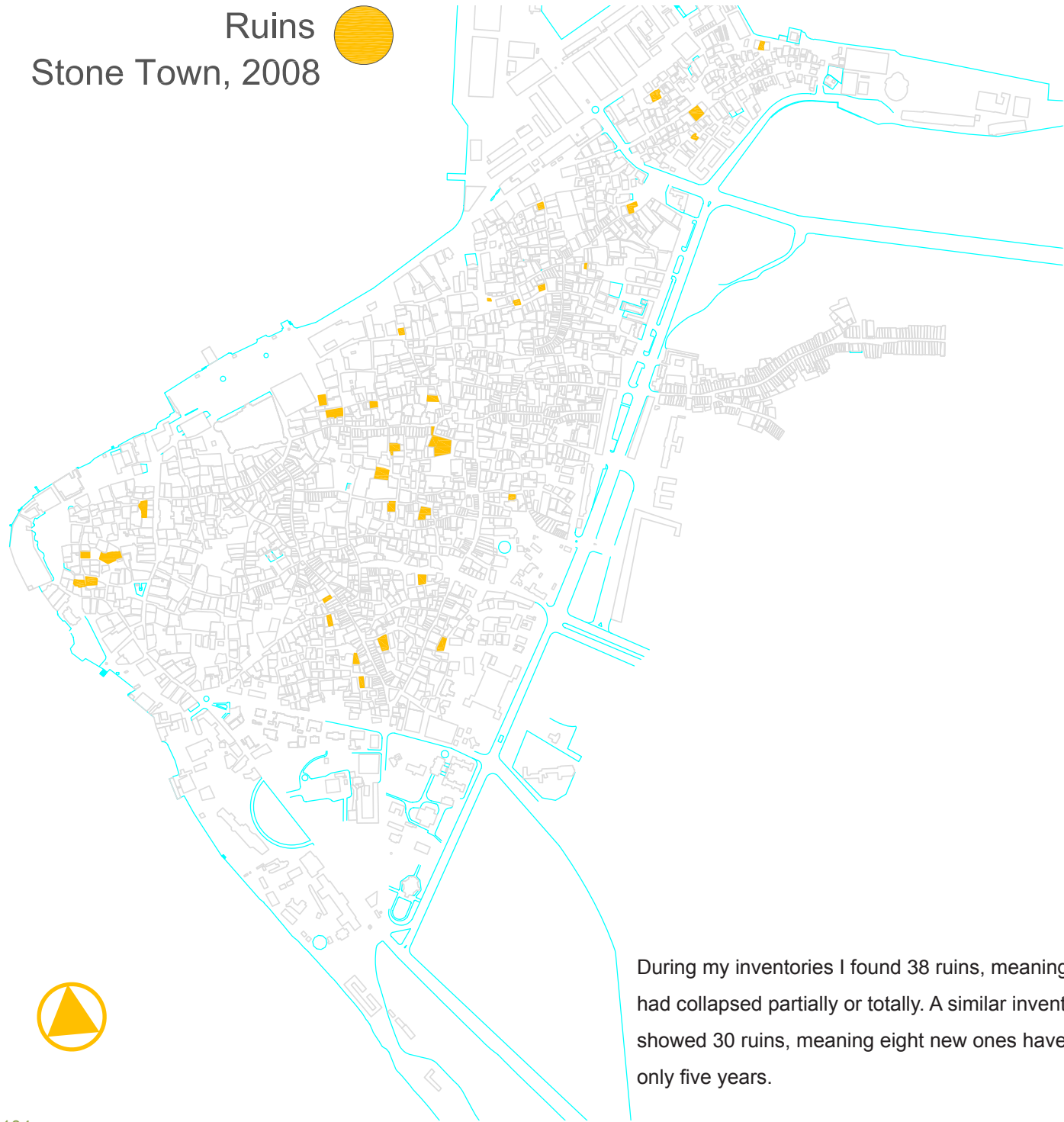
GRAVE YARDS





RUINS

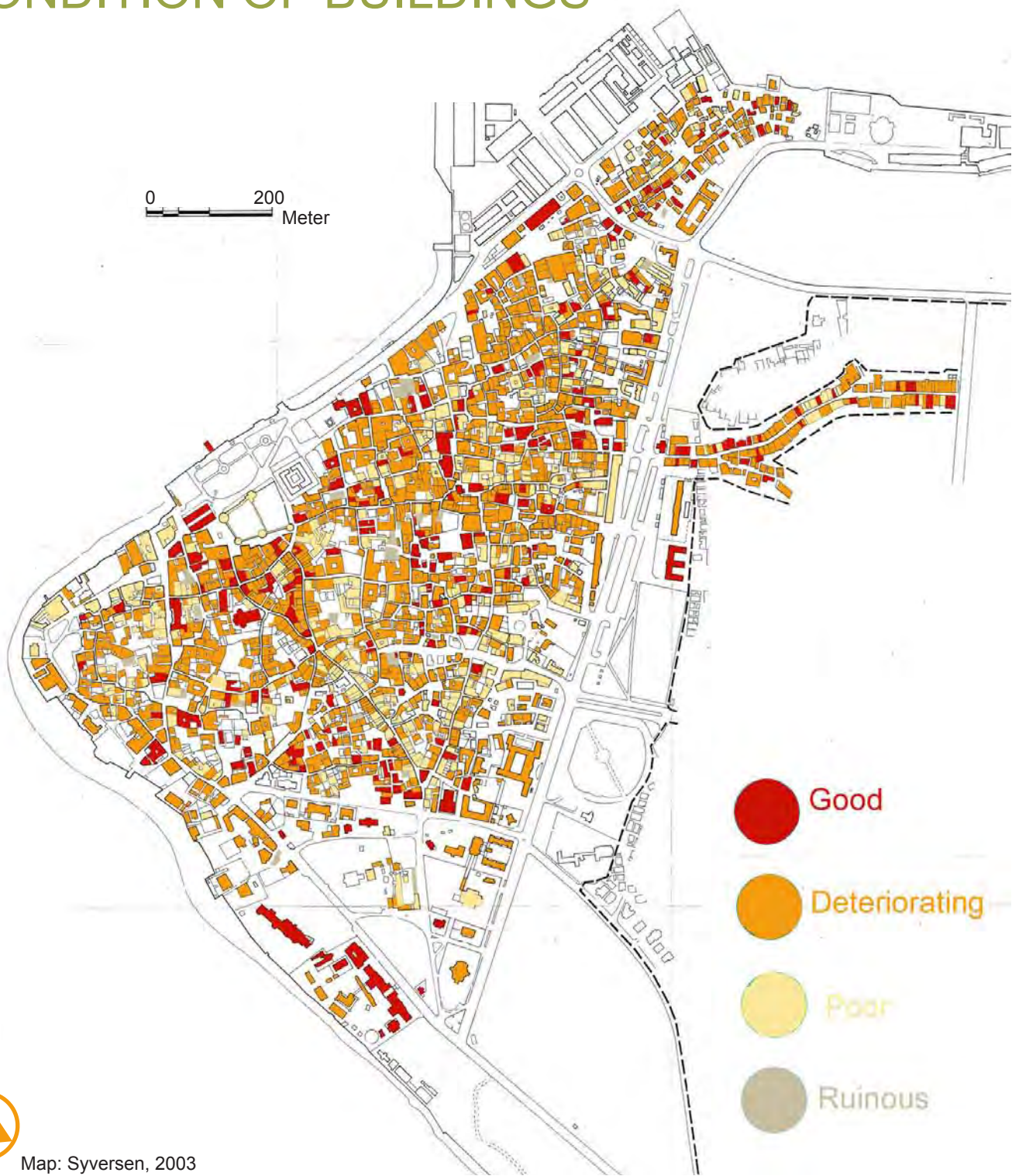
Ruins
Stone Town, 2008



During my inventories I found 38 ruins, meaning buildings that had collapsed partially or totally. A similar inventory made in 2003 showed 30 ruins, meaning eight new ones have been added in only five years.



CONDITION OF BUILDINGS



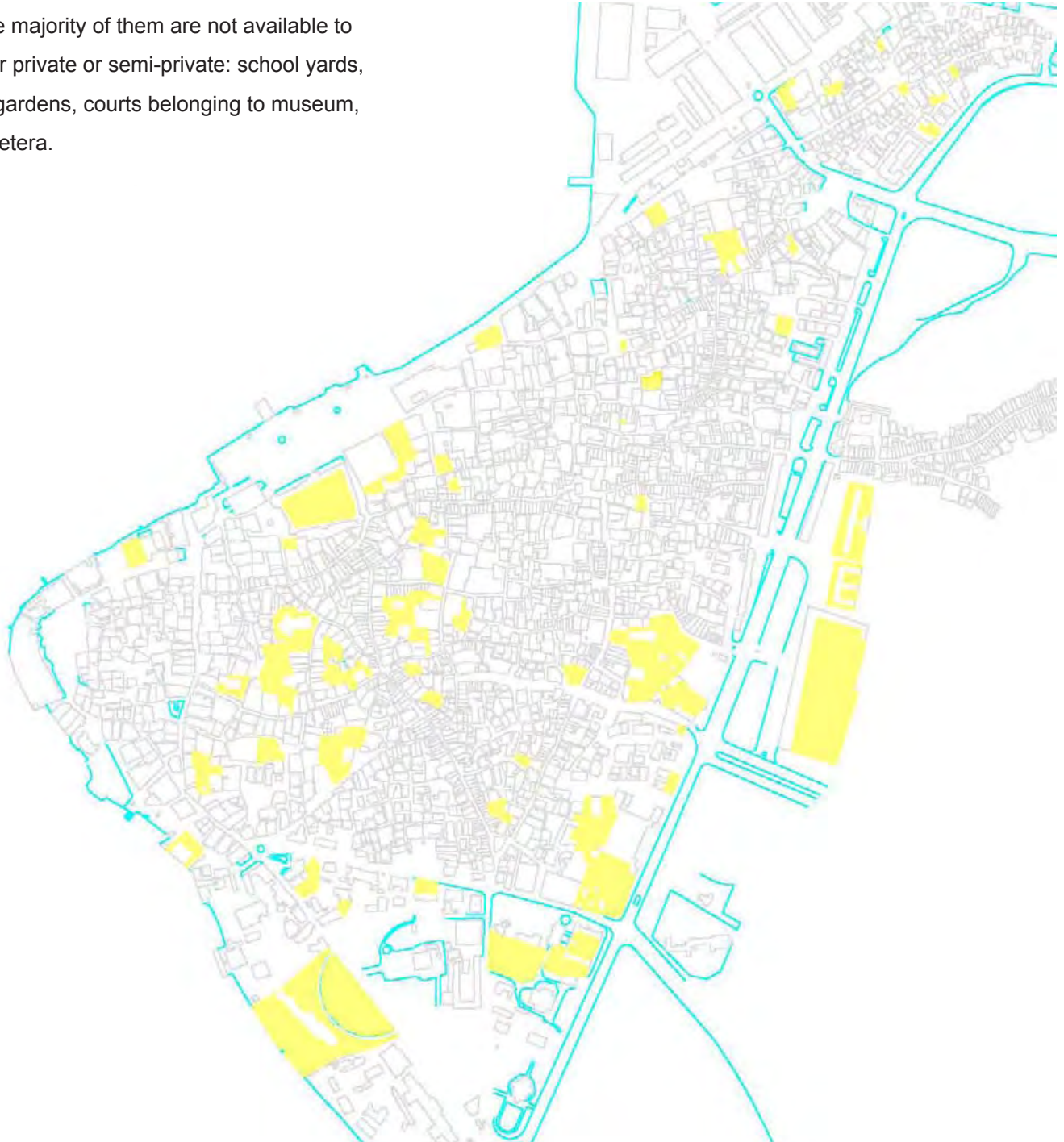
Map: Syversen, 2003



Map: Syversen, 2003

THERE ARE MANY OPEN SPACES, BUT THESE ARE CLOSED

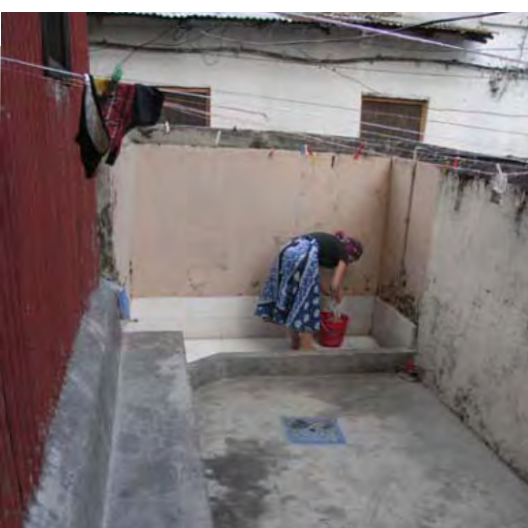
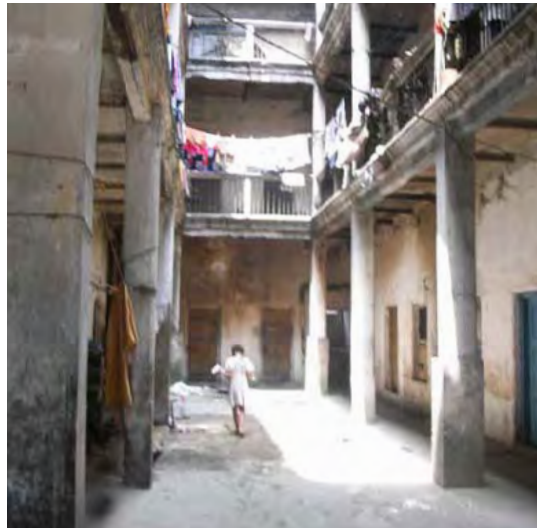
A thorough inventory of existing open spaces shows that there are actually many. But the majority of them are not available to all people. They are either private or semi-private: school yards, parkings, garages, hotel gardens, courts belonging to museum, churches or mosques etcetera.





