

**A REINTERPRETATION OF
"SENSE OF PLACE":
A Study of the Stone Town of Zanzibar.**

by
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Advanced Diploma in Architecture
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ABSTRACT:

This thesis attempts to understand the evolution of the Stone Town of Zanzibar, an urban fabric that had undergone a phase of upheaval that was brought about by a brief period of rapid change in its political, social and economic structure. The relevance of the investigation lies mainly in the historical context of the urban fabric under study and in its unique cosmopolitan identity. These two factors direct the focus of attention to the 'cumulative consciousness' of this urban environment that manifests itself in the various diverse elements that form what has been called the 'core' of a 'place'. The 'core' is examined as a potential tool that could be utilized to generate a reinterpretation of the 'sense of place' in a socially transformed urban fabric. The substance of this reinterpretation is directed towards establishing a premise for reinvigorating, by stressing continuity, a stagnant traditional environment. Personal reflection on general and particular experiences of 'places' within the area under study constitute the main body of material analysed. The framework for the analysis emerges as an assembly of theoretical and factual data that supports the objective goals of the study.

In conclusion, the study is oriented towards reviving a consciousness of the uniqueness of the "place" that is lacking in the current conservation efforts being undertaken within the Stone Town of Zanzibar and that may be exploited in its overall revitalization.

Thesis Supervisor: Ronald B. Lewcock
Professor of Architecture and Aga Khan
Professor of Design for Islamic Societies

DEDICATED TO MY FAMILY, FRIENDS, AND TO
ZANZIBAR,
A 'PLACE' WHERE SO MUCH HAS BEEN
'EXPERIENCED'

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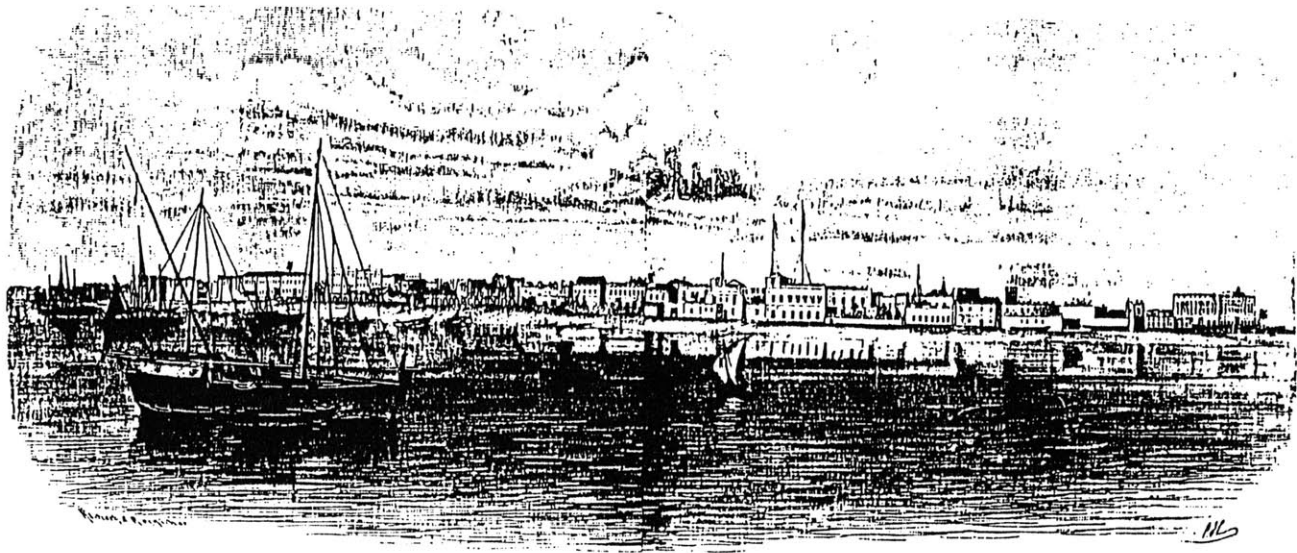
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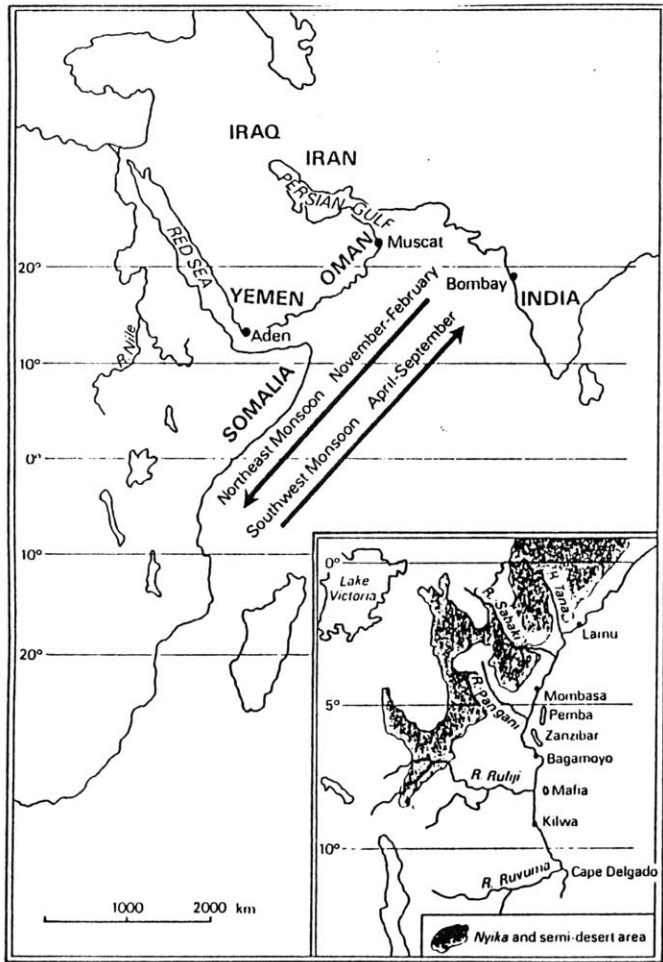
C O N T E N T S

ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	5
1.INTRODUCTION.....	9
Background to the Study	13
The Study	17
2.THE CONCEPT OF 'PLACE'.....	25
The Concept of 'Place'.....	26
Introduction: Physical and Psychic 'Place'	26
The Structure of Society and its Identity	30
Human Consciousness and Existence	40
Character and Image of 'Place'	48
'Sense of Place' and Experiencing 'Place'	50
Intentionality and Formation of 'Place'	53
'Place' and Time	55
The Concept of the 'Core' of a'Place'	58

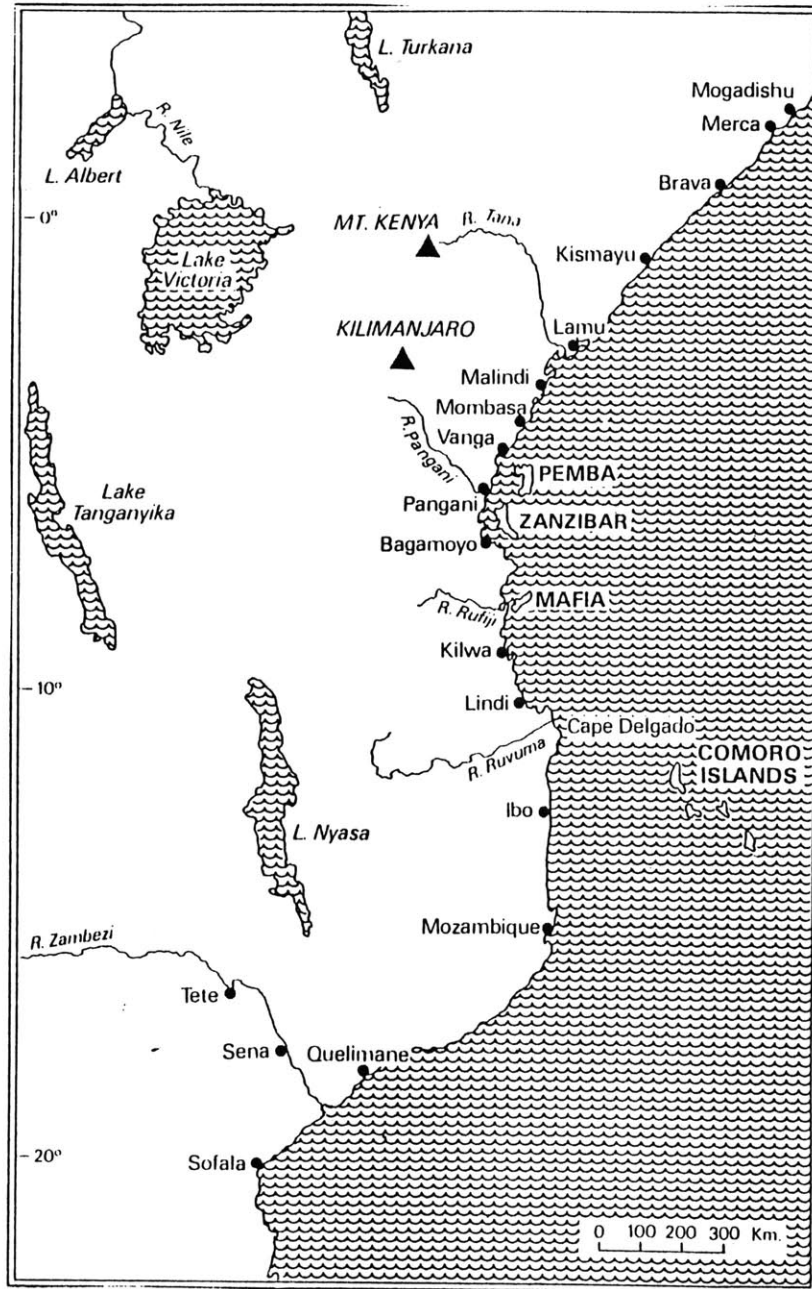
3. 'PLACE' IN THE STONE TOWN	62
The Genesis and Growth of the Stone Town	63
The Present Social Structure of the Stone Town and its Identity	75
Overall Social Consciousness and Image	85
Character and Image of 'Place' in the Stone Town	92
Experiencing 'Place' and 'Sense of Place' in the Stone Town	99
Intentionality and Formation of 'Place' in the Stone Town	117
Change and Time in the Stone Town	118
Illustrations	122
 4. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS	 153
General Recommendations	154
Specific Recommendations	164
Conclusions	175
 Bibliographies	 177
 Sources of Illustrations	 185

1. INTRODUCTION

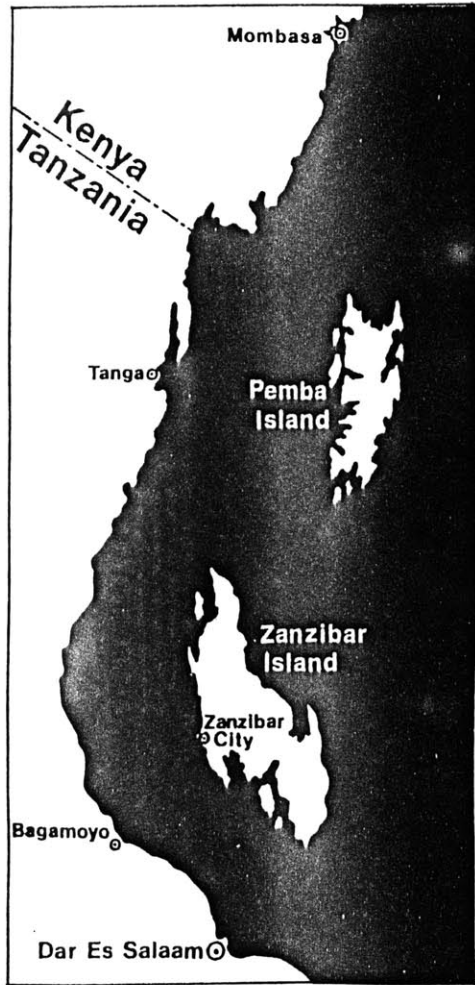




1. Map of the western Indian Ocean



2. Map of the East African coast



3, 4, and 5. Maps of Zanzibar, Zanzibar City, and the Stone Town.



6. A satellite view of Zanzibar city.

Background to the Study

Besides its physical aspects, the renewal of a city is historically experienced - as a mental and emotional transformation, an improvement of the spirit, a rebirth of psychic energies. The Stone Town of Zanzibar is currently undergoing a process of renewal but while there is a strong emphasis for its physical preservation, the present trends indicate an absence of the psychological awareness of the town in relationship to its physical fabric. This acquired quality of the fabric plays an important part in viewing the urban environment and the diverse characteristics related to it as an organism that functions as a 'whole'. For a town that has one of the most interesting historical backgrounds along the entire east coast of Africa and that is so rich in cultural diversity, the lack of this awareness and its overall significance in the current renewal efforts is of great concern.

Before attempting a study that addresses the question of this missing aspect, it seems necessary to briefly set the historic context of Zanzibar and the Stone Town and then to briefly describe the situation of the Stone Town of Zanzibar today. This will also serve to outline the different periods of prosperity and decline which vary in extent yet represent phases of prosperity in time generated by the different groups of the Stone Town employing various means of obtaining their livelihood.

The history of trading along the east African coast probably has its origins at the

beginning of a period two thousand years ago. This trading is known to have been occurring between the three main cultural streams, the Africans, the Arabs, and the Asians, that today give Zanzibar and many other settlements along the east African coast their cosmopolitan identity.

From the period of its genesis in the early eighteenth century up to the present time, the Stone Town of Zanzibar has constantly been in the process of evolution. Throughout its history it has experienced significant changes in its political, economic and social character. African, Arab, Asian and, later, European cultures have tremendously influenced these changes. Around the mid-nineteenth century it was the centre of a vast commercial empire that extended far into the African interior. Its trading activities extended from the Far East and China across to the Americas, Europe, and Asia. Throughout this period it has served to accommodate, temporarily or permanently, peoples from these different parts of the world. Out of this physical growth and social interaction emerged the unique cosmopolitan entity of the Stone Town. The Stone Town today stands out as a symbol of this past era with a 'cumulative' consciousness of its own that gives it its unique identity. The Stone Town also forms a crucial part of a much larger organism, Zanzibar City, which itself has established its own identity, in many ways distinct from that of the Stone Town.

Trading activities thus gave the main impetus to the growth of the Stone Town of Zanzibar, an urban area which today remains one of the few 'living' historical towns in east Africa. These trading activities were largely controlled by the Arab and Asian communities,

with the African communities providing the labour and at times playing a mediating role in this trade. The nature of the trading activities and the system that supported it generally suggests an exploitation of the east coast of Africa and of its indigenous population. The latter involvement of the British in the administration of Zanzibar brought some changes to this system of 'exploitation'. The eventual struggle for independence and the Revolution that followed reversed the control of power from the 'minority' communities to the African majority. With the repercussions that followed after the Revolution, many of the minority communities fled the Islands leaving a large gap in the civil service, and with the nationalization of private banks, businesses and other private property, the domestic economic structure fell apart. However, with a strong national economy mainly supported by the export of cloves, a few 'state' shops took over the role of supplying the domestic needs in consumer commodities that were mostly imported. As a result of this the old central market became less active and the numerous bazaar streets became devoid of any activity. The social life of the Stone Town represented by the activities of the different ethnic communities was also dampened by the new government's emphasis on socialist ideology and models that were alien to the 'eastern' lifestyles of the majority of the population. In 1964, the year of the Revolution, the Zanzibar government united with the Tanganyika mainland government to form the United Republic of Tanzania, which was also guided by a socialist ideology. In the early eighties an unsuccessful attempt was made to break away from this ideology in Zanzibar and return to a 'traditional' and separate form

of government. This attempt and the general political atmosphere and controversy it created forced the new government to initiate some reforms, mainly in response to the increasing economic pressure. The passing of the Trade Liberalization Act led to a sudden re-surfacing of economic activity within the streets of the Stone Town. The beginning of this period also coincided with the initiation of conservation efforts and with the government's move to sell many of its dilapidated buildings that it could no longer maintain. The latter moves were largely the response to two separate reports prepared between 1983 and 1984, by two teams of consultants, commissioned by the UNCHS, which also led to the formation of a conservation body that has since been responsible for guiding the conservation effort. Generally, there has been an indication of a gradual increase in social and economic activity around the Stone Town during the past five years. The current emphasis is focussed on trying to restore some of the vitality that is inherent in the built fabric of the Stone Town as reflected in the activities of its inhabitants and that have continuously contributed significantly to its historical 'sense of place' through time. It is the emphasis on restoring this vitality and creating an environment that is conducive to its society that will give new meaning to the 'sense of place' in the Stone Town and that constitutes the main objective of this study. The study will thus draw on the reflected 'consciousness' of the physical fabric and look for new ideas to adapt the environment to meet the needs of the existing society. In conclusion, it is basically an attempt to propose a means of recovering an evolving environmental awareness that was not lost but driven underground by the political, social,

and economic circumstances of the past twenty five years. It is intended to generate a reinterpretation of the 'sense of place' in the Stone Town of Zanzibar, placed in context of the existing social conditions.

The Study

The need for a study that attempts to understand the psychological needs of the residents of Stone Town as reflected in its existing built fabric is of crucial importance to the success of the town's current conservation efforts. Such a study would have to involve an understanding of the historical processes that led, not only to its birth, growth and decline, but also regeneration, viewed as a society's continuing cycle of evolution. These historical processes should cover all aspects that make up the different physical and psychic components of an urban environment. The components that are most important and need special attention are, socio-cultural, economic, political and religious. These components are mainly structures that express our various psychological needs that stem from our consciousness as bio-physical beings living in a man-made environment that 'evolves' out of the natural environment. These needs include the basic necessities such as shelter, clothing, food, etc., as well as confirmation of identity, modes of social interaction, security and other similar needs.

A significant influence on this study has been Eugene Walter's concept of "holistic

theoria". "Originally, *theoria* meant seeing the sights, seeing for yourself, and getting a world-view, but it involved all the senses and feelings. Disintegrating this whole experience degrades the intangible, non-physical, human energies of a place.¹ . . . The *theoria* originally implied a complex but organic mode of active observation - perceptual system that included asking questions, listening to stories and local myths, feeling as well as hearing and seeing. It encouraged an open reception to every kind of emotional, cognitive, symbolic, imaginative, and sensory experience - a holistic practice of thoughtful awareness that engaged all the senses and feelings."² He calls the frame of mind that makes "holistic *theoria*" possible, "topistics," or the study of placeways and it is this frame of mind that has generated the substance for this study.

The Stone Town possesses a very unique character related to its cosmopolitan identity and its structure of "communal interdependence". In this respect, it provides one of the most interesting areas of study. The nature of circumstances that led to its emergence and growth today represent a very common phenomenon that is occurring in many major cities of the world, that of an increasing cosmopolitan identity and social complexity. The 'moderate' socialist policies of the Zanzibar government blended and modified to accommodate the religious beliefs of its majority Muslim population have produced a society that has established a strong structure of "communal interdependence" and cohesiveness. However, under the current and increasing economic pressures this

1. Walter E. V, 1988 Placeways p. 4

2. Walter E. V, *ibid* p. 19

interdependence is disintegrating. The fragmentation of society is not a new phenomenon and forms one of the issues that will be given attention in this study as a factor that significantly affects the fostering of a 'sense of place' in the urban environment.

Another factor that will form an essential part of the study is the growth of human consciousness, in relation to society and the built environment. The social significance of this characteristic to the study is reflected in the nature of the Stone Town's cosmopolitan social and architectural heritage. This heritage has been the product of over two centuries of social interaction between the different ethnic groups that make up its society. The diversity expressed in both the physical as well as psychological characteristics of the urban environment will be the main source of material for the analysis undertaken at the various structural levels of society. These characteristics represent the individual as well as collective needs of society and could be interpreted as expressions of our consciousness towards the environment we inhabit. Among the most important of these expressions are those that are related to our need for identity, acknowledgement, belonging, security and recognition, factors that determine and confirm the nature and pace of our progress in life. Evidence suggests that the Stone Town has provided many of these needs to its various inhabitants throughout its history.

From an understanding of our inner needs and the presence of an environment that can continue to foster the expression of such needs, the 'sense of place' brings meaning to our existence. The experience of 'place' is thus brought about by a coherent understanding of

the physical and psychic territories of a 'place'. Within every city such 'places' develop in accordance with the fluctuating and permanent needs of society. Streets, town squares, neighbourhoods, and open spaces are a few examples of common 'places'. Such 'places' are also common within the Stone Town. They will be used to describe general and personal responses of experiencing 'place' within the town.

In examining an existing built fabric, we can sometimes read the intention behind its formation no matter what purpose it now serves a society. Sometimes the original intention and formation may remain the same but at times this changes or 'gathers' additional meaning and purpose through time. It is this process that adds quality to the experience of a 'place'. This process of 'gathering' that has formed the main resource of strength for the various 'places' that have developed within the Stone Town and in, itself, becoming a 'place', as a whole. It is this strength that has provided the basis for the study. From a study of the process of gathering it is hoped to generate the material for the analysis of the town's environmental qualities and perhaps, identify direct means of further building up of this strength.

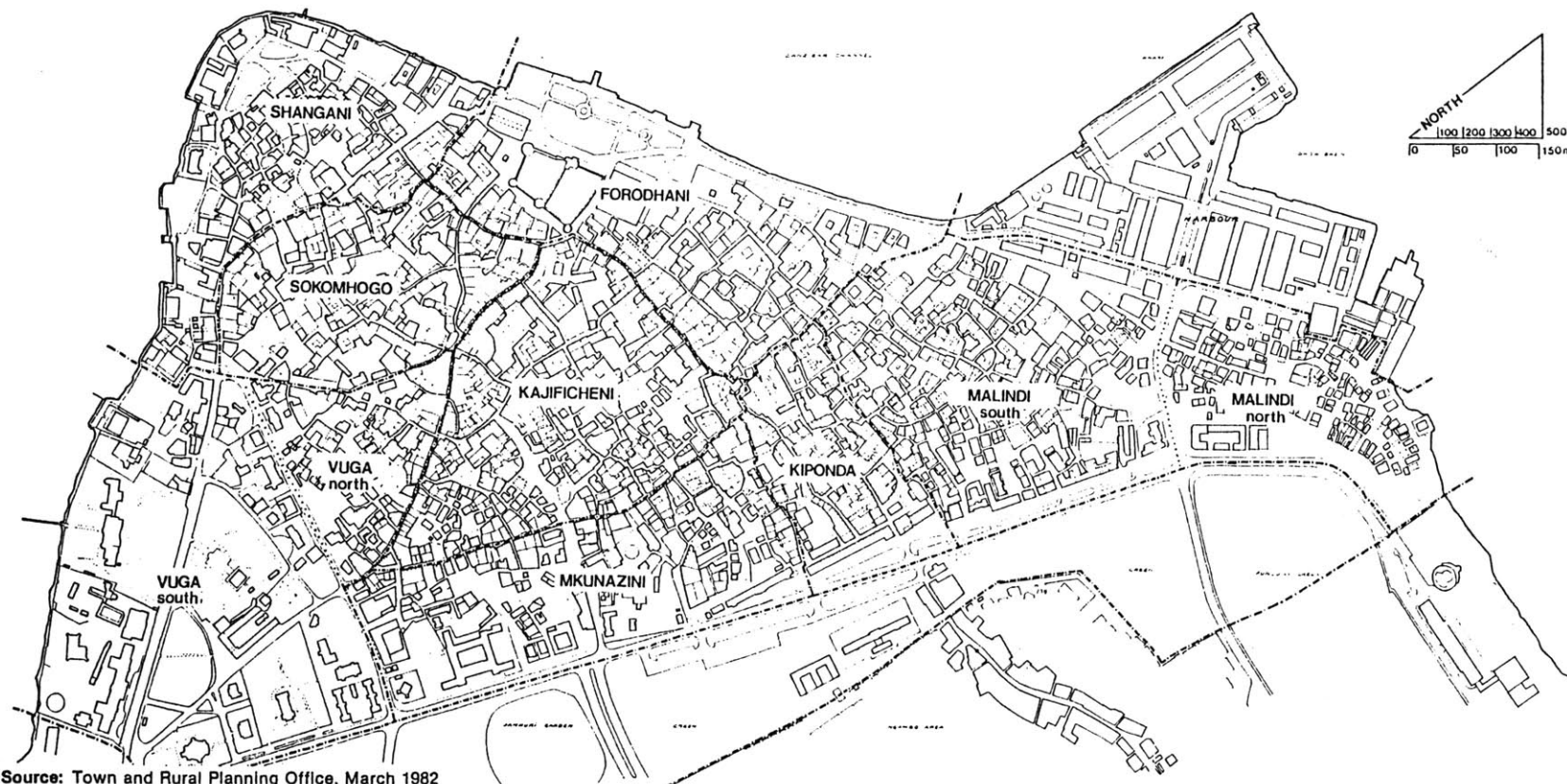
The study has been structured in four parts. The first part sets the premise for the study and in general serves to introduce the substance of the study as already outlined above.

The second part attempts to address in detail the various issues outlined in the first part,

largely relying on a personal understanding and knowledge of these issues, strengthened by the different theoretical resources that deal with the subject of 'place'. These will then be used to establish a basic theoretical framework for analysis.

The third part attempts to relate the framework for analysis discussed in the second part to relevant issues related to 'place' within the Stone Town.

Finally, in the fourth part, recommendations will be offered that might serve to assist in the current renewal efforts within the Stone Town, but go further, considering the revitalization of the Stone Town and the reinterpretation of 'sense of place' for its present inhabitants.



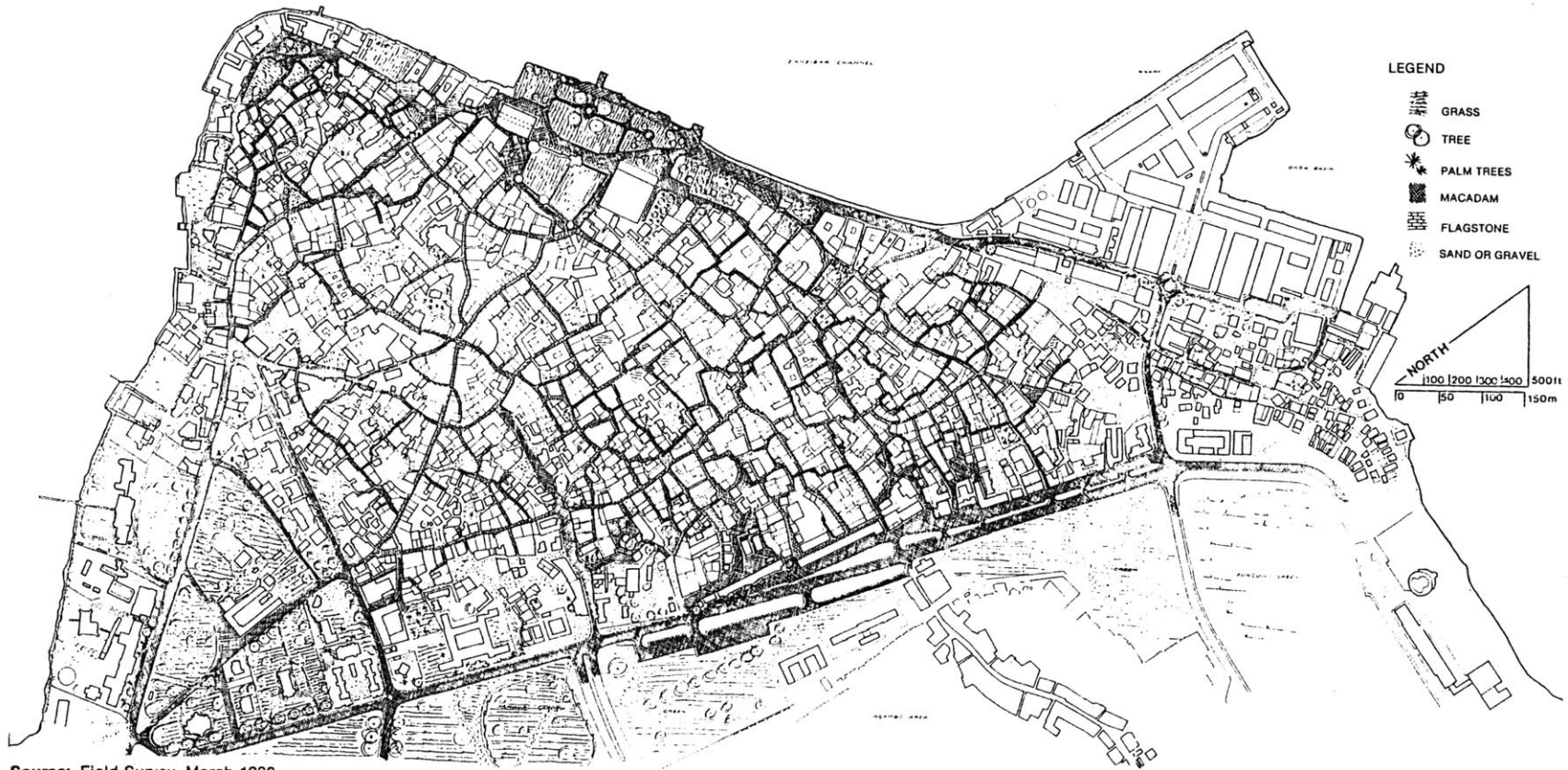
Source: Town and Rural Planning Office, March 1982

7. Map of the Administrative Districts of the Stone Town.



Source: Field Survey, March 1982

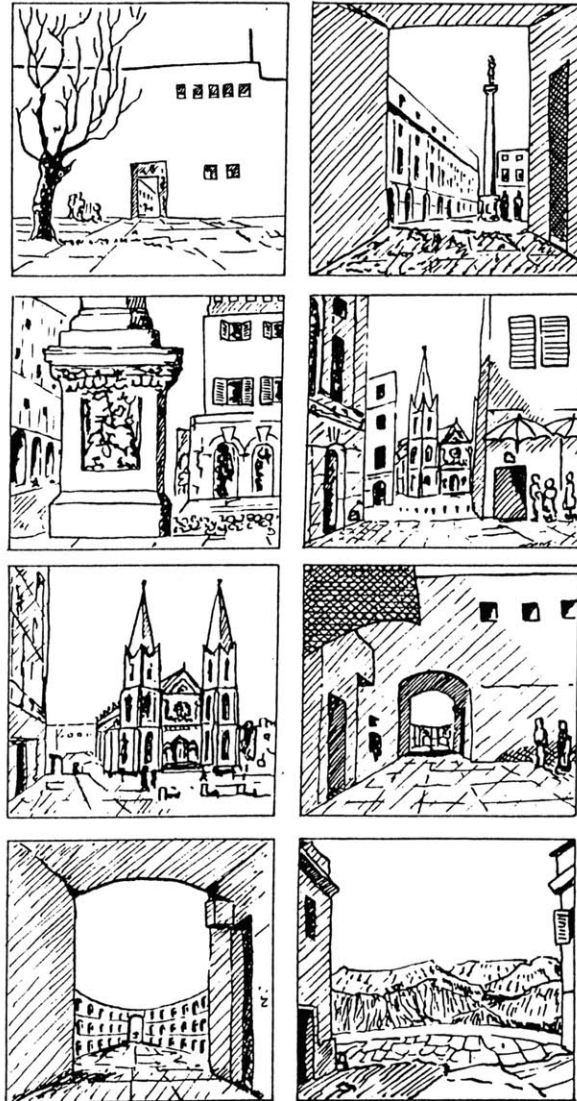
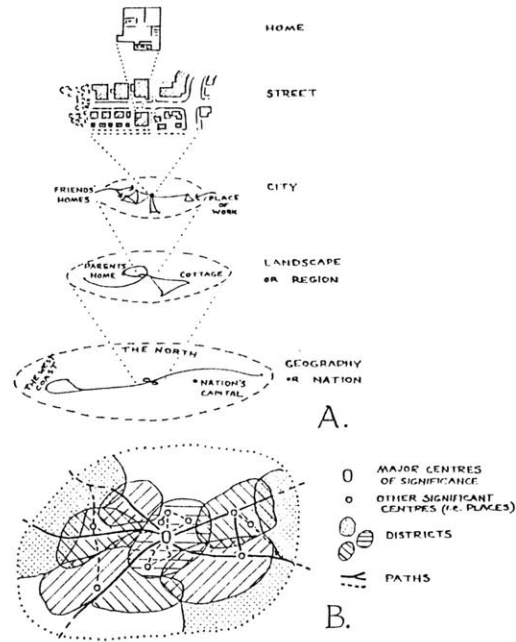
8. Map of Land Use in the Stone Town.



Source: Field Survey, March 1982

9. Map of Open space in the Stone Town

2. THE CONCEPT OF 'PLACE'



The Concept of 'Place'

The concept of 'place' embraces a wide range of settings and situations. The experience of 'place' as a result, exhibits a rich diversity and intensity in its manifestation. Within this range there is a special category of 'place', that experienced at the different physical and cognitive levels of our urban environment, in itself enriched by diversity. It is this urban environment and the diversity of 'place' within it that will constitute the subject of this chapter.

Introduction: Physical and Psychic 'Place'

'Place', described in its various urban contexts, conveys one common theme, that of an environment to which we respond, through its physical elements and the psychological aspects created by them. The physical elements that we find in the urban environment represent most of our different needs, needs that are drawn from our consciousness as bio-physical beings and the fact that we share our environment with other forms in nature. The awareness of our inner consciousness surfaces from the responses of our natural cognitive and perceptual senses to the environment we inhabit. Physical expression in the built environment can mainly be associated with our functional needs and our sense of 'aesthetics', finding manifestation in the purpose of the structures we build and of the spaces created between them.

The comprehension of the relationship between the physical and psychic qualities is of crucial importance, especially to the Stone Town as it represents a multitude of such relationships brought about by its diverse cultural heritage.

The physical and the psychic characteristics or the tangible and the intangible qualities of 'place' in the urban environment are expressed as a mutual co-existence. However, the relationship between these characteristics of a 'place' evolve with time. Thus, through time or because of a particular event or experience, the physical elements of a 'place' develop new meaning, drawn from the fluctuating psychological expectations and expressions of its users. It may be the extent of intentionality behind these two basic characteristics of 'place' that structure our environment and our experience of 'place' and thus its meaning to society.

Considering the fact that any urban settlement begins in the natural environment, the character of 'place' is strongly associated with its geographic location and the qualities of the terrain. Cities and towns may be located inland, along the coast, or on islands. The nature of these different terrains usually produces differing kinds of settlements which in many cases reflect the geographic advantages or disadvantages of each 'place' and its resources. The genesis of a settlement on whatever scale and its subsequent prosperity and growth depend to a large extent on the advantages offered by its geographic location.

Human intentions, in the form of an assessment of the potential of a particular location are what bring about the genesis of a settlement, or, on the other hand, influence the decision to look for another area. The use of the word 'potential' covers a broad range of aspects related to the physical and psychological needs of society. These begin from basic needs such as shelter, security, sources of food and water, etc., and from these a social structure evolves establishing its own identity, relationships, customs and other similar qualities. These latter will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

The careful assessment of this potential on the part of those that inhabited it, has been the main impetus behind the genesis and rapid growth of the Stone Town, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The built fabric of a settlement is a reflection of the aspirations of society and evolves with society's fluctuating needs through time. These aspirations derive from the individual in society as well as different groups in society, and vary with the character and intentions of these representatives of society, and in turn determine the domains of interaction. The juxta-positioning or articulation of the various forms in the built fabric, creating a complex system of solids and voids, varying in size, material, purpose and meaning, and serving

society's needs, together with the above mentioned aspects, are possibly what gives the urban environment its self-awareness and identity as 'place'.

The fluctuating needs of the inhabitants of the Stone Town since its emergence as a settlement and its developed form and identity, are clear indications of the occurrence of a very complex process that today generates its awareness as one of the most unique places in the world.

The introduction to 'place', while outlining its two generalized qualities, physical and psychological, also draws attention to a very essential aspect of both these qualities, that is the nature or character of the society that is responsible for a manifested 'place.'

Taking into consideration the complex structure and the cosmopolitan nature of the Stone Town's inhabitants, it seems necessary to first look in detail at the different socio-cultural qualities of the urban environment, and the roles they play in influencing a sense of 'place' in this environment, as a step towards understanding how these qualities in turn might influence the sense of 'place' in the Stone Town.

The Structure of Society and its Identity

In a human environment, a sense of identity and a sense of belonging are the two most important aspects of our human consciousness. We either want to be identified or identified with. These expressions are basically what determine the mode of interaction in society, as individuals or collectively. Any social structure, thus, begins with an individual that has his or her identity and progresses to the formation of groups of individuals, each group with its identity defined by a purpose. This ability to belong and to ultimately have identity is one of the most important attributes of social coherence.

