CULTURAL HERITAGE & SUSTAINABILITY
STONE TOWN AS CASE STUDY
Bastiaan Moor & Yvonne Vroomen
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In September 2010, three ambitious students (Dave ten Hoope, Bastiaan Moor & Yvonne Vroomen) decided to take the challenge of graduating partially abroad. The research presented here has been the effort of a three-month period in Zanzibar where fieldwork has been executed.

This has been produced by Bastiaan Moor and Yvonne Vroomen. Many thanks to the employees of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority for their help, especially to Madina H. Khamis. Also to the other stakeholders which gave us the opportunity to interview them.
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<td><strong>ICOMOS:</strong> International Council on Monuments and Sites</td>
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<td><strong>SP:</strong> State Party</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UNCHS:</strong> United Nations Centre for Human Settlements</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>UNESCO:</strong> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WH:</strong> World Heritage</td>
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<td><strong>WHC:</strong> World Heritage Committee</td>
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<th><strong>Official UNESCO documents</strong></th>
<th><strong>ABE:</strong> Advisory Body Evaluation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>DT:</strong> Decision Text</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NF:</strong> Nomination File</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OG:</strong> Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention</td>
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<td><strong>PR:</strong> Periodic Report</td>
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<td><strong>SoC:</strong> State of Conservation report</td>
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<th><strong>UNESCO definitions</strong></th>
<th><strong>OUV:</strong> Outstanding Universal Value</th>
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<td><strong>WHL:</strong> World Heritage List</td>
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<th><strong>Zanzibar management plans</strong></th>
<th><strong>CP:</strong> Conservation Plan</th>
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<td><strong>HMP:</strong> Heritage Management Plan</td>
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<th><strong>Zanzibar institutional framework</strong></th>
<th><strong>MCLWE:</strong> Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WTC:</strong> Wakf &amp; Trust Commission</td>
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<td><strong>ZIORI:</strong> Zanzibar Indian Ocean Research Institute</td>
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<td><strong>ZIPA:</strong> Zanzibar Investment and Promotion Authority</td>
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<td><strong>ZMC:</strong> Zanzibar Municipal Council</td>
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<td><strong>ZSTHS:</strong> Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society</td>
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<th><strong>Swahili terminology</strong></th>
<th><strong>Baraza:</strong> stone bench</th>
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<td><strong>Boriti:</strong> mangrove poles</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dala-dala:</strong> bus, functions as public transport in Zanzibar</td>
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<td><strong>Fundi:</strong> craftsman</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Mtaa (pl. mitaa):</strong> a neighbourhood</td>
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<td><strong>Waqf:</strong> the Islamic practice whereby an owner surrenders his rights to a property and turns over the income to a specified charity, often a mosque (1)</td>
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INTRODUCTION

World Heritage cities are urban settlements that include “cultural heritage with the broadest level of cultural significance, which is acknowledged by the World Heritage Committee (WHC), in UNESCO, as of Outstanding Universal Value for the whole of mankind. This cultural heritage is known worldwide as World Heritage (WH)”. This research will focus on the WH property ‘the Stone Town of Zanzibar’, located on the island of Zanzibar, Tanzania. The aim of this research is to help the Stone Town develop sustainably, without representing a loss of its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) for mankind.

The Stone Town was inscribed in the World Heritage List (WHL) in 2000 under criteria (ii) and (vi). According to the WHC, “the Stone Town of Zanzibar is a fine example of the Swahili coastal trading towns of East Africa. It retains its urban fabric and townscape virtually intact and contains many fine buildings that reflect its particular culture, which has brought together and homogenized disparate elements of the cultures of Africa, the Arab region, India, and Europe over more than a millennium.” Moreover, it is stated in the Nomination File (NF) that the Stone Town is “the last and best, as well as the largest preserved living town testifying the evolution of Swahili civilization, itself a product of many cultural streams and strong maritime economic transformation”.

By inscription of properties on UNESCO’s WHL the State Parties (SP’s) have agreed that “legislative and regulatory measures at national and local levels should assure the survival of the property and its protection against development and change that might negatively impact the outstanding universal value, or the integrity and/or authenticity of the property”. This quotation implies that the inscribed properties are facing threats. Due to the architectural nature of this research we will focus on the threats towards the built environment. The Brundtland Commission states that project development in the vicinity of, or within these World Heritage properties “is required to cope with the needs of society”. Though, whenever the impact of these developments may be irreversibly damaging the cultural significance of these properties, and consequently, raising the risk of having the property removed from the WHL.

At the time of inscription on the WHL, developmental pressures were mentioned in the NF, besides environmental-, visitors/tourists pressures, as well as natural disasters and preparedness and the number of inhabitants within the property, buffer zone. During the mission to Stone Town in 2008 of Karel A. Bakker (ICOMOS) and L. Assomo Eloundou (UNESCO WHC) the issue of development still was regarded as a threat. Accordingly these developmental pressures were jeopardizing the OUV of the Stone Town.

3 (iii) “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and urban structure of the Stone Town.”, in: Ibid. footnote 3
4 (vi) “Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which its opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.”, in: Ibid. footnote 3
9 See footnote 7, pp. 38-41
**Terminology**

This case study is part of a larger research programme called: Outstanding Universal Value, World Heritage Cities and Sustainability, leaded by Ana Pereira Roders (Eindhoven University of Technology) and Ron van Oers (UNESCO World Heritage Centre).1 “It is an innovative, collaborative and comparative research program that aims to make a significant contribution to both research and practice on World Heritage management and sustainable development.”2 The terminologies which are used in the latter programme will be adjusted to our case study. Follow an elaboration on these terminologies and subsequent definitions.

*Outstanding Universal Value, attributes, authenticity and integrity*

The WHC defines OUV as the “cultural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity”.3 The WHC considers a property as having OUV whenever a property meets one or more of the ten selection criteria (see appendix I: The criteria for selection). The carriers of the OUV are coined as ‘attributes’. These attributes “are a direct tangible expression of the outstanding universal value of the property”.4 In addition the Guidance on the preparation of Retrospective Statements of Outstanding Universal Value for World Heritage Properties, states that attributes “include the physical elements of the property and may include the relationships between physical elements, essence, meaning, and at times related processes, that need to be protected and managed in order to sustain OUV”.5

Apart from containing OUV, a property should “also meet the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity and must have an adequate protection and management system to ensure its safeguarding”.6 Integrity “is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity therefore requires assessing the extent to which the property:

- includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value;

- is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property’s significance;

- suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect”.7

Based on section 89 of the OG’s 2008, the Retrospective statement mentions assessment criteria which will have to be taken into account, regarding cultural properties:

- “Wholeness = whether a significant portion of all the attributes that express OUV are within the property, rather than beyond the boundaries;

- Intactness = whether a significant portion of all the attributes are still present, none are eroded*, and dynamic functions between them are maintained. [* in the case of ruins, this means that they should still be capable of expressing OUV.]"
- Degree of threats = the degree to which the attributes are threatened by the development of neglect”.8

Authenticity is defined as “the degree to which information sources about this value may be understood as credible or truthful”.9 In contrast to the formulation of “credible or truthful”, the *Retrospective statement* claims the justification of authentic as being “truthfully and credibly”10 As the latter is more encompassing we will adopt this formulation. To meet the test of authenticity the cultural values “expressed through a variety of attributes” should include: “form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors.”11

**Sustainable development**

Sustainability, sustainable development and sustainable use are widespread terminologies, which have ever differing definitions. In our research it is important to regard the practicality of such a definition as well as the direct implementation in the built environment. As a starting point we mention the United Nations Brundtland Commission (1987). Here sustainable development is defined as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.12 This idea is reflected in the definition which is mentioned in the Operational Guidelines (OG’s) 2008, under section 119 and reads as follows: “sustainable use does not adversely impact the outstanding universal value, integrity and/or authenticity of the property. Furthermore, any uses should be ecologically and culturally sustainable.”13 The formerly stated is even more expressed in the *Report of the Nara Seminar on the Development and Integrity of Historic Cities* (1999): “Cities need to remain economically, socially, environmentally and culturally viable, so that they can be passed on to future generations”.14 The latter, together with the formerly mentioned definition from the OG’s 2008, encompasses our understanding and usage of sustainability, sustainable use and sustainable development:

World Heritage properties are developing sustainably whenever developments prove to meet the economic, social, ecological and cultural needs of the present generations, “without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987) nor “adversely impact the Outstanding Universal Value, integrity and/or authenticity of the property” (UNESCO, 2008).

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8 See footnote 16, p. 10
9 See footnote 8, p. 21
10 See footnote 16, p. 12
11 See footnote 8, pp. 21-22
12 See footnote 9
13 See footnote 8, p. 29
Statement of the problem

Ever since the inscription of the Stone Town on the WHL, the pursuit for development has been resulting in conflicting interests which endanger the OUV of the property. These issues, though, were already apparent before the inscription. These issues are stated in the Nomination File and in the report on the mission to Stone Town of Zanzibar; United Republic of Tanzania, from 5-10 may 2008, as mentioned in the introduction. The latter report states that “The lack of an integrated management in the World Heritage property (...) is contributing to the lack of cohesion between and integration of stakeholders in addressing and finding shared solutions for urgent problems.”

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this case study is to help stakeholders involved with the policies; management and development of the Stone Town determine the adequacy of their current strategies towards the protection and sustainable development of the Stone Town, without damaging its OUV as defined by the WHC. In order to determine the adequacy of the current strategies on the level of policy and management, we will identify the attributes which convey the OUV of the Stone Town, including the buffer zone. This will be done by determining the level of authenticity and integrity of the attributes. In addition, the role of the stakeholders involved with the policies, management and development of the Stone Town will be assessed in order to evaluate the effects on the attributes.
Research questions

In order to help stakeholders involved with the policies; management and development of the Stone Town determine the adequacy of their current strategies towards the protection and sustainable development of the Stone Town, without damaging its OUV as defined by the WHC, we defined the main question:

How can the Stone Town develop sustainably, without damaging its Outstanding Universal Value?

In order to find a conclusive answer to the main question, we have divided the contents among three sub questions.

Sub question I: What is the current level of authenticity and integrity of the OUV of the Stone Town?

Sub question II: Who are the stakeholders involved in the managing of the OUV of the Stone Town and what are their roles?

Sub question III: What are the threats and respective causes found affecting the OUV of the Stone Town?

Methodology

The sub questions will be split up by elements of that respective question. This method of divergence makes it easier to get conclusive answers, step by step, rendering in a convergence of the elements into the sub questions and in the main question. The methods will be explained per sub question. The distinction between documentary (studying documents and publications), oral (taking interviews and questionnaires) and physical (studying and documenting the built environment) inventory is necessary to categorise the method in which the information which will be gathered.

Sub question I: What is the current level of authenticity and integrity of the OUV of the Stone Town?

This sub question can be divided into two parts:

Part 1: What are the attributes found representing the OUV of the Stone Town (2000)?
Part 2: How much of the attributes still remain anno 2011 and what is the level of authenticity and integrity?

Part 1: What are the attributes found representing the OUV of the Stone Town (2000)?

The first part of this sub question focuses on the attributes that convey the OUV of the Stone Town, anno 2000 (at the time of inscription on the WHL). The nature of this research is documentary, since the answers to this question are to be found within the documents, written by the WHC, ICOMOS, and the respective SP (United Republic of Tanzania). These documents are respectively the Decision Text (DT); Advisory Body Evaluation (ABE); Nomination File (NF). The method to find these attributes is the cultural
significance survey mentioned by Ana Pereira Roders, in which the cultural significance can be assessed by means of eight cultural values: social, economic, political, historic, aesthetical, scientific, age and ecological (Appendix II).\(^{16}\)

The inventory will consist of textual description of the attributes and their specific features as mentioned in the DT, ABE and NF. Furthermore pictures and maps on the attributes will be provided.

**Part 2: How much of the attributes still remain anno 2011 and what is the level of authenticity and integrity?**

In order to obtain the required information a physical inventory is fundamental. This inventory will consist of photographs and the making of textual descriptions on the cultural values which the attributes contain, the condition of the attributes and the level of authenticity and integrity. By assessing the conditions and the presence of the attributes it will be possible to make justified statements about the authenticity and integrity per attribute.

For the condition survey we will make use of a distinctive categorisation, based on the ‘buildings at risk’ section of the book, entitled *Zanzibar, A plan for the history and conservation of Stone Town*.\(^{17}\) The conditions mentioned there are: good, deteriorating, poor, in ruins.\(^{37}\) By maintaining these condition categories, referenced in the latter document, it will be possible to compare our findings later on with those mentioned in the documents i.e. the condition of the attributes.

Documents to compare the state of the attributes in 2011 with are the UNCHS/Habitat study form 1984 *The Stone Town of Zanzibar. A Strategy for Integrated Development* (fieldwork 1982), the Aga Khan Trust for Culture study from 1996 *Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town* (fieldwork 1992) and the NF from 2000.

Sub question II: **Who are the stakeholders involved in the managing of the OUV of the Stone Town and what are their roles?**

This sub question can be divided into two parts:

**Part 1: Who are the stakeholders involved in the managing of the OUV of the Stone Town?**

To obtain the information in a deductive way, we will start by investigating the stakeholders (actor analysis). This will be done both by oral (interviews and questionnaires with the respective stakeholders) and documentary inventory (analysing the policy- and management documents and reports). This will result in a scheme with the stakeholders.

**Part 2: What is the role of the stakeholders?**

In this part the role of the stakeholders will be inventoried, i.e. how it is stated in the policy and management documents and (evaluation) reports, as well as how it is revealed in oral inventories. Policy documents we will be researching, are the *Stone Town Conservation Plan* (1994); *Zanzibar Vision 2020* (2000); and *Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Management Plan* (2008). This will result in textual descriptions and a scheme in which the stakeholders are related to the place they take in the policy management

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17 See footnote 1, p. 97
METHODOLOGY

and development of the Stone Town.

Sub question III: What are the threats and respective causes found affecting the OUV of the Stone Town?

This sub question can be divided into three parts:

Part 1: In what condition were the attributes at the time of inscription (2000)?

Part 2: In what condition are the attributes anno 2011?

Part 3: What are threats and respective causes regarding the Stone Town?

Part 1: In what condition were the attributes at the time of inscription (2000)?

This question can be answered with the results from the first part of sub question I, being the descriptions, maps and charts on the condition of the attributes.

Part 2: In what condition are the attributes anno 2011?

As with the former question, this one can also be answered with the descriptions, maps and charts on the condition of the attributes, as presented in part two of sub question one.

Part 3: What are threats and respective causes regarding the Stone Town?

The necessary information for this part is provided in sub question two, by doing the oral (questionnaires) and documentary inventories (UNESCO-related documents, the books The Stone Town of Zanzibar. A Strategy for Integrated Development Zanzibar and A plan for the history and conservation of Stone Town, as well as the management plans). The expected output will be in the form of textual descriptions which will document the threats and respective causes. Furthermore it will be looked at if the documents and stakeholders mention causal relation between the threats and causes.

To understand which threats do affect the attributes, and thus the OUV, the changes in the condition of the attributes, which can be found through the comparison of part one and two of this sub question and of part two of sub question one (on the authenticity and integrity in 2011), shall be related to the threats and respective causes. This will be related to the underlying policies and management, the stakeholders involved and the possible discrepancies between them. The output will be textual descriptions, maps, schemes and tables which show the relationship between threats, causes and attributes.

Main question: How can the Stone Town develop sustainably, without damaging its Outstanding Universal Value?

Having mapped the attributes (their condition, authenticity and integrity), the stakeholders, the threats and respective causes on the attributes, we are now able to answer the main question.
Demarcation

The physical demarcation is provided by the physical boundaries of the World Heritage Property: the Stone Town and the respective Buffer Zone, see map 1. Regarding the contents of this research, we have demarcated this study by focusing on the architectural attributes, which contain the OUV. Furthermore our focus within the fieldwork was on buildings visible from the street.

Significance of the study

Simultaneously to this case study, other case studies are being carried out as well on both MSc and PhD level. These include the Old Town of Galle in Sri Lanka (Boxem and Fuhren, 2011) and in Willemstad on Curaçao (Speckens, 2010). In the future, the aim is to keep expanding the number of case studies on this subject. Ultimately, these researches will add to the research program of Pereira Roders en Van Oers, making a contribution to both research and practice on World Heritage management and sustainable development. Apart from this, it will serve as a case study which will make it possible to add knowledge to the academic world on the managing of WH cities.
Core - and Buffer Zone (with wards)

- Core Zone
- Buffer Zone (land)
- Buffer Zone (6,200 hectares of sea)
PART II

RESULTS

The next first chapters will show the results of our survey, divided into four chapters. The first focuses on the attributes, the second on the institutional framework, the third on the threats and the last chapter on sustainable development.
1 Attributes

In this chapter an answer is to be found for the first sub question ‘What is the current level of authenticity and integrity of the OUV of the Stone Town?’, this will be done by first describing which attributes the Stone Town contains, followed by an assessment of the authenticity and the integrity of these attributes in 2011.

1.1 Description of the attributes

The DT, ABE and NF have been analysed by means of the significance survey, as defined by Pereira Roders. In this significance survey, cultural values have been ascribed to the DT, ABE and NF, in doing so the attributes (which contain the cultural values) have been distilled. In Appendix III Cultural significance survey of DT, ABE and NF (listed per attribute), the assessment of the DT, ABE and NF can be found categorised per attribute. Behind each sentence the attribute is mentioned, and if there were further specifications mentioned in that particular sentence this also found behind the sentence, for example: (architecture Indian carved door). From this analysis the found attributes are: urban structure/townscape, streetscape elements, architecture, monuments, building traditions, European explorers, slave trade, harbour town, cultural fusion and harmonization, religious tolerance, and living town (table 1). In Appendix IV Attributes, an overview of the different attributes is given, the documents which mention them and the attributes being whether tangible or intangible. To analyze the attributes in the context of this architectural based study it is necessary to make the intangible attributes tangible by relating them to architectural elements. The tangible attributes also shall be ruled down towards architectural elements that make them up (table 1) (Appendix IV Attributes). By analysing these architectural elements it becomes possible to take conclusions on the architectural side of the encompassing attributes itself. The significance survey is not only used for finding the attributes in the DT, ABE and NF, but also to find the cultural values which they do represent and which in total make up the OUV of the Stone Town. In Appendix IV Attributes and values, the values are represented per attribute, based on the analysis presented in Appendix II. Each of the attributes will be discussed below, including the cultural values which they contain and the architectural elements which make them up. References are made to Appendix II in order to see the exact quotations of which the attributes and corresponding values were distilled.

1.1.1 Urban structure/townscape

Urban structure is a tangible attribute, which refers to the Stone Town as a whole and certain features its structure contains. Urban structure/townscape was mentioned in the DT, ABE and NF, together with ‘architecture’, ‘slave trade’, ‘harbour town’ and ‘cultural fusion and harmonization’, which makes them very significant.

Criterion (ii): “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization”, of the DT refers to ‘material manifestation’, we interpreted this as the urban structure/townscape and the architecture. More explicitly it was mentioned under Criterion (iii): “For many centuries there was
### Attributes and their Architectural Elements

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<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Architectural elements of attributes</th>
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<td><strong>Urban structure/townscape</strong></td>
<td>Relationship open/closed space (1), open public space (narrow shopping street) (2), open private space (courtyard) (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Streetscape elements</strong></td>
<td>Old tombs, graveyards, stairways, fountains, trees, vistas, parks, other green areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Architecture</strong></td>
<td>Arab (1), European (2), Indian (3), Swahili (4), religious (5)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Monuments</strong></td>
<td>Anglican Cathedral (former slave market), House of Wonders, Jamat Khan, Malindi Bamnara Mosque, Old Dispensary, Old Fort, Persian Baths, Roman Cathedral, Royal Cemetery, Tippu Tipp House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building traditions</strong></td>
<td>Arab, European, Indian and Swahili architecture</td>
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<td><strong>European explorers</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Slave trade</strong></td>
<td>Anglican Cathedral, Tippu Tipp House, residential/commercial use, city-planning</td>
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<td><strong>Harbour town</strong></td>
<td>Port, use of the port</td>
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<td><strong>Cultural fusion and harmonization</strong></td>
<td>Urban structure townscape, architecture (Arab, European, Indian, Swahili, religious), religious tolerance</td>
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<td><strong>Religious tolerance</strong></td>
<td>Religious architecture, religious use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Living town</strong></td>
<td>Residential use, commercial use, educational use, religious use, governmental use</td>
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</tbody>
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intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town”.3

In the ABE the urban structure/townscape was also mentioned in criterion (ii) and (iii), and three sentences: “The historical evolution of the Stone Town is illustrated by the street pattern.”; “There are few public open spaces, since many of the houses have their own enclosed spaces.” and; “This is one of narrow winding streets resulting from unplanned building of houses and shops.”

In the NF we discovered thirteen sentences in which the urban structure/townscape was mentioned, together with the sentences of the DT and ABE these are listed in Appendix III. From the analysis of the information on urban structure/townscape found in the DT, ABE and NF either the urban structure/townscape in general was mentioned or one of the following three specifications was emphasized: ‘open public space (narrow shopping street), ‘open private space (courtyard)’ and ‘relationship open/closed space’ (See Appendix III for specification per sentence). In this survey, as mentioned in ‘Demarcation’, the focus lies on the architectural elements which can be seen from the public open space (e.g. narrow shopping street), therefore the ‘open private space (courtyard)’ has not been studied separately. However the phenomenon courtyard will be briefly described under ‘relationship open/closed space’.

Element 1: relationship open/closed space

The relationship between the open and closed space is a very distinctive feature of the urban structure of Stone Town and can be ascribed to the historical evolution of the town (historic value) and the different people (Arab, Indian, Swahili and European) who lived there and still do (social value). The western part of Stone Town along the seaside, Forodhani, contains the former palaces around which the Arab residences are concentrated.5 Behind this belt of Arab houses, the Indian shop-front buildings can be found which are situated along the narrow shopping streets (bazaar streets) in the eastern part of the town (economic value). In the European influenced areas, Vuga and Mnazimoja, the structure is less dense than in other parts of the town. These different characters of the town are connected by so called ‘social nodes’, which are meeting points (mosques, coffee places, barazas), and make a whole of the town.6

Another feature which is typical for the urban structure of the Stone Town is the way open and closed (ecological value) spaces relate to the public and private sphere of the inhabitants (social and historic value). Few public open spaces exist in Stone Town, only graveyards (which are not in use anymore) and a few public squares, e.g. Forodhani Park along the sea side. The private open spaces are found in the building blocks.

Element 2: open public space (narrow shopping street)

The area of bazaar streets, also called ‘the labyrinth of narrow shopping streets’, has gotten its shape because they were built on family basis (age and social value). Shop-front buildings were built next to each other, until they reached another building line, the different building lines then did not align with each other, leaving open a labyrinthic streetscape.

3 Ibid.
6 Ibid., pp. 12-13
Building morphology 2011

- Built space
- Core Zone
- Buffer Zone (land)
- Buffer Zone (6,200 hectares of sea)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architecture</th>
<th>Elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Baraza, carved doors, crenelations, courtyard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Baraza, fascia boards (fretwork), carved doors (domestic and merchant),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>balcony/veranda, coloured glass lintels, shop-front building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>Carved door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Mosques, Hindu Temples, Zoroastrian Temple, Buddhist Temple, Anglican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cathedral, Roman Cathedral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Element 3: open private space (courtyard)

The courtyards are of private nature, and to be found in the building blocks (aesthetical value). This can be lead back to the Arab culture, where the women were supposed not to expose themselves outside of their homes. In the courtyard they were not seen by any outsiders and could thus participate in the daily life (social and historic value).

1.1.2 Streetscape elements

Streetscape elements, tangible, were only mentioned in the NF: “Moreover, the Stone Town possess streetscape elements including old tombs, stairways, fountains, trees and vistas as well as graveyards, parks and other green areas.”7 There is no further elaboration on this attribute in the NF. The value which is ascribed to these elements and the attribute itself is the aesthetical one.

1.1.3 Architecture

Architecture is mentioned in all three documents and also in the scope of this research, this tangible attribute is of great importance, apart from this it represents all of the eight cultural values. The architecture was explicitly mentioned under criterion (iii) of the DT: “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town”8.

As mentioned under paragraph 1.1.1 we interpreted the material manifestation, mentioned in criterion (ii): “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization”, as the urban structure/townscape and the architecture.9

In the ABE architecture is mentioned in eleven sentences and in the NF in 28, which can be found in Appendix III. This attribute can be regarded as an umbrella for all architectural elements which can be divided into two levels. Based on the assessment of the DT, ABE and NF as can be found in Appendix III, the first level consists of the general architecture of the different people, being Indian, Arab, Swahili and European. Also mentioned in the documents is the religious architecture, which is therefore a separate category on this level, which is determined by the different religions. These five general categories can be further divided into the distinctive architectural elements which make them up (table 2). This research focuses on the elements that are specifically mentioned in the nomination documents, and additionally those that came across from literature studies into an architectural element. As with the urban structure/townscape these different types of the architecture attribute are also found specified behind the sentences in Appendix III.

Element 1: Arab architecture

Following the NF, there are two types of Arab buildings found in the Stone Town, being the Arab residences and the Arab mosques.10 The Arab residences are multi story square blocks, which were built in a traditional way of coral stones and mortar; they had a flat roof surmounted by a crenelated wall (aesthetical value).11 The houses make a closed impression: they only have some small windows in the exterior walls, so the privacy of the women who lived there would be guaranteed. Two features which are related to the privacy issue are the courtyard inside the buildings and the baraza (stone bench) inside and outside of the building. The courtyard has been described under 1.1.1
Urban structure/townscape. The barazas are either placed next to the external door or inside, in the room adjacent to the entrance, and have a curved armrest. They were used by the men, so they could sit and talk without disturbing the women (social and aesthetical value). The external square wooden door is also an architectural element, being a carved door. In this door, a lot of symbols are carved representing for example power (lotus flower), fertility (fish), wealth (incense) and security (chain), often it also contains an Arab inscription from the Quran (social, aesthetical and scientific value). The mosques are found throughout all of Stone Town and often not recognized as such, because they don’t have any special features on the outside (1.1.3.5 Religious architecture). Thus the architectural elements of the Arab buildings, mentioned in the three documents, are the carved door, the baraza (outside of the house), the crenelations and the courtyard, the first three elements will be analysed for this study.