COURT YARDS

The semi-private court yards are a natural part of the Arabic Architecture, none the less in Stone Town. Map studies show that some of the courtyards are green but the big majority is simply open spaces provided with shade from the surrounding walls. The court yards are mostly used by women. The statistics from the people counting are showing that women are the second smallest group visible in the city life (among men, women, young people and children) and there is an obvious segregation of sex in Stone Town, it has even been said that in Stone Town "Sex segregation is an explicit moral ideal." (Larsen. K, 2005) However interviews and informal talk indicate that the younger women wish to take part of the urban landscape more than they do today. If enforced, which is likely, these tendencies will probably lead to more women using the public, urban landscape which will increase the pressure on the open spaces already existing and the need for more of them. Another problem is that the court yards are as overcrowded as the buildings surrounding them and that they in addition to this often serve as places for cooking and washing. There are many court yards but they are seldom green, in many cases overcrowded and used for other purposes than recreation. They can not compensate for the lack of green, urban space.





Relaxing in front of Africa House.

HOW DO PEOPLE USE OPEN SPACES AND GREEN AREAS?

The inventories show that there are few planned areas for children, meaning areas that are set aside especially for them. In Stone Town children are seen playing everywhere: in the alleys, in the streets, even in the ruins, among the remnants of collapsed buildings, on the beach etcetera. My impression from the observations is however that the smallest children play close to their homes because they are unable to benefit from the “natural” and good places for play that exist, such as the beach.

Another impression was that especially the poorest children from the most overcrowded houses played in the alleys, spending practically their whole day outside. A woman living in Malindi South confirmed this suspicion stating she didn’t approve the children being outside so much and explaining the parents practically threw the children out in the morning because of lack of space. Maybe the way children play is a class marker? Maybe this woman would let her children play outside if she knew they spent the time in a safe and clean environment? There are also few spaces for women. Whether this is needed or not is debatable. This was however something that was brought up many times, both by planners and by locals, that they thought was needed.

I felt that this kind of programming of space was rather unpleasant: in my mind it risked to be segregating, rather locking up the women than “liberating” them. But looking at it from another context including Zanzibar and Islam, the discussion is different. The observations show that women move around less than men and children in the city and the group of women actually remaining outside, performing some kind of activity is even smaller. Unfortunately during the behavioural mapping, gender wasn’t noted so no

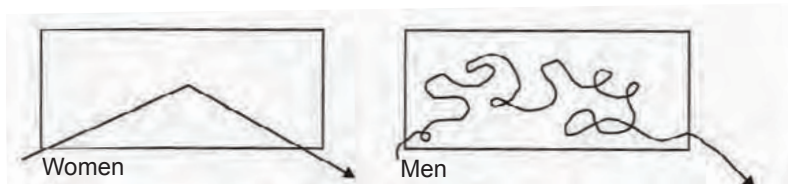
statistics can’t show this, but according to my observations women hardly ever sat down on the barazas or had stands selling things, like men did. Places for these two important groups are lacking in Stone Town, but of course there are also physical elements in general that are missing: good sitting possibilities, good micro-climate, shade and shelter. Components needed to make open spaces into liveable spaces and that according to my inventories were missing.

From my behavioural mapping I saw that people use the open spaces mainly for sitting and socializing or just waiting and observing the life around, or for standing and socializing, often on their way somewhere. Less common was commercial activities while physical activities were hardly only performed by children. Cultural activities were practically non existing, and with this I mean playing instruments, singing or painting. In more touristic areas this can be seen, but often performed by people coming from the mainland not by the locals. Maybe this has a cultural explanation and is not due to the lack of good outdoor spaces?

During my stay unfortunately no study of reference for use of green space was performed. However I spent enough time in Stone Town to make myself a quite good picture of this. To my help there has also been a study by two architect student on public space, amongst other Forodhani Garden. (Johansson och Gunnarsson, 2004). Their observations show that men use Forodhani garden more and differently than women kolla graf. During my visits at the public, green spaces I noticed that they were dominated by a few activities and a few groups of users: Mnazi Moja, the swamp and much of the beaches were used for sports, mainly football and mainly by young men, but during big events such as

Eid ul Fitr (celebration of end of Ramadhan) the field served well as festival camp with mixed users. Jamhuri garden was used for calm recreation such as laying or sitting down in the grass and discussing or studying, and the users were mostly young men and women, students from the university and some older men. The space in front of Africa house is a “hang out” for young men, many being rastas. Forodhani garden is somewhat a big outdoor food market mixing tourists with local men mainly, selling or buying food and relaxing.

The observations of Johansson och Gunnarsson, 2004 show that men use Forodhani garden much more and differently than women. Many local adults go there for work and the girls stay with their families while boys move around more freely. The sexes are clearly separated and while men stroll around aimlessly women seem to come for a certain purpose and after having fulfilled it they leave.



Source: Johansson och Gunnarsson, 2004





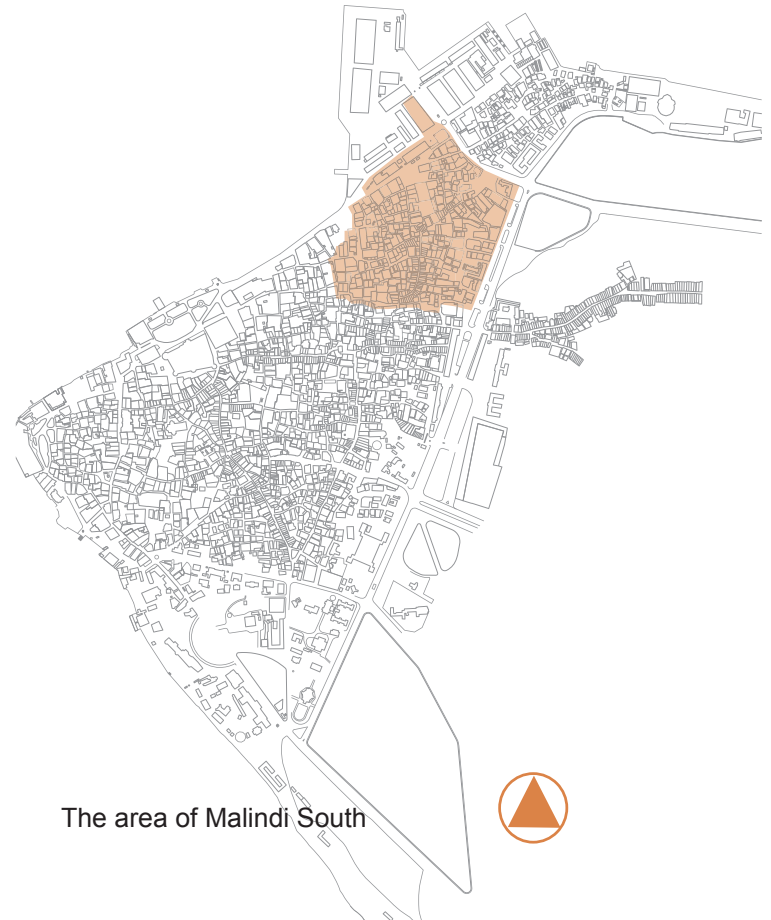
PART 5

HOW CREATE A GREEN STRUCTURE?

-ANALYSES AND SUGGESTIONS
FOR DEVELOPMENT

ANALYSIS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, MALINDI SOUTH

I chose the area of Malindi south for further studies because it is representative to the non touristic and more residentially characterized areas of Stone Town and because these kind of areas risk to be neglected, the focus more end more being on the more touristic areas. Many urban poor live here and a big deal are young people or children: 41 % of the inhabitants are under 19 years old and 21% under 9 years old. (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics, 2006) It is also a mainly residential area, although with one bigger shopping street. According to a report on open spaces in Stone Town Malindi South is also one of the areas in the Stone Town with the least open spaces. (Mlenge, 2003) To the west Malindi south goes all the way to the touristic part of the seashore including the harbour where both tourists and people from the mainland arrive with the ferry from Dar es Salaam. To the north west, north, north east and east Malindi south is cut of by three big and heavily trafficked roads: Mizingani road, Malawi road and Benjamin Mkapa road (commonly called Creak road). To the south it is jointing the area of the more touristic Kiponda with its big food market and Dala Dala (minibus) station.



MALINDI SOUTH AND
ITS MOST IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS AND ROADS





Local sports club.



Food stand at Banian tree. near Friday Mosque



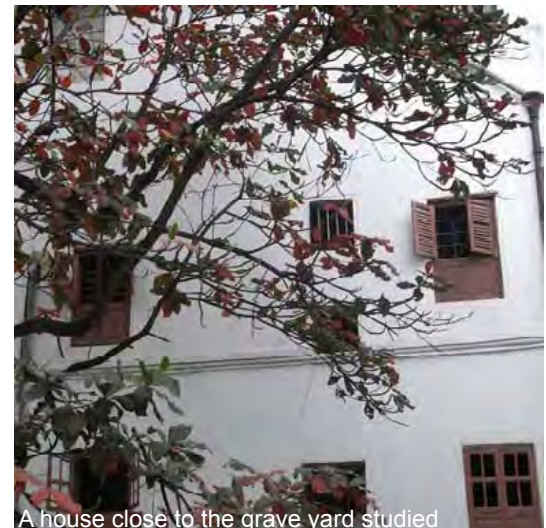
Children living in the Caravanserai



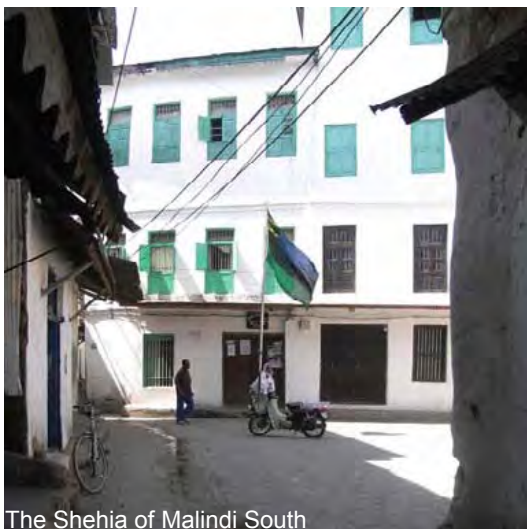
The Friday Mosque of Malindi



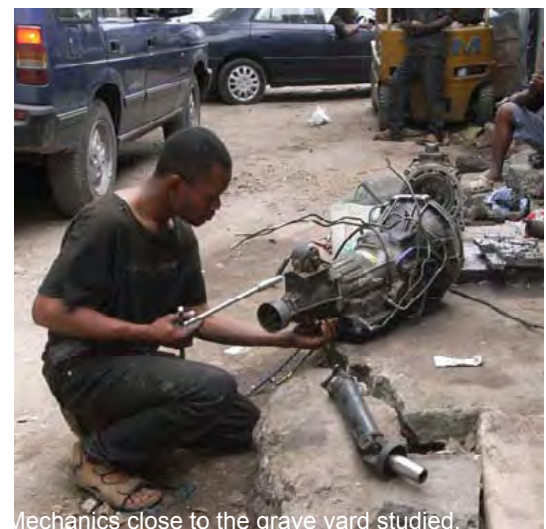
A building waiting to be accomplished.



A house close to the grave yard studied



The Shehia of Malindi South



Mechanics close to the grave yard studied.





People counting and behavioural mapping with Hafsa, one of the local students Photo: Karin Sunde Persson



Site for people counting and behavioural mapping



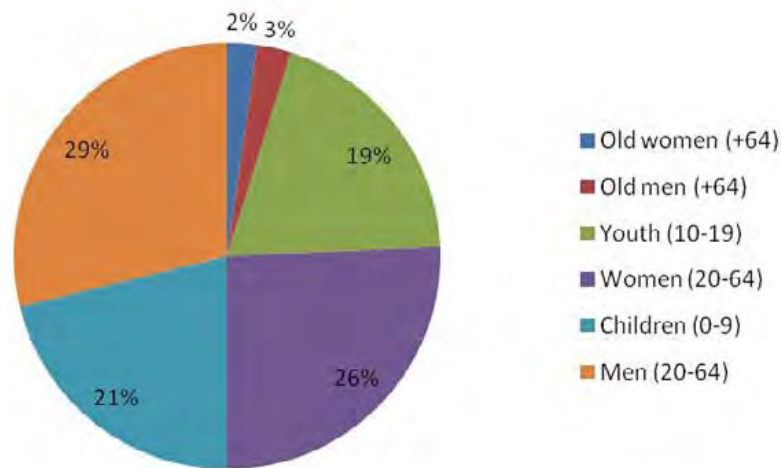
THE PEOPLE PASSING THROUGH

According to the population and housing survey (Tanzanian National Bureau of Statistics in 2002), women and men are the two biggest groups in Malindi (also including Malindi north) representing 29 respectively 26% of the inhabitants. This is also reflected in the people counting.

However regarding the groups present in the urban fabric, men and children are the most common ones. According to the people counting men represented almost 50 % of the people passing by while children represented 20% and women 18%.

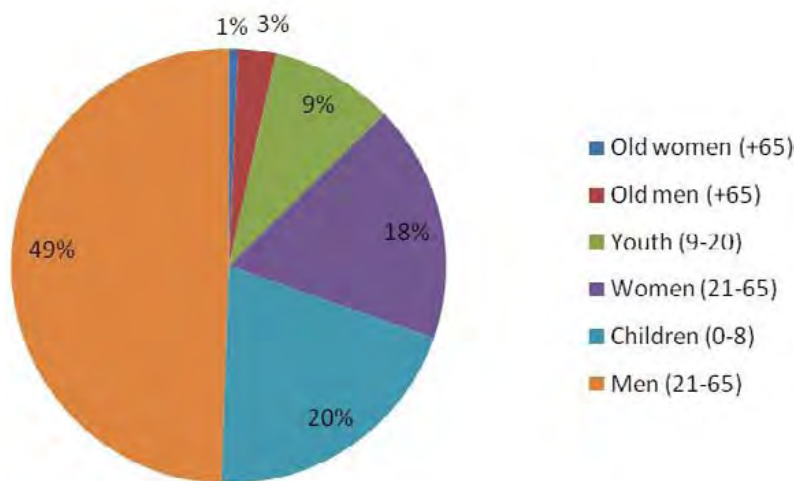
While old people were hardly present at all outdoors, women and young people are two important groups that were not so visible during our counting. They passed by but didn't remain at the place. For women cultural reasons are probably the explanation. The social control of women is strict and therefore it is probably easier for them to socialize in peace and quiet in the court yards. For young people, mainly men, one reason might be that they simply like to hang out more, at one place, to not move around so much.