Again, the significance of this identity and the consciousness of belonging becomes crucial to the Stone Town bearing in mind its different ethnic groups living together in a coherent structure but yet maintaining their separate identities.

The term 'society', in attempting to understand social structure, is used here in a contemporaneous sense and refers to the cumulative interaction of the social components or substructures in it. Thus, within society, we find traditional substructures identified as culture, religion and politics. Culture(s) is identified with the tradition of a particular people through time and has its own system of 'meaningful' interaction between its

members. Within a society one finds ethnicity that is, in most cases, derived from a culture and establishes a distinctive identity of its own, the 'derivatives' forming the basis for this identity. The second important substructure of society is religion. Religion can also be related to culture. Different cultures can have different religions and within religions we can identify sects, often representing unorthodox views in contrast to the fundamental beliefs of the religion. Perhaps the most influential of all the substructures of society is political structure, focused around an ideology that sets principles for governing and defining the goals for development of the abode of a society or any 'place' in it. Political structure involves the formulation of laws, policies and regulations that protect the general welfare of its citizens.

Society, besides its cultural and religious substructures, has developed its own general substructures of 'functional' or 'occupational' classification, ; income groups, classes, professionals, workers, social clubs, the elite, minority, public, private, etc. Many of these groups are generally related to the socio-economic structure of society. Thus, society as a whole, and particularly politics, religion, and culture, determine our social behavior and are the main sources of our emotions, intentions, and actions, and play an important part in giving us our identity and determining our character. Identity and character define our responses and the responses we receive from our actions and lay the 'structure' for experiencing 'place' in its various manifestations within the urban environment.

Zanzibar historically has always been in continuous contact with cultures from different parts of the world. This contact has enabled it to establish well defined 'traditional' substructure. However, it has not yet developed a sophisticated and complex local society in terms of 'functional' or occupational substructures. Recently, a trend in this direction has gained a sudden momentum.

Even though an attempt was earlier made to outline the main substructures of society, in reality these substructures seldom reflect an overall coherent social structure. Today, the increasing political and economic pressures on society are mainly responsible for the increasing formation of other substructures and the fragmentation of society. In many societies, especially in the third world, social status is largely determined by political alliance and financial standing. Rural-urban migration and immigration to other countries is mainly caused by these pressures and as a result of this migration the complexity of societies keep increasing. The coherence of traditional societies was largely determined by a less mobile society, governed by a social structure that in many cases was hierarchical in nature with an established set of rules. Such cycles of 'coherence' can today be identified with the different dynasties and reigns of the famous Emperors, Kings, Sultans and other

similar leaders. Strong leadership was an important aspect of such societies. Components such as politics and economics were acknowledged and served their purpose in these societies but formed only part of the overall structure of social interdependence. These components found meaning because they had a purpose in the evolution or progress of the particular society through time. In some of the existing traditional societies, especially Islamic societies, this meaning and purpose continues to change through time and these different components either find additional meaning and purpose or lose it depending on the needs of society and its goals of progress. Thus, these components are interdependent and come into being because they are meaningful to our overall comprehension of the environment we live in and have to be identified to acknowledge their purpose. However, these components cannot be fragmented, quantified, or explicitly defined, their existence is subject to their meaning in society and society, constantly in a flux, defies such quantification, fragmentation or definition. The significance of this "holistic" view of the components of society in the making of 'place' in the urban environment and their interdependence is appropriately expressed by Walter. "A place is a unity of experience, organizing the intercommunication and mutual influence of all beings within it. Every place, then, implies a form of dwelling together, and all the realities in a place -- living people, images, memories, animals, plants, as well as bacteria and other hidden forces-- make a group of effective presences dwelling together. Even though we rarely

acknowledge them all, they participate in one another's natures and constitute a topistic structure, the system of mutual immanence."³

The heterogeneity of these co-existences extends into social groups such as "the rich and poor, sometimes living in the vicinity of each other while at times living separately, but nonetheless . . . thrust into one another's life space by the force of communal interdependence and sustained by the conviction that they were members of one another."⁴ Such was the situation in ancient and medieval cities but the same can be said for many cities in the 'third world'. Today, however, this "communal interdependence" and its cohesiveness is in danger of being lost or already has been lost in some parts of these cities.

Zanzibar faces a similar challenge, especially since the political changes in 1985. Its system of "communal interdependence" is rapidly deteriorating under the increasing socio-economic pressure being exerted by both foreign and domestic influences. These will be further elaborated on in the third chapter.

3. Walter E. V, *ibid* p. 23

4. Walter E. V, *ibid* p. 40

Possibly, one of the main causes of this 'disintegration' originates with the beginning of the colonial era. The imposition of political ideologies and economic policies that were abstracted from the evolutionary experience of 'western' societies by the colonial rulers on the countries they ruled has caused and is continuing to cause many problems for these countries. During colonial rule, the implementation of many of these new policies were supervised by the colonial administration and a few local people were trained to understand these policies. Under these circumstances the imposed policies worked and served the purposes of the colonial rulers. After independence many new governments and leaders inherited these ideologies and administrations that were initially imposed on them and which they were trained to work with. However, these adopted policies did not evolve out of the natural dynamics of the society but were rather imposed on the society that was ruled. Perhaps, the problems associated with the economies of many independent countries could be solved by placing emphasis on understanding the inherent substructures of the different societies that are much more comprehensible to their social mentality. The current emphasis seems to be on 'bridging the gap' but it seems that the 'bridges' are too long and it would be much more logical to bring the two sides closer together and build shorter 'bridges'. Understanding the evolutionary progress of societies and the social mentality underlining this progress might bring these two sides closer.

Social mentality changes from society to society and the assumption that some societies

are 'primitive' while others 'civilized' is raising many questions of how we think and what determines our relationship to the environments we inhabit. Anthropological studies have been the main source for such questions. Studies by Amos Rapoport⁵ show that the Australian aborigines feel that the country owns them --- they are the spiritual property of the land, a conception that would seem totally alien to many other societies, especially those influenced by 'western' thinking. Similar examples have also been given by Relph⁶. Perhaps the true progress of any society depends on the ability of its inhabitants to understand the inherent substructures of that society. With the political and economic problems that many developing countries face, emphasis should be placed on understanding the structure of their own political and economic components together with their role in the overall structure of society's goals of progress, and from this understanding establish a framework that can be linked to the global political and economic structure. Such an understanding should be evolved from the social mentality of the society itself, and not in terms of a 'foreign' social mentality. The achievements of the 'western' world, reflected in its political and economic policies evolved from the social mentality of its societies. I believe that such policies are not applicable to any other societies unless they have a similar mentality or are trained to accept such mentality. This argument is basically

5. Rapoport A., 1988 quoted by Walter in Placeways p. 132

6. Relph E., 1976 Place and Placelessness p.12

for a reassessment of these foreign influences and their contribution in terms of having a meaningful purpose in the overall structure of society, that which is compatible with its social mentality and evolution.

The issues raised above have a very important significance to Zanzibar. Prior to Independence and the Revolution that followed, the majority of the senior positions in the civil service were either held by the British or the minority ethnic groups. In the general upheavals, after the 1964 Revolution, many fled the islands leaving a large skilled manpower gap in the civil service. Initially this gap was filled by a few foreigners, mainly from the communist block countries and a few trained workers. However, the majority of those employed were untrained workers in the various administrative positions in an almost totally alien administrative system. Today, the struggle still goes on, trying to bridge a gap that is too wide and keeps getting wider with the increasing economic problems.

Returning to the complexity of cities, this continues to increase with the fragmentation of society, split between the 'traditionalist' and the 'modernist'. The emphasis on social-economic distinction based on occupations and financial status and the isolation of the communities into privileged or stigmatized neighbourhoods poses a threat to the quality of

experience of 'places.' Walter acknowledges this by referring to the greater interdependence of different social groups in earlier cities. "There was some separation of persons by community but no ghetto-like isolation of communities in the whole. . . . Certain neighbourhoods were favoured by the wealthy because of their salubrity, or proximity to the citadel and public affairs, and gave these districts an 'upper class' character, but no class came to dominate a district. . . . In the old structure of mutual immanence, both physical intimacy and social distance shaped the pattern of daily life. Hatred and repugnance added meaning to the texture of daily interactions, but these feelings did not give the rich the motive or the will to withdraw from the poor. Now the topistic structure of the modern city tends to divide the urban environment in bounded zones of homogeneous life space".⁷ Today, social response and acceptance is largely determined by the locality of residence and occupation and these terms basically have become the basis for social identification or social status.

The concept of privileged neighbourhoods is not new to Zanzibar. Many of the town planning principles introduced by the British administration were based on this. Today this concept is still applied, as is evident in the exclusive zoning of high density and low density residential areas in the new development areas around Zanzibar City. The Stone Town

7. Walter E. V, *ibid* p. 41

today is also considered a privileged area by many people. There is a need to reassess the validity of the town planning principles and perhaps carefully examine the function of the Stone Town as a model for the abstraction and development of new principles.

The crisis of identity has become a great concern for many people and groups in society. In an attempt to solve this crisis, the tendency of modern society has been to stereo-type an individual or a group of individuals and expect that individual or group to perform and behave in society according to a set of explicit rules, such rules and behavior forming the basis for an identity. These rules, as mentioned earlier, are related to where one lives, one's occupation, one's social habits, etc. This practice defies the traditional 'holistic' structuring of society which were usually based on implicit and often mutually accepted rules as described above by Walter. This tendency has increased the complexity and anonymity of society eventually leading to its fragmentation. This stereo-type phenomenon has emerged because of the failure of traditional substructures to accommodate the increasing new occupations emerging in society and the new political and economic emphasis on social status. Social status is becoming synonymous with financial status.

Society and the urban environment could accommodate such groups by bearing a greater responsibility in guiding or directing social change through its various coherent

substructures and by promoting a better understanding of society's evolutionary characteristics. This move will also require the provision of an environment which support conducive expression.

In Zanzibar, such 'fragmentation' is still based on traditional affiliations such as religion, trade occupations, cultural background and political alliances. Professional occupations are yet to become significant in terms of influencing any serious change in the social structure but under the current economic situation dependence on professional advice will become a valuable contribution towards development. There is a need to draw consciousness to the fact that Zanzibar could avoid the fragmentation of its social structure by building upon that what exists of its coherent social structure.

Human Consciousness and Existence

Human consciousness is related to our cognitive and perceptual senses. This consciousness assists us in determining our identity and position or 'bearing' in the dynamics of the built environment . Of ultimate concern, in terms of this consciousness, is

the need for acceptance or belonging in the social structure and a means of recognition and the acknowledgement of our achievements and existence in the environment we live in.

The expression of acknowledgment is an act that is performed in different ways. The most common actions are, verbal acknowledgement, the acceptance within the socio-economic structure and the freedom for physical or aesthetic expression within 'acceptable' limits. These expressions in most cases are associated with the psychological needs of society. Of interest to us is physical or aesthetic expression as these are what make up the main physical 'components' of the urban environment.

In analyses of physical expression we find terms such as 'solid', 'void', 'boundary', 'linear', etc. being used as verbal descriptions of our consciousness of the objects and forms in the built environment. For instance, 'solid' relates a sense of impermeability, stability, rigidity, secureness, comfort, uniformity, soundness, validity, reliability, wholeness, volume etc., depending on its purpose in the environment. Similarly, 'void' relates a sense of permeability, openness, emptiness, vacancy, etc.; 'boundary' relates a sense of enclosure, territory, limits, definition, containment, domain, etc.; 'linear' relates a sense of continuity, direction, etc., and so the list goes on. However, these terms seldom exist as single entities, they are found combined together, expressing the diverse qualities of our conscious needs from the environment we live in. Thus, we find, solid, void, linear, boundary and other physical elements in a structure that produces our physical

environment. Walter, refers to this as "the doctrine of selective support". "We build a structure of consciousness by supporting the features of experience that we acknowledge. We make the obvious world by building it, and in constructing the world, we build ourselves, including our structure of consciousness. We build to support certain features of experience and to suppress others, and these decisions to acknowledge or deny them give form to the dominant structure of consciousness"⁸.

This physical language has an added dimension in material and colour. Just as different forms are 'composed' so are the materials we use to build these forms. Similarly, the composition of natural or applied colours of the forms constitute part of what we term the 'aesthetic aspects' of the environment. Again, the compositions and application of these materials and colours are measures of our own achievements, strengthening our personal emotional needs and find expression in symbolism, decoration and ornamentation. They also serve as a language that communicates our emotional needs to society, the response of which confirms the validity of our emotions.

Thus, relying on our cognitive and perceptual senses, these different physical and aesthetic expressions are basically what we respond to in the environment and are what

8. Walter E. V, ibid p.13

make it comprehensible to our consciousness.

The 'cumulative consciousness' of the Stone Town is expressed in its diverse architectural heritage and its comprehension is clear to those who can relate to it, providing for them needed psychological support.

While environmental comprehension and its psychological implications were natural to many traditional cohesive societies, especially those developed prior to the Industrial Revolution, the increasing mobility of man, the pace of life, and the fragmentation of society under the modern socio-economic conditions are placing tremendous pressure on the urban environment, especially the traditional fabric. Any attempts to read the contemporary environment only lead to confusion and that which is still comprehensible is either in danger of being eradicated or already has been eradicated in the name of progress. Here one is not arguing against progress but rather questioning the pace at which this is occurring, threatening the existence and authenticity of cities that time has built. However, the origins of the term 'progress' can be traced back to the origins of man. Man has always strived for a convenient, better and easier life, by overcoming life's challenges. 'Progress' is an acknowledgement and a measure of achievement in this direction even further establishing his secureness in his environment.

With the pace of present day life, progress has found a new meaning in 'modernization'. This modernization is centered around convenience, comfort, and entertainment. Today, our development of progressive standards is measured against the achievements of the 'developed' world. With the improvement of communication and transport in this modern age, man has become an increasingly mobile creature. This mobility has allowed man to travel to almost any part of the world, giving him the opportunity to make comparisons of the standards of living with other societies. With this ability to travel, the number of alien influences on urban societies has multiplied creating a complexity that is increasingly becoming difficult to deal with. And so we face the dilemma and ultimate confusion in attempting to conserve our past in the traditional fabric of cities but at the same time wanting to be part of a progressive global society, whose standards are defined by the developed world, and identifying with and belonging to the modern age.

Zanzibar and the Stone Town in particular faces a similar dilemma, with such influences mainly coming from the Middle-East, an area that has become increasingly prosperous in the past few decades. This dilemma is having an effect on all levels of society.

In most cities, social fragmentation and the constant movement of society, both caused alike by man's search for a 'better life' and economic security, have left many cities with a social structure that can no longer reflect what substructures it has inherited or adopted but only look to the future of keeping up with the trends of progress in this modern age. Because of the social expectations of these trends many individuals search for a measure that not only confirms their personal convictions that they are progressing but that also informs society of their progress. This achievement is measured by the successful ability to be part of or participate in the social trends that are defined by the various groups in society. This reaction again has its roots in the need for recognition, acknowledgement, security and identity.

The failure of society to adequately respond to these needs is evident in the numerous quasi identity groups , formed in an attempt to draw attention and to receive recognition of their identity. Seldom do these groups know of each other's existence or purpose in society; perhaps, at times they even unconsciously share the same identity. The formation of street gangs that do not have a defined function is a typical example of society's failure to accommodate such needs. The formation of these groups, instead of strengthening the social structure, has led to the fragmentation of society, often resulting in resentment, isolation, violence and confusion.

An inherent quality of identity is 'territory'. 'Territory' is here defined as the boundary within which the physical and emotional needs of society are expressed, individually or collectively. Territories exist on all of the environment levels, and can overlap each other or even exist within each other as per the above definition. When a territory is violated it is basically interpreted as the denial of the existence and identity of the person or group whose territory has been violated. Demonstrations, and in the more extreme cases, street gang violence, are expressions of such denial for whatever, justifiable or unjustifiable purposes. These reactions probably have primordial roots but with the present challenges of modern day living they are finding increasing use and justification as a means of survival in society.

Thus, in many traditional fabrics authorities are constantly challenged by the territories established by new inhabitants. These new territories in most cases defy the evolutionary nature of tradition or convention in all its manifestations in society. The use of new building techniques and materials that make no attempt to blend into or reflect to a certain degree, the consciousness of the environment around them are some examples of such new territories. Similarly, the articulation of open spaces or the creation of spaces that express placelessness are other examples of sometimes imposed new territories on the urban environment that do not have a meaningful purpose in the overall structure of society. The tragedy of this tendency in many developing countries is the pace at which it is occurring,

where, in an attempt to belong to the international community, those responsible for directing the progress of society succumb to their heightened egos compromising the true needs of society and imposing on the environment their own monuments of achievement, seldom reflecting on the true meaning of their responsibility to society.

There is a need for a reassessment of responsibilities in society and for an emphasis on creating 'places' that will bring together the existing fragments of society to form a coherent structure. Also, tapping the economic potential of the existing fabric to provide opportunities for the inhabitants at all levels of society will perhaps preserve the cohesiveness of society, retaining a majority that is conscious of the value of its social and architectural heritage and that has a source of income within this fabric. There is a need for the development of public awareness of their own roots and the development of the cultural complexity of their environment. An understanding of the history of the city, publicly explained to the citizens will help define the territories for new inhabitants and their limitations. With this understanding progress will possibly be accommodated with less disastrous results, means being found to fit it into the overall structure of the environment without overwhelming it.

Character and Image of 'Place'

Returning to the question of 'place' in the built environment, in the light of the above, 'place' can first be defined as a territory or group of territories. In it society finds the psychological expectations of its existence expressed in the composition and content of the built fabric. These expectations are reflections of both the individual as well as the collective needs of society. Thus, 'places' identify or reveal themselves to us and we in turn identify ourselves with or belong to them. It is from this communication that 'place' serves a meaningful purpose in society.

The locality of 'place' within our environment is, as has been mentioned, determined by territory. Territory can rarely be defined by a physical boundary. The terms 'public' or 'private', in their contemporary use and expressing the degree of privacy, are seldom sufficient to convey the true meaning of public or private 'place'. A public park can have a private nature if there is a dominance of private territories in the form of furniture or areas provided for individual use. Even though it is declared for public use, within it there are private territories which do not overlap and are exclusive in nature. Perhaps it is the overlapping and the number of layers of territories that determine the difference between public and private 'place'. Thus, this difference would really depend on the nature of the users, and on the dominance of the private territories or the public territories, governed by

the amount and nature of interaction between them over a specific span of time. Consistent use through time is what gives 'place' its authentic identity.

The confirmation of identity is through name-giving or through association with conventional terms used to identify different types of 'places'. We thus, find the terms Place, Square, Park, Street, Neighbourhood, House and other similar terms in our environment. These terms are predefined mental images of the character identified with the 'place'. A street is thus interpreted as a linear image implying continuity and direction. Similarly, a park is a void image associated with openness, freedom. To these terms we attach the name of a person, event, occurrence, locality or generally associate it with a character that is particular to its location or function. Thus, the image of a 'place' in most cases is associated with its name. "Each 'place' has its *nomos*, its characteristic rule of action, or customary form of making itself felt, or specific way of being in the world".⁹ We thus differentiate 'places' by their 'unique' qualities, ". . . each 'place' has its own order, its special *ensemble*, which distinguish it from the next place"¹⁰.

In conclusion it is worthwhile referring to Kevin Lynch's description of the 'environmental image,' ". . . in the process of way-finding, the strategic link is the environmental image, the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is

9. Walter E. V, *ibid* p. 117

10. Lukermann F, 1964 *Canadian Geographer* 8 (4) quoted by Relph E. in *Place and Placelessness* p.170

held by the individual. This image is the product both of immediate sensation and of the memory of the past experiences, and it is used to interpret information and pattern our surroundings is so crucial, and has such long roots in the past, that this image has wide practical and emotional importance to the individual. Like any good framework, such a structure gives the individual a possibility of choice and a starting point for the acquisition of further information. A clear image of the surroundings is thus a useful basis for individual growth. . . .',¹¹ and also Walter, " the quality of a place depends on a human context shaped by memories and expectations, by stories of real and imagined events- that is, by the historical experience located there.'¹²

'Sense of Place' and Experiencing 'Place'

The 'sense of place' that we develop of a particular 'place' largely depends on our individual experience of this 'place' and the mental image we form of it in our mind. Therefore, the experience of 'place' is personal. Personality is related to our social image or identity in society. Perhaps the ability to identify common traits of human consciousness in this experience is what determines the 'sense of place'. Thus, our consciousness of,

11. Lynch K., 1960 The Image of the City p. 4

12. Walter E. V, ibid p. 117

existence, identity, socio-economic reality, secureness, expressiveness, and mentality would play an important part in this experience. In a much more expressive form, such consciousness could be addressed in terms of, the degree of privacy, the degree of comfort, the degree of social convenience or amenities it offers, the nature and amount of interaction it permits, and the degree of reassurance it projects to its users. These terms of reference basically express our experiences of 'place' and form the images that cumulatively give us a sense of orientation in the environment and enrich our individual 'sense of place'.

In his "topistic" theory of 'place', Walter calls this total experience a "holistic" experience, an experience that gives us the 'sense of place' - "In ordinary life, some people still do grasp a place as a whole through a balanced experience of intellect, common sense, feeling, and imagination. Our technical languages, however, do not express the unity and coherence of this holistic experience, which gets factored away by geography, local history, architecture, city planning, sociology, environmental psychology, and so forth. Fragmenting the experience of a place in the abstractions of the special disciplines reinforces the split between our methods of feeling and our methods of thinking. . . . The imagination makes sense. It is, moreover, an organ of perception - like our eyes, ears, and legs. We get to know a place when we participate in the local imagination. The whole synthesis of located experience - including what we imagine as well as sights, stories,

feelings, and concepts - give us the sense of a place."¹³

He uses the terms "intellect, common sense, feeling, and imagination" in defining consciousness and outlines "methods of feeling" and "methods of thinking" as the two most basic components of this consciousness about 'place' which he argues are inseparable. Thus, in a broad interpretation, he argues against the separation of our subjective and objective experiences of 'place'. He further elaborates on this subject, "A thing has an objective reality, a person has a subjective reality, a human relationship is a social reality and a place is its own kind, which may be called topistic reality."¹⁴

It can be summarised that the 'sense of place' is an expression of our common experience of 'place' in the urban environment drawn from our consciousness as individual beings as well as social beings. It is probably this 'individualistic' or 'collective' consciousness that determines the kinds of 'places' we create and our modes of interaction within them.

13. Walter E. V, *ibid* p. 2

14. Walter E, V, *ibid*. p. 117

Intentionality and Formation of 'Place'

The formation of 'place' begins with an intention that finds form in a responding action or intervention. The intention draws its strength from our reflection of a particular experience in our lives. This reflection is based on our conscious needs as human beings in the environment we adopt as a territory. Thus, this reflection is basically a questioning of our consciousness. Man is not a solitary creature and through time a single intervention gathers other meaningful purposes expressing the multiple consciousness of society's needs. However, it does not always find manifestation, as an expression of an individual's consciousness, but at times it begins instead as a collective expression of the consciousness of a particular group or social structure in society, for example a religious building. Together these individual and collective expressions structure our environment. In it we correspondingly find 'place' as a cumulative expression of society's needs in general. 'Place' thus develops its own consciousness which is, in fact, really an expression of society's cumulative consciousness. It is this consciousness that has to be questioned before we attempt to add any other expressions.

Paraphrasing Louis Kahn, what does a 'place' want to be? To this we might add, when or where, the 'place' wants to be. 'Places' give us indications of what they want to be by the activities they accommodate or support. In many traditional cities these activities were

introduced with the intention of fitting into the consciousness of the 'place'. The natural gathering of other activities around the initial attempts generated better 'places'. In addressing the issue of intentionality, Relph points out that " Places are . . . incorporated into the intentional structures of all human consciousness and experience. . . . Human intention should not be understood simply in terms of deliberately chosen direction or purpose, but as a relationship of being between man and the world that gives meaning. Thus the objects and features of the world are experienced in their meaning and they cannot be separated from those meanings, for these are conferred by the very consciousness that we have of the objects."¹⁵ He latter accepts the above-mentioned aspects of 'place' as being "common and perhaps necessary". He, however, concludes that "The basic meaning of place, its essence, does not therefore come from locations, nor from the trivial functions that places serve, nor from the community that occupies it, nor from superficial and mundane experiencesThe essence of 'place' lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as profound centres of human existence."¹⁶ The confusion expressed in Relph's two quotes are perhaps definitions of what 'place' meant in traditional cities and what it means today in our contemporary modern cities. It is clear that, in fact, both the conscious and subconscious play a part in the formation of 'place'. But

15. Relph E, ibid p.42

16. Relph E, ibid p.43

while the subconscious part had a source to nurture it in the traditional fabric, today, this subconsciousness emerges as a trial and error or statistical means of assessing the consciousness. With the ever increasing complexity of the urban environment, such approaches are contributing towards this trend. The most valuable resource we can develop is our ability to foresee the 'magnetism' of the activities we introduce into the urban environment through physical intervention and to make provisions for them to possibly provide better and more enduring 'places'.

Part of this assessment is the ability to judge when a 'place' will accommodate another activity. Considering the concept of interdependence, an intervention has to fit into the socio-economic dynamics of 'place'. The ability to judge when to intervene in the built environment is based on what one may call the 'organismal prerogative' of a 'place'. Finally, in an assessment similar to that of 'when' of a 'place', the 'where' of an intervention is also subject to this fit into the socio-economic structure of the 'place'. Every intervention has to have a meaningful purpose and the ability to identify what, when and where in the urban fabric constitutes one of its most significant enhancing qualities.

'Place' and Time

An interesting phenomenon of 'place' is its transitional or evolutionary nature. The changing but also consistent, psychological and physical needs of society across

generations have influenced the history and social structure of many 'places'. The changes these needs have caused have had a varying effect. In many cases such changes, and especially those influenced by the needs of modern society, have generated a growing debate about the threat they pose to the value of traditional urban fabrics. Many traditional cities cannot keep up with the pace and standards of modern life. While many attempts have been made to preserve or conserve such threatened cities, the emphasis has been only on improving the physically deteriorated areas, isolated attempts that fail to recognize the consciousness of a city, experienced as a whole. The very act of defining an area as a deteriorated area raises a negative consciousness or complex about the area and in its inhabitants. By such an acknowledgement it is natural for those related to the area to assume that they have not been able to live up to society's expectations. On the other hand, the reverse might occur if an area is selected for any biased or other reasons. Perhaps an understanding of the overall dynamics of society in the urban environment, and the position the particular area fits into, could create an atmosphere of acceptance for the area within the overall structure of the urban environment. Intervening into any area has to have a purposeful meaning to the overall consciousness of the city. Thus, if such intervention is conservation, consciousness by the society of the value of its social and architectural heritage should be questioned first. Such consciousness does not only include nostalgia but

also includes a consciousness that reflects how new inhabitants relate to their adopted environment. This perhaps explains the successful conservation of many medieval European cities.

The process of change fluctuates through time. The way we refer to time differs however, depending on how we want to relate to it. Time exists as a reference of our position in its character as a 'linear progression'; 'time', day, week, month, year, etc., become the reference points. At the same time these terms represent the cyclic nature of time. In addition to the 'time' cycle, we have biological, and climatic or seasonal cycles. In general, time is what makes up the life cycle. Finally, time is used to express a period of consistency or a period of rapid change. Our consciousness of time in its different manifestations informs of the processes of change in our world'.

Today, by its very nature, society, in a constant flux and so rich in diversity, rarely provides for consistent time. In the rapid pace of life in the urban environment, time is constantly in rapid change. However, pockets of consistent time do exist in some 'places' and it is probably these periods of consistency that produce the most enduring qualities of 'place'.

This changing process of the environment is noted by Walter, "We recognize different kinds of place change. Cities grow larger or smaller, feel more lively or run down, appear more beautiful or more ugly to the senses. We feel that they get better or worse. We talk

about ruin and renewal, urban decay and restoration, decline and recovery. . . . Nevertheless, civic identity endures despite vast changes of place. . . . No city is what it used to be. The same place does not remain the same. Yet, despite great changes, some places continue to make sense."¹⁷

The Concept of the 'Core' of a 'Place'

This section is basically a reflection on the previous sections and attempts to outline the most essential aspects that need to be understood in our assessment - perhaps reassessment - of 'place' in the urban environment, aspects that form what might be called the 'core' of a 'place'.

This concept begins by questioning our consciousness as bio-physical beings and our existence in the environments we inhabit. As members of an urban society we look to our environment as an organism of sustenance. From this consciousness we structure it to provide our own personal needs as well as those of society in general. In terms of the biological support to our existence, we construct facilities that cater for our health, sanitary and dietary needs. For our psycho-physical needs we construct facilities defining

17. Walter E, V, *ibid* p. 1

'territories' that determine our mode of interaction and expression in society as individuals and collectively. It is the accumulation of the individual and mainly the collective expressions that we are later able to refer to as measures of our confirming our belonging, achievements, identity and ultimately our existence.

Generally, it is not the entire environment that is used by all members of society. The 'places' we work and our homes provide the exclusive part of this interaction whereas public 'places' generally provide the collective part of this interaction.

Even though the different elements or artifacts forming a 'place' are subject to personal interpretation, it is their composition or cumulative meaning that relates to our consciousness. It is this consciousness that determines the 'core' of a 'place'. The 'core' is our first response to a 'place', a response that either attracts us to the 'place' or repels us. It is after this first experience that we like or dislike a 'place'. If a single element or artifact is displaced or changed in the core of a 'place', we immediately notice the change because our consciousness of the 'place' is disturbed. If an element does not have this cumulative consciousness it is seldom noticed if replaced. Our image of 'place' is thus centered around the core of a 'place' and with this image we carry whatever individual and collective memories of the 'place' that are important to us. The more we visit a particular 'place', the more we experience there. In this manner we identify with the different elements of the core and relate them to these experiences. Thus, the elements of a core emerge from our ability

to relate to them or to able to retrieve from them a particular experience. This notion explains our feelings of comfort or discomfort when we recognise similar or familiar artifacts in other environments. These feelings are drawn from the earlier-mentioned ability to be able to relate to the artifact because of the experience attached to it.

The concept of the core is not only apparent in man. Experiments with insects have shown that a similar, but less complex, concept is used in determining orientation in their environment. The insect marks its 'place' in the environment by focusing on stable objects as markers within this environment. When trying to identify its location, it uses these markers to relocate its 'place.' Perhaps this instinctive ability, of defining markers or a core is what man uses, consciously or subconsciously, in determining his orientation in the environment.

"It is therefore important not only that our environment has a spatial structure which facilitates orientation, but that it consists of concrete objects of identification"¹⁸ These "concrete objects of identification", outlined by Norberg-Schulz, are perhaps what form the basis for the concept of the core. "A good environmental image gives its possessor an important sense of emotional security"¹⁹ The core is therefore the genesis of this "good environmental image".

18. Norberg-Schulz C, Genius Loci p.21

19. Norberg-Schulz C, ibid. p.19

In the case of Zanzibar, the 'sense of place' within the Stone Town and as a whole can be improved by first identifying the elements of its core, that is, those 'places' that reflect a cumulative consciousness. From an understanding and interpretation of this consciousness of these 'places', perhaps, new interventions might result which would develop this tradition of natural gathering, producing better 'places'.

3. 'PLACE' IN THE STONE TOWN



The Genesis and Growth of the Stone Town.

The original emergence of Zanzibar as a focal point of Indian Ocean trade can be attributed to two main factors, security, and convenience. The feeling of security or secureness is a very typical characteristic of human consciousness. The convenience of the location of a 'place' in terms of what 'meaningful purpose' it can serve a particular society together with the advantages it possesses in relationship to its surroundings enhances its chances of developing. These two factors have assisted early settlers and contributed greatly towards the process of establishing their 'existential foothold' in the Stone Town of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar island is close to the 'productive' mainland. Its main port, located on its western coast, had the most convenient facilities, in addition to being sheltered from the heavy Indian Ocean seas. The climatic environment of the island, lying within the equatorial belt, was conducive to life and agriculture, and had the potential for providing an abundant supply of food products and more exotic trade plants such as spices and nuts, used for local consumption as well as for export. Zanzibar thus provided the most ideal setting from which the Arab and Indian traders could launch their trading expeditions, especially during the reign of the Omani Sultans.

Historically, this trade or bartering is said to have been occurring as early as the 1st century A.D. However, with the emergence of Oman as a dominant power, controlling the trade routes of the Indian Ocean in the middle of the seventeenth century, it found new impetus in the person of Seyyid Said, the Sultan of the Omani Empire. Seyyid Said transferred his capital from Muscat in Oman to Zanzibar Town in 1832 and with this move began the rapid growth of the 'Stone Town'.

This rapid growth of the Town can first be attributed to the 'security' of the geographic location of Zanzibar island as well as the location of the Town itself, mentioned earlier. Secondly, the abundance of its agricultural wealth was another influential aspect, an aspect that Seyyid Said immediately recognised and took advantage of. The extensive clove plantations that he foresaw as an additional source of economic strength, today form the very backbone of Zanzibar's economy. Thirdly, the image of dedication, commitment, and protection that he projected was enough encouragement to ensure the 'secureness' of many of the new settlers and this together with the economic opportunities offered were probably the main reasons for the rapid growth of the Stone Town.

Many of the new settlers were encouraged to settle permanently and were given areas within the town to build their 'settlements'. These 'settlements' were seldom defined by any physical boundaries but were rather 'territories' for expression. Permitted to settle, the settlers took the opportunity to reinforce their sense of secureness in the alien environment

by constructing buildings that were similar to those of the environments they were familiar with and which had a 'meaningful purpose' to their life-styles and were 'comprehensible' to their social consciousness. This action reinforced their identity and in turn gave identity to the 'places' they created in the environment. Thus, familiar and cherished images of 'places' they once belonged to were carried across thousands of miles, and, given the opportunity for physical expression, found manifestation in the Stone Town.

Social identity was mainly associated with traditional cultures and religions and with the different ethnic groups and religious sects. In many cases religious and community buildings became the focal point of social activities of the different social 'substructures'. This especially was the case for many of the Indian communities. Each of the particular ethnic groups clustered their dwellings and shops around their main religious building or, in the case of the Omani Arabs, around the Sultan's Palace. However, these 'settlements' had an exception to their 'exclusiveness'. Many domestic slaves, prior to the abolition of slavery, were sometimes also provided accommodation on the lower floors of the large mansions of the wealthy merchants and traders of these 'settlements'. The steps taken by many new settlers in ensuring their security was initially to form 'exclusive' social substructures based on ethnic backgrounds that guaranteed a certain degree of cohesiveness and identity.

In addition to the security thus obtained, many of the minority communities were directly or indirectly protected by the Omani Sultan because of the roles they played in promoting the trading activities which formed the strength of his extensive Empire. The Arab traders were mainly responsible for leading the trading caravans into the African interior in search of ivory and slaves and owned many of the plantations that provided the agricultural goods for export. The Indian traders mainly played the role of 'middle-man' and were responsible for financing the trade caravans and collecting taxes for the Sultan. However, they were certain restrictions imposed on the Indian communities in terms of owning agricultural land. During this period of Omani domination, it can be generally summarised that the Arab population was in control of most of the socio-economic activities of Zanzibar and the Stone Town in particular.

The presence of the British in both Zanzibar and India, that eventually led to the colonialization of both these territories, marked a major turn of events in the political and social structure of Zanzibar. Beginning with the abolition of slavery in 1873, this disrupted the dependence of the Arabs on 'free' African labour, mainly in their clove plantations. This forced many plantation owners to pay wages to their labourers, an act that was not familiar to the Arabs who for generations had come to depend on slave labour, which formed part of their cultural background. Lacking the skills of management, many accumulated large debts, borrowing from the Indian financiers that eventually led to

bankruptcy.

In 1890 Zanzibar was declared a British Protectorate and placed under British administration. During this period of British influence, the entire civil service and judiciary system was structured initially along Indian and latter British standards with some 'provisions' for Islamic laws, especially in civil matters. By 1926 Zanzibar was jointly ruled by the Sultan and the British Resident under the Executive and Legislative Councils. A significant factor of British influence was the protection it now offered to its 'British Indian subjects', the Indian sub-continent also being under British control. With this security, many more Indians settled in Zanzibar and with them brought the influences of British Colonial architecture and lifestyles. The emergence of 'ethnic' social clubs was one of such influences. Also, the town planning proposals by the British Town Planners, H. V. Lanchester in 1923 and H. Kendall and G. Mill in 1958 together with the architecture of J. H. Sinclair have added significantly to the awareness of colonial influences. The influences of these professionals also led to the establishment of city ordinance. This period besides witnessing the increasing dominance of the British, also witnessed two world wars and the struggle for independence from Britain. Before addressing the subject of independence, it seems necessary to elaborate on the role of the African population in pre-independent Zanzibar.