**Element 2: Indian architecture**

As described in paragraph 1.1.1 Urban structure/townscape, the Indian buildings are mainly situated in the eastern part of Stone Town around the narrow shopping streets. Five Indian building typologies can be distinguished from the NF, being the Indian shop-front buildings, Indian residences, Indian mosques/temples, Caravanserai and Jamats. However no map is provided in the NF where they are exactly situated and in which amount they were present at the time of inscription on the WHL. The first houses of the Indians were the shop-front buildings, which contained the four-leaf Indian Merchant doors (Gujerati doors) (economic and historic value). After the Indians got wealthier they started buying Arab houses on which they added wooden verandahs/balconies. Finally they built large houses of their own which contained carved verandahs/balconies, fascia boards and windows with coloured glass lintels (aesthetic, scientific and ecological value). They also added another type of Indian carved door, being the Indian Domestic door, which contained a semi-circular carved lintel above the door (historic, aesthetical and age value). Apart from these residential buildings they also built a few mosques, temples, Caravanserai and Jamats (social value), the first two and the last one will be described under 1.1.3.5 Religious architecture, on the Caravanserai no elaboration is found in the documents.

The Indian architecture is, according to the three documents, built up out of the following elements: carved door (merchant and domestic), shop-front building, veranda/balcony, fretwork, fascia boards, and coloured glass lintels. To demarcate the number of elements for the further analysis we initially started to look at the most mentioned elements, which are the veranda/balcony (ABE 1; NF 3), the shop-front building (ABE 2; NF 1), and the carved door (ABE 2), all the other elements are only mentioned once. To analyse the shop-front buildings it was necessary to further look into this typology to find the elements which are typically for this kind of buildings. As mentioned above, these buildings are used as shops, during our fieldwork we found out that next to the Indian merchant door, another element is typical for these buildings: the Indian baraza. These barazas are, regarding the Arab baraza, very low, like a pavement, mostly don’t have an armrest and are used to expose goods and as a protection against rain water. The Indian merchant door together with the Indian domestic door makes up the Indian carved door. The veranda/balcony can’t be ruled down further and can be analysed by using this defini-
Fascia boards can be regarded as a type of fretwork mostly found below the roof, therefore the fascia boards shall be analysed, because they are the only mentioned type of fretwork, apart from the verandah/balcony which also contain fretwork. Leaving the coloured glass lintel as the last mentioned Indian architectural element, this element only being mentioned once, we decided not to analyse this further.

Element 3: European architecture

The European buildings are situated mainly in Vuga and Mnazimmoja in a less dense urban structure than the other parts of the Stone Town, and are in the NF specified into European residences and European buildings for public purpose.\textsuperscript{14} The English tried to blend the colonial architecture into the already existing architecture of Stone Town and introduced strict building regulations (political and aesthetical value).\textsuperscript{15} The only specification on this architecture is that the English used Saracenic and Moorish features in their buildings, but there is no elaboration found in the three documents on these elements. Not as much attention is paid to the European architecture as to the former two, for a good understanding of the European architecture, an elaboration on its the elements which make up this attribute would be recommended.

Element 4: Swahili architecture

In the NF only one type of Swahili buildings is being mentioned, being the Swahili houses.\textsuperscript{16} The plans of the original Swahili houses were arranged from public functions on the street side to the private functions (e.g. a bedroom) at the backside of the house (social value).\textsuperscript{17} On the street side they had an introvert expression. Later on these houses were also situated around a courtyard. There is no more information to be found in the three documents about the Swahili architecture (aesthetical value), even less than the English architecture, this is remarkable, because both of these styles are part of the architecture of the Stone Town. From a literature study into the carved doors, we found that there is a distinctive Swahili style carved door, which will be part of our further analysis.

Element 5: Religious architecture

Because of the different people living in Stone Town, there have always been different religions, which are reflected in the built environment of the town. The NF mentions 48 mosques, four Hindu temples, a Zoroastrian and a Buddhist temple, and two Christian cathedrals (social value).\textsuperscript{18} The mosques belong partly to the Arabs, but also to some of the Indian religions. The mosques in Stone Town don’t stand out to the rest of the built environment; most of them look just like any other building in town. A few of them have minarets (aesthetical value) and most of them have speakers to call the people for the prayers. The mosques in Stone Town are only accessible for men, and often only when one is Muslim, therefore we could not study the inside of the mosques. Only one Hindu Temple is mentioned in the NF, the Shree Shiv Shakti Mandir temple which has painted towers and is situated behind the Palace (aesthetical value). The Christian cathedrals are built in the last quarter of the nineteenth century because of the increasing influence of the Europeans and the missionary activities (political and historic value). The Anglican Cathedral was built on the former slave market (1873 foundation stone) and in its design Gothic and Arab architectural features were fused: arches and crenelations (political and aesthetical value).\textsuperscript{19} It is a monument for the abolition of the slave trade. The Catholic Cathedral was designed in a Neo-Romanesque style.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., p. 7
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., pp. 14-15
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., p. 7
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 13
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid, p. 15
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid, p. 21
style (aesthetical value) by the architect of Notre Dame de la Marseille, M. Berangier, and built in 1896. The ground plan consists of a cruciform structure with basilica apse, an octogonal dome and two high towers at the West of the building. There is no elaboration in the documents on the Zoroastrian and the Buddhist temple.

1.1.4 Monuments

Both in the NF and ABE ten monuments are mentioned, being the Malindi Bamnara Mosque, Anglican Cathedral (former slave market), Roman Cathedral, Old Dispensary, Old Fort, Tippu Tipp House, House of Wonders, Royal Cemetery, Jamat Khan, and Persian Baths (Map 3 Monuments). Each of these monuments can be seen as an architectural element of the ‘monuments attribute’ (table 1), but at the same time belong to (some of the) other architectural attributes. Each of these monuments has different cultural values and together they represent all the values except the ecological (Appendix III and IV).

The Malindi Bamnara Mosque is special because it is one of the few mosques on the island Zanzibar which contains a minaret, which is decorated with a double chevron pattern (social and aesthetical value). The mosque was built around 1831, but the minaret is thought to be much older. The Anglican and Roman Cathedral are described under 1.1.3.5 religious architecture. The Old Dispensary is a typical Indian building, which contains many of the features mentioned under 1.1.3.1 Indian architecture, it has a double balcony, a lot of carved fretwork (aesthetical value), but also some European motives. It was built in 1887 by Virjee Patel and it was meant to be a hospital, but today it is in use as the ‘Zanzibar Cultural Centre’. “It is a symbol for the many different people, cultures and influences that contributed to the development of Zanzibar in the 19th century.” (social value) The Old Fort was built in the beginning of the 18th century by the Arabs on a site where before was a ruined Portuguese Church, it was used as a town garrison, it also served as a depot of the Bububu Railway, then it became a Lady club and now it is converted into a Cultural Centre (economic and political value). The Fort has an irregular quadrilateral form with square gateways and towers at the corners of the crenelated walls. The Tippu Tipp House is an Arab house which belonged to the ivory and slave merchant Tippu Tipp, who was one of the most powerful slave traders in the nineteenth century (economic and historic value). The House of Wonders was built in 1883 by Sultan Barghash and is unique in the whole of East Africa for its size and history. It was one of the first buildings in East Africa which got electricity and tap water (age value). The building was bombarded by the British in the ‘Shortest War in history’ in 1896 after which it has been reconstructed and used as a government seat (political and historic value). It contains a decorated verandah and a number of carved doors with texts from the Quran (social and aesthetical value). The Royal Cemetery is the last resting place for some of the former sultans and other members of the Royal Family (historic value). Jamat Khan is a religious building, built in 1907, and a “beautiful architectural work” (aesthetical and scientific value). On the island Zanzibar eight baths were built in the 19th century, two of them in Stone Town, which are still there: the Hamamni Bahts and the Royal bath in Forodhani. These baths are unique in the context of Africa when looking at the function, style, decorations and their history (aesthetical value).

1.1.5 Building traditions

The intangible attribute ‘building traditions’
Attributes

(historic value) is mentioned both in the ABE (ten times) and NF (fourteen times) (Appendix III) and is made up out of several intangible elements. Mentioned are the ideas, skills and materials which are needed to make buildings in the local tradition and the building process itself (aesthetical, scientific and age value) (Appendix III). In general building traditions have influence on the architecture as a whole, and on the several architectural elements (carved door, verandah/balcony, fascia boards, baraza and crenelations). Per element the ideas, skills, materials and the building process should be analyzed, by doing so we can say something about the building traditions in relationship to these specific elements. In the NF one architectural element is explicitly mentioned in regard to the building traditions, being the carved door (scientific value).

1.1.6 European explorers

‘European explorers’ is also an intangible attribute and was mentioned in the NF: “Stone Town furthermore bears the memories of all slaves sold in Zanzibar as well as the memory of European explorers such as Vasco da Gama, Livingstone, Speke, Burton and others” (historic value).29 Also in the NF criterion (vi) under which the United Republic of Tanzania proposed the inscription on the WHL of the Stone Town: “Its continuous use as a residential/commercial town is by itself a powerful media in the manifestation of memories of the slave trade and of explorers like Vasco da Gama, Stanley and others”.30 Under ‘Justification by the State Party’ this criterion was also mentioned in the ABE. There is no further elaboration in the documents on how the European explorers could be traced back in the built environment of Stone Town and furthermore are they not mentioned in the DT.

1.1.7 Slave trade

As the former two attributes, slave trade is also an intangible attribute, but mentioned in the DT, ABE (eight times) and NF (twelve times), which makes it significant (Appendix III). Criterion (vi) of the DT under which Stone Town was inscribed is as follows: “Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign” (social, economic, political and historic value).31 By relating this attribute to the built environment, two buildings are explicitly mentioned in the ABE and the NF, being the Anglican Cathedral (former slave market) and the Tippu Tipp house (house of the former slave trader Tippu Tipp). The United Republic of Tanzania proposed the inscription of Stone Town under Criterion (vi): “Its continuous use as a residential/commercial town is by itself a powerful media in the manifestation of memories of the slave trade and of explorers like Vasco da Gama, Stanley and others”. However how this continuous use as a residential/commercial town should carry out the slave trade is not further elaborated and stays rather vague. In the NF another link between slave trade and the built environment is made: “(...) how was city-planning regulated to contain this trade and how it was de-regulated to combat the trade.”, but as the former there is no further elaboration on if and how this happened.

1.1.8 Harbour town

As slave trade, harbour town is also intan-

29 See footnote 4; See footnote 5, p. 3
30 See footnote 5, p. 6
31 See footnote 2
gible and was mentioned in all three documents (DT 2; ABE 13; NF 13) (Appendix III) and even implicitly in two of the three criteria under which the Stone Town is inscribed on the WHL. Criterion (iii): “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town”, and criterion (vi): “Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign” (economic, political, historic and ecological value).32 Both of these criteria point at Stone Town being a harbour town. When connecting harbour town to the built environment, the first object which should be there is the harbour itself and consequently if it still functions like a harbour. Due to this harbour a lot of different people came to Stone Town, which will be discussed under the next heading ‘cultural fusion and harmonization’.

1.1.9 Cultural fusion and harmonization

As the former two, this intangible attribute is also mentioned in all three documents and (DT 1; ABE 5; NF 29) (Appendix III) is found in Criterion (ii) under which Stone Town was inscribed on the WHL: “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization” (social and aesthetical value) (Appendix III).33 Culture has a lot of facets, for example architecture, music, customs, rituals, and dressings, but due to the nature of this research we will only focus on the architectural one. This is manifested in the urban structure/townscape, the architecture and in the religious tolerance and architecture of the Stone Town. The elements of these attributes will be assessed on how the distinct architectural features and elements of the different people of the Stone Town (Indian, Arab, European and Swahili) are represented next to each other (cultural harmonization) and how they amalgamated into new forms (cultural fusion).

1.1.10 Religious tolerance

The intangible attribute religious tolerance is next to streetscape elements only mentioned in the NF (five times) (Appendix III). As described under 1.1.3.5 Religious architecture there are, according to the NF, 48 mosques, four Hindu temples, a Zoroastrian and a Buddhist temple, and two Christian cathedrals (social and historic value).34 To survey this attribute, the religious architecture as mentioned shall be analyzed as the religious functions. To see whether the religious buildings are still there and if they are still in use as such.

1.1.11 Living town

The last found attribute is the, intangible, living town, which was found in the ABE (two times) and in the NF (nine times) (Appendix III). When referring to this attribute related to architecture, mainly the functions which are to be found in Stone Town are mentioned: commercial use (public markets, harbour) (economic, political, historic and ecological value), residential use (historic value), seat of the government (political value), educational functions (historic value) and religious functions (social value).

1.2 Attributes in 2011

All attributes which represent the OUV mentioned in the DT, ABE and NF are described in the former paragraph. For the further analysis only urban structure/townscape, architecture, building traditions, slave trade, harbour town, cultural fusion and harmonization, religious
tolerance and living town will be assessed (table 3). Streetscape elements, monuments and European explorers will not be further analysed. Streetscape elements are only mentioned in the NF and there is no further elaboration on this attribute, apart from the elements which make it up. Another problem is for example the ‘graveyards’, which belong to streetscape elements, because most of them are locked and therefore cannot be seen from the streets, we had no opportunity to survey them. The same goes for some of the ‘old tombs’. ‘Stairway’ is a general definition, by which it is not clear what kind of stairway is mentioned. The same goes for ‘other green areas’. As mentioned before each of the monuments belongs not only to this attribute, but also to (some of the) other attributes, for example the Anglican Cathedral and the Tippu Tipp House belong also to the slave trade, apart from that they also belong to respectively religious and Arab architecture. As described European explorers have not been traced back to the built environment and will therefore not be further analysed.

For the eight attributes chosen, and for the elements which make them up, shall be looked on the authenticity, by means of the cultural significance survey, and the integrity, by means of the conditions and if possible the number still left, in relationship to the DT (2000), ABE (2000) and NF (1999). However there are no maps of the urban structure/townscape and its condition of 2000, but from 1982, 1992 and of our own fieldwork (2011). We will take the maps of 1992 as a reference point for assessing the authenticity and integrity at the time of inscription on the WHL (2000). For the building condition the following categories have been used: good, deteriorating, poor and in ruins. Good refers to buildings which “appear structurally sound and show evidence of regular maintenance”; deteriorating refers to buildings “which do not show unmistakable signs of deterioration and no evidence of recent repairs”; poor “buildings and their individual architectural elements are in advanced states of deterioration and may have serious structural problems”; and in ruins refers to buildings which “have either partially or totally collapsed.”

For the urban structure/townscape, element 1 the ‘relationship open/closed space’ (social, historic and ecological value) will be assessed. This relationship between the open and the closed spaces is defined by the buildings in the Stone Town and the spaces which they leave open between them. By looking at the density (the number of buildings per ward), the number of ruins, the number of buildings under construction and the condition of the buildings, per ward, the ‘relationship open/closed space’ shall be analysed. The density, number of ruins and the condition shall be looked at for 1982, 1992 and 2011, and a comparison shall be made between these years. The number of buildings under construction shall only be assessed for 2011, of the other two years no information on this topic is available. By looking at the three years 1982, 1992 and 2011 it will become apparent if the situation of 2011 is a singular phenomenon or if it is part of a development over the years.

Density – The number of buildings per ward

By comparing the number of buildings per ward for 1982, 1992 and 2011 it becomes apparent if and how the density of numbers of buildings per ward has changed. The number of buildings per ward for these respective years can be seen in table 4 and map 4. Darajani was not surveyed in 1982 and 1992, thus it will not be
above • table 3
Chosen attributes

below • table 4
Number of buildings per ward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Architectural elements of attributes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban structure/townscape</td>
<td>Relationship open/closed space (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>Arab (1), European (2), Indian (3), Swahili (4), religious (5)</td>
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<td>Building traditions</td>
<td>Arab, European, Indian and Swahili architecture</td>
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<td>Slave trade</td>
<td>Anglican Cathedral, Tippu Tipp House, residential/commercial use, city-planning</td>
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<td>Port, use of the port</td>
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<td>Cultural fusion and harmonization</td>
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<td>122</td>
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<td>280</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>8 (-)</td>
<td>33 (+)</td>
<td>25 (+)</td>
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<td>Vuga</td>
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<td>9 (+)</td>
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<td>336</td>
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</table>
part of this analysis. In the general period from 1982 until 2011 the number of buildings in all wards has increased, except for Funguni, with a total of 213 buildings. However between 1982 and 1992 there was only an increase of seven buildings and a decrease of buildings in Shangani, Mkunazini, Kajificheni and Kiponda. Between 1992 and 2011 all wards know an increase of number of buildings, 206 in total, except for Funguni. Between 1992 and 2011 most new buildings have been counted in Mkunazini (+42), followed by Mnazimmoja (+34), Kajificheni (+33) and Malindi (+29). In Vuga (+9) and Forodhani (+10) the number of new buildings was the least between 1992 and 2011. Malindi (380), Kajifcheni (317) and Mkunazini (229) have the most buildings in 2011. After Mnazimmoja (122) has Vuga the least buildings in 2011 (133), followed by Forodhani (162) and Shangani (163). All other wards have 176 or less buildings.

The most dense areas, except for Mnazimmoja, got more denser (Malindi, Kajifcheni and Mkunazini) and the areas which are least dense (Vuga and Forodhani), except for Shangani, got the least number of new buildings. Mnazimmoja is an exception for this ward is the least dense, however got the second most buildings between 1992 and 2011. In general the number of buildings per ward between 1992 and 2011 got more dense. This happened especially in the most dense and least dense wards.

**Ruins**

The number of ruins is listed per ward in table 5 and in map 4. In 1982, 1992 and 2011 and also over the whole period has the Malindi ward most ruins, in total 41. In general the number of ruins has decreased from 84 (1982) to 37 (1992) to 35 ruins in 2011. Of the 37 ruins in 1992 there are seven which were already ruins in 1982 (map 5). However all ruins found in 2011 are new and were not ruins in either 1982 and 1992. The ruins in 1982, 1992 and 2011 are found all over the Stone Town, however in Kajificheni there are a fifteen ruins concentrated on one spot; twelve of 1982 and three of 1992.

The ruins in 2011 are scattered through the wards and are not concentrated on distinct locations (map 6). There are no ruins to be found on the sea front as on the eastern border of the Core Zone. The ruins are concentrated in the Stone Town and not at the borders of the Core Zone. However there are no particular streets on which they are concentrated. After Malindi, most ruins in 2011 are found in Funguni (6).

In table 6 the number of ruins in 1982 (84) are rendered per ward (second row), and related to the number of these ruins (1982) which are in 2011 filled in (third row). This shows that of the 84 ruins of 1982 still nineteen sites are still not build up in 2011. In table 7 the same is done for the ruins of 1992 related to 2011 and here it can be seen that fourteen ruins of the 37 are still open in 2011. In Sohomuhogo in 2011, related to both 1982 and 1992, all of the ruins are filled in again. Malindi has in both years a lot of ruins (22 and ten), but there are only four of them still open in 2011. Most ruins in 2011 are still open in Kajifcheni fifteen out of 29 sites, which is in number the highest (table 8).

**Buildings under construction**

For 2011 we surveyed the buildings which were under construction, for this also influences the number of buildings per ward (table 9, map 7). Most new constructions are found in Malindi
### Results


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kajificheni</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
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<td>Vuga</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>84</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
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<table>
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<th>Wards</th>
<th>Shangani</th>
<th>Mnazimmoja</th>
<th>Vuga</th>
<th>Mkunazini</th>
<th>Kajificheni</th>
<th>Shomuhogo</th>
<th>Forodhani</th>
<th>Kiponda</th>
<th>Malindi</th>
<th>Funguni</th>
<th>Darajani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ruins in 1982  | 2        | 1          | 3    | 20        | 9           | 11        | 2         | 7        | 22      | 6       | /
| Filled in 2011 | 2        | 1          | 3    | 13        | 11          | 3         | 7         | 20       | 5       | /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Shangani</th>
<th>Mnazimmoja</th>
<th>Vuga</th>
<th>Mkunazini</th>
<th>Kajificheni</th>
<th>Shomuhogo</th>
<th>Forodhani</th>
<th>Kiponda</th>
<th>Malindi</th>
<th>Funguni</th>
<th>Darajani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ruins in 1992  | 4        | 2          | 2    | 0         | 9           | 3         | 2         | 0        | 10      | 5       | /
| Filled in 2011 | 3        | 1          | 2    | 2         | 3           | 1         | /         | 8        | 3       | /

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Shangani</th>
<th>Mnazimmoja</th>
<th>Vuga</th>
<th>Mkunazini</th>
<th>Kajificheni</th>
<th>Shomuhogo</th>
<th>Forodhani</th>
<th>Kiponda</th>
<th>Malindi</th>
<th>Funguni</th>
<th>Darajani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ruins in 1982 and 1992 | 6    | 3          | 6    | 2         | 29          | 14        | 8         | 10       | 32      | 11      | /
| Filled in 2011 | 4        | 1          | 5    | 1         | 15          | 14        | 4         | 7        | 28      | 8       | /

#### Ward 2011

<table>
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<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72</td>
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#### Ward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Deteriorating</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>In ruins</th>
<th>Under construction</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(16) followed by Funguni (14) and Shangani (13). Least new constructions are found in Vuga with only two, in Mnazimmoja, Kajifcheni, Sohomuhogo, Kiponda and Darajani are three buildings under construction (southern wards). The new constructions are scattered throughout the wards and are not concentrated on distinct locations. Neither are there particular streets on which they are concentrated. Instead of the ruins, there are six new buildings under construction located on the sea front and two at the eastern border of the Core Zone.

Condition of the buildings

For 1982, 1992 and 2011 we made maps (map 8-13) and charts (chart 1-3) with the conditions listed. When comparing the conditions of 1982 (good 2.7%, deteriorating 59.2%, poor 28.8%, in ruins 9.3%), 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) and 2011 (good 22%, deteriorating 58%, poor 14% and in ruins 2%) it appears that the percentage of buildings in good condition has risen, poor has decreased and deteriorating and in ruins have roughly stayed the same.37

If looking at the condition charts of the wards in 2011 (chart 4-13 and table 10) and compare them with the general condition chart of 2011 then it appears that Mnazimmoja by far contains the highest percentage of good buildings (48%) and Darajani the lowest percentage (11%). The percentage of good of the other wards is between the 17% (Forodhani) and 26% (Sohomuhogo). The percentage of deteriorating buildings is the highest in Darajani with 84% and the lowest in Mnazimmoja with 36%. The highest percentage of poor buildings is to be found in Forodhani (35%) and the lowest in Darajani (2%).

Map 8 presents the buildings with good condition in 2011, as can be seen these buildings are not concentrated on a particular spot, but found throughout all of the Core Zone. The buildings in deteriorating condition, map 9, present the biggest number of buildings, they are also found throughout the whole town, but especially in Darajani there are a lot to be found. In map 10 are the poor buildings shown, it can be seen that most of the buildings with this qualification are found around Kajifcheni (in the middle of the Stone Town) and mainly north of this ward in Forodhani, Kiponda and Malindi.

From 1992 to 2011 all wards, except for Funguni, had more buildings per ward, this happened especially in the most dense and least dense wards. The density has increased with 206 buildings. Between 1982 and 1992 there was a decrease of buildings in four wards and on the whole Stone Town only an increase of seven buildings. The percentage of good buildings has, regarded to 1992, risen with seven percent, deteriorating decreased with five percent, poor decreased with eight percent and the amount of ruins stayed the same (two percent). The number of ruins decreases (1982: 84, 1992: 37, 2011: 35), but the ruins of 2011 are all ‘new’ related to 1982 and 1992. Of the ruined buildings of 1982 (84 ruins) and 1992 (35 ruins) still 33 sites are not build up in 2011. The ruins and different conditions are found scattered in the Stone Town and not on particular locations, however the ruins are not found at the borders of the Core Zone.

Malindi is the densest area in 2011 (365 buildings), has the highest number of ruins (15), contains 20% poor buildings and has the highest number of new construction (16). Funguni has the second highest number of ruins (6) and also

the second highest number of new constructions (14). Mnazimmoja is the least dense ward (122 buildings), has the highest percentage of good buildings (48%) and the second highest number of new constructions (34) in 2011. Vuga is the second least dense area (130 buildings) and has the least new constructions.

From this it can be concluded that the number of buildings, the number of ruins and the number of buildings under construction changed. This has an influence on the urban structure townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’. The historic value of the town, represented by the historical evolution of the town, has been assaulted because of buildings collapsing and new building constructions. The ecological value is represented by the ratio of open and closed spaces, which also has changed due to collapsed buildings and new constructions. The social value is represented in the use of the open and closed spaces, however we did not assess this.

The above leads us to the conclusion that the level of authenticity of the urban structure townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’ has been assaulted, because the collapsing buildings diminish the level of authenticity. The level of integrity is assaulted because of the buildings collapsing and not on all these spaces have been new buildings constructed. However a detailed study into the relationship between the urban structure, the place of the ruins take in it and the place the new structures have in the town could reveal the specific influence on the level of integrity.

1.2.2 Architecture

From the DT, ABE and NF we discovered the following architectural styles which are represented in the Stone Town: Arab, Indian, European and Swahili. Of the last two no elaboration was found in the three documents, on the former two an elaboration was found which leaded to the architectural elements which make up the Indian and Arab architecture: barazas (Arab), fascia boards (Indian), carved doors (Indian and Arab), crenelations (Arab) and balconies (Indian). From fieldwork and literature study we also found out that there is also a Swahili carved door and an Indian baraza (table 11). An elaboration will be made per architectural element.

In the NF the number of barazas, fascia boards, carved doors and balconies is mentioned. The barazas are in the NF mentioned under the heading ‘Other features such as barazas, pillars,’ and gives a number of 43, however we found 812 barazas. Possible is that in the NF only the Arab barazas are counted, but still we found 369 Arab barazas. In the NF 142 fascia boards were counted against 430 in our fieldwork, which could be explained by the fact that the NF only counted the elaborate ones. In the NF a number of 277 carved doors is found, from our fieldwork we discovered 850. No amount in the NF was ascribed to the crenelations, in our fieldwork we discovered 154. Lastly the balconies, in the NF under ‘balcony/tea houses’ 127 are mentioned; whereas we discovered 86 Indian balconies, of influence could be that there was no elaboration on tea houses and therefore we did not counted them and focusses on the balconies. However in the UNCHS/Habitat study from 1982 a higher number of attributes was mentioned: crenelations (97), Arab carved door (368), Indian carved door (430), barazas (1214), and balconies (231) of a total of 2395 buildings. These values differ a lot from the 1992 amounts, but are more compatible with our amounts. For the further comparison, we will not look at the exact number of elements, but if there have been found more or less in our fieldwork regarding the NF.
PART II • RESULTS

left above • chart 1
Conditions 1982

left middle • chart 2
Conditions 1992

left below • chart 3
Conditions 2011

right above • chart 4
Conditions mnazimmoja

right middle • chart 5
Conditions mkunazini

right below • chart 6
Conditions Kajificheni
left above • chart 7
Conditions Vuga

left second above • chart 8
Conditions Sohomuhogo

left second below • chart 8
Conditions Shangani

left below • chart 9
Conditions Forodhani

right above • chart 10
Conditions Kiponda

right second above • chart 11
Conditions Darajani

right second below • chart 12
Conditions Malindi

right below • chart 13
Conditions Funguni
### Architectural elements chosen to survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Architecture</th>
<th>Elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>Baraza, carved doors, crenelations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Baraza, fascia boards, carved doors (domestic and merchant), balcony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>Carved door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>Mosques, Hindu Temples, Zoroastrian Temple, Buddhist Temple, Anglican Cathedral, Roman Cathedral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Conditions of barazas per type, per ward

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Arab baraza</th>
<th>Indian baraza</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>good</td>
<td>det.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unfortunately both the UNCHS/Habitat report and the NF do not present any information on the location of these attributes. Also no information was given on the condition of the attributes, therefore we decided to take the general building conditions of 1992 as a reference point for the condition at the time of inscription (2000) (chart 3).

Barazas

The Arab baraza contains the social, and aesthetical value according to our analysis of the DT, ABE and NF. From our literature study we also found an Indian type of baraza, which we will also assess.

The location of the Arab and Indian barazas (map 14 and 15) differ from each other. If looking at the location of the Indian ones it can be seen that they are mostly situated along the largest streets. The Indian barazas are found in all wards, however are mostly found around the bordering streets of the Kajificheni ward, thus the centre of the Core Zone. There are only eight barazas found at the borders of the Core Zone. The Arab barazas are also found through the whole Stone Town, however not concentrated on particular streets or spots. Instead of the Indian barazas, the Arab are also found at the borders of the Core Zone. Of both types least barazas are found in Mnazimmoja (Indian two; Arab one).

If we look at the general condition of both of these types of barazas (chart 14 and 15), it is interestingly to see that the conditions are nearly the same. The Arab baraza: 18% good, 64% deteriorating, 16% poor, and 2% in ruins. The Indian baraza: 16% good, 70% deteriorating, 13% poor, and 1% in ruins.

Comparing these percentages to the general percentage of building conditions in 1992, then the percentage of good barazas in Mnazimmoja (0%), Shangani (11%), and Malindi (11%) are lower than the percentage of good buildings in 1992 (13%). The percentage of barazas in poor condition is higher in Kiponda (36%), Darajani
(33%) Shangani (29%) and Malindi (23%) compared to the 22% of 1992. The number of ruins is higher in Forodhani (8%), Sohomuhogo (5%), Mkunazini (4%), and Malindi (3%) related to 2% in 1992.

The highest percentage of good Indian barazas is found in Kiponda (38%), the lowest percentage of good is found again in Mnazimmoja with 0%. As with the Arab barazas, all Indian barazas in Mnazimmoja in deteriorating condition. In Mkunazini, Kajificheni, Sohomuhogo, Shangani, Kiponda, Darajani and Funguni there are no Indian barazas in ruins. The highest percentage of Indian barazas in ruins is found in Vuga and Forodhani (both 3%). The highest percentage of barazas in poor condition is found in Shangani (40%) and Funguni (36%).

When comparing the percentages of the Indian baraza to the percentage of 1992 the following appears with the Indian barazas in good condition. Only the barazas in Shangani (10%), Darajani (7%), Malindi (7%) and Mnazimmoja (0%) have a less percentage of good related to 13% of good buildings in 1992. The percentage of in ruins is higher in Vuga (3%) and in Forodhani (3%) related to 2% in 1992. The poor percentage (1992: 22%) is only higher in Funguni (36%) and Shangani (40%).

The percentage of good Arab barazas being a little bit higher than the percentage of good buildings in 1992 (chart 3) (+5%). However to conclude whether the aesthetical value is still apparent a survey into the age of the barazas is necessary, to see whether the barazas of 2000 are still present or if they have been replaced with new ones. Thus at this stage we can take no conclusions on the presence of the aesthetical value.

The social value is represented by the use of the baraza (to sit on and talk with each other), we did not assess this for every baraza, but from our experience this value is still apparent. However a survey into the use of the barazas is necessary to make justified conclusions.

As mentioned above, we found more Arab barazas than stated in the NF (812 fieldwork 2011; 43 NF), and the condition of the Arab barazas has increased. Based on this information we could say that the level of integrity of the Arab baraza does not seem to be endangered. The condition percentages of the Indian baraza being nearly the same as the Arab one, we could assume that the level of integrity of this type of baraza does not seem to be endangered too. However a survey into the Indian barazas at the time of inscription is necessary to prove this. We found more Arab barazas than the number of barazas mentioned in the NF, however a survey into the age of the barazas is necessary to make justified conclusions on the level of authenticity.

From the DT, ABE and NF we ascribed the aesthetical value to this attribute. In map 16 it can be seen where the fascia boards are located; scattered all over the Stone Town. There are no particular streets or spots where they are located. They are even found in the European neighbourhoods Vuga and Mnazimmoja.

As can be seen in the condition chart of the fascia boards (chart 16), 41% of the fascia boards is in good condition, 44% in deteriorating, 13% in poor condition, and 2% in ruins. In table 13 the condition percentages are listed per ward, as can
be seen the highest percentage of good fascia boards is found in Mnazimmoja (70%) and the lowest in Darajani (25%). The highest percentage of ruins is found in Forodhani (5%) and the highest percentage of poor are found in Darajani (25%) and Kiponda (24%).

All wards in 2011 have a higher percentage of fascia boards in a good condition related to the general building conditions of 1992. The number of poor is in 2011 only higher in Darajani (25%) and Kiponda (24%) related to 22% in 1992. The percentage of in ruins is only higher in Forodhani (5%), Mkunazini (3%) and Malindi (3%) related to 2% in 1992.

When comparing the conditions of fascia boards in 2011 in general (chart 16) with the conditions of 1992 then it can be seen that the percentage of good is higher (1992:13%, 2011:41%), and the percentage of deteriorating (1992:63%, 2011:44%) and poor (1992:22%, 2011: 13%) are both lower. The percentage of in ruins is the same, 2%.

We found more fascia boards than the number mentioned in the NF (142:NF, 430:2011 fieldwork, however a survey into the age of the fascia boards is necessary to make justified conclusions on the level of authenticity. The relative good condition related to 1992 and the number of fascia boards found in 2011 related to the NF, make us conclude that the level of integrity does not seem to be endangered.

Carved doors

The general category carved doors contains the following types: the Arab door (aesthetic, social and scientific value), Indian merchant (economic and historic value) and Indian domestic (historic, aesthetic and age value). The Swahili door was not mentioned in the DT, ABE and NF, however found through literature study, therefore no values are ascribed to this type of door.

The Arab doors are mainly located in the eastern part of the Stone Town (map 17), in Shangani (39), Sohomuhogo (26), Forodhani (27), Malindi (20) and Kajificheni (20) of a total of 160 Arab doors in the Stone Town. In Darajani no Arab doors are found. As with the Indian barazas, the Indian merchant doors are mainly found along the streets which are borders of Kajificheni (map 18). They are mainly situated in the centre of the Core Zone and not at the borders. The Indian domestic doors are mainly situated in Shangani (25) of 59 in the whole Stone Town (map 19). In Darajani no Indian domestic doors are found. Only one Indian domestic door is found in Malindi. The Swahili doors are found all through the Stone Town, however none are found in Mnazimmoja, three in Darajani and four in Kiponda (map 20). Most of them are concen-
trated in Funguni (50), Kajificheni (39), Malindi (39) Sohomuhogo (37) and Vuga (29) of 242 in total. No Swahili doors are found in Mnazimmoja.

When looking at the carved doors in general, the condition percentages in 2011 are: 36% good, 48% deteriorating, 14% poor, 2% in ruins. Compared to the general building conditions of 1992 they have a higher percentage of good, and a lower of deteriorating, poor and in ruins than in 1992 (chart 2). The conditions of the different types of carved doors are as follow: Arab (26% good, 39% deteriorating, 29% poor, 6% in ruins), Indian merchant (24% good, 67% deteriorating, 9% poor, 1% in ruins), Indian domestic (61% good, 36% deteriorating, 3% poor, 0% in ruins) and Swahili (47% good, 36% deteriorating, 16% poor, 1% in ruins). All of the doors have a higher percentage of good buildings related to the general building conditions of 1992. When looking at the Arab doors, the percentage of poor and in ruins is higher than of the build environment in 1992, the poor percentage is almost the double percentage of the percentages which can be found with the other architectural elements, with the in ruins this difference is even bigger. The Indian domestic door is the opposite of the Arab doors when looking at the conditions, which is almost five times the good percentage of the general condition in 1992. The poor percentage (3%) is very small, also striking is the in ruins percentage; zero.

If looking at the conditions of the Arab doors per ward (table 14), Vuga stands out with a percentage of 100% good doors. Funguni has no Arab doors which have a good condition, but also none in ruins. Mkunazini has the highest percentage in ruins (40%). Compared to the general conditions of 1992 (chart 2) only Funguni has a lower percentage of good Arab carved doors. Mkunazini (40%), Sohomuhogo (12%), Malindi (10%), Kajificheni (5%) and Shangani (3%) have a higher percentage of ruins than in 1992 (2%). However all other wards, except for Darajani have no Arab doors in ruins. Funguni (67%), Forodhani (37%), Malindi (35%), Shangani (26%), and Kajificheni (25%) have a higher percentage of poor Arab doors related to a general building condition of 22% poor in 1992.

The Indian merchant door in Mnazimmoja and Darajani have zero percent in good conditions, but also zero in ruins. The highest percentage of good buildings is found in Funguni (50%), Sohomuhogo (46%) and Kiponda (42%). Sohumohogo (8%) and Malindi (2%) are the only wards which have Indian merchant doors in ruins. The highest percentage of poor doors is found in Shangani (33%), the lowest in Mnazimmoja (0%) and Funguni (0%). Related to the general building conditions of 1992 only Mnazimmoja (0%) has a lower percentage of good Indian merchant doors related to the general building conditions (13%). Only Sohomuhogo has a higher percentage of ruins (8%) related to 1992 (2%). Only Shangani has a higher percentage of poor Indian merchant doors (33%) than in 1992 (poor 22%).

The Indian domestic door is not found in Mkunazini, Vuga, Darajani and Funguni. The highest percentage of good domestic doors is found in Kiponda with 100% and Malindi with also 100%. The least good percentage has Sohomuhogo with 33%. There are no ruins at all and poor condition only in Sohomuhogo (33%). Compared to the general building conditions of 1992 do all the wards in 2011 have a higher percentage of good, except for Sohomuhogo a lower percentage of deteriorating and no ruins.
### Fascia boards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>det.</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>ruins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Arab door

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>good</th>
<th>det.</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>ruins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Indian merchant door

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>det.</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>ruins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Indian domestic door

<table>
<thead>
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<th>good</th>
<th>det.</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>ruins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
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<td>63%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>88%</td>
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<td>0%</td>
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<td>Kiponda</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Swahili door

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>good</th>
<th>det.</th>
<th>poor</th>
<th>ruins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mnazimmoja</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mkunazini</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kajificheni</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuga</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohomuhogo</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangani</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiponda</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funguni</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Swahili door has the highest percentage of good in Vuga (69%), Mkunazini (67%) and Forodhani (60%). The lowest percentage of good is found in Darajani with zero percent. Forodhani (7%) and Sohomuhogo (3%) are the only wards with Swahili doors in ruins. The poor percentage is the highest in Mkunazini (25%), Kiponda (25%), and Sohomuhogo (24%) and the lowest in Darajani with zero percent. Related to 1992 only Darajani (0%) and Shangani (7%) have a lower percentage of good than 1992 (13%). The percentage of ruins in 2011 is only higher in Forodhani (7%) and Sohomuhogo (3%) than 2% in 1992. The poor percentage is higher in Mkunazini (25%), Kiponda (25%), and Sohomuhogo (24%) related to 22% in 1992.

The Arab door has a higher percentage of poor and in ruins related to 1992, the loss of Arab doors assaults all values which are ascribed to this door (social, aesthetical and scientific value). The Indian merchant door contained at the moment of inscription the economic and the historic value, from our experience are these values still present for many doors are still used in shop-front buildings which still function as shops. However a study into the use of the buildings is necessary to prove this assumption. The Indian domestic door has a much higher percentage than the general building conditions in 1992, therefore it is credible that the historic, aesthetical and age value are still represented. However a study into the age of the doors is necessary to prove this assumption. The Swahili door was not mentioned in the NF.

In our fieldwork we found 850, in the NF only 277 were mentioned, a survey into the age of the doors is necessary to make justified statements on the level of authenticity. The condition of the Arab carved doors is related to 1992 worse, therefore the level of integrity of this type of carved door has been assaulted. For the other doors the level of integrity does not seem to be endangered. If regarding the carved doors as a general category, than both the level of authenticity and integrity are assaulted.

Crenelations

From the analysis of the DT, ABE and NF the crenelations were ascribed the aesthetical value. The crenelations are found through the whole Stone Town, but especially around the coast line (map 21). In 2011, 40% are in good condition, 42% in deteriorating condition, 16% in poor condition and 1% in ruins (chart 21).

If looking at table 15 it becomes clear that highest percentage of good crenelations are found in Kajificheni (60%), Shangani (57%) and Forodhani (50%) and the lowest in Darajani (0%) and Mnazimmoja (14%). There are only crenelations in ruins found in Forodhani (11%), in all other wards there are no ruins. The poor percentage is the highest in Mnazimmoja (50%), Vuga (33%) and Sohomuhogo (31%). In Kiponda, Darajani and Funguni the poor percentage is zero.

Related to 1992 do all the wards have a higher percentage of good (13%), except for Darajani (0%). The number of ruins is also lower in all wards except for Forodhani. The percentage of poor crenelations is higher in Mnazimmoja (50%), Vuga (33%) and Sohomuhogo (31%).

When comparing the conditions of the crenelations in general (chart 21 and table 15 above • table 13 Conditions of fascia boards per ward below • table 14 Conditions of carved doors per type, per ward Map 17 Arab Carved doors Map 18 Indian Merchant carved doors Map 19 Indian Domestic carved doors Map 20 Swahili carved doors Chart 17 Conditions Arab carved door 2011 Chart 18 Conditions Indian merchant carved door 2011 Chart 19 Conditions Indian domestic carved door 2011 Chart 20 Conditions Swahili carved door 2011

Crenelations
Building attributes 2011: Carved doors

- Indian Domestic
- Not attributed
- Core Zone
- Buffer Zone (land)
- Buffer Zone (6,200 hectares of sea)
Building attributes 2011: Carved doors

- Swahili
- Not attributed
- Core Zone
- Buffer Zone (land)
- Buffer Zone (6,200 hectares of sea)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crenelations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42% good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10% deteriorating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40% poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2% ruins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether the aesthetical value is still apparent is not only depending from the condition, but also from the age of the crenelations. A survey into the age of the crenelations is necessary to make justified statements about the values present. It is also necessary to find out how many crenelations were present at the time of inscription (2000).

No amount of crenelations was mentioned in the NF, but the condition of the crenelations has increased. Therefore the integrity of the fascia boards does not seem to be endangered. A survey into the age of the crenelations is necessary to make justified statements about the authenticity.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions of crenelations per ward</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

left • chart 21

| Condition crenelations 2011 |

right • chart 22

| Condition Indian balconies 2011 |

Balconies

The balconies contain the aesthetical, scientific and ecological value. The balconies are found in the whole Stone Town, most are located in Shangani (fifteen), followed by Malindi (thirteen), Kiponda (eleven), Kajificheni (ten) and Forodhani (ten) of the 86 Indian balconies found (map 22).

The general conditions of the balconies in 2011 are 45% good, 37% deteriorating, 17% poor and 1% in ruins. From table 16 it can be seen that the highest percentage of good balconies is found in Mnazimmoja, and the lowest in Mkunazini (0%) and Darajani (7%). The only balconies in ruins are found in Forodhani (10%), all other wards have zero ruined balconies. The highest percentage of poor is found in Mkunazini (33%), Shangani (27%) and Kiponda (27%). Four wards have zero percent of poor balconies: Mnazimmoja, Vuga, Sohomuhogo and Funguni.

Compared to 1992 only Mkunazini (0%) and Darajani (7%) have a lower percentage of good balconies in 2011. The number of ruins is only higher in Forodhani (10%) related to 1992 (2%). The poor percentage is in 2011 related to 1992 (22%) higher in Mkunazini (33%), Shangani (27%) and Kiponda (27%).

When comparing the conditions of the balconies in general (chart 22 and table 16 last row) of 2011 with 1992, then it can be seen that the good percentage in 2011 is higher (1992:13%, 2011:44%) and the deteriorating (1992:63%, 2011:37%), poor (1992:22%, 2011:17%) and in ruins (1992:2%, 2011:1%) are lower.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balconies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44% good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37% deteriorating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18% poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1% ruins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whether the balconies still present the aesthetical, scientific and ecological value can be analysed by the number of balconies in 2000
Building attributes 2011: Crenelations

- Crenelations
- Not attributed
- Core Zone
- Buffer Zone (land)
- Buffer Zone (6,200 hectares of sea)

Scale: 100 200 300 500 1000 m
(127) and in 2011 (86). The number has decreased, which means that the values also have been assaulted, for not all elements carrying this value are present anymore.

The amount in 2011 being lower than in 2000 means that the level of integrity has been assaulted. The number of balconies could still be authentic, however a survey into the age of these elements is necessary to make justified statement about the authenticity.

From the described elements (barazas, fascia boards, carved doors, crenelations and balconies) has the level of authenticity of the carved doors been assaulted. Of the other elements it is not possible to say whether the level of authenticity has changed or not, because information on the age of the elements is necessary to make justified statements. The level of integrity of the barazas, fascia boards and crenelations does not seem to be endangered. However of the carved doors and the balconies the level of integrity has been assaulted. Thus both the level of authenticity and integrity of the carved doors has been assaulted.

The barazas are the element with the lowest percentage of good; almost all other elements have the double percentage or more of the good condition. Together with the Indian merchant door is baraza the only element which has a higher percentage of deteriorating related to the general condition in 1992. The Indian domestic door is the opposite of the Arab doors when looking at the conditions, this type of door contains the highest number ‘good’ regarding all the other architectural elements, which is almost five times more than the general condition in 1992. The ‘poor’ percentage (3%) is by far the smallest one regarding all the other elements and 1992, also striking is that the ‘in ruins’ percentage; zero.

From the comparison between the building conditions of 1992 with the conditions of the elements in 2011 some conclusions on the wards can be made. Is has been looked on a lower percentage of ‘good’, a higher percentage of ‘poor’ and a higher percentage of ‘in ruins’ in 2011 related to 1992, Appendix V. First it is striking that all wards belong at least to one of these categories. To start with a higher percentage of ruins, this was found in Forodhani (six elements had an higher percentage of in ruins), Sohomuhogo (four), Malindi and Mkunazini (two), and Darajani, Kajificheni and Vuga (one). A higher percentage of poor was found in Shangani (five), Kiponda (four), Darajani, Mkunazini and Funguni (two), and Mnazimmoja, Malindi, Forodhani, Sohomuhogo, Kajificheni and Vuga (one). A lower percentage of poor was found in Shangani and Darajani (four), Mnazimmoja (three), Malindi (two) and Funguni (one).

The in ruins and poor condition have the most direct influence on the loss of building elements. Forodhani, Sohomuhogo, Malindi, Mkunazini, Darajani, Kajificheni and Vuga, are all wards which have a higher percentage of ruins in one or more categories, and also have a higher percentage of poor condition in one or more categories.

Religious architecture

According to the NF the following buildings are part of the religious architecture: 30 mosques, four Hindu Temples, a Zoroastrian and a Buddhist Temple, and two Christian
Building attributes 2011: Indian Balconies
cathedrals. First we had to find out if all these buildings are still there, the Hindu temples and the Christian Cathedrals are still there and we partly visited them. The Buddhist temple and the Zoroastrian Temple we did not find. The tour guide in the Hindu Temple, Shree Shiv Shakti Mandir, told us that the Buddhist Temple was not present anymore. The mosques are many and from the building it is often not easy to recognise as one, this together with the fact that we did not do a survey into the use of the buildings, we can’t tell the exact number of mosques present. In the Zanzibar Stone Town Strategic Conservation Plan from 2008, it says “scattered all over Stone Town there are about fifty one mosques”, so from this we can assume that the number of mosques present has increased from 2000 on. An elaboration will be made per building group, except for the Zoroastrian and the Buddhist temple.

Mosques contain the social and aesthetical value. The social value lies in the religion which is represented by these buildings, but also in the function the mosques contains of being ‘social nodes’ in the town and connecting different quarters. The aesthetical value lies in two mosques, which are especially mentioned under ‘monuments’ in the NF, being the Malindi Bmnara Mosque and the Jamat Khan. The Malindi Bmnara Mosque contains a minaret with double chevron pattern, this mosque is from 1982 until 2011 in deteriorating condition. A comparison between the state of this building in 2000 and 2011 could reveal if the mosque if the level of authenticity has been assaulted or not. It also will show whether the values are still present. The integrity does not seem to be endangered, for the condition stayed the same. The Jamat Khan is a very impressive work, which was in good condition in 1982 and 1992, but in a deteriorating one in 2000 and 2011, thus the level of integrity does not seem to be endangered. As for the former mosque a comparison survey of the building state in 2000 and 2011 is necessary to make conclusions on the level of authenticity and the cultural values. For the mosque category in general a specific survey is needed to assess the number of mosques and their condition and compare them with the situation in 2011.

The Hindu temples contain the social and aesthetical value. The social value lies in the religion which is connected to these buildings. The Arya Samaj and the Shree Shiv Shakti Mandir Temple are still used as such, the other two probably also. The aesthetical value refers to the towers of the Shree Shiv Shakti Mandir temple, which are still present. The conditions of the temples are overall constant: the Temple in Gizenga Street (1982, 1992, 2011 deteriorating), Arya Samaj Temple behind the Old Fort (1982, 1992, 2011 deteriorating), Shree Shiv Shakti Mandir Temple (1982, 1992, 2011 deteriorating), Hindu Temple in Kiponda (1982 poor, 1992 deteriorating, 2011 poor). Thus the level of integrity does not seem to be endangered. However to make justified conclusions on the level of authenticity, as with the former categories a comparison between these temples in 2000 with 2011 is necessary. Then it will also be possible to assess the cultural values.

The Christian influence in Stone Town is represented in the Anglican Cathedral and the Catholic Cathedral. They are both in deteriorating state (Anglican 1982, 1992, 2000, 2011 deteriorating; Catholic 1982 deteriorating, 1992, 2000, 2011 good), thus the level of integrity does not seem to be endangered. Whether they still possess the political and historic value and how the level of authenticity at present is, 40 See footnote 5, pp. 7-15
should be revealed by a comparison of the buildings in 2000 and in 2011.

Concluding to assess the religious architecture in a thorough way a specified analysis is needed into the use of these buildings and a comparison between these buildings in 2000 and 2011. From the information now available it is not possible to make justified statements on the level of authenticity and integrity of the religious architecture in general.

1.2.3 Building traditions

The attribute ‘building tradition’ will be assessed by our documentary and oral inventory, for we did not do fieldwork into this attribute. In the Zanzibar Stone Town Strategic Conservation Plan (HMP) 2008 it is stated that “As far as skills are concerned, traditional construction techniques are virtually lost, while new methods are widespread but quality of craftsmanship is not very high. This is why the design of the project will be very simple.”. This has not only influence on new buildings, but also on the repair and the maintenance of the traditional elements. Apart from this the quality of the wood used for temporary carvings is not of very good quality.

The traditional barazas are made out of limestone, which is a dense version of the coral stone and “is found locally but is rare and nowadays not available on Zanzibar”. When a baraza is broken, the limestone will be replaced by cement. The walls of the traditional buildings are made of coral stone, because the crenellations are one with the wall, they are also made of this material. But coral stone is scarce and the quality of this material, and of lime mortar, used is not always good, which causes the use of modern materials both for repairs as for new buildings, for example Portland cement. The use of cement is difficult in the humid climate of Zanzibar, and creates building loss. Another problem with Portland cement is its incompatibility with lime mortar, which fastens the deteriorating process instead of slowing it down.

An urban planner of the Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy (MCLWE) mentioned that “they don’t use these old building materials anymore, which is lime, coral stone and mangrove poles, because it will be very expensive and time consuming.” (interview 17-01-2011). He also referred to the craftsmanship: “those people who have that knowledge, there are just a very few people left, and if they are very old, the younger generation doesn’t work with these old techniques.”

An engineer from the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) stated that “it is not allowed to use cement, because these buildings are constructed by using local material, lime stone and so. But most of the people don’t use local material and change from lime to cement. (...) We make sure if you construct a new construction in the Stone Town you have to use a local material instead of a modern material. We try to make the people familiar with these local materials, they are not now.” (interview 20-01-2011)

Nothing was mentioned on the problems regarding the building traditions in the NF; however the UNCHS/Habitat study (1982) and the Aga Khan study (1992) already mention it. The above sketched situation has a diminish-

43 Ibid.
44 See footnote 41, pp. 30-31
45 See footnote 36, p. 93
ing influence on all of the values which building traditions possessed according to the DT, ABE and NF, being the historic, aesthetical, scientific and age value. Also the number of traditional elements will lessen, based on our documentary and oral inventories it seems that the level of authenticity is endangered. However fieldwork is needed to make justified statements on the level of authenticity and also for the level of integrity. “The craftsmanship available on the island and knowledge of traditional construction techniques are very limited.”46 This together with the amount of traditional materials available, and thus of traditional architectural elements, it seems the level of integrity is endangered. To prove our assumptions right a detailed study into the building traditions and the architectural elements is necessary, complemented with a physical survey.

1.2.4 Slave trade

From the NF, four elements have been mentioned which should represent the slave trade in the Stone Town; these are the Tippu Tipp House, the Anglican Cathedral, the continuous use as a residential/commercial town and the influence of city-planning on the urban structure/townscape. As mentioned before the last two elements are not elaborated on in the documents and stay rather vague and the expression of the slave trade on these elements is not clear, therefore only the Tippu Tipp House and the Anglican Cathedral shall be assessed here.

The Pound and McDermott state criterion (vi) which is about the slave trade is “referring to symbolic importance of Zanzibar in the suppression of slavery suggest values that are likely to be difficult or impossible to protect and present.”47 They also state that: “There is little testimony to Zanzibar’s role as a symbol of the suppression of slavery and one might query the historical evidence for this.”48 This is also emphasized by a member of the boards of directors of the STCDA: “It’s devoid of what the slave trade is, but is is one of the criteria that we wanted (...) slaves did play a role in the development of Stone Town, using slave labour.” (interview 25-01-2011). This is also stated by the chairman of the Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS): “In fact many of the buildings were built through slave labour, the ones who owned slaves.” (interview 20-01-2011)

The Tippu Tipp House is a vernacular Arab house where the ivory and slave merchant Tippu Tipp lived. In the NF it says that the house “has black and white marble steps and a fine carved door”.49 These black and white marble steps and the carved door are still present. Next to the door is a sign which gives some information on the house both in English and Kiswahili, on top of the sign “World Heritage Site” is to be found. At present it is possible to get a tour in the Tippu Tipp House in which the tour guide, who also lives in the house, explains about how the house was used by Tippu Tipp and his relatives. Part of this tour is also a visit to the tomb of Tippu Tipp and a visit to a granddaughter of him. Both in 1982, 1992 and 2011 the building was in deteriorating condition, in the NF (1999) there was no condition mentioned. The level of integrity does not seem to be endangered, however as with the former paragraph a detailed survey into this building (2000-2011) is needed to take conclusions on the cultural values and the level of authenticity.

The Anglican Cathedral is situated on the site of the last open slave market of Stone Town, several other buildings are found on this site as
well (e.g. a hostel, a school), as is a memorial for the slaves. At the entrance gate a sign can be found with information on the side regarding the slave trade. In the caves of the building where the hostel is to be found, used to be slaves kept. A tour guide takes you to all these places on the site and explains the meaning of these places. According to the NF the Cathedral is a monument and “follows a simple basilican plan and presents unusual combination of perpendicular Gothic and Islamic details – multiple arches and crenellations which were inspired by the buildings’ context of Zanzibar.”. In 1982, 2000 and 2011 the Cathedral was ascribed a deteriorating condition, in 1992 however a poor condition. The level of integrity does not seem to be endangered, however as with the Tippu Tipp House a detailed survey into this building (2000-2011) is needed to take conclusions on the cultural values and the level of authenticity.

The elements which are indeed representing the slave trade are the Tippu Tipp House (represents the economic and historic value of the slave trade) and the Anglican Cathedral (represents the political and historic value of the slave trade). However, two of the four elements which make up slave trade are not clearly elaborated on in the documents, being ‘its continuous use as a residential/commercial town’ (economic, political and historic value) and ‘the city-planning’ (social, political and historic value). It is not clear how these elements are represented in the build environment. To make justified statements on slave trade as a whole, the last two mentioned elements have to be surveyed and as mentioned also the Tippu Tipp House and the Anglican Cathedral.

### 1.2.5 Harbour town

At the time of inscription, the harbour of the Stone Town was situated in the triangle west of the northern part of the Core Zone (map 1). This harbour is called Malindi Port and was built in 1927; and between 1989-1991 this quay was extended with eleven meters both to the west and the south along the outline of the original quay. The extension was built up of a concrete slab on piles, which was the way the port looked like at the time of inscription. Though, the last extension appeared to be substandard and a new project, which contained two options, was founded, which started in 2004. Due to procedural errors the option which had the greatest negative influence regarding Stone Town as WH was carried out, consequently two warehouses from 1927 have been demolished, imported fill related to dredging operations has been dumped in the green belt of Stone Town, a large yellow steel stop-barrier and a new connecting bridge between the jetty and the quay have been erected. In the RMR (2008) and the SoC (2008) concern was expressed regarding the impact the extension of the port could have on the sea level and waves and consequently on condition of the sea wall.

Except for the harbour itself, which is mainly used for passengers traveling from and to Zanzibar and container ships, the local people also give their expression to the attribute ‘harbour town’. Next to the harbour, on the beach, a lot of boats are lying which belong to the local people, they use them either for fishing or for taking tourists to the nearby islands or on snorkelling trips.

Since the inscription the Port went through some changes, which had an influence on the values which the Port had at the time of inscription. The economic value has increased, for example the number of container traffic and passengers is rising. The ecological value has
decreased, for the Port has a negative influence on both the natural and artificial environment. The historical and political value were respectively found in the use of the Port and beach and in the strategically position of Zanzibar, no changes have been found in these values since the inscription on the WHL. Apart from this, the new built parts of the port, destroyed two original warehouses from 1927 and affected elements of the Port from 1927 and 1989-1991 by using concrete to fill up instead of restoring the original piles. By affecting the build environment the level of authenticity has been assaulted. The integrity of this attribute does not seem to be endangered, for the Port has been extended.

1.2.6 Cultural fusion and harmonization

For the cultural fusion and harmonization will be looked at the architecture. Each element will be separately looked at, to assess how the cultural fusion (amalgamation) and the cultural harmonization (next to each other) are present.

The Indian architectural elements are the fascia boards, balconies, carved doors and barazas. Interestingly the Indian merchant doors and the Indian barazas are mainly found along the border streets of Kajificheni (map 15 and 18). The Indian domestic doors (map 19) however are concentrated in and around Shangani, southwestern part of Stone Town, which is traditionally a more Arab part. It seems that the Arabs have taken over the Indian style door, which can be ascribed by the NF “During the latter part of the century the more distinctive finely carved Indian-style doors with their semi-circular lintels became popular even with the Arabs”. Lastly the fascia boards (map 16) and the balconies (map 22) are found all over the Stone Town. The Arab elements are the carved door, the baraza and the crenelations, the carved doors (map 17) are found all through Stone Town, but concentrated in the eastern part. As the fascia boards and the balconies the Arab barazas (map 14) and crenelations (map 21) are found all over the Stone Town. Lastly the Swahili carved doors are also found all through the town (map 20).

This survey is only a small starting point for a further assessment of this attribute, which is also seen in the urban structure/townscape and the religious tolerance. At this stage no justified statements can be made about the level of authenticity and integrity.

A member of the boards of directors of the STCDA stated that “By now the Stone Town is flouted by people of different characters, different cultures. For example walking along Gizenga Street you see all these carvings and paintings that is totally alien to Zanzibari culture. (...) it is overwhelmed by totally new cultures which is totally destructive to Zanzibari culture. The fusion that is being talked about is not that one.” (interview 25-01-2011). This is an interesting aspect for further survey into the cultural fusion an harmonization.

1.2.7 Religious tolerance

An important part of the religious tolerance is the religious architecture, paragraph 1.2.2, however the level of authenticity and integrity can not be stated with the present information. As mentioned further research is necessary into the religious buildings and the use of them. This is also necessary when making justified statements on the religious tolerance.

54 Interview with Ports Authority (27-01-2011)
55 See footnote 5, p. 14
1.2.8 Living town

Under living town the use of the town shall be assessed and compared to what is mentioned in the three documents. We did not do a survey into the use of the buildings, therefore we can only make general descriptions. Firstly the ongoing commercial use of the town which is being manifested in the public markets at the Darajani and the use of the town as a harbour. Both of these facilities are still apparent and are still used a lot by the local people. As mentioned under ‘harbour town’ the economic value has increased, the ecological decreased and the historical and political stayed the same. The authenticity is assaulted and the integrity seems not to be endangered. The public markets only have the economic value, which is still apparent, also are both the Estella (fruit) and the Darajani Market (fish, meat, vegetables) still there and in use. The Stone Town always had a residential use, which is still apparent, the number of inhabitants of the Stone Town is still rising and it even lays a pressure on the city and causes overcrowded buildings.\(^{56}\) But still the historic values are carried out. The political values represented in the Stone Town being the seat of the government, is also still there, almost all of the governmental facilities are housed here.\(^{57}\) The same goes for the historical value of the educational values: Stone Town serves the whole island with its educational facilities.\(^{58}\) The Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy referred to Stone Town as an “educational centre” (interview 26-01-2011). As mentioned under religious tolerance, a detailed survey is needed to make justified statements about this attribute. As goes with the other elements of this attribute, a survey is needed to confirm our general assumptions.

1.3 Conclusion on the attributes

From the former two paragraphs it becomes possible to answer the first sub question: What is the current level of authenticity and integrity of the OUV of the Stone Town? From our fieldwork we were able to assess the urban structure/townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’ and the architecture (barazas, carved doors, crenelations, fascia boards and balconies) in a detailed way. The attributes: urban structure/townscape (narrow whopping street; courtyard), architecture (religious buildings), harbour town, building traditions, religious tolerance, cultural fusion and harmonization and living town, we could not assess in an encompassing way because we did not do a survey into the use of the buildings. Two of the four elements of slave trade were not elaborated on in the NF (continuous use as a residential/commercial town and city-planning) and it was not clear how those elements are part of the slave trade.

Of elements which make up the urban structure/townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’ and the architecture none has the same level of authenticity and integrity in 2011 as it had at the time of inscription (2000). The urban structure/townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’ has bot an assaulted level of authenticity and integrity. From the architectural elements (barazas, fascia boards, carved doors, crenelations and balconies) the level of authenticity of the carved doors has been assaulted. Of the other elements it is not possible to say whether the level of authenticity has changed or not, because information on the age of the elements is necessary to make justified statements. The level of integrity of the barazas, fascia boards and crenelations does not seem to be endangered. However of the carved doors and the balconies the level of integrity has been assaulted. Thus both the level of authenticity and integrity of the
carved doors have been assaulted.

The urban structure/townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’ and the carved doors, which are the two elements which have been assessed fully both show an assaulted level of both authenticity and integrity. Because of this the OUV of the Stone Town is also assaulted.

If relating the different attributes with each other than the attribute building traditions has a direct influence both on the urban structure/townscape and architecture. It would be interesting to assess the attribute building traditions in an encompassing way and survey the influence this has on the urban structure/townscape and architecture. For we found both an endangered authenticity and integrity of building traditions. The possible disappearance of the Zoroastrian and the Buddhist temple has an endangering effect on their authenticity and integrity, affecting the religious architecture, the cultural fusion and harmonization, the religious tolerance and the living town.

To make an encompassing analysis of the authenticity and integrity of the urban structure/townscape the two other elements (open public space (narrow shopping-street) and open private space (courtyard)) need to be assessed. Further it is recommended that the use of the buildings as from the open space will be surveyed, the style of the new constructions and the way they are placed in the urban structure related to the former buildings, and the density of build area and open area. This last recommendation will give a more specific view of the density as the number of buildings per ward which we did use.

For an encompassing analysis of the architecture first a study into the European and Swahili architecture is necessary. Furthermore a study into the age of the different architectural elements is necessary in order to make justified statements on the level of authenticity and the cultural values which the elements do possess. A survey into the use of the buildings in general and the use of the baraza are recommended, especially to find out if the cultural values are still represented by the architectural elements. An assessment of the Indian baraza at the time of inscription, for there is no information available now. Lastly to compare the different studies into the build environment (UNHS/Habit 1982, Aga Khan Trust for Culture 1992, NF 2000) on the criteria which they used to assess the build environment.

For the building traditions a detailed study related to the build environment is important. As for the cultural fusion and harmonization the contemporary cultures present on the island. In general the assessment of authenticity and integrity should contain all the attributes mentioned in the DT, ABE and NF. Thus also the attributes not further assessed in paragraph 1.2 (streetscape elements, monuments, European explorers) need to be taken into consideration. Apart from this two aspects of the slave trade remained unclear; the relationship between the residential/commercial use and the slave trade, and the influence of the slave trade on the city-planning of the Stone Town.
In this chapter the institutional framework regarding the management, development and conservation of the Stone Town will be explained. Both the stakeholders and the policy documents will be discussed in the next two paragraphs, followed by a significance survey on the documents found relevant for the Stone Town as World Heritage Site.

2.1 Stakeholders

From the research we identified twelve different stakeholders being of significant importance for Stone Town which is displayed in scheme 1. Four main categories characterize the nature and participation of each stakeholder involved; in general the influence on the management is greater when moving more to the left of scheme 1.

Scheme 1 starts with six governmental bodies that have an active role in the management process of the Stone Town consisting of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority; the Zanzibar Municipal Council; the Department of Survey and Urban Planning; the Department of House and Human Settlement Development; the Department of Antiquities and Monuments; and the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority. From the above mentioned governmental bodies only the STCDA and the ZMC have decision-making responsibilities which in scheme 1 is reflected under the ‘management’ category. The HMP mentions that on this matter “there are some problems of overlapping with the municipality [and the STCDA] but they do not seem to be substantial, both STCDA and ZMC know the regulations and are able to solve conflict issues”. However, this will be discussed later in this report.

The remaining stakeholders are categorized in the two most right columns; their role is rather passive and of advisory nature. First are the land- and building owners who are made up of the Government of Zanzibar, the Wakf and Trust Commission and private owners. Secondly, the independent bodies are the Zanzibar Ports Corporation, the Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society, and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture.

Representatives of the majority of the above mentioned stakeholders have been interviewed and some of their statements are represented in the following of this report. These stakeholders include the STCDA, ZMC, Department of Survey and Urban Planning, Department of House and Human Settlement Development, Department of Antiquities and Monuments, ZIPA, GOZ, WTC, ZPC and the ZSTHS.

**Government of Zanzibar (GOZ)**

About 500 buildings of the building stock of the conservation area are owned by, and under control of the GOZ and their associated corporations. Buildings owned by the GOZ are either offices or public housing. Since the government was not able to maintain all its buildings, a project to privatise these buildings was initiated in 1985. However, only a small number of the buildings were sold. The Zanzibar Vision 2020 states that “300 buildings were sold and at the end of two years 85% of the sold stock were repaired to our satisfaction”. Besides these buildings, large (public) areas are under the control of the government, e.g. open spaces, the port and the Buffer Zone.


2 Ibid., p. 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Management</th>
<th>Governmental Bodies</th>
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<td>Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)</td>
<td>Zanzibar Municipal Council (ZMC)</td>
<td>Government of Zanzibar (GOZ)</td>
<td>Zanzibar Ports Corporation (ZPC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zanzibar Municipal Council (ZMC)</td>
<td>Department of Survey and Urban Planning (MCLWE)</td>
<td>Wakfi and Trust Commission (WTC)</td>
<td>Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Department of House and Human Settlement Development (MCLWE)</td>
<td>Private Owners</td>
<td>Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Antiquities and Monuments (Ministry of Education)</td>
<td>Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA)</td>
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Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy (MCLWE)

Three departments and/or institutions under the supervision of the Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy (MCLWE) operate as key-stakeholders concerning the Stone Town. These parties being: the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA); the Department of Surveys and Urban Planning; and the Department of House and Human Settlement Development. This ministry has a lot of authority over Stone Town affairs; though the authority over the conservation and management of the Stone Town is the STCDA.

The ministry admits the difficulty for the STCDA to do their job properly while their possibilities are distant. It also argues the lack of awareness; education is therefore necessary. Even among the higher level the awareness among the politicians is not sufficient; hence the interference with STCDA’s actions.

Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)

The STCDA in its current form was established in 1995 under the STCDA Act in which a set of objectives and its legal authority is stated. A decade earlier the STCDA was called into life to “coordinate all planning and building activities in the Stone Town”. The creation of the STCDA was initiated by the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (UNCHS/HABITAT) as a result of their comprehensive study of the historic area. At that time the STCDA did not have backbone because it operated without any legal mandate, which changed in 1995. The Director General leads the STCDA; he is supported by an external advisory board (Board of Directors), which advises the STCDA on major issues. The Director General is requested to report back to the Minister of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy.

The STCDA is divided into two main departments; one is the ‘technical services division’ and the other ‘conservation and master plan’. The department of ‘technical services division’ consists of numerous fundi’s who work on site and also an economist, artesian and property valuer. Technical knowledge on the conservation and maintenance of buildings is present, but there is a lack of proper education. Within the department of ‘conservation and master plan’ a lawyer, historian, building inspector and documentation worker are active. Furthermore a ‘planning and administration division’ is responsible for the daily routine of the STCDA. The STCDA deals with major budgetary constrains which is reflected in the amount of work done.

Department of Surveys and Urban Planning

The Department of Surveys and Urban Planning serves like the STCDA under the Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Environment and is currently working on and supervisor of the Sustainable Management of Land and Environment (SMOLE). Mentionable outcomes of this project are a detailed air photo that covers the complete conservation area of the Stone Town (Core Zone and Buffer Zone) and a digital cadastral map and database in GIS. This project is a great asset in the conservation and development of the Stone Town. Though this database is not compatible with the database of the STCDA due to different coding ascribed to the separate buildings of Stone Town, for that reason the SMOLE project is not easy to use by the STCDA. Effort should be put to make the databases compatible with each other. Apart from the Stone Town, the Department of Surveys and Urban Planning is responsible for the whole archipelago.
go of Zanzibar.

Department of House and Human Settlement Development

In the MCLWE the Department of House and Human Settlement Development is responsible for facilitating all government owned houses; according to the Director of the Department of House and Human Settlement Development the Stone Town covers about 20% of their buildings (interview 26-01-2011). The department is still trying to sell buildings to raise budget for maintenance projects. Preferably buildings are sold to locals because foreigners mostly have a short-term agenda and walk away with all the profits they make in Zanzibar.9

Department of Antiquities and Monuments

Under the Ministry of Education, the Department of Antiquities and Monuments is responsible for major monuments, museums, archives and archaeological sites. Their goal is to maintain these important buildings with ongoing restoration projects which is also reflected in the new Heritage Management Plan (HMP) of the STCDA. It states that preparations to restore the Peace Memorial Museum are being made; this building is in a poor condition and in urgent need of repair. This building has a great potential in raising the awareness of the Stone Town as World Heritage Site.

Zanzibar Municipal Council (ZMC)

Although Stone Town geographically is the western boundary of the municipal district of Zanzibar Town, it functions as the administrative, business and historic centre of Zanzibar as a whole. The Zanzibar Municipal Council is the overarching local authority responsible for Zanzibar Town in general. Together with the STCDA, it is responsible for the upkeep of sustainable life within the site and its heritage. ZMC is responsible for the Buffer Zone. UNESCO recognised the ZMC as the official body as custodian of the site, however day to day work is done by the STCDA.

Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA)

With the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority, established in 2004, the Government of Zanzibar wanted to show its commitment in creating a supportive environment for investment. ZIPA is an autonomous Governmental Organ acting as a focal point for investment promotion and facilitation in Zanzibar. Their vision is “to have Zanzibar as an attractive and competitive investment destination regionally and globally”.10

All investments in Zanzibar run through ZIPA which has therefore a leading role to play in the development of the Stone Town. Although every action that deals with the Stone Town has to be approved by the STCDA, ZIPA can exercise influence on the motivation and mentality of the investors. Especially investors interested in tourism may have short-term agendas that conflict with the conservation strategies for the Stone Town.

Zanzibar Ports Corporation (ZPC)

The Zanzibar Ports Corporation is responsible for the management of the commercial Malindi Port to the Northwest of Stone Town. It covers a big area and plays an important role in the economy of Zanzibar, since it provides services for big container ships and for passenger ferries. The Port was being expanded in a project which was funded by the European Union, the project was initiated in 2004. Due to procedural errors
there was loss of historic fabric. In 2008 a joint mission of UNESCO and ICOMOS went there and wrote a Reactive Monitoring Report on it.

_wakf and Trust Commission (WTC)_

The Wakf and Trust Commission manages about 600 properties in the Stone Town on behalf of beneficiaries. Waqf is an Islamic practice whereby an owner surrenders his rights to a property and turns over the income to a charity-Waqf and Trust Commission. Buildings include mainly Arab houses, Mosques and other related properties. This organisation is responsible for the maintenance of these properties and the welfare of its occupants. The WTC is aware of their importance in the maintenance of buildings but claims, their main problem is funding. Furthermore, it is working on the preparation of rules for the conservation of buildings managed by the WTC.

Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS)

The Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS) is a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) established in 2002 and its mission is “to promote the conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town’s heritage and the environmental and cultural welfare of its inhabitants”. The ZSTHS is financially supported by the Embassy of Sweden/SIDA, Dar es Salaam. Their main objectives concentrate on the creation of awareness of the local community and to stretch the outreach and involvement in the cultural heritage they are living in. The chairman mentioned that there is still a lack of awareness among the local people. Also training and research is facilitated by the ZSTHS.

Aga Khan Trust for Culture

The Aga Khan Trust for Culture AKTC is an independent organisation that focuses on the improvement of built environments and the physical, social, cultural and economic revitalisation of communities in areas where the presence of Muslims is significant. The AKTC did an extensive research on the Stone Town between 1992-1994 which resulted in the publication of _Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town_ and which formed the basis for the 1993 Conservation Plan. It is part of the overarching Aga Khan Development Network which is “a group of development agencies with mandates that include the environment, health, education, architecture, culture, microfinance, rural development, disaster reduction, the promotion of private-sector enterprise and the revitalisation of historic cities”.

2.2 Policy and Management Documents

All stakeholders involved in the Stone Town deal with the STCDA and consequently with the following three documents: the _1993 Conservation Plan_; the _Zanzibar Vision 2020_; and the _2008 Heritage Management Plan_. STCDA’s legal authority is recorded in the ‘Stone Town Conservation and Development Act’ from 1994, though this document is of low relevance for the scope of this research being a statutory document. However, two management plans and a vision from the STCDA treat the significance of the Stone Town and are therefore useful documents to compliment this inventory of the institutional framework. This part briefly describes the purpose of these documents, later they will be compared with what the stakeholders said during the interviews and the attributes found in the official UNESCO documents. Moreover, they will be analysed in the next paragraph with the significance survey.

14 The official UNESCO documents include the Nomination File, the Advisory Body Evaluation, and the Decision Text
Conservation Plan (1993)

In 1993 the first conservation plan was created for the management of the Stone Town, this was the result of a comprehensive physical and socio-economic survey conducted from June to December 1992 by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. As stated in the 1993 Conservation Plan, “the purpose of the Conservation Plan is to establish guidelines for, and controls on, future development in the Stone Town which will encourage growth while preserving the town’s natural environment, historical character and important architectural features”.15


Though the Zanzibar Vision is a cooperative document from the MCLWE, it mainly expresses the vision for the conservation and development for the Stone Town. This long-term vision was written in 2000 and meant for a period of 20 years. Several departments of the ministry contributed to this document and should be aware of its existence. This, however, is unfortunately not always the case as became apparent during the oral inventories.

Heritage Management Plan (2008)

The Heritage Management Plan was created with the effort of a wide range of stakeholders in the public, private and voluntary sector. The HMP exists along the Strategic Conservation Plan which is a review of the Conservation Master Plan, 1994. Though the HMP was created in 2008, its implementation started only at the beginning of 2011. Together with the Strategic Conservation Plan it is the new guideline for the STCDA to manage and control the Stone Town. The purpose of the management programme discussed in the HMP is “to conserve the outstanding universal value of the cultural heritage assets of the Stone Town World Heritage Site”.16

2.3 Significance Survey

In order to compare the views of the different stakeholders involved in the policy, management and development of the Stone Town, nine documents and five interviews have been analysed with the significance survey. Table 1 shows all the interviewed stakeholders with their organisation and respective roles in the Stone Town.

2.3.1 Significance survey of the oral inventories

In the following statements from interviews with stakeholders are presented; these statements were giving on the question what in their view reflects the cultural significance of Stone Town. Unfortunately, not all stakeholders were interviewed and consequently the below analyses is not sufficient to generalise or conclude from. However, effort is put to make the survey as complete as possible and to give a range of views from the different types of stakeholders as discusses in scheme 1. The type of stakeholders include Governmental Bodies (MCLWE, Department of Survey and Urban Planning, and STCDA), Management Organs (STCDA) and Independent Bodies (ZSTHS).

16 See footnote 1, p. 9
“Each building has its own character that is why they were chosen in those criteria to be preserved.”

(Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy, former Principal Secretary)

“The Stone Town has a mixed architecture (India, Europe, Arabic, and Africa), not only buildings but also different cultures and people. Even the people have mixed blood. Intangible is a bit hidden; tangible is seen by the eyes. Mostly we concentrate on the tangible first and later we take care of the intangible. The first thing you see is the buildings and later on you get to know the custom of the people, the food they ate, how they talk, the way they are living. Buildings without carved doors are also important, depends upon the history of the buildings.”

(Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society, Chairman)

“First, if you take the way it has developed, it is not planned; the historic town. It just developed, in terms of buildings, in terms of street patterns. There are different building types and the material use - although they don’t use these old building materials anymore - which are lime, coral stone and mangrove poles. Because it will be very expensive and time consuming; you need to observe construction, it needs craftsmanship’s; those people who have that knowledge. There are just a very few left, and they are very old. The younger generation doesn’t work with these old techniques.”

(Department of Survey and Urban Planning, Urban Planner)

“The type of material used to construct these buildings is sand, mortar, lime, coral stones and mangrove poles. There was a time where people, before being awared, thought these are primitive kind of materials which they wanted to remove and put maybe concrete and those kinds of things. They have seen that the tourists, when they come, are more interested to that [original] kind of building.”

(Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, Director General)

“There are many, for example, monuments. Not only architecture, but also historical. The nature of the people of the Stone Town which are living within the Stone Town, attitudes, colours, all are living as one family. Also many of the things which happened before the revolution, history, Stone Town is unique. The material which is used in buildings (carved doors, crenellations, and mouldings) and techniques.”

(Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, Engineer)
The above significance survey on the statements of five stakeholders about Stone Town's cultural significance show a highly representation of the social and aesthetical values being mentioned compared to the sporadic presence of the historical, scientific and age values. Absent in these statement are the economic, political and ecological values which were not mentioned at all during the conducted interviews.

2.3.2 Significance survey of the documents

This part of the report deals with the following documents: nomination documents (DT, ABE and NF), protection documents (preparation for the PR, RMR and SoC SP), and management plans (CP, Vision 2020, HMP). The nomination and protection documents are UNESCO related documents, the management plans are found on the level of the local stakeholders.

UNESCO

All documents relevant and (in)directly related to UNESCO are either as nomination or protection documents which is inherent to the status of Stone Town as a World Heritage Site. The former documents reflect the nomination process and are the Nomination File (NF), the Advisory Body Evaluation (ABE) and the Decision Text (DT). In the case of the Stone Town of Zanzibar the latter documents are the Preparation for the Periodic Review; Reactive Monitoring Report; and State of Conservation written by the State Party.

Nomination Documents

The nomination process for the Stone Town dates back to the late 1980’s when an Application File was prepared to justify the Stone Town for being of Outstanding Universal Value. In a second attempt the United Republic of Tanzania prepared a new document which is now known as the Nomination File (NF). The official justification of the OUV of the Stone Town was prepared by ICOMOS and has been published as the Advisory Body Evaluation (ABE). Subsequently, the inscription of the Stone Town of Zanzibar was finalised with a Decision Text (DT) by the World Heritage Committee in 2000. The OUV of the Stone Town of Zanzibar was justified under crite-
ria (ii), (iii) and (vi). According to the World Heritage Committee, “the Stone Town of Zanzibar is a fine example of the Swahili coastal trading towns of East Africa. It retains its urban fabric and townscape virtually intact and contains many fine buildings that reflect its particular culture, which has brought together and homogenized disparate elements of the cultures of Africa, the Arab region, India, and Europe over more than a millennium.”

All eight cultural values are represented in the NF being of importance for the OUV of the Stone Town of Zanzibar. Highly represented is the social value (24,4%) while the political and age values have a minor role (resp. 5,1% and 5,8%). The economic, historic and aesthetical values are above average represented (resp. 16,7%, 17,3% and 14,7%) while the scientific, age and ecological values are represented under average (resp. 9,0% and 7,1%).

The significance survey projected on the ABE concludes that the OUV of the Stone Town conveys every cultural value except for the age and ecological values. No real big differences in the representation of the cultural values can be found except for the economic and political values (resp. 25,4% and 11,3%). The social, historic, aesthetical and scientific values are all represented on an average level.

The significance survey projected on the DT concludes that the OUV of the Stone Town conveys social, economic, political, historical and aesthetical values. Both the social and economic value are highly represented (resp. 27,3% and 27,3%). To a less extent but still significant are the historical and aesthetical value represented (resp. 18,2% and 18,2%) while the political value is only mentioned once (9,1%).

When comparing the three documents from the nomination process, differences in the presence and frequency of cultural values are visible. The absence of the scientific, age and ecological values in the DT and the age and ecological value in the Advisory Body evaluation are contradictory to the Nomination File in which all eight cultural values are represented. This difference might origin from the length of these documents. While the NF is an extensive document and describes the history and value of the Stone Town in over 50 pages, the ABE and the DT are more comprehensive. A more likely argument however would be the objectiveness of ICOMOS and UNESCO compared to the SP.

Protection Documents

During the protection period of a World Heritage Site several documents can be asked for by the UNESCO Administration. Every six years a Periodic Report is requested accompanied by a State of Conservation of the property. In 2006, a preparation for such a report was created by Christopher Pound and Jane McDermott who evaluated the criteria under which the Stone Town is inscribed on the World Heritage List in a report entitled Stone Town, Zanzibar - State of Conservation (Preparation for the Periodic Review 2007). The report states that “the significance of the site must be reviewed and an agreed Statement of Significance prepared and UNESCO be invited to adopt the revised statement. Alloed to this Statement a supporting document should be prepared justifying the adjusted reasons that Stone Town has been included on the World Heritage List. This should include a comparative study to reinforce the universal importance of Stone Town Zanzibar”.

A State of Conservation was included in a Reactive Monitoring Report by Karel A. Bakker (ICOMOS) and L. Assomo Eloundou (UNESCO WHC) after a mission to the Stone Town in 2008. Bakker and Eloundou evaluated the developments concerning the Malindi Port to the northwest of Stone Town. They also concluded that the issue of development (already apparent at the time of inscription) still was regarded as a threat.

While all eight cultural values are represented in the report by Pound and McDermott it is striking to see the enormous difference between the economic and political values present (resp. 28,0% and 2,7%). Even though the social values are well represented (17,3%) there is no big difference between the other values.

Again the economic values is highly represented (32,3%) compared to the social, historic,
aesthetical, scientific and age values (resp. 6.9%, 9.2%, 3.4%, 5.7% and 1.1%). Surprisingly, the political and ecological values are well represented (resp. 21.8% and 19.5%).

The signification survey projected on the State of Conservation concludes that again all eight cultural values are mentioned in this document. The economic values are highly represented (26.7%) while the age values have just a minor role (2.2%). The social, political, historic, aesthetical, scientific and ecological values are represented on an average level.

At a first glance the coherence in the representation of cultural values between the protection documents is surprisingly stable. Though, the documents differ when it comes to the representation of the social, political, aesthetical, and age values. The 2008 Reactive Monitoring Report has, compared to the other values, a high representation of the economic, political and ecological values. This, however, is not surprising there the mission prior to this report concentrated mainly on the developments about the port. Environmental and economical aspects were extensively issued together with political

conflicts. The strong coherence between the Preparation for Periodic Review and the State of Conservation can be attributed to the fact that the former document was actually meant as a preparation for the latter.

Policy and Management

Since the STCDA is responsible managing the World Heritage Site the content of their management plans and vision(s) should reflect and be compatible with the cultural values found in the UNESCO-related documents. Hence the selection was based upon this argument and a signification survey has been reflected on the following documents. Three documents are of use for this research. The first document is a Conservation Plan that guided the STCDA in the conservation and new development of the Stone Town. This Conservation Plan derived from a report that “summarizes the main findings of the field survey and contains the draft planning proposals for the Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan”. Later, in 1996, this survey has been published by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture in Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town. The second document is STCDA’s Zanzibar Vision 2020 prepared under the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment in 2000. This document states STCDA’s future ambition; furthermore it states that “The main strategy in the overall restoration of the Stone Town lies in preventive – rather than curative – maintenance.” Recently, the STCDA presented the Heritage Management Plan, a document that will replace the 1993 Conservation Plan.

19 See footnote 15
All eight cultural values are represented in the 1993 Conservation Plan, though remarkable is the nearly absence of the social, economic and political values (resp. 2.7%, 2.7% and 2.7%) while the ecological values are highly represented (27.1%). The aesthetical and scientific values are well represented (resp. 21.4% and 20.0%) and to a lesser extent are the historic and age values present (resp. 11.4% and 11.4%)

Except for the age values all other seven cultural values are represented in the Zanzibar Vision 2020. The vision cares a lot for the economic and scientific values (resp. 27.8% and 22.2%) and to a lesser extent for the social, aesthetical and ecological values (resp. 16.7%, 11.1% and 11.1%). Only sporadically are the political and historic values mentioned (resp. 5.6% and 5.6%) in the Zanzibar Vision 2020.

The Heritage Management Plan covers all eight cultural values with no extreme focus on one or more specific cultural values. The economic, political and ecological values are best represented (resp. 20.3%, 17.2% and 16.5%) while to a lesser extent the social, historic, aesthetical, scientific and age values are represented (resp. 10.6%, 5.8%, 8.4%, 11.9% and 9.4%).

From the significance survey on the policy and management documents can be concluded that these plans are incoherent and as such they also differ from the UNESCO documents. While in the 1993 Conservation Plan the social, economic and political values and in the Zanzibar Vision 2020 the political, historic and age values are nearly absent, the 2008 Heritage Management Plan represents all values more significantly than the former two documents.

With the new Heritage Management Plan all cultural values are significantly represented which indicates the recognition of the site as having a broad range of values. This does not necessarily indicate a positive trend because focus on the inscribed values (social, economic, political, historic, and aesthetical values) may therefore as well be distorted resulting in a decrease of Stone Town’s OUV.
When comparing the above analyzed documents it is clearly visible that the presence of cultural values is quite different indicating different interpretation of Stone Town’s Outstanding Universal Value. The difference between UNESCO-related documents and the policy and management document is quite understandable because the creation of the latter documents require proper understanding of the properties inscribed cultural significance. Most striking are the absence of the scientific, age and ecological values in the Decision Text while these exact same values are significantly represented in the policy and management documents that guide Stone Town’s conservation and development. Combined with the increasing representation of the economic and political values in the latter documents this tends to distort the interpretation of Stone Town’s OUV. Whereas the cultural values present in the management plans are shifting away from the inscribed values, Stone Town’s cultural significance is interpreted differently by its stakeholders.

Moreover, the Periodic Review discusses the criterions on which the Stone Town has been inscribed on the WHL and argues the incomplete representation of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Stone Town as it is inscribed. This movement probably had influence on the personnel of the STCDA at the time the HMP was created. While the 1993 Conservation Plan focuses on mainly the tangible attributes, the HMP has a broader and more average divided representation of the cultural values. As stated above the lack of awareness in the 1990’s on the intangible value of the Stone Town might have caused this difference. One could say that the awareness has risen over time but at the same time focus on the inscribed values in the HMP might have been lost. In the future, during the implementation of the management plan, this might lead to (unwillingly) destroying Stone Town. The Periodic Review might have confused STCDA’s personnel and therefore it is questionable how objective this HMP really is.

2.4 Conclusions

From the former three paragraphs it becomes possible to answer the second sub question: Who are the stakeholders involved in the managing of the OUV of the Stone Town and what are their roles? In principle the research covers the assessment of identifying the stakeholders and their roles in the managing of the OUV of the Stone Town. Moreover, this part of the research covers the significance survey on five interviews spread over stakeholders with differing interest and legal authority in the Stone Town. Further, another nine documents have been assessed with the significance survey including: the Nomination File, the Advisory Body Evaluation, the Decision Text, the Preparation for Periodic Review, the Reactive Monitoring Report, the State of Conservation, the Conservation Plan, the Zanzibar Vision 2020, and the Heritage Management Plan.

The management of the Stone Town is executed by the STCDA in collaboration with the ZMC and generally, the STCDA is responsible for the Core Zone and the ZMC for the Buffer Zone. Policymaking bodies that involve the Stone Town include the MCWLE, the Department of Survey and Urban Planning, the Department of Housing and Human Settlement Development, the Department of Antiquities and Monuments and the ZIPA. Landowners include the GOZ, the WTC, and private owners. Finally, independent bodies influencing the Stone Town are the ZPC, the ZSTHS, and the AKTC.
The above results from the significance survey discuss the differences and similarities between the nine documents analysed. Moreover the results from five interviews have been presented here. The difference between UNESCO-related documents and the policy and management document is quite understandable because the creation of the latter documents require proper understanding of the properties inscribed cultural significance. Compelling during the interviews was the strong representation of the social and aesthetical values while these exact two values were present in the Decision Text but somewhat undervalued in the Heritage Management Plan. Whereas the cultural values present in the management plans are shifting away from the inscribed values, Stone Town’s cultural significance is interpreted differently by its stakeholders. Though, one could say that the awareness has risen over time but at the same time focus on the inscribed values in the HMP might have been lost. In the future, during the implementation of the management plan, this might lead to (unwillingly) destroying Stone Town.
3 THREATS

The subject of chapter three is the threats regarding the Stone Town, which is related to sub question 3: What are the threats and respective causes found affecting the OUV of the Stone Town? In this chapter the effect of some threats on the attributes is described, the causes of some threats and an assessment of the documentary and oral inventories regarding the threats.

3.1 Threats, documents, stakeholders and attributes

In this paragraph the threats will be described which are found among the documentary, oral and physical inventories. To find the threats the following documents have been studied:

Policy and management documents:
- Conservation Plan (1993) (CP)

Nomination documents:
- Decision Text (2000) (DT)
- Nomination File (1999) (NF)

Protection related documents UNESCO:
- 32 COM 7B.54 (2008)
- State of Conservation 32 COM 7B.Add (2008) (SoC)

- 34 COM 7B.54 (2010)

Two studies on the Stone Town:

Also the oral inventories of the stakeholders listed in table 15 have been used and the results from the physical inventory as presented in chapter one of this report. From this survey we found the following threats:

- threat 1: Loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements
- threat 2: New (uncontrolled) building developments
- threat 3: Loss of (building) traditions
- threat 4: Neglect, lack of maintenance and repair
- threat 5: Pressure of commercial land use (and buildings)
- threat 6: Visitors/tourist pressures
- threat 7: Environmental pressures
- threat 8: Pressure on infrastructure network
- threat 9: Number of inhabitants within the property and buffer zone
- threat 10: Lack of funding
- threat 11: Lack of awareness
- threat 12: Lack of interpretation and presentation of the criteria of OUV
- threat 13: Inadequate policies and management on the conservation and development
The first four threats (3.1.1 – 3.1.4) are directly related to the built environment, the next five threats (3.1.5 – 3.1.9) are different kind of pressures which partly influence the built environment, 3.1.10-3.1.12 are ‘lacks’ which have a negative influence on the built environment and lastly 3.1.13 is about problems regarding the institutional framework and the managing of the site.

This survey being an architectural one, we focussed on the first two threats (loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements and the new (uncontrolled) building developments), which are fully surveyed and linked to the build environment. Threat four (neglect, lack of maintenance and repair), eleven (lack of awareness) and thirteen (inadequate policies and management on the conservation and development) are also a little bit further elaborated on.

3.1.1 Loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (threat 1)

This threat can be seen as the encompassing threat which represents the direct influence on the build environment, both the deterioration of the buildings and finally their collapse.

Documentary inventory

This threat is mentioned in all documents of three categories, except for the nomination documents DT, ABE and NF (policy and management: CP pp. 2-3; Vision p. 95; HMP p. 38) (protection related: PR pp. 26, 35; 32 COM 7B.54 pp. 90-91; SoC STCDA p. 8; SoC pp. 81-85; RMR pp. 15-17; 34 COM 7B.54 p. 108) (studies: UNCHS/Habitat pp. 1, 3; Aga Khan pp. 93-95; 99-103). Thus this threat should be known at both local and UNESCO level. The timespan of these documents (from 1982-2011) which mention this threat show that this problem is known for almost thirty years, however is still regarded as a threat in 2011 in the oral inventories.

The main results of the 1993 CP “indicate that over 85% of the building stock is in deteriorating or poor condition, while some 100 buildings have either partially or entirely collapsed over the past ten years”. It also states that “35% of traditional structures that have been considerably altered”.¹Though the building stock being mainly in deteriorating or poor condition in 1993, the plan states a “positive aspect is the relative integrity of the town’s historical fabric”.

According to the 2008 HMP, “Stone Town preserved its authenticity mostly because it was abandoned to its fate. Very little was done to its buildings after the revolution in 1964.” People were poor and couldn’t afford new construction, instead they did minor repairs.² However the fact that the 2008 HMP states that “any house lost, is lost forever”, and that “no replica, no new construction will ever have the same significance as the authentic fabric”.³ The plan also concludes that “at a first glance it seems that more buildings are under rehabilitation than ever before, collapsed buildings are immediately replaced by new ones, and open plots that used to be left unused for years are filled quickly”⁴.

Oral inventory

The following six stakeholders mentioned the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements as a threat during the oral inventories: policy/management (a member of the board of directors STCDA; an urban planner at the MCLWE; director general of department
of Housing (MCLWE)); management (an engineer of the STCDA); land/building owner (WTC); independent (chairman of the ZSTHS). From this it appears that this threat was known on all the four levels of roles (paragraph 2.3, table 15): policy, management, land/building owner and independent organisations.

**Causes**

The documents and the oral inventories in which the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements was regarded as a threat have subsequently been surveyed on the causes (table 1). When looking at this table than there are seven causes mentioned for the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements, these causes are however also threats themselves. Threat 4, Neglect, lack of maintenance and repair, is mentioned in two of the three policy and management documents (CP and Vision) and by two stakeholders on the policy/management. Threat 9, number of inhabitants, is not mentioned in the policy and management documents, however mentioned by one stakeholder on the policy/management and one independent stakeholder. Threat 10, Lack of funding, is only mentioned in one policy and management document (Vision), however by three stakeholders which represent all different stages. The new management plan (HMP) doesn’t mention any of the causes for this threat.

All of these causes can be diminished, only the environmental pressure, which refers to the climate in this case, can not be changed. The humid climate puts a pressure on the condition of the building materials used and thus on the buildings. This humid climate asks for a sufficient maintenance of the buildings, which, as can be concluded from table 1, is not sufficient presently. The pressure of infrastructure leads to vibrations which lead subsequently to, according to the chairman of the ZSTHS (independent), “cracks within” the buildings. (interview 20-01-2011) According to the Vision (policy/management document) are “With increasing development activity in Zanzibar, new structures are being built and historic buildings altered or renovated in ways that are incompatible with their surrounding context and original building materials.”

**Physical inventory**

If relating the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements to the attributes which we assessed through our fieldwork then can we look at the urban structure/townscape and the architecture (barazas, fascia boards, carved doors, crenelations and balconies). First the loss and degradation of historical buildings will be looked at, followed by the elements.

The degradation of historical buildings can be measured by comparing the general building condition of 2011 (good 22%, deteriorating 58%, poor 14% and in ruins 2%) with 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%). From this it appears that the percentage of buildings in good condition has risen (+8.8%), poor has decreased (-8%) and deteriorating (-4.5%) and in ruins (-0.3%) have roughly stayed the same. The degradation of historical buildings thus seems to be less severe as it was in 1992. The percentage of good buildings in 2011 compared to 1992 was only lower in Darajani (11%). The percentage of poor buildings in 2011 compared to 1992 was higher in Forodhani (35%) and in Kiponda (23%), in Sohomuhogo it was equal to 1992 (22%).

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THREATS

The number of ruins reflects the severity of the loss and of historical buildings. From our survey presented in paragraph 1.2.1 on the ruins in 1982, 1992 and 2011 (map 5) it appeared that the ruins in 2011 all were ‘new’ according to 1992. Because no information was available on the condition at the time of inscription on the WHL, we took 1992 as reference point. Thus between 1992 and 2011 there was a loss of at least 35 (2%) of the building stock. When looking per ward (table 10), then the percentage of ruins was higher than 2% in Malindi (4%) and Funguni (3%). In Kajificheni, Vuga and Forodhani the percentage in ruins was equal to 1992 (2%).

The historical elements which we did assess in the first chapter were the barazas (Arab and Indian), fascia boards, carved doors (Arab, Indian merchant, Indian domestic, Swahili), crenelations and balconies (Indian). To survey the degradation of historical elements we have to compare the general condition of 1992 (no information on the elements was available) with the condition of the elements in 2011.

We will start with the Arab baraza, followed by the Indian type.

The level of degradation of the Arab baraza can be assessed by comparing the condition of the Arab baraza in 2011 (18% good, 64% deteriorating, 16% poor, and 2% in ruins) with 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%). It appears that the percentage of good in 2011 is higher (+4.8%), the poor percentage is lower (-6%) and the deteriorating (+1.5%) and poor percentage (-0.3%) roughly were the same. Looking per ward then the percentage of good Arab barazas in Mnazimmoja (0%), Shangani (11%), and Malindi (11%) are lower than the percentage of good buildings in 1992 (13%). The percentage of barazas in poor condition is higher in Kiponda (36%), Darajani (33%) Shangani (29%) and Malindi (23%) compared to the 22% of 1992.

The percentage of in ruins of the Arab barazas was 2%, which was less than the percentage of ruins in 1992. In Forodhani (8%), Sohomuhogo (5%), M końcu (4%), and Malindi (3%) the percentage of in ruins was higher related to 2% in 1992.

By comparing the condition of the Indian baraza (16% good, 70% deteriorating, 13% poor, and 1% in ruins) with 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%), it appears that the percentage of good was higher (+2.8%), as was the percentage of deteriorating (+7.5%), the percentage of poor (-9%) and in ruins (-1.3%) was lower. When looking per ward only the Indian barazas in Shangani (10%), Darajani (7%), Malindi (7%) and Mnazimmoja (0%) have a less percentage of good related to 13% of good buildings in 1992. The poor percentage (1992: 22%) is only higher in Funguni (36%) and Shangani (40%).

As mentioned the percentage of in ruins is lower and only in Vuga (3%) and in Forodhani (3%) is the in ruins percentage higher related to 2% in 1992.

Relating the condition of the fascia boards in 2011 (41% good, 44% in deteriorating, 13% in poor condition, and 2% in ruins) with 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%), then the percentage of good (+27.8%) is higher, deteriorating (-18.5%), poor (-9%) and
in ruins (-0.3%) are lower. All wards in 2011 have a higher percentage of fascia boards in a good condition related to the general building conditions of 1992. The number of poor is in 2011 only higher in Darajani (25%) and Kiponda (24%) related to 22% in 1992.

The percentage of in ruins (-0.3%) is lower and only in Forodhani (5%), Mkunazini (3%) and Malindi (3%) a higher percentage of in ruins was found, related to 2% in 1992.

Of the carved doors we did assess the Arab, Indian merchant, Indian domes
tic and Swahili door.

The condition of the Arab carved door in 2011 (36% good, 48% deteriorating, 14% poor, 2% in ruins) related to the general building condition in 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) give a higher percentage of good (+22.8%) in 2011, and a lower percentage of deteriorating (-14.5%), poor (-8%) and in ruins (-0.3%). Only Funguni (0%) has a lower percentage of good Arab carved doors. Funguni (67%), Forodhani (37%), Malindi (35%), Shangani (26%), and Kahificheni (25%) have a higher percentage of poor Arab doors.

The in ruins percentage (-0.3%) is lower in 2011 however Mkunazini (40%), Sohomuhogo (12%), Malindi (10%), Kajificheni (5%) and Shangani (3%) have a higher percentage of ruins than in 1992 (2%).

The Indian merchant door had the in 2011 the following condition: 24% good, 67% deteriorating, 9% poor, 1% in ruins. Related to 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) is the percentage good (+10.8%) and deteriorating (+4.5%) higher and the percentage of poor (-13%) and in ruins (-1.3%) lower. Only Mnazimmoja (0%) has a lower percentage of good Indian merchant doors related to the general building conditions (13%). Only Shangani has a higher percentage of poor Indian merchant doors (33%) than in 1992 (poor 22%).

The percentage of in ruins is -1.3% lower in 2011 related to 1992 and only Sohomuhogo has a higher percentage of ruins (8%) related to 1992 (2%).

The Indian domestic (61% good, 36% deteriorating, 3% poor, 0% in ruins) related to 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) has a higher percentage of good (+47.8%) and a lower percentage of deteriorating (-26.5%), poor (-17%) and in ruins (-2.3%). Compared to the general building conditions of 1992 do all the wards in 2011 have a higher percentage of good, except for Sohomuhogo and a lower percentage of deteriorating.

The number of in ruins was 2.3% lower than in 1992 and therefore 0% in 2011, there were no ruins at all found of the Indian domestic door.

The last type carved door is the Swahili door (47% good, 36% deteriorating, 16% poor, 1% in ruins). Related to 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) is the percentage of good (+33.8%) higher, deteriorating (-26.5%), poor (-8%) and in ruins (-1.3%) lower. Related to 1992 only Darajani (0%) and Shangani (7%) have a lower percentage of good than 1992 (13%). The poor percentage is
higher in Mkunazini (25%), Kiponda (25%), and Sohomuhogo (24%) related to 22% in 1992.

The percentage of in ruins in general was lower (-1.3%), only in Forodhani (7%) and Sohomuhogo (3%) the percentage was higher than the 2% in 1992.

The next element is the crenelations in 2011 40% is in good condition, 42% in deteriorating, 16% in poor condition and 1% in ruins. Related to 1992 (good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) is the percentage of good higher (+26.8%), deteriorating (-20.5%), poor (-6%), in ruins (-1.3%) are lower than in 1992. Related to 1992 do all the wards have a higher percentage of good (13%), except for Darajani (0%). The percentage of poor crenelations is higher in Mnazimmoja (50%), Vuga (33%) and Sohomuhogo (31%).

The percentage of in ruins in lower (-1.3%) and only higher in Forodhani (11%).

The last element to describe are the balconies, the general conditions of the balconies in 2011 are 45% good, 37% deteriorating, 17% poor and 1% in ruins. Compared to 1992(good 13.2%, deteriorating 62.5%, poor 22% and in ruins 2.3%) this leaves us with a higher percentage of good (+31.8%), a lower of deteriorating (-25.5%), poor (-5%) and in ruins (-1.3%). Compared to 1992 only Mkunazini (0%) and Darajani (7%) have a lower percentage of good balconies in 2011. The poor percentage is in 2011 related to 1992 (22%) higher in Mkunazini (33%), Shangani (27%) and Kiponda (27%).

The percentage of in ruins is lower than in 1992 (-1.3%) and is only higher in Forodhani (10%) related to 1992 (2%).

From this survey it can be concluded that the loss of buildings is at least 35 buildings between 1992 and 2011, the degradation of buildings however seems to be less severe related to 1992. When looking to the loss of elements than the only element which has no loss is the Indian domestic door, however all other elements have a loss of less than 2%. The degradation of elements can be related to the change in percentage related to the general condition in 1992. The good percentage is higher with all elements related to 2011 and the poor percentage is lower related to 1992. The loss of building elements is presented by the percentage of in ruins; all of the elements have a lower percentage of ruins. But the Indian domestic door is the only element which has a zero percentage of in ruins. Thus there is still a loss of building elements (between 0% en 2%) and as present do some wards have a higher percentage of in ruins as the general one. However in general it seems that the loss and degradation of historical elements is less severe than it was in 1992. However a survey into the condition of the elements at the time of inscription related to the condition of these elements in 2011 would give a more honest view.

This threat being mentioned the first time in the UNCHS/Habitat study in 1982, thus being apparent for almost thirty years, and still regarded as a threat could point at a management which is not carried out in a way to solve this problem. Whether this is caused through policies, management or development plans or by stakeholders is not known at the moment. However it is recommended to further survey this.
3.1.2 New (uncontrolled) building developments (threat 2)

This threat is about new building developments in the Stone Town, which can be whole new buildings or alterations to existing buildings. These new building developments can also happen uncontrolled. This threat has a strong relationship with the first threat mentioned.

**Documentary inventory**

This threat is described in one Nomination document (NF pp. 38-41), in all policy and management documents (CP p. 3; Vision p. 95; HMP pp. 15, 36, 39), in three protection related documents (PR p. 26; SoC pp. 81-85; RMR pp. 15-16) and in both of the studies (UNCHS/Habitat pp. 7-46, 7-47; Aga Khan pp. 93-95). This shows that this threat is mentioned in all four categories and especially in all policy and management documents, as with the former threat this one is also mentioned the first time in 1982 and the most recent in the HMP (2008).

The 1993 CP states “that around 160 new buildings are either currently under construction or have been built in the past ten years” and that “35% of traditional structures that have been considerably altered”. Furthermore the 1993 plan states that “equally serious is the quickening pace of uncontrolled and inappropriate construction spreading throughout the Stone Town. This is fostered by misguided notions of development and if left unchecked, will unalterably erode the traditional structure and appearance of the Stone Town.” This last sentence explains the causal relationship between this threat and the first one, loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements.

**Oral inventory**

Four stakeholders mentioned the new (uncontrolled) building developments as a threats: three stakeholders of policy/management (a member of the board of directors STCDA; an urban planner at the MCLWE; Manager of ZIPA) and one stakeholder of management (an engineer of the STCDA).

An engineer of the STCDA (management) stated that new building developments, whether good or bad, are often carried out without permission of the STCDA, their authority is not being respected. (interview 20-01-2011). Not only of inhabitants, but also from higher government departments. The local people, who don’t want to ask the STCDA for permission, do build in the evenings or in the weekends, when the STCDA inspectors are off duty. (engineer STCDA (management) interview 20-01-2011).

**Causes**

In table 2 are the causes listed which were mentioned in the documents and by the interviews with the stakeholders. There are six causes mentioned for the new (uncontrolled) building developments, which are also threats themselves. The pressure of commercial land use is mentioned in four documents (one nomination related document, two of the policy/management documents and one protection document), by two stakeholders in both the policy and management and by one in the management. This cause was not mentioned in both of the studies. Loss of (building traditions) was mentioned in the two studies and in the new management plan (policy/management documents) and by one stakeholder in the policy/management and one stakeholder in the management. Lastly the visitors/tourist pressures are mentioned in one

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6 See footnote 1
7 Ibid., p. 3
## Threats

### Threat 1
Loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Threat number</th>
<th>Mentioned in/by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of (building) traditions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aga Khan (1996), pp. 93-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental pressures</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>CP (1993), p. 3&lt;br&gt;Aga Khan (1996), pp. 93-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pressure on infrastructure network</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chairman ZSTHS (independent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of inhabitants</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>UNCHS/Habitat (1982), p. 1&lt;br&gt;Board of Directors STCDA (policy/management)&lt;br&gt;Chairman ZSTHS (independent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of funding</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Vision 2020 (2000), p. 95&lt;br&gt;DG Department of Housing (policy/management)&lt;br&gt;WTC (land/building owner)&lt;br&gt;Chairman ZSTHS (independent)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Threat 2
New (uncontrolled) building developments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causes</th>
<th>Threat number</th>
<th>Mentioned in/by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loss of historical buildings and elements</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Urban planner MCLWE (policy/management)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of awareness</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Urban planner MCLWE (policy/management)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate policies and management</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>RMR (2008), pp. 15-16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wards</th>
<th>Shangani</th>
<th>Mnzimmoja</th>
<th>Vuga</th>
<th>Mkunazini</th>
<th>Kajificheni</th>
<th>Shomuhogo</th>
<th>Forodhani</th>
<th>Kiponda</th>
<th>Malindi</th>
<th>Funguni</th>
<th>Darajani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruins in 1982</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filled in 1992</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
nomination document, in one policy/management document and by two stakeholders in the policy/management.

The pressure of commercial land use and the visitors/tourist pressure are related to each other for the commercial land use is to some extent caused by the visitors/tourist pressure. The building of new hotels is a visitors/tourist pressure, according to an urban planner of the MCLWE (policy/management) “For the Stone Town, the many hotels are not good. The architecture doesn’t match with the original fabric of Stone Town.” (interview 17-01-2011)

The loss of historical buildings and elements leads to the construction of alterations or new buildings. The loss of building traditions influences for example true the use of modern materials which are not compatible with the traditional ones as told an engineer of the STCDA (management) “Uneconomical for owners and also for Stone Town as it is., because most of the buildings collapse when they are restored with concrete”. (interview 20-01-2011)

Physical inventory

It would be very interesting to survey the new constructed buildings and alterations in the Stone Town. However we did not survey this, especially the alterations are often very difficult to recognise. One of these alterations which we did experience was the adding of a story on a house, which causes the crenelations to be ‘built in’ (picture 1). Further survey into this threat a would be recommended: a specified analysis of the new additions, a categorisation and comparison between the different periods (2000-2011).

What we did survey during our fieldwork were the number of buildings under construction (map 7 and table 9). In 2011 we found a total of 72 buildings under construction, which represents four percent of the total building stock in 2011. Most new constructions are found in Malindi (16) followed by Funguni (14) and Shangani (13). Least new constructions are found in Vuga with only two, in Mnazimmoja, Kajificheni, Sohomuhogo, Kiponda and Darajani are three buildings under construction (southern wards). The new constructions are scattered through the wards and are not concentrated on distinct locations. Neither are there particular streets on which they are concentrated. There are six new buildings under construction located on the sea front and two at the eastern border of the Core Zone.

It would be interesting to assess whether these buildings under construction are build with or without the permission of the STCDA. Consequently if the buildings are build without permission have other features than the permitted ones. This would be a recommendation for further study. For we can now only give the number of new constructions.

Open spaces

A topic which we often came across conversation with the stakeholders were the open spaces, which are situated on plots were formerly buildings were located. The development of build plots which turn into open ones could also be regarded as a building development.

In the HMP it is mentioned that “more buildings are under rehabilitation than ever before, collapsed buildings are immediately
replaced by new ones, and open plots that used to be left unused for years are filled quickly.” In paragraph 1.2.1 urban structure/townscape we did assessed the number of plots which housed ruins in 1982 and 1992 and looked if they were filled in in 2011 (table 6-8). From this we concluded that of the 84 ruins of 1982 still nineteen sites are still not build up in 2011 and of the ruins in 1992 are fourteen ruins of the 37 still open in 2011. If counting this together than 33 ruined sites are still open of a total of 121 ruined sites (1982 and 1992). Interesting to see is how many ruined sites of 1982 were filled in 1992 (table 3), it appears that 33 of the 84 ruined sites in 1982 are still open in 1992. Thus this says that between 1982-1992 51 of the ruined sites were closed and between 1992-2011 another fourteen of the 84 ruins of 1982. If relating this to the statement of the HMP than this does not seem to be correct, for most of the ruins of 1982 have been filled in the first ten years.

This filling in of the ruined sites is compatible with the view presented in the HMP “We do not believe that all the open areas should remain un-built as this will affect the urban density and compact nature of the Stone Town and change its character.” From informal conversations we found that several stakeholders however prefer leaving these spaces open. In two oral inventories this was also stated. An engineer of the STCDA (management) said that “Within the Stone Town we have a shortage of open spaces. It is a good development that places stay open and get used by the people”. (interview 20-01-2011) The chairman of the ZSTHS told us that “I don’t support to construct a lot of new buildings in Stone Town, because if we allow people to construct new buildings, than the town will change. Better an open space than development.” (interview 20-01-2011)

This discrepancy is one to monitor in the future, for if the opinion of these stakeholders is being carried out, than this would affect the urban structure/townscape. For if plots would stay empty than both its authenticity and integrity seem to be endangered.

It is difficult to conclude on the exact influence of new (uncontrolled) building developments on the build environment. As stated before a detailed survey into the additions is necessary. This threat being mentioned in all three management/policy documents and by three stakeholders in policy/management and one in management, one could assume that this threat is being known among the stakeholders in the Stone Town. This threat being mentioned the first time in the UNCHS/Habitat study in 1982, thus being apparent for almost thirty years, as with the former threat, and still regarded as a threat could point at a management which is not carried out in a way to solve this problem. Whether this is caused through policies, management or development plans or by stakeholders is not known at the moment. However it is recommended to further survey this.

3.1.3 Loss of (building) traditions (threat 3)

This threat can be divided in two parts: the disappearing of traditional skills and the lack of availability of traditional materials.

**Documentary inventory**

Loss of building traditions is only mentioned in both of the studies (UNCHS/Habitat pp. 7-52; Aga Khan pp. 93-95, 98-99), the PR (pp. 26, 28, 31) and two of the policy/management plans.
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(Vision p. 98; HMP pp. 36, 54).

**Oral inventory**

This threat was mentioned in two of the oral inventories: one of the policy/management (an urban planner of the MWCL) and one of the management (an engineer of the STCD).

**Physical inventory**

From our experience the loss of building traditions is seen in the build environment, however we did not do a study into the contemporary carved wooden elements, for example the new carved doors, new fascia boards, or new balconies. It is recommended to survey how the building traditions have influence on the architectural elements and how this threat is exposed.

3.1.4 Neglect, lack of maintenance and repair (threat 4)

This threat has a direct influence on the build environment

**Documentary inventory**

This threat is mentioned in both the studies (UNCHS/Habitat pp. 9-10, 7-26, 7-45, 7-49, 7-50; Aga Khan pp. 93-96, 104-106, 108, 113, 115), which means this threat was already apparent in 1982. Of the policy/management documents only the Vision (p. 95) mentions this problem. Of the UNESCO protection documents only the PR (pp. 6, 28) and the RMR (pp. 15-17) mention this problem, none of the nomination documents.

The main results of the 1993 Conservation Plan “indicate that the most common building defects are the result of water penetrating the coral rag walls and timber beams. Leaking water and sewage pipes and badly maintained roofs exacerbate the problems, and recent inappropriate repairs hasten rather than slow down the deterioration process”. In addition the plan mentions “that the present infrastructure system, though once efficient and technically sound, is suffering from protracted neglect”. After the 1964 Revolution people did not have the resources necessary for proper maintenance on their buildings. And while positive trends discussed in the 1993 plan include “the liberalisation of the economy and the increasing number of buildings sold into private ownership” resulting in more resources for maintenance. The plan continues that “despite these positive aspects, increasing motorised traffic is beginning to cause serious problems in the narrow streets of the Stone Town. One must also consider the total lack of maintenance and continuing deterioration of the vast majority of buildings, public spaces and infrastructure.”

Though the 2008 Heritage Management Plan does not undermine the above mentioned issues, the focus points more towards expectations of conservation work; educational programmes for craftsmen; and the availability of local materials. The plan, for example, mentions that “any conservation work for enhancement, maintenance, repair or restoration, should be of the highest standard, using appropriate materials, design and workmanship”. Therefore one should “establish agreed standards for workmanship, design, materials and maintenance for work carried out in the public realm, ensuring that work is of a high quality appropriate to the international importance of the city.”

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10 See footnote 1, p. 3
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 Ibid.
14 See footnote 2, p. 11
als are rarely uses, cement is widespread, new construction has no respect for the existing surrounding buildings, neither stylistically nor technically” it advocates the necessity to “assess the availability and sustainability of materials required to conserve and enhance the character, outstanding universal values and authenticity of Stone Town, and secure appropriate sources for long-term use.” But due to the fact that “traditional materials are becoming scarcer and scarcer, and trust in their strength is declining” “houses were lost during badly done rehabilitation work”. 16

On the educational level the HMP states that “fundis available on the island are not trained in restoration; those trained obtained their qualification in modern construction because schools for traditional construction methods and repair do not exist”18. And although “there are many workshops on the importance of lime, for example, but it is not evident how they changed the attitude of craftsmen towards buildings because today cement is still very widely used in plaster repairs”.19

Oral inventory

The threat was also mentioned by four stakeholders: policy/management (an urban planner at the MWCLE; Director General of the department of Housing), land/building owner (WTC) and and independent stakeholder (chairman of the Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society).

An urban planner of the MWCLE (policy/management) said that “Maintenance of buildings is bad, it’s not done because the buildings are owned by the government.” (interview 17-01-2011) Also he pointed out that “some of the people have this notion in the head, this is a government building so the government is supposed to maintain”. The director general of the department of Housing (policy/management) mentioned that the funding for the maintenance is a big problem, the rents are too low, however they are trying to sell houses to provide a budget for the maintenance. (interview 26-01-2011) The WTC (land/building owner) stated that they own about 450 buildings in the Stone Town and most of them are decayed and some are collapsed, however there is not enough income for maintenance and repair of the buildings, because here also the rents are too low. (interview 26-01-2011) The chairman of the ZSTHS (independent) emphasizes that “Most private owned buildings are in good condition, problem with most public owned buildings, in very poor condition”. (interview 20-01-2011) He also says that the government doesn’t allocate a certain budget to the buildings to take care of them.

3.1.5 Pressure of commercial land use (and buildings) (threat 5)

This threat manifests itself in the change of land use, from for example residential into commercial use.

Documentary inventory

This threat was acknowledged by all of the policy/management documents (CP p. 2; Vision p. 97; HMP p. 14) and in one study (Aga Khan p. 115). This threat was not mentioned in any of the nomination nor protection documents.

Already during the survey in 1992 a shift in the use of land was found. Therefore, the 1993 Conservation Plan concludes on this “that
commercial land use has trippled over the past ten years and pressure for commercial land and buildings continues to grow”.20 Moreover the plan indicates “that privatisation is continuing apace. Within the Conservation Planning Area around 190 buildings and/or plots have been sold by the government to the private sector over the past ten years, and today nearly 60% of the buildings are in private ownership”.21

In the 1993 Conservation Plan attention was paid to this trend of changing land use and policy was made to regulate it. “Their [land use and zoning regulations] purpose is to reinforce the traditional structure of the town by confirming the historical pattern of land use.”22 The plan continues to say that “the land use policies aim to reinforce the close correlation between land use and building type and to maintain the existing balance of diverse uses throughout the town. Moreover, they aim to maintain the balance between predominant and subsidiary uses within particular zones.”23

As mentioned in the 2008 Heritage Management Plan “the historic significance, which depends on the uses of the buildings and their very long continuity, will be undermined if there was to be a radical change in the uses or key activities were to cease”, the mixed use of residential and commercial land use is of great importance for Stone Town’s authenticity.24

The HMP also states that the “Government also discourages further hotel development within the Stone Town in order to contain the pressure on this heritage site.”25

Oral inventory

This threat was mentioned by six stakeholders: policy/management (member board of directors STCDA, urban planner MWCLE), policy (principal secretary MWCLE), management (engineer STCDA, ZMC), independent (chairman ZSTHS).

Without any exception all stakeholders agreed there are enough, if not too many, hotels and/or guest houses to be found in Stone Town.

3.1.6 Visitors/tourist pressures (threat 6)

The visitors/tourist pressure is dual, on the one hand the tourists are meant and on the other the people from outside of the town who visit the town for example for work and school (Stone Town houses administration, educational and governmental facilities).

There is an increase in number of hotels, guest houses, curio shops and public functions, and the hotels are privatizing the beaches in front of the hotels for guests only and this causes (partly) pollution of the beaches.26

Documentary inventory

This threat was mentioned the first time in 1999 in the nomination documents (NF pp. 38-41), in two policy/management documents (Vision p. 96; HMP pp. 14, 53), and in four protection documents (PR p. 35, SoC pp. 81-85, RMR pp. 15-16 and the decision of 2010). This threat was not mentioned in the studies.

Oral inventory

Seven stakeholders mentioned this threat:
3.1.7 Environmental pressures (threat 7)

This is an important threat, because it affects the built environment directly, which can be divided into three parts: the aggressive climate, the pollution of the environment, and the climate change. The climate of Zanzibar is very humid, during the rainy seasons (two times a year) there is a lot of heavy rainfall in a short period of time. Apart from this the salt from the sea has a negative influence on the buildings. The render and mortar often peels away from the walls, exposing and consequently damaging the coral stone. Another problem due to the climate is the rising damp, which goes up through the buildings, weakening the building materials. Fungus growth, mossy walls and glossy surfaces belong to the influence of the climate.

Documentary inventory

This threat was mentioned in one nomination document (NF pp. 38-41), in both of the studies (UNCHS/Habitat pp. 14, 6-2; Aga Khan pp. 93-95, 103), in two protection related documents (PR pp. 28, 35 and RMR pp. 8, 15-16) and in one policy/management plan (HMP p. 23).

Oral inventory

Two independent stakeholders mentioned this threat (director general ZPC and the chairman of the ZSTHS).

3.1.8 Pressure on infrastructure network (8)

This threat manifests itself in the Stone Town in several ways: congestion, car parking on open spaces, electricity wires and telecom masts influence the visual impact, and the general deterioration of the infrastructure. Because there are no dala-dala’s in the biggest part of the town, private cars, scooters and buses are used, and with the number of people rising, the number of vehicles in the town will also rise. The vehicles diminish the variety of uses of open spaces, have a negative visual impact on the city, and encourage a loss of sense of place, cause air and noise pollution and vibration of the road surfaces.

Documentary inventory

This threat is mentioned in all the policy/management plans (CP p. 3; Vision p. 97; HMP pp. 26, 41), in three protection related documents (PR pp. 33, 39, RMR pp. 15-16, the Decision of 2010 pp. 26, 41), and in both of the studies (UNCHS/Habitat pp. 13-15; Aga Khan pp. 103, 109). This threat was not mentioned in the nomination documents.

Oral inventory

Five stakeholders mentioned this threat: policy (principal secretary MWCLE), management (an engineer of the STCDA, the ZMC) and independent (director general ZPC and the chairman of the ZSTHS).

3.1.9 Pressure of number of inhabitants within the property and buffer zone (threat 9)

This pressure reflects itself in overcrowded buildings, which are not meant for a lot of people living there. The effect is water shortages,
flooded sewers and power interruptions.

**Documentary inventory**

This threat was only mentioned in both of the studies (UNCHS/Habitat p. 1; Aga Khan p. 112), in one nomination document (NF pp. 38-41) and in one policy/management document (HMP pp. 15, 39).

**Oral inventory**

Five stakeholders mentioned it: policy (principal secretary MCLWE), policy/management (urban planner MCLWE), management (ZMC), land/building owner (WTC) and independent (chairman ZSTHS).

“People outside the Stone Town, think that this is the only place on Zanzibar where you can make money fast”, as told the director general of the Department of Housing (policy/management). (interview 26-01-2011)

3.1.10 Lack of funding (threat 10)

Lack of funding should be regarded towards the general economic situation of Zanzibar, where 40% of the households are below the poverty line. The government and the main landlords, therefore charge low rents of the tenants, which leads to the situation that they don’t have enough resources for maintenance. From tourism a lot of money is earned, which is also because of the buildings, but the government doesn’t direct any tourism revenues to the maintenance, repair and conservation of the property. This is also reflected in the STCDA, which has not enough staff, not enough professional expertise and tools to fulfill their job in conserving and developing the town.

**Documentary inventory**

This threat was mentioned in one study (UNCHS/Habitat pp. 10, 15), in one policy/management document (HMP p. 71) and in two protection documents (PR pp. 44-45; RMR pp. 6-7, 15-17). In the nomination documents this threat was not mentioned.

**Oral inventory**

Six stakeholders mentioned this threat: policy/management (director general department of Housing, manager ZIPA), policy (principal secretary MWCLE), management (director general STCDA), land/building owner (WTC), independent (chairman ZSTHS).

3.1.11 Lack of awareness (threat 11)

As is the case with lack of funding, also lack of awareness can be the (partial) cause of other threats, because if one is not aware of the value of the town, then it is probable that this will be reflected in the build environment. For example the staff in hotels, guides and taxi drivers are not aware of the value of the town.

**Documentary inventory**

The lack of awareness was mentioned in two policy/management documents (Vision p. 98; HMP p. 41) and in three protection documents (PR pp. 29, 40, 43; SoC pp. 81-85; RMR p. 8).

In the 1993 Conservation Plan no section is ascribed to the involvement of the local com-
munity in the rehabilitation process of Stone Town nor is there attention paid to educational or awareness programmes (in the following referred to as ‘awareness’ as general term) for users and visitors of the historical site. This shortcoming is encompassed in the purpose of the plan which is “to establish guidelines for, and controls on, future development in the Stone Town which will encourage growth while preserving the town’s natural environment, historical character and important architectural features”.32

The 2008 Heritage Management plan, however, stresses the necessity of “improving the interpretation and understanding of the cultural landscape to visitors” throughout the plan.33 Moreover the plan warns for “a new awareness on the value of Zanzibar as a World Heritage Site” pointing towards “people starting to see the historical buildings in a new perspective”; a commercial perspective.34

The HMP, moreover, suggests “the school curriculum should include raising awareness on World Heritage Status and the benefits of conservation”.35

*Oral inventory*

Four stakeholders did mention this threat: policy management (member of the board of directors of the STCDA, manager ZIPA), management (an engineer of the STCDA), independent (chairman ZSTHS).

Striking in this issue is the opposite perception of stakeholders involved on the level of ‘awareness’ among the local community and visitors of Stone Town. While STCDA’s director general (management) states that “the majority of the people are aware of the importance of having a heritage site” (interview 20-01-2011), the former Principal Secretary of the MWCLE, now a member of the boards of directors of the STCDA (policy/management), says “we have to work very hard to reach the level of awareness where it should be” (interview 25-01-2011). Moreover he states that “even the higher authorities are not aware” resulting in their interference with STCDA’s work.

Four of the interviewed stakeholders stress the necessity for further improvement of the awareness. MCLWE former Principal Secretary (policy/management) suggests “public talks, television programmes as well as radio programmes to show the people the importance” (interview 25-01-2011).

Though this research doesn’t encompass a survey on this matter we can agree, from our impression, to the fact that work has to be done to improve the level of awareness under inhabitants, politicians and visitors. A passive visitor of Stone Town will only by accident know the historical value of Stone Town when passing incidental placed signs describing the Stone Town as World Heritage Site. In this light the 2008 HMP states that “there is no information available to visitors about the World Heritage Site either at the entrances of the Port or at the Airport”.36

### 3.1.12 Lack of interpretation and presentation of the criteria of OUV (threat 12)

This threat is related to lack of awareness, for if people do not see the value of the Stone Town, than the interpretation and presentation
of this value will also not be sufficient.

**Documentary inventory**

This threat is mainly found in the protection documents (PR p. 41; SoC pp. 81-85; RMR p. 17) and in one policy/management document (HMP).

**Oral inventory**

None of the stakeholders did mention this threat.

**3.1.13 Inadequate policies and management on the conservation and development (threat 13)**

This threat has influence on a lot of other threats, but is also a threat with a lot of facets, one could think about insufficient legislation or the large number of stakeholder involved without enough communication between them. As with lack of awareness and funding, the influence of this threat is very broad and could also have influence on all threats.

**Documentary inventory**

This threat is mentioned in one nomination document (ABE p. 162), in four protection documents (a decision of 2008 pp. 90-91; PR pp. 20-21, 34, 43-45; SoC pp. 81-85; RMR pp. 6, 15-16) in one study (Aga Khan pp. 98-99, 115) and in one policy/management document (HMP p. 28).

**Oral inventory**

Four stakeholders did mention this threat: policy/management (urban planner MW-CLE) policy (principal secretary MW-CLE), management (engineer STCDA) and one independent party (chairman ZSTHS).

**Cooperation between stakeholders**

One aspect of this threat is the cooperation between the stakeholders, on which we will elaborate a little in the following. During the research it became evident that cooperation between all stakeholders involved has not (yet) reached the level where collaboration is rather on frequent basis than on a sporadic occasion. In worse case scenarios this may convert itself into a threat to the maintenance of Stone Town’s OUV as happened before with the development of the Port. In the RMR of 2008 this problem was recognised: “the lack of a integrated management in the World Heritage property and a clear management strategy for the Buffer Zone is contributing to the lack of cohesion between and integration of stakeholders in addressing and finding shared solutions for urgent problems”. The 2008 HMP (policy/management document) states that “fundamental to the success of this Management Plan will be careful coordination of partners”. Moreover the plan argues that “some objectives, for example those which address the need to safeguard the views of the site, reflect the importance of further understanding the WHS before firm management proposals can be developed”. Finally, “without proper coordination, these works, together with new developments, can combine to cause cumulative impacts on the architectural significance of the site”. From all the formal interviews and informal meeting with stakeholders we got the impression work needs to be done on this matter. Although mostly under the same ministry, collaboration between the different departments and authorities is scarce resulting in the lack of a clear management strategy. As became apparent in the meeting of the WTC,
this land/building owner who possesses around 600 buildings in the Stone Town, was not been part of the making of the HMP 2008 (policy/management document). (interview 26-01-2011) It also became apparent that they have no regular meetings with the STCDA and that they are making their own management plan for their buildings at present. (interview 26-10-2011) However if something changes on these buildings, the STCDA first has to give permission. This one example of the collaboration of the WTC and STCDA in practice.