The flow of people is pretty constant whether it is weekday, Friday or Sunday, with exceptions to peaks and dips at certain times. All groups are present all through the day, men constantly being the largest one regardless day of the week. The second biggest consist of children and the third of women, except for Fridays when they are more numerous. In the mornings and evenings the differences between the groups are less. There are more people, almost twice as many, in motion on weekdays than on Fridays or Sundays. The reason might simply be that people are more busy in the weeks, when many of them work. Another factor is that Friday is the big religious day, the Muslim equivalent to the Christian Sunday, and people might honour this day by taking it easier and staying at



Distribution of people living in Malindi.

Source: NBS, 2002

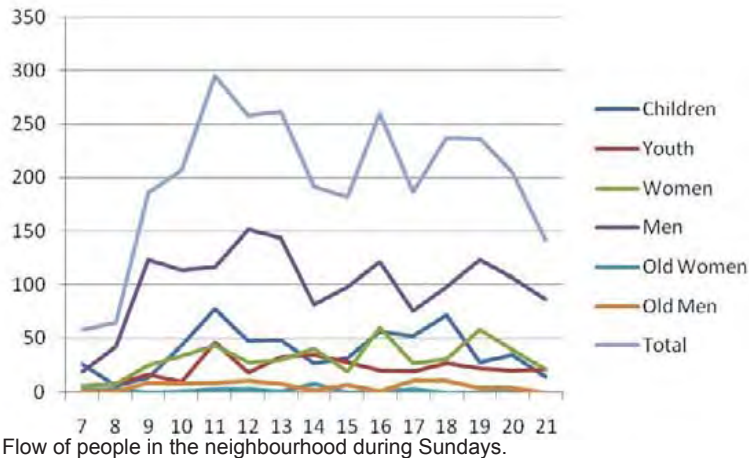
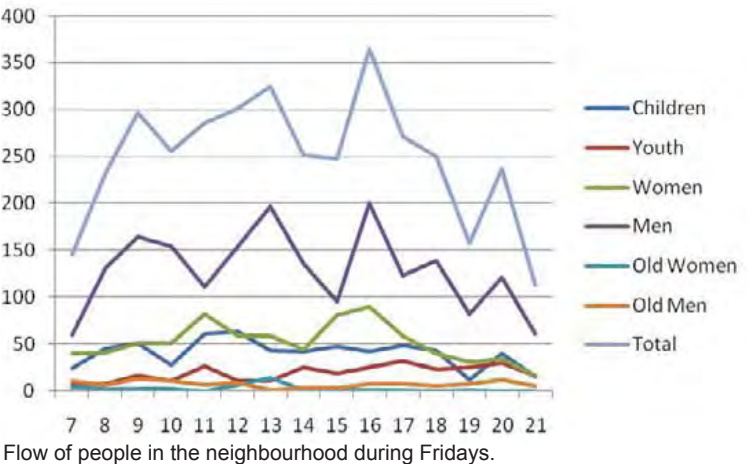
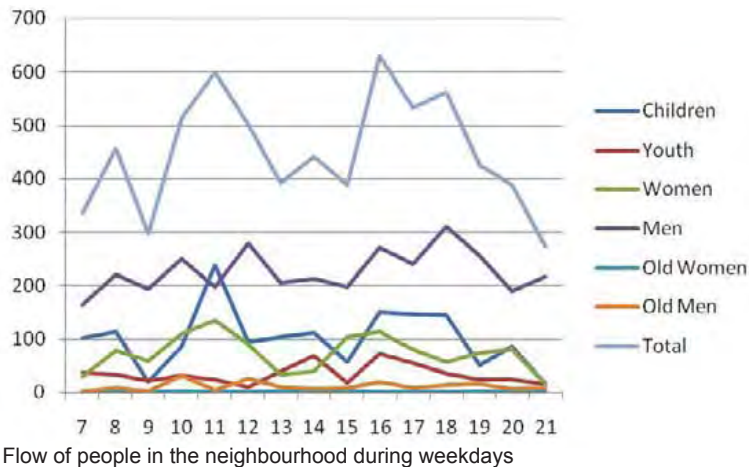


Distribution of people passing by, Malindi South.

home, when they are not going to the mosque. For this occasion there are “Friday Mosques” that are bigger than the others. In Malindi south there is one Friday Mosque. This day most men and boys dress up in white kanzos (a dress for men) with kofia (a white, round hat) and go together in groups to attend the mosque. Only some mosques are open to women, but these most often do their prayers at home or at work.

The hours for going out interestingly seem to overlap when it comes to men and women. Peaks and dips in the flow of people are noticed in connection to the prayer hours (starting around 5, 13, 17 and 19. The hours are flexible and people come and go within a period of an hour and a half, staying for five minutes or longer.) However when the men have their peaks the women tend to show a dip in the flow, and the other way around, meaning that women go out when the men do not.

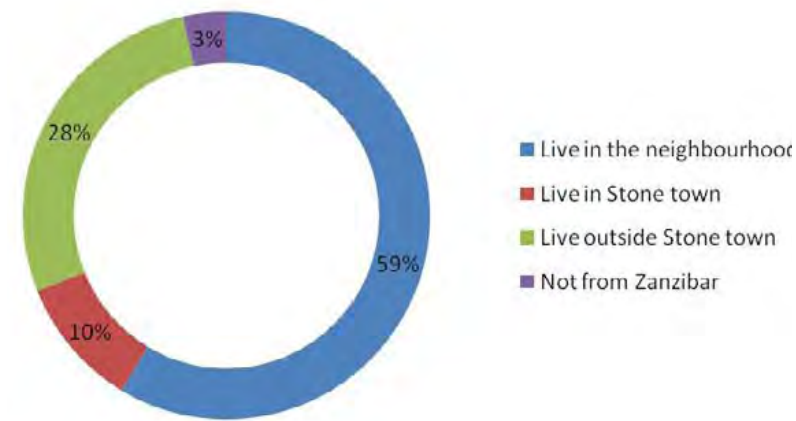
The children too have their own “rhythm”, not completely following the ones of the men or women. Their behaviour is affected by the madrass school, its opening, finishing hours and breaks, but also by the prayer times. They tend to have more “plateaus”, staying outside or inside for longer periods than the two other groups.



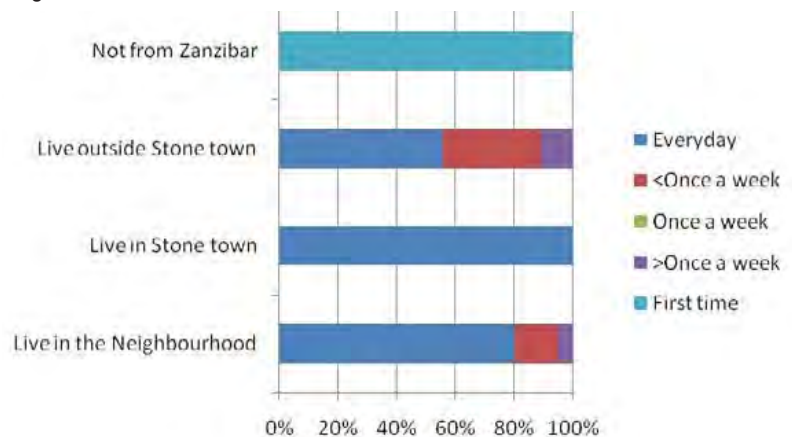
THE USERS OF THE OPEN SPACES

The questionnaire performed among 30 persons, showed that 59 % of the visitors in the neighbourhood lived there and that the next biggest group (28%) were those who lived outside Stone Town, mainly coming to the city for work. One can conclude that a lot of people flow through Malindi south but those who hang out here are the people from the neighbourhood. The open spaces in Malindi south seem to be semi-public. Among the visitors 50% stay the whole day while 35% stay for a couple of hours. The smallest group (15%) is those who stay for less than an hour. People mainly come every day (77%) and do so to socialize or just hang out (43%). Those who come to the area for socializing or for studies were mostly staying in the area the whole day. From the questionnaire, people counting and the behavioural mapping all together one gets the impression that this is an area where mostly locals, and among them mostly men and children, are using the space. Many of them stay all day or for several hours, socializing using it as a second living room. The commercial life is small as is the cultural life. Origin of the users and frequency of use of open space in the neighbourhood.

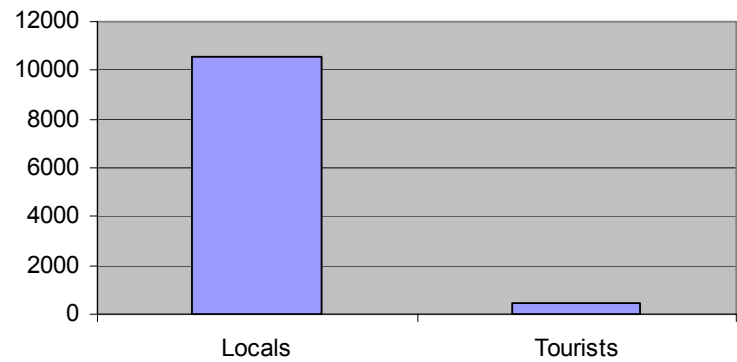
Compared to other parts of Stone Town Malindi South has few tourists even if there are a couple of hotels these tend to not stay in the area but to leave for the Forodhani or Shangani which are more touristic, or to leave the town.



Origin of the visitors



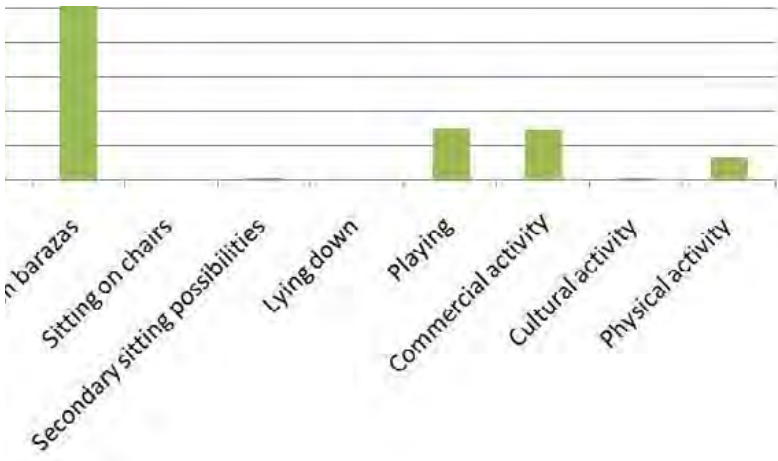
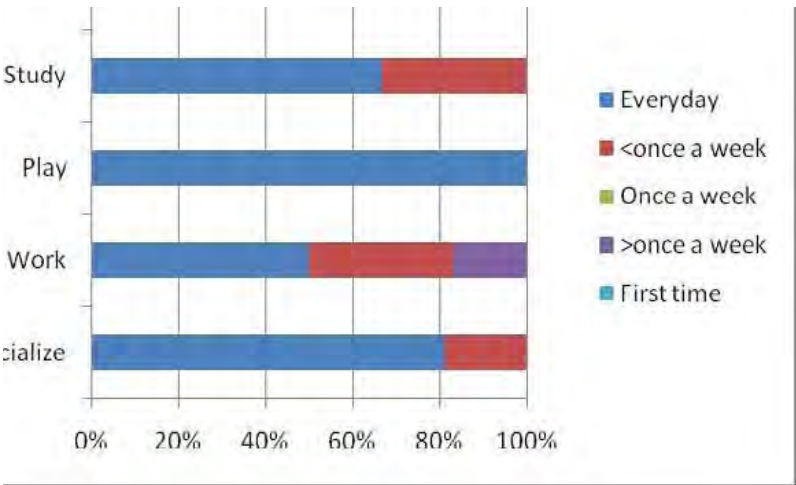
Origin of the users and frequency of use of open space in the neighbourhood.



Flow of locals and tourists in the neighbourhood

THE USE OF THE OPEN SPACES

The area is close or on its way to the harbour, the fish market, the food market and the bus station and many people are just passing through the neighbourhood. The shopping street, Kokoni/Narrow street (which is less important than the touristic Hurumzi and Gizenga street) might also attract some people as do the office of the Sheha and the many mosques and madrass schools (but the latter are common everywhere in Stone Town). Many of the users are people from the neighbourhood which use the spaces daily, most by socializing or playing. During the observations it was also noticed that children were the biggest group of users when it comes to stationary activities, where there was possibilities to play (in this case at the shehia). The areas studied are quite typical for Stone Town. They are most often simply open spaces, without vegetation, lightening or additional furniture except from the barazas. Therefore it is not surprising that sitting on barazas or standing is how people use the space. Although it seems like there are great possibilities to increase the commercial and cultural activities as well as the children's play.



Stationary activities in the neighbourhood.



THE SHEHIA-THE GENERAL OPEN SPACE

A DAY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, THE SHEHIA, SUNDAY 082408

9-10: The Sheha arrives to his office at 9. Half an hour later a man comes to see him, they seem to know each other well and stand and chat outside the sheha's door. Women and men are passing by, carrying baskets and pulling charts. Maybe they are going shopping at the fish market? The children from the Caravanseraï are already up and playing in the court.

11.30: The madrass school where the children and teenagers go to learn about islam inishes and lots of kids, mostly boys and young men, come out from the mosque next to the Shehia. The small children gather around the shop. A few tourists pass by, maybe on their way to the hotel Safari Lodge that is just around the corner.

12.45: A group of seven girls age two to eight are coming out from the Caravanseraï. It is a beautiful house but only very poor people live there and since they don't pay any rent the house gets no management and is almost falling apart. The atmosphere among the girls is quite aggressive. The oldest girl who seems to be their "leader" is the most outgoing and takes care of and look after the younger ones. They run around, play and scream but the play seem to be a bit rough, pulling and pushing each other. I have met them many times beforeb they are very curious on me and constantly seeking contact. A group of eight boys appear. They might be around five to eight years old. They play and jump on a tire, which seem to be enough as entertainment. Some people are coming from the mosque.