Prior to the arrival of the Omani Sultans and the British, Zanzibar Town, which is said to have begun as a small fishing settlement, was governed by its own local rulers between 1650 and 1820. The coastal Swahili culture is known to have had kings of Bantu stock modified by strains of Asiatic blood. The exact period of origin of this social intercourse is uncertain but is said to have been in progress from the commencement of the Christian era, and probably prior to that epoch. These rulers were from the Hadimu people, one of Zanzibar's indigenous inhabitant groups. After the arrival of Seyyid Said, the Imam and Sultan of Oman, the Hadimu ruler Mwinyi Mkuu gradually moved to Dunga in the center of Zanzibar island where he built his palace. From there he ruled his people until his death in 1865. He was succeeded by his son who died in 1873 and with his death ended the dynasty or Zanzibar's indigenous rulers. The remaining Hadimu people settled in the southern, central and eastern parts of Zanzibar Island. The Hadimu together with the Tumbatu peoples are said to be the 'indigenous' inhabitants of Zanzibar and are referred to as the Shirazi. The strains of Asiatic blood in the Tumbatu people are said to be of Persian origin.

The market of the east African slave trade was situated in Zanzibar and thousands of slaves were transported to the islands from the African interior. In 1835 it was estimated that the population of Zanzibar town was 12,000, of whom two-thirds were slaves.²⁰

20. Pearce F. B., 1920 Zanzibar. The Island Metropolis of Eastern Africa. p.239

Many of these slaves belonged to the aristocracy while others supplied the manual labour force needed within the town. After the abolition of slavery in 1873, slavery was gradually replaced with wage-earning employment. Former domestic slaves soon became employed as household servants, some still choosing to remain with their former owners. In the early 1900's , migrant labour from the mainland was a major contribution to the African population, mainly being employed in the clove plantations. In the period after the Second World War, the emergence of Arab Nationalism, the formation of labour unions, and the eventual battle between the various political parties for control, led to the independence of Zanzibar from Britain. In less than a month, the newly formed Arab minority government was overthrown in a revolution fought by the African majority.

In terms of Independence and the Revolution that followed, the pre-independence struggle for power among the various political parties played an important role and still continues to influence politics in Zanzibar today. The exact details of this political battle have been extensively covered by Michael F. Lofchie in his book, *Zanzibar: Background To Revolution*. However, it seems necessary to highlight some of the events that occurred during this period.

The struggle for Independence is said to have been initiated by the Arabs in an attempt to gain voluntary acceptance among Africans by fostering a multi-racial concept of national

community and by championing the cause of representative self-government.

Between 1954 and 1956, the Arab Association boycotted the Zanzibar Legislative Council and formed the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP). By means of intensive organization, militant nationalism and a strong appeal to Muslim unity, the ZNP succeeded in attracting numerous non-Arab supporters and most of its members were African.

The nationalist political activities of the Arab elite stimulated the formation of an African political party, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), in 1957. The ASP was an attempt to unite the two historically and ethnically distinct African communities, an immigrant mainland African community numbering about 60,000 and a Shirazi or indigenous African community of about 200,000.

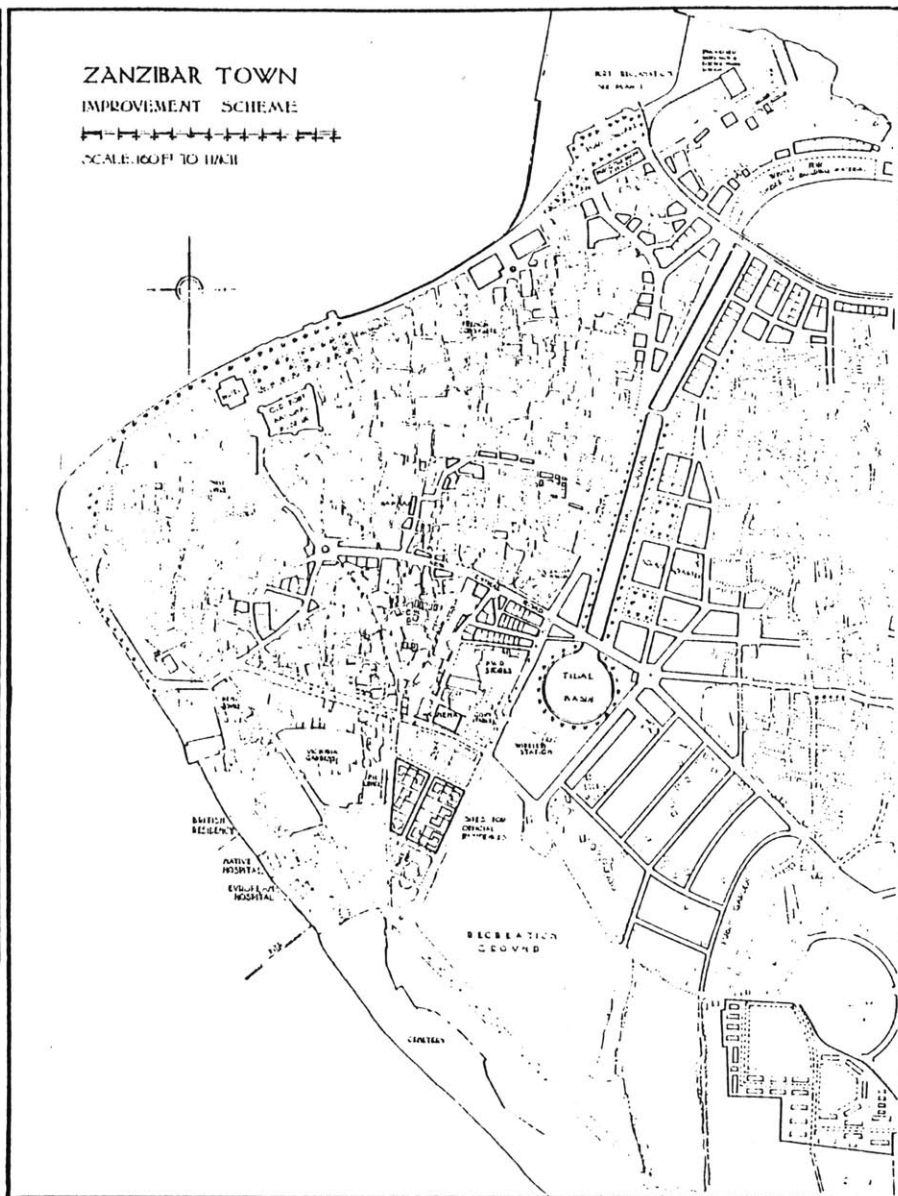
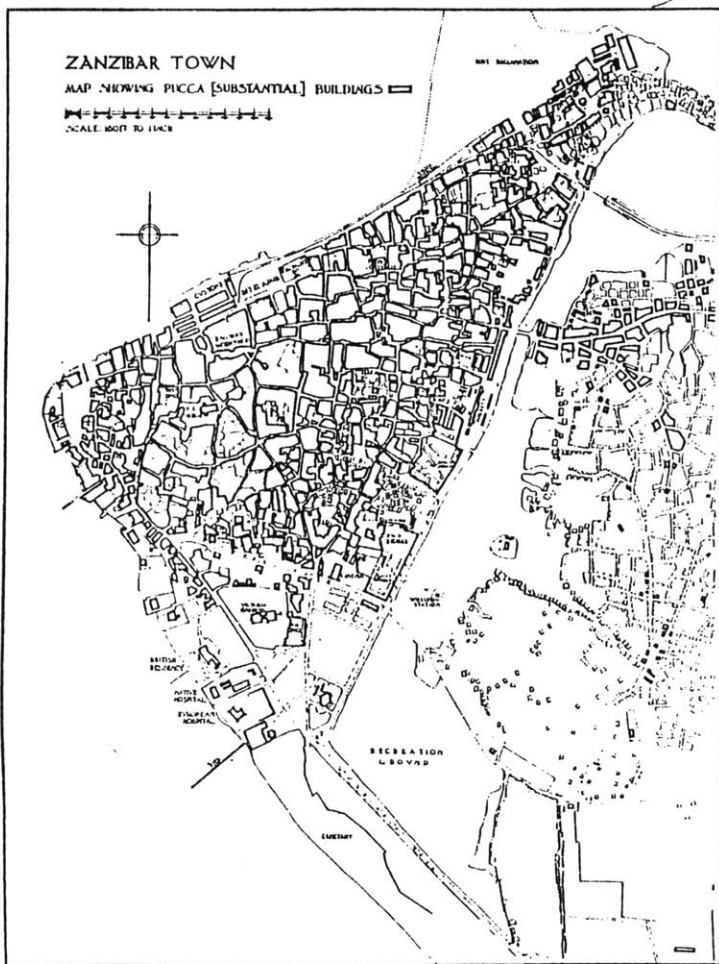
A third political party, the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), was formed in late 1959. It began as a splinter group from the ASP after a long conflict between mainland African and Shirazi African leaders. Gradually, its antipathy towards the militantly anti-Arab views of the ASP and a sympathy for the multi-racial concepts being articulated by Arab leadership brought the ZPPP closer and closer to the ZNP; in June, 1961, after a bitterly contested election, a ZNP/ZPPP coalition government was formed.

The vast majority of Zanzibar Africans, however, regarded the ZNP and, by association, the ZNP/ZPPP coalition as well, as dedicated to preserving the political and economic supremacy of the Arab community. Their growing conviction that the coalition

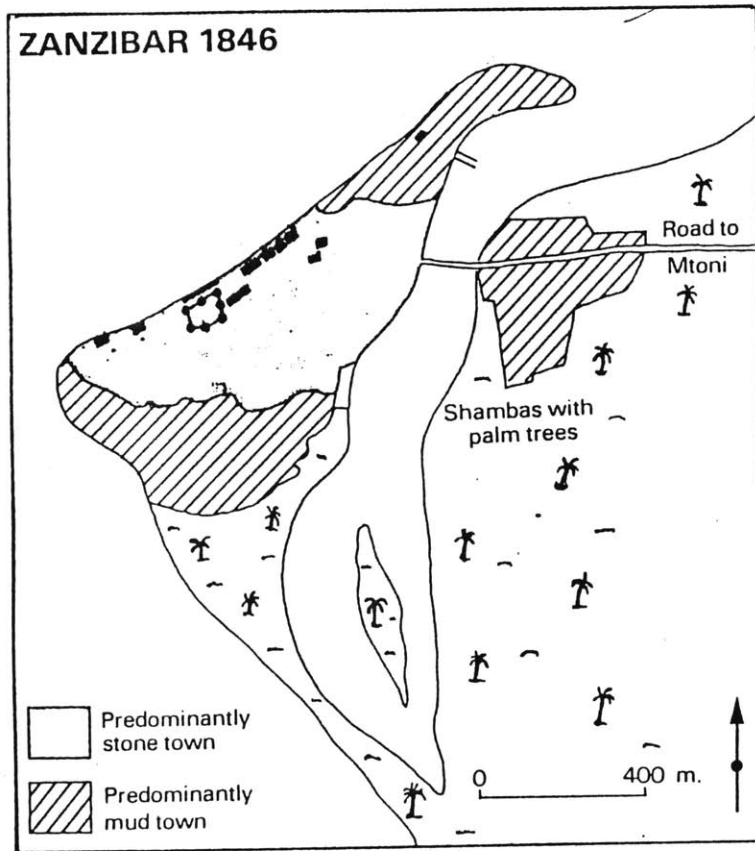
government operated in Arab interests was clearly revealed in Zanzibar's last general election held in July, 1963. The ASP polled more than 54 per cent of the popular vote and received over 13,000 votes more than the coalition parties combined. Because the ASP's popular support tended to be concentrated in a relatively small number of constituencies, however, it gain only 13 out of 31 seats in the national Assembly. The two coalition parties won 18 seats and were able to remain in power.

The results of the July, 1963, election meant that the Arab oligarchy had, at least temporarily, succeeded in preserving its political supremacy after the introduction of democratic institutions. Thus, when independence occurred in December, 1963, the salient feature of Zanzibar politics was the strong likelihood that, the Arab oligarchy would be able to use the ZNP to strengthen its domination of state and society in Zanzibar.

The success of the Arab oligarchy in establishing a popular basis of support within the African community explains why democratic constitutional arrangements failed to reverse the traditional political relationship between the Arab minority and the African majority. This was, in a sense, the fundamental cause of the African community's violent seizure of power in January, 1964; force had become the only method by which African leaders could oust the Arab ruling caste from its historic position of political and economic supremacy and create an African-ruled state.

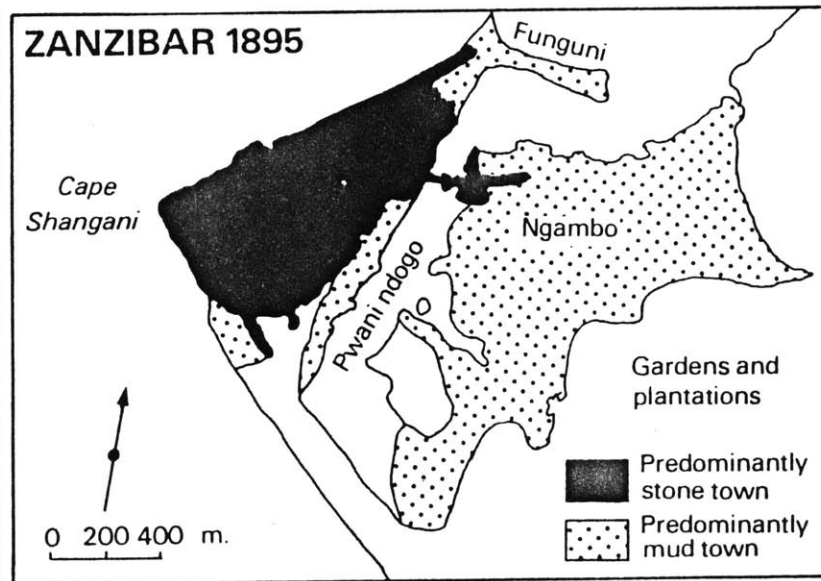


10. Lanchester's 1923 Study and Town Planning Proposals.



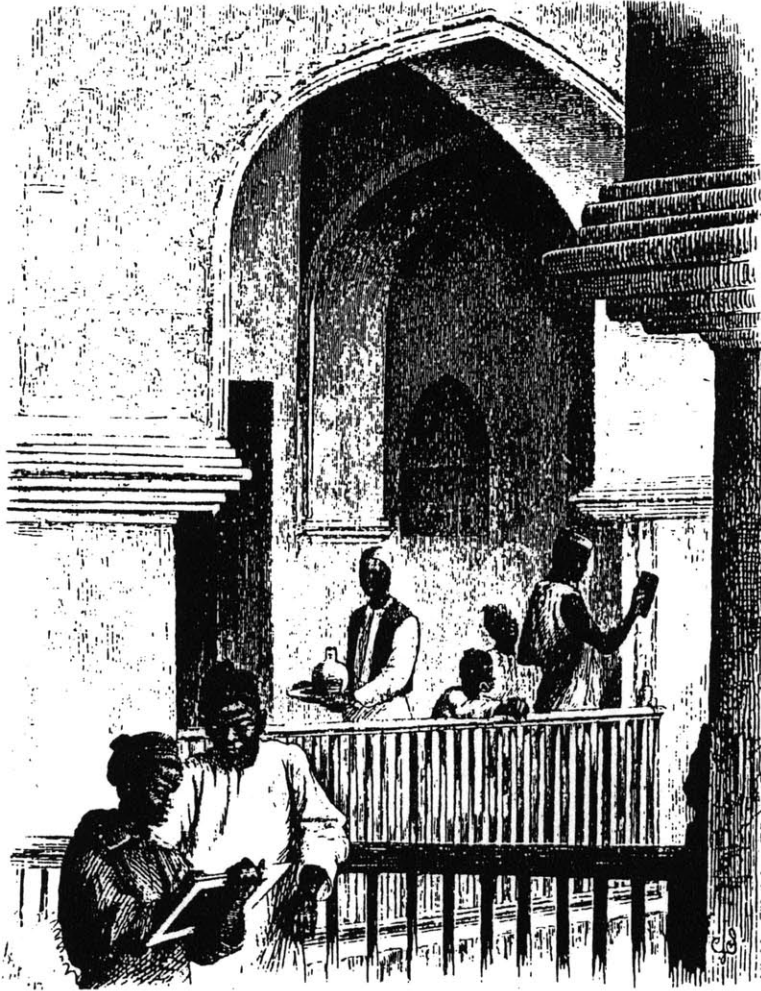
11. Map of Zanzibar town in 1846.

13. Table showing the population of Zanzibar town between 1835 and 1910



12. Map of Zanzibar town in 1895.

Year	Population	Source
1835	10-12,000	Ruschenberger, Vol. 1, p. 46.
1846	20-25,000	Guillain, Vol. 2, p. 80.
c. 1850	50,000	Osgood, p. 45.
1857	25-45,000	Burton (1872), Vol. 1, p. 81.
1860	25-30,000	Quaas, in Harkema (1967), p. 42.
1860	60,000	Rigby, in Russell, p. 328.
1865	40,000	von der Decken, in Harkema (1967), p. 42.
1866	40-50,000	Jablonski, in <i>ibid.</i>
1869	70,000	Kirk to Bombay, 2 May 1870, PRO, FO 84/1325.
1876	80-100,000	Christie (1876), p. 418.
1885	80,000	Schmidt and Luders, in Harkema (1967), p. 42.
1895	60,000	Baumann, in <i>ibid.</i>
1910	35,262	Police Census, Min. of Communication, Zanzibar



14. Area around the inner courtyard of a large mansion



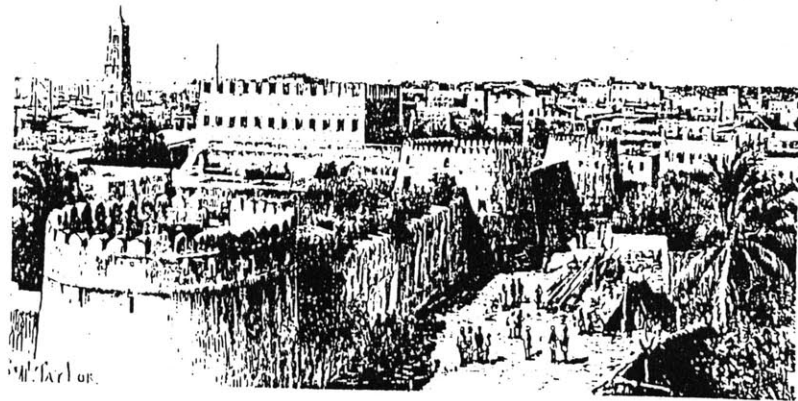
15. Indian nautch in Zanzibar, c.1860



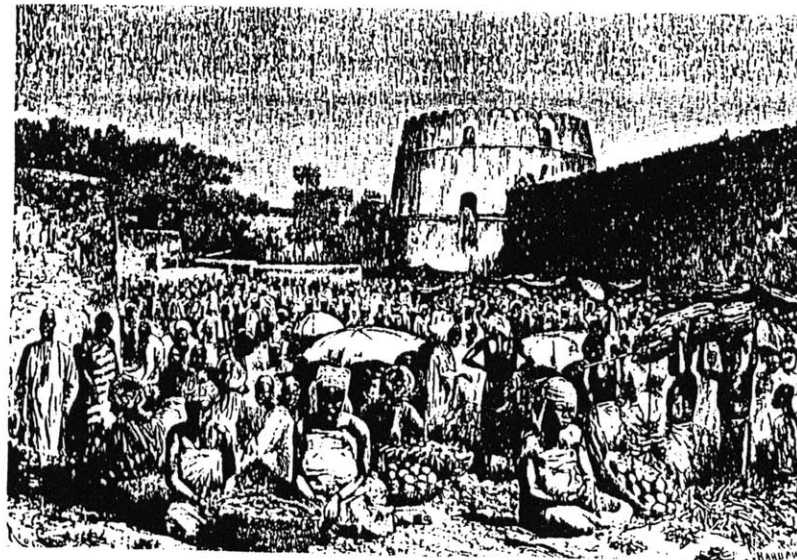
16. An Indian shop in Zanzibar, c. 1860.



17. Mwinyi Mkuu, the Shirazi ruler of Zanzibar.



18. View of Zanzibar town, c.1885.



19. Sokokuu fruit market adjacent to the Old Fort, c. 1885.

The Present Social Structure of the Stone Town and its Identity

The Stone Town of Zanzibar still remains one of the most cosmopolitan centers along the east coast of Africa. While the present social structure of the Town differs from that of the pre-revolution period, it is still derived from three main cultural streams, African, Arabian, and Asian. Today, the African population forms the majority of its inhabitants. The populations of the different 'minority' ethnic groups has rapidly declined, but those who remain still play a significant role in the socio-economic structure of the Stone Town.

The daily social interaction of these various groups in the Stone Town has proved to be one of its most attractive qualities, possessing a unique richness and diversity, while still maintaining a very cohesive structure. To be able understand this social structure and the interaction within it, it seems necessary to elaborate on it from four different points of view; socio-cultural, economic, political and religious. These four main areas also express the social consciousness of the different groups in society and have been largely responsible for the environmental changes that have occurred in the Stone Town over the past twenty-five years.

Socio-Cultural Structure

In terms of size, the African population makes up the largest group of Zanzibar's inhabitants, including more than three quarters of the total population.

The African population can be divided into four different groups. Of these, three are said to be indigenous. These are the Wahadimu, the Watumbatu and the Wapemba. The Wahadimu come from the southern and eastern parts of Zanzibar island but many have settled in the sub-urban areas around Zanzibar City. The Watumbatu are originally from the northern part of Zanzibar, more specifically from Tumbatu island and have also settled around the City. Both, the Wahadimu and Watumbatu, are referred to as the Washirazi. The Wapemba are from Zanzibar's sister island of Pemba which lies north-east of Zanzibar island. The remaining group generally represents the mainland Africans who have continued to migrate to Zanzibar throughout the centuries. However, two sub-groups need to be distinguished within this general group, the first group represents descendants of the former slaves and servants who were brought to the island mainly during the reign of the Omani Sultans, while the second group represents recent migrant labourers from the mainland. The former group are usually referred to as Waswahili and the latter usually by their mainland tribal origins. It should be noted that the terms Washirazi and Waswahili and their application are as ambiguous as the identity of Zanzibar's local and migrant populations.

In relationship to the Stone Town, the inhabitants forming this group trace their origins back to the *N'gambo* area or to Zanzibar's sister island, Pemba. They formed the majority of the African population occupying the Town soon after the Revolution and contributed significantly to the total shift from a town with an Asian majority to that of an African majority. These people moved into the town when many of its buildings were abandoned after the mass exodus that followed after the Revolution. While some of these new inhabitants have been able to adjust to the different environments they adopted, partly because of former associations with those who left and partly because of an understanding of the Islamic life-style of the former inhabitants, many others have not been able to. The reason for the latter is twofold, first, the former inhabitants led urban lifestyles while most of the new inhabitants were accustomed to rural lifestyles. Secondly, unlike the former inhabitants who were wealthy and could afford to maintain their buildings, the new inhabitants were generally poor and over time due to neglect the buildings deteriorated to the extent that many were declared dangerous and uninhabitable. Today many of these buildings, which are owned by the Government, have been sold to either those tenants who are financially capable of buying them and undertaking the necessary repairs to restore them to a habitable status or to former owners who abandoned them after the Revolution and have evidence of ownership. Otherwise the buildings are auctioned publicly to any highest

local bidder.

Of the Arab population, the most distinct groups are the Omani or Ibathi Arabs and the Arabs from Hadramaut, both greatly reduced in numbers in the last twenty-five years. Within the African population, however, there exists a large percentage that has traces of Arab blood. Generally, these people tend to ignore this as it would raise doubts about their political affiliation. Their Arab blood is said to originate from their associations in the past with the Shatri and Mafazi Arabs who represent the Arab communities which settled in Zanzibar and the east African coast long before the arrival of the Omani Arabs. The majority of the remaining Arabs still live in the traditional Arab quarters of Malindi. The most popular influence of the Arab culture is the local orchestral music, more popularly known as *Taarab*, which is performed at almost every major social occasion. The Swahili language has a large percent of words borrowed from the Arabic language. What could also be considered as an Arabian influence is Islam which is surely the most important, in terms of cultural influences. Prior to the arrival of Islam to the east African coast, tribal customs and traditions were in practice. Today, many of these influences still exist as is evident in the amount of witchcraft and similar other practices in the local population. The island of Pemba is traditionally known to have been the center of witchcraft for the entire east African coast, a mystique that it still carries even today.

The Indian population is one of the most diverse, with the majority coming from the

Kutchi and Gujarat regions of India. In this group we find the Bohras, Hindus, Ithna'ashri Khojas, Kumbaros, Memons, Koknis, Goans, Ismaili Khojas, Parsees and Sikhs. Of these, the first five ethnic groups have the largest populations and the majority of these groups are Muslims. Almost all these ethnic groups live within the Stone Town. Today, the Indian culture still has a very strong influence on the social life in the Stone Town. For instance some of the most popular eating 'places' serve Indian food, among the most popular films watched are those from India and Indian music has a special appeal to nearly all of Zanzibar's cultural groups. Also, a few Indian words have found place in the Swahili language.

Also contributing to this social structure are the remaining ethnic groups, the Comorians, the Balushi, the Persians, the Seychellois and a few families from the Far East. Of these, the Comorians or the *Wangazija* as they are locally known, play a significant part in the social life of the Town, maintaining their original identity even though some have intermarried with the local African and Arab populations. Balushis and Persians are known to have formed part of the garrisons of Seyyid Said, the first Omani Sultan of Zanzibar. However, those present today are probably latter immigrants. Only a few families of Seychelois origin remain in the Island and from the Far East a few Chinese families.

Finally, there is need to mention the presence of a 'foreign' group consist mainly of

diplomats and expatriates, which includes various 'experts' and volunteers from international organizations and individual countries. Included in this group, which represents 'temporary' inhabitants but in another category, would be the tourists, coming from different parts of the world.

Economic Structure

The economic structure of the Stone Town is generally based on traditional occupations related to ethnic backgrounds of individuals or on occupations that best fit their education or trained skills. There is, however, an important exception to this. The public sector which includes the civil service, was largely dominated by the Arab and Asian 'minority' groups prior to the Revolution, whereas today it is largely dominated by the local African population. The private sector is still dominated by the 'minority' population, which owns many of the larger 'investments' within the Town. However, these two sectors are not equally represented in terms of population size. The public sector is very large compared to the private sector. A large part of the public sector is related to government service which includes the government ministries and most of the public corporations, most of which are located within the Town. The private sector is mainly related to service-oriented enterprises, with retail trading forming a dominant part of this sector. Many of the minority ethnic groups, especially the Indian communities, are involved in this sector, maintaining

their traditional role in this society.

Of recent years the number of local African, Arab, and Indian retail traders has increased in response to trading 'liberties' allowed by the Government. Their main sources of goods is provided through 'middle-men' who have re-established links with southern Arabia and also the Far East. Many goods are imported from Dubai, and Muscat, and Hong Kong. Other sources of these goods are from industries on the mainland. The role of 'middle-men' has traditionally been played by Indian and Arab traders. Today, however, many local Africans, especially the Wapemba, have taken up this role and are quite prosperous. But the differences in economic status still exist and will continue to cause racial tensions unless some new economic measures are taken that will allow the majority of the population to have greater control over the domestic economy.

The 'foreign' inhabitants merely play the role of 'consumers', with a few exceptions such as the case of the Palestinians who run a 'foreign' goods store. In comparison to 'tourist' areas around the world, the Stone Town has yet to offer 'attractive' areas for entertainment that cater specifically for the international tourist. The few facilities that exist offer very poor services and most are run by the Government's 'Tourist Bureau.' There are a few private 'guest houses' which offer better services.

Political Structure

The political changes that occurred after the January 1964 Revolution were the most unpredictable, shifting from a minority Arab capitalist Sultanate to an African majority socialist state, a complete turnaround in ideology. A. A. Karume became the first President of Zanzibar. In April of the same year, the Zanzibar Government and Tanganyika Government, led by Julius K. Nyerere, united to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Zanzibar maintained its autonomy and had its own President. Both Governments still maintained separate political parties. In 1972 President Karume of Zanzibar was assassinated in an unsuccessful coup attempt and Aboud Jumbe was appointed the new President of Zanzibar. In February 1977 the two political parties, A.S.P. on the Island and T.A.N.U. on the Mainland, merged to form the Revolutionary Party or C.C.M. Zanzibar's political 'turbulence' began in 1984 when differences emerged with the mainland government culminating with the resignation of President Jumbe in early 1985. The C.C.M.'s Executive Committee nominated Ali H.Mwinyi for the Presidency of Zanzibar and he was elected to office by an unanimous vote. In the same year Mwinyi was nominated and elected President of Tanzania and Idris Abdul Wakil, President of Zanzibar and Pemba. Seif Shariff Hamad, who also contested for the seat of President in the same elections, was appointed Chief Minister and was largely responsible for leading reforms to liberalise the island's economy, begun during Mwinyi's short term as President of Zanzibar

and Pemba. In early 1988 Hamad was dismissed along with some other ministers after being accused of plotting against President Wakil. Dr. Omar Ali Juma has been the Chief Minister since then.

The problems of Zanzibar's political structure over the past few years have become intense because of the rifts between the four major 'indigenous' groups of the local population, the Wahadimu, the Watumbatu, the Wapemba, and the mainland Africans. The attempts to control the Government through coalitions and subversion has led to insecurity and mistrust among the leaders representing these different groups. This disarray has been aggravated by the alliance of some of these groups with the former Arab minority political movements while others have shown a bias towards the mainland government. These differences have setback many of Zanzibar's development plans and continue to do so because of the insecurity generated from the differing intentions of these different groups regarding Zanzibar's future.

Religious Structure

Zanzibar's social cohesion can largely be attributed to Islam, a very crucial unifying factor in this social structure. Islam today represents about 98% of the population of Zanzibar. Even though, within the religion, different and sometimes opposing groups are

evident, it is the central beliefs of the religion that produce the cohesiveness. The two most distinct divisions in Islam are the Sunni Muslims and the Shia Muslims. Practically all of the Africans and the majority of the Arab community are Sunni, whereas the majority of the Indian-Muslim communities are Shias. However, such differences have seldom been the reason for any social disturbances. Historically, Zanzibar has provided the refuge for all the divisions of Islam and other religions without imposing any restrictions and with this mutual understanding has built up a society where all cultures have found a home. This tolerant religious environment and respect for the differing beliefs of others has produced one of the most peaceful and the cohesive societies in east Africa and perhaps the world. Much of this has also been created by the sensitivity of the different religious groups for the others and the willingness to accommodate each other without causing any social discomfort. Such an environment has been highly favourable to inter-racial or inter-ethnic solidarity. The majority of Zanzibar's population shares not only the same theology, but all the various institutions, practices and other social activities are centered around this theology. The mosques, Koranic schools, rituals, ceremonies, and holidays governed by the Islamic calendar, play an important part in the lives of all members of society. Islam thus plays a very important part as a highly visible symbol of the common religious identity of Zanzibaris of all races. Besides Islam, other religions and 'international' feasts also contribute their share to the list of annual social events. Feasts such as Christmas, New

Year and Easter are also celebrated by all members of society in whatever grand or subtle ways.

A very important aspect related to Islam and the Stone Town is the principle of *Wakf*, 'an inalienable gift of money, property or other valuable object, to be used for the purpose specified in the deed of endowment and administered in perpetuity, according to religious law'²¹. The Wakf and Trust Commission in Zanzibar Town owns an extensive amount of property, most of which was obtained during the period immediately after the Revolution when many wealthy traders were hastily leaving the Island. The role of this institution has declined and has largely been facing financial difficulties especially in maintaining the property it owns in the Stone Town.

Overall Social Consciousness and Image

The social cohesiveness of the Stone Town has largely been dependent on the interrelationship of the different ethnic groups, irrespective of the differing religions, races or social status. Respect for elders and religious leaders plays a very important part in this structure. Also status in the civil service and at times political popularity are considerable factors in this social structure.

21. Sims E., 1978 Architecture of the Islamic World. p. 97

The different ethnic groups relate differently to the 'composition' and 'content' of the built fabric. Discussion of the three main cultural groups will, perhaps, provide a clearer social image of the inhabitants of the Stone Town.

In terms of its historical context, to the African population, the Stone Town generally represents a period of oppression and exploitation, especially for those whose parents or grandparents were employed by its 'privileged' inhabitants. However, it was also a 'place' where employment was available, providing a means of income and at times accommodation. The activities within its fabric supported a commercial as well as an administrative system which were the main sources for employment, besides that of domestic servants. The numerous hawkers and peddlers also found a source of income in it. To the rural farmers and fishermen it was the 'place' where their products could be sold. It also supported health facilities and education facilities. Thus, we find a double image, on one hand the Stone Town perhaps, being viewed as an oppressive, exclusive and exploiting organism and on the other hand, holding an image of an organism that provide and supported the basic necessities for existence.

In spite of the turn-around in events following the 1964 Revolution, the Stone Town has still maintained an 'exclusive' nature. Even though many of its 'original' inhabitants left, the 'new' inhabitants were mainly from Pemba, the Wapemba representing an alien group in Zanzibar. The new government's decision to totally neglect the Stone Town, an

act that led to its rapid decline, was a clear sign of the image it held during this early period. The only buildings that received any attention were those related to the government administration and the schools. With the increase in fatalities of collapsing buildings and international pressure, the government in 1983 decided to initiate a study that would outline a conservation strategy for the Stone Town that would be intergrated into the overall development plan for Zanzibar City. As a result of this, the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) was formed in 1986 to undertake the task of conservation and development of the Town. The STCDA has faced many problems owing to the nature of its task and the image the Stone Town carries in relationship to its historical context.

The local African population today is largely involved with the government civil service. But its role in supplying the necessary agricultural food products sold at the main market is even more important. Some Africans also run small retail shops.

To the Arabs, the Stone Town is generally looked upon as an organism that represented secure accommodation, an dependent source of food, a point from which goods could be traded across the Indian Ocean, a 'prestigious' possession that represented the achievements of a commercial empire, and a 'priviledged' social status. However, its administration by the British meant that the freedom of the Arabs was also

restricted and subject to control. This 'vantage' position of the Arabs allowed for a certain degree of control over the socio-economic and political structure and the fact that Britain recognised Zanzibar as an Arab state reinforced this position. The struggle for independence was initiated by the Arabs and with this 'misconception' and using this position and religion as a unifying force, began the nationalist movement. The bitter struggle for attracting political alliances between the Arab and African leaders from the general population remained in balance until the very end. The narrow victory by ASP in popular votes but the dominance by the ZNP/ZPPP coalition in seats in the National Assembly was a clear indication of an undecided local population. Today this indecisiveness continues to haunt Zanzibar politics and evidence of this is quite obvious in the political unrest that have occurred in the past six years. Thus, the Arab population generally carries with it a political image that is associated with the events that occurred during the struggle for Independence.

Today, part of the Arab population is still employed in the civil service. However, very few hold any influential positions. Having always been involved in agriculture, many Arabs still continue with this occupation, but also keep farm animals. Recently, retail and wholesale trading has re-emerged as a prosperous occupation, together with the import business that supplies the consumer market . Also, many Arabs own small coffee shops and some other service-oriented businesses.

Traditionally the Indians have been involved in the financial side of trading, providing loans through private banks, and generally keeping the commercial system functioning. The most common occupation of the average Indian was wholesale and retail trading and the import and export business. The exact nature of his involvement in this way varied according to his ethnic backgrounds. During the colonial period, many Indians occupied the 'middle-ranked' administrative jobs in the civil service. Generally, to the Indian the Stone Town, was an area for investment in small and large enterprises, providing or supporting the necessary daily consumer needs of all members and at all levels of society, in ways and means varying with the different ethnic backgrounds. The traditional commercial role of the Indian as an enterprising individual has been associated with the image of an 'exploiter', however, this image again varies with the ethnic background of the different Indian communities.

It is the contribution of each community that is generally responsible for the interdependence of the social structure. However, with the economic 'liberties' allowed by the government since 1985, there has emerged a split and in some cases resentment among these communities. Many 'unnecessary' items have been imported by the 'minority' businessmen, items which the majority of the population cannot afford. In response to this, the prices of local food produce have been constantly increasing. The social

interdependence that existed is becoming fragmented and social status is becoming synonymous with financial standing.