From at least similar importance is the involvement of stakeholders that fall outside the management. Their influence on the Stone Town, although sometimes on a specific topic, may not be underestimated. Take for instance the loss and degradation of buildings and the mess that ruins create in the streets of Stone Town; the impact of the Port; and the lack of awareness among the local community. Every stakeholder should therefore be made part of and get involved in the management strategy of the Stone Town.

Further research into this threat would be recommended, in which the different facets of this threat and the influence on the build environment should be assessed.

3.2 Conclusion on the threats

From the survey presented in the former paragraph we are able to answer the third sub question: What are the threats and respective causes found affecting the OUV of the Stone Town?

The threats which we found from the documentary and oral inventory are: loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1), new (uncontrolled) building developments (2), loss of (building) traditions (3), neglect, lack of maintenance and repair (4), pressure of commercial land use (and buildings) (5), visitors/tourist pressures (6), environmental pressures (7), pressure on infrastructure network (8), number of inhabitants within the property and buffer zone (9), lack of funding (10), lack of awareness (11), lack of interpretation and presentation of the criteria of OUV (12) and inadequate policies and management on the conservation and development (13).

Of the above mentioned threats we assessed the first two (loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements; new (uncontrolled) building developments) on the causes which were mentioned in the documentary and oral inventories.

Seven causes in total were mentioned for loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements: new (uncontrolled) building developments (2), loss of building traditions (3) and environmental pressures (7) were only mentioned in the documents; pressure on the infrastructure network (8) only in one oral inventory; and neglect, lack of maintenance and repair (4), number of inhabitants (9) and lack of funding (10) were mentioned in both oral and documentary inventories. Interesting is that the new management plan of 2008 (HMP) does not mention any of the causes for this threat.

For new (uncontrolled) building developments did we found six causes through the documentary and oral inventories: loss of historical buildings and elements (1) and lack of awareness (11) were both mentioned by one
and the same stakeholder; inadequate polices and management (12) was mentioned in one document; loss of (building) traditions (3), pressure of commercial land use (5) and visitors/tourist pressures (6) was mentioned in both documentary and oral inventories. Compared to the causes of loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1) it is interesting to see that the new management plan (HMP) does mention three causes (3)(5)(6) for uncontrolled (new) development.

It would be good to assess the actual influence of the causes mentioned in the documentary and oral inventory, for now we did not survey this. We only assessed the documentary and oral inventories on causes mentioned. Complementary it would be good to assess if there are other causes for this threat which were not mentioned in the documents or stakeholders in relationship to this threat.

Furthermore we assessed these first two threats on their manifestation in the build environment: on the buildings, architectural elements (barazas, fascia boards, carved doors, crenelations, balconies), the buildings under construction and the open spaces.

From physical survey into the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1) it can be concluded that the loss of buildings is at least 35 buildings between 1992 and 2011, the degradation of buildings however seems to be less severe related to 1992. When looking to the loss of elements than the only element which has no loss is the Indian domestic door, however all other elements have a loss of less than 2%. The degradation of elements can be related to the change in percentage related to the general condition in 1992. The good percentage is higher with all elements related to 2011 and the poor percentage is lower related to 1992. The loss of building elements is presented by the percentage of in ruins; all of the elements have a lower percentage of ruins. But the Indian domestic door is the only element which has a zero percentage of in ruins. Thus there is still a loss of building elements (between 0% en 2%) and as present do some wards have a higher percentage of in ruins as the general one. However in general it seems that the loss and degradation of historical elements is less severe than it was in 1992. However a survey into the condition of the elements at the time of inscription related to the condition of these elements in 2011 would give a more honest view.

Through this loss and degradation of both buildings and elements (barazas, fascia boards, carved doors, crenelations, balconies) which is still apparent 2011, the OUV gets assaulted. The Indian domestic door is the only carved door which has no loss in 2011.

For the new (uncontrolled) building developments the influence on the build environment is more difficult to assess, as we did only survey the number and location of new building constructions and not their features. In 2011 we found 72 buildings under construction, which represents four percent of the total building stock in 2011. The new constructions are scattered through the wards and are not concentrated on distinct locations. It would be interesting to assess whether these buildings under construction are build with or without the permission of the STCDA. Consequently if the buildings are build without permission have other features than the permitted ones. This would be a recommendation for further study.
For we can now only give the number of new constructions.

Thus for this threat it is not possible to answer whether the OUV is assaulted, as mentioned further research is needed to conclude on this.

The presented survey of method for assessing the threat could also be applied on the other threats to give a conclusive answer, for all threats, on sub question 3.

Recommended for further research is the assessment of the other threats in an encompassing way, find the respective causes, find their affect on the build environment and on the OUV.

For both the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1) and new (uncontrolled) developments (2) it it would be recommended to survey why these threats are still apparent, because they are both known for almost thirty years now.

For the new (uncontrolled) developments (2) a survey on the additions, both alterations and new buildings, is necessary, to make a categorisation and comparison between the 2000 and 2011. Furthermore to assess whether these additions are build with or without permission of the STCDA. Consequently if the buildings are build without permission have other features than the permitted ones. Monitor the discrepancy between the opinion of the stakeholders and the HMP on the open spaces and consequently the effect of this on the build environment.
Conclusion

From the former three chapters and the answers on the sub questions:

Sub question I: What is the current level of authenticity and integrity of the OUV of the Stone Town?

Sub question II: Who are the stakeholders involved in the managing of the OUV of the Stone Town and what are their roles?

Sub question III: What are the threats and respective causes found affecting the OUV of the Stone Town?

We are now able to answer the main question:

How can the Stone Town develop sustainably, without damaging its Outstanding Universal Value?

For this we need our definition of sustainable development:

World Heritage properties are developing sustainably whenever developments prove to meet the economic, social, ecological and cultural needs of the present generations, “without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Brundtland, 1987) nor “adversely impact the Outstanding Universal Value, integrity and/or authenticity of the property” (UNESCO, 2008).

However we are only able to answer a part of the sustainable development definition, being that the OUV, integrity and/or authenticity of the property should not be adversely impacted.

The urban structure/townscape ‘relationship open/closed space’ and the carved doors, which are the two elements which have been assessed fully both show an assaulted level of both authenticity and integrity. Because of this the OUV of the Stone Town is also assaulted. Thus this is not a sustainable development.

If relating this to the threats which do affect the buildings and architectural element carved door, it appears that loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1) affects both of them and thus assaults the OUV.

If we now relate this to the main question we can state that if the Stone Town wants to develop sustainably, without damaging its OUV, than the threat loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1) needs to be diminished. Causes for this threat which we did found in the oral and documentary inventories were new (uncontrolled) building developments (2), loss of (building) traditions (3), neglect, lack of maintenance and repair (4), environmental pressures (7), pressure on infrastructure network (8), number of inhabitants (9) and lack of funding (10). However a survey is necessary to prove whether these causes are indeed causes. At the beginning of 2011 a new management plan (HMP 2008) has been introduced, however this plan does not mention any causes related to...
this threat, which could be important to monitor in the future and see if this affects the build environment.

It would be interesting to relate the significance survey of the documents (nomination, protection and policy/management documents) with the buildings and carved doors, by looking whether these elements are mentioned in the documents. Furthermore to look which values they represent in these documents and to see whether there are discrepancies between the documentary, oral and physical inventories.

As can be seen we are not able to answer the whole main question for all the attributes found, however we showed the method of assessing the build environment, institutional framework and how they can be related to each other. On the next page recommendations are being made for further study in order to receive a conclusive answer on the main question.

Recommendations

The recommendations are listed in four categories: attributes, institutional framework, threats and general.

Attributes

To make an encompassing analysis of the authenticity and integrity of the urban structure/townscape the two other elements (open public space (narrow shopping-street) and open private space (courtyard)) need to be assessed. Further it is recommended that the use of the buildings as from the open space will be surveyed, the style of the new constructions and the way they are placed in the urban structure related to the former buildings, and the density of build area and open area. This last recommendation will give a more specific view of the density as the number of buildings per ward which we did use.

For an encompassing analysis of the architecture first a study into the European and Swahili architecture is necessary. Furthermore a study into the age of the different architectural elements is necessary in order to make justified statements on the level of authenticity and the cultural values which the elements do possess. A survey into the use of the buildings in general and the use of the baraza are recommended, especially to find out if the cultural values are still represented by the architectural elements. An assessment of the Indian baraza at the time of inscription, for there is no information available now. Lastly to compare the different studies into the build environment (UNCHS/Habitat 1982, Aga Khan Trust for Culture 1992, NF 2000) on the criteria which they used to assess the build environment.

For the building traditions a detailed study related to the build environment is important. As for the cultural fusion and harmonization the contemporary cultures present on the island. In general the assessment of authenticity and integrity should contain all the attributes mentioned in the DT, ABE and NF. Thus also the attributes not further assessed in paragraph 1.2 (streetscape elements, monuments, European explorers) need to be taken into consideration. Apart from this two aspects of the slave trade remained unclear; the relationship between the residential/commercial use and the slave trade, and the influence of the slave trade on the city-planning of the Stone Town.
Institutional framework

For further research into the institutional framework it would be good if all stakeholders would be interviewed, as such can a more comprehensive view of the stakeholders and their views be presented. An encompassing survey on the cultural values in the views per stakeholder and a thorough comparison between their views and the documents would show whether there are discrepancies.

Recommended is a advisory commission to improve the collaboration and frequent meetings between them. Scheme 1 shows an example based on the model present in the World Heritage Site of Galle, Sri Lanka.

Threats

Recommended for further research is the assessment of the other threats in an encompassing way, find the respective causes, find their affect on the build environment and on the OUV.

For both the loss and degradation of historical buildings and elements (1) and new (uncontrolled) developments (2) it would be recommended to survey why these threats are still apparent, because they are both known for almost thirty years now.

For the new (uncontrolled) developments (2) a survey on the additions, both alterations and new buildings, is necessary, to make a categorisation and comparison between 2000 and 2011. Furthermore to assess whether these additions are build with or without permission of the STCDA. Consequently if the buildings are build without permission have other features than the permitted ones. Monitor the discrepancy between the opinion of the stakeholders and the HMP on the open spaces and consequently the effect of this on the build environment.

General

It would be interesting to relate the significance survey of the documents (nomination, protection and policy/management documents) with the buildings and carved doors, by looking whether these elements are mentioned in the documents. Furthermore to look which values they represent in these documents and to see whether there are discrepancies between the documentary, oral and physical inventories.
Board of Decision Committee

1. Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority
2. Zanzibar Municipal Council

Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Zanzibar Municipal Council (ZMC)
Department of Survey and Urban Planning (MCLWE)
Department of House and Human Settlement Development (MCLWE)
Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA)
Zanzibar Ports Corporation (ZPC)
Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC)
Private Owners Committee (POC)
Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC)
Department of Antiquities and Monuments (Ministry of Education)
Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS)
External Advisory Body


Interview with urban planner of the Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy (MCLWE) (17-01-2011)

Interview with the director general of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) (20-01-2011)

Interview with an engineer of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) (20-01-2011)

Interview with the chairman of the Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS) (20-01-2011)

Interview with manager of Zanzibar Investment and Promotion Authority (ZIPA) (24-01-2011)

Interview with mayor and director of the Zanzibar Municipal Council (ZMC) (25-10-2011)

Interview with a member of the boards of directors of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) (25-01-2011)

Interview with principal secretary of the Ministry of Construction, Lands, Water and Energy (MCLWE) (26-01-2011)

Interview with director general of the department of House and Human Settlement Development (MCLWE) (26-01-2011)

Interview with WAKF and Trust Commission (WTC) (26-01-2011)

Interview with director general and a planning officer of the Zanzibar Ports Cooperation (ZPC) (27-01-2011)


Documents on Contemporary Sustainable Local Heritage Management, Case: Zanzibar Stone Town, Tanzania. Göteborg: Chalmers University of Technology


APPENDICES

APPENDIX I • The criteria for selection
APPENDIX II • Significance Survey
APPENDIX III • Cultural Significance Survey of DT, ABE, NF
APPENDIX IV • Attributes
APPENDIX V • Change of conditions of architectural elements
APPENDIX I THE CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of Outstanding Universal Value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria. These criteria are explained in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention which, besides the text of the Convention, is the main working tool on World Heritage. The criteria are regularly revised by the Committee to reflect the evolution of the World Heritage concept itself.

Until the end of 2004, World Heritage sites were selected on the basis of six cultural and four natural criteria. With the adoption of the revised Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, only one set of ten criteria exists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural criteria</th>
<th>Natural criteria</th>
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<td>Operational Guidelines 2002 (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v) (vi) (i) (ii) (iii) (iv)</td>
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<td>Operational Guidelines 2005 (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v) (vi) (viii) (ix) (vii) (x)</td>
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Selection criteria:

- to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
- to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.

The protection, management, authenticity and integrity of properties are also important considerations.

**Since 1992 significant interactions between people and the natural environment have been recognized as cultural landscapes.**
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Study, cultural heritage and sustainability</td>
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<td>Significance</td>
<td>Survey</td>
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Appendix V Cultural significance survey of DT, ABE and NF (listed per attribute)


1. Urban structure

DT

Criterion (ii): “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization.” (urban structure in general)

Criterion (iii): “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (urban structure in general)

ABE

“There are few public open spaces, since many of the houses have their own enclosed spaces.” (urban structure, relationship open/closed space) p. 160

“This is one of narrow winding streets resulting from unplanned building of houses and shops.” (urban structure, open public space (narrow shopping street) p. 160

“The historical evolution of the Stone Town is illustrated by the street pattern.” (urban structure in general) p. 160

Criterion (ii): “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization.” (urban structure in general) p. 162

Criterion (iii): “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (urban structure in general) p. 162

NF

“Individually this is achieved by enclosing an open courtyard within a house.” (relationship open/closed space) p. 8

“This is demonstrated in the layout of the stone town so that to an outsider the impression is one of massive confined construction, while to the dwellers, there is ample of private or communal open spaces which strangers can experience only upon entering courtyard houses, or viewing them from roof tops of their temporary abodes.” (relationship open/closed space) p. 8

“Communally, it is done by encompassing open spaces around buildings.” (relationship open/closed space) p. 8

“This is demonstrated in the layout of the stone town so that to an outsider the impression is one of massive confined construction, while to the dwellers, there is ample of private or communal open spaces which strangers can experience only upon entering courtyard houses, or viewing them from roof tops of their temporary abodes.” (relationship open/closed space) p. 8

“Behind them towards the former creek snake out shopping streets belonging to the Indians, the merchant class of the time as well as of today.” (narrow shopping street) p. 7

“Thus was the eminent creation of the labyrinth of narrow shopping streets.” (narrow shopping street) p. 7

“Most of them initially came as traders of limited means, and settled in narrow shop-front houses along the bazaar streets.” (narrow shopping street) p. 14

“Although it is the overall urban structure/fabric and townscape that gives the Stone Town of Zanzibar its unique character, there are many individual buildings of historical and architectural significance representing fine examples on the local architecture and building tradition.” (urban structure in general) p. 8

“This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture.” (urban structure in general) p. 3

“This, however was more of an isolated slave station with no normal residential life, thus missing the important testimony of how the resident community was affected and influenced by the slave trade, how was city-planning regulated to contain this trade and how it was de-regulated to combat the trade.” (urban structure in general) p. 4

“This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture.” (urban structure in general) p. 3
“As these were built on family basis, there was no space between one building and the next, until the buildings from the other direction could not align with those from the opposite, thus creating a no-mans land.” (urban structure in general) p. 7

“Thus was the eminent creation of the labyrinth of narrow shopping streets.” (narrow shopping street) p. 7

“The Stone Town of Zanzibar forms a unique urban settlement due to a combination of geographical and historical circumstances.” (urban structure in general) p. 6

“Another unique feature in the Stone Town is the relationship between open and built up areas.” (relationship open/closed space) p. 7

“There happens to be a special relationship between space and individual within the Zanzibar culture, that is reflected in the Stone Town fabric.” (relationship open/closed space) p. 7
2. Streetscape elements

"Moreover, the Stone Town possess streetscape elements including old tombs, stairways, fountains, trees and vistas as well as graveyards, parks and other green areas.” p. 8
3. Architecture

Criterion (ii): “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization.” (architecture general) p. 162

Criterion (iii): “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (architecture general) p. 162

ABE

“These [palaces and fine mansions] were built in a variety of styles and traditions, which were amalgamated and homogenized into a characteristic Swahili architecture.” (architecture Swahili) p. 159

“However, the characteristic Indian house had a shop on the street frontage with living quarters in the rear.” (architecture Indian shop-front) p. 160

“The largest class of traditional structures (32%) is that of shop-front buildings derived from Indian models.” (architecture Indian shop-front) p. 160

“The British introduced strict building regulations and expanded the public services.” (architecture European) p. 160

“The final phase of architectural development came with the arrival of the British in 1890, when Zanzibar became a British protectorate.” (architecture European) p. 160

“They imported their colonial architecture but, under the influence of the architect John Sinclair, introduced a number of features derived from the Islamic architecture of Istanbul and Morocco.” (architecture European) p. 160

“The ruling Islamic dynasty of Zanzibar and its merchants (Indian, Swahili, Arab, and Africans from the interior) became very rich and embellished the Stone Town with palaces and fine mansions.” (architecture Indian, Swahili, Arab, African) p. 159

“They were plain in appearance, the only striking external feature being the elaborately carved doors. By contrast, the interiors were richly decorated and furnished.” (architecture Arab, carved door) p. 159

“The Indian traders began by buying Omani houses and adding wide verandahs, but by the latter half of the 19th century they were constructing elaborately decorated houses reminiscent of the Gujerati haveli.” (architecture Indian, balcony/veranda) pp. 159-160

Criterion (ii): “The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization.” (architecture general) p. 162

Criterion (iii): “For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (architecture general) p. 162

NF

“The only remarkable external feature is the elaborately carved square woorden door which is rich in symbolism, with patterns and motifs based on the lotus signifying power, the fish symbolizing fertility, incense representing wealth and the chain standing for security.” (architecture Arab carved door) pp. 13-14

“Over the top is often an Arabic inscription, usually a passage from the Quran.” (architecture Arab carved door) p. 14

“The spiral of intimacy was expressed from the stone benches on either side of the external door where casual interaction took place, to the formal reception area, servants’ quarters and storage on the ground floor, and to the domestic quarters on the upper floors.” (architecture Arab baraza) p. 14

“The Stone Town has thus lived up to its cosmopolitan character even in its religious architecture.” (architecture religious) p. 15

“The building [the House of Wonders] contains unique architectural elements, decorated verandah and other rooms are fitted with fretted cedar and teak paneling as well as a handsome examples of carved doors covered with gilded texts from the Quran.” (architecture carved door) p. 20

“Its other manifestations: customs, architecture, music, rituals and dressing are currently not only predominant along the East African coast, but covers considerable portions of Central, East and Southern African hinterland.” (architecture Swahili) p. 3

“Their influence is perceptible not only in the mixed population of the coast but also in the language, architecture, religion, dress and food, and in the general cosmopolitan way of life.” (architecture general) p. 10

“Typologically and functionally, the largest class of traditional structures of the Stone Town are the shop front buildings derived from Indian predecessors.” (architecture Indian shop-front) p. 7
“Their simple four-leaf Gujarat-style doors exposed the whole front of their houses to the customers, while the domestic quarters were at the back of the house.” (architecture Indian carved door) p. 14

“Typologically and functionally, the largest class of traditional structures of the Stone Town are the shop front buildings derived from Indian predecessors.” (architecture Indian shop-front) p. 7

“A further of 25% of buildings are houses derived from Arab models.” (architecture Arab) p. 7

“Although it is the overall urban structure/fabric and townscape that gives the Stone Town of Zanzibar its unique character, there are many individual buildings of historical and architectural significance representing fine examples on the local architecture and building tradition.” (architecture general) p. 8

“This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture.” (architecture general) p. 3

“Although it is the overall urban structure/fabric and townscape that gives the Stone Town of Zanzibar its unique character, there are many individual buildings of historical and architectural significance representing fine examples on the local architecture and building tradition.” (architecture general) p. 8

“During the last quarter of the nineteenth century increasing European influence and missionary activities led to the building of the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals.” (architecture religious) p. 15

“In line with their policy of indirect rule to make colonial rule palatable, the British tried to blend the new colonial architecture into the existing style of Zanzibar.” (architecture European) p. 14

“Indeed they did more to orientalise the formerly subdued Zanzibari architecture by introducing ‘Saracenic’ or Moorish features borrowed from Istanbul and Morocco.” (architecture European) p. 14

“This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture.” (architecture general) p. 3

“While there has been an on going synthesis and indigenisation of the various cultures, distinct building types originating from Oman, India, East Africa and Europe can still be discerned.” (architecture Arab, Indian, East African, European) p. 3

“In addition, those buildings contain elements such as carved doors, elaborate balconies and intricate fretwork’s which are distinctive features in themselves.” (architecture Indian carved door, balcony, fretwork) p. 8

“The typical vernacular architecture of the old town, is of two story buildings constructed of massive walls of coral rubble, with long, narrow rooms around an open courtyard.” (architecture general) p. 8

“The Stone Town is an agglomeration of various architectural traditions from the East African coast and the world of the Indian Ocean.” (architecture general) pp. 8-9

“The Omanis from the early nineteenth century, initially as traders and later settling as plantation owners, introduced their architectural tradition of a massively built multistory square block of coral stones and mortar with a flat roof surmounted by a low crenellated wall.” (architecture Arab crenelations) p. 12

“By the 1860s they began to build large commodious houses reminiscent of the Gujarati haveli with elaborately carved verandas, intricate fascia boards and windows with coloured glass lintels.” (architecture Indian veranda, fascia boards, coloured glass lintels) p. 13

“Indian architectural influence is most pronounced in Hindu temples which were established as early as the 1870s, with their painted towers jutting above the surrounding houses behind the Palace.” (architecture Indian) p. 15

“The only remarkable external feature is the elaborately carved square wooden door which is rich in symbolism, with patterns and motifs based on the lotus signifying power, the fish symbolizing fertility, incense representing wealth and the chain standing for security.” (architecture Arab carved door) pp. 13-14

“However, as they prospered they began to buy Oman houses to which they added external verandas to increase ventilation and light.” (architecture Indian veranda) p. 14

“Interestingly, all houses built from the end of the nineteenth century until 1964 portray the strict building regulations of the time.” (architecture general) p. 17
“Different populations have moved into the different quarters with their fluctuating fortunes, inheriting and modifying the houses to suit their needs, so that many of the houses betray a history of continuous change and integration.” (architecture general) p. 12

“The Swahili house was designed as an introverted self-contained complex organised around an 'intimacy gradient' from the semi-open entrance porch where guests were normally received, to the master bedroom at the back of the house with very elaborate stucco decoration and niches.” (architecture Swahili) p. 13

“However, they had soon to adjust to the wet climate in Zanzibar by capping these houses with pitched roofs of corrugated iron sheets or tiles.” (architecture general) p. 13

“However, as they prospered they began to buy Oman houses to which they added external verandas to increase ventilation and light.” (architecture Indian veranda) p. 14

“Due to heavy rains early failure of masonry flat roofs which originated from Arabia resulted in such roofs being covered by pitched corrugated iron roofs, sometimes badly hampering architectural features such as the crenellated parapets.” (architecture Arab) p. 5
4. Monuments

ABE

"It [the House of Wonders] contains many unique architectural features; the decorated verandah and other rooms are fitted with fretted cedar and teak panelling and the carved doors are covered with gilded texts from the Koran." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 160

"It [St Joseph's Roman Catholic Cathedral] is cruciform in plan with basilica apse, octagonal dome, nave pierced by clerestory lights, and two lofty towers at the west end." (monuments Roman cathedral) p. 160

"It [the House of Wonders] became a government office and it is now houses the Museum of History and Swahili Culture." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 160

The House of Wonders (Beit al Ajaib) was built by Sultan Barghash in 1883 for ceremonial use to the design of a British engineer." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 160

"The Anglican cathedral is in part a monument commemorating the abolition of the slave trade in the Sultan's dominions." (monuments Anglican cathedral) p. 160

NF

"They were associated with the Minaret Mosque, perhaps the earliest standing monument in the town, whose elliptical minaret shows close similarities with those on Pemba, the coast of Kenya and perhaps Hadhramaut." (monuments Malindi Bamnara mosque) p. 13

"During the last quarter of the nineteenth century increasing European influence and missionary activities led to the building of the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals." (monuments Anglican and Roman cathedral) p. 15

"The plan [Roman Catholic Cathedral] is a massive dignified cruciform structure with basilica apse, octagonal dome, a nave pierced with circular clerestory lights and two high towers as campanile at the West end." (monuments Roman cathedral) p. 21

"The mosque [Malindi Bamnara Mosque] belongs to the Sunnis and was built about 1831 by Mohammed Abdul-Qadir el-Mansabi, an Arab whose remains are buried in front of the Mihrab; ..." (monuments Malindi Bamnara mosque) p. 22

"Bishop Steere who supervised construction, deliberately combined Gothic and Arabic architectural features to blend it into the Zanzibar scene." (monuments Anglican cathedral) p. 15

"Although typical of Indian building, it [Old Dispensary] is a symbol of the many different people, cultures and influences that contributed to the development of Zanzibar in the 19th century." (monuments Old Dispensary) p. 21

"[Old Fort] Until 1928 the fort was the depot of the Bububu Railway before it became a Lady club." (monuments Old Fort) p. 20

"The building [Tipu Tip house] has a specific historic significance as the former residence of the well known ivory and slave merchant - Tipu Tip." (monuments Tippu Tipp house) p. 21

"[Old Fort] It stands on a site occupied circa 1710 by a ruined Portuguese Church and residential quarters which had been converted by the Arabs into fort for the use of the town garrison;" (monuments Old Fort) p. 20

"Until after the bombardment in 1896 the Fort was used as a gaol and also as the quarters of the Sultan's Naluchi bodyguards;" (monuments Old Fort) p. 20

"Dominating the seafront, the building [the House of Wonders] was used later as residence of two successive Sultans before it was bombarded by the British fleet in 1896 in what is known as the Shortest War in history." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 20

"It [the House of Wonders] was later on reconstructed and converted into a government seat," (monuments House of Wonders) p. 20

"Standing [Anglican Cathedral] on the site of the last open slave market to open in Zanzibar." (monuments Anglican cathedral) p. 21

"During the last quarter of the nineteenth century increasing European influence and missionary activities led to the building of the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals." (monuments Anglican and Roman cathedral) p. 15

"The former, inspired by David Livingstone who had instigated the formation of the Universities Mission to Central Africa, was built on the site of the last slave market." (monuments Anglican cathedral) p. 15
"Dominating the seafront, the building [the House of Wonders] was used later as residence of two successive Sultans before it was bombarded by the British fleet in 1896 in what is known as the Shortest War in history." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 20

"Standing [Anglican Cathedral] on the site of the last open slave market to be open in Zanzibar." (monuments Anglican cathedral) p. 21

"The building [Tippu Tip house] has a specific historic significance as the former residence of the well known ivory and slave merchant - Tippu Tip." (monuments Tippu Tipp house) p. 21

"The cemetery [Royal Cemetery] also contains the remains of other members of the royal family." (monuments Royal Cemetery) p. 22

"It [Jamat Khan] is an imposing and beautiful architectural work." (monuments Jamat Khan) p. 22

"It [Persian baths] contains some unique architectural features unsurpassed in the local tradition." (monuments Persian Baths) pp. 22-23

"The apogee of Indian architectural influence was reached in the Old Dispensary building that was built in the 1890s as a hospital in honour of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee." (monuments Old Dispensary) p. 14

"Apart from a large number of palaces in the countryside he built the imposing House of Wonders in Zanzibar town on the sea front as a ceremonial palace which combines the massive features of an Arab house with the broad external verandahs of Indian houses, and the intricately carved Indian-style doors which formed a model for other doors of his Arab and Indian subjects." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 15

"The palace [the House of Wonders] is unique in Zanzibar and the whole of East Africa in terms of its size and history." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 19

"The building [the House of Wonders] contains unique architectural elements, decorated verandah and other rooms are fitted with fretted cedar and teak paneling as well as a handsome examples of carved doors covered with gilded texts from the Quran." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 20

"The projecting double balcony with its carved posts and tracery barge boards is the centre piece of this elaborate building [Old Dispensary]." (monuments Old Dispensary) p. 21

"Designed by C.F. Hayward the building follows a simple basilican plan and presents unusual combination of perpendicular Gothic and Islamic details - multiple arches and crenelations which were inspired by the buildings' context of Zanzibar." (monuments Anglican cathedral) p. 21

"The Persian-style baths are quite a unique type of institution in Africa in terms of their functions, styles, decorations and history." (monuments Persian Baths) pp. 21-22

"The great hall [Jamat Khan], the ceiling of which is supported by massive stone pillars with exquisite carved capitals and pillars of inlaid wood and elaborate carving fine coup d'oeil." (monuments Jamat Khan) p. 22

"It [the House of Wonders] was among the first buildings in East Africa to be installed with electricity and tap water." (monuments House of Wonders) p. 20
5. Building traditions

ABE
"Criterion (iv): The layout, technology, and design of the Stone Town buildings, expertly blending imported and local ideas, materials, and techniques, makes the Stone Town an example of indigenous creativity.” (building traditions ideas, skills, materials) p. 159

“... who [Arabs from the Hadramaut] built residences in an indigenous style.” (building traditions general) p. 159

“There was a great increase in the number of buildings in stone, a technique ultimately deriving from the Shirazis of Persia via the great trading centre of Kilwa.” (building traditions materials) p. 159

“It was at this time that the so-called "Swahili house" emerged, based on the earlier style but with imported details and techniques.” (building traditions sills) p. 159

“The Omanis introduced a completely different tradition, that of massively built multi-story blocks built in mortared coral and with flat roofs.” (building traditions materials) p. 159

“The remainder are either "traditional unclassified,” where the construction technique is traditional but the architectural origins are unclear, and "contemporary,” built during the past thirty years and not conforming with the traditional fabric of the Stone Town.” (building traditions skills) p. 160

“The principal construction material is coralline ragstone set in a thick lime mortar and then plastered and lime-washed.” (building traditions materials) p. 160

“The dimensions of buildings and rooms are determined by the length of the locally grown boritis, the mangrove poles used to support the massive stone ceilings; these are generally 2.5-3m long.” (building traditions materials) p. 160

“Traditional materials and construction techniques are still being employed to a large extend, though there is growing competition from modern materials, designs, and techniques.” (building traditions materials, skills) p. 161

NF
“Although it is the overall urban structure/fabric and townscape that gives the Stone Town of Zanzibar its unique character, there are many individual buildings of historical and architectural significance representing fine examples on the local architecture and building tradition.” (building traditions general) p. 8

“The typical vernacular architecture of the old town, is of two story buildings constructed of massive walls of coral rubble, with long, narrow rooms around an open courtyard.” (building traditions general) p. 8

“The materials and skills used in Stone Town construction are still widely used in Zanzibar.” (building traditions materials, skills) p. 5

“Naturally, any mason in Zanzibar must be capable of building in both concrete blockwork and the traditional lime-laterite-sand masonry.” (building traditions skills, building process) p. 5

“Thus both as a process and in terms of materials, the town is still strongly authentic.” (building traditions building process, materials) p. 5

“As a matter of fact the pitched corrugated roofs which have been used as roofing for the last hundred years, has become a traditional material of the Stone Town.” (building traditions materials) p. 5

“Criterion (iv): The layout technology, and design of the Stone Town buildings, expertly blending imported and local ideas, materials and techniques, makes the Stone Town an example of indigenous creativity of its own.” (building traditions ideas, materials, skills) p. 5

“In addition there are two types of structures i.e. the "traditional unclassified”, where the construction technique is traditional but the architectural origins are unclear and the "contemporary” which essentially covers all other buildings built over the past 30 years, many of which are residential buildings and do not conform to the traditional urban fabric of the Stone Town.” (building traditions skills) p. 7

“Theses essentially consisted of coral rag masonry set in a thick mortar, consisting of lime, earth and sand, and then covered with a lime plaster and lime wash.” (building traditions materials) p. 8

“The dimensions of buildings and individual rooms were determined by the length of the locally grown boritis, the mangrove poles capable of supporting the heavy stone ceilings, generally spanning 2.5 to 3 metres.” (building traditions materials) p. 9
“The only remarkable external feature is the elaborately carved square woorden door which is rich in symbolism, with patterns and motifs based on the lotus signifying power, the fish symbolizing fertility, incense representing wealth and the chain standing for security.” (building traditions skills) pp. 13-14

“The great hall [Jamt Khan], the ceiling of which is supported by massive stone pillars with exquisite carved capitals and pillars of inlaid wood and elaborate carving fine coup d’oeil.” (building traditions ideas) p. 22

“The materials and skills used in Stone Town construction are still widely used in Zanzibar.” (building traditions materials, skills) p. 5

“Although it is the overall urban structure/fabric and townscape that gives the Stone Town of Zanzibar its unique character, there are many individual buildings of historical and architectural significance representing fine examples on the local architecture and building tradition.” (building traditions general) p. 8

“Many of the basic construction techniques used in the different types of buildings have been employed along the East African coast for many centuries.” (building traditions skills) p. 8

“It was only with the introduction of modern building materials and techniques that these centuries old portions and dimensions began to change.” (building traditions skills) p. 9
6. European explorers

ABE

“Criterion (vi): Its continuous use as a residential/commercial town is by itself a powerful media in the manifestation of memories of the slave trade and of explorers like Vasco da Gama, Stanley and others.” (European explorers) p. 159

NF

“Stone Town furthermore bears the memories of all slaves sold in Zanzibar as well as the memory of European explorers such as Vasco da Gama, Livingstone, Speke, Stanley, Burton and others.” (European explorers) p. 3

“Criterion (vi): Its continuous use as a residential/commercial town is by itself a powerful media in the manifestation of memories of the slave trade and of explorers like Vasco da Gama, Stanley and others.” (European explorers) p. 5
7. Slave trade

“Criterion (vi): Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.” (slave trade)

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The Portuguese trading role was gradually taken over by Omani Arabs, dealing in grain, dried fish, ivory, and slaves.” (slave trade) p. 159

“The slave trade did not assume large proportions until the later 18th century, ...” (slave trade) p. 159

“The residence of the notorious slave trader from which it [The Tipu Tip House] takes its name, ...” (slave trade) p. 161

“Criterion (vi): Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.” (slave trade) p. 162

“The Anglican cathedral is in part a monument commemorating the abolition of the slave trade in the Sultan’s dominions.” (slave trade) p. 160

“The Angican cathedral was built inspired by David Livingstone and built on the site of the last slave market, the slave trade having been brought to an end by the British.” (slave trade) p. 159

“The Anglican cathedral is in part a monument commemorating the abolition of the slave trade in the Sultan’s dominions.” (slave trade) p. 160

“The residence of the notorious slave trader from which it [The Tipu Tip House] takes its name, ...” (slave trade) p. 160

“Criterion (vi): Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.” (slave trade) p. 162

This, however was more of an isolated slave station with no normal residential life, thus missing the important testimony of how the resident community was affected and influenced by the slave trade, how was city-planning regulated to contain this trade and how it was de-regulated to combat the trade.” (slave trade) p. 4

“The Oman Arabs stepped in very gradually during the eighteenth century when their main interest was in trade in food grains, mangrove poles, dried fish, ivory as well as slaves.” (slave trade) p. 11

“During the last third of the eighteenth century the slave trade was given a major boost by the demand for slave labour for their sugar plantations in the French islands of Isle de France (Mauritius) and Reunion in the southwestern Indian Ocean and even in the Americas.” (slave trade) p. 11

“The dislocation of the southern slave trade by Anglo-French warfare at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century forced the slave traders to divert the slaves to Zanzibar itself into a plantation economy which in the long run developed its own momentum far exceeding the former external slave trade.” (slave trade) p. 11
“The cloves plantation economy thus formed one of the foundations of the economy of Zanzibar and sustained a prosperous but unstable slave/land owning class, predominantly but not exclusively Oman Arab.” (slave trade) p. 11

“The building [Tippu Tip house] has a specific historic significance as the former residence of the well known ivory and slave merchant - Tippu.” (slave trade) p. 21

“Stone Town furthermore bears the memories of all slaves sold in Zanzibar as well as the memory of European explorers such as Vasco da Gama, Livingstone, Speke, Stanley, Burton and others.” (slave trade) p. 3

“Fortunately, the Stone Town served as both a slave market and a residential town.” (slave trade) p. 4

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8. Harbour town

“Criterion (iii): For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (harbour town)

“Criterion (vi): Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.” (harbour town)

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ABE

“Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture. And is the only and best preserved example of its kind.” (harbour town) p. 159

“A series of harbour towns developed under influences from the interior of Africa and from the lands across the Indian Ocean.” (harbour town) p. 159

“A church and some merchants’ houses were built at Zanzibar, where there had been a fishing village (Shangani) of simple wattle-and-daub houses thatched with palm leaves since the 10th century.” (harbour town) p. 159

“The Portuguese trading role was gradually taken over by Omani Arabs, dealing in grain, dried fish, ivory, and slaves.” (harbour town) p. 159

“The 19th century also saw a great expansion in trade in the Indian Ocean region.” (harbour town) p. 159

“The Indian traders began by buying Omani houses and adding wide verandahs, but by the latter half of the 19th century they were constructing elaborately decorated houses reminiscent of the Gujerati haveli.” (harbour town) pp. 159-160

“The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding example of a Swahili trading town.” (harbour town) p. 162

“However, none of these can be compared directly with Zanzibar, which has retained a higher proportion of its historic buildings than any of the others and still has an important administrative and economic function.” (harbour town) p. 162

“Whilst ICOMOS recognizes the significance of the Stone Town as the best and most complete example of the Swahili coastal trading towns, it feels that there are good reasons, ...” (harbour town) p. 162

“The Stone Town of Zanzibar is a fine example of the Swahili coastal trading towns of East Africa.” (harbour town) p. 162

“Criterion (iii): For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (harbour town) p. 162

“Criterion (vi): Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.” (harbour town) p. 162

“There was a loose confederation of small coastal city states known as the Zenj bar (Black Empire) which operated in the 8th-10th centuries.”(harbour town) p. 159

“However, none of these can be compared directly with Zanzibar, which has retained a higher proportion of its historic buildings than any of the others and still has an important administrative and economic function.” (harbour town) p. 162

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“Criterion (iii): For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and structure of the Stone Town.” (harbour town) p. 162
“Zanzibar Stone Town is the last and best, as well as the largest preserved living town testifying the evolution of Swahili civilization, itself a product of many cultural streams and strong maritime economic transformation.” (harbour town) p. 3

“Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture. And is the only and best preserved example of its kind.” (harbour town) p. 5

“The town of Zanzibar developed on Unguja island, the main island of Zanzibar archipelago whose strategic position, natural harbour, tropical climate, fertile soil, plentiful sweet water and ready supply of buildings materials offered all that was needed for urban development.” (harbour town) p. 6

“The many development phases of the town from a traditional fishing village at the Shangani Point to a royal residence at Forodhani and to a commercial metropolis along the bazaar street was mainly through ethnic relations.” (harbour town) p. 7

“The narrow coastal belt from southern Somalia, the Comoros and northern Madagascar in the south, provided a favourable tropical environment for small communities at the harbour towns to sustain themselves by fishing, local agriculture and trade in which they were the middlemen between the ocean and the African interior.” (harbour town) p. 9

“For more than two thousand years Arabs, Persians, Indians and even Indonesians have been trading with the East African coast, interacting with the local people, intermarrying with them, and evolving into a unique cultural amalgam that is the Swahili civilization.” (harbour town) pp. 9-10

“Under the impact of these two cultural streams a series of harbour towns developed along the East African coast.” (harbour town) p. 10

“Over the next two centuries they established a loose suzerainty over the Swahili coast, but it was peripheral to their preoccupation with the spice trade of India.” (harbour town) p. 10

“The Oman Arabs stepped in very gradually during the eighteenth century when their main interest was in trade in food grains, mangrove poles, dried fish, ivory as well as slaves.” (harbour town) p. 11

“The second foundation of Zanzibar’s economy rested on the expanding commerce of the Indian Ocean during the nineteenth century.” (harbour town) p. 12

“The Omanis from the early nineteenth century, initially as traders and later settling as plantation owners, introduced their architectural tradition of a massively built multi-storey square block of coral stones and mortar with a flat roof surmounted by a low crenellated wall.” (harbour town) p. 13

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“Under the impact of these two cultural streams a series of harbour towns developed along the East African coast.” (harbour town) p. 10

“Although there are archaeological indications that the site of Zanzibar town was occupied as early as the tenth century, the present town is largely a product of the post-Portuguese rejuvenation of the Indian Ocean economy.” (harbour town) p. 11
9. Cultural fusion and harmonization

"Criterion (ii): The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization." (cultural fusion and harmonization general)

"Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture. And is the only and best preserved example of its kind." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 162

"Criterion (iv): The layout technology, and design of the Stone Town buildings, expertly blending imported and local ideas, materials and techniques, makes the Stone Town an example of indigenous creativity of its own." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 159

"These [palaces and fine mansions] were built in a variety of styles and traditions, which were amalgamated and homogenized into a characteristic Swahili architecture." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 159

"It retains its urban fabric and townscape virtually intact and contains many fine buildings that reflect its particular culture, which has brought together and homogenized disparate elements of the cultures of Africa, Arabia, India, and Europe over more than a millennium." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 162

"Criterion (ii): The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 162

"Criterion (iii): The Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, The surviving town is a physical reflection of testimony to this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa. It gives an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture and it is the best preserved example of its kind." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 159

"Criterion (iv): The layout, technology, and design of the Stone Town buildings, expertly blending imported and local ideas, materials, and techniques, makes the Stone Town an example of indigenous creativity." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 159

NF
"Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture. And is the only and best preserved example of its kind." (cultural fusion and harmonization) p. 5

"Individually this is achieved by enclosing an open courtyard within a house." (cultural fusion and harmonization Arab) p. 8

"The outer walls of Arab houses are punched by small windows to protect the privacy of the household." (cultural fusion and harmonization Arab) p. 14

"Their simple four-leaf Gujarat-style doors exposed the whole front of their houses to the customers, while the domestic quarters were at the back of the house." (cultural fusion and harmonization Arab) p. 14

"Zanzibar Stone Town is the last and best, as well as the largest preserved living town testifying the evolution of Swahili civilization, itself a product of many cultural streams and strong maritime economic transformation." (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 3

"Its other manifestations: customs, architecture, music, rituals and dressing are currently not only predominant along the East African coast, but covers considerable portions of Central, East and Southern African hinterland." (cultural fusion and harmonization Swahili) p. 3

"This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture." (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 3

"Just as the name Zanzibar (contraction of the name Zenj – bar) finally became confined to the geographical and logistics Centre of that empire, (the present day Zanzibar), it is in Zanzibar that most of the physical cultural aspects of that civilization remain." (cultural fusion and harmonization Swahili) pp. 3-4

"Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture. And is the only and best preserved example of its kind." (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 5

"Criterion (iv): The layout technology, and design of the Stone Town buildings, expertly blending imported and local ideas, materials and techniques, makes the Stone Town an example of indigenous creativity of its own." (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 5
“The many development phases of the town from a traditional fishing village at the Shangani Point to a royal residence at Forodhani and to a commercial metropolis along the bazaar street was mainly through ethnic relations.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 7

“Communally, it is done by encompassing open spaces around buildings.” (cultural fusion and harmonization Arab) p. 8

“For more than two thousand years Arabs, Persians, Indians and even Indonesians have been trading with the East African coast, interacting with the local people, intermarrying with them, and evolving into a unique cultural amalgam that is the Swahili civilization.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) pp. 9-10

“Their influence is perceptible not only in the mixed population of the coast but also in the language, architecture, religion, dress and food, and in the general cosmopolitan way of life.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 10

“Four major traditions can be identified, but they are not always distinct for they have been homogenized in the process to create a new amalgam that is Zanzibar or more broadly Swahili.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 12

“Different populations have moved into the different quarters with their fluctuating fortunes, inheriting and modifying the houses to suit their needs, so that many of the houses betray a history of continuous change and integration.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 12

“Moreover, the different quarters of the town were not segregated but bound together by an intricate network of intimate narrow lanes and a great series of social nodes, such as mosques, coffee places and barazas i.e. meeting points that have created a cosmopolitan whole.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) pp. 12-13

“Bishop Steere who supervised construction, deliberately combined Gothic and Arabic architectural features to blend it into the Zanzibar scene.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 15

“The Stone Town has thus lived up to its cosmopolitan character even in its religious architecture.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 15

“Although typical of Indian building, it [Old Dispensary] is a symbol of the many different people, cultures and influences that contributed to the development of Zanzibar in the 19th century.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 21

“On the other hand the interior of the house was provided by wide balconies around the central courtyard where the womenfolk could perform their household chores protected from any external gaze.” (cultural fusion and harmonization Arab) p. 14

“The spiral of intimacy was expressed from the stone benches on either side of the external door where casual interaction took place, to the formal reception area, servants’ quarters and storage on the ground floor, and to the domestic quarters on the upper floors.” (cultural fusion and harmonization Arab) p. 14

“Zanzibar Stone Town is the last and best, as well as the largest preserved living town testifying the evolution of Swahili civilization, itself a product of many cultural streams and strong maritime economic transformation.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 3

“This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 3

“The Stone Town is therefore an outstanding tangible and intangible manifestation of this interaction through several millennia hence bears unique universal values.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 3

“Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture. And is the only and best preserved example of its kind.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 5

“During the last quarter of the nineteenth century increasing European influence and missionary activities led to the building of the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 15

“In line with their policy of indirect rule to make colonial rule palatable, the British tried to blend the new colonial architecture into the existing style of Zanzibar.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 14

“Indeed they did more to orientalise the formerly subdued Zanzibari architecture by introducing ‘Saracenic’ or Moorish features borrowed from Istanbul and Morocco.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 14

“While there has been an ongoing synthesis and indigenisation of the various cultures, distinct building types originating from Oman, India, East Africa and Europe can still be discerned.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 3
“Criterion (iv): The layout, technology, and design of the Stone Town buildings, expertly blending imported and local ideas, materials, and techniques, makes the Stone Town an example of indigenous creativity.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 5

“The Stone Town is an agglomeration of various architectural traditions from the East African coast and the world of the Indian Ocean.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) pp. 8-9

“Different populations have moved into the different quarters with their fluctuating fortunes, inheriting and modifying the houses to suit their needs, so that many of the houses betray a history of continuous change and integration.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 12

“However, as they prospered they began to buy Oman houses to which they added external verandas to increase ventilation and light.” (cultural fusion and harmonization general) p. 14
10. Religious tolerance

Consistent with its cosmopolitan character, Zanzibar has always offered a very high degree of religious tolerance to all its citizens." (religious tolerance) p. 15

“The Stone Town is thus a gathering of world religions, with 48 mosques, four Hindu temples, a Zoroastrian and a Buddhist temple, and two Christian cathedrals.” (religious tolerance) p. 15

“Indicative of religious tolerance, the land was donated by the Indian farmer of customs, and the Sultan gave the clock that was placed in the tower.” (religious tolerance) p. 15

“This confluence of many different cultures and religions has created a unique urban environment of Stone Town characterized by its exotic architecture.” (religious tolerance) p. 3

“During the last quarter of the nineteenth century increasing European influence and missionary activities led to the building of the Anglican and Roman Catholic cathedrals.” (religious tolerance) p. 15
11. Living town

ABE

"Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture, and is the only and best preserved example of its kind." (living town general) p. 159

"Criterion (vi): Its continuous use as a residential/commercial town is by itself a powerful media in the manifestation of memories of the slave trade and of explorers like Vasco da Gama, Stanley and others." (living town residential commercial use) p. 159

"Criterion (iii): The Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection of testimony to this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa. It gives an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture and it is the best preserved example of its kind." (living town residential commercial use) p. 159

NF

"Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture, and is the only and best preserved example of its kind." (living town general) p. 5

"Unlike the other city states, Zanzibar Stone Town is still a living town and is the seat of a government, visited by scholars routinely and frequently (secular and religious)." (living town general) p. 4

"Criterion (vi): Its continuous use as a residential/commercial town is by itself a powerful media in the manifestation of memories of the slave trade and of explorers like Vasco da Gama, Stanley and others." (living town residential commercial use) p. 5

"The Sanitary Department in 1900s opened public markets such as Estella and Seyyidieh for the sale of meat, fish and other fresh provisions, and later a slaughter house was built at Buloni." (living town public markets) p. 17

"Fortunately, the Stone Town served as both a slave market and a residential town." (living town residential commercial use) p. 4

"Unlike the other city states, Zanzibar Stone Town is still a living town and is the seat of a government, visited by scholars routinely and frequently (secular and religious)." (living town general) p. 4

"The many development phases of the town from a traditional fishing village at the Shangani Point to a royal residence at Forodhani and to a commercial metropolis along the bazaar street was mainly through ethnic relations." (living town general) p. 7

"Zanzibar Stone Town is the last and best, as well as the largest preserved living town testifying the evolution of Swahili civilization, itself a product of many cultural streams and strong maritime economic transformation." (living town general) p. 3

"Unlike the other city states, Zanzibar Stone Town is still a living town and is the seat of a government, visited by scholars routinely and frequently (secular and religious)." (living town general) p. 4

"Fortunately, the Stone Town served as both a slave market and a residential town." (living town general) p. 4

"Zanzibar, derived from the Perso-Arab word meaning the coast of the blacks, is the largest surviving Swahili town along the East African coast where two major cultural traditions come together and merge to form the Swahili civilization." (living town general) p. 9

"The Town of Zanzibar encapsulates the long and varied history of the Swahili coast." (living town general) p. 12

"Criterion (iii): Stone Town evolved through several millennia of maritime mercantile interaction, the surviving town is a physical reflection and testimony of this long-term interchange of human values within the coastal region of East Africa; an authentic impression of the living Swahili culture, and is the only and best preserved example of its kind." (living town general) p. 5
# APPENDIX III ATTRIBUTES

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Attributes</th>
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<td>Jamat Khan</td>
<td>Persian Baths</td>
<td>Peace Memorial</td>
<td>Commercial facilities (harbour, public market)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table indicates the presence or absence of architectural elements and their functions in various locations.
APPENDIX V CHANGE OF CONDITIONS OF ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Mnazimmoja: lower percentage of good Arab barazas
lower percentage of good Indian barazas
lower percentage of good Indian merchant doors
percentage of poor crenelations is higher in Mnazimmoja

Shangani: lower percentage of good Arab barazas
lower percentage of good Indian barazas
higher percentage of Arab barazas in poor condition
lower percentage of good Indian barazas
higher poor percentage of Indian barazas
higher percentage of Arab doors poor
higher percentage of poor Indian merchant doors
lower percentage of good Swahili doors
higher poor percentage of balconies

Malindi: lower percentage of good Arab barazas
lower percentage of good Indian barazas
higher number of ruins of Arab barazas
higher number of ruins fascia boards
higher percentage of poor Arab doors

Kiponda: higher percentage of Arab barazas in poor condition
higher number of poor fascia boards
Swahili carved door poor higher
poor percentage of balconies higher

Darajani: higher percentage of Arab barazas in poor condition
lower percentage of good Indian barazas
higher percentage of fascia boards in ruins
lower percentage of good Swahili doors
lower percentage of good crenelations
lower percentage of good balconies
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Observations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Darajani</td>
<td>higher percentage of Arab barazas in poor condition</td>
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<td>lower percentage of good Indian barazas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>higher percentage of fascia boards in ruins</td>
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<td>lower percentage of good Swahili doors</td>
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<td>lower percentage of good crenelations</td>
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<td>lower percentage of good balconies</td>
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<td>Forodhani</td>
<td>higher percentage of ruins Arab baraza</td>
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<td>higher percentage of poor Arab doors</td>
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<td>higher percentage of in ruins Swahili door</td>
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<td>higher percentage of balconies in ruins</td>
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