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# Forodhani Park in Stone Town

## The effect and value of its rehabilitation

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## Forodhani Park in Stone Town – The effect and value of its rehabilitation

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## ABSTRACT

The Forodhani Park in Stone Town, Zanzibar had been neglected for many decades before it was renovated in 2008-2009 in a project funded by Aga Khan Trust for Culture. The Forodhani Park's setting in a UNESCO World Heritage Site made the renovation a particular case, especially while still being the host for a lively and popular meeting place for local people and tourists. The invested amount was 2.8 million USD, which raised questions of the values of the projects benefits and legacy. The previous maintenance method clearly did not work, leaving a challenge for the new management team and the fund raising setup, which is depending on rent collected from businesses within Forodhani Park.

Starting off from common and not so common theories of valuing park areas, this thesis sets out to find out what kind of

effects the renovation of Forodhani Park has caused and what kind of economic values possible to attribute to these effects. By interviewing people around Zanzibar, supplementing with various written material and statistics, an image of the new Forodhani Park was formed.

This image reveals that the renovated Forodhani Park can be viewed as something else than a park, due to the physical changes in the renovation project. It also reveals trouble with the maintenance and management, but also appreciation and pride from the people, most of whom find the park to be beautiful.

## PREFACE

This is a story about a park in Zanzibar but for me it has been a journey passing by different parts of the world meeting people leaving lasting impressions. I met people outside of the research who made life better and easier as well as people without whom I couldn't have made the thesis into what it is. I will use this space to send out appreciation.

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This study would not have been possible if it weren't for all the people in Zanzibar who gladly took part of the study, Rashid King Farsy, who helped with translations, and most of all the

people at STCDA. Mussa Awesu Bakar, Suhad Sultan, Asha Hassan and especially Madina Khamis, your help has been invaluable and made my study better and the job easier. I hope you enjoyed my chocolate cakes.

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND CREDITS**

AKTC – Aka Khan Trust for Culture

STCDA – Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority

TSH – Tanzanian Shilling, the local currency

USD – United States Dollar

ZMC – Zanzibar Municipal Council

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Page 16 Alejandra Pablo

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4 Forodhani Park – 3 years later</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Preface</b>	<b>2</b>	4.1 Forodhani Park today - introduction	40
<b>Abbreviations and credits</b>	<b>3</b>	4.2 Within the Forodhani Park	41
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>	4.3 Beyond Forodhani Park	51
1.1 Background	7	4.4 The economics of the Forodhani Park	57
1.2 Aim and research questions	8	4.5 Summary	62
1.3 Outline of the thesis	9	<b>5 Understanding Forodhani Park today</b>	<b>67</b>
1.4 Economics of public goods and parks	9	5.1 The place Forodhani Park	67
1.5 The role of economics in the study	14	5.2 The power struggles	72
<b>2 The case: Forodhani Park and its settings</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6 The end notes - conclusions</b>	<b>75</b>
2.1 The history of the Forodhani Park	17	6.1 Further research	77
2.2 The Stone Town and its heritage	20	<b>References</b>	<b>79</b>
2.3 The rehabilitation of Forodhani Park	24	<b>Appendices</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>3 Research approach and methods</b>	<b>31</b>		
3.1 The case study - a way to discover and understand	31		
3.2 Collecting information	32		



# 1 INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background

This text will examine a place referred to as a park. The “park” is commonly understood to be a “*large area of ground set aside for recreation*” (britannica.com) or a garden with greenery and walkways, typically accessible to the public (ne.se). Almaguer (2006, p. 7) sees parks as “*inclusive spaces for everyone*” to use for activities and meetings of different types and Bull (1992) adds to the description by identifying the presence of surrounding physical development and notes that for a park to be urban it should be within walking distance of its users. In general, besides being a green structure of some kind, the word “use” works as a common denominator<sup>1</sup>. It seems to be a perception that a park is used, or is supposed to be used, by

people. Certainly how the park looks, how it is used and what it brings to its environment is dependent on its settings, who was in charge when it was built and its users among other aspects. A park then can be viewed as a place for recreation, active and relaxing, and meetings, with some kind of green structures created by both the park designer (whoever that might have been) and its users.

Even though its users normally don’t pay entrance or other direct usage fees for utilizing them, these green areas are built and maintained because the people see the value in the government using tax money for this purpose, like on other public structures. The park apparently has benefits, economic or not, to warrant the public spending needed for the maintenance. When it is withdrawn or severely cut the area will decline, in terms of what humans usually perceive as cleanliness and having a nice appearance, since the citizens

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<sup>1</sup> With the exemption of some double worded parks, like “national parks”.

normally will not take care of the park using their own resources. This is what happened with the seaside Forodhani Gardens in Stone Town, Zanzibar. The area, now known as Forodhani Park, was more or less left on its own by the government due to a lack of funding after the independency and later unification with mainland Tanzania (also known as Tanganyika), while still being a popular and well-used area by the public (Siravo 1996; Gunnarsson & Johansson 2004) resulting in a predictable physical decline. Eventually vendors started selling food and other commodities in the park showcasing the possibility to raise maintenance funds within the park and plans were made for renovations, with initial financial aid from Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), which had its own focus on social-economic issues (AKTC 2009). The renovation, officially referred to as rehabilitation<sup>2</sup>, finally took

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<sup>2</sup> Rehabilitate: *a* : to restore to a former capacity : reinstate. *b* : to restore to good repute : reestablish the good name of (<http://www.merriam-webster.com>)

place in 2008 and 2009 after being part of plans since at least the 1990s. The economics and implications of this rehabilitation is the study area of this thesis, which leads us to the aim and research questions.

## **1.2 Aim and research questions**

This study aims to investigate the outcome of the rehabilitation of Forodhani Park in Zanzibar and its present situation, with a special focus on the impacts' economic implications. To facilitate this study the following research questions were drafted.

- What has the rehabilitation of Forodhani Park meant for the park and Zanzibar?
- What are the economic implications of the rehabilitation of the Forodhani Park?

The research approach has intentionally been left open to be able to find impacts of the rehabilitation in fields not typically



thought of. There will be natural limits of help to keep the study at a manageable level such as the focus on changes dependent on the renovation instead of everything Forodhani Park impacts. If it still impacts an issue, but at the same level as before the rehabilitation this will not be elaborated in this study.

Geographically the study is set in Zanzibar and limited by the city boundaries of Zanzibar Town. Impacts beyond the city will not be accounted for even though local people evidently come from outside of Stone Town to visit the Forodhani Park. It can be assumed that the effects outside of the city are minor; it is after all a public place within a city.

### **1.3 Outline of the thesis**

This introductory chapter will continue with a review of what other researchers bring forward on the subject of economics of parks and it what ways they affect their surroundings.

Then the case of Zanzibar and Stone Town in general and Forodhani Park in particular will be introduced to the reader followed up by a methods chapter explaining the grounds of the study conducted and how the research questions were answered.

The last part of this text will consist of a review and discussion of the material collected on Forodhani Park and Zanzibar and the implications of the rehabilitation rounded up by final conclusions and thoughts on research on park environment.

### **1.4 Economics of public goods and parks**

To be able to answer the research questions, especially the second, there is a need for a basic explanation of this thesis' relations to economics. First of all there is the topic of the public goods that parks are. Public goods are defined as non-rivalry products. That is if one person consumes one piece another can as well, there is no (in most societies legal) way to stop another person from using the goods and it will not

disappear by being used (Boardman et al. 2011). This rules out the normal and easier way of obtaining an economic value of goods by just looking at the market value and its changes. Also, the focal point for this study is the economy of the society at large, or to be more precise, the society of Zanzibar. This can also be described as the accumulated benefits and costs of everybody in Zanzibar, including the public spending, and basically equals everybody's profit.

These special attributes of the public goods have caught the interest of numerous researchers who have brought forward ideas on different ways of understanding how a park (the public good studied in this text) affects the economy or how the park can be valued when it seemingly does not have a value on the open market. There are a couple of common ideas of dealing with this, which the following review will be focused on and organized by.

One of the earliest and also a classical example when it comes to putting an economic value on the urban park, described by

Tajima (2003) and APA (2002) among others, was when Central Park in New York City was constructed. To justify the use of central land and funds for construction (between 1856 and 1873) a study was conducted throughout the constructions to observe changes in property values around the park. The results were clear; people put financial value in having the park nearby. The study accounted for a rise in property prices of more than 400 % for the park's neighbour wards, which can be compared to the general price developments in Manhattan during the same time period of around 100 % increase. This kind of evaluation later became known as the **hedonic valuation** and has been used to show effects of different kind of phenomena. The examples of conducted studies are numerous including Arvanitidis and Skouras (2008), Crompton (2005) and Geoghegan (2002). The main idea brought forward, besides looking at the property transactions themselves, is that the society gains a higher income from property taxes with the increase in property values from proximity to parks, which in many cases is true. More et al. (1988) noticed differences in the

people's attributed value related to the character of the park. Different kind of parks and uses of them affected people's motivation to pay additional amounts for properties.

Even though More et al. (1988), along with other proponents of hedonic valuation of parks, stress the method's possibilities of capturing both the external benefits and costs of parks they also elucidate major problems. The value of a property is only known at the time of a transaction and to be able to actually do the hedonic valuation this information must be obtained. If there are few property sales in an area<sup>3</sup> no substantial data is available to use. One could argue that approximate property values could be used, but then the method's advantage of using actual figures is lost. With the scenario of few sales, how would the park's value be known? Also, del Saz-Salazar & Rausell-Köster (2008) contemplate how other effects, besides the

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<sup>3</sup> More et al. (1988) use the example of business districts with fewer transactions than in residential areas.

benefits of property owners, of the park would be represented and suggest another method, expressing that *"it would ... seem more appropriate to use a second group of techniques called stated preferences methods which, in principle, allow the researcher to capture all the range of benefits arising from urban parks"* (Ibid. p. 242).

This is another common idea on how to obtain the value of a park. This method simulates a market on the basis that the value of a commodity normally is derived from the accumulated transactions made on a market. What people are paying is the value. Since most urban parks are free to use by individuals there are no actual figures to use. The idea then is to ask people how much they are prepared to pay, for example to use the park had there been an entrance fee (Jim & Chen 2006) or by an added tax or equivalent recurring fee for maintenance or overhauls (del Saz-Salazar & Rausell-Köster 2008; Lo & Jim 2010). This is usually referred to as willingness-to-pay (WTP) and is a study of the **contingent value** (CV).

The number obtained can be used for decision making on park investments when comparing it to the investment and maintenance costs (del Saz-Salazar & Rausell-Köster 2008).

The problems arising using the CV method (CVM) are well documented and researched. First of all, since the market is fictional many people might have difficulty putting an accurate personal value of the product also resulting in many zero responses<sup>4</sup> which have to be dealt with (del Saz-Salazar & Rausell-Köster 2008). The WTP has also been found to be place and culture dependent (Lo & Jim 2010). Diamond & Hausman (1994, p. 62) expand the critique and claim that *“the absence of direct market parallels affects both the ability to judge the quality of contingent valuation responses and the ability to calibrate responses to have usable numbers”* and therefore CVM

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<sup>4</sup> Zero response is the phenomenon when people put in 0 (zero) as the price they are willing to pay. It is common to use this value to protest against the society, see del Saz-Salazar & Rausell-Köster (2008).

*“does not estimate what its proponents claim to be estimating”*. All in all, CVM has its proponents and disbelievers, but does attempt to solve the problem of valuing parks in contrast to other uses of the land.