Today many appointments in the Government civil structure are based on the 'associations' of the appointee. These are either related to former employment associations or common ethnic backgrounds. This process can basically be interpreted as a 'system' of ensuring the security of appointed positions at whatever level of government. The need for 'job security' or, otherwise, the failure of the government to assure this is reflected in the number of appointments and re-appointments every year. This constant 'restructuring' is very strongly related to the political alliances of the local African groups in Zanzibar's and Pemba's population and has been largely responsible for the instability of the government in recent years. The low level of government salaries and poor incentive schemes have led to corruption, negligence and irresponsibility in many areas of the civil service, especially those related to services that need payment, e.g. collection of registration fees, license fees and other similar payments.

Generally, social consciousness of the increasing difficulties of earning a living is becoming more evident, and is reflected in the recent social unrest in Zanzibar. This consciousness stems from an increasing feeling of socio-economic insecurity, a threat to Zanzibar's political autonomy and identity, confusion as to the path for development or progress among those who look for answers in 'capitalist' models and those trying to

maintain the 'traditional' or 'socialist' models. These effects, together, are leading to the rapid fragmentation of Zanzibar's cohesive society.

In conclusion, it can be said that, prior to the Revolution, the different cultural groups had generally established the differing socio-economic 'territories' that were 'exclusive' to their particular traditional occupations. These 'territories' were generally defined by social status. Following the socio-economic upheavals of the 1964 Revolution, many of these 'territories' were 'redefined'. Until very recently, these 'territories' overlapped and the social stratification that once existed was defined differently. This 'overlapping' produced a very cohesive society even though in some cases, especially during the early years after the Revolution, some of the 'minority' groups became victims of harassment because of their former 'privileged' positions in the social structure which was now reversed. Today, new 'territories' are emerging that are producing social stratification. However, unlike before, where this was caused by political circumstances, this time it is being caused by economic or financial circumstances.

Character and Image of 'Place' in the Stone Town

Of particular interest to this study are the 'physical' 'territories' that developed in the Stone Town as manifestations of the social and psychological variations within the culture. The 'territories' that will be examined are mainly those that contribute significantly to a 'sense of place' in the Stone Town and which in their present use are what form its 'core' elements. These can perhaps be developed to better serve their purpose in the light of the changes that have occurred since the Revolution.

In the Stone Town one finds different types of 'territories' and 'places', depending on their meaning and purpose to society. Since the majority of the citizens of the Stone Town are Muslims, Islam has played an important part in generating these different types of 'places'. Among the most common and most typical characteristic features of many Islamic cities are the narrow bazaar streets. These streets form a labyrinth and this and the activities they support provide some of the most interesting experiences and memories of these 'places'. Of special importance are the main 'spines' or main streets. In most cases these 'spines' accommodate the most important buildings and functions and are the most active streets of the city.

Prior to Lanchester's proposals of 1923, the Stone Town was separated from the rest of the present city by a creek. These two areas were joined by a bridge at a 'place' called Darajani, translated locally as, 'at the bridge'. This bridge formed the main link between

two areas that developed on either side of the bridge to form the main 'spine' of the town. The area that forms part of the Stone Town is one of the most busiest areas in the whole town, extending into a 'commercial' area and branching off into the main market. Since the filling up of the creek and the construction of a main road over it, a number of other 'spines' have developed across this road forming the main vehicular and pedestrian access points into the Stone Town. Within the town there are streets that run continuously across its boundaries, however, these have not developed into very active areas because many of the former shops along these streets are vacant or do not accommodate very active functions. These streets are very potential areas for development as 'spines'. Besides these main streets there are other minor streets that have mixed use, mainly supporting the domestic needs of the neighbourhoods. Traditionally, such streets had a special function in that they were 'convenience' streets serving a function similar to that of a conventional departmental store. Many of the shops in these streets today are closed and those that have reopened sell the same few items available on the market. These streets could be considered as the 'main' streets of the neighbourhood. Another very important 'place' in the Stone town is the junction where a number a streets meet. Normally, these junctions are not very big but nonetheless are very popular 'places' where people meet for brief conversations or relax during the evenings and watch the town's culturally diverse inhabitants walk by.

Usually the presence of the 'mobile' coffee-seller was a common sight at such 'places' and along the streets. Today, a very few of such 'places' remain and the sight of the coffee-seller is getting rarer. Of unique character to the streets of Zanzibar is the presence of a *baraza* or elevated solid masonry seat that extends from the building and runs along its length. Usually a gap is left in this masonry seat for an entrance, provided with a single step or the entrance itself is elevated to the level of the seat and steps provided, leading to it. The *baraza* in a neighbourhood is usually where one would spend the entire evening discussing the various experiences of the day with friends and neighbours. These *barazas* are mostly used by men. It is very common to see elderly men 'pass their time' on the *baraza* outside their homes with friends in the evenings. There is also another very popular *baraza* which is found along the 'main' street or active streets or at their junctions. These usually become favorite spots for groups of youngsters, where the *baraza* then becomes the 'gang' corner. It is usually the meeting 'place' for friends and also used as a 'place' for contacting people. Traditionally the term *baraza* is used to refer to a meeting of a group of people or in its contemporary administrative use, a committee. Thus, the *baraza* seat, as such, is associated with its function as a convening 'place', a purpose that has a very significant meaning to the nature of social life in the Stone Town. The street junction *barazas* are the most popular and have evolved into entertainment 'places'. At most popular *barazas* board games such as draughts, dominoes, *bao*- a local game, and card

games, are played.

The streets of the Stone Town present very unique features in the diverse architectural heritage of three cultures. This architecture is mainly a mixture of Arabian and Indian influences with a number of buildings reflecting British colonial influences. The Arabian influence is predominantly from the region of Oman and the Indian influence is predominantly from the Kutch and Gujarat regions of northern India. Colonial influences mainly originate from Colonial India and are characterised by a mixture of Classical and Indian architectural elements. Also, most of the remaining street 'furniture', such as street lamps and a few post office 'boxes', indicate the period of Colonial influence. However, there is also a 'local' blend of Arabian, Indian and Classical colonial architecture of which much can be attributed to the British architect J. H. Sinclair, and later on, to Ajit Singh, a local architect of Indian origin. Many of the buildings these two most famous architects designed were public buildings and are usually situated along the main roads of the Stone Town's 'boundaries'. Of recent, and mainly because of the vacant lots left after many buildings collapsed during the late seventies and early eighties, a number of 'modern' buildings have emerged, adding to the diversity that history has produced. The combination of these different styles and the modifications they have gone through through the different periods of Arab, British and African rule create an image that is seldom forgotten especially

if one can related to it, professionally or by simply having been part of its growth. The richness in the signs and symbols, old and new, undoubtedly are what make the streets the most unique 'places' in the Stone Town.

Another type of 'place' in Stone Town is that of an open space. Two main types are found, an 'alien' type, or green open space, and the 'local' open space. The green open space is mainly derived from the influence of British town planning principles, and is not very popular in its original concept as related to the Islamic lifestyle of the population of the Stone Town. 'Places' of this type lack the 'intimacy' that is so characteristic of this lifestyle. As an original concept these 'places' are 'exclusive' in their spatial qualities, that is they allow for an 'isolated' and peaceful atmosphere where one can withdraw from the bustling activities of a city and have time for reflection. However, in their present use in the Stone Town they have developed a multi-functional purpose. Many of such 'places' 'evolve' through the day in terms of the activities they support. In the early morning they become sports fields, then during the morning and early afternoon they become resting and reflecting 'places' for the elderly and jobless. During the late afternoon they again become sports fields and in the evening they are usually bustling with activities as the food hawkers usually set up their stalls and cluster together allowing for the much desired social intimacy that is so typical of this life-style. This 'cluster' becomes the central attraction of the 'place' where one can freely withdraw to the more 'exclusive' areas of the

'place', watching the different social activities and still be part of them when one chooses to. This combination of the original concept of 'exclusiveness' and its developed 'cluster' of 'intimacy' produce some of the most enduring 'places' in the Stone Town.

In the case of the 'local' 'places' that have developed within the Stone Town, these are also multi-functional, being used for almost all social occasions and political gatherings. Occasions such as weddings, religious functions and other social occasions associated with eastern lifestyles form the main activities. The real character of these 'places' is determined by the flexibility with which they accommodate the different functions. These 'places' do not have any permanent features or furniture and keep evolving with the environment around them. In their present use in the Town these 'places' could be considered as convenient 'places' or unselfconscious 'places'. Unlike the green open spaces, they do not have an established identity or an acknowledged 'territory' in their geometric configuration and in relationship to the role they play in the social life of the Town. Many of such 'places' are being divided into plots, an act that is robbing the Stone Town off some of its most 'authentic' 'places'.

Finally, and perhaps, the most important of all 'places' in the Stone Town, and for that matter, in many Islamic cities, is the main market 'place' or *suok*. The market is the most active 'place' in the Stone Town, as it is the 'place' where all cultures meet not only to buy

commodities but also to sell such. The activities of the market and its structure are too extensive to cover and would perhaps need the dedication of a separate study but its significance and contribution to the overall 'sense of place' of a city requires an acknowledgement of its typical characteristics and the images these carry. The main market is the wholesale supplier of the many retail goods sold in the shops along the streets, which in themselves form mini-markets. Because of the intensity of the activities it supports, all streets leading to the market, in a sense, are main streets. The market as such becomes the focal point of all commercial activity in the Stone Town. Besides this role, it also provides 'convenience' services such as a barber's shop, a magazine stall and bookshop, restaurants, hardware shops, refreshment stalls and other similar services. Like many other Islamic cities, the main transport terminals are also located close to it where most of the goods to and from the rural areas and passengers are picked up or dropped off. Thus, the general image the main market carries is of a sustenance organism that first, provides a means of income and at the same time provides a source of food and other necessary provisions.

The practice of 'place' naming is very common in Zanzibar, in terms of a particular event, person, locality or generally associating it with a 'character' that is particular to its location or function, The use of names of persons and trees, is the most common practice; e.g. Mnazi Mmoja (place with a single coconut tree), Mkunazini (place where the

'Mkunazi' tree grows), Kwakhani (place where Khan lives), N'gambo (place on the other side, overseas), Sokomuhogo (cassava market), Forodhani (on the seafront), Hamamni (at the Hamam baths). In many instances the different characteristics of 'place' in the Stone Town are related to the names of these 'places', Sokomuhogo, Forodhani and Hamamni are typical examples of such. Many streets and roads also have similar names, some dating back to colonial times and others changed after the Revolution. Besides these official names there are the 'unofficial' names that are mainly selected by the corner 'gangs', names such as Goa street, and Jaws corner. These unofficial names that are associated with *barazas* or popular meeting 'places' are the main terms of referring to the different 'places' within the Stone Town.

In conclusion, it can be said that the 'core' elements of the Stone Town are the main streets or 'spines', the individual neighbourhood and its 'convenience' street, the *baraza*, the open spaces, both, the green parks and the local 'squares', and the main market.

Experiencing 'Place' and 'Sense of Place' in the Stone Town.

The 'experience' of the Stone Town, as a 'place' or of 'places' within it, is highly subjective to personal interpretations because of the complexity of its physical elements and

an individual's position in its social structure. The different types of 'places' outlined above describe the main 'core' elements of the overall fabric of the Stone Town. However, the numerous different 'places' found within this broad structure possess unique qualities that can only be described from a personal point of view. The individual ability to describe such an 'experience', drawn from memories of the different 'places' one visits is what makes the difference between space and a 'place'. These recollections are drawn from ones cognitive and perceptual responses to the 'place' from which one, in turn, develops a personal 'sense' of the 'place'. These 'places' vary in their qualities depending on the time of the day, the day of the week, and also what month of the year, producing the diverse 'experiences' of 'place'.

Let us consider the influence of the daily cycle of life in the Stone Town. The Town begins this cycle early in the morning when Islam requires its believers to adhere to the first of the five calls to prayer. The 'Muezzini's' early call to prayer also marks the beginning of the day for other non-Muslim communities who may begin the day with prayer either in a church or temple or a home. In many cases the early hours of the morning are also spent exercising on the beach or jogging along the main roads. Usually the presences of a street coffee-seller and a lady or child selling flat bread and similar home-cooked food at a popular street junction is common. These areas are very popular 'places' where people meet and chat, especially after morning prayers, and also serve passers-by on their way to

work. Many local restaurants, especially around the main market area, open early to serve those arriving from different parts of the island to sell their agricultural products or from sea after a tiresome night. These restaurants are also popular with single men, providing an early breakfast.

The placid atmosphere of the early morning is soon disrupted by the busy market activities; fruit and vegetable begin arriving at the main Estella markets to be auctioned and sold and fishing boats returning from sea are usually auctioning their catches at the dhow harbour at Malindi or along the sea shore from where they are taken to the main market to be sold or peddled by hawkers. The market area is one of the most active areas especially in the morning and afternoon. Besides being divided into areas selling different food products, the areas adjacent to it also provide essential services that draw a large number of people. A number a restaurants, a dairy facility, a bookshop that also sells newspapers and magazines, hardware stores, and an assortment of retail shops selling a wide range of provisions form part of these services. Additional attractions to the area are the close presence of the main commercial spine that extends into the market area and the main urban-rural bus transport terminal. The spine, prior to the filling up of the creek, was the area that linked the Stone Town to the N'gambo area and could be considered an extention of the Stone Town.

The Stone Town soon afterwards becomes a sea of people, rushing to work and school, with vehicular traffic providing the necessary transportation. This atmosphere of bustling activity reaches its peak just before official government working hours begin at 7.30 a.m. This traffic is caused by the fact that most of the Government offices and schools are located within the Stone Town and many workers and students reside in other parts of the city. By 8.00 a.m. many of the retail shops begin to open and a new influx of inhabitants enters the streets, largely made up of people buying ingredients for the day's cooking, or farmers buying essential items to take back with them, 'window' shoppers and people going about other activities related to their work-place, etc.

At around 10.30 a.m. the town livens up again as this usually marks the recess period for most schools which is also shared by many government and private workers. During this period hawkers provide most of the 'snacks' that are sought by the students and workers. Most schools have two sessions, a morning session and an afternoon session. Usually the beginning and ending of these sessions and the recesses between each session are periods of high pedestrian traffic within and between the Stone Town and other parts of Zanzibar city. Another break is taken by many workers at around 1.00 p.m.- but this is a religious break, in response to the mid-day call to prayer. Government working hours end at 2.30 p.m. and once again there is a mass pedestrian and vehicular traffic movement between the Stone Town and other parts of the city.

Throughout the morning and early afternoon the streets are constantly busy with people from the Stone Town itself and from other parts of the city. The different attire displayed ranges from the common 'western' trousers and shirt to the local long white *kanzu* robe and embroidered cap or *kofia*, for the man, and the common *blackbui-bui* and similar attire for the Muslim women folk to the Hindu women's *sari* and 'western' fashions. The very busy streets accommodate a wide range of businesses. With the recent shifts in Zanzibar's economic policies, many of the shops have begun to reopen and mainly sell clothing. Also to be found scattered around the Town are a few tailors, furniture carpentry shops, clock or watch repair shops, stationery shops and shops selling an assortment of basic daily necessities for domestic use. Besides the activities that the shops support, the streets and the signs, symbols and street names together with the architecture of Arab and Indian influences generate an atmosphere that is unique especially if one can relate to it or understand its significance as one walks through the Town. The architecture of the Omani Arabs intermingled with that of India and latter to be influenced by colonial design form buildings that create the maze of narrow streets that are mostly shaded and lead to the open sunlit street junctions and small squares and open spaces. While the narrowness of the streets is sufficient to guarantee the maximum shade during the early morning and late afternoon, the projecting corrugated canopies that run just above the door height provide

the much needed shade for the mid-day overhead sun and also are very useful during the rainy seasons. In addition to the comfort offered by the shade, most streets do not permit the movement of motorised vehicles and the only 'vehicles' that cause any hindrance to pedestrians are the numerous bicycles. However, there are a few streets that do not permit any sort of ridden vehicle. This together with the shade allows for a very comfortable walk through the town. The streets becomes empty soon after government working hours end as most of the shop keepers also take a rest.

The earlier part of the afternoon, after work and a meal, involves a brief 'siesta' during which the Town quietens down. This is followed by a gradual increase in activities, when many shops reopen and reaches its peak at around 6.30 in the evening. Participation in sports form a major part of these activities, dominated by soccer, swimming and a few other indoor and outdoor games. The most common areas for these activities are the fields on the fringes of the Town, the parks along the sea-front and in a few sports clubs within the Stone Town.

As the evening settles in, this time is spent in socializing and relaxing at the neighbourhood *baraza* and a few parks around the Town. Recently within the strip of land on either side of Creek road there have developed 'pockets' of popular meeting 'places'. This area is very crucial as the road defines the historical boundary between the Stone Town and the rest of Zanzibar city and has the potential of developing into an area that will

bring the inhabitants of these two areas closer together. Also, restaurants and, in some cases, hotels are commonly frequented areas during this period.

A 'place' that has remained very popular for many residents of the Stone Town throughout its history is the north-western seafront of the town. The main attractions of the sea front are its spatial and visual qualities. Most of the buildings stretching along the sea front formerly belonged to the rich Arab merchants. Besides these the other most prominent buildings are the former Sultan's Palace and the Old Arab fort. A series of open spaces exist within this frontage, the most distinct being the Forodhani park. Today, this park is one of the very socially active areas of the town. Its spatial qualities are unique and it provides the most fascinating vistas as one approaches it from the dense fabric of the Stone Town. The experience is even further amplified as one embraces the sea breeze that rushes through the narrow streets and the sudden view of the sea and a few offshore islets, behind which the golden evening sun sets, framed between the trees in the park. Forodhani park attracts people from the whole broad spectrum of Zanzibar's cosmopolitan society. This attraction is mainly centered around the cluster of food hawkers who are concentrated in the center of the park. Other similar green open spaces are in front of the Africa House, Kelele Square, and in Vuga area, but because of the absence of any hawkers, these 'places' are very dull and quite. Adjacent to Forodhani park is the Old Arab Fort within which has

been constructed a netball court. This enclosed space has become a popular sports facility, also accommodating the body builders club. It is frequently used for social occasions, especially weddings.

Other areas that support activities during the evening and night are the mid-junction at the Mkunazini strip of road and all of the areas around the three cinema halls. In the case of the Mkunazini junction, the main features that contribute towards its activities are the presence of a mosque close by, a popular restaurant, and a 'baraza' with board games. The association of a mosque with the activities of the *baraza* are indirectly related to the times of prayer. The *baraza* serves as a 'transition' point for many people going to pray and is the gathering point just before and after the last evening prayer around 8 o'clock. The main attraction around the three cinemas, besides their apparent function, are the different hawkers around them. Film shows begin in the early afternoons and run until late at night, guaranteeing a constant flow of people. The areas around all three of these cinemas are constantly active as they all have a cluster of additional 'supporting' enterprises adjacent to them such as restaurants and shops. Usually a few shops and restaurants and a few *barazas* remain active until 10 o'clock. The cinema shows end at around 11 o'clock and provide the streets with a brief pedestrian activity. The town becomes silent after this period, until the next day, when it is broken by the Muezzini's early morning call to prayer, marking the beginning of a new day.

The various 'common' 'places' frequented by the inhabitants and 'visitors' of the Town in going about their daily routines are perhaps what gives the Stone Town its 'sense of place'. The above daily cycle represents only five of the seven days of the week. Friday and Sunday are two special days of the week when this cycle is changed. As with many Islamic societies, Friday is a day for congregated praying and working hours are reduced to allow for preparation for the mid-day prayer. Government working hours end at 12 O'clock noon as with many other work places. Just before the prayer time begins and after it, the streets are filled with men dressed in their long white prayer gowns or *kanzus* and caps, going to their neighbourhood mosques. Besides this period, the rest of the day continues as normal. Sunday is a full-day holiday, and is generally used for visiting relatives in the rural areas and also many groups and families go for picnics. It is also the most active day in terms of the intensity of the activities at the different 'places' within the Town. Looking at the daily cycles and the two 'exceptional' days, we find two major very active periods, one between 7 o'clock in the morning and 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the other between 5 o'clock in the afternoon and 8 o'clock in the night. It is during these two periods that the 'experience' of the 'sense of place' in the Stone Town is best realised.

Another very special period in the annual cycle of life in the Stone Town is the period of the Islamic holy month of Ramadhan. During Ramadhan, Muslims all over the world

fast for a month. The marking of the beginning of this period depends on the sighting of the new moon. In Zanzibar this sighting is confirmed with the firing of a canon, an event looked forward to by all of Zanzibar's different cultures. Fasting begins early in the morning and ends around 6.30 in the evening. During this month the whole cycle of daily events is changed. Working hours remain the same for most adults but school children are usually sent home earlier. The early morning activities are less intense as many people wake up late. None of the restaurants or other eating places open until after the end of the daily fasting period. Non-Muslims also respect this period by not eating in public and the general atmosphere is sullen, reaching its peak in the afternoon as the temperature rises. However, other commercial activities increase during this time, as shoppers buy clothing, shoes, jewelry and other similar items in preparation for celebrations that mark the ending of the month of Ramadhan. Also, during this period many women display a wider range and better taste in culinary skills and so longer periods are spent in the market and on the streets in preparation for the evening main meal. These activities in general increase in intensity as the fasting period approaches the end. The afternoon siesta gets longer as there is less participation in sports and other strenuous activities. Most of the afternoon and early evening is spent running errands and playing games at the *barazas*, these 'places' increasing in numbers during this period and accommodating all age groups. As the time approaches when fasting is broken, the streets suddenly become increasingly active as

people either rush home to break their fast or gather around those *barazas* that are close to the mosques and which usually have a coffee seller and a few hawkers who sell a few home-cooked sweets. Sometimes the mosque authorities or a generous person will provide dates or a local sweet meat to break the fast. After this period, the evening call to prayer is heard and soon after, a respectful silence falls over the whole Town as nearly its entire population prays. The streets once again become busy as people rush home for their main evening meal and are back again on the streets and to the mosques for the last prayer of the night at around 8 o' clock. Many of the Indian Muslim communities have a communal gathering at their main mosque or community building to share the main meal together which is usually followed by a sermon or *Hutba* by their religious leaders. After the night prayer, the town bustles with activity that continues late into the night. Most of the numerous shops along the main streets, the *barazas*, Forodhani park, the areas around Creek road, and the cinemas, become the most active areas in the town. These activities usually end between two and three hours latter than normal days. Usually, in the early hours of the morning a group of youngsters walk around the town chanting religious poems or *kasidas* and play a drum to wake up people for their last meal before the next fasting day begins, an act for which they receive a small amount of money as a reward for their effort. The last day of Ramadhan is also decided by the sighting of the new moon and

again a fired canon marks this sighting after receiving approval of the Chief *Kadhi*. The following four days are the most celebrated days in the Stone Town and Zanzibar in general. The first day of the feast is the most active, beginning with a gun salute, followed by the morning prayers where Muslims from all parts of the island congregate together for prayer. The President holds an *Idd Baraza* where prominent political and religious leaders, diplomats, and other influential people are invited to celebrate the feast after which the President delivers a public speech.

Every year a fair is held at the Mnazi Mmoja sports grounds which lasts for four days and is the main focus of activity during the celebrations. The activities that take place through out these four days are too numerous to describe but the general atmosphere is of jubilation. The most colourful attractions are the scores of children in the streets dressed in their best clothes, visiting relatives and friends in groups, each given some pocket money which is carefully spent over the four days of celebrations. Besides this feast, which is known as *Idd el Fitri*, the other Muslim feast that is also greatly celebrated is *Idd el Haj*, the day marking the beginning of the Muslim calendar. Also, *Maulidi*, the feast marking the Prophet Mohamed's birth, is another important Muslim feast. Some of the most colourful Muslim social events in the Stone Town are those of the Asiatic communities of which weddings are the most extravagantly celebrated. The Ithnaasheri commemoration of *Muharram* was a public event that contributed greatly to the annual 'traditional' social

occasions within the Stone Town. Today, it has declined and become very private.

The different Islamic social occasions and especially those during the month of Ramadhan are periods during which many 'places' within the Stone Town display the real 'potential' of their meaning and purpose to society, a potential that can be exploited to produce even better 'places'. From studies carried on at this time, some observed acquired characteristics of these 'places' at this time might perhaps be developed as 'permanent' features and contribute towards the improvement of the overall environmental characteristics of the Stone Town.

The above descriptions are very general and basically describe the general atmosphere of the different 'places' within the Stone Town and their interrelationships. It now seems necessary to describe my personal experience of growing up within the Stone Town and what the different 'places' in it have meant to me through the years I lived in it. There is a need to mention that coming from a Non-Muslim or Catholic family suggests a slightly different experience but nonetheless this represents part of the Stone Town's culturally diverse population. However, this should not suggest a misrepresented view but rather, having been part of a predominantly Islamic society and having taken part in almost every type of social event associated with it, has encouraged me to look deeper at a culture that I have grown up with and which will always be part of my cultural identity.

Beginning with home as a 'place', the building I grew up in was a large multi-storeyed structure similar to the Indian Chawl, where my neighbours could generally be described as representatives of all of the Stone Town's diverse cultural groups. The different floors housed people from all of Zanzibar's three main cultural groups. Besides the Goan Catholic families, there were Muslim Indians from Kutch, Hindus from Gujarat, Arabs from Hadramaut, and Africans from all three groups of Zanzibar's African population, the Wapemba, the Wahadimu, and the mainland Africans. The experience of growing up in such a diverse multi-cultural environment and the daily social interaction has contributed greatly to my understanding of the different social activities of these different groups.

As a child, I have always remembered the sea shore and Forodhani Park next to it as the 'places' I played in the most. My earliest memories of my father relate to his regular nightly fishing from the shore which were, besides being entertainment, possibly also periods for reflection. The attractions to the park varied over the years, as a child it would be the 'place' where my family would usually spend the evening with other family friends and where I would play. As I grew up it became a 'place' where I usually took part in sporting activities such as soccer and swimming, the large park and sea shore providing ample space for such activities. In my later years and until recently the area became a 'place' for socializing. The attraction to the 'place' was mainly in the activities of the

various hawkers and peddlers who usually sold foodstuffs. During the latter part of the evening the park would quieten down with most of the hawkers and people leaving and usually small groups of people would remain playing cards and other similar games, a group of my friends and me would be among one these groups. A few people would sit and savor the peace and quite of the evening occasionally listening to light local music.

Sunday was the most active day of the week at the park. The earlier part of my evening would usually involve a stroll along the waterfront with friends to be followed by an evening 'meal', then a chat and finally another stroll through the town which would end at the 'gang corner' where we would spend hours chatting on various ideas and interests.

Another 'place' that I have been attracted to is the R. C. Church and its church yard. Part of my experience of this 'place' is related to the fact that, being a Roman Catholic, the church was a 'place' I frequently visited. As a child, I spent my first four years of primary education at a school that was within the church backyard. My earliest recollections are of the games I played during the morning school recess in the church yard. The churchyard soon became the 'place' where I spent most of the time besides the seafront. This time was spent playing games and also at times helping out with a few chores for the Church. Many of the activities that took place involved groups of different ages and were organized by the older members. Besides the games, preparations for the different annual Christian feasts

were activities that were looked forward to with much enthusiasm. Some of the groups sometimes had temporary 'hideouts' within the churchyard. This attachment to the churchyard led to the construction of a sports facility around which recently evolved a sports and social club. This focus of community activities around the main religious building is common with many other religious communities. The activities of some of the *madrasas* show a very similar pattern of 'place' formation with the mosque acting as the focal point for guiding the activities of the neighbourhood youngsters. Similarly, many of the Indian communities also have such 'social' clubs. The 'formation' of these types of 'places,' have their roots in the need for social interaction and a means of reinforcing cultural identity. In the still very conservative religious communities, the religious buildings serve to provide such an environment where such activity can take place while at the same time offer religious guidance.

The streets within the Stone Town have provided many opportunities to meet and socialize with different people. The *baraza* seat would usually be the 'place' to sit or meet a friend or group of friends. As a member of such a group, I have spent many evenings at the 'gang' *baraza* which is situated at the junction of two busy streets. This *baraza* became popular because it is very close to the Church and Forodhani park and also has a refreshment shop at the junction. It is also very close to where most of the 'gang' members live. The streets always produce an endless number of signs and symbols that can serve as

material for debate or discussion. Also, even if one sits alone, many questions are raised as to the origins and significance of these signs and symbols and their contemporary use. Another very common purpose of the *baraza* seat is that it provides a position where one can sit and watch the different cosmopolitan inhabitants of the Stone Town walk by. The *baraza* provides a very good opportunity to relax and reflect especially when the streets are less busy. Thus, these streets usually serve as out door areas where many conversations take place tying one closer to ones friends and at the same time offering opportunities to make new friends and generally providing a stage for an endless flow of real-life drama.

Besides the above 'places' there are a number of 'places' that have developed some purposeful meaning to my existence as a member of society. However, from a personal point of view these 'places' might have 'gathered' more 'meaning' with time. One of these 'places' has been my work 'place'. Having only worked there for just over a year personal relationships developed fast but the building up of the 'sense of place' was very uncertain. This was probably because of its 'exclusive' nature, being part of a larger building but totally isolated with its own entrance. In this way social interaction was limited only to a few fellow employees in the section I worked with. Prior to its 'isolation', on entering the main entrance of the building and walking through it to my office, I would meet many other people from other sections and be obliged to greet and sometimes have a brief

conversation with a few friends, a very common local custom. This ended with the creation of a separate entrance. Another 'place' where I remember visiting often, especially after it became popular following the passing of trade liberalization act, was the Darajani 'spine' and the street that branched into the market. This area had all sorts of consumer goods ranging from clothes to hardware. Also most food provisions could be obtained from this area. The visits would usually be with a group of friends. Finally, there were a number of 'convenience' 'places' such as the post office, banks, the Municipal building and other similar 'places' that were only visited for a very 'particular' purpose.

In conclusion, the 'core' elements of 'my' environment could be described as my home, the church and the churchyard, Forodhani park and the seafront, the *baraza*, my work 'place', and the commercial streets around Darajani area. These different elements provided me with most of my daily needs. In a similar manner other inhabitants within the Stone Town also have their own 'cores'. Perhaps by understanding these 'cores' and the essential services they provide to the majority of the inhabitants would be able to improve the 'sense of place' within the Stone Town.

Intentionality and Formation of 'Place' in the Stone Town

Taking into consideration the general 'core' elements of the Stone Town, these 'places' have evolved 'naturally' out of the Islamic lifestyle of the majority of its population. The traditional fabrics of many eastern cities are dense; 'place' in such cities is closely related to social intimacy and each acts as a focal point serving a multi-purpose function. The Stone Town has developed along similar principles. As mentioned earlier the main market is the central 'core' or focal point of the town and around it are located the main commercial enterprises of the town. The activities within the market and around it permit the necessary characteristics outlined above. The concept of the main street with its narrow width and multi-purpose function is another development of a form that works on the same principle. In a similar manner, the neighbourhood street also follows similar principles in addition to providing a certain degree of security and privacy in its 'seclusive' nature. The same principles can be applied to the *Baraza* and the open spaces in the town. There is a need, however, to outline some very dominant characteristics of the multi-purpose nature of most 'places' within the Stone Town. First of all, these are 'places' of social interaction and, in some cases being exclusively for men. Secondly, they are 'places' of entertainment. Thirdly, they are 'places' of convenience, and finally, they increase and decline in terms of activity but always remain to serve the fluctuating needs of society. These multi-purpose

'places' develop their activities in relationship to the 'potential' of their location and it is these fluctuating multi-purpose 'meaningful' activities that form the strength of a 'core' and what give it the strength to re-emerge after a period of decline. This strength is drawn from its ability to 'gather' additional purpose and meaning through time. Thus, the strength of the 'core' elements in the Stone Town depend on their ability to 'gather' meaning and this ability through time is what gives them authenticity.

Change and Time in the Stone Town

Change in the Stone Town is not a new phenomenon. Its entire history has been a story of change. For a town barely two hundred years old, the diversity of its social and architectural heritage is a clear indication of the pace at which this change has been occurring. Strongly influenced by the trading activities of merchants from Arabia and India and latter the British, the town today is one of the most cosmopolitan areas in east Africa. Time has thus, been an important factor in the growth of the Stone Town. The evidence of this influence and its evolution becomes very apparent as one walks through the Stone town. Most of the original buildings have undergone some minor or major modification since their construction, at times these changes being forced by climatic circumstances and in most cases being modified by new owners. Some of the most obvious changes or modifications are those of Colonial India architectural elements. Many old Arab mansions

have had balconies added to their facades mostly by the new increasingly prosperous Indian merchant owners. Other typical elements were the European classical features on the facades and the cast iron railings and brackets used on many of the balconies. Also, the traditionally hand-carved elements of the balcony were now replaced with machine-cut abstracted designs.

Since the 1964 Revolution and until very recently not many changes have occurred within the built fabric of the Stone Town. In fact, this fabric had been rapidly declining because of lack of maintenance. As a result of this, even though many traders left, the streets still carry advertisements of the products they sold and their names. This alone communicates a message of its own related to a period in the history of the Stone Town. There are many 'messages' within the Stone Town, each communicating their own story to the inhabitants and visitors in the Stone Town. It is this richness that makes the town, in general, a very unique 'place'.

In an attempt to 'contain' the history of a city, we look to conservation and preservation as our refuge for keeping this contact with the past and its associated memories. This sense of continuity, however, is sometimes not shared by all and some continue to pursue change. The Stone Town today faces a similar challenge. With the recent privatization of government owned buildings, many of these buildings are undergoing renovations that are

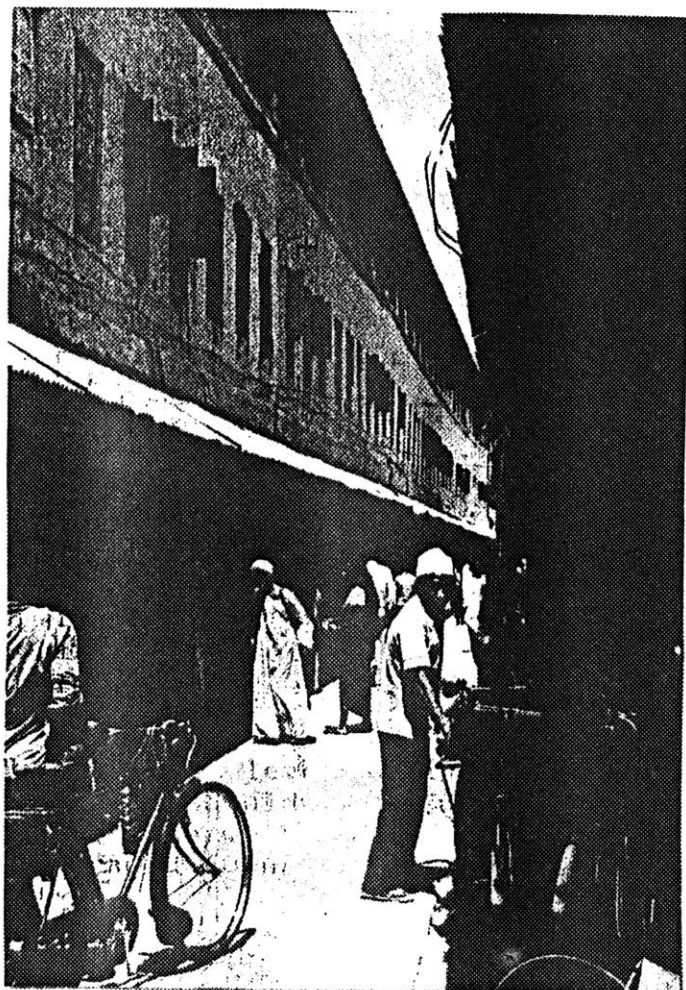
insensitive to the architectural heritage these buildings possess and as a result of this much of this heritage is in danger of being lost. The formation of a conservation body to deal specifically with the Stone Town has not received much enthusiasm, partly, because of its historical background as a symbol of the former 'minority' ruling classes which carries with it delicate political implications, but also because conservation is not among the higher priorities of the governments development plans, and the Stone Town, anyway, represents only about 15% of the total population of Zanzibar City. However, its main strength lies in its history and in the fact that almost all the administrative bodies of the government are located within it, these being established during the period of British administration. Its former role as an organism supporting a commercial system might contribute towards solving some of the current economic problems that Zanzibar faces. Also, its cosmopolitan identity and social activities associated with the different communities that make up this identity might become a major attraction for tourism.