13.50: The court is all empty. Only a few people are passing by, a man who lives just by the court comes home on his scooter.

He takes it with him inside, for security reasons I suppose. In the alley in front of the shop some children are sitting on the baraza watching a cartoon. The shop keeper use to switch on his Tv so

that people can sit in front of his shop and watch it. The children are almost the only people hanging out around the court.

15.40: It is quiet and empty. All shops except two have been closed since the beginning of the after noon. One person is shopping while some kids are playing football.

16.45: It is still quiet and empty except from the kids who are still busy playing football in the court.

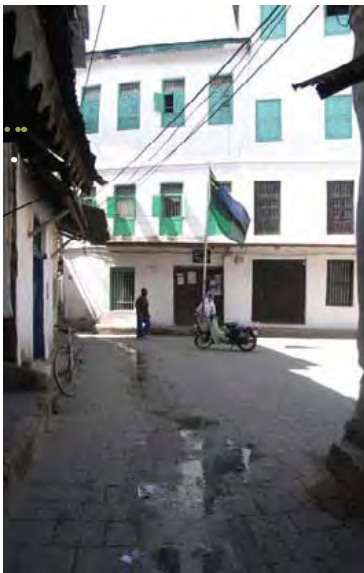
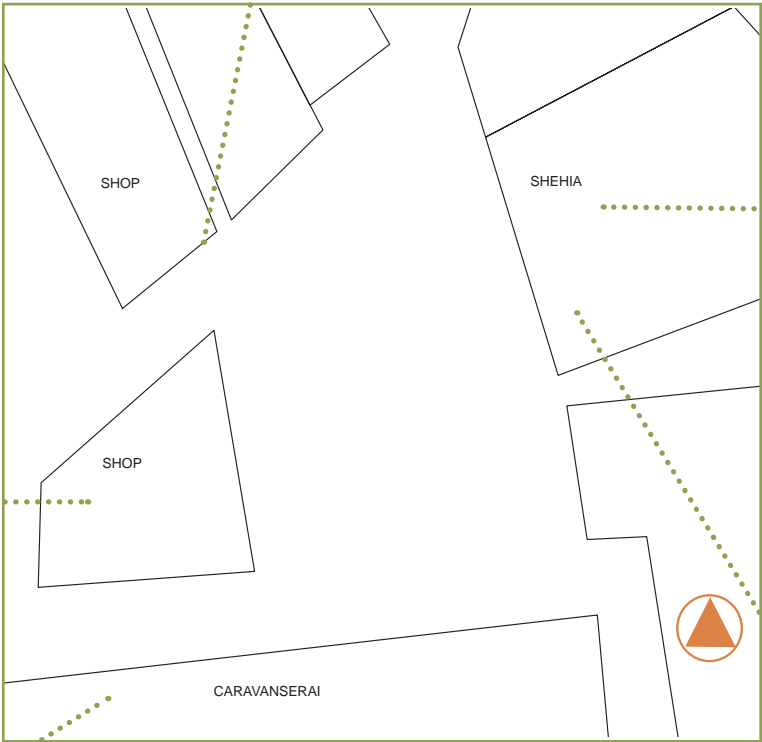
17.40: A flood of people are passing through the court, probably on their way to the ferry to Dar es Salaam. They usually take this route on their way from the market at Darajani or the fish market in the east to the harbour in the west.

18.45: A group of about 10 children are playing around and watching Tv at the shop, while one man is shopping. Its getting dark.

19.45: It is still quite empty. No children are outside, maybe they are at home eating? In Zanzibar eight o' clock is a common time for dinner, since the last prayer time of the day starts around seven. Some men are hanging out at the store, sitting on the baraza and talking while others are just passing by.

20.50: There is still a group of five to six men sitting and talking on the barazas. People passing by.

21.45: Its really dark outside but a few men are still sitting on the baraza and talking. The children are all gone. The only outdoor light which is at the Sheha's office is switched on. One of the men has brought back the tyre the children were playing with and now he is sitting on it, continuing the discussion with his friend.

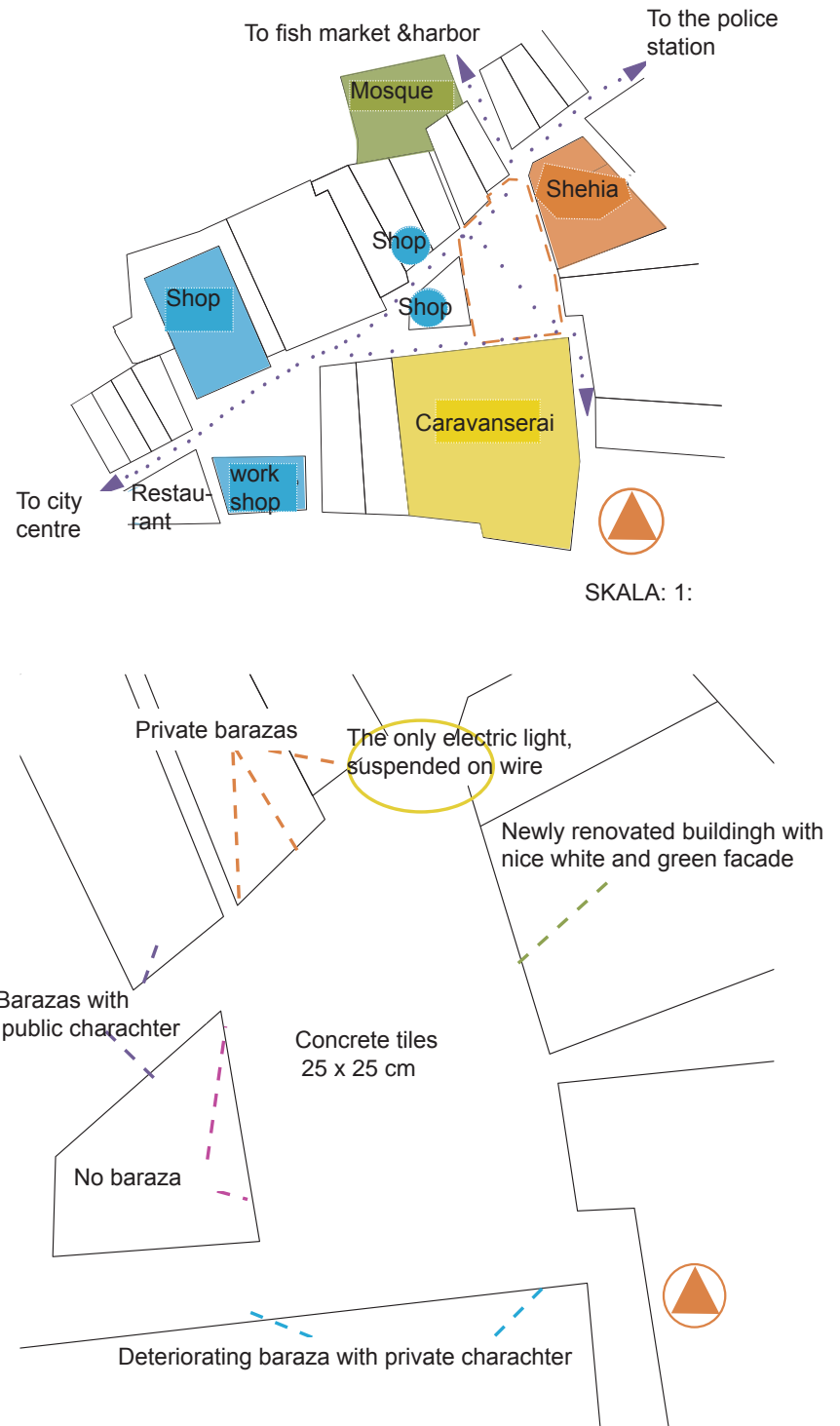


THE SHEHIA

The area in front of the Sheha is public and managed by the municipality (waste) and the STCDA. It is popular and well used but lacks verdure and only has one electric light. There are barazas along all walls but one, however one of them is in a very bad shape and need to be restored. The Shehia was renovated some years ago which seems to have upgraded the place a bit. About a decade ago there were concrete tiles put on the ground, the result of a german aid project. (Bi Nasra, 2008)

The Caravanserai, or the Musafarkhana that it's also called, is an important institution for the life around the shehia. Many of the people who live here, especially the children, spend a lot of time outside around the Shehia. A Caravanserai is traditionally a public shelter for Caravans, traveling traders that need to spend the night somewhere. (Mugheiry, 2008) This one was built in the end of the 19th century by and for a certain Indian community. Originally rooms were rented to visitors or newly arrived immigrants and it was soon populated by poor Indian men whose families joined them later on. Today the origin of the inhabitants is mixed. They don't pay any rent and live very dense: 77 people share 22 rooms (Bi Zeiba, 2008). Aga Khan trust for Culture bought it some years ago but until now no renovations have been made.

Many of the children visiting the place said they liked it because it was good to play there, some of them also stayed to study before or after the madrass school. The only thing they didn't like was that it was sometimes dark in the evening. The most common play among the children except from running around was football, played by the boys only, but according to the Sheha there has been complaints about this and is now forbidden.



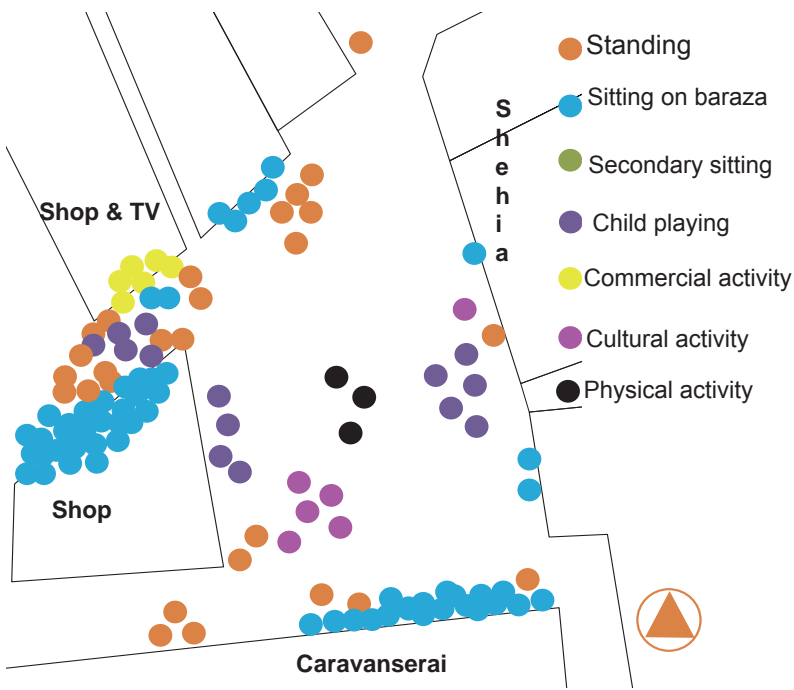


Friday is the big religious day and also a day for charity.
Here women are waiting outside the Sheha's office to beg for alms from people soon coming out from the Friday mosque.

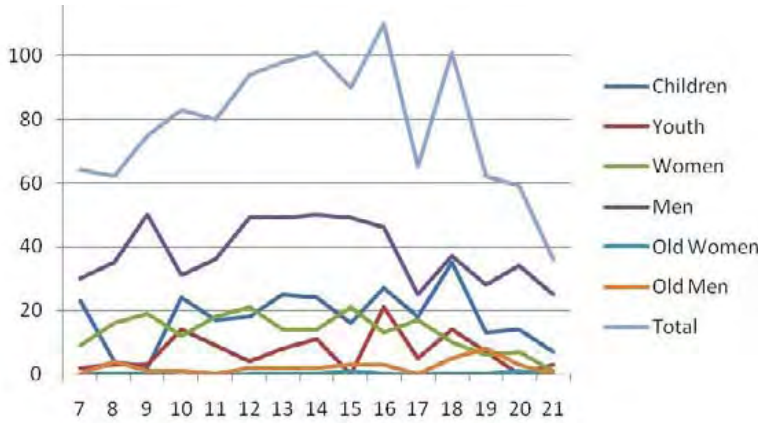
The behavioral mapping to the right shows that people mainly stand, sit or play at the Shehia. Two barazas are more popular than the others, and one probably because there is a Tv, the other probably because there is no entrance along that wall. At the western wall there is no baraza, but if there was it would probably be popular since there is no entrances and thus more public. Another advantage is that it's shaded almost all day round.

Standing and sitting in the alley is popular, probably because this is where the Tv and the shops are. These barazas are also elevated, like stairs, and from here one gets a good view of the people passing by.

The chart below shows that men and children are the most common groups at the Shehia. It also shows that the flow is fairly



Activities at Shehia, week day.



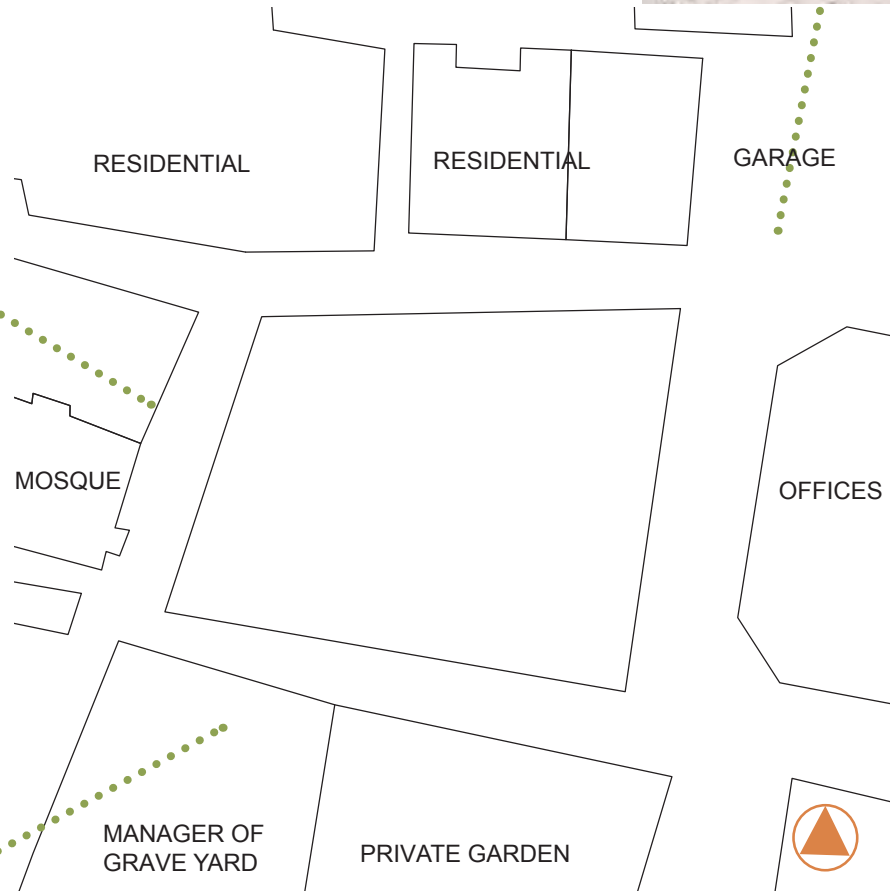
Flow of people at the Shehia a weekday.