McConnel & Walls (2005) references another valuation method presented in previous research, the **travel cost method**, which measures the amount of money (and sometimes cost of time used for travel) spent by the park's users to get to the park thus providing an actual figure on how much people are willing to spend to use a green area<sup>5</sup>. To be more precise, the person travelling the furthest (most expensive trip) is believed to demonstrate the price people are willing to pay for using the park, since nobody sacrifices more. The value of the studied object is calculated using obtained values in a demand curve, finding a so-called consumer surplus. This is the value (More et

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<sup>5</sup> Willing to pay for using the park, since nobody pays a higher price (More et al. 1988).

al. 1988). Even though studies have been made on urban parks (see Lockwood & Tracy 1995) the proximity of its users can render low values. Another flaw is that the travel cost also can be argued not to be of high importance for the users of the park when it is situated nearby making numbers uncertain (Lockwood & Tracy 1995). The method is however useful when valuing recreational benefits and for areas outside of cities. For illustrations of uses see the mentioned Lockwood & Tracy (1995) and Cooper & Loomis (1991) among many works.

Basically what these approaches to valuing urban parks, perhaps with the exception of the hedonic valuation, are trying to do is simplify a quite difficult process of obtaining helpful figures for the decision makers trying to figure out if building and keeping parks is a sound investment. Finding out all the economic effects is a tedious and time-consuming work. McPherson (1992) and McPherson et al. (1999) start this work by examining the monetary benefits and costs of urban trees, a common occurrence in urban greens spaces like parks. They

arrive at evidently useful numbers with argumentation including the need for less air conditioning due to the cooling effect of the trees and maintenance costs. Wolf (2004) provides other examples, besides trees, of where to look for effects to value, including human health where the park can provide a place and maybe a reason for exercising, which reduces society's costs for health care. Wolf (2004) also provides some references to studies showing positive links between the green and mental health (and the same kind of reduced costs) and discusses how parks affect the ecosystem and the possible economic implications.

Health, environment, property values and general appreciation from the users of the parks are some of the benefits observed from parks and greenery in urban settings. Others include marketing possibilities and general attractiveness for the city (Jansson 2012). Negative effects such as feelings of insecurity in and around unused open spaces (Grahn & Stigsdotter 2003), historical and structural values of having the park (Baycan-

Levent & Nijkamp 2005) and the finding that most of these effects are dependant on the place, the quality of the space and more (McConnell & Walls 2005) is also worth mentioning even though economic analyses might not be available. The valuation of parks would benefit greatly if the work of measuring all its impacts was continued, however difficult it might be.

### **1.5 The role of economics in the study**

When no economic figure is obtained in this study for a benefit or a cost a discussion on the economic implications will still

follow to gain an understanding on how different issues of the park and the rehabilitation's aftermaths affect the society and the Forodhani Park itself. The WTP is often an advocated method when valuing public goods but for two reasons it will not be a part of this study. First of all, since this study is focusing on a renovation project rather than just valuing a park a contingent value study should have been conducted some time before the project started to have a good value for comparisons. Second of all, this study is interested in finding economic transactions that have happened or could in the future and the WTP gives a fictional value, in the sense that it is not an actual transaction of money.







## 2 THE CASE: FORODHANI PARK AND ITS SETTINGS



Figure 1: Zanzibar sea view before Forodhani Park. Photo Zanzibar National Archives, ZNA AV23.54

### 2.1 The history of the Forodhani Park

Forodhani Park lies in Stone Town, Zanzibar and occupies approximately three acres of land just next to the sea. The area was turned into a park some 30-35 years after the British won what is considered the shortest war in history, namely the 1896 Anglo-Zanzibar war that lasted less than one hour. The outcome of the war, besides continued British control of Zanzibar, was serious damage inflicted on the harbour area of Stone Town. Buildings were destroyed, which opened up part of the area that today host the Forodhani Park. The rest was cleared up when customs sheds and godowns<sup>6</sup> were removed.

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<sup>6</sup> Dockside warehouses

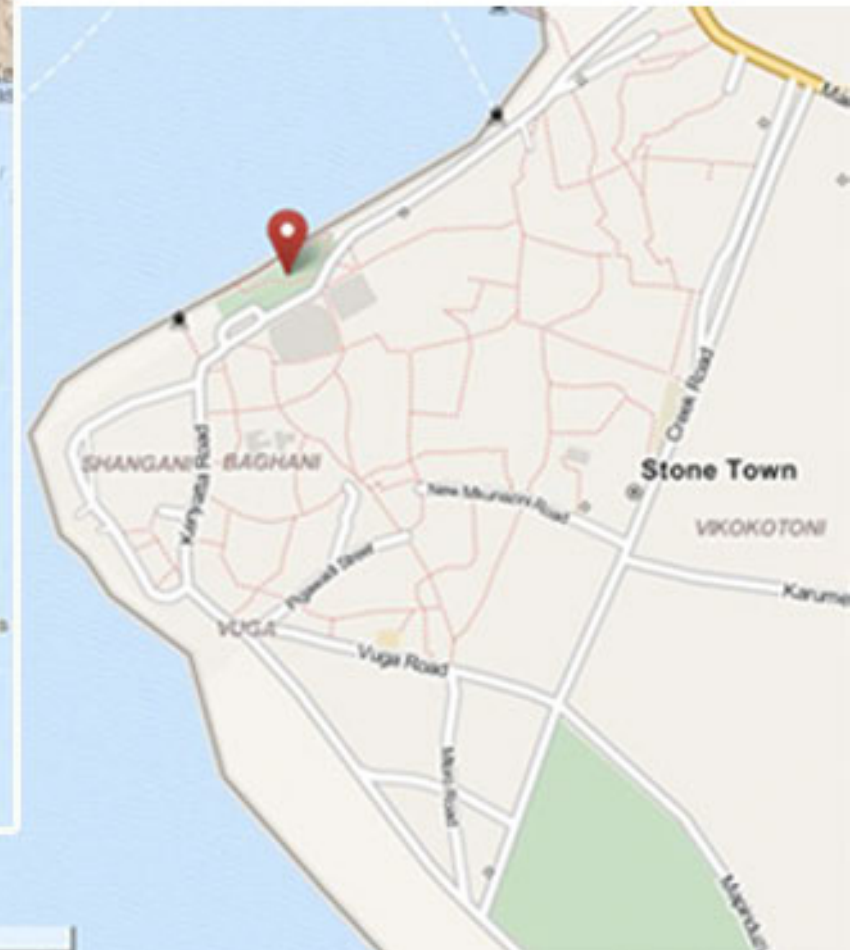


Figure 2. Maps of Africa and Stone Town. Above map shows the location of Zanzibar outside of the eastern coast of Africa. The right map shows the location of Forodhani Park in Stone Town. Maps from openstreetmap.org, used under Creative Commons.

Officially the park was first inaugurated 1935 with the name Jubilee Gardens to honour the visit of king George V during his Silver Jubilee and became a place for formal appearances during visits and for bands. Some of the physical structures from this period are still in Forodhani Park, like the fountain and the bandstand. The park over time became a popular place for meetings and recreation. Interestingly enough, the maintenance of the park was apparently not really planned for during the construction and the British authorities had to hand out the duty (ZNA AU/3/119)<sup>7</sup>. After the revolution against the British and the sultans in 1963 until the 1980s the socialist government favoured newer parts of the city leaving Stone Town more or less to its own devices, letting it deteriorate, including the now officially renamed Jamituri Gardens, a name

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<sup>7</sup> The words: "I hope they don't ask for staff" (Note 276, ZNA AU/3/119) were part of correspondence between the Chief Secretary and the Agriculture department, possibly contributing to the future approach to park maintenance.

not commonly used by the people (1)<sup>8</sup>. It was later renamed again to become the Forodhani Gardens and more recently Forodhani Park.



Figure 3: The historical bandstand

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<sup>8</sup> (1) refers to interviewee number 1, see chapter 3.2.2.



## 2.2 The Stone Town and its heritage

So what is the Stone Town? First of all it has been a place for international trade among people of different cultures for many hundred years. Because of these trade activities Arabic and Indian people settled in the town, which influenced the architecture as well as the layout of narrow streets and high density. As mentioned the socialist epoch of Zanzibar brought along a low for Stone Town. Besides not taking care of the governmentally owned buildings the socialists also regulated the rents, which left little funds for maintenance of buildings that started to decay (1; 2). Parts of the cultural heritage were even more or less frowned upon, but Stone Town could probably have been even worse off than being ignored. The positives are that the structures and buildings are still mostly the original ones and that this actually leaves a possibility to preserve the town (1). In many other places, European cities being good examples, the old urban structures were shattered, or at least severely damaged, to make way for modern



Figure 4 A street of Stone Town

buildings. In part thanks to local campaigners the understanding of the conservational and cultural values grew, which eventually led to the creation of Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) in 1994, the 1996 *Zanzibar; a Plan for the Stone Town* (Siravo 1996), published by Aga Khan Trust for Culture and an inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2000 for the entire old

town, including the Forodhani Park area. Since then some buildings have been restored both with the help of foreign aid organisations (like Swedish SIDA and the Aga Khan network) and by local investors, many times restaurant or hotel owners who see a possibility to make money by attracting tourists with well managed buildings.

The conservational focus has brought along three main issues for working with structures in Stone Town. They are presented here.

### **Material**

The use of the original style material, which include lime stone plaster and mangrove poles, is considered important in the conservation process not only to preserve the traditional appearances but also because they suit the climate. Today cement is often used in Stone Town construction, even though it's not allowed on old buildings. One reason for this includes a lack of a suitable local source for good quality traditional material with the implication of its losing of respect among the people who find apparently better quality material. Another reason is that the knowledge of how to use this kind of material is declining (Yahya 2008; Pound & McDermott 2006).

### **Restrictions**

The inclusion on the World Heritage List has brought along a need for regulations on how to build and maintain structures in the Stone Town, the key one, from talking to people involved in conservation of the town, seemingly being to not change the outside appearance of a building. Or, in the words of the STCDA staff: 'we allow changes in the uses and on the inside of the buildings, but not on the outside' (3). STCDA has been put in charge of enforcing the laws and are making regular rounds around the town and also keep in contact with the shehias<sup>9</sup> to keep track of what is going on in the city. In reality, the citizens and property owners in Stone Town don't always abide by the rules set up by the government. This is rooted in reasons like the lack of awareness and know-how, plain shortsighted financial reasons or a different taste and will to create something new. From time to time the STCDA decides to address this by forcing property owners to remove offending parts of their buildings or halting a project completely. There are however several examples of designs slipping by their fingers (1; 4). The reasons for this has been and are being discussed in various outlets with suggestions of not enough funding of and power given to the STCDA being the most voiced ones (Pound & McDermott 2006)<sup>10</sup>.

### **Economics and tourism**

When it comes to the economics of conservation in Zanzibar one issue clearly stands out in the various discussions: tourism. The money the tourists bring to Zanzibar is definitely appreciated and has been funding the restoration of buildings, many of which have been turned into hotels. But increased tourism comes at the price of locals having to move, the culture slowly changing towards facilitating the tourists in different ways, including streets turning into shopping streets for curio shops (4). The Swahili culture in itself is one of the reasons for the World Heritage inclusion thus the tourism is clearly a double-edged sword. Another issue is the lack of funding among the property owners for both maintenance and more vast renovations of deteriorating buildings, if they can't receive money from tourism. Some structures have been saved by foreign aid from different organizations, such as SIDA and the Aga Khan network, but from the looks of it the maintenance of several of these buildings is being neglected. The rent incomes from the local tenants are still considered too low to pay for good maintenance (2), but with the economy in the country higher rents would be difficult for tenants to sustain.