History thus has an important role to play in the revitalization of the Stone Town as the focal point or main centre of Zanzibar city that can serve the majority of the inhabitants of the city. There is a need to change the current historical image of the Stone Town and strengthen its image as an evolutionary organism that has to continue changing and adapting to the fluctuating needs of society through time. Perhaps, with this understanding and through time, change will be able to be perceived from an advantageous position to

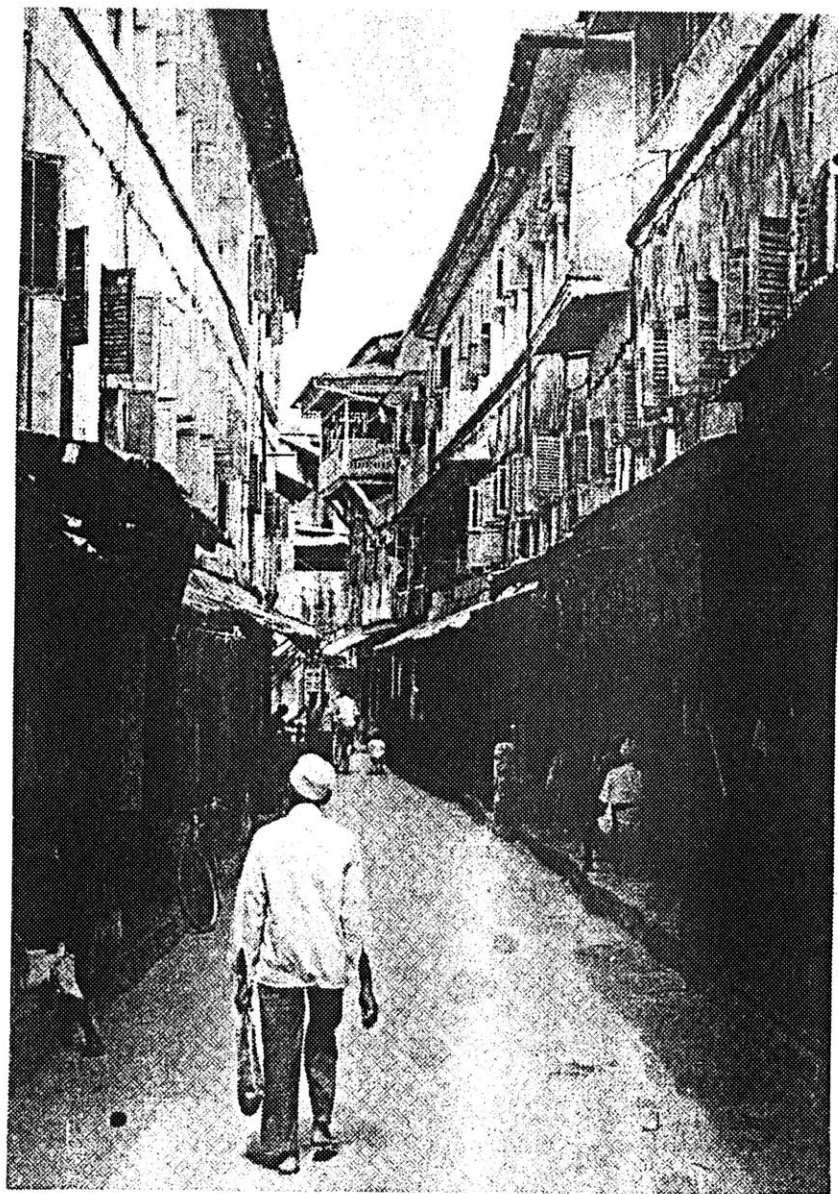
conservation.

The following chapter attempts to address the issue of how this change may be directed within the fabric of the Stone Town in the light of its historical background, as well as of the current political and socio-economic conditions in Zanzibar.

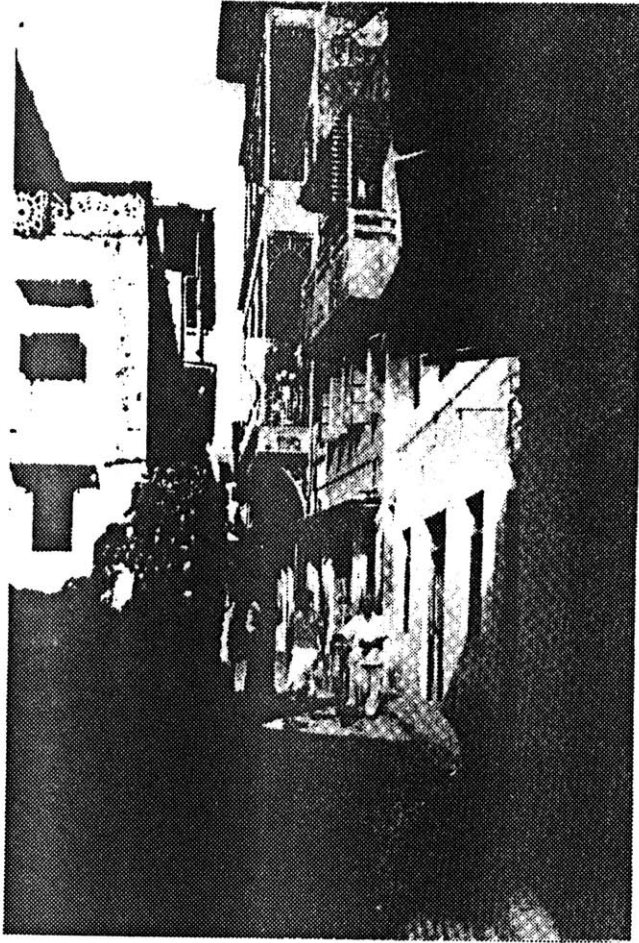
Illustrations



20. Main commercial street branching from the Main market area along the Darajani Chawls.



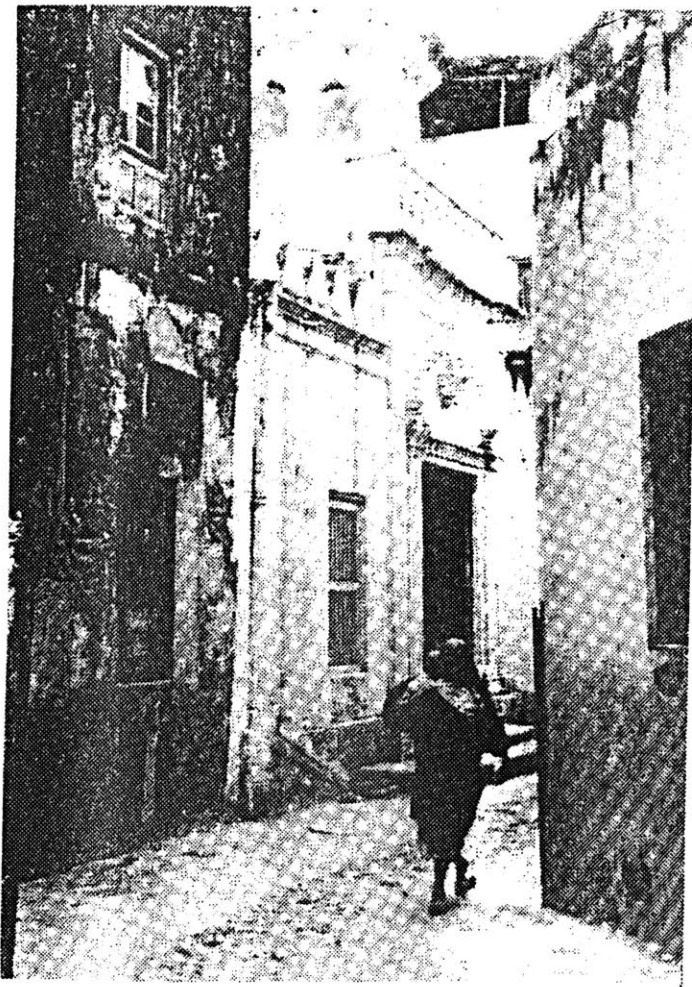
21. A Chod Bazaar extending from across Creek road into the commercial area around the main market.



22. Former Portuguese Street, a popular commercial street that could be developed into a more active commercial spine.



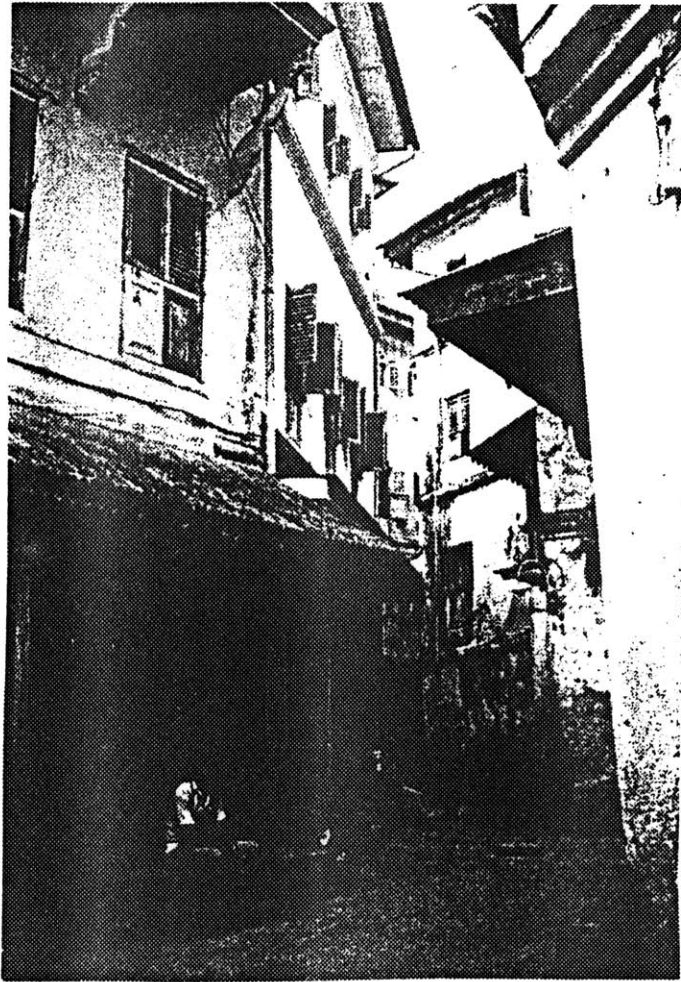
23. Former Portuguese Street branching into the Fort area in Sokomuhogo.



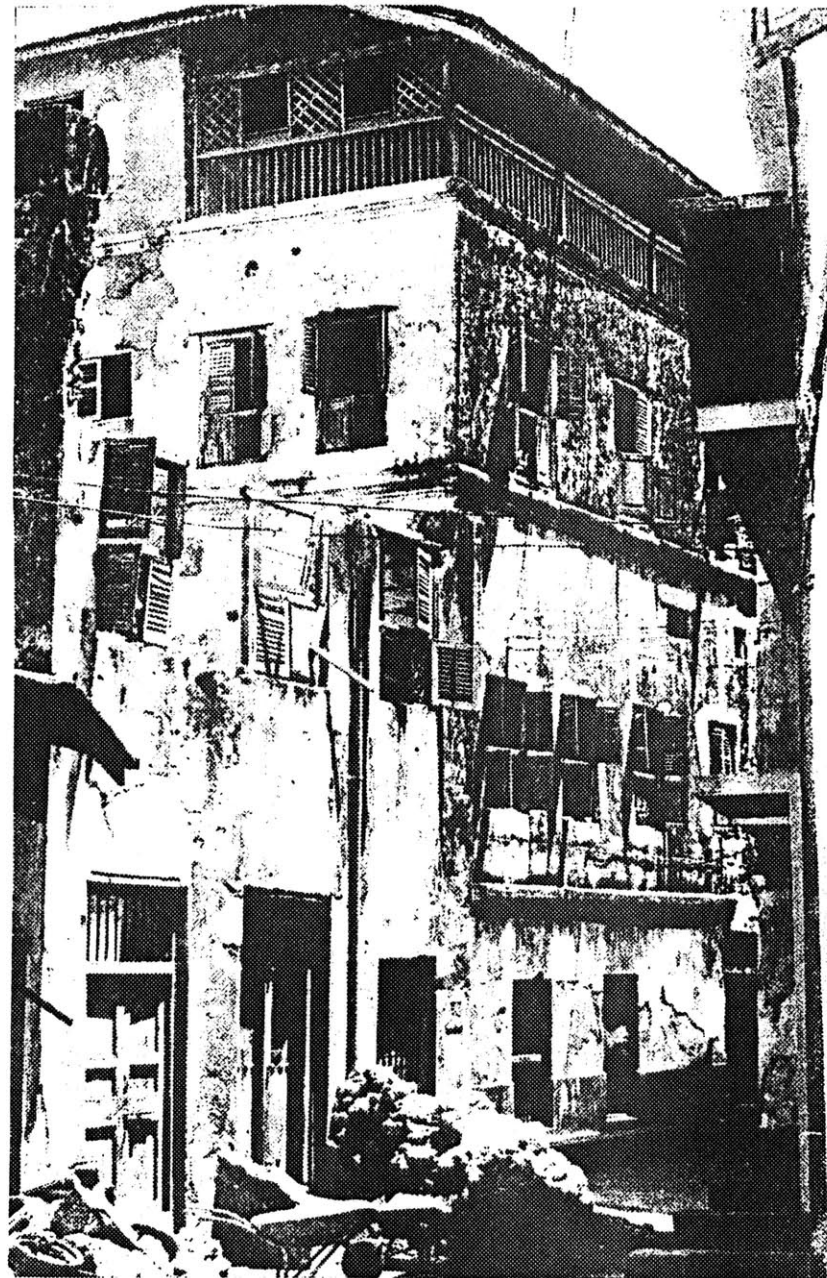
24. A neighbourhood street in Kajificheni leading to the Memon mosque, a focal point for the Memon community.

25. Street leading to the Memon mosque. Notice shade provide by the canopies and use of baraza for a brief conversation.

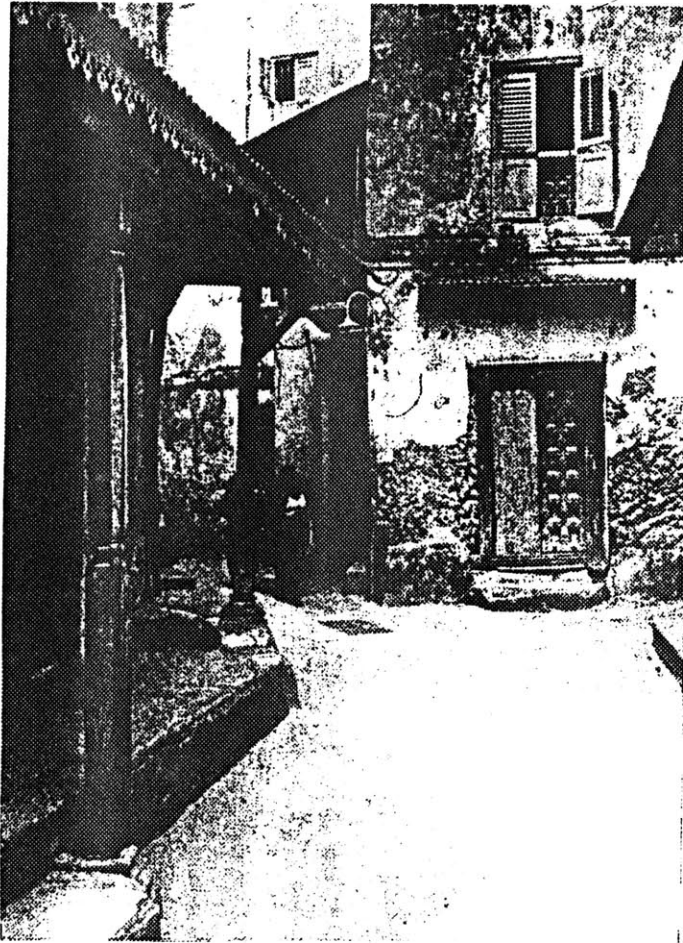




26. A small open space in Kiponda. Surrounding buildings and barazas provide an aesthetically pleasing environment that could be developed into a socially active area.



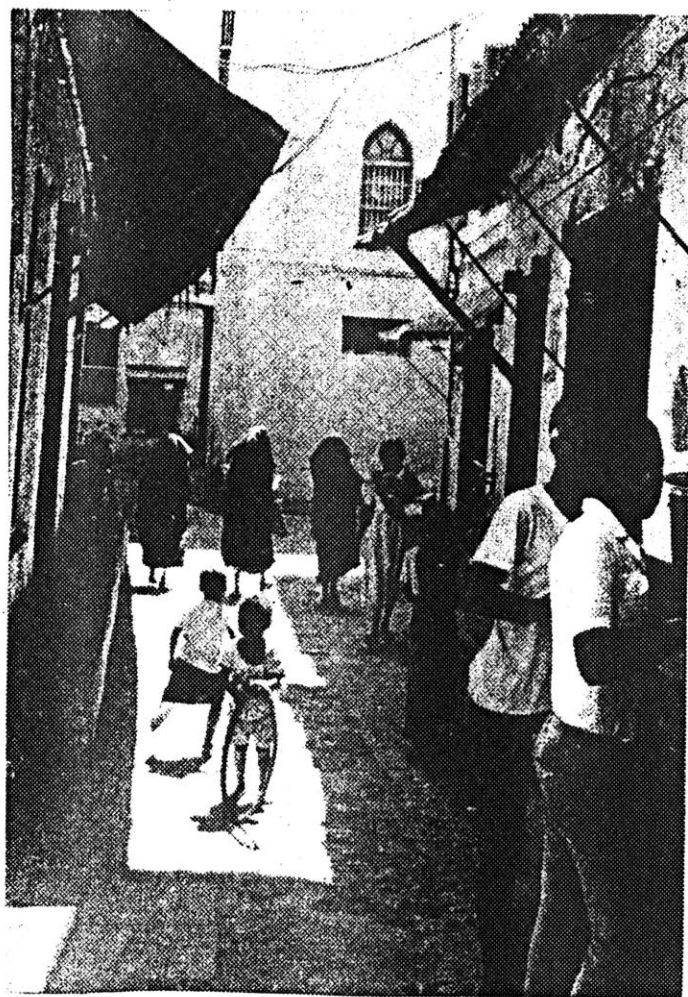
27. A neighbourhood street in transition in Mkunazini. Notice collapsed building, and a roof extension on the building in the background.



28. A small open space in Kiponda. Surrounding buildings and barazas provide an aesthetically pleasing environment that could be developed into a socially active area.

29. Spice Inn, a privately operated guest house in Kiponda. Notice a tea advertisement on left, street signs of a once commercial prosperity and a mosque baraza on the right.

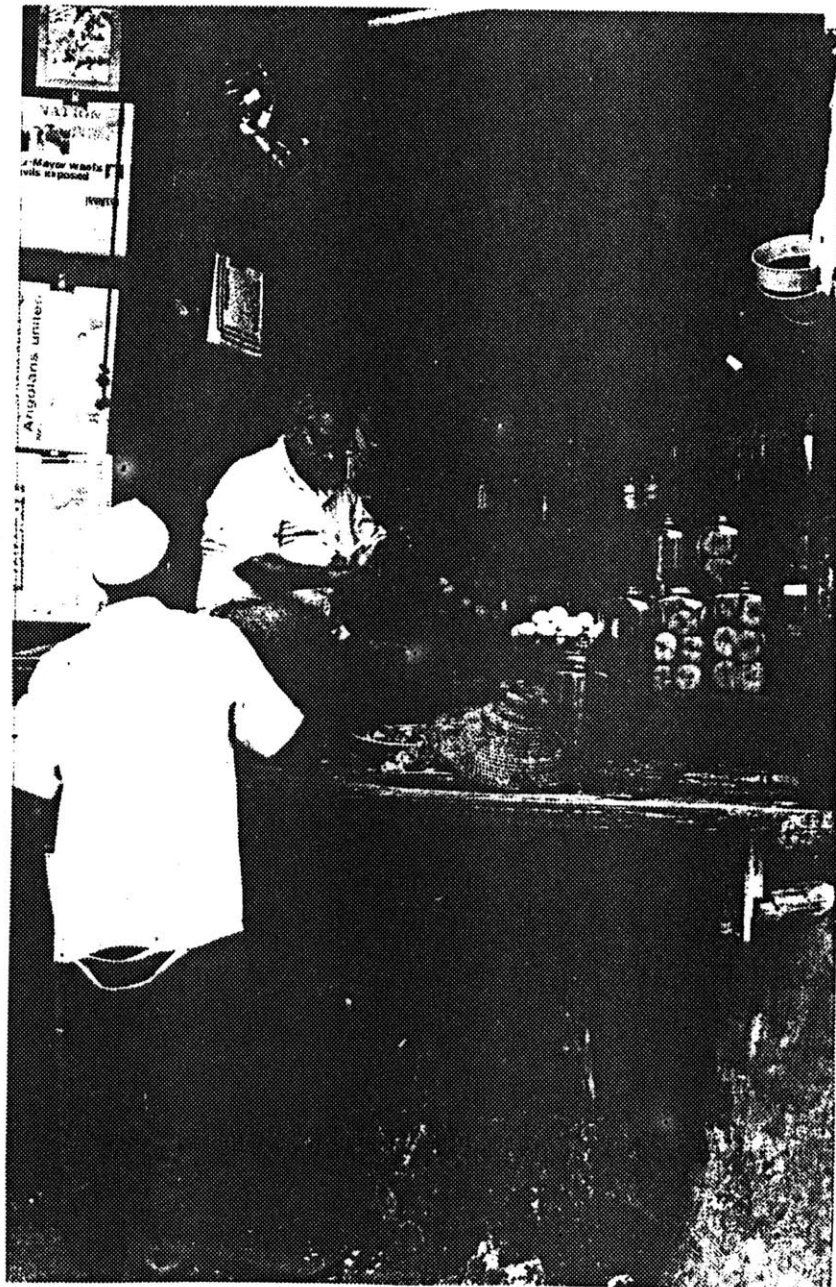




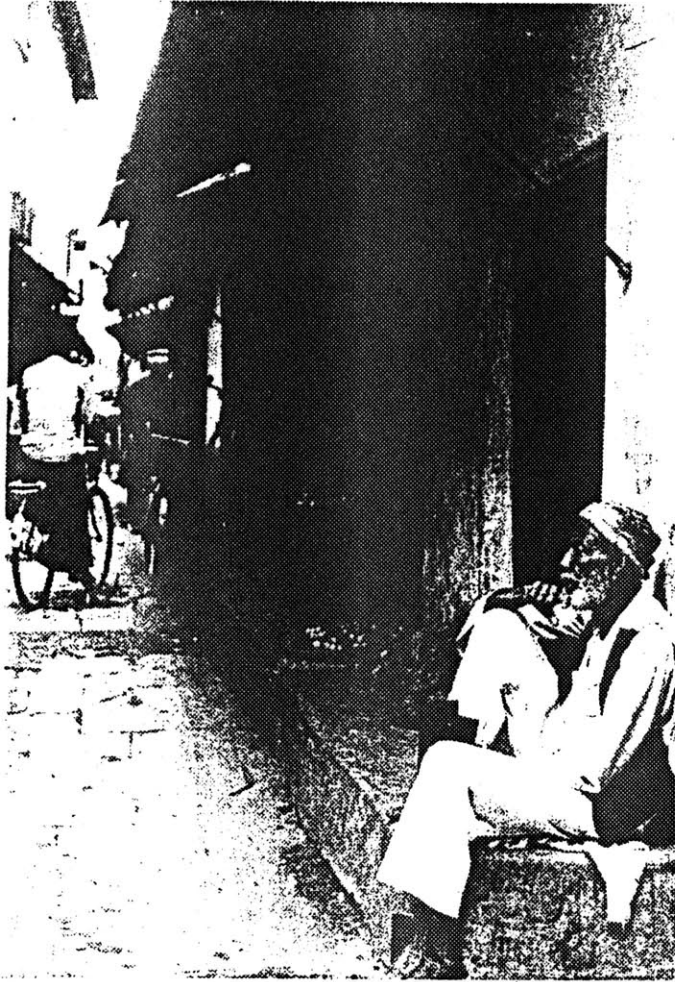
30. A commercial street in Mkunazini leading to the main market area. Notice how the canopies provide shade to the pedestrians, children playing in the unsafe street and a convenience street shop.

31. A neighbourhood junction in Kiponda with a convenience shop. The wooden balconies add to the aesthetic quality of the corner baraza.

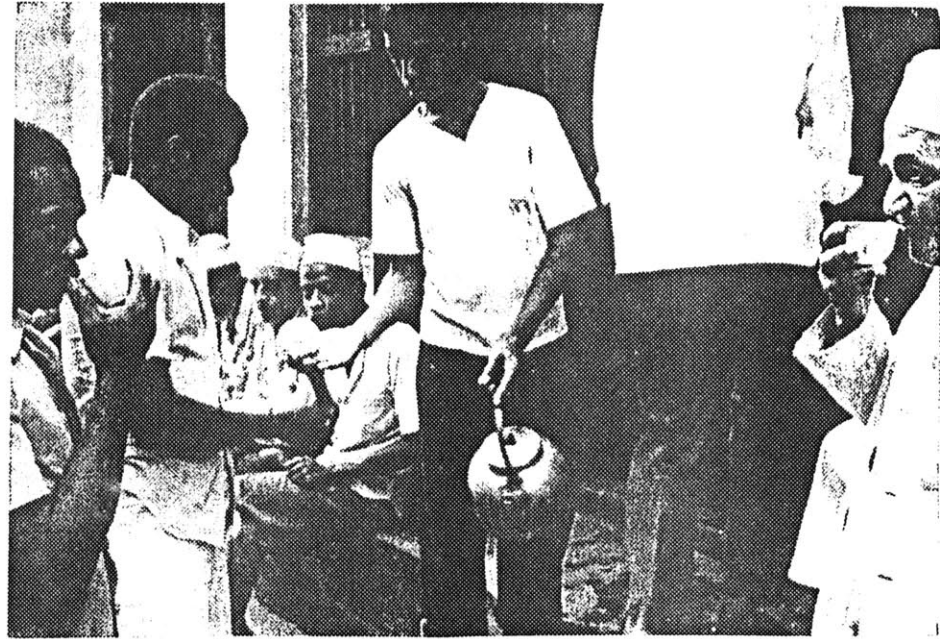
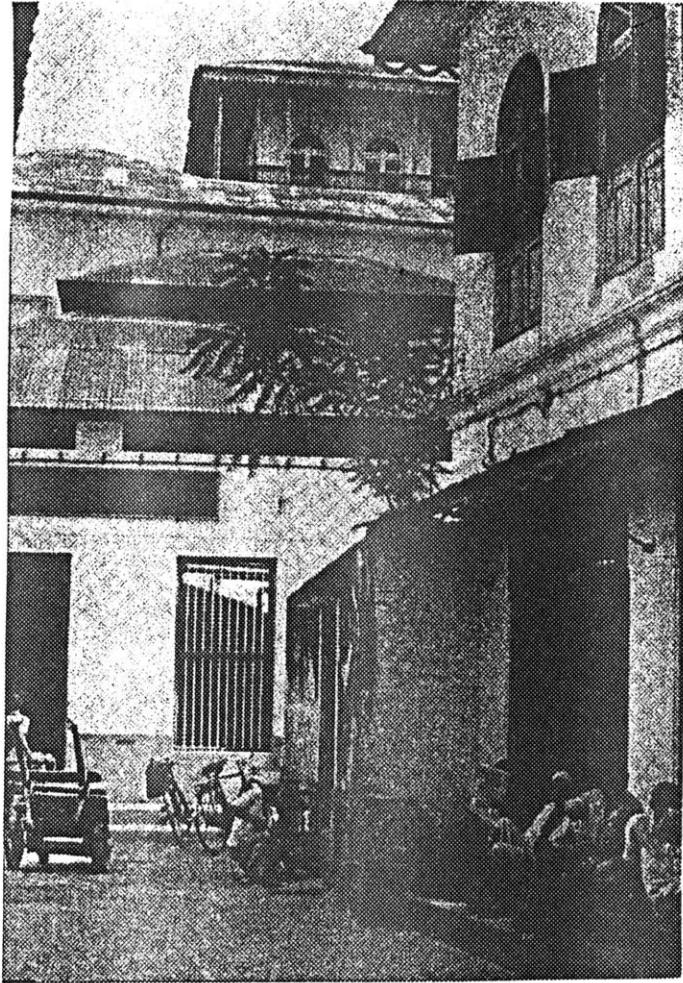




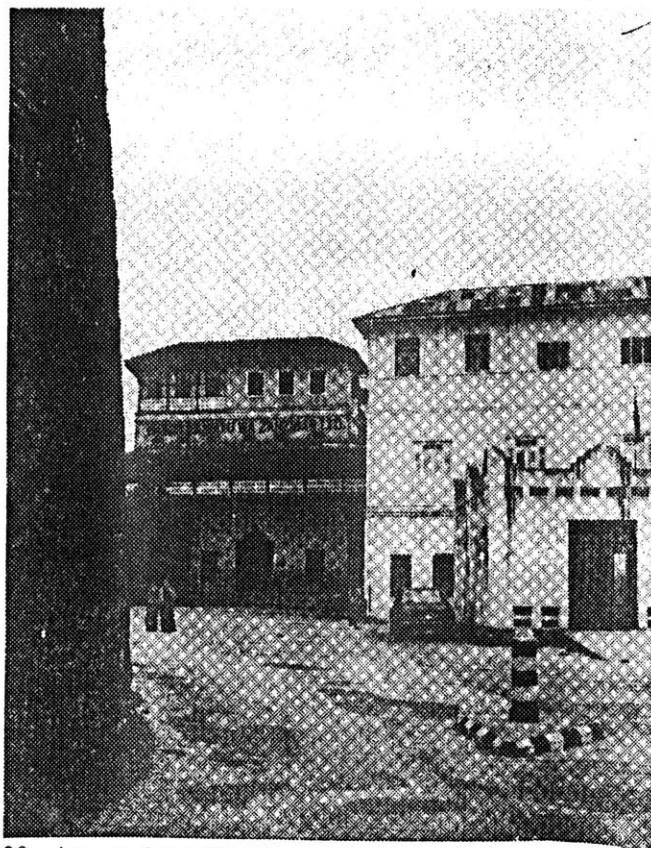
31 & 32. Neighbourhood convenience shops providing an assortment of domestic commodities and other services to the entire neighborhood.



33, 34, & 35. Notice the multi-functions of the baraza as a seat along the streets, as a platform for displaying products for sale, and as a gathering 'place' for social interaction and entertainment.



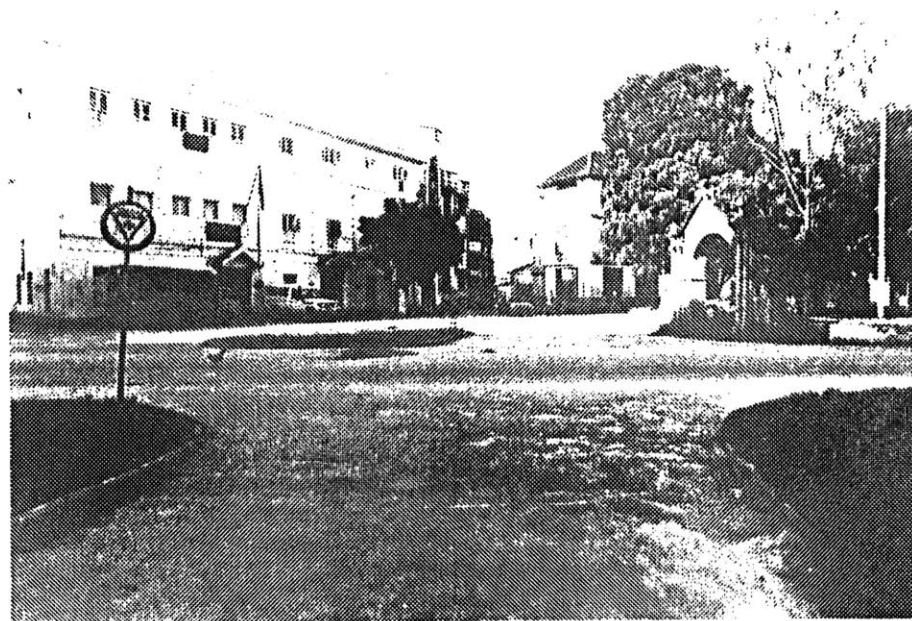
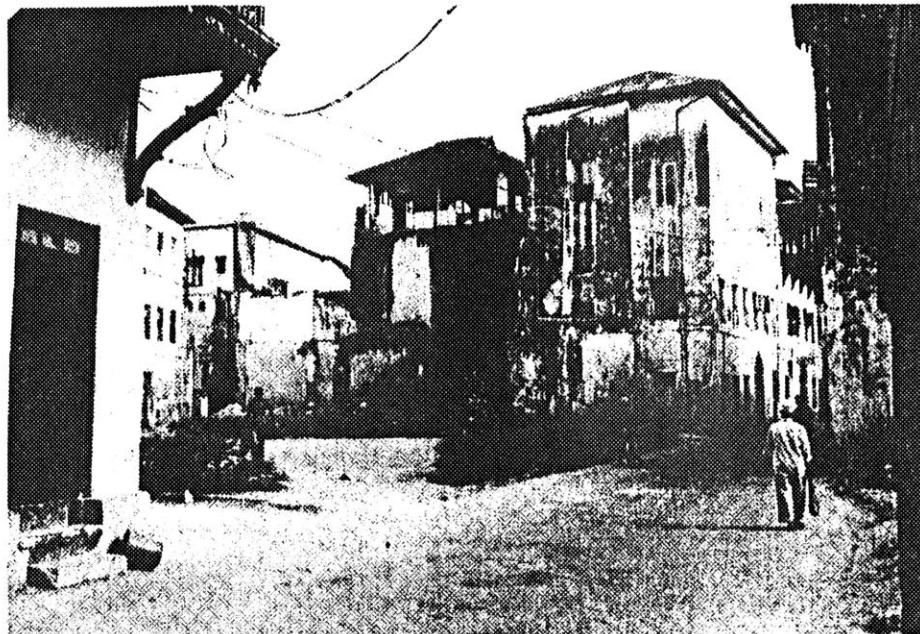
36, 37, & 38. Notice the multi-functions of the baraza as a convenient facility for a brief rest, as a social focal point, and as a 'place' for reflection.

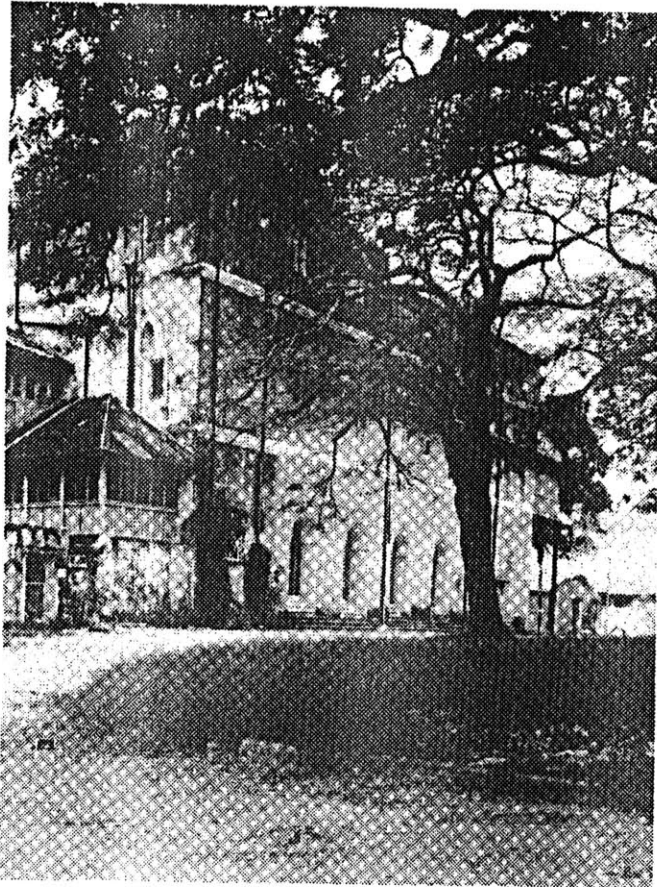


39. An under-utilised open space next to the Arab Fort that could be developed into an area for recreation by adapting the surrounding buildings to accommodate supporting activities.