CHILDREN LIVING IN THE CARAVANSERAI





Entrance to the Caravanserai of Malindi South



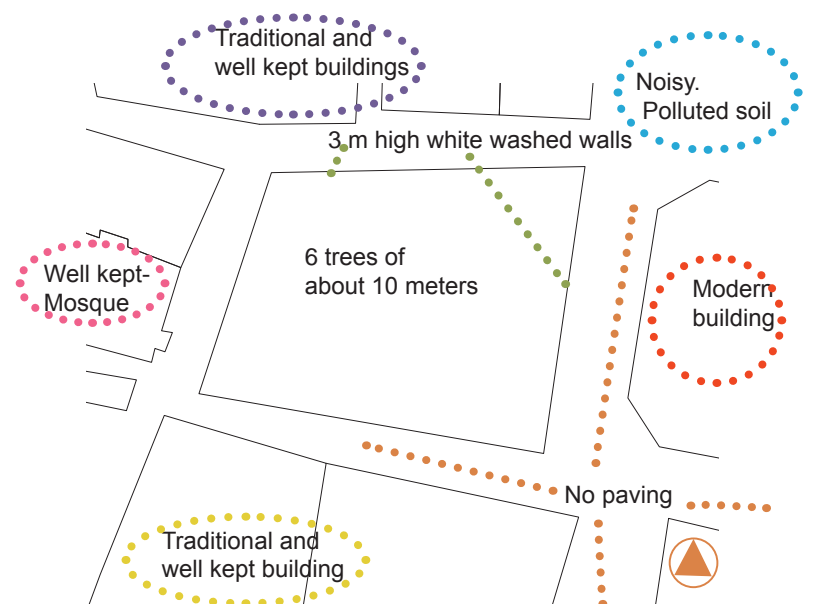
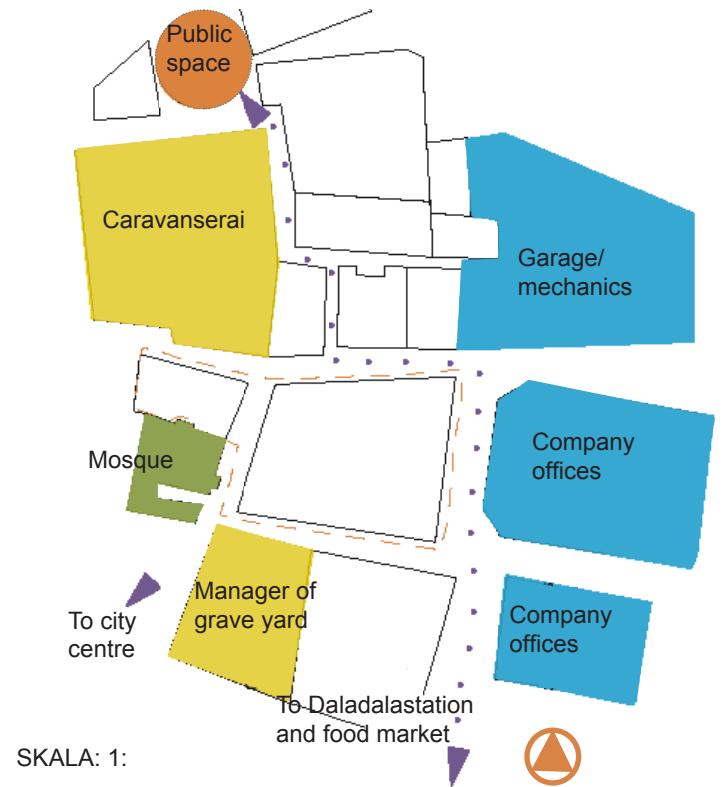
THE GRAVE YARD

The owner of the grave yard is Mohammad Msaan. He lives in teh neighbourhood and together with siome neighbours he takes care of the grave yard who clean it regularly.

Inventories, interviews and the questionnaire show that here are different attitudes towards the grave yards. First there is the ignorance; people who don't seem to know that they are throwing garbish on a grave or just don't care about it. (Omar, 2008) Then there are those who are aware but consider them being places for dead people that should bedevloped carefully without interference but more through inform and educate about the grave yards. And so there seem to be a smaller group who are aware but want to develop the grave yards through giving them new purposes. From the questionnaire out of 30 people asked if they would like to use the grave yard for recreation only one said yes. This seems to be a common opinion. One person thought that ordinary people would probably associate being at the graveyard with witchcraft and that if they were turned into small parks the risk would be high that they would be taken over by "bad boys" smoking pot etcetera.

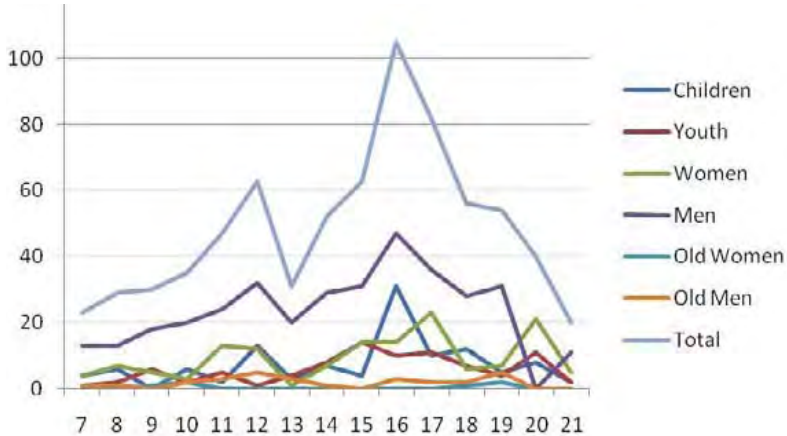
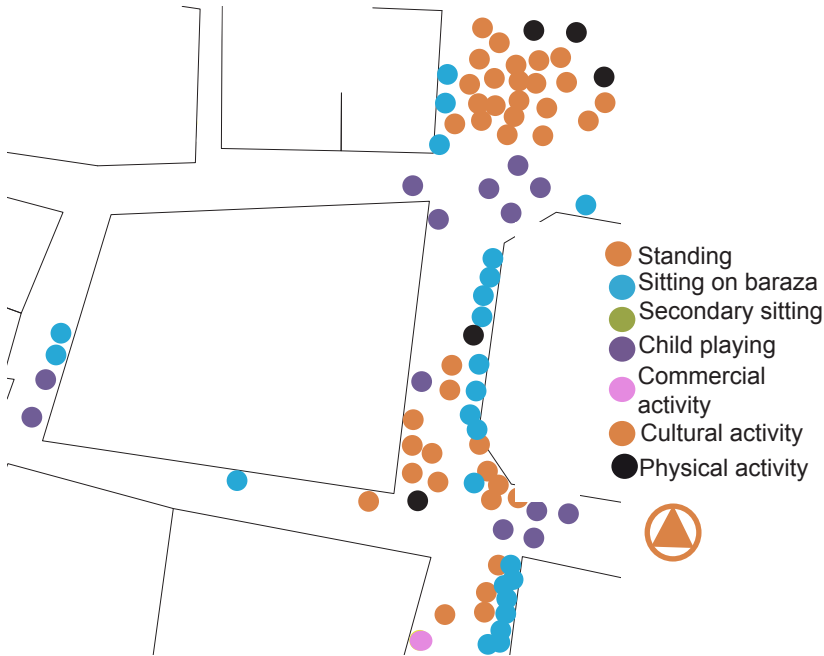
This grave yard is well managed and free from rubbish and newly white washed, It is situated in a junction, as they often are. Much people come here for different reasons: mainly they go to the mosque or they work in the office buildings. Many of the people who work there take their brakes on the barazas.

Most of the surrounding buildings are in good shape but the lack of paving and electric light makes it uncomfortable to be here in teh evenings, The garage nearby also make a lot of noise but is, it seems, at the same time a hot spot for some of the locals.





People gather at the garage and outside the office buildings, it is rare that they stay outside the mosque. There is some business, one woman has put up a stand and sells fruit. People pass her on their way to the market or to the municipality Around four in the afternoon there is a peak of people passing by, maybe going home from work or going to the market. After seven the flow of people diminish drastically. There are no shops in the area and when the offices and garage is closed , not much happen. There are not so many children here, mostly men-probably here for work. The area is more of a go through-area since it lacks a good place to gather. The grave yard is situated in the middle of the alleys, where there could be a nice place for gathering. It somehow blocks the flow of people from stopping and chatting for example. At the same time it could be the solution for offering such a place.



Flow of people around the Grave yard at a week day.

MUHAMMAD SALIM SULAIMAN, TAKES CARE OF GRAVE YARD IN KOKONI

"I used to live in Malindi North but moved to Kokoni in Malindi South in 1956, before the revolution. I've been living in the same house all the time and have seen the area changing a lot since I first moved here. In the last two years only, two new buildings have been constructed just in my block: The one where there is a cable company was built a year ago on the spot where there used to be a food warehouse. The other one was built two years ago and there used to be an open, green space with Nim trees. The houses are ugly and shouldn't have been built but the STCDA doesn't put their foot down enough.

I used to work for the government (*as Principal Secretary, Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy and Lands and as advisor to the Minister// Comment of author*) and we tried hard with the ministry to educate public and politicians on the importance of green space. We had seminars and meetings and invited stakeholders for planning meetings. Most of them agreed on the importance of green, open spaces, but sometimes there was pressure from influent politicians and businessmen that wanted and got land to build upon that they should not have gotten. Over all the green areas in Stone Town have decreased, for example the grave yard at the Baobab-tree, which is sad because prominent people were buried here, and now they have built a restaurant on it. It is being highly abused! That should not have been allowed, it is against all religions.

As for the grave yard next to my house I take care of it together with some other people that have their parents buried there. We have white washed the walls and planted some Coco nut and Mkungu trees because we wanted some green space in the neighbourhood. But the Mkunazi trees were there from the beginning, they are very common in grave yards. I think grave yards,

cemeteries and vaults are sacred places, they should not be tread on. I do agree, however that they should be properly maintained, beautifully landscaped and accessible. They should also be informative, for example history plaques should be placed. "



DHOW COUNTRIES MUSIC ACADEMY

Ramadhan Working Hours

Mon-Fri

9 am - 5 pm

Saturdays

9 am - 3 pm



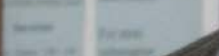
GROUP OF DANCE PERFORMERS



GROUP OF DANCE PERFORMERS



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GROUP OF DANCE PERFORMERS

BI NASRA M. HILAL, OWNER OF GRAVE YARD IN KIPONDA

"I live in Malindi South, my family has lived here for four generations but we have also lived in Forodhani and we still own houses and a grave yard there. The grave yard is opposite to the school. Now it just stands there and no one uses it, the last family member was buried there 1965. So I've been thinking of opening it up and making it public. I'm not afraid of using the grave yard for other things than graves. It's in the tradition of muslim graves to stop using it as a graveyard after a while. It is better to use it and keep it clean than to not use it at all and have it as a dump.

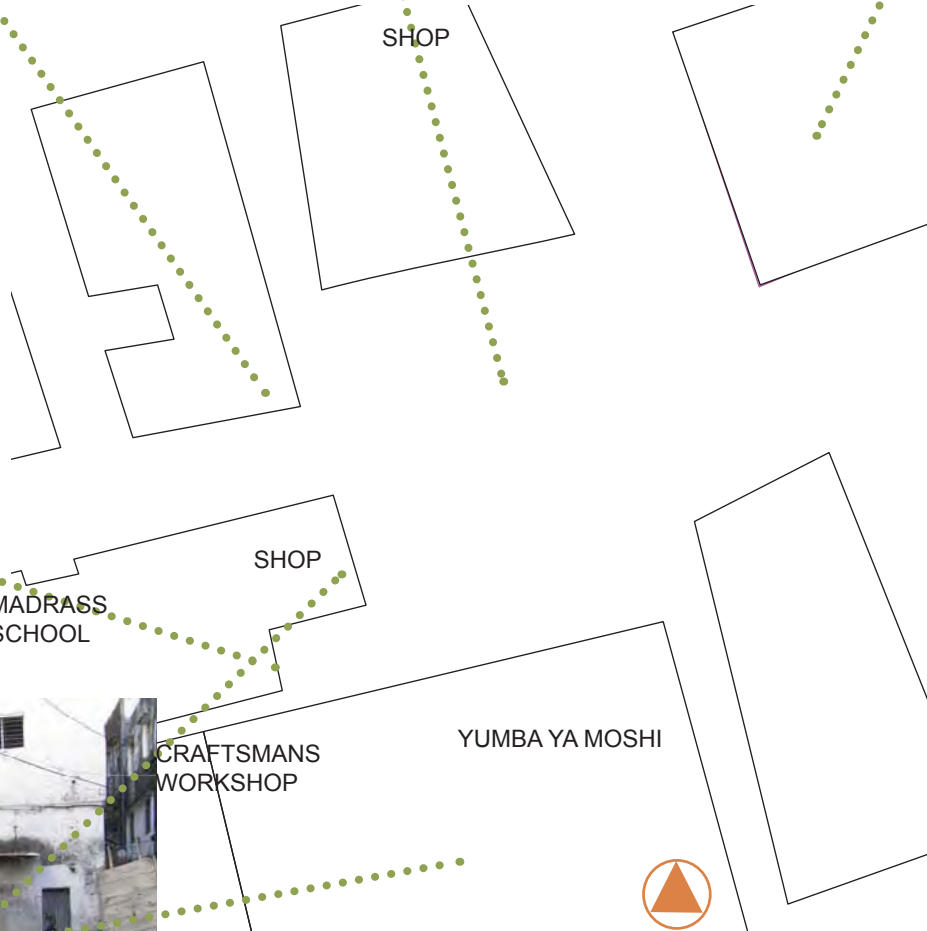
There should be benches, trees and flowers and electric light in the evening to make it safe. I'd also like to have a small shop there. But I think it should be closed in the evenings. My idea is to create all this and then lease it to someone who would take care of it. A certain percent of what is being sold in the shop should go to maintenance. School children would be welcome to help maintain the grave yard.

Malindi has changed a lot during my life. Most open spaces where I used to play as a child have disappeared. The area in front of the Friday Mosque used to be called "Majanini" because it means grass and the area used to be covered of it. But now there is only a big parking lot. There also used to be big, green areas next to the fish market and the police station. Today they too have been turned in to parking lots.

I like Malindi, all sorts of people live here. Here are people from Yemen, Comorians, some Indians...and both poor people and business men. When I was a kid we used to enjoy all the different smells coming out from people's kitchens: It was Indian food, Yemen food etcetera. "Now the ladies from India are cooking again" we used to say. But today it's different. Young people buy plots to

build appartments to rent. In 20 years there will be only hotels and tourists, no citizens."





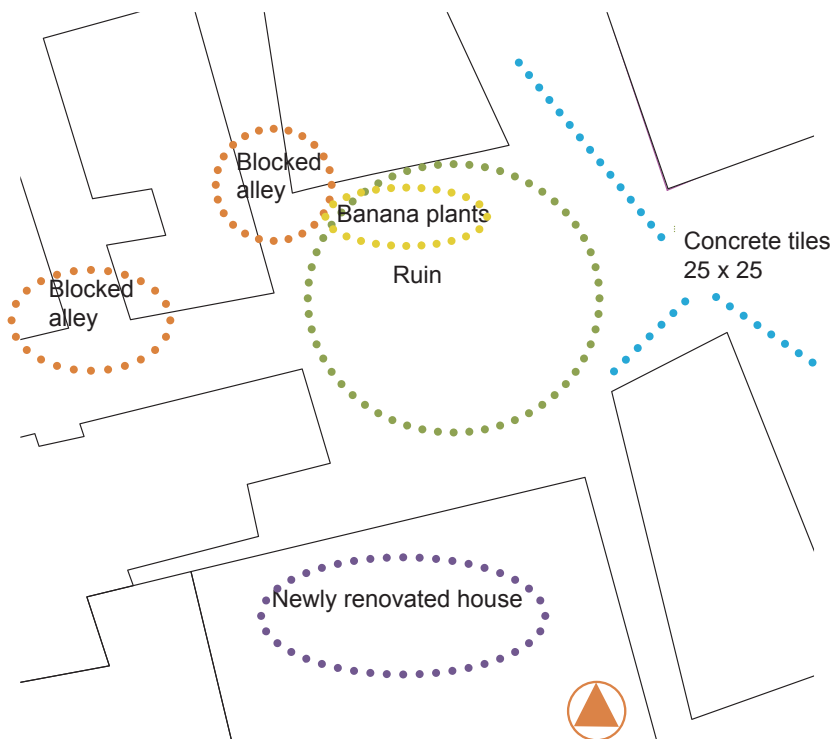
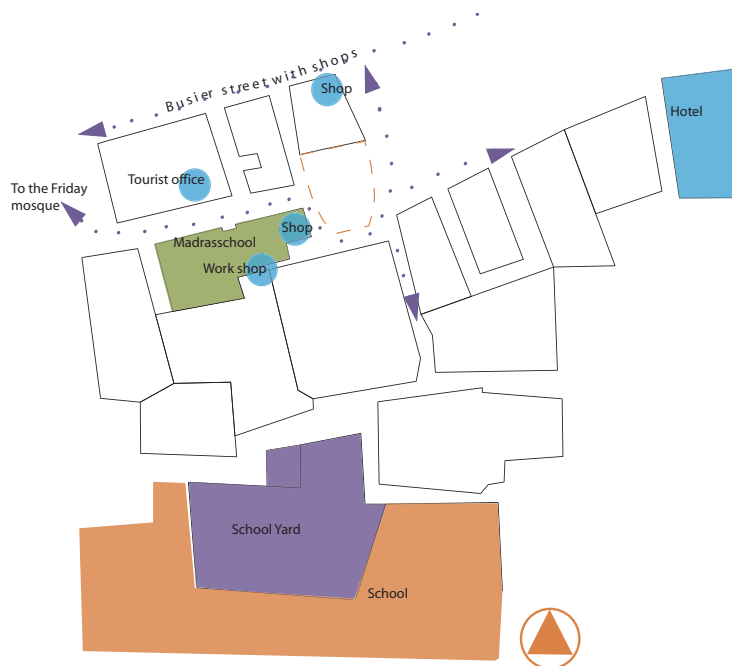
THE RUIN

The former building collapsed about 15 years ago and the plot has ever since had three different owners. With its size and position squeezed in between residential houses, it is quite typical for the many open spaces being as a result of ruins, in Stone Town.

The house opposite, Nyumba Ya Moshi, has been part of a community based rehabilitation project, when renovating the building. Since then there is a tenants committee in the house taking care of the organising and collecting money for the management. Today the organisation is not vivid but the structure is still there. There are about 40 inhabitants in the house (and 15 rooms) of rural origin and with a poor background. Young and male dominates and about 30% are children

Today the ruin is used by children for play, and by women for drying laundry. Someone has planted a couple of banana plants. There are some businesses around the ruin, a craftsman's workshop, a little food store and an office for a tourist organisation is nearby. In the morning a woman from the house comes out to sell her Uji (porridge) on the baraza. There is also a madrasah school and during the breaks the kids come out to play in front of the ruin.

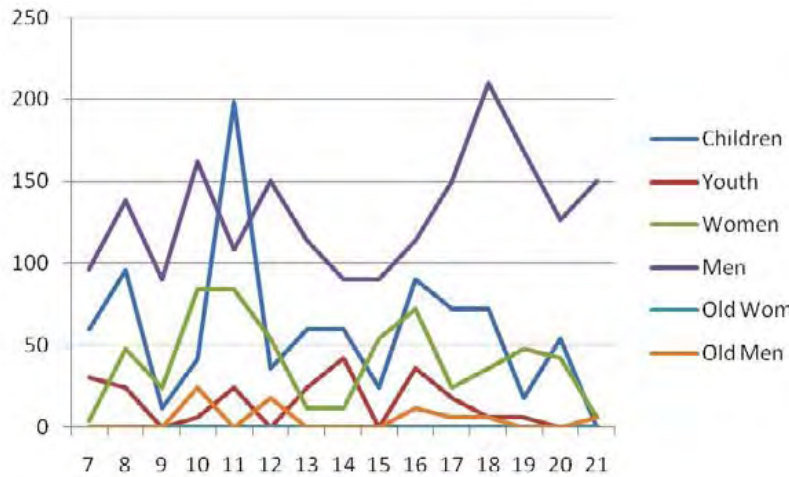
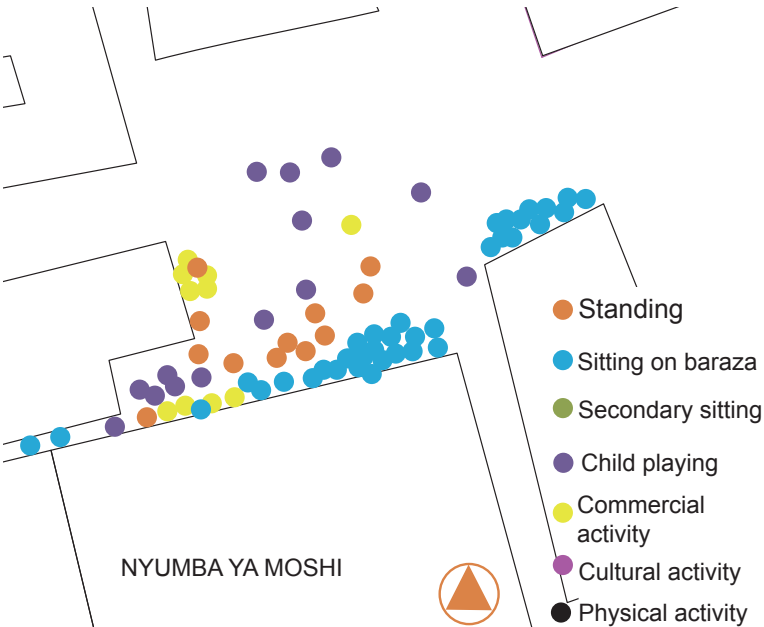
Even if two alleys have been blocked it is a bit busy around the site. People take this way to go to the touristic areas (Forodhani) and nearby there is a hotel, a big mosque and a smaller shopping street.





This is a very local place. The baraza in front of Nyumba Ya moshi is very well used but mostly by the people from the house. The porridge-business, the craftsman and the little shop all attracts people. As seen in the behavioural mapping people only use half of the space, the other one being occupied by the ruin.

The flow of people is very varying. There is a peak of children around 11 when there is a break at the madrass school and they come out to play. More young people pass by than at the other sites, maybe due to the fact that Nyumba Ya Moshi is mainly populated by young men.



Flow of people around the Ruin at a week day

YUSSUF JUMA MACAME, LIVING NEXT TO THE RUIN

"I live in Yumba Ya Moshi. It means the House of smoke. It is called like that because it used to be all black from the smoke coming up from the house since there was so many people cooking inside. But then it was renovated and now it's white, so some people call it The white house instead.

I am 27 years old and I've been living here my whole life. I used to live with my family but they have moved outside Stone Town, so now I am alone here. I work as a tour guide, I take tourists out in a boat to different places. Stone Town has changed a lot during my time. There are more people now and the culture is different. Nowadays there are people from Somalia, Mocambique and the mainland and they have different habits. 20 years ago there used to be lightening in the streets now there are none anymore. Outside my house it is completely dark in the evenings.

As a kid I used to go and play at the school yard close by. The children nowadays also go there to play but only the boys. The girls play close to the house, in front of it, at the entrance but some older once also play behind it.

I think Hurumzi and Shangani are too busy. (*More touristic areas// Comment of author*) There are too many tourists, too much noise and too many shops. It's mostly people from mainland who live there. In Kokoni, where I live it's much calmer, safer and more local. I like that. When Aga khan renovated Yumba ya Moshi, all residents had to leave and move to other places and I lived almost on Gizenga street (*the major shopping/tourist street// comment of author*). I didn't like it at all.

The ruin in front of my house used to be a two storey house. I think it is more than 20 years ago since the house collapsed.

The first owner of the house was Salum Muhammad. Then after the house collapsed he moved outside Stone Town and sold the

plot to Mr. Marosti. Mr Marosto sold the plot some 10 years ago to a member of his family, Mr. Hamis Juma who works in the harbor on a government ship. I think it's dirty right now, I don't like it. The children play there but they need a clean place instead."



CONCLUSIONS OF ANALYSES

The inventories and analyses are aiming to answer the part of my research questions that concern the local level:

1. Who is the target group and what are its needs for these new public spaces?
2. How are the open spaces used today? Public and non public?
3. Is anything lacking in the urban, physical fabric? What is lacking?
4. Who are the stakeholders and what impact do they have on the public, open spaces?
5. If there is a need for more public, open spaces in Stone Town, what possibilities and restraints are there to upgrade abandoned or worn out sites to public, open spaces- in a social, cultural, environmental and economical aspect?
6. How can new or improved green open spaces be in benefit to the towns status as a World heritage?

The inventories show that there are few planned areas for children, meaning areas that are set aside especially for them. In Stone Town children are seen playing everywhere: in the alleys, in the streets, even in the ruins, among the remnants of collapsed buildings, on the beach etcetera. My impression from the observations is however that the smallest children play close to their homes because they are unable to benefit from the “natural” and good places for play that exist, such as the beach. Another impression was that especially the poorest children from the most overcrowded houses played in the alleys, spending practically their whole day outside. A woman living in Malindi South confirmed this suspicion stating she didn’t approve the children being outside so much and explaining the parents practically threw the children out in the morning because of lack of space. Maybe the way children play is a class marker? Maybe this woman would let her children play outside if she knew they spent the time in a safe and clean environment?

There are also few spaces for women. Whether this is needed or not is debatable. This was however something that was brought up many times, both by planners and by locals, that they thought was needed. Coming from a western context I felt that this kind of programming of space was rather unpleasant: in my mind it risked to be segregating, rather locking up the women than “liberating” them. But looking at it from another context including Zanzibar and Islam, the discussion is different. The observations show that women move around less than men and children in the city and the group of women actually remaining outside, performing some kind of activity is even smaller. Unfortunately during the behavioural mapping, gender wasn’t noted so no statistics can’t show this, but according to my observations women hardly ever sat down on

the barazas or had stands selling things, like men did. There are no special places for women or children, two important groups, but of course there are also physical elements in general that are missing: good sitting possibilities, good microclimate, shade and shelter

From my behavioural mapping I saw that people use the open spaces mainly for sitting and socializing or just waiting and observing the life around, or for standing and socializing, often on their way somewhere. Less common was commercial activities while physical activities were hardly only performed by children. Cultural activities were practically non existing, and with this I mean playing instruments, singing or painting. In more touristic areas this can be seen, but often performed by people coming from the mainland not by the locals. This might of course have cultural reasons but another explanation could be that there are simply not enough possibilities for commercial or cultural activities, at least not for those in the informal sector.

The people counting and the questionnaire confirmed that Malindi South is a local place with few tourists and mainly people from the area using the space. They often stay for several hours and mainly for socializing.

From the questionnaires it was clear that the out door spaces are mainly used by people from the neighbourhood. They use it primarily for socializing but also for studying and play, among others. They often spend the whole day or at least several hours at the open spaces and usually come every day.

The social life in the outdoor spaces is rich in Malindi South. What is needed is designs and approaches of management that enhance and develop the existence of it as well as provide possibilities for an increased commercial and cultural life, aiming the informal sector. The focus group would be the locals of the neighbourhood, with special regard to children and women. There are no special places for important groups are lacking in Stone Town, but of course there are also physical elements in general that are missing: good sitting possibilities, good microclimate, shade and shelter.

HOW CREATE A GREEN STRUCTURE?

The idea of ensuring the conservation and development of Stone town through increased awareness among the citizens is in line with UNESCO's 7th World Heritage Mission to "encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage". The following approaches towards open spaces and urban verdure are proposed, in order to start developing a structure of green, liveable space for Stone Town:

- Creating accessibility and awareness, generating pride and sense of identity, through information and cooperation. For example by protection for remaining grave yards
- Improving accessibility and use (for children and old people for example) through upgrading of already existing public space, For example areas like the Shehia of Malindi South.
- Improving the World heritage "image" and creating a platform for cooperation through renewal and temporary change of abandoned/unused space, something that might be possible for the ruins.





MANAGEMENT

PPP AND COMMUNITY BASED PARTICIPATION

In many developing countries lack of public funds for management is a problem and one has to look for other solutions.

PPP stands for Public-Private Partnership and has already been applied in Stone Town with a varying result, as discussed earlier in the thesis. However in the cases discussed the private investor developed the open spaces on its own. Another scenario could be the public sector developing but the private part supplying the material. This would in a higher extent involve the locals and as developers allow them a stronger position.

With its great tourism business Stone Town has good chances to benefit Public Private Partnerships. What is important for a well functioning PPP is that both sides agree on striving for a common good, which in the case of Stone Town might be to improve the world heritage. Both sides must also be willing to switch from the sides of the usual client-contractor approach. The private side must for example assume greater responsibilities and risks in execution and the mobilisation of resources. (Pessoa, A., 2006)

Within the private sector there are in its turn two groups. The private-profit one and the private non-profit one. While the earlier used to be more common, non-profit groups like NGOs are more and more cooperating with the public sector. This could be seen in Stone Town with for example an Italian NGO, Acra, educating locals in taking part of and benefiting from the tourism business. Mr. Bhaloo, project co-ordinator at Aga Khan trust for Culture-Zanzibar thinks PPP could be a solution for developing the ruins in Stone Town but adds that renovation should not be done directly by the government but in cooperation with international institutions ensure an international control of the project. (Bhaloo, 2008)

Community based programs

Repairing, renovating and developing through community based programs Community based projects have been realised in Stone Town as projects sponsored by Sida and as projects by local initiatives. Their result and the opinions on them differ. It seems as it has been well working when there has been a strong central person and the problems appearing when the project is in the phase of transition over to the community. Here follows four different experiences from community based programs and participatory projects.

A planner I talk to states that community based management can be a good solution for the management of small open spaces. He refers to Lebanon square in Stone Town which is maintained that way with good result. "You've got to give responsibility to the people-Once they have it people will take care of the place." (Ghalib, 2008) He also refers to the Community based rehabilitation project where Sida was involved. People saw the positive result of the project for one building and then got encouraged to join. This could also be the case for similar projects concerning open space he means.

Others are more sceptic. Bi Zeiba was employed by Sida 1998-2004 working as a tenants advisor with the tenants organization under the Urban village Project sponsored by Sida. She was also engaged in the work with the renovation and management of Yumba Ya Moshi. The organisation with Tenants committee worked well but after the project had stopped it neglected taking its responsibilities. (Zeiba, 2008)

Amour Mtuma Ali, Secretary of the Stone town Tenants Organization (STTO) has yet another picture. He has good experiences from letting a small group of persons manage outdoor space.

STTO has twice been enrolled in projects with tenants and the municipality, cleaning parts of Stone Town together. This has been successful but something must be offered to the participants. Themselves they invited everyone for breakfast and people were happy with this he says. (Amour Mtuma Ali, 2008)

Private stakeholders who have been enrolled in similar cleaning projects are ACCRA (Italian NGO), Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investment and Mr. Masoud.

WHAT DO PEOPLE WANT?

A MEETING WITH THE PEOPLE FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Place: Shehia Ya Malindi

Date: 081016

We had a meeting with locals in in the neighbourhood to discuss the local environment and the open spaces, the situation today and the future.

8 people attended, young, old , men and women but no children. Me and my local supervisor Muhammad Juma Muhammad lead the discussion. Everyone was asked to list the most important issues. These were put together on a board and then discussed together. After that the group was asked to list possibilities with these issues, the answers were put together on the board and discussed. This was repeated for limitations and solutions. The aim was that people this way would feel anonymous and free to speak their minds. However, after a while the group wanted to discuss directly. In the next part the people were given options for new functions of the ruin that I had studied and was asked to rank these as well as ways of management. This was the result:

Identified Problems

- Construction of houses
- Overcrowding and problems w. sanity coming along with that.
- Open, “abandoned” spaces that become garbage dumps
- Open, “abandoned” spaces sometimes become hiding places for vandals, junkies etc
- Lack of paving
- People use open, “abandoned” spaces as public toilets. There are too few public toilets!

Possibilities

- The local (sheha) and central government should control the constructions
- The owners should take better care of and clean the open spaces.
- The government must be stricter and put a limit to how long a ruins can exist before something is done with it.
- The graveyards should have special management
- Provide more public toilets
- A law to punish those who abuse public, open space
- Enforce the security (lightening etc)

Limitations

- Lack of awareness
- Lack of financial means
- Problem of ownership (sometimes unclear or private person don't do anything but building a foundation)

Solutions

- Change of ownership (government or private persons should be able to take over those open spaces that are not being taken cared of)
- The government has to intervien more (with laws for example)
- Punishments if open spaces are not managed properly
- Strengthen the power of the Sheha by law
- Use containers for garbage collection
- Zanzibar Municipality Council has to have good management for garbage collection
- Privatization of garbage collection (like in Dar es Salaam. Several persons at the meeting says it works well there)

Ranking of preference

More specifically about ruins (the one at yumba ya moshi): preferences of new function. 1=best, 10=least good. This was made individually on paper and anonymously.

TOPLIST

1. Police station
2. Play ground
3. Hotel
4. Pocket park
5. Mini market
6. Outdoor café or restaurant
6. Residential house
7. Outdoor cinema
8. Garbage station
9. Urban Agriculture

Management of open space. Who should maintain?

1=best, 3=least good. This was made individually on paper and anonymously.

1. Municipality
2. Special group
3. Neighbourhood

Other: 4 people thought government /police and 2 the owner

If the neighbourhood or a special group takes care of it, how should they be compensated?

1. Benefit from having plants
2. Money
3. Benefit from having kiosk

Summary: The abandoned spaces are obviously bothering people. However their general attitude is that this should be managed at a governmental level. Being under strict, central rule for centuries this is not surprising. My experience is that people are rich on initiative as long as they can act within an informal context. Pocket parks and play grounds are wanted, the case is less positive for urban agriculture. However this is quite common in Stone Town, banana plants and chickens can be seen here and there, none the least at ruins. It is possible that the negative answer is due to a negative association of the country side. This is confirmed by my colleague who was also at the meeting (Madina Khamis, 2009). Her opinion is that urban agriculture is connected to dirt and coming from the countryside. It appears that cultivation/urban agriculture is not conceived as negative in itself, it simply depends on the way it's managed.

APPROACHES

UPGRADING AND RENEWAL
SHEHIA/THE GENERAL OPEN SPACE



SUGGESTED EQUIPMENT



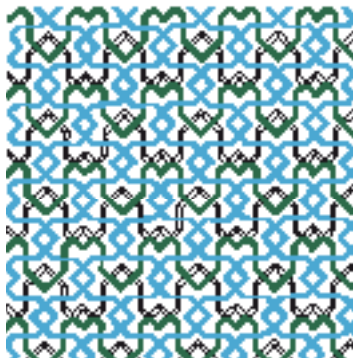
Terminalia Cappata is a common tree in Stone Town. It can be up to 15 meters high and big leaves, about 20 cm long that get beautifully red in the end of the season. The tree has branches that grows in layers and is an ornamental "shade-provider". It has red, edible fruits that taste a bit like almond are very popular.

Board games are popular and can be seen painted on barazas. In this design it is part of the round baraza that in its turn is inspired by the shape of the new barazas in Forodhani garden. Equipment for basket ball, which is simple and quite flexible, is proposed for the children.



Bougainvillea and wine is proposed as examples of climbing plants that fit well in to the narrow structure and small spaces of Stone Town. Small palms in pots can be seen here and there in Stone Town. Licuala Grandis, also called Ruffled Fan Palm, is a palm that is quite common. It gets about 3 meters high and has leaves of 3 foot (90 cm).(This is not the palm used in the big picture to the left)

Arabic patterns are easy to work with since the are repetitive and non figurative, and can be printed on tiles and then put together like a puzzle. They are also carriers of Zanzibari culture and history, and using them is contributing to a cultural continuity. Here they are used as ornament but could also be used for play by the children, a bit like playing hopscotch.



GUIDELINES

PURPOSE: To add urban verdure and liveable space to Stone Town through upgrading and renewal of already existing public space.

TARGET GROUP: Special regard is taken to children. Otherways locals in general.

MATERIALS AND COLOURS: The colour scheme follows the White/blue/green-policy. The existing concrete tiles are upshaped by being painted in a arabic patterna in these colours. This patterna is decorative and refers to the Arabic context of the local culture, but is also meant for children to play with. The new barazas are made out of lime stone or concrete since the traditional material of choral stone is not environmentally sustainable. Wires are suggested to be suspended on the walls for plants to climb on. Equipment for play is an important statement to underline that children are an important target group.

PLANTS:Bougainvillea, grape wines, palms (Licuala Grandis) and tree (Terminalaia Capata) that are common in Stone Town.

COSTS: The cost for craftsman is 7000 Tsh/ day, and needed if the tiles must be taken up to repaint. Hopefully this can be done immidately on the ground by local artist. New concrete tiles if needed cost 20.000 Tsh /m² however lime stone is cheap and can be used for the barazas.(Masoud, 2008)

STAKEHOLDERS: The people in the neighbourhood, the STCDA.

MANAGEMENT:The municipality and STCDA in first hand, locals could also be compensated for looking after and in some extent taking care of the space. However there are hotels nearby which opens up for a PPP with them.

LAND TENURE: The land is public.

APPROACH: STCDA should togethjer with the Sheha have a meeting to inform the neighbourhood and ask for volunteers to look after the space and maybe to participate in the work, but the project will not be based on this but of the work of STCDA and craftsmen.

POSITIVE EFFECTS: Through the equipment for play part of the space becomes officially for children which is important since they are already playing there but seems to be not fully accepted. The placement of the round baraza cuts of a bit of the traffic and protects the children from it. Upgrading the open space also upgrades the area and the impression visitors and locals have off it, which could be expecially important to the poor inhabitants of the Caravanserai. The change also leads to increased poosibilities of recreation.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS: Conflicts concerning the oplay of the children, withdraw people from other areas which makes it noisy and crowded.

INFORMATION AND AWARENESS THE GRAVE YARD



GUIDELINES

PURPOSE: To add urban verdure and liveable space to Stone Town through identifying, upgrading and promote existing valuable green space. Further to use the grave yard as an intermediary of the rich history and culture of Stone Town, and promote it as a part of the world heritage, through organized guide tours and to enhance its role as a place for recreation.

TARGET GROUP: Tourists in first hand but also schoolclasses as part of history class for example.

MATERIALS AND COLOURS: There are 34 grave yards today (Mlengi, 2003) that together are part of an important layer of the history of Stone Town and of the world heritage. To signalize this it is important that they have the same colours. White, blue and green are colours that are common in Stone Town and have religious and historical significance. Green is common in mosques while the blue is associated to the sultan and his court. White is traditionally the colour of the buildings, and the walls of the grave yard. All grave yards should also have the type of wooden sign that is already in use for historical monuments in Stone Town, providing information about the grave yards in general and this specific one. Barazas could be built along the outside of the walls and electric light set up to make people comfortable to use the place also in the evenings.

PLANTS: Common trees in grave yards are Nim trees, but Palms, Mkungu and Mkunazi also exist (Sulaiman, 2008). Plants should be replaced if they have or will disappear.

COSTS: The costs are low. As a suggestion government subsidies

could be given to the owner or manager of the grave yard in order to pay for the material. Or contribution be given by any investor, for example in tourism, who in return will get his name or logo on the information sign and thereby also some good will. Compensation for guidance should be given by the tourist company or directly from the tourists.

STAKEHOLDERS: Tourists, tourist companies, Schools, owner and/or managers of the grave yard and STCDA.

MANAGEMENT: The management is a form of PPP between the private owner and STCDA. The owner or manager has the responsibility for keeping the grave yard proper. An idea could be that schoolclasses participate as part of history class, with arabic grave yards as an offset.

LAND TENURE: As stated earlier, according to the law all land is nationalized, however in practice the grave yards are private. Because of the many arabs who fled during the revolution the owner often lives abroad but with sometimes with someone taking care of the grave yard for him, as in this case.

APPROACH: STCDA gets in contact with the Sheha to find the owner or if this is not possible, the manager of the grave yard. If interested he or she is offered material (paint, armature, and sign) and in return undertakes to guide people in his grave yard, to keep it open at certain hours and to keep it proper. This should be settled in a contract. Through the Building brigade STCDA makes sure that the contract is being followed. To promote the interest for grave yards they should be included in the tourist guide over historical monuments that already exists, white phone numbers to

POSITIVE EFFECTS: In best case the project will be a platform for a PPP encouraging ordinary persons who are not usually involved in the tourism business to involve and benefit from it which in its turn would generate income. Other positive effects would be increased commitment and knowledge among the tourists, owners and managers but also among people living in the neighbourhood. This would also lead to a more nuanced perception of Stone Town among tourists and an increased awareness and pride, among the locals, of the grave yards as part of a common history.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS: In worst case the result will be an insensitive exploitation, depriving the grave yards from their identity. This has, as mentioned, already been the case for many grave yards. It is important to ensure a genuine interest for informing about the grave yards.