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<sup>9</sup> The Shehia is the head of a Sheha, a small administrative district within Stone Town. There are six of them.

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<sup>10</sup> This while issues of gentrification and the citizens' needs from buildings are rarely brought up as important, even though they are strong economic processes.

## 2.3 The rehabilitation of Forodhani Park

As presented, the Forodhani Park is a part of a cultural heritage regulated by conservational issues. Let's move on with a description of the rehabilitation, from a deeper look at the state of the area before its start to what happened as part of the actual process.

### 2.3.1 Forodhani Park before the renovations

Because of the mentioned lack of maintenance the state of the Forodhani Park before the rehabilitation works started in 2008 was in many ways dismal. The grass was worn out from overuse and the food market that had grown when vendors started putting up outlets in the middle of the area. On top of that trees were dying and equipment was broken (3).

Although it might have looked weary, the park was still used by many people and different kinds of businesses. As part of their study of gender and place in Zanzibar, Gunnarsson and



Figure 5 Forodhani Park before the renovation (photo: Irene2005 on flickr.com, licensed under Creative Commons)



Figure 6 The bandstand area 2001. Photo Malin Høiseth, with permission.





Figure 7 Playing in the grass 2003. Photo by Geof Wilson (geoftheref on flickr.com), licensed under Creative Commons.

Johansson (2004) conducted a daylong<sup>11</sup> observation of activities in Forodhani Gardens<sup>12</sup> from early morning until midnight during the high season for tourism. They took notice of on-going commerce included sales of sodas and other refreshments through cafés/kiosk and smaller vendors, kangas and curio products mainly intended for tourists. There were also papasi<sup>13</sup> in the park preying for tourists. At night time the food market opened. According to their observations, there were more than 300 people working, one way or another, in the park at night. The park was also a place for social interaction, relaxation on benches or in the grass, cleaning work (by hand) and physical activities like diving into the sea.

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<sup>11</sup> Actually several days summarized to one.

<sup>12</sup> The official name at the time of their study.

<sup>13</sup> Papasi is the word in Swahili for tick. Here it refers to people, usually men, trying to make their living on tourists by being pushy and in-your-face while trying to sell goods or services.

### 2.3.2 The renovations

In the conservation plan from 1996 (Siravo 1996) ideas for renovating public areas were brought up, including what is framed as “The Seafront Action Area” (Siravo 1996, p. 139), with Forodhani Gardens located in the middle. At this time the area was described as a place with bad traffic, deteriorating structures and problems with green areas being overused in comparison to what they could sustain. At the same time it was seen as the front of Zanzibar and for that reason important to keep in good shape. A plan for the restoration is drafted in Siravo (1996) with the purpose of maintaining “the area’s character ... through a programme of priority repairs and improvements to the area’s infrastructure” (Siravo 1996, p. 145). Parts of the public areas of the sea front are still awaiting renovation in 2012, but through Aga Khan funding important work has been done starting with a square (Kelele Square) and now the Forodhani Park.



Figure 8 Renovations. Photos Mussa Awesu Bakar

The intended outcomes, besides improving the issues mentioned, were to create local employment opportunities, nurture the cultural heritage and raise Forodhani Park's appeal to tourists (5). The maintenance of Forodhani Park was also an issue, as it needed funding, and an arrangement for this was included in the plan, which was produced mainly by South African architects with input from different stakeholders in Zanzibar. The inhabitants of Stone Town were not included in the planning process however, but involved during the construction to create awareness. The first draft of the plan had to be revised a couple of times to not divert from the ideas of conservation, something that was more important to the STCDA than the government, which didn't have any objections (3).

Construction started in 2008 and continued for more than a year. During this time the area was closed and fenced off to the public. The vendors on the market were temporarily moved to another park (in-between Africa House and the sea). The costs

for the rehabilitation grew through the process, especially when it was discovered that the sea wall along the Forodhani Park needed more repairs than previously thought (3). The Aga Khan network decided to inject the extra funds needed.

### **2.3.3 The businesses in Forodhani Park**

Three small café buildings were situated along the sea in the park, hosting businesses. These were fixed up but the business owners were not allowed to keep their contracts, even though apparently first offered to (6). Instead, to maximize the Forodhani Park's incomes, a tender was held where interested people submitted their bids for the contracts, which were eventually awarded to the highest bidders turning out to be none of the previous owners. The bidding was then redone due to problems in the process. After the second round of bidding one of the winners came out differently, but after some time, with misfortunes and apparently bad business, this winner withdrew and the original business, from before the

rehabilitation, was allowed to start up his business in Forodhani Park again (6).

Besides the kiosks the vendors at the food market were indicated as integral and important parts of Forodhani Park. Not just for the visitors' experiences but also as a good source of income for the maintenance. As part of the rehabilitation process these vendors were offered education in conducting business and food health issues (7; 8). The other informal small businesses up to that time present in Forodhani Park were however banned from doing business and obviously did not take part in the education. The word on the street (or Internet) on the food market in Forodhani Park had stories of people getting food poisoned because of the handling of the goods. The problem mostly seemed to stem from a lack of knowledge and consequently the education addressed this issue as well as pointing out the business values of clean food to the food vendors. More on this issue will follow later in the text.

#### **2.3.4 The management setup**

Before the renovation process started ZMC handled the maintenance of Forodhani on the grounds of it claiming ownership of all open space in the city. However, because of the conservation issues the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (the national government) puts all public areas in the Stone Town area under the authority of STCDA, which led to a partnering group being formed to solve this possible obstacle. Besides ZMC and STCDA, AKTC has an advisory role on the board.

Decisions on the management of Forodhani Park are taken at recurring meetings, without fixed dates, of this board and are then carried out by staff from ZMC and STCDA. The park manager is appointed within the STCDA while other tasks, like gardening and rent collection, are performed by staff from ZMC. The Forodhani Park management has its own bank account whereto the money collected by ZMC staff is to be

transferred and be used as see fit by the park manager and the management board.

This is what happened during the rehabilitation, opening up for looking at what has happened in the following three years.

First, however, will be a review of the methods used during the work to figure this out.





### 3 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS

With the background and settings of the thesis' issue explained it is time to move along and describe how the research questions were approached and what kind of work was conducted to be able to answer them. This will be taken care of in this part of the text, beginning with the case study circumstances and continuing with describing the information collection for the thesis.

#### **3.1 The case study - a way to discover and understand**

As mentioned earlier in the text, parks, their uses and effects vary based on its context. This, in several ways, makes them a good subject for case studies. Adding to the stack of knowledge by adding research on parks in various settings will help create understanding on their common denominators. A case study,

Yin (2009) points out, acknowledges the presence of the context of an examined phenomenon. This rhymes well with how parks seemingly work and makes the case study a good approach.

In this study the case has been the limiting factor more than the fields in themselves. To be able to find new angles and possible effects on the study's subject an open approach has been used, particularly when it comes to which fields to examine. This might leave out the deeper understandings of certain areas but will help bring innovative results, still within the frames of the subject of the study, and to give a good overall picture of the situation. The latter would be lost if one particular issue was studied in depth. In the field of understanding the economics of parks, due to the lack of easily accessible material, the innovative approach and focus on the

parks' distinctive characteristics are needed to come closer to results, both on the studied subject and in general.

When it comes to the field of economics and case studies it should be noted that economics is about people acting in one way or another and that the case can provide important findings on this. This is apparently something that economists have realized as well when doing their studies, according to Blaug (1980 in Flyvbjerg 2006). With this said it is time to present the way in which the collection of information for this case study was carried out

### **3.2 Collecting information**

To be able to collect the information needed to for the study a few different approaches were used. The various issues presented a need for more than one type of method.

#### **3.2.1 The written and published material on Zanzibar**

Finding and reading written material is where the gathering of information on the thesis' subject really started. This served mainly as useful background information for the preparatory part of the study, which included understanding the issues and making the first draft for the interview guide (see below). As such this part of the study did not need the kind of questioning the material in the latter parts demanded. The written material has also been used to help describe and understand the context of the field study since it was important to know why certain things occurred and put them in their historical context to be able to value their significance for the case.

It became clear during the course of the work that special attention when evaluating the written sources had to be given to the sender. Power and politics were two apparent, prevailing concerns. This means that the written scripts could be used to convey intentions through for instance a seemingly neutral historical text. Of course having some sort of agenda in a



communication is ever-present and perhaps even the reason for communicating in the first place. However during this study it had an extra strong presence. There has been some academic research made covering topics relevant to this study, but even these items were often based on information gained from the aforementioned sources and care had to be taken when using these texts as well by examining the research methods used. In general documents were treated as material made to influence the reader politically in some way.

Some statistics will be used in this text. Even when it comes to this the producer is important to take note of, for the same reasons given above. General tax reports should be fairly neutral and to be trusted as correct but due to power struggles other governmental information such as the income statement of the Forodhani Park's operations was considered sensitive information by the people involved. This has been taken into account when using it.

### **3.2.2 Primary material**

Since the available amount of written material and statistics was insufficient to be able to compare the situation before and after the rehabilitation it was necessary to obtain information on changes (and non-changes) through interviews. With consultation from my contact at STCDA a list of organizations and people who could be of interest was drawn up. A letter of introduction in Swahili was either sent or brought to them to explain the study and the purpose of it. This helped gaining access to many of the different governmental institutions on the list, which was extended with more names along the way. These came up in discussions, from the studies or were suggestions from interviewees. This process continued until the end of the field study. All in all 26 people<sup>14</sup> were interviewed covering many levels and fields, including, but not limited to, the park manager, businessmen, local historians, officials at

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<sup>14</sup> Plus one through email, in total 27.

several governmental authorities and people involved in the maintenance of Forodhani Park.

The interviews were mannered in a semi-structured way with questions and inspirational discussion sections formed with the purpose of the study present. The semi-structured interview helped me move away from the beaten track when necessary by following up thoughts of the interviewees. This did lead the talk astray at times, but even then revealed information important for the study. It also helped the depth of the study with elaborated answers and as such was crucial for its quality. This is not to say that specific questions were not used. Enquiries regarding findings in previous research were made both to have a starting point and to in some way see how this issue in an East African context compares to the more Western contexts common in other research.

The interview guide consisted of questions divided into four sections, namely: Background, General questions (open questions), Specific questions (relating to previous research,

depending on the background of the interviewee) and Further. This allowed the conversation to have an easy start with the interviewee describing his/her own background before moving on. In general this structure helped the interviewee relax and become comfortable in the situation. You could argue that it's time consuming, but the end result is impacted in a positive way. As an example, one interview guide is included as appendix V.

On a practical note the interviews were archived by notes and memory.<sup>15</sup> The notes taken during the talks, together with other memories, were put into a summary as soon as possible after the occasion. The notes were taken in English, but it should be mentioned that, as a Swede, I did use Swedish as a

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<sup>15</sup> The intention when starting the study was to record the sound of the interviews with a portable recorder. This idea was scrapped early, after encountering various problems such as more or less noisy ceiling fans (a must in Zanzibar), sea wind through open windows or being situated in a room full of other people talking.

tool to note my own reflections on the interviewee and the situation. This was useful afterwards when writing the summary and to understand the material better.