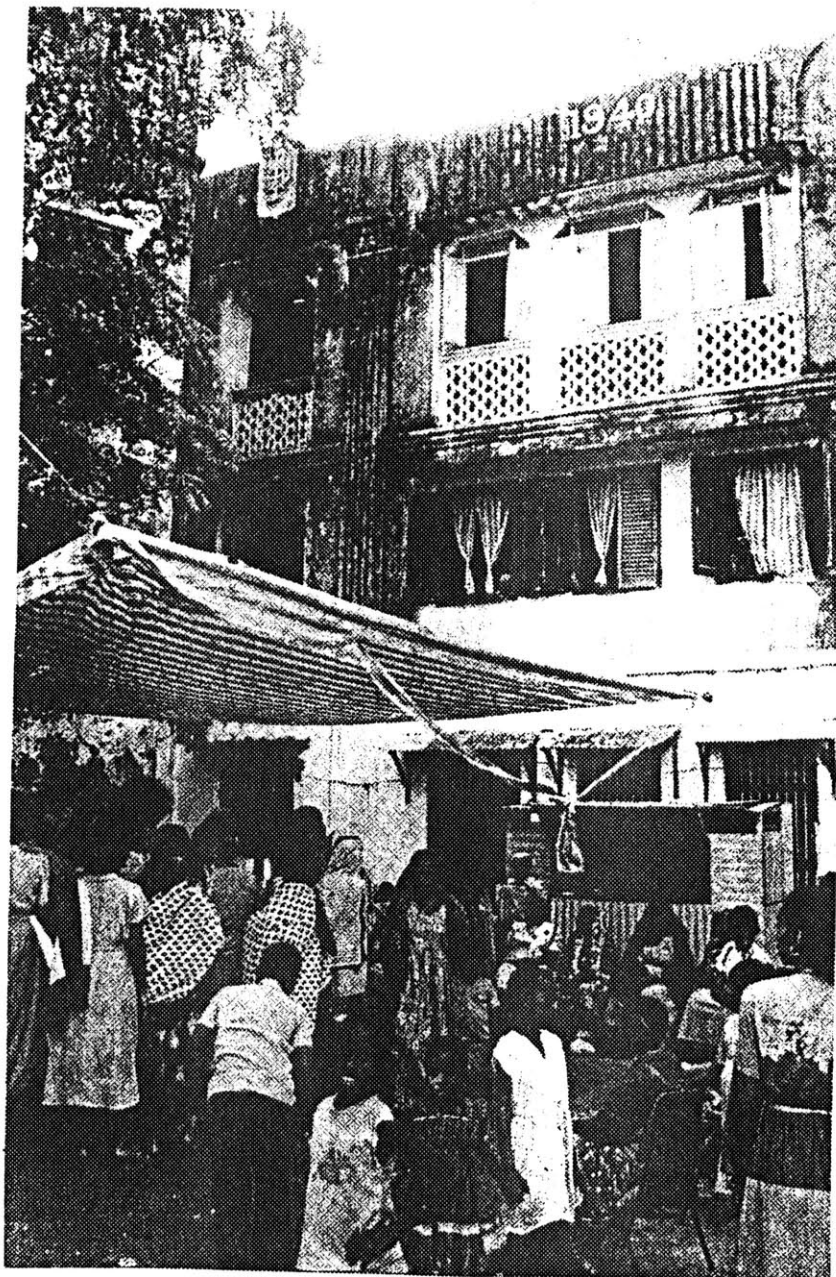
40. A new green open space in Shangani, created over a former building site but devoid of any meaningful activity in relationship to its surroundings. Such spaces need a re-definition of purpose.

41. Under-utilised open space in the Vuga that could be developed into areas for recreation by adapting the surrounding buildings to accommodate supporting activities.

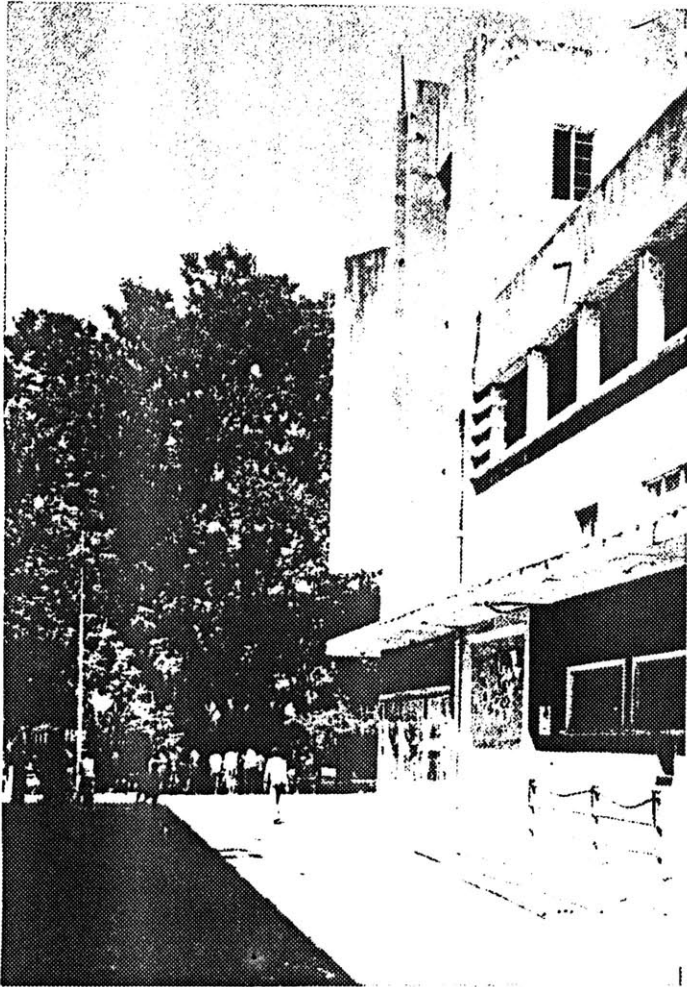




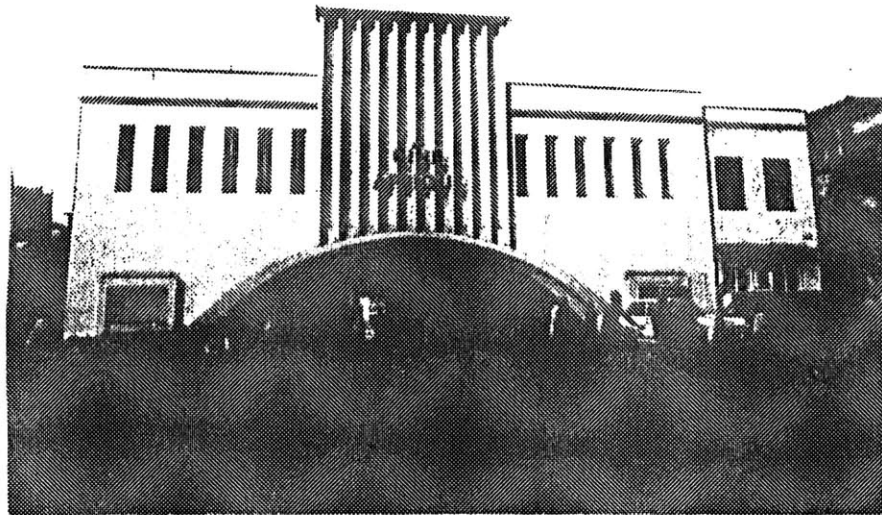
42, 43, & 44. The under-utilised green open space of Kelele Square in Shangani that could be developed into an area for touristic use by converting most of the surrounding buildings into touristic facilities.

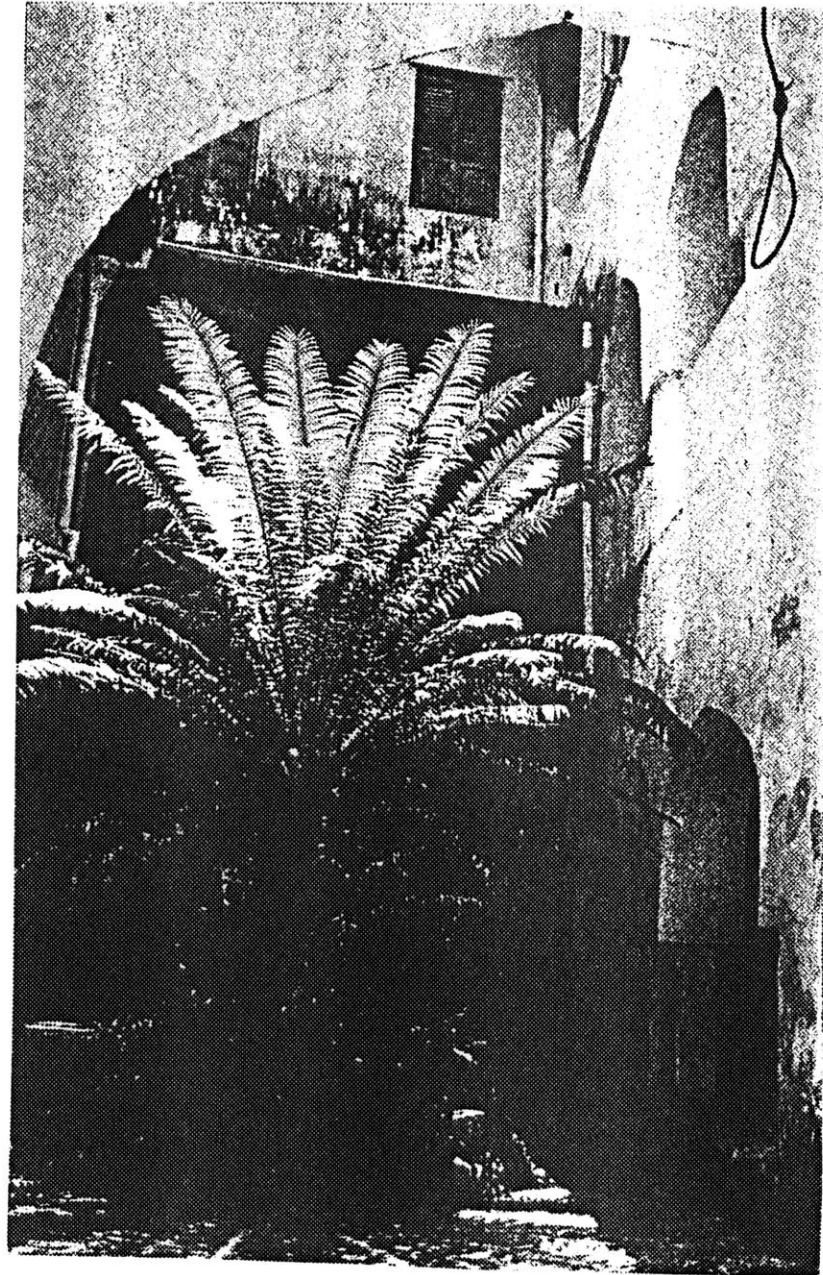
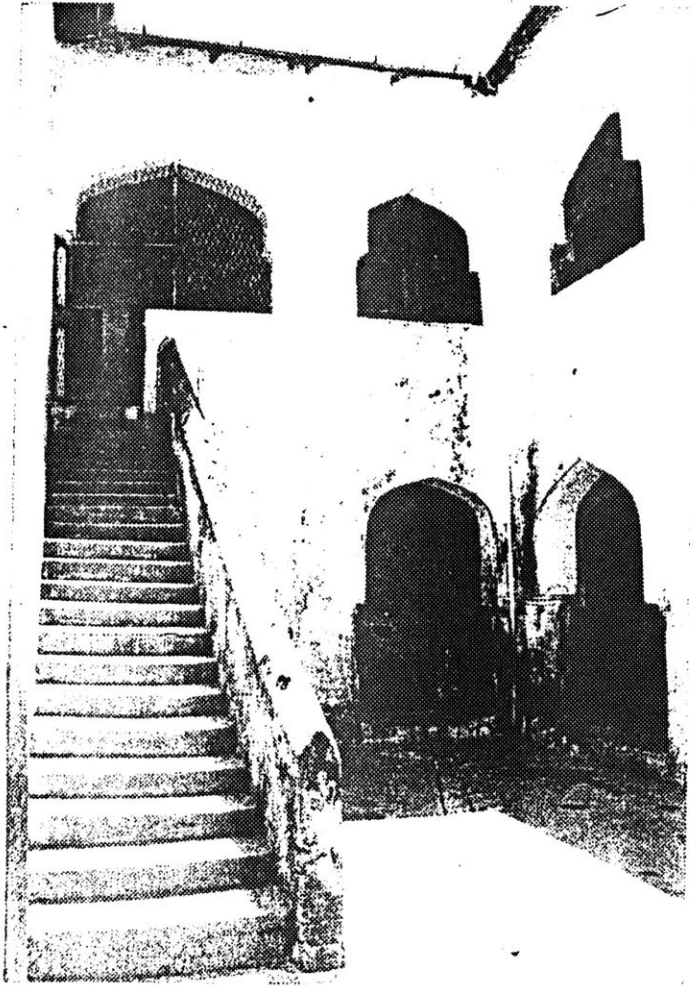


45,& 46. A local open space in Shangani in one of its flexible uses, accommodating a local wedding celebration.

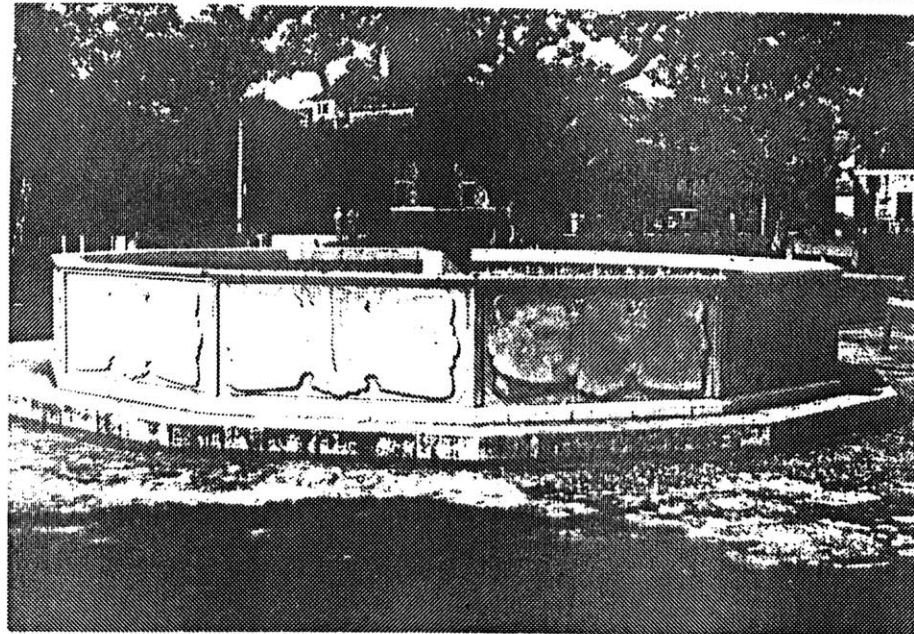
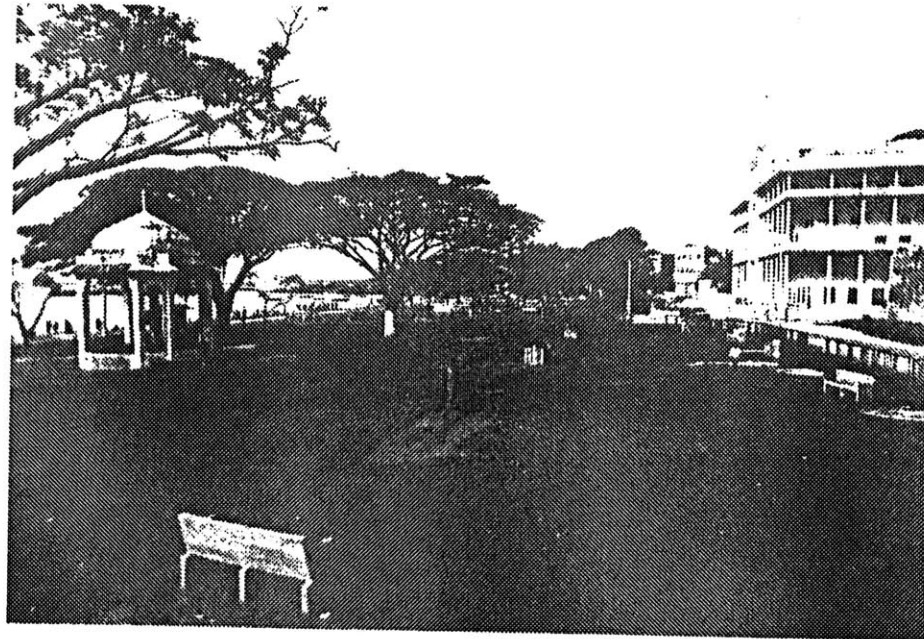
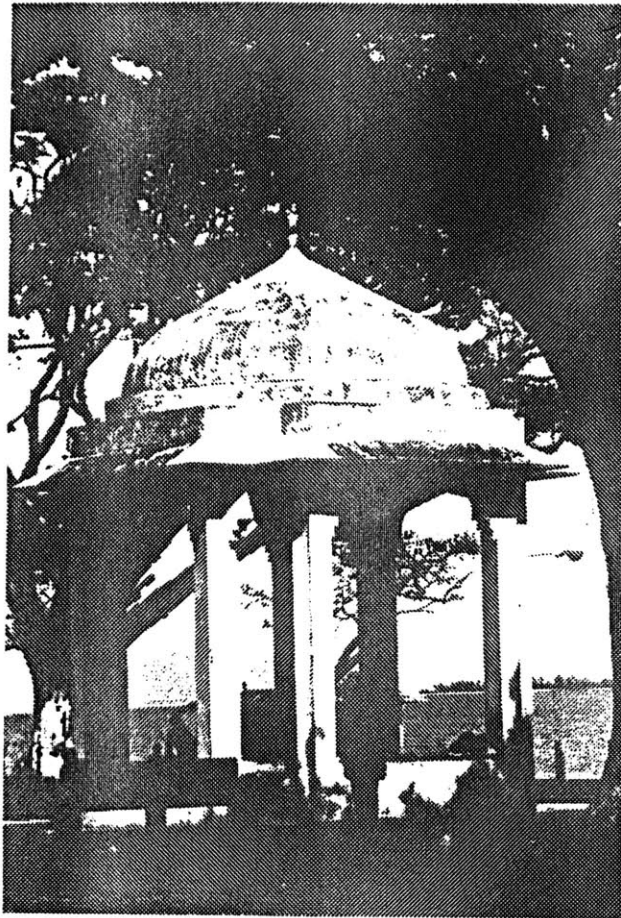


47, 48, & 49. The popular cinema halls, Majestic Cinema and Cine Afrique and the areas around them. These areas could become more active by introducing a few additional supporting activities such as street and landscape furniture.

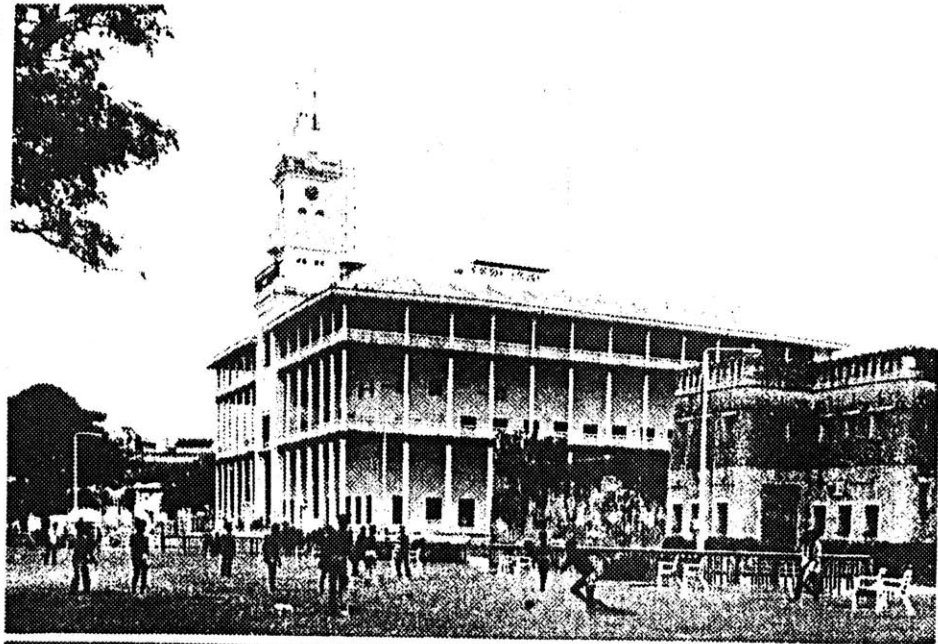




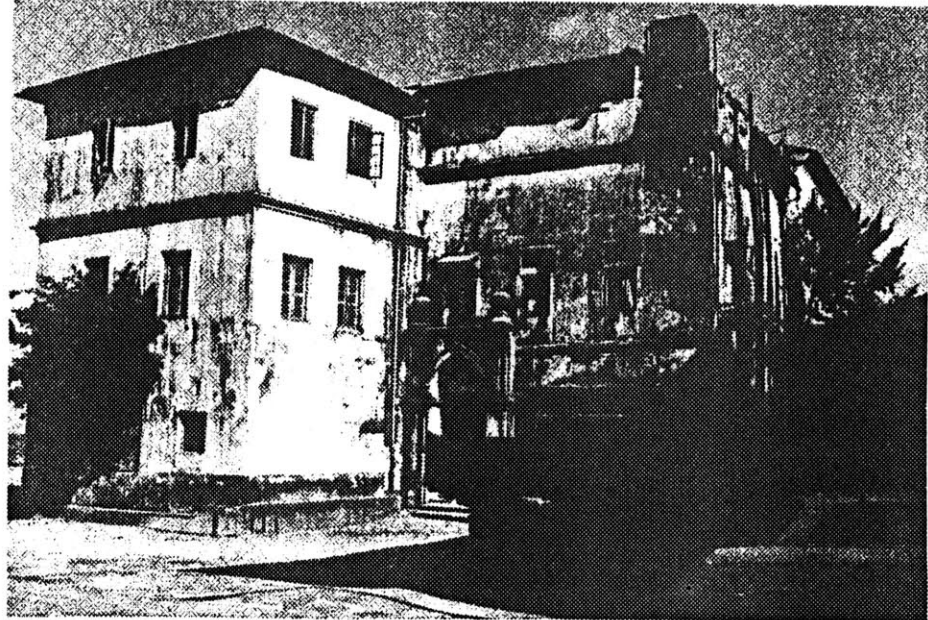
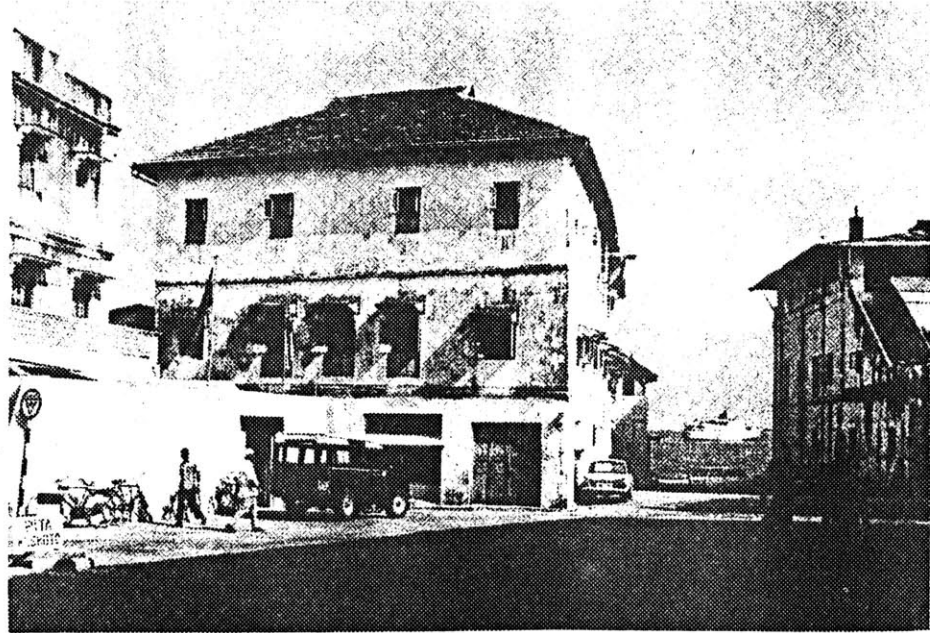
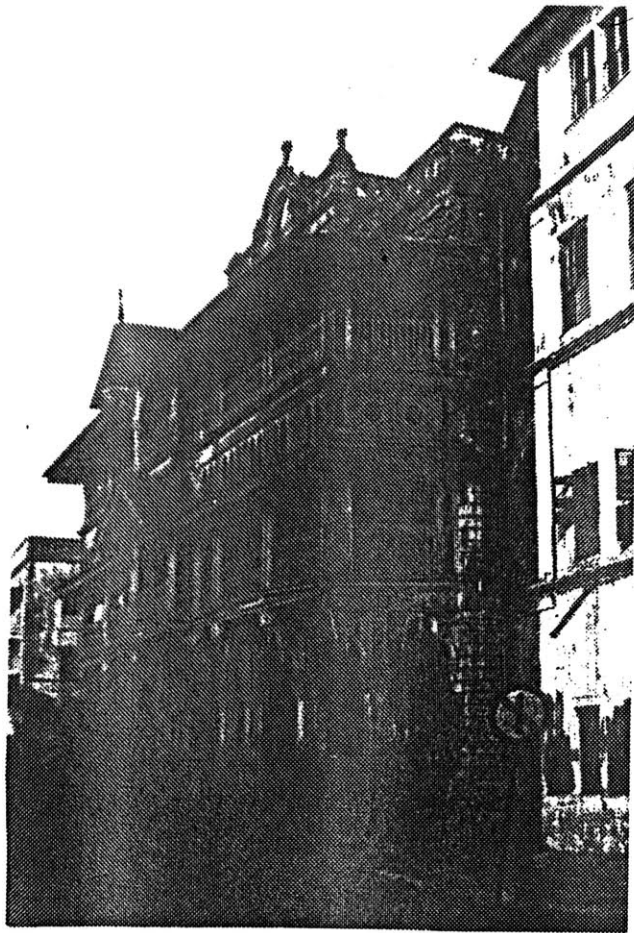
50 & 51. The inner courtyards of large mansions. These buildings could provide short-term accommodation to visitors of the Stone Town. The ground floors and courtyards could accommodate areas for dining and a few public facilities.



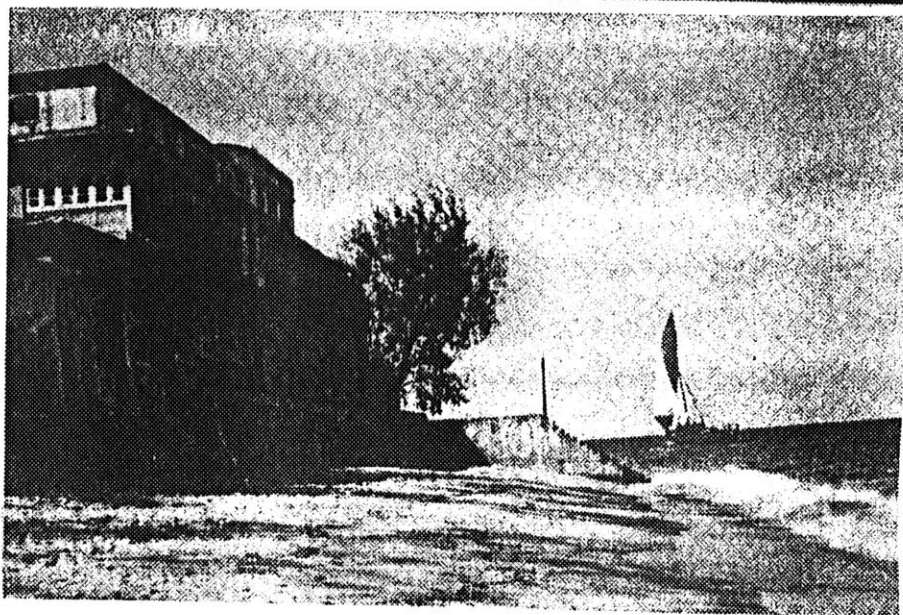
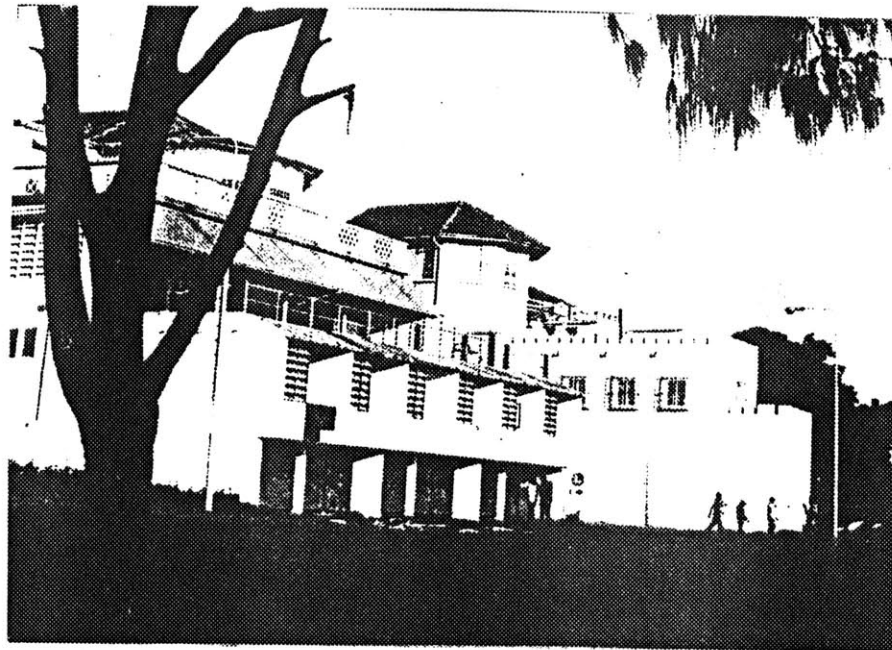
52, 53, & 54. Forodhani park, in need of re-design and re-used of some its elements such as the band stand and water fountain.



55, 56, & 57. Forodhani park and some of its formal and informal activities. Hawkers preparing for the evening, a game of soccer, and a kiosk and eating area.

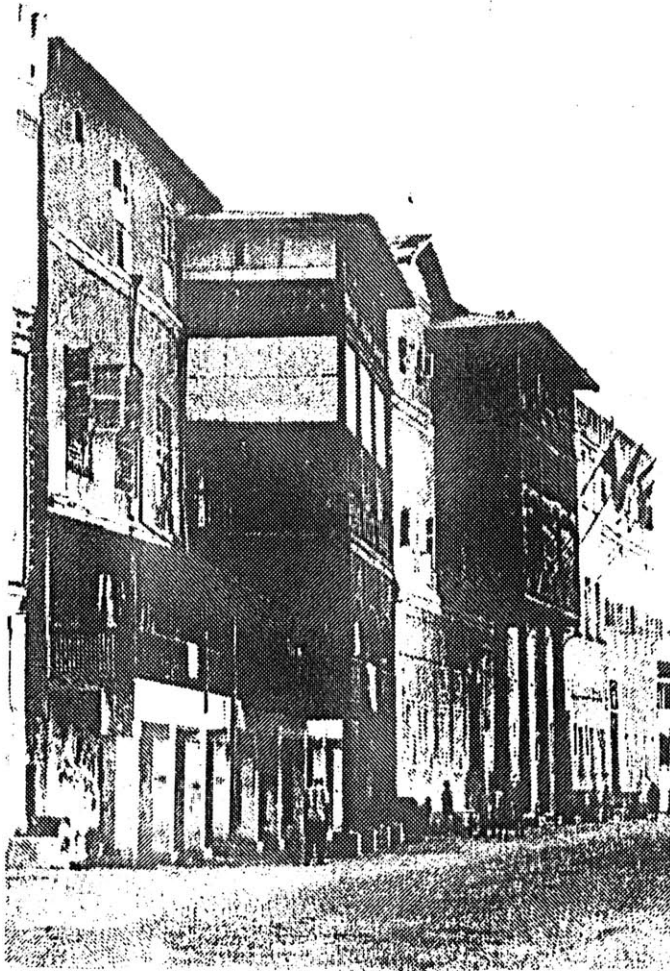


58, 59 & 60. Buildings close to the sea front that could be developed into touristic facilities. The former Khoja dispensary, the old British Residency, and Tembo house.



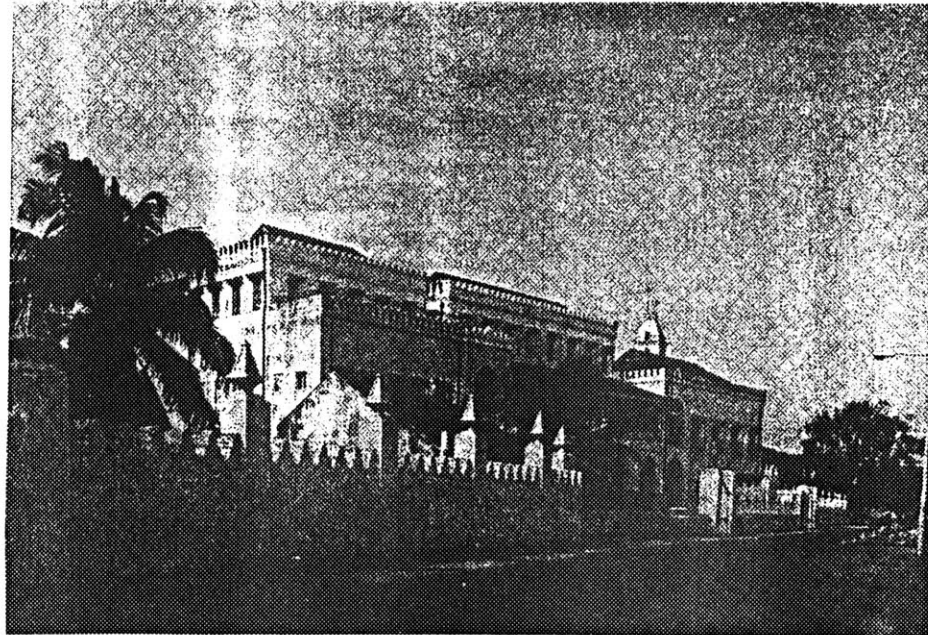
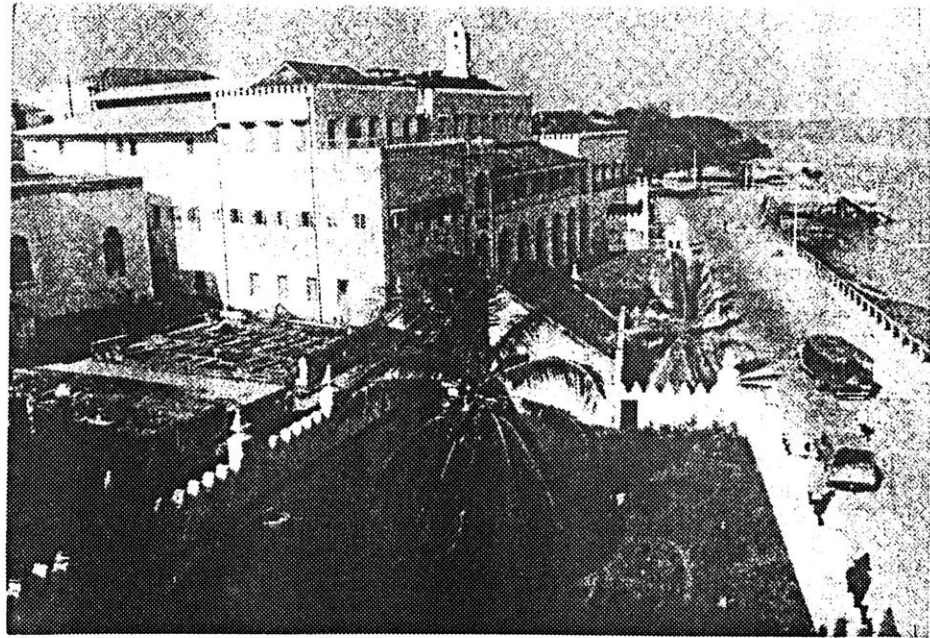
61, & 62. Government owned, Zanzibar Hotel and Africa House, hotels that need to provide better facilities to attract tourism.