TEMPORARY CHANGE, COMMUNICATION AND PARTICIPATION THE RUIN



SUGGESTED EQUIPMENT



Cassava to the left, is a common and basic vegetable in Zanzibar. Others are avocados, bananas, and beans.



Photo: Erik Johansson



In Damascus, the picture far left, grape wines are used to climb on wires suspended over the alleys in order to create shade.

Urban agriculture is quite common in Stone Town. To the left is a small cultivation of avocado plants used for making juice. Banan plants can also be seen planted on ruins, with chicken running among them.



Barrell for collecting rain water

GUIDELINES

PURPOSE: To add urban verdure and liveable open space to Stone Town through developing abandoned and/or unused space in to a kitchen garden.

TARGET GROUP: A smaller group of people from the neighbourhood.

MATERIALS AND COLOURS: Relatively cheap and simple materials: Wooden poles and wires suspended in between to create the pergola, wires fixed to the wall for the grape wine to climb on and wooden boxes to plant in and a gate. This should also communicate that the place is temporary and a result of a transient agreement between the users and the owner of the site. The colours should be natural or follow the white, blue, green -scale as mentioned earlier.

PLANTS: Preferably local plants, but this is of course up to the group to decide. Decorative climbing plants such as bougainvillea to climb on the wires to create a feeling of intimacy and avoid full view into the garden. Climbing plants like grape wine to make use of the large wall. Cassava, avocado, banana, pepper are vegetables and fruits that are common on Zanzibar and might be cultivated in the garden.

COSTS: The costs for plants are low or none. Costs for material is relatively low while craftsman if needed (there is one in Yumba Ya moshi for example) would cost about 5-7000 Tsh/day (Masoud, 2008), an equivalent of 3-4 US dollars, which is not a negligible some although it might be lower if the members of the group participate in constructing.

STAKEHOLDERS: The group from the neighbourhood, the owner of the ruin, STCDA.

MANAGEMENT: A PPP between the owner, the group and STCDA. It could also include a private investor who can benefit from having the ruin cleaned up, a hotel owner for example. In return she or he gets some publicity for it (a discrete sign for example). The group take care of the daily maintenance, with one head responsible who opens and locks it every day.

LAND TENURE: The great majority of ruins in Stone Town are buildings that have been privately owned (Masoud, 2008). As mentioned before new legislation might enforce the possibilities of STCDA to claim ruins. However meanwhile regard must be taken to the one who is holder of a RoO. It is not obvious that he or she will be interested in letting others cultivate and construct on the site and therefore it must be clear that this will be temporary. If willing to trade the owner can sometimes be offered compensatory land outside Stone Town (see box). One suggestion is that the owner if not holding an RoO would be offered one if he approving a temporary use of the site until he has means to develop it.

APPROACH: STCDA gets in contact with the Sheha to find the owner of the ruin. If there is one the idea will be presented and negotiated. If the owner is interested a meeting will be organized in order to inform about the idea of developing the ruin, find participants and among them a head responsible. Here a kitchen garden is proposed but other uses could of course be proposed,

and should be discussed among the persons attending the meeting. The important thing is that the construction and function will be temporary, that it adds verdure and that it is community based . The STCDA is providing the material or it is provided by private investor. The group pays for the craftsman if they want one. A contract is established between the group, the owner, STCDA and the private investor if there will be one. It regulates the length of the period the ruin can be used by the group, what responsibilities each stakeholder has. A person from the STCDA supervises and offer help during the construction work. He also controls that it will be done as agreed.

POSITIVE EFFECTS: In the best case it is a win-win situation where the owner gets someone who takes care of his site until he has decided what will happen (often this is a process of years or even decades) and the people in the neighbourhood gets a temporary garden/playground/ or green, open space while the town gets a shape up with a more well defined structure of open spaces. It also provides a platform for cooperation between important stakeholders and has an empowering effect on the group that runs it as well as create commitment and a feeling of local identity and pride of the area and the town. Additionally it offers a room for socializing and recreation.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS: Experience shows that these kind of places must be locked up in nights (Zeiba, 2008). This and the fact that only a small group of people use it can be experienced as excluding. Another problem is that there is only room for a certain number of participants which can create a conflict. The knowledge that the project is temporary could also decrease the commitment.

The case of the Ruin of HH 708:

The ruin has existed for at least 15 years and has according to interviews until now been sold 3 times. Today the owner of the ruin is a businessman who lives outside Stone Town but works in Malindi South. When I meet him he says he already has plans for his plot and has made drawings for constructing a private house that he intends having built within a year. So far he has not had the money to start the project but hopefully at least the foundation will be built he says. When talking to the GD of STCDA he explains that as soon as there is a foundation it is much more difficult for the STCDA to reclaim the site. (Makarambe, 2008) When offered to trade it for a site outside Stone Town the owner declines. However to construct he must have a permission from the STCDA, the owner says he thinks he has one but can't really remember. It appears being hardly impossible to get any information about it at the STCDA although the responsible says he remembers the case. Some days later I meet the registrar of Malindi South. He says he has heard a rumour that I want to buy the site and now he is worried. He had plans to buy it and develop it for hotel construction and has already been offered to buy it for 2 million T sh. Which I later find out is the double price of the official one (Masoud, 2008).

PART 6

REFLECTIONS AND DISCUSSION

By investigating the idea of developing some of the open spaces in Stone Town in to a green structure I realized that land many times is the very platform for the conflicts and cooperations in a society, its opportunities and restraints.

The discussion on three small places studied in this thesis reflect some of the big issues Stone Town is facing today: The population growth, the increasing tourism and the two conflicting land tenure systems -the official and the unofficial. All this within the frame of a world heritage.

As discussed in part 3 Stone Town is and will probably continue to be under a high demographic pressure. Along with it comes increased needs for services and housing. Meanwhile the growing tourism industry is aiming to have a part not only of the culture and exotism but also of the actual urban fabric: the very special socio-cultural landscape of Stone Town. However the tourism industry is a solution to get a higher influx of finances why means to benefit from it in a sustainable way must be developed. In addition to this there is on one hand an official land tenure system designed to keep all land nationalized prohibiting foreign ownerships and controlling the use and the development of the land. On the other hand there is the unofficial land tenure system and the unofficial approaches towards exploitation that allows the same.

The issue of tourism can have both positive and negative consequences and affects the three places differently. For one, as the Grave, tourism could be a solution for financing future management meanwhile this would allow for locals and tourists to meet and trade knowledge for money.

In other cases where tourism occupy land, as it risks to be for the

Ruin, it is a short term solution that in a long term risks to drain Stone Town on its local inhabitants and its own identity. In the first case tolerance towards the old, an official land tenure system allows certain families to keep their grave yard although the land actually is no longer private. In the other case implementation of the official land tenure system is becoming more and more important in order to keep land within the country but also to make sure an appropriate exploitation of land.

The demographic increase of Zanzibar city of course affects Stone Town as a whole. More people will want to exploit land, more people will probably share less room, more people will have to use the outdoor spaces for living. And more open space where people can relax and interact will be needed.

So, what will happen if nothing is done to find a solution for these conflicting issues and the all increasing pressure on the urban fabric of stone Town? The deteriorating buildings and outdoor spaces are not only a threat to the historical and cultural values of Stone town but also, in long term, to its finances and people's livelihoods, since it means Stone Town might lose its World Heritage Site status. This is also seriously emphasized in the latest review of Stone Town as World heritage Site, made by Pound in 2006. Maybe even more serious is the fact that the government risks to miss out on the opportunity to reclaim space that could be used for the best of the inhabitants. While the unofficial land tenure system is still strong private investors will contest it. So the action of upgrading, expose or giving a temporary change for space is not only a long term investment to the inhabitants but also an urgent act for keeping the open spaces open and as part of the world heritage. This is also space that is carrier of history and

culture and that actually can't be separated from the rest of the Stone Town.

In the process of developing Stone Town and creating financial influx, a delicate balance between conservation and exploitation to some extent, is needed. Here an implemented land tenure system is an important tool. The establishment of a land tribunal gives hope for the future, as do the work with building up a system and competence of GIS as well as a register of occupants of land. In a small society like the one in Stone Town it takes a lot of courage to implement these rules. But the will is there as is competent people rich in initiatives. Projects like the new traffic plan established and implemented by the STCDA shows that things can be done even if they are not popular in short term.

However traditional tools like legislation and central planning are probably just a part of how to successfully develop the many open spaces in Stone Town into greener and more liveable spaces.

The core issue of it all appears to have something more to do with awareness, information and participation, and having this as starting point for planning and management of open space.

In the process of developing the three open spaces, they can all be platforms for such lines of action which is also proposed through the guidelines in part 5.

A tricky issue in the work with the three places has been how to propose change of outdoor spaces with some but not too much programming. As for the ruin a change into a community kitchen garden was proposed. However this is merely a suggestion. What matters is the frame, that the physical construction and the project is temporary and the way of planning and managing it, that it is cooperative and participatory. In this case a kitchen garden was proposed with the idea that it might attract women. As discussed

in part 5 women use outdoor space less than men and through proposing activities that are traditionally female women might get a socially acceptable "excuse" to gather and interact. However one cannot predict who the actual user will be, although one can try to direct the process in order to encourage certain users. The meeting with the locals showed that there was not a very positive attitude towards urban agriculture still I have proposed a garden for cultivation. A police station was rated as number one but pocket park and playground were also popular options. I propose cultivation for its transient nature which suits the whole idea of temporary change, but also because cultivation is something that demands cooperation and generates income. But in the end it is of course all up to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood how they prefer to develop the ruin. Yet experiences shared in part 5 show that a real enthusiast, as for example Bi Zeina, as well as a strong and implemented framework (an organisation that all users agree on) are crucial for the result.

Programming can lead to exclusion of users. In the case with the kitchen garden the purpose is somewhat to exclude others, or rather to offer an intimate space for a group that is marginalized in the public room. Yet to involve also other but the presumed users through participatory projects can be a way to create acceptance for the project.

Cooperation is not only a means for creating acceptance and implementing a project. As in the case of Public Private Partnerships it is also a way of generating finances. However, as discussed in part 4, poor societies like Zanzibar are extremely vulnerable towards the private sector. PPP can be a solution but to cooperate with private investors is delicate, maybe especially in a developing country where their money has such power since it might not be

replaced by other financial support. It is essential that the cooperation is mutual and the goal common. It should of course not only be to give publicity to the investor but primarily, to promote the world heritage and to create liveable space to its inhabitants. It is important to make clear that in these cases it is not up to the investor to set the agenda for who will be the user and how it will be used, which as discussed in part 3 unfortunately seems to have been the case for the PPPs where Tembo hotel and Maezons hotel have been involved.

Participatory projects could play an important role to balance this and making sure the users get to influence the project. Participation and community based programs is nothing unusual to Stone Town. Yet the views on them are shifting. It is likely that they need to be further implemented, one must remember that Zanzibar was relatively closed to the world and practicing planning economy, until the late 1980's.

However recent projects and activities signalize a change is coming: Through projects like the community based rehabilitation program and the Pro-poor tourism project (Acra) the inhabitants of Stone Town have together with local and foreign authorities, made great efforts in starting building a more bottom-up oriented way of developing and benefiting from Stone Town and its heritage. NGOs like Reclaim women's space and SAFI environmental friends as well as local private investors like Mr. Mashoud, the owner of Stone Town café and Archipelago café, prove that there is room for strong individual initiatives which might be a sign of a more open and democratic society allowing its members to take place and affect their society and urban landscape. In the process of strengthening and developing this social change participatory projects and community based programs can be a useful tool. The

development of the open spaces might even in long term be a platform and a means for affecting and changing the society. Stone Town finds itself in times of transition: A growing and changing population, immigrants with different cultural backgrounds, a relatively new economic system, increased attention from and contact with the rest of the world and since nine years Stone Town has the privilege and responsibility of being a world heritage site. The challenge is impressive: managing and conserving the fragile heritage while following the new times and developing it meanwhile providing a good environment to its inhabitants. The complexity of the task is captured in the aim of developing the open spaces. It requires new solutions and will for change as well as a commitment from both public and private sectors, from both individuals and groups.

Green liveable space is not only a question of creating a healthy and recreational environment to the users of Stone Town but can also be a scene for strengthening communities, promoting collaborations and creating awareness and capacity. Assets that are crucial to ensure a sustainable society with a world heritage that is not only preserving a history but producing a future.

PART 7

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INTERVIEWS

Mr. Amour Mtuma Ali, 081020, Secretary of the Stone town Tenants Organization

Mr. Mohammad Badudrin, 080728, Head of the Control, Implementation and Monitoring Section at The Conservation And Planning Division At Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority

Mr. Bahloo, 081018, Project Co-ordinator , Aga Khan Cultural Service Zanzibar

Mr. Farid, 080801, Journalist

Johansson, Erik, 090302, MSc Civil engineer, post doc. Researcher on urban climate and outdoor comfort, Lund University of Technology

Lars Gemzøe, 080616, Architect and Urban designer, Gehl Architects

Mr. Ahmed Juma, 080922, Businessman and owner of the ruin studied

Sia Kirknæs, 080616, Architect and Urban Designer, Gehl Architects

Mr. Masoud, 081013, Architect, Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority

Mr. Mashoud, 080806, Local investor, owner of two popular cafés, mostly visited by tourists

Mohammed J. Mugheiry, 080815, Sheha of Mukunasini and Board member of Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society

Muhammad J., Muhammad, 080725, Head of Research and Coordination Division, Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority

Bi Nasra, M., Hilal, 081013, Inhabitant of Malindi South and owner of grave yard

Mr. Awad, Ghalib Omar, 080919, Urban planner, Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy and Land

Mr. Himid Omar, 080922, **Sheha of Malindi South**,

Mr. Mohammad Omar, 080801, Assistant head of Town Planning department, Zanzibar Municipality Council

Members of Safi Environmental Friends, 081003, Cultural, Local NGO

Mr. Said Saif, 081006, Said Saif, Valuer, Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority

Mr. Silima, 081020 , Chairman of the land tribunal and chief

execute officer of the office of land registration

Students, 080730

Mohammad Salim Sulaiman, 080924, Former Principal Secretary, Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy and Lands

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PHOTOGRAPHIES

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