The interviews have been anonymised and replaced with numbers based on the order of appearance in the text. Because of the situation with the management this was necessary to keep the focus of all readers on the content of the thesis instead of the sender of the information. When reading the text the reasons should become clear. The list of interviewees is available for academic purposes.

To be able to obtain information from the food vendors in Forodhani Park a survey was conducted. When I tried to approach a vendor for an interview or just a talk they automatically assumed I was a customer and it was very difficult to change the conversation into something else than a sales talk. My own interpretation was that it was both because the vendors basically saw all westerners as possible sources of income and somewhat of a language barrier. Among these

people everybody spoke enough English to sell their products, but many did not speak at level high enough to hold a conversation. A written survey was thus created which was translated to Swahili to make sure the language barrier was eliminated. The survey was distributed among all present food vendors a Sunday in March 2012 with a response rate of 79% from 43 vendors in Forodhani Park. The park manager provided help with overcoming the westerner barrier. This most likely influenced the respondents in their approach to the survey and in their answers but was deemed necessary. A student from Karume Institute of Science and Technology helped with translation from Swahili to English. The results of the survey are mostly presented as economic information in chapter 4.4.1, but when other information was used it was referenced as Survey.

The last type of collection was the observations made by me in numerous visits to Forodhani Park as well as other places in Stone Town. These were documented with photos as well as

notes. Many times ideas from observations were brought up in interviews, as well as vice versa. The observations served as a compliment to the other information collecting methods and as a help to help verify information.

The analyzing of the material was aided by the phases described by Miles and Huberman (1994), namely data reduction, data display, conclusion drawing and verification. They describe the first phase, data reduction, as a process to get a good overview of the collected material. The collected interview material was read through and reviewed at least twice, a process that started after the first interviews to be sure to use helpful information during the collection phase. The material was examined by comparing information through different ways of understanding it or through different themes. Berkowitz (1997) highlights the focal role of the research questions during this process while still keeping an open mind about what the material says outside its primary uses, something that proved important in this study when some of

the significant information was found in how the respondents expressed their answers.

The data display segment introduced more comparative analyzing into the process by looking at certain questions and the answers given to them. Berkowitz (1997) points out the possibilities in qualitative studies to find and use not only the plain answer but also the reasoning behind them and to use a comparative approach in this phase to go deeper into the research. The open questions used in this study to be able to find different issues affected the comparison when distinctive answers were given. Comparable issues were raised on a number of occasions however, which made the kind of analyze described here possible and fruitful.

Drawing conclusions and verifying them in a qualitative study is not as easy as looking at the primary answers and this is not where its benefits are. Berkowitz (1997) acknowledges both the need to compare interviews to find similarities and the possible resources in contradictory answers. Both are important for

conclusions and verifying. Contradictory answers were plentiful on some issues in the interviews for this thesis, which did prove to provide important insights. On other issues the respondents agreed more by giving concordant replies. The conclusions in the last parts of the thesis are based on both these types of data. The different themes or issues that

crystallized in the process of analyzing did not only help the process itself but also rendered a useful way to organize the next part of this thesis, namely the presentation of the collected material.







## 4 FORODHANI PARK – 3 YEARS LATER



The research questions of this thesis were:

- What has the rehabilitation of Forodhani Park meant for the park and Zanzibar?
- What are the economic implications of the rehabilitation of the Forodhani Park?

The following chapters will review and discuss the outcome of the Forodhani Park rehabilitation on the basis of these questions. The arrangement of the text is based on themes that emerged during the study.

#### **4.1 Forodhani Park today - introduction**

Three years after the reopening the Forodhani Park is a popular meeting place for locals and tourists, being located on the main street between the ferry berth and the most touristy areas, containing many hotels, of Stone Town. People are using Forodhani Park for resting, doing business, playing, diving and eating (1; 5; 9) which is basically what was going on before the rehabilitation. If anything there might be a slight increase in the number of users (9) but also a shift towards a higher proportion of tourist visitors (5; 10). The Forodhani Park itself is being described as something non-Zanzibari (1; 4) while at the same time being highly regarded and appreciated by people (5; 9), which partly explain this shift. The focus on tourists was

deliberate to attract foreign visitors and bring income<sup>16</sup> to the maintenance of Forodhani Park and to Zanzibar (5; 11).

The Zanzibaris are still coming to Forodhani Park regularly and in big numbers, just like described by Gunnarsson and Johansson (2004). It doesn't seem very common among the locals to eat the food from the market or the kiosks because of the products being priced relatively high compared to other outlets in town (7). All in all Forodhani Park is well used, lively and works as a meeting place.

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<sup>16</sup> The issue of who actually earns the money from the tourism will have to be left for other researchers, but to say the least there is an ongoing debate on the topic.



## **4.2 Within the Forodhani Park**

Following this introduction covering the basic uses of Forodhani Park in 2012 will be a deeper description of the most important topics and issues influenced by the rehabilitation, starting off with something important for a green space, the water supply.

### **4.2.1 Water supply**

Water has been an ongoing issue in Forodhani Park since before the rehabilitation. This was acknowledged and its businesses were promised access to running water for hygienic purposes (6; 7; 12; 13) and naturally it was needed for maintenance of greenery in an environment with only seasonal rains. Three years later the fountain in the park is dry<sup>17</sup>, there is

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<sup>17</sup> During my stay (Feb – May 2012) in Zanzibar the fountain was turned on for one day, the day when a new park manager took charge.

no running water at the food market, the kiosks have had to get water through other means and the toilet have had to close down for a few days. All because of lack of water. Even the museums next to the Forodhani Park have experienced a shortage of water since the renovations (14).

This was a problem since the reopening. During the first months the water shortage was solved by AKTC bringing in water by trucks, an expensive solution, which was discontinued when Aga Khan discontinued its initial financial support (12; 15). The problems are threefold. First of all the water system in Zanzibar has problems providing enough water with substantial leakage on the way to the users as one problem. As conservational action the central pumps are turned off at certain times (16). This creates a need for local water tanks, which is the second problem in Forodhani Park. There are four underground water tanks at 5000 litres each in the southeastern corner of the area. However, because of an engineering mistake only a maximum of 15000 litres can be

stored and used (17). Third, the Forodhani Park's main local underground water pump is broken which means the water that is stored in the tanks cannot be distributed throughout its water pipes. A smaller, supposedly temporary, replacement pump sends water through hoses to the greenery (17).

The distribution problems due to the failed water pump combined with the need for clean water has led to the kiosk owners having to find their other solutions, in this case by installing their own water tanks and filling them up through different means. The café furthest to the south and closest to the Forodhani Park's water tanks has water provided to its own tank through the hose connected to the main tanks and the smaller, external pump (6; 17). The other two establishments have to buy their water from other sources and have it delivered by truck (12; 13). The greenery is watered manually using hoses, since the broken pump means the sprinkler system is not working (17).



Figure 9 Water system in Forodhani Park. Filling up the tank of one of the kiosks and watering grass with hoses.

The first matter would be less of a problem if the pump and the tanks were working as intended. Even so it is a problem since not enough water is provided to Forodhani Park with severe problems in the dry seasons<sup>18</sup>. Another park in the city, Victoria Gardens, is the nursery site for bringing up plants later used in Forodhani Park. The water problem exists there as well, which has the gardener having to buy plants to replace dying ones, at higher costs (17).

The economic consequences of this problem include higher costs for the kiosks (including paying the Forodhani Park's staff extra to get water from the hose) (6) and for acquiring new plants. The fact that the food vendors don't have access to water could add to the problem of food poisoning occurring at times. If the word on the street (or online), telling stories of people getting sick, intensifies it could impact the economy of

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<sup>18</sup> The dry seasons in Zanzibar occur approximately December-February and June-October.

the food market and eventually the management. Long-term issues could be difficulty keeping the area green, with a declining state of Forodhani Park or rising costs as the outcome.

#### **4.2.2 Security**

Another matter brought up by people active in Forodhani Park is the security. Although Zanzibar and Stone Town in general is best described as safe places (18) one frequently recurring problem is the papasi (6; 7; 12; 13; 18). It is common for westerners to be approached by people, mainly men, looking to make money. Either they are selling some kind of product, like spices or drugs, or they offer services like guided tours. In Forodhani Park it is not uncommon for the papasi to dress up as food vendors and act as they are an affiliate at the market, take orders and charge extra or not give change. They are able to do this by having better knowledge of English than the vendors in general and thus being able to promote the products to tourists (6; 7).

After the renovations Forodhani Park was supposed to have its own security staff, but it has been cut due to budget restraints (6; 11; 12). The three kiosks have employed their own security to not have their customers approached by papasi and to guard their property at night. The situation went from bad to good and back to bad. (6; 12; 13).

Consequences of the papasi problem are less frequent revisits to Forodhani Park and its market and in the long run a bad reputation for the place ([www.tripadvisor.com](http://www.tripadvisor.com)). Since the tourists are the main income source for most establishments in the park it could damage the business for the vendors and in the long run the whole place, besides the direct costs of hiring security for the kiosks.

#### **4.2.3 Making business in Forodhani Park**

The maintenance budget of Forodhani Park is dependent on the rent incomes from the food vendors and the other businesses. The only people allowed to do business in Forodhani Park are the ones having contracts with the

management. These are the three kiosk businesses, the playground, the bathroom facilities and the vendors at the food market. At times the area is used for film and TV shootings with fees being collected by the management at levels depending on the purpose (11, see appendix I). The curio sellers and other individuals selling products described in Gunnarsson and Johansson (2004), were told to leave (Andersson 2009), and are rare and only present in form of papasi. Just outside of Forodhani Park's borders different kinds of businesses are present, like ice cream bikes and small stands selling water and snacks. They keep their prices lower since they are not paying rent and are competing with the businesses within Forodhani Park (13).

At the time of the reopening there were around 70 market vendors, three kiosks/cafés, one playground and one bathroom service. The system worked well at first, with rent money being collected regularly. However, over the course of the last three years the number of vendors at the market has declined to

some 45 and unauthorized, rent-avoiding, tables have shown up (5; 15; 19). The vendors report making business in Forodhani Park as being difficult and claim the combination of same level rents all year long and the seasonal economy to be the main reasons, although some seem better than others at making ends meet even during the low seasons (7). Declining



Figure 10 The playground in Forodhani Park



Figure 11 The Forodhani Park food market

commerce over time could have consequences for Forodhani Park's upholding unless the economic model is changed and other sources of funding found.

The problems with the vendors are also apparent when it comes to the actual collection of rent. They are supposed to pay to ZMC, but this is not working effortlessly. ZMC and the Forodhani Park organization are reporting that it is difficult to collect the rent with vendors literally running away at

municipality officials' arrival. ZMC have even had to use the help of the tax forces to be able get some of the money (5; 19). There is a connection between the tourism flows and the rent payments. During the high seasons money flows in for the vendors and they willingly pay their rent. When the tourists are not in abundance they complain about not earning enough money (7; Survey). The ability to plan the business for the seasonal dips in the economy seems to be lacking. It could also be that the rent is too high to allow for saving money from the higher incomes. Either way this is a significant problem for Forodhani Park and its organization and has led to problems paying bills and salaries. As with other income related problems the long-term effect could be a declining state of Forodhani Park, which in itself could have implications for its businesses in the future (7; 11).

#### **4.2.4 Maintenance**

The general view on the Forodhani Park's appearance among people is one of appreciation. When it reopened things were in

top shape and in general looked appealing to many (6; 17; Survey). A survey (Aidnet Zanzibar 2009) conducted in Forodhani Park during the months following the reopening has the respondents claiming that it is the best open place in Stone Town for recreation, social meetings and food. They were still worried about the maintenance and wondered if the state of the area might not decline to its previous levels, which brings us to problems that have started to arise three years later with some plants and physical structures deteriorating. To some extent this can be traced to the water supply problem described earlier. Another issue can be the choice of plants and materials. The grass was brought in from South Africa and some structures are made with concrete, which can be fragile when used incorrectly. Looking at the grass it is possible it has trouble adjusting to the climate, although more water and shade might have done the trick. There is also a problem of not enough funds reaching the maintenance staff to use to acquire tools, pesticides and other maintenance necessities (17). The lack of funding has been a problem from the start with early





Figure 12 Forodhani Park before the reopening. Photo Mussa Awesu Bakar

remarks made within the management group of the high costs (Bhaloo 2010). To cover the losses, including getting extra

water, money was injected from Aga Khan the first months after the reopening (15).

The maintenance staff is made up some 20-30 workers employed and paid mainly by ZMC while receiving a top up salary from the Forodhani Park (5; 17). Besides this group of people some employees of ZMC are handling administrative chores. A list of the staff from the time of the rehabilitation is more extensive and reveals the initial big number of security personnel (see appendix II). The daily procedures were drawn up in a checklist (see appendix III) including what to look for, but it is not used. Instead trust is given to the staff to report any problems (11). Observing Forodhani Park visually discloses some areas in need of repairs. Whether or not this is known by the park manager and would be addressed if so is not clear. The



Figure 13 Deteriorating structures. Top: Part of the sea wall. Bottom: A run-down pole not fixed for at least three months. Right: Bench, most likely affected by seawater.



park manager seemed interested in getting information from external sources as well, which could indicate that the system is not working well.

Not taking care of the physical structures of the place now will lead to higher reparation costs in the future or to a need to replace parts. It could also have an effect on the visitors<sup>19</sup> and in the end the number of visits to Forodhani Park and its food market. Judging from the information in the income statement and from people involved in the maintenance there should be more money for maintenance available. Fingers are getting pointed at the management and the lack of implementation of the maintenance plan (including not using the checklist) (15).

#### **4.2.5 Management**

In many ways the issues boil down to a question of the management situation. The joint venture between ZMC and

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<sup>19</sup> And already has, some commentators on Tripadvisor have noticed broken parts ([www.tripadvisor.com](http://www.tripadvisor.com)).

STCDA took over control from AKTC after an initial period that functioned as a part of the rehabilitation (15). Maintaining a park is far removed from the core function of STCDA, which has no other experience of everyday maintenance or running a business (outside of their own), but is part of the core functions of ZMC (3). Meanwhile the issue of conservation, which is important especially because of the world heritage status, is not one of importance for ZMC (3). The park manager is an engineering employee of STCDA, appointed by the general director of the organization, with no prior managing experience and a handful of other tasks (3; 11), which could especially have an impact on a management process including people from more than one organization.

The positive of the setup is the inability for one part to steer the park in a desired direction without the consent of the other and, for instance, depart from the conservational rules and guidelines. The negative however is apparent. The management today has trouble meeting and coming to

necessary decisions (3; 5; 11). The group members all have other task assignments and due to their involvement in different organizations might have trouble finding common open time slots. There is also restlessness with the way the different wills are influencing the decision-making and its implementation. The expression “too many cooks” was heard in one interview (17) and “too much know without know” in another (12), referring to the people in charge believing they know more than they actually do about managing parks.

In general there are two views on the setup and its success. People inside the management situation believe in the idea of having the joint venture organization but outside of the board the notions are different. However, when listening to the accounts within the management group of what is going with the maintenance, finances and other issues different and sometimes contradicting truths appear. There is an apparent power struggle taking place with difficulties coming to decision, which is confirmed from within the group (5; 15), and

it is at times difficult to make out what is closer to reality or why one person conveys his or her particular facts. The conflict of interests is taking its toll on the management (15; 17). One person within the group even directly put all the blame on one other specific person for all the problems within the group (3). Many, but not all, of the problems described in this text are affected by this struggle. With other issues looming this could become devastating in the future of the Forodhani Park with economic losses for the lack of maintenance in the footsteps of the disagreements to an extent not known presently. Whether it has had impact on the economics connected to Forodhani Park is still unknown.

## **4.3 Beyond Forodhani Park**

### **4.3.1 Establishments around Forodhani Park**

As the renovated Forodhani Park is an appreciated part of town it is not farfetched to wonder what kind of impact it has had on the economy in its vicinity. There are a few restaurants adjacent or close to the park. These have different views on what kind of implications the park and its businesses have had. One claims the food market to be competing for the customers (20) while others find themselves in different quality and price segments and thus not competing (6; 10; 21). The location is seen as beneficial since many people, particularly tourists, pass by and then often look around for a place to eat different from the available offers in the Forodhani Park. It is uncertain whether or not the results of the rehabilitation have had any impact on the businesses or other establishments however; it was a good location even before (6; 10; 14). One interesting effect of the security issues in Forodhani Park is that tourists

tend to seek places free of papasi, like the restaurants. They do get more customers because of this, although it is difficult to measure the effect. Also the food health issue brings some guests to these places (10). The difference from before the rehabilitation is small, the issues were the same.

### **4.3.2 Implications for the tourism of Stone Town**

The tourists are, as previously made clear, very important for the Forodhani Park as possible providers of means to indirectly pay for its maintenance. So has the rehabilitation made any difference for the tourism of Zanzibar? In general the number of tourists in Zanzibar is rising and quite a big increase was seen in 2011, which does coincide with the reopening of Forodhani Park. This increase (see appendix IV) is made up mainly by Italians, a group known for coming to Zanzibar primary for its beaches. Tourists do enjoy visiting Forodhani Park in general but are not going to Stone Town or Zanzibar to do so (8; 22). According to the Tourism commission the

patterns have not changed, people still come for the beaches and stay one or two days in Stone Town, if at all (22).

With this said, Forodhani Park is appreciated among foreign visitors, who often come from a western culture and a more western environment and appreciate the break from the, in comparison, rough Zanzibari city. This is manifested in this comment from Tripadvisor: *“An excellent attraction that makes up for the grimey/grubbiness of most of the rest of the city and its surrounds.”* The logic of focusing on the tourists and adjusting the rehabilitation plans with this in mind (11) makes sense when coming across comments like this.

Another opinion on this focus on tourists indirectly paying for the maintenance is that it is a fragile setup (6). There are already comments online (on Tripadvisor) about the papasi and, more frequently, about the non-healthy food being served. If this persists and spreads it could have an impact on Forodhani Park's economy in the future. For the general stream

of tourists coming to Zanzibar it would most likely not make a difference though. The dependence is mainly unidirectional.

#### **4.3.3 Conservation**

Since Forodhani Park is a part of the Stone Town World Heritage site, as recognized by UNESCO, the issue of conservation of the historical legacy applies. As a governmental project the rehabilitation bears particular importance since private property owners' views on the importance of conservation is influenced by what the government does with its properties. Officially this issue was well thought through during the planning process by STCDA, with them refusing the first plans drawn up because of changes to the original plan not being in line with historical Zanzibari architecture and design and looking into details such as the lamp post to have original design from the time of the inauguration of Jubilee Gardens or before (3).

Perception outside of the people involved in the rehabilitation process varies. Some claim that it looks no different from

before and is restored to what it used to be (22) whilst others see a different place. Examples of items not viewed as historically Zanzibari by some are the paved areas and the placements of the benches outside of the lawns (4). On a more general note, compared to classic Zanzibari parks, the new Forodhani Park is considered grand and lacking its former simplicity (1).

A possible scenario, when it comes to conservation, would be to have the World Heritage status revoked. This should not be more at risk because of the Forodhani Park being changed or not, but cannot be completely ruled out. The UNESCO listing's economic implications rely on the status as a way of influencing tourists' choices of travel destination and perhaps on the possibilities of receiving aid for conservational issues. Since the main attraction of Zanzibar is its beaches and climate and tourist in general go to Stone Town for a day or two adjacent to their stay by the beach the impact of tourism in the town should not be affected much. The World Heritage status'



Figure 14 Old and new, same area. Old photo Zanzibar National Archives AV23.13 .

impact on tourism in general is also debated with at least one study showing that the status itself did not play a big part in making decisions on travelling to a certain place<sup>20</sup> (Hergesell 2006). As for financial aid, the main providers, SIDA and the Aga Khan networks, have stopped granting funds to Stone Town projects or are considering doing so. The latter since after the rehabilitation because of what is perceived as a mismanaged historical heritage of Stone Town by Zanzibar (15). This could mean the cancellation of the rest of the sea front revitalization project and problems down the road, but the Forodhani Park project is not considered the main issue.

#### **4.3.4 Property values**

Using property values to find out the economic benefits of a park is a common approach, as described early in this text. In Zanzibar it proved to be a futile project finding out whether or not the rehabilitation of Forodhani Park had any effects on the

properties in its vicinity. First of all, the neighbouring buildings are basically all old palaces, museums or some other kind of governmental buildings. These are definitely not for sale. Second of all, of all the buildings in Stone Town around half are governmental or religious with no intent from the owner to sell in near future, although the government are looking to sell some of theirs eventually (23, STCDA 2012). Thirdly, obtaining figures for the buildings in private ownership would not be impossible but would require extensive research. According to people with some insight the rehabilitation has not had an impact, but having Forodhani Park in place in general might.

In a situation where a clear majority of the properties are not on the market to be sold this kind of possible valuation is not applicable.

#### **4.3.5 Mental health**

Previous research on urban parks suggests benefits when it comes the population's mental health. Raising this issue in Zanzibar was basically met with scepticism or plain disbelief,

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<sup>20</sup> The place in question being Dresden, Germany.

even within the health department of the Zanzibari government. However, when finding a person working in the mental health care the connection between physical structures, health and health care was acknowledged. The Forodhani Park plays a small role in the active treatments since it is located far away from the mental hospital, but does, along with the other gardens of Zanzibar, provide a place to rest, which is recognized as beneficial for the health of the locals. The economic implications of this are very difficult to estimate. The number of patients at the hospital is not decreasing, since there is no room for more patients and all the money provided is basically used (24). Also, the possibility of people coming back into work because of better health in general is dampened by the high unemployment rates in Zanzibar (Pound & McDermott 2006). Having a nice park is definitely a positive nevertheless (24) and this is an area where a deeper study would be welcome.

#### **4.3.6 Environmental issues**

Forodhani Park is known for offering the people of Stone Town a somewhat cooler place with sea breeze and shady areas from trees. From an environmental point of view the Forodhani Park provides a small green area in an otherwise dense urban structure with mainly buildings and streets. The differences, in this regard, compared to the previous structures of the area are not great. Grass areas are still prominent and the main ground material. Some of the area has been covered with hard materials (tiles), which affects the ability of the surface to deal with stormwater. In this setting it is not a big problem since the water can without much difficulty make its way to the ocean although erosion can potentially give damage and having the fresh water reach the ground and help the greenery is good. Also, the other main change was planting a significant number of new trees, which helps delaying the stormwater runoff by temporarily providing suspension in the foliage.



Previous research (McPherson et al 1999) suggests economic benefits from having trees in urban environments. The research was carried out in a different climate and economic context but could still be of interest here especially since Zanzibar has a warm climate with need for cooling down places for humans. However, the different calculations by McPherson et al (1999), including benefit numbers for energy savings (due to less use of air condition), CO<sub>2</sub> absorption, air quality as well as stormwater slowdown, are all somewhat ineffective here. This is mainly because of what they are based on. There is most likely energy savings from the shade trees provide in Zanzibar, but the trees in Forodhani Park are not situated close to buildings and thus are not providing shade. As for the other calculations, the stormwater benefit should be more or less offset by the increase of hard surfaces. The figure for air quality benefits is derived from the market for trading emission rights, which is clever but might be tricky to apply in Tanzania since the market is mainly for industrialized countries. This and the CO<sub>2</sub> absorption benefits are two fields that would benefit from

future research. The benefits are clearly there, they just need to be researched in this setting and in a different project<sup>21</sup>.

In the end, the Forodhani Park does provide a green space of some environmental importance but the rehabilitation did not change much in an economic perspective. This was also never a part of the purpose for renovating.

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<sup>21</sup> I.e. not looking at a changed park project but rather more general in the urban context of for example Stone Town.

#### **4.4 The economics of the Forodhani Park**

This segment will attempt to make an economic statement four years since the rehabilitation started. The figures will come from the businesses directly related to Forodhani Park, as the impacts and issues outside of it are uncertain or will be for some time, and thus difficult to quantify for now. Most figures are approximations since many of the small business don't keep bookkeeping. The reason for giving this account of the accumulated economy of Forodhani Park is to get a deeper examination on the mechanics of how it functions. Finally, the summary will be of 2010 and 2011 since the rehabilitation still was ongoing in 2009 and the summary is meant to look at the economics after the completion.

The currency in Tanzania is the Tanzanian Shilling (TSH) and this is the currency used in these calculations. Two reference points are the exchange rates to the United States Dollar and the Swedish Krona (SEK) at the time of the collection of data.

USD was fluctuating close to 1 USD to 1600 TSH and SEK at 1 SEK to 235 TSH ([www.xe.com](http://www.xe.com)).

##### **4.4.1 Food vendors**

The vendors on the Forodhani Park food market provide the backbone for its maintenance. There are two different rent levels for the vendors depending on the type of business. Basically the tables with prepared food are paying 90000 TSH monthly and sellers of snacks and juices 45000 TSH (11). Before the rehabilitation the rate was daily at 200 TSH, averaging 6000 TSH a month (25). The 45 vendors report an accumulated profit of approximately 120 million TSH yearly. This would be the money the people at the tables divide up for salaries. With some 140 people<sup>22</sup> working at the market this averages a monthly pay of 70000 TSH, which could be a normal, but low,

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<sup>22</sup> Not counting the papasi making themselves "employed" at the food market.

salary in Zanzibar. A worker in the Forodhani Park also confirmed this to be his average salary (26).

Compared to estimate figures of the situation before the rehabilitation, based on information from long-time vendors, it is understandable that many believe the rent should be lowered. The information from the conducted survey is however not good enough to make a calculation for accumulated income of the vendors, but only the raised rent correspond to around 38000 or 84000 TSH<sup>23</sup> monthly (467000/1070000 TSH yearly) and is definitely significant. It is not surprising then that more than 50% report having less people employed now compared to before the rehabilitation as 1 million TSH could match one person's salary during a year. Of the vendors reporting a decrease in income from before the rehabilitation most give an income loss higher than the rent increase. Although uncertain this is an interesting find.

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<sup>23</sup> Depending on the products sold by the business.

Apparently the turnover have not raised enough after the rehabilitation to offset this, evident in the decreasing number of vendors and the disinclination to pay the rent as well and the rehabilitation has had the effect of having fewer people making their living on the food market.

#### **4.4.2 Kiosks**

The three kiosks along the sea had their monthly rent lowered from 1.5 million TSH to 1 million TSH quite soon after the opening because their businesses were losing money at a rapid pace. The lower rent has helped them turn a small profit. (12) No numbers are available for the kiosk that closed down, but for the purpose of the study an approximation based on the rent and other kiosks' statements is made in the light of it doing bad business and closing down.

For 2010 and 2011 the accumulated net profit of the kiosks were approximately 13 million TSH (USD 8000). One of them seems to have a harder time with the first business closing down and the second just about breaking even while the other two are

making profits, albeit not a lot. Had the rent been kept at 1.5 million TSH a month this profit would have been eradicated<sup>24</sup> which indicates vulnerable businesses.

The only businessman to operate a kiosk in the Forodhani Park both before and after the rehabilitation claims higher profits prior due to lower rents and fewer regulations. His kiosk could spread out and use the grass area before and thus seat more guests (6). As described, today the grass is off-limits for everybody to use.

#### **4.4.3 Toilet and playground**

The bathroom business is doing well, but only because of the officially unauthorized tourist information addition (27). The income from the toilets has not been enough to cover even the rent for the building, resulting in a loss of around 2 million TSH when comparing income from paying toilet customers to

the rent costs. The tourist information branch however nets around 15 million TSH yearly which, after deductions for a normal salary of 200000 TSH a month results in a net profit for the whole business during 2010 and 2011 of approximately 22 million TSH.

The profits of the playground are more difficult to estimate due to the owner being away and not available for an interview. An employee provided approximate visitor numbers and entrance fees, which adds up to a yearly income of around 54 million TSH. The rent is known at 350000 TSH/month, which leaves the profits dependent on how much the staff of 20 is paid. At 180000 TSH monthly per person the business basically breaks even, considering there are other costs like maintenance and electricity. For the purpose of this study a small profit of 1 million TSH a year or 2 million TSH accumulated will be used because there are no signs the playground is turning a loss.

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<sup>24</sup> 0.5 million TSH (higher rent) x 3 kiosks x 24 months = 36 million TSH.

#### 4.4.4 Forodhani Park's economy

Despite problems with rent collection during parts of 2011 and 2012 the income statements of the Forodhani Park's maintenance have displayed a positive outcome in 2010 and 2011 of approximately 3 and 5 million TSH after 17 million TSH in the negative 2009. A not insignificant part of the costs early on after the renovation (2009) was provided for externally by the Aga Khan network without which there would have been deficits, or rather no money to pay for the maintenance (15). With the loss of income from the food vendors, both from neglect to pay at times and a decreasing number of vendors, and no more external aid the statements look worse. In the short term this has led to some salaries not being paid out, problems with paying invoices and finding money to repair broken equipment (11; 17). At the time the government or the local municipality have not provided any funds besides the salaries to the maintenance workers.

Maintaining the Forodhani Park at the rent levels from before and without some kind of external aid was apparently not possible, considering the downfall of the area up until the rehabilitation. Finding the right levels has been complicated, as too high rent will drive the rent providers out of business leaving a hole in the budget. This has been evident during the first years with one kiosk failing, all of them having the rent lowered and food vendors leaving the market. The management of Forodhani Park has experienced troubles actually estimating the incomes of the food vendors, which has caused uncertainty regarding the rent levels (11)<sup>25</sup>, but the withdrawals from the market should work as an indication of a problem. The lingering question for the management then is if

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<sup>25</sup> There is no public bookkeeping of the vendors and the communication between the management and them is obviously lacking trust. Both parties have their own interests and don't seem to be working with each other.

lowered rents could benefit the maintenance or if would hurt the possibilities of keeping the place clean and well preserved?

#### 4.4.5 Summing up

As noted, outside of Forodhani Park the rehabilitation has not brought along any major economic changes. It is an appreciated part of town, but not something that brings people to Zanzibar. Because of this the statement will focus on what has been going on inside of the Forodhani Park.

For 2010 and 2011 the following are the accumulated profits reported:

Food vendors	o TSH (240 million TSH net profit)
Bathroom	22 million TSH
Playground	2 million TSH
Park	8 million TSH
Sum	32 million TSH

The number for the playground could be higher, but using a low number out of caution at least won't overstate the values. Comparing the 16 million TSH yearly to the renovation costs of 2.8 million USD or roughly 3.8 billion TSH<sup>26</sup> offers a payback time<sup>27</sup> of 240 years all things the same, an interesting, but uncertain figure. It still gives a hint of the socio-economic profitability of the project, especially since the effects outside of the Forodhani Park are slim. If the figure instead includes the 240 million TSH for the market vendors the payback time decreases to 28 years. Either way it is a long payback time for the project.

An alternative would have been to try to make a simpler and less costly renovation by basically restoring the worn-out parts. Making a calculation for this would require going back and

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<sup>26</sup> At an exchange rate of 1 USD to 1340 TSH as of 2009-12-31 (www.xe.com), around the time of the opening of the park in late 2009.

<sup>27</sup> Calculated at Investment cost / yearly net profit

figuring out the costs for different parts of the park and the rehabilitation process and to then compile an alternative statement. It is evident from the previous state of Forodhani Park and background material that the previous rent levels did not provide sufficient funds for maintenance, which means the raise was necessary. Using the alternative cost for a completed project might be interesting but is hypothetical and does not have a lot of meaning since it did not happen in this case. The main reason for doing an alternative cost analysis would be to gain knowledge for future investments decisions and as such it

would have some worth, but it makes more sense to have the different alternatives as possible choices beforehand in each project decision than afterwards (Boardman et al. 2011). Even more valuable for the future is the follow-up analysis.

## **4.5 Summary**

Before moving on with creating a deeper understanding of Forodhani Park, the following table will summarize the findings in this chapter containing the most important information.



Topic	Background	Effects	Economical implications
FP income potential	Streams of revenue from businesses in FP are higher than before.	More funding for the renovated FP than the old one.	Better chance of good return of investment.
Water shortage	High demand for water in FP. Water pump is broken. Problems with supply.	Some plants drying up. Health issues at the food market.	Health issues affecting tourist spending in FP. Higher maintenance and replacement costs.
Security	FP employed security guards after the renovation. They have since then been laid off.	Tourists are hassled by papasi.	The tourists are less inclined to visit and spend money in FP.
Businesses in FP	Problems with profitability. Numbers of vendors at food market declining.	While a higher rent enables financing maintenance it also puts pressure on the vendors' businesses. Many have left the market.	With less businesses comes lower incomes for maintenance, with possible implications for the future.
Maintenance	FP staff have trouble getting funds for maintenance and tools.	Degrading structures and greenery. Future effect on visit numbers.	Modest short term, future costs for neglected maintenance.
Management setup	The setup with joint management experiences internal difficulties.	Power struggle within the management group. Problems reaching decisions. Negative effect on maintenance.	Future higher maintenance implications and costs.

Topic	Background	Effects	Economical implications
Influence on businesses around FP	The results for the restaurants and other businesses close to FP after the renovations.	Some impact during the rehabilitation process, but otherwise none.	None discovered.
Tourism of Zanzibar	Looking at FP as a destination for tourists and the correlation to tourism at large in Zanzibar.	None discovered. Tourists come to Zanzibar for other reasons. FP is merely a stop (although appreciated) while in Stone Town.	None discovered.
Conservation	Renovations within the world heritage area needs to take the status and the cultural heritage into consideration.	Uncertain, possible implications for conservation in the future.	None discovered.
Property values	Parks have a documented effect on surrounding property values.	None discovered. Most buildings around FP are governmental.	None discovered.
Mental health	Green urban areas are sparse in Zanzibar and parks and greenery have a documented effect on the mental health of people.	Small effects, scope uncertain. Pride among people for FP.	Possible positive effects.
Environmental issues	Some parts of FP was covered with tile, replacing grass, and many trees were planted.	Not much, it is still a mainly green area.	None discovered.







## 5 UNDERSTANDING FORODHANI PARK TODAY

This part will discuss how Forodhani Park works today and what kind of effects the rehabilitation has had. If the previous section accounted for management, maintenance and different aspects of this the following will try to understand what kind of effects the rehabilitation and, more importantly, the changed attributes of the area have had. It discusses what Forodhani Park is today. It also elaborates on the power struggle issue and leads into the last chapter of the thesis.

### 5.1 The place Forodhani Park

#### 5.1.1 Usage controls

After the rehabilitation a person's visit to Forodhani Park is framed by the rules visible at the entrances<sup>28</sup> asking the visitor to not use the grass<sup>29</sup>, play any musical instruments, make noises or climb trees or other structures (see photo next page). Another difference, apart from these rules, is the way movements within the area are controlled through constructed pathways aiding in stopping people setting foot on the grass

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<sup>28</sup> As well as other laws and other hidden rules of course, like in any society.

<sup>29</sup> Actually the rule states that "sitting on the grass is not allowed" and does not mention any other use but it has apparently been interpreted to mean not setting foot on the grass at all.



Figure 15 Rules for using Forodhani Park.

with the implication that activities such as resting and meeting take place almost exclusively on the provided benches and to some extent on the bandstand. It should be noted that the rules are respected in general and the grass is left alone but for some holidays, like Eid, people still use it for picnics (17). The movements are even more controlled when the hard-surfaced

open area turns into the market with narrow streets forming along the vendors' tables. These routes make visitors, to a higher degree, pass by the food vendors, if they weren't already, opening up possibilities for more customers. All these paths also limits the options to use Forodhani Park as an open area as it can be likened to city streets with the buildings substituted by small lawns or vendor tables.

The layout, with long seaside seating areas, which were constructed during the rehabilitation, and other benches, helps facilitating meetings in Forodhani Park as well as the selling of various goods from the food market vendors and the kiosks by guiding people towards certain areas with the pathways. The sellers can quite easily make contact with tourists and encourage them to buy something at the market<sup>30</sup>. This is an interesting example of how the physical structure of Forodhani

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<sup>30</sup> Mainly papasi are doing this, as the real vendors don't venture too far away from their tables.





Figure 16 Bench in Forodhani Park.

Park affects the businesses within it and thus indirectly the maintenance.

Initially the people kept using the green areas but were turned away and the behaviour adapted leaving the non-pleased reactions to these changes verbal. The opinion that the park is non-Zanzibari has been raised. Using the grass for rest and

socializing was common in the old park and still is in other parks in Zanzibar like Jamhuri Gardens<sup>31</sup> (3; 11 15; 17).

### 5.1.2 The market place

The emergence of Forodhani Park as a market place came naturally in the sense that the vendors were not present when the area became a park in the 1930s but started coming when they realized there was money to be made by selling food and other goods. Even though the vendors only arrive at night the area occupied is not really utilized daytime making it exclusively a market area. The market is also a very important part of the perception of the Forodhani Park, especially apparent when reading or listening to people. One example of this is the Tripadvisor comments made by visitors (tripadvisor.com) that focus extensively on the food market,

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<sup>31</sup> See Østergaard Nielsen & Kollerup Larsen (2012) and Hall (2009) for accounts of the green areas in and around Stone Town and how they are used.



recommending or alerting other visitors. The market and the meetings around it are crucial when defining and describing the Forodhani Park.

### 5.1.3 An urban park?

Analyzing how Forodhani Park works raises the question of what an urban park can be and how this perception of the park affects its use and maintenance. Forodhani Park definitely has some of the visual traits associated with the normal park in form of grass, trees and other plants as well as being an area with few permanent buildings. However, from the definition of parks we know it is usually a “place for activities”. The Forodhani Park with its post-rehabilitation rules tries to limit these activities by prohibiting any use of the grass, climbing, ball games and sometimes playing music. Young people still dive into the sea, play football on the hard surfaces and do impromptu break-dance competitions, which illustrates the built-in need for Forodhani Park, as an open space in a densely



Figure 17 Activities: saxophone player and dancers.

populated area, to be used. Even so the prominent uses are for meetings (including of course doing business) and resting.

This is not to say Forodhani Park is not a popular place. It is very frequented and appreciated. However, it could make more sense looking at the area without the idea of it necessarily being a park. One respondent (8) called the area a “*distorted park*” and the idea that Forodhani Park should not be considered a Zanzibari park was brought up at times. Nobody really questioned it being a park however, maybe because of the name or its history of allowing people to make use of the open grassy areas. With its hard surfaces and focus on the market, which is what most people mention when they talk about Forodhani Park, this open area bears similarities to another type of public space, the public square. The square is traditionally referred to as a hard-surfaced place for demonstrations and celebrations, usually situated, at least the main square, in front of important buildings (Gaventa 2006). Corbett (2004) elaborates and points out the square as a

possible recreational area (as in resting on a bench) and it has also long been the site for open-air markets, like the one in Forodhani Park.

There are others challenging the definitions of parks and squares, like the designers of Tilla Durieux Park in Berlin, which functions more like a square than a park, but is called a park probably because of its green structures (Gaventa 2006). The labelling can make a difference in how the authorities approach the maintenance and how the public, especially tourists not acquainted with Stone Town, perceive and meet the place and in the end the economics of it. A label like “market” or “square” could trigger peoples’ expectations of what they will encounter at the site and affect their attitudes and behaviour<sup>32</sup>. These are subjects not elaborated further in this thesis, but one final note of interest is that Forodhani Park

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<sup>32</sup> A possible parallel is the difference in expectations when hearing the expressions “shopping mall” and “terrace”. They can both offer a place to relax but there is definitely a reason for having two words.

is turning out this way because of economy, both in the way that the market evolved naturally, and when, with the rehabilitation, the grass areas became off-limits to save the grass from overuse and deterioration. Which means the rehabilitation was central in changing the way Forodhani Park functions.

## **5.2 The power struggles**

Behind the scenes Forodhani Park has become the scene for somewhat of a local power struggle. It is uncertain whether or not everybody is just interested in doing what they perceive as best for Forodhani Park or is looking out for their own interests for other reasons. When it comes to the businessmen active in the Forodhani Park it is pretty clear they are looking after themselves and looking to get as good a deal as possible (mainly lower rent and access to water). There is not much about the general wellbeing of the area in their argumentation, which is quite understandable. These stakeholders are also left

out of the decision process, by choice of the management board, both as participants and listeners having them wonder what their rent money is spent on partly because they are not able to use the water they were supposed to have access to.

At the board level the involved are telling different stories or giving discrepant explanations to issues, such as the incomes of the Forodhani Park. For which reasons are uncertain but there is either an apparent lack of communication or deliberate intents to mislead. One part blames the other for wanting to take full control whereas others claim no problems to exist within the management group or go as far as claiming the trouble being the people involved (and not the setup). The lack of trust exposed in these comments creates or widens the chasms within the group and naturally harms the cooperation. What the end of it will be remains to be seen. As of the first part of 2012 the official word is to continue the joint venture.





## 6 THE END NOTES - CONCLUSIONS

Looking at the rehabilitation project of Forodhani Park reveals a few interesting issues. First of all, it has highlighted the need for maintenance of public spaces. Both from the way the area was taken care of before the project, as well as providing ideas for how to raise funds for maintenance in a place where public spaces commonly more or less are left on their own by governments because of short supply of funds. It is uncommon having the visitors paying for the maintenance of a park, but here they are doing exactly that, indirectly through the commerce in place. The problem here is that there might not be enough money changing hands to take care of the upkeep of Forodhani Park with revenue and rent levels making businesses close down. Lower rents could on the other hand jeopardize the maintenance funds.

This is a tricky question, not alleviated by the power struggle taking place within the management group. Perhaps it is

peculiar to have an organization like STCDA as a part of an everyday maintenance team when their expertise and experience lay within the field of long-time conservation. At the same time this does not explain the problems with communication, something that definitely will hurt the Forodhani Park in the future, if not already.

The second, very interesting, implication of the rehabilitation is the way the physical alterations and the implemented regulations to save money by keeping the green spaces from being overused have affected the way the area is used. When it comes to defining the area of Forodhani Park based on its uses it more resembles an urban square, with the market, bench only seating areas and hard surfaces, than a park, which usually would have room for physical activities and make use of the green space. The Forodhani Park in this is challenging what a park actually is and is doing so mainly because of economy. No

changes would have meant a more restrained budget for maintenance.

As for the investment perspective it does seem that it will take the society a long time to earn the money back. While the rehabilitation of Forodhani Park impacts people and their pride for Zanzibar in a good way it has not done much for the economy around Stone Town which leaves its somewhat shaky businesses to make up for this with a reliance on tourism streams. One could wonder what would happen if tourists find another destination and stop coming to Zanzibar. It was good then that the whole rehabilitation was a gift from the Aga Khan rather than tax money spent. For a project like this to be well-spent money, from an economic point-of-view, the management issue would have to be solved and the maintenance budget reviewed.

The study of economics of parks is definitely intriguing. This study has had to focus on issues not normally covered, like management and definitions, due to circumstances related to

Forodhani Park. Compared to the previous in the field, based on a couple of reoccurring approaches like the contingent and hedonic valuation methods, as well as to some extent the travel cost method, it does imply the need to look further and learn from a study in a different setting. This was also one of the ideas of this thesis. It has provided thoughts on where to look for impacts of the urban open space, even though the actual valuation of these still is an area with further work required. Claiming that, because of the results in this thesis, some issues merit a certain impact in general might be to simplify. The non-impact on private property owners and the maintenance of their own buildings, mentioning one example, in correlation with constructing an appreciated urban green structure in this study is affected by the local economy in Zanzibar. Local settings are of course factors in any case study, but still important to mention in regards to understanding its results.

A final reflection on this research deals with the issue of coming to a culture as the foreigner doing research. After



meeting a few persons for interviews I started realizing some difficulties in obtaining all the information I was looking for. The approach that usually worked in Sweden did not yield the same kind of results here. This is not to say these interviews were not useful, but the way the questions were worded left people somewhat puzzled at times probably because they did not understand the topic raised. An adaption of my approach helped work out these issues. Another issue could have been language, since the main one used in Zanzibar is Swahili. Tanzanians do however learn English in school, do the high school years in English, and among the ones I met I rarely experienced problems communicating. When it did happen I made sure the respondent understood me by asking the question again with different wording or explaining the subject in different ways. These are few notes for the reader to gain some understanding of what is like going to an unfamiliar culture to do research and hopefully they are helpful for people going to Zanzibar to do research in the future. It has certainly been an adventure, both academically and personally.

## **6.1 Further research**

In the setting of Forodhani Park and Zanzibar many of the issues run into would be of interest for further concentrated case studies, including the joint venture management and its power struggles, the conservation issues (how is Forodhani Park actually perceived in this perspective in 10 or 20 years time?) as well as research on health and environment. A study of a similar project, like the Aga Khan funded renovation of Al-Azhar Park in Cairo, would also provide some insight in how aid money can be used in different ways and the outcome of it.

The direct approach to find out the value of a public place needs to evolve, but it also needs time. Having the opportunity to do before and after studies would be ideal to be able to pinpoint the influencing factors. Further research on what a park, or square, actually is would benefit from looking at Forodhani Park, its special settings and in what ways the perception of an urban structure, like in this case a “park”, affects the use and maintenance of it.



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# APPENDICES

## Appendix I - Shooting Charges in Forodhani Park



STCDA



ZMC

FORODHANI PARK – ZANZIBAR

P.O.BOX 4511 ZANZIBAR, Tel: +255242236348, E-mail: parkmanager@zanlink.com

TAREHE:

REF:

### SHOOTING CHARGE AT THE PARK

	AUDIO	MOVIES	TIME	CHARGES
RELIGIOUS	Kasida, kwaya,		1 hr	10,000 /-
PRIVATE	music		1 hr	50,000 /-
COMMERCIAL	Zantel,voda,tigo		1 hr	150,000/-
SOCIAL	School,		1 hr	free

## Appendix II - Forodhani Park staff at reopening 2009

### Forodhani Park Staff

1	Charles Hiza	Financial AkCS - Z	
2	Amir Wagdy	Egyptian Group Trainers	
3	Mohamed Ibrahim	Egyptian Group Trainers	
4	Mohamed Abdallah	Egyptian Group Trainers	
5	Ahmed Eltounsi	Egyptian Group Trainers	
6	Mossa Awesu	Park Manager	
7	Rajab Salm	Vendors Coordinator Health	
8	Sa'aid Rashid	Vendors Coordinator	
9	Ahmed Abd Al Rahim	Gardener Engineer	
10	Mkasi Simai	Gardener Laborer	
11	Masosi Riege	Gardener Laborer	
12	Khadija Hammad	Gardener Laborer	
13	Asha Mohamed	Gardener Laborer	9
14	Mwanakhamis Abdulshakour	Gardener Laborer	
15	Mwashamba Issa	Gardener Laborer	
16	Ali Kitwana	Gardener Laborer	
17	Zana Makame	Gardener Laborer	
18	Maulid Abdallah	Chief Cleaners & Gardeners	
19	Fatumah Sadiq	Cleaners	
20	Khadija Sururu	Cleaners	
21	Maulid Haji	Cleaners	
22	Mjibuni Shaame	Cleaners	
23	Mwajuma Mlekwa	Cleaners	
24	Mwatima Khamis	Cleaners	14
25	Mwinyi Saleh	Cleaners	
26	Zena Khamis	Cleaners	
27	Asha Mohamed	Cleaners	
28	Halima Mohamed	Cleaners	
29	Semen Mohamed	Cleaners	
30	hawa Makame	Cleaners	
31	Kazija Makame	Cleaners	
32	Abdullah mosaa	Electrical	
33	khamis haji	Plumper	4
34	Mchaa Abdullah	Electrical	
35	Abdullah ban Aly	Plumper	
36	Juma Ali Juma	Security	
37	Ali Suleiman	Security	
38	Ali Hamadi Ayoub	Security	
39	Mussa Omar	Security	
40	Ali Yussuf	Security	
41	Kassim Bakar	Security	
42	Fauzia Said	Security	
43	Waziri Mohamed	Security	
44	Suleiman Juma	Security	
45	Ali Suleiman Hamadi	Security	
46	Mafunda Ali Mohamed	Security	21
47	Mwitani Haji	Security	
48	Habib Zaidani	Security	

## Appendix III - Checklist for maintenance of Forodhani Park

FORODHANI PARK					
DAILY PARK VISUAL CHECK. (Presentation and cleanliness)		AM / PM	Job not ok	Comments	Action required:
CONDUCTED BY :					
DATE:					
Main, female and disabled Toilets:					
	Colours clean				
	Walls clean				
	Floors clean				
	Toilet paper present				
	Soap present				
	Doors, locks and hinges present				
	Lighting working				
	Exterior clean				
Children's Play area:					
	Flooring secure				
	Play equipment not broken				
	Lighting works				
	Fencing good condition				
	Play area clean				
	Lighting working				
	Exterior clean				
Bench/stand					
	Lighting working				
	Area clean				
	Paint work in good condition				
General Area:					
Area one:					
	Pathways clean				
	Pathways in good repair				
	Kerbs along straight				
	Under firm cleared				
	Planting in good condition				
	Lamp posts clean and working				
	Concrete benches clean				
Area two:					
	Pathways clean				
	Under firm cleared				
	Planting in good repair				
	Kerbs along straight				
	Planting in good condition				
	Grass area clean and grass cut				
	Lamp posts clean and working				
	Concrete benches clean				
Area three:					
	Pathways clean				
	Under firm cleared				
	Pathways in good repair				
	Kerbs along straight				
	Planting in good condition				
	Grass area clean and grass cut				
	Lamp posts clean and working				
	Concrete benches clean				
Area four/five:					
	Pathways clean				
	No standing water				
	Washing area clean				
	Water supply working				
	Under firm cleared				
Fountain					
	Water clear				
	Pump working				
	Firm clean				
	Marble area clean no damage				
Area six:					
	Pathways clean				
	Grass area undamaged				
	Kerbs secure undamaged				
	Concrete bollards undamaged				
	Under firm cleared				
General:					
	Waste collection and clearing completed by 6.00 am				
	Area under control and not damaging paths				
	no loose papers				
	Planting looks healthy				
	No dead plants				
	All Park lights working				
	All wood work in the park check for damage				
Total security No.					
Total cleaners No.					

## Appendix IV – International tourist arrivals Zanzibar 1986-

2011

### COMMISSION FOR TOURISM - ZANZIBAR

INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS BY NATIONALITIES 1985 - 2011																					
YEAR	SCAND	GERMA	UK	ITALY	FRANCE	DUTCH	BELG	O/EUR.	USA&CA	O/AME	KENYA	O/AFRIC.	JAPAN	S.AFRIC	O/ASIA	AUS/NZ	RUS	CHINESE	TUR	SPAN	TOTAL
1985	1889	1627	1952	4392	4557	n/a	n/a	1954	2115	115	225	114	165	n/a	263	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	19368
1986	996	2391	1489	8708	1586	n/a	n/a	1430	1793	644	680	180	879	n/a	2070	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	22846
1987	1253	1248	1762	2362	536	n/a	n/a	2210	2523	n/a	706	2184	1210	n/a	4017	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	20011
1988	2655	2448	3278	3778	755	n/a	n/a	7054	3222	838	815	2189	813	n/a	4274	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	32119
1989	3908	4370	4560	3144	1498	n/a	n/a	6563	4286	378	903	3089	982	n/a	1833	2336	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	37850
1990	4238	4148	5584	4345	2174	n/a	n/a	6838	4677	496	1228	1608	1088	n/a	2165	3552	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	42141
1991	4669	5331	7790	5174	2529	n/a	n/a	8400	4998	n/a	1920	1877	1048	n/a	2524	4567	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	50827
1992	5991	7223	9139	6625	2928	n/a	n/a	8519	5664	n/a	1552	2606	2441	n/a	3031	4028	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	59747
1993	5354	7192	6272	13920	4348	n/a	n/a	7925	5067	1728	2890	3916	2543	n/a	3773	3669	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	68597
1994	3684	5737	6377	3004	2600	n/a	n/a	6893	4002	n/a	1075	2547	1102	n/a	2047	2365	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	41433
1995	4362	4942	10391	8922	2996	n/a	n/a	6582	4804	369	2727	1863	876	2090	1998	3493	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	56415
1996	6873	5414	11909	13502	4121	n/a	n/a	7261	5682	253	2034	1996	917	2358	2349	4490	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	69159
1997	7767	5531	14884	19583	4876	n/a	n/a	8297	7603	341	2890	2161	1016	2971	2652	5923	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	86495
1998	6711	4381	13765	23505	3387	n/a	n/a	10673	7699	347	2350	1545	975	2398	2422	6297	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	86455
1999	7011	4618	14141	23279	3044	n/a	n/a	10266	6745	367	2790	2675	2502	902	2254	6324	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	86918
2000	7628	4918	16307	25764	4171	n/a	n/a	12651	7757	291	2729	2507	875	3482	3153	4932	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	97165
2001	4806	4149	13147	14510	3366	n/a	n/a	13417	6328	250	2025	2354	580	3121	3806	4470	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	76329
2002	5831	3705	13012	25044	3360	n/a	n/a	14509	6178	270	2428	2103	707	3356	2734	4274	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	87511
2003	4642	3245	7945	18586	2907	n/a	n/a	13816	4137	197	2276	1420	540	3170	1807	3677	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	68365
2004	5823	3566	10027	30429	3474	4720	2872	8744	5072	925	2688	1762	522	4876	2962	3699	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	92161
2005	7052	4347	12963	49978	3085	4148	1671	11938	6915	310	3231	1874	571	8993	4406	3961	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	125443
2006	8400	4794	14180	49658	4838	4490	1867	11972	8624	491	3857	2618	678	11769	4169	4706	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	137111
2007	8807	7091	14204	52046	4255	4513	3305	10926	10328	577	3924	2863	933	9246	5572	4693	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	143283
2008	8791	6990	12949	41610	3958	3677	1715	9348	10100	590	4722	3744	727	8746	6326	4452	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	128440
2009	8719	8188	13377	45244	4608	3781	1808	11189	9540	931	4414	3406	799	9575	5477	3863	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	134919
2010	7814	8750	13757	41234	4415	3711	3634	9802	9436	1309	5054	3015	718	9410	4768	4569	500	940	n/a	n/a	132836
2011	8863	11139	13103	61639	6130	4427	3999	11839	10752	1566	6077	4366	1137	12290	7428	4699	###	1698	1230	1622	175067
TOTAL	154537	1E+05	3E+05	6E+05	90502	####	20871	241016	166047	13583	68210	62582	27344	98753	90280	99039	###	2638	1230	1622	2179011
KEY:	SCAND. - SCANDINAVIANS.								O. AME. - OTHER AMERICANS.												
	O. EUR. - OTHER EUROPEANS.								S.AFRIC. - SOUTH AFRICANS												
	USA/CA. - UNITED STATES OF AMERICAN AND CANADIANS.								O.ASIA. - OTHER ASIANS.												
	O. AFRIC. - OTHER AFRICANS.								AUS/NZ. - AUSTRALIANS / NEWZELAND.												
	BELG. - BELGIUM																				

Source: Zanzibar Commission for Tourism, 2012

## Appendix V – Interview guide example

### Interview guide

1. Background
2. General questions
3. Specific questions
4. Further (other persons)

#### 1. Background

What are your current and previous positions and for how long have you held them?

What are your relations to Zanzibar (and Forodhani)?

What do you know about the rehabilitation of Forodhani?

What would you say is the importance of Forodhani for Stone Town and its people? In what way does it affect Stone Town?

#### 2. General Questions

##### *Effects*

What are the differences you can see from before and after the rehabilitation of Forodhani Gardens, both positive and negative? In your area?

What do you know about the intended effects of the rehabilitation? [\(Move to 3?\)](#)

#### 3. Specific questions

*Presumed effects, from literature, previous interviews, observations*

What kind of impact has the rehabilitation had on [xx]?

[xx]?

[xx]?

#### 4. Quantification

How can the effects mentioned be quantified?

What kind of economical value can be attached to the effects?

#### 5. Further

Do you have any other information that could be of use for me? Old photographs? Documents?

Who else could be of use for me to talk to, within or outside of your organization?

Intended effects (Aga khan, STCDA)

Unintended effects (Aga khan, STCDA)

Questions regarding "known" effects in the end.

Has the "wall" to the sea changed anything regarding water?

Food vendors (critique: they will know I am associated with STCDA and thus might not want to give "high" numbers to keep the rent down) – Sampling ideas  
1 of every 5 or every kind of food

How long have you been having a business in Forodhani park?

Do you have an estimate of how much income you are making in a day/week?

How much has it changed since before the rehabilitation?

What changes can you see from before and after the rehabilitation?

How did the actual process affect your business?