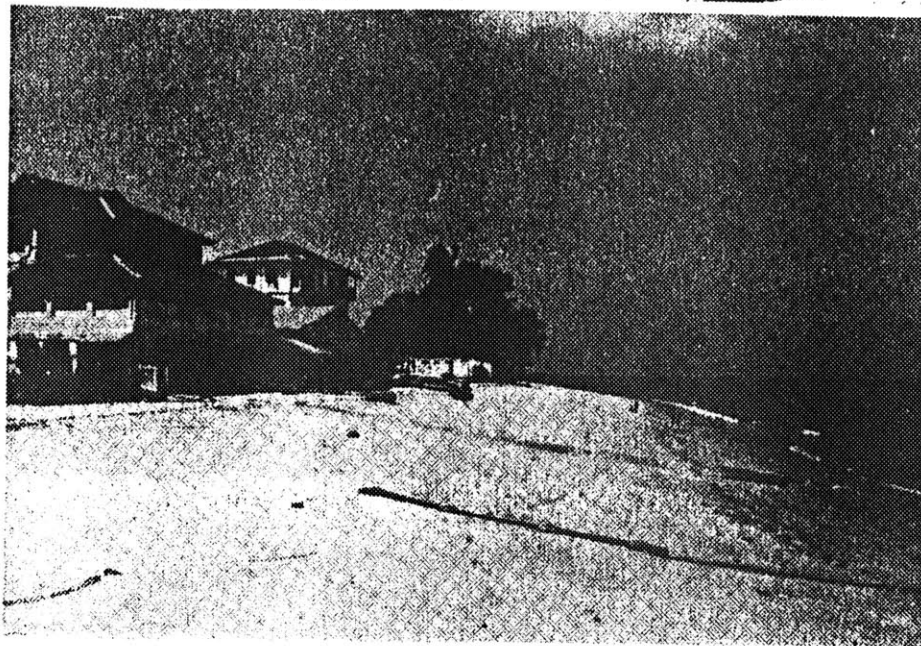
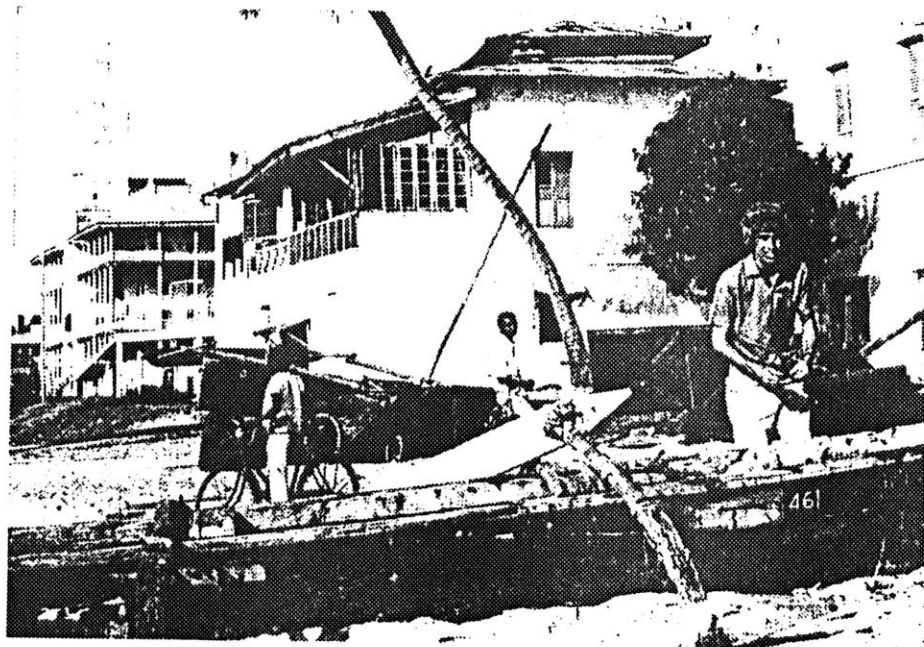
63. Mambo Msiige building, the former English Mission building, that could be developed into a touristic facility.



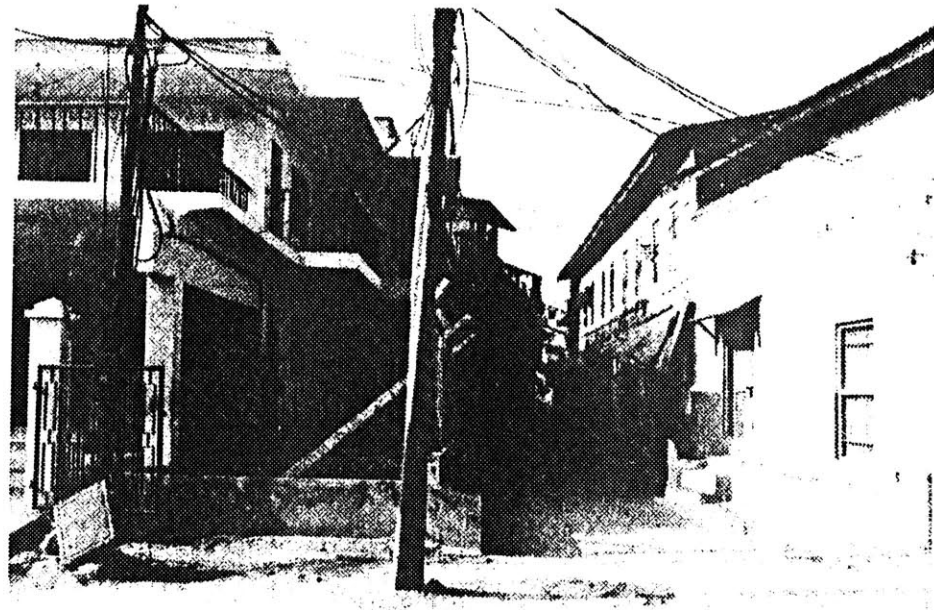
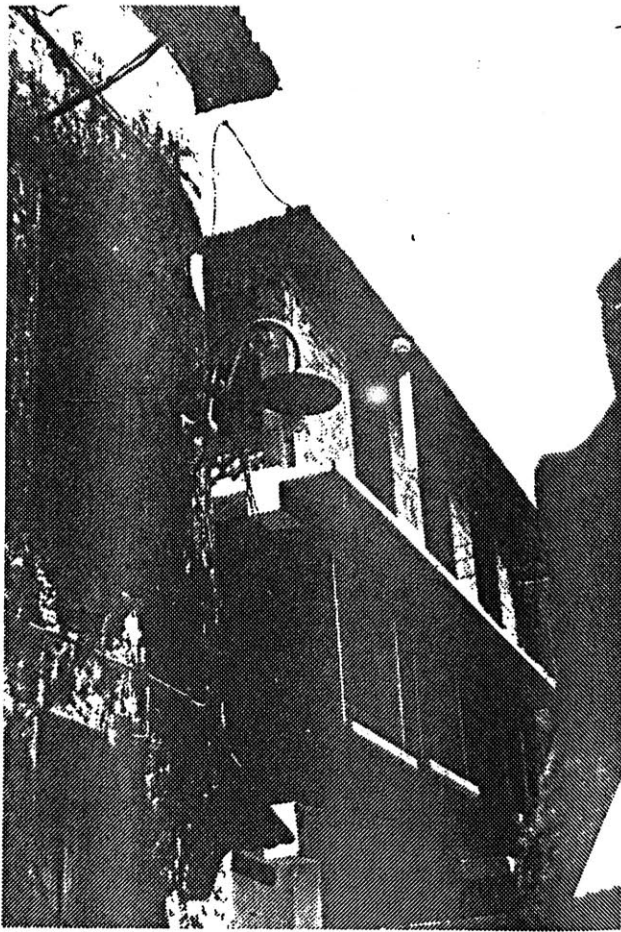
64. Buildings along the Forodhani seafront, that could be developed into a touristic facility.

65 & 66. The former Sultan's Palace, which might possibly serve an official function, or be utilized as a VIP hotel.



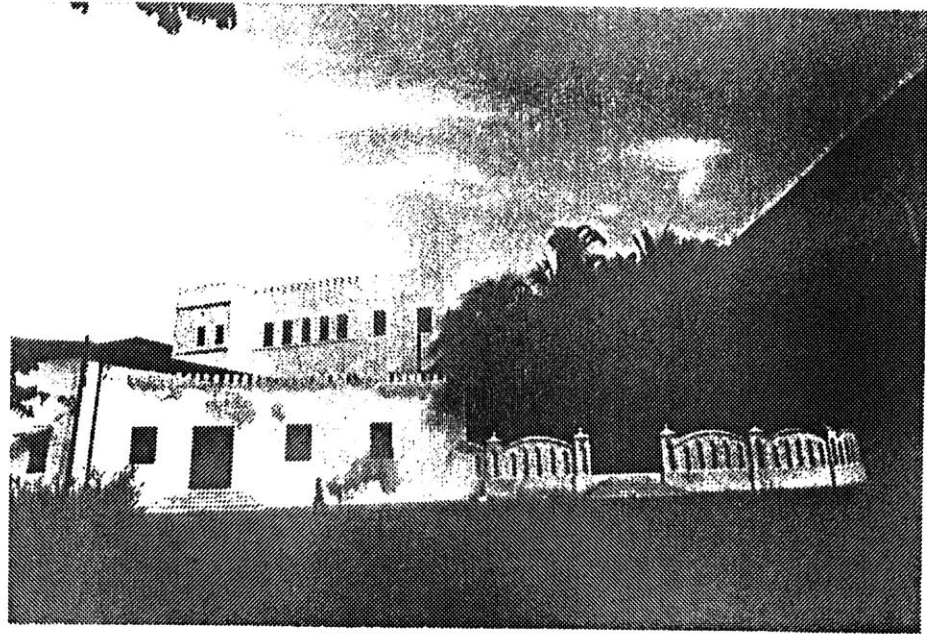


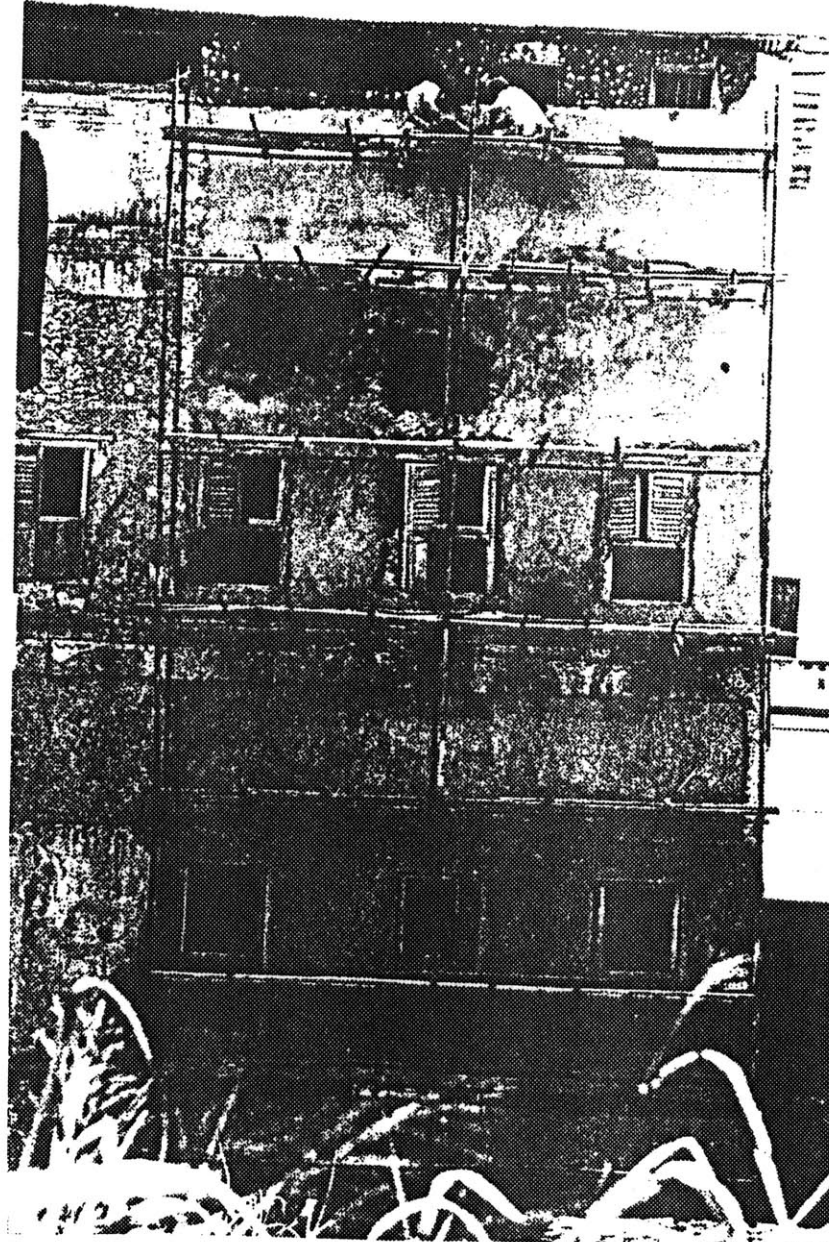
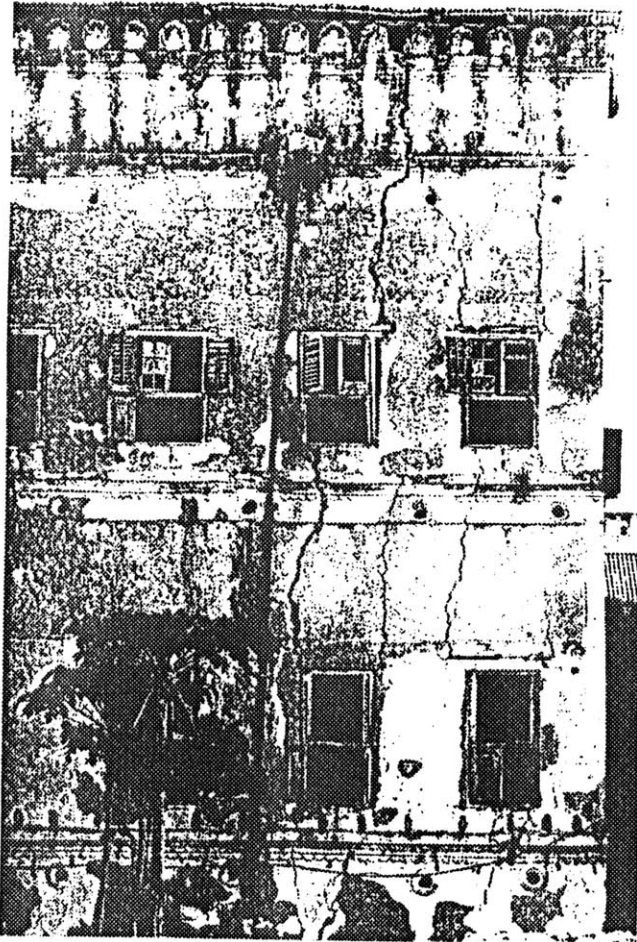
67, 68, & 69. The sandy beaches along the Shangani seafront and a decaying 'ngarawa'. The former site of the annual out-rigger canoe races, an event that might be revived.



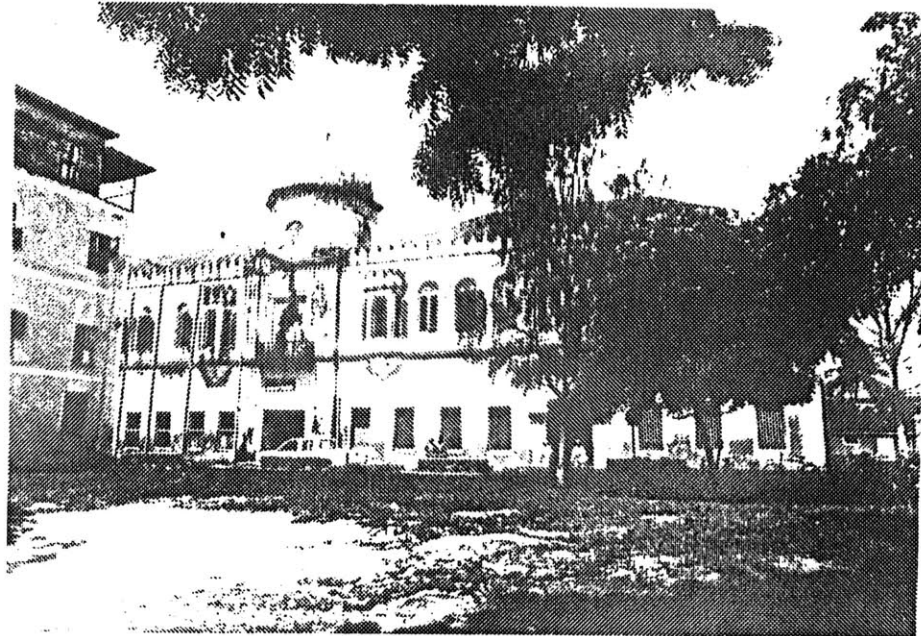
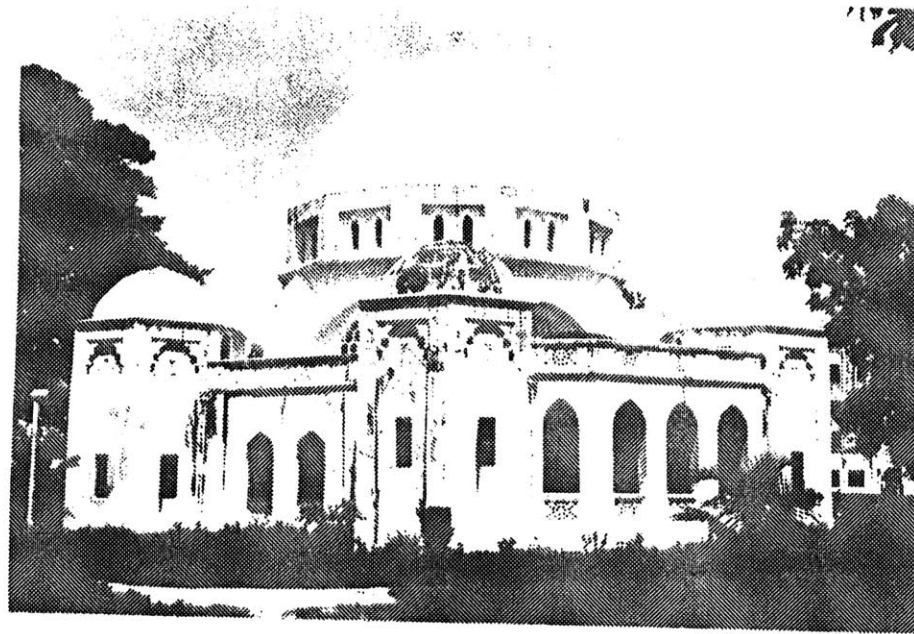
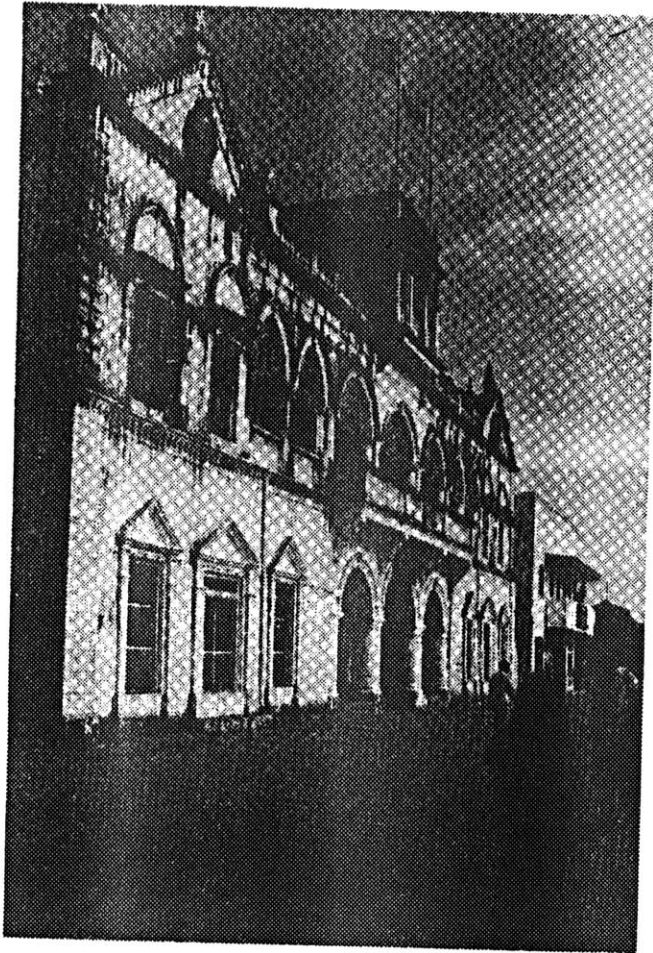
70. & 71. New building construction in the Stone Town. A free-standing building, set back from the street, - obeying questionable building regulations.

72. The newly renovated Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority's headquarters. This organisation serves a politically sensitive and questionable role as an autonomous conservation b o d y .

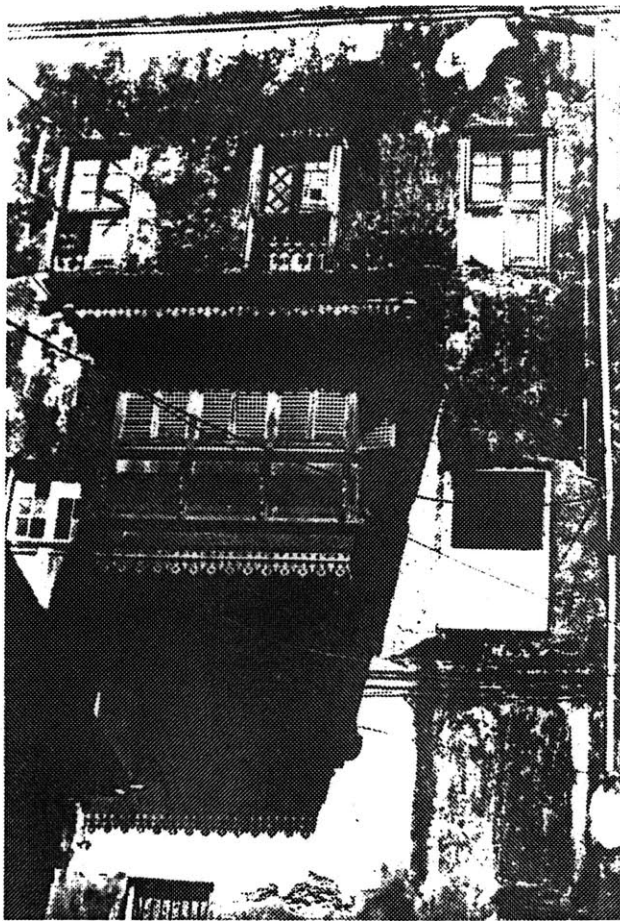




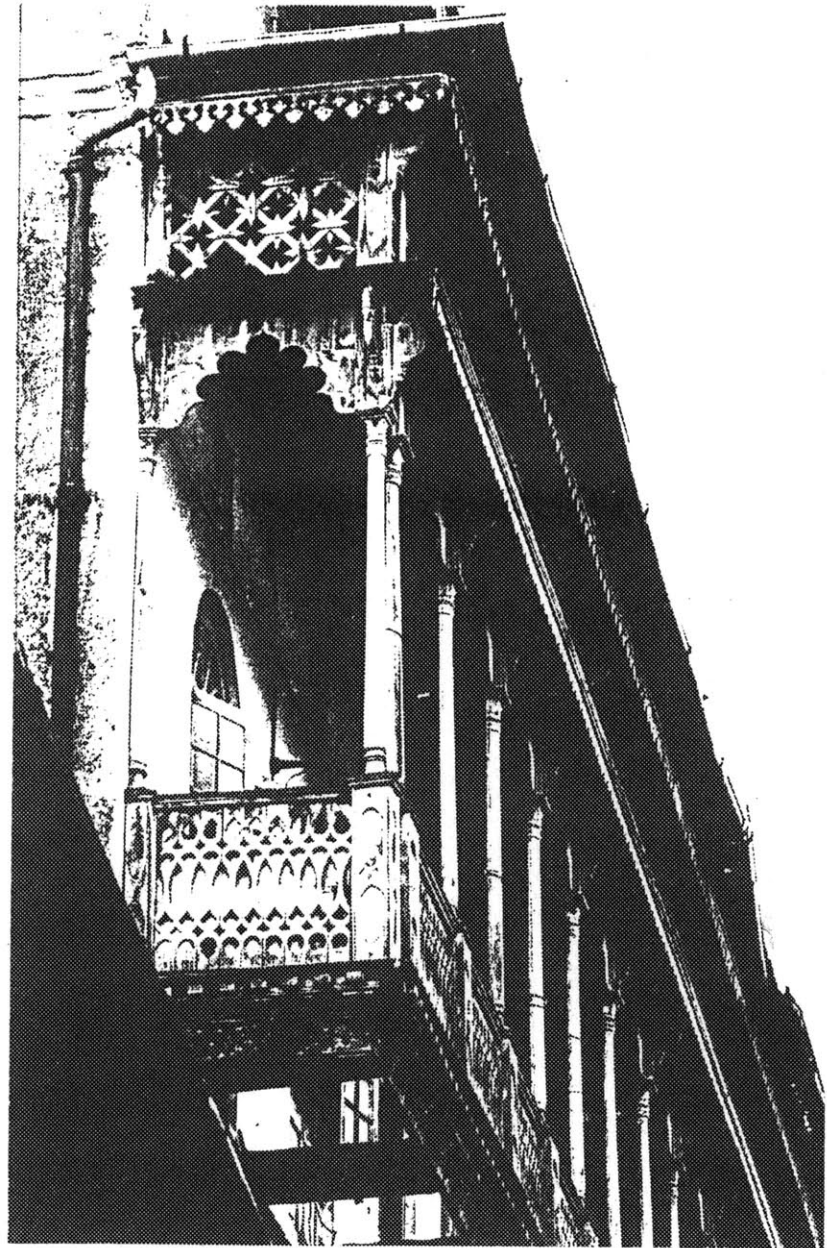
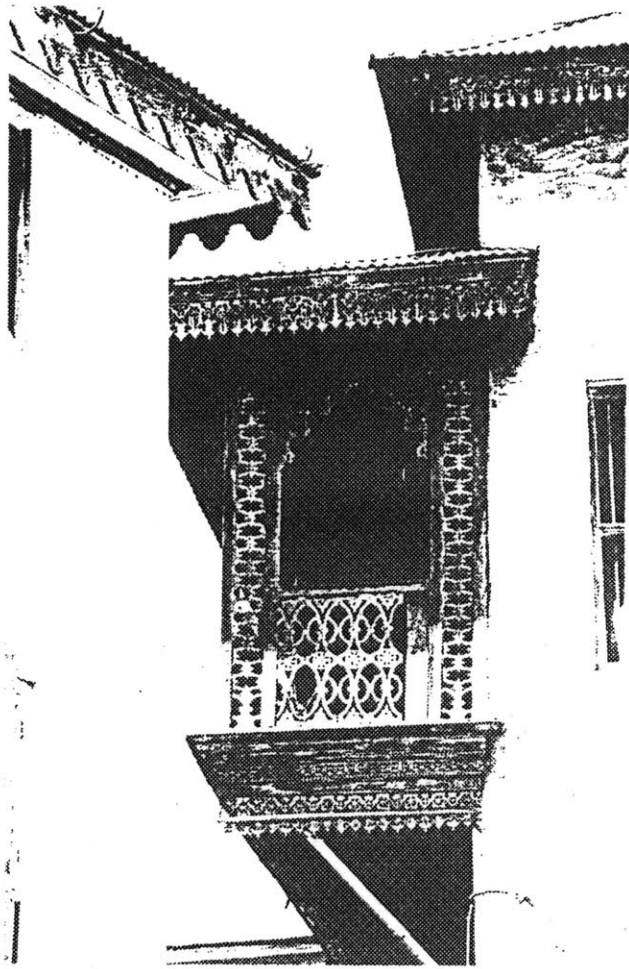
73. & 74. Deterioration and repair. Notice the insensitivity to the architectural features of the facade in the repair work.



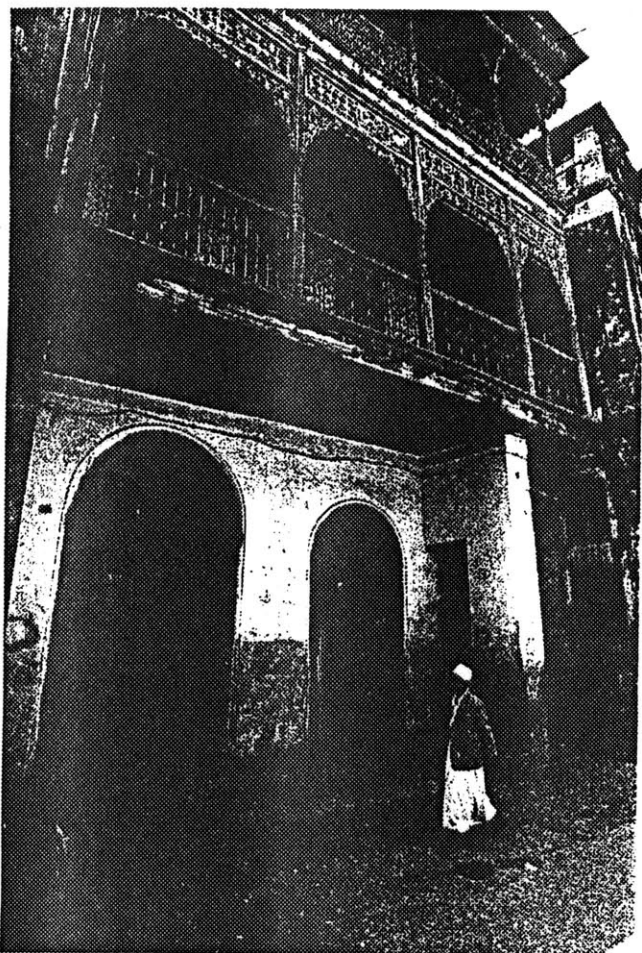
75, 76, & 77. Examples of colonial architecture, typical works of the British architect J. H. Sinclair. A blend of Indo-Islamic and classical styles. Landmarks that need protection.



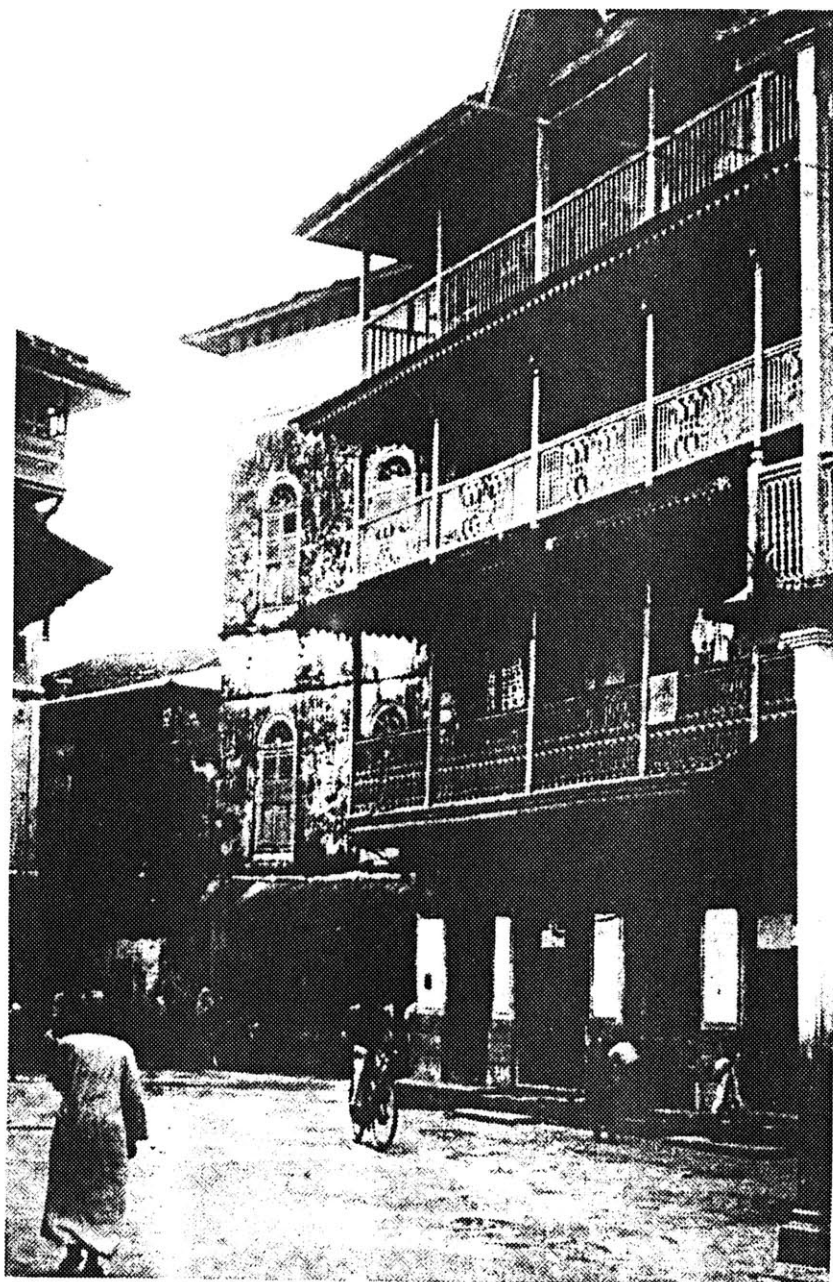
78 & 79. Carved wooden balconies, influences from Colonial India. Need preservation to retain the aesthetic qualities of the streets.

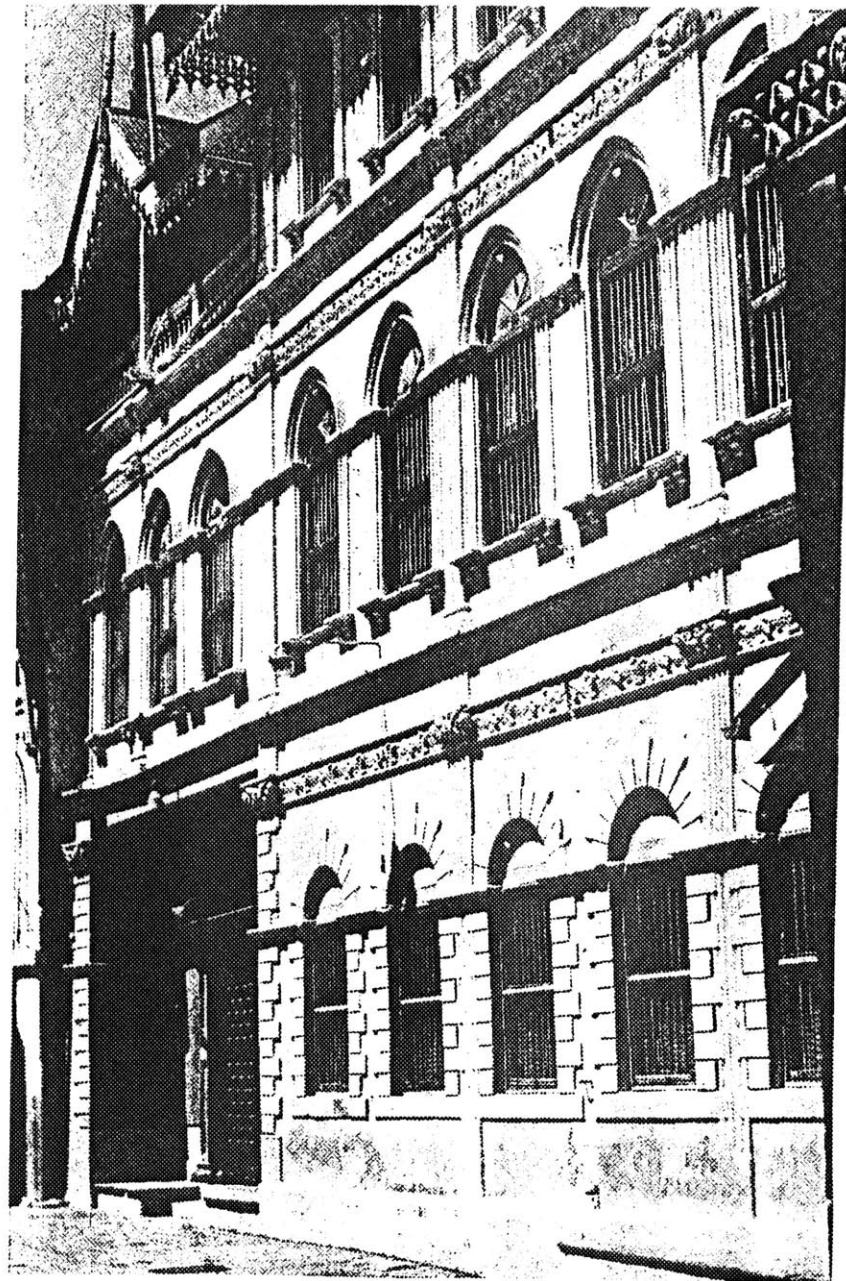
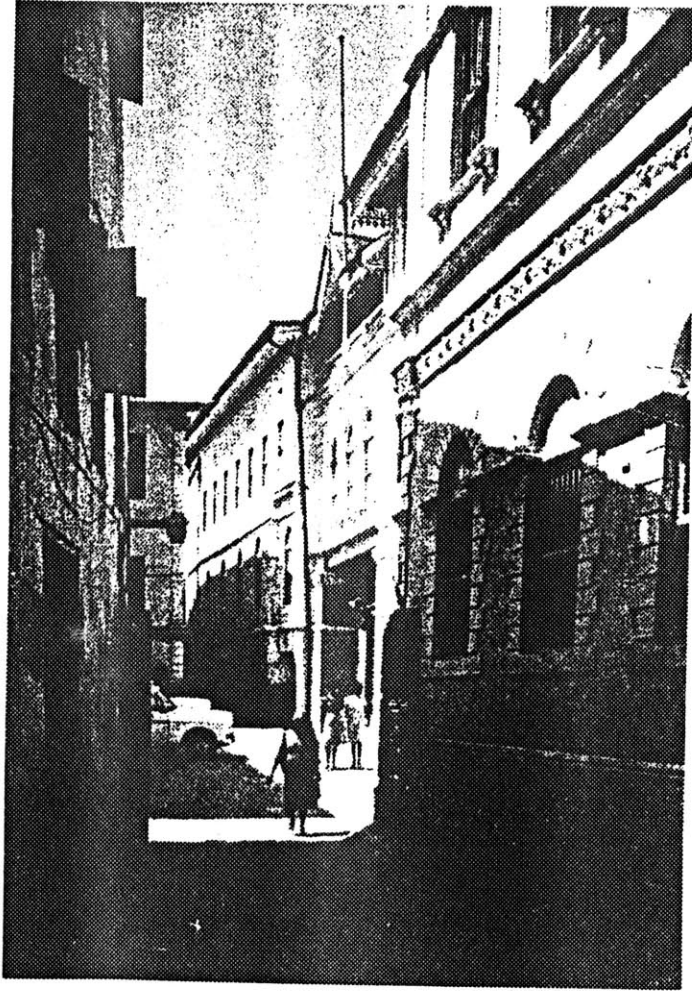


80 & 81. Carved wooden balconies, influences from Colonial India. Need preservation to retain the aesthetic qualities of the streets.

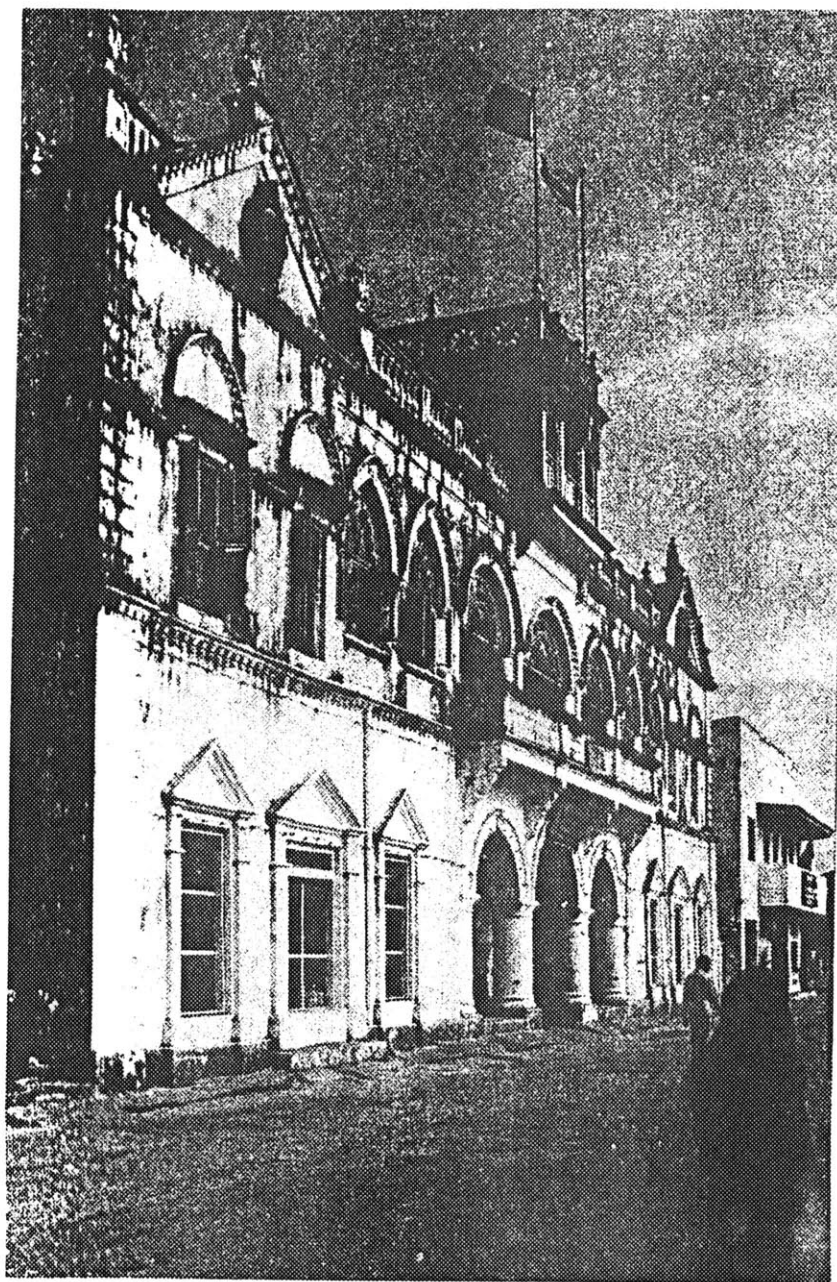
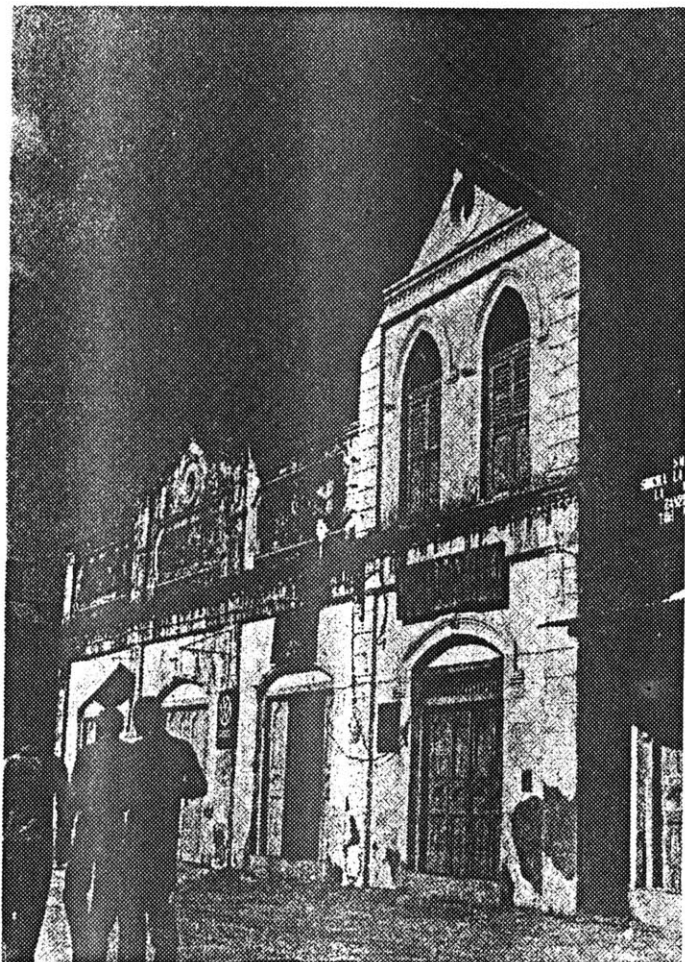


82 & 83. Carved wooden balconies with cast iron railings, influences from Colonial India. Need preservation to retain the aesthetic qualities of the streets.

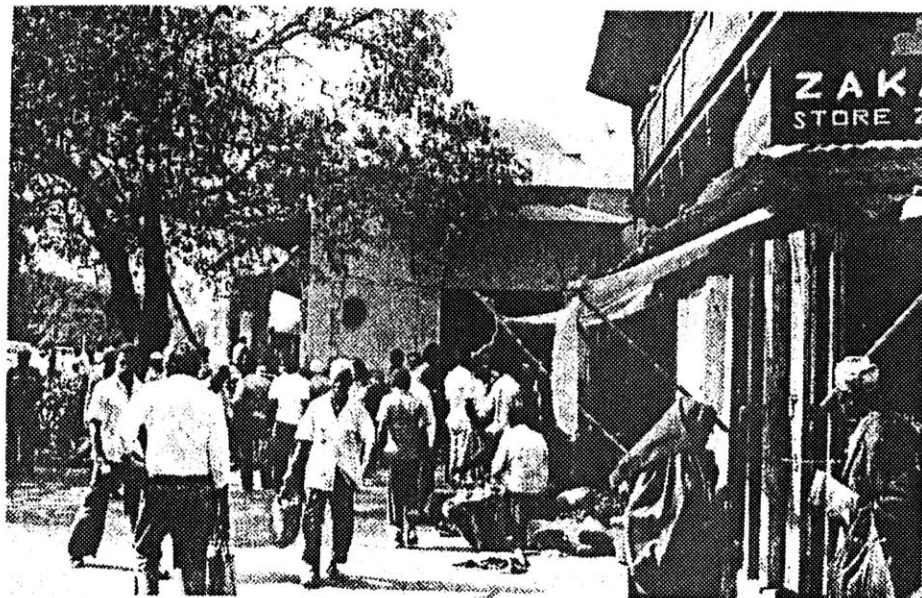
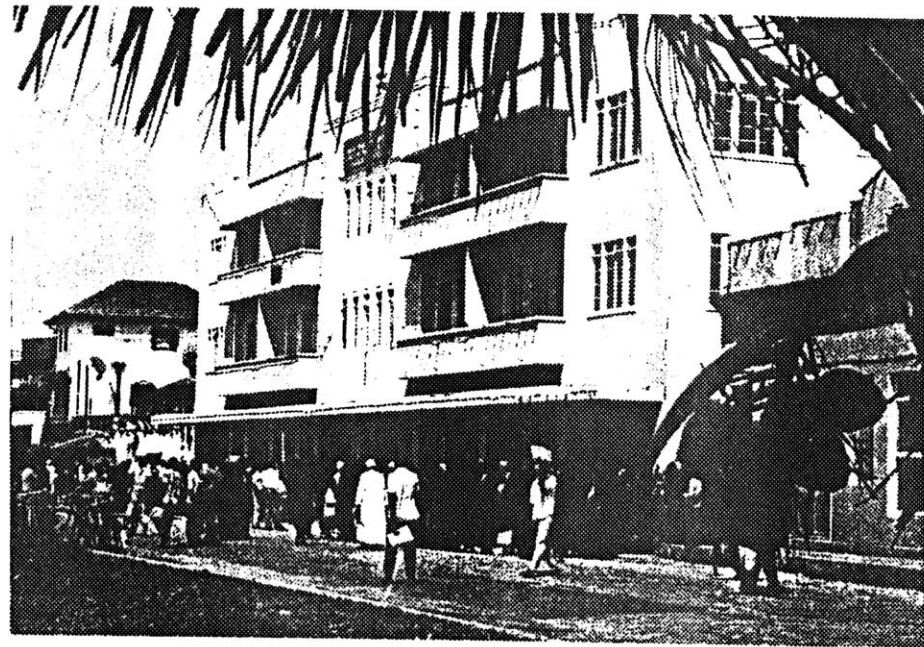
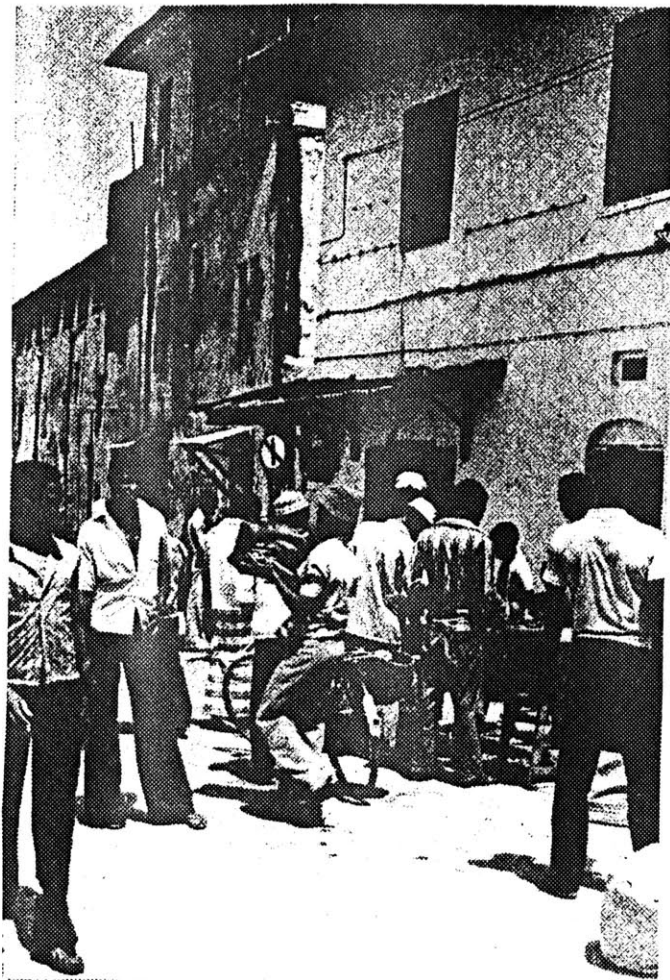




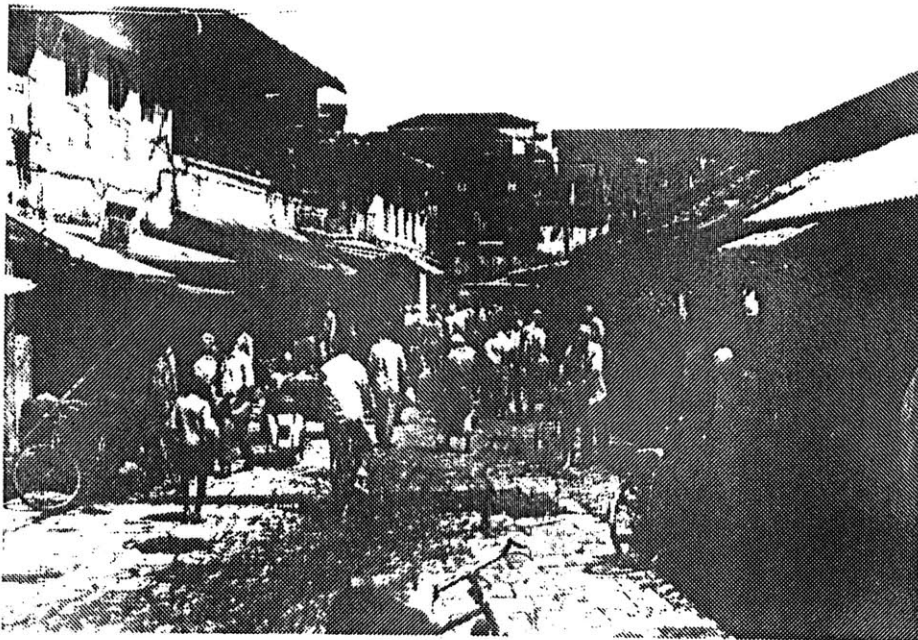
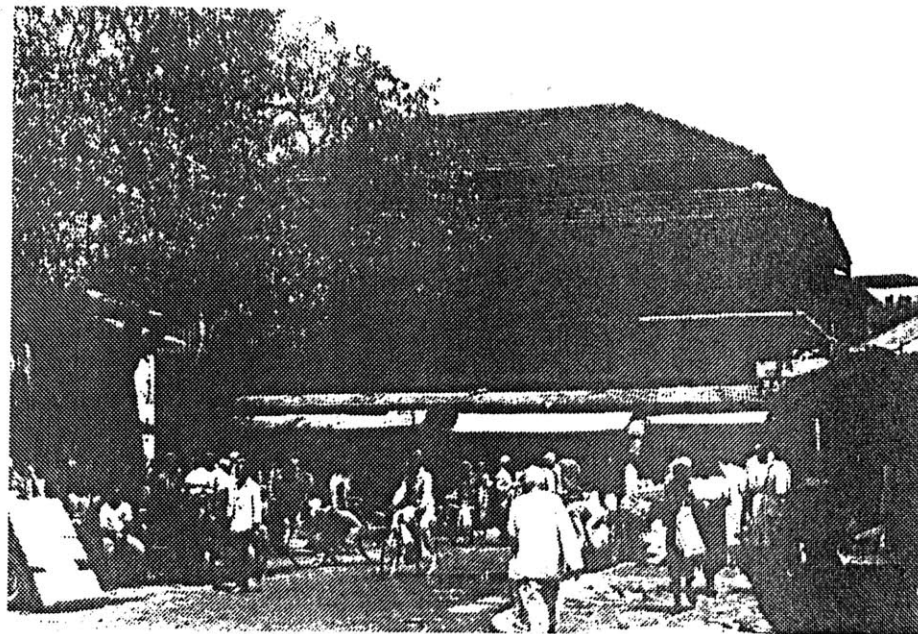
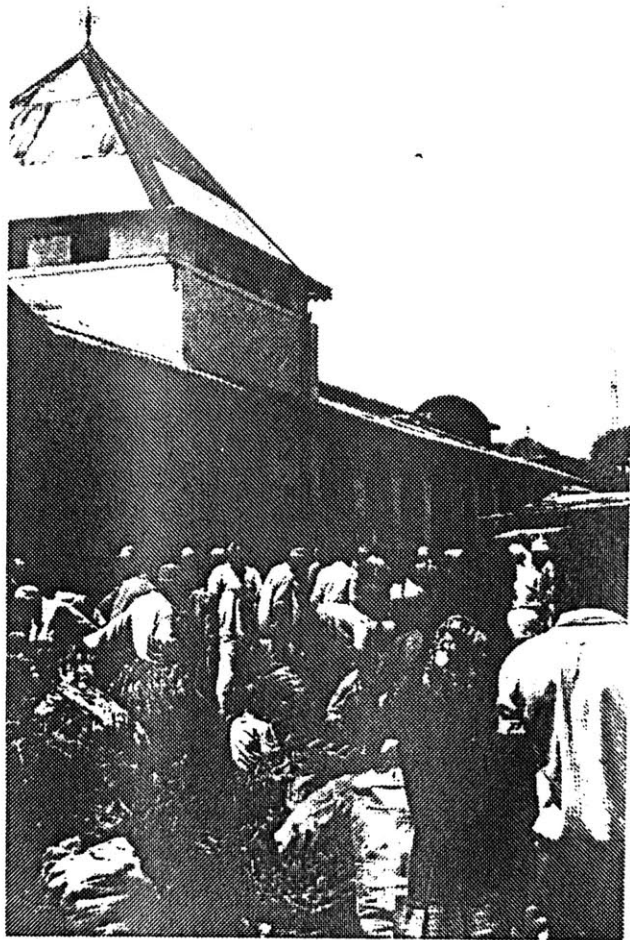
84 & 85. The Aga Khan Gymkhana, an influence of Colonial architecture - a blend of Indo-Islamic and classical styles. A focal point of the Ismaili community.



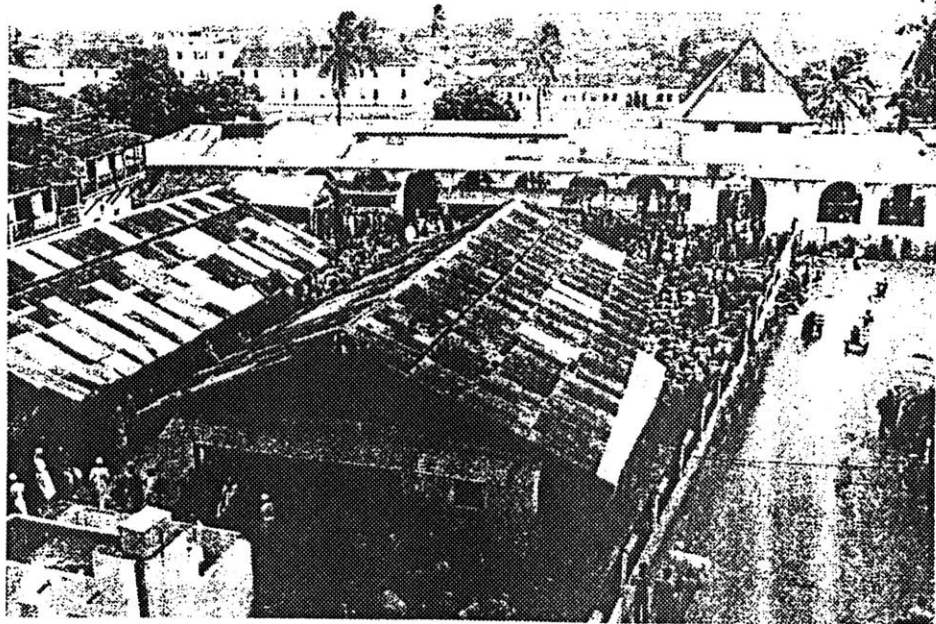
86 & 87. Buildings along Creek road, commercial buildings, and the Municipal Council building. The significance of the road should be reassessed.



88, 89, & 90. Activities along Creek road. Hawkers, shoppers, offices and the main market. Additional activities need to promote its significance.



91, & 92. The main market and activities in and around it.
An area that needs upgrading and reorganization.



93, 94, & 95. The main market and activities in and around it. An area that needs upgrading and re-organization.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

4 . RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

General Recommendations

The Stone Town of Zanzibar today stands as one of its most valuable assets from the past. Wise employment of this asset, and the message it carried, might ultimately provide some inspiration for the relief of some of the current political and socio-economic uncertainties.

The growth of the Stone Town was largely due the joint contribution of all of Zanzibar's different ethnic groups. The diversity of its social and architectural heritage is a clear indication of this. The contents of this dense fabric could be described as a conglomeration made up of typical architectural styles of the urban fabrics existing mainly in the regions of Oman and Western India, regions where the majority of the towns inhabitants originated from under different circumstances and different periods throughout the Stone Town's two hundred or more year old history. The main emphasis behind this construction was the need for a physical structure that would accommodate and support the trading activities of the Omani Commercial Empire and all the various aspects related to it. The built- up potential that is inherent in this structure could form the basis for re-establishing Zanzibar's traditional role as the focal point of socio-economic activities within

the east African region.

The cosmopolitan identity of the Stone Town is reflected in the different ethnic groups living within its built fabric. Today, the number of 'minority' groups that give it its cosmopolitan identity has greatly been reduced. If the Stone Town is to maintain this identity, it has to provide some incentive for these 'minority' groups to remain and increase in population. Historically, such groups were assured of a certain degree of protection, either politically or socially. While the circumstances under which political protection was provided would no longer be applicable under the current political situation, there is a need and room for some assurance of social security. The different ethnic groups have always maintained their original identity and historically have focussed their social activities around their main religious buildings. Under these conditions it would be wise to permit the establishment of 'ethnic' clubs that would promote the communal activities of a particular ethnic community. Historically, such activities formed some of the main social attractions of the Stone Town and provided a year-round source of entertainment within the town. The re-emergence of such activities could add colour to the nature of activities within the town and also form a main attraction for tourism. This will also draw to the surface whatever diverse cultural roots that remain in the population and promote a better understanding of the diverse cultural heritage of the Stone Town and the contribution each ethnic group has offered towards its cosmopolitan identity. This move in turn might generate the desired

sense of security to the 'minority' groups and perhaps encourage long-term residence and committed economic investments in Zanzibar.

Another area that could be improved in this respect is that associated with some of the traditional 'local' social activities that occur annually within the Stone Town. Activities such as the annual 'ngarawa' or outrigger canoe race, the fireworks marking the Revolution celebrations, and the firing of canons to mark the beginning and ending of the holy month of Ramadhan and many other similar occasions draw some of the most cherished recollections of the Stone Town. Many of these activities have been steadily reduced over the years until they are now mere formalities. These ceremonies and celebrations need to be highlighted and in some cases revived - and perhaps some new ones added that might appeal to the international community.

The promotion of arts, crafts, poetry, literature reading, acting, music and dance of the different cultural and ethnic groups will constitute an important element in enriching the quality of social interaction in Zanzibar. Many of these activities are associated with the Islamic lifestyle of the majority of Zanzibar's different Islamic sects and of the other communities. The formation of institutions that promote such activities becomes crucial to enhancing the diverse cultural consciousness of the Stone Town. These institutions should

research and provide education related to the cultural and historical background of Zanzibar and the Stone Town and also coordinate cross-cultural activities with other areas of the world related to the Stone Town's cosmopolitan identity and history. Besides these 'cultural' institutions, there is a need to introduce higher learning and research institutions related to other professions and trades within the Town. Institutions that provide education in administrative skills, management, commerce, and other similar occupations are very essential to Zanzibar's future. Also, institutions that will support the tourist industry, such as culinary schools, hotel management, craftsmanship, and other related skills will be greatly needed if there is a decision to promote tourism. There are a number of large buildings within the Stone Town that could house such institutions, especially the large mansions, but more appropriate would be the buildings along Creek road. This suggestion is based on the fact that historically, this area marks the former 'boundary' between the largely Arab and Indian dominated Stone Town and the indigenous or 'native' settlement that today forms the rest of Zanzibar city. This area has the potential of becoming the center of commercial, religious and social life, providing an area for social interaction between inhabitants of two parts of the city that have historically been separated. This area also has good spatial qualities and has already become a very active area in the city.

The Stone Town was historically a fusion between social and physical elements, within which cultural identity could easily be observed. Today, even though the physical fabric

still exists, the social structure has changed. To many of the 'new' inhabitants in the Stone Town, the fabric is an existing 'convenience' and is considered a 'transit' point. Many of these inhabitants soon leave and settle in other parts of Zanzibar city and in most cases relatives move into the vacated building, beginning a new cycle of temporary occupancy. This perhaps indicates a need for temporary accommodation, a 'provision' that is very typical of many Islamic societies in the function of the classic caravanserai, and which the Stone Town could easily provide or encourage. These might also serve the tourist industry. Many of the large mansions could be 'modified' to provide such services and thus continue to serve a 'meaningful purpose' in society.

Zanzibar today depends to a large extent on an agricultural-based economy. The export of cloves has been its main source of foreign income since the turn of the century and until very recently the island monopolized the world clove market. In the last ten years its dominance as a major clove producer has been reduced by the re-emergence of Indonesia as an equally potential supplier. Zanzibar has thus to look to new areas of exploitation of its natural resources to generate the badly-needed foreign income for development. Tourism has also been one of the most promising areas for exploration. However, this area has not

been open to private developers until very recently and even now there remain numerous obstacles that make private investment difficult.

As mentioned earlier, the Stone Town has a prominent role to play in the promotion of tourism based on its interesting historical background. Historically, it has been the gateway to the African continent for most of the early European explorers, including the famous, Livingstone, Stanley, Burton and others. This fact can be the main theme behind its publicity drive towards becoming the modern-day gateway to the African mainland from which trips to the wildlife game reserves and other tourist attractions could be planned. To accommodate and take the responsibility for such a reputation it will need a fabric and facilities that could support such. The Stone Town provides the ideal setting for accommodating and organizing such a promotion. The majority of the numerous buildings along the seafront are currently only being used for administrative purposes. The locations of these buildings, close to the sandy beaches, provided ideal structures that could accommodate touristic facilities. Many of these are historical buildings, a fact that would enhance their significance and preservation if converted to hotels and perhaps, also be the basis for attracting tourist. However, the promotion of tourism will have to be a joint effort between the government and the private sector in view of the current economic crisis. An increase in tourism will also provide a market for the local crafts industry.

In addition to alternative sources of foreign income, Zanzibar needs a strong domestic

economy. The early emphasis, after the Revolution, on establishing small-scale industries to primarily supply the domestic market needs to be re-accessed with the involvement of the private sector as a joint re-investor in these presently declining and under-productive industries. The Stone Town of Zanzibar has, from its past historic background, the necessary physical and social structure to support such an economy. The bazaar street in the Stone Town has traditionally provided the ideal area for the sale of such products and of these domestic industries. The vitality generated by the activities of such a traditional bazaar is evident in many eastern cities. Thus, the re-vitalization of the socio-economic structure of the bazaar streets will add a very essential element missing in the Stone Town, contributing to its 'sense of place'.

Many eastern cities still carry on trading in a similar manner to that which existed in Zanzibar prior to the decline of the Stone town. The fabric that supports this trading is similar to that of the Stone Town. If the Stone Town is to regain its vitality as a bustling trading port, there is a need for re-establishing Zanzibar's past trading links with the ports of the Indian sub-continent, Arabia, and other coastal areas and islands of the Indian Ocean as a move that might boost trading and perhaps revitalize economic activities within the bazaar streets of the Stone Town. This move however, may prove to be difficult in view of the fact that this trading was once based on exploitation and that there are marked

differences in social structure, but it is possible to re-establish this trading network under new terms of trade that will serve the socio-economic interests of all the different parts of the Indian Ocean, history being the common bond and basis for establishing this network.

Zanzibar's links with the Arab world cannot be disregarded, as there are two major aspects of this that might continue to strengthen this link. One is the Asiatic blood that is said to be inherent in the majority of Zanzibar's 'indigenous' population and its influence as reflected in the Swahili and Shirazi cultures. Secondly, the continuing contacts of relatives from both sides and the attractions to the middle-eastern area, especially reinforced by the recent prosperity of that part of the world. Of course, the fact that Mecca and the centre of Islam is in the Arabian world, is the most important reason for maintaining a good relationship with the area. In a similar manner, contacts with western India needs to be strengthened as people from this part of India have traditionally been actively involved in the commercial activities of the Stone Town and could provide the impetus for a re-emergence of such activities within the Stone Town. The above suggestions however, do not suggest a return to the situation during the pre-independence period but rather draws attention to an important aspect of the local consciousness, that if not acknowledged or given room for 'productive' expression, may lead to more serious problems in the future.

Zanzibar's political alliance with the mainland government through the Union remains a

controversial issue and will continue to be the weakest point in Zanzibar's political structure. This does not argue against the Union but rather questions Zanzibar's representation within this alliance. Of special interest is the question of economic stability and economic autonomy. Zanzibar has its own political and economic autonomy but under the terms of the Union government, depends on the Tanzanian economy as the factor that determines the value of Tanzania's currency which is also used in Zanzibar. The Tanzanian governments control over the value of the Tanzanian shilling and the cumulating debts are having a severe effect on Zanzibar's economy, a factor for which it has no control over, sharing the burden of a country that has a population over twenty-five times larger than that of its own. There is a need for Zanzibar to have a greater say in the overall Tanzanian economic policy and negotiations with international donors. Zanzibar should reassess and perhaps re-negotiate the terms of the Union constitution in the interests of its own people. The mainland government's concern over the loss of political control over the Zanzibar government and its determination to maintain the Union as a means of ensuring this control are in the interests of its own political security. Perhaps under a new agreement that ensures this security but allows for separate representation, especially in economic terms, would help dissolve some of the tension that exists between these two parties. Zanzibar's greater economic autonomy might also assist the mainland government by attracting investment

within the region.

Zanzibar's historical links with East and Central Africa and its role as the gateway for explorers and the eventual colonialization of this part of Africa are evidence for its lack of isolation, politically, socially or economically from east Africa in general. The cosmopolitan identity of its inhabitants is also apparent in other settlements along the entire east African coast and it would be deceiving to solely lay claim, and a basis for separation, to this identity. For Zanzibar to regain its role as a pivotal point in the politics of the region it has to remain a part of it but at the same time maintain an 'authentic' autonomy of its own. Zanzibar has grounds to claim such autonomy based on its historical background.

The recent political unrest in Zanzibar indicates a struggle of power between those inclined towards a 'capitalist' or *laissez-faire* policy and those in favour of a 'socialist' policy. Generally speaking, capitalism represents man's ambitions as an individual, whereas socialism represents his ambitions as a social creature in need of a coherent social structure. These two characteristics of individual identity and collective identity are inherent in man's very nature and to separate them would be to deny the very meaning of man's existence. Perhaps, Zanzibar's political future lies in finding a compromise between those inclined towards a socialist policy and those for a *laissez-faire* policy.

The most recent unrest in Zanzibar, besides its political implications, also indicated a sensitivity towards religion. It indicated the important role which Islam plays in the social structure of Zanzibar, an issue that has to be dealt with with very careful foresight on the part of the government. While on one hand such a religious expression may bring positive change to Zanzibar, on the other hand if allowed to grow to the extent of extremism, this could create serious sectarian problems in Zanzibar. The Zanzibar government should maintain its position as a secular state.

Specific Recommendations.

For the realization of the above mentioned changes which would bring desirable qualities and activities into Zanzibar, the Stone Town has a crucial role to play as a catalyst. Generally, there first has to be an improvement to the different 'places' that make up the 'core' of the Stone Town. The aspect that initially will need attention is the re-designing of these areas in a way that will enhance the desired qualities and activities and allow for social interaction and entertainment - or in some other way provide the setting that would support the growth of community and public life. The need for good and safe open spaces for an active public life is of crucial importance to the revitalization of the Stone Town.

Among the different 'places' within the Stone Town, the streets are the busiest and support a wide range of activities. However, these streets, and especially the main streets, have yet to be fully utilised commercially. Some proposals have been offered in the previous section that might serve to boost such street activity. The main streets could be directed towards accommodating activities that attract a larger consumer population and serve the public in general, while the neighbourhood streets could cater for the daily domestic needs of the neighbourhoods. Initial attention should be given to promoting activities along those main streets that run through the town and that could develop into active 'spines'. Another aspect that should be considered is the improvement of the physical and aesthetic qualities of the main streets or spines and the neighbourhood streets. In terms of physical improvements there is a need for re-paving the streets with paving slabs instead of tarmac as this allows for a flexible access to installing infrastructure and other similar services. The corrugated canopies in some areas are missing and should be replaced and aligned to provide a continuous shade to the streets and also an aesthetically pleasing environment. Other areas of improvement would be re-surfacing and generally improving the barazas and the seating, providing street lighting and renovating the deteriorating parts of facades and especially of the wooden balconies. Popular barazas need to be given special attention, as these areas are the most active. Additional street furniture and other facilities that will attract more people to the area should be given

priority. The establishment of restaurants and outdoor eating areas, drinking fountains, furniture surfaces that incorporate different board games, and other similar attractions should be initiated. These 'places' should also have secluded areas that permit brief private conversations.

Besides solving these physical and aesthetic problems, there are other problems related to pedestrian and vehicular traffic which need to be solved. There is a need for traffic free zones in some areas of the town. The increasing presence of two-wheelers is becoming a menace in the town, because of the speed at which they are driven. Means of slowing them down in certain areas such as at the squares and street junctions might be investigated. The streets are commonly used as playing areas for children. Vehicular traffic restriction might ensure some safety but besides these restrictions, 'pocket parks' away from the main stream of pedestrian and vehicular traffic would also provide safer areas for children to play instead of the main streets. These 'parks' could be integrated with some social and commercial activity to also attract a mixed population while at the same time allowing for some 'supervision' of the children.

Another of the type of 'places' that form the 'core' of the Stone Town are open spaces. As mentioned earlier, there are two main types, green open spaces and the local type of open spaces. One of the most popular green open spaces is Forodhani park. This park was

a result of Lanchester's 1923 proposals and was designed along British landscaping principles. Over the years the park has evolved into a multi-purpose use facility. The 'unplanned' activities of the park, such as the presence of hawkers, the sports activities, and other new activities, are expressions of additional needs. It is upon these expressions that new interventions should be built upon. The hawkers usually gather around the centre of the park at a junction of two pedestrian walkways. This area could be covered with a light wooden or steel framework to give it a formal expression. The provision of some permanent furniture around this area or the design of some mobile carts that are aesthetically pleasing could be sold to the hawkers. This would generate a better and healthier environment compared to that which exists today. Lighting within this area will also be needed as a substitute for the existing kerosene lamps that pose a health hazard. Also the entire park will require lighting, preferably low lamp posts that are similar to those that existed before along the sea front, these also being reintroduced along the sea front. The entire park needs to be re-fenced. The existing pre-cast concrete fence has deteriorated, largely because of corrosion of reinforcement and vandalism. This fence is however, is 'solid' and breaks the 'flow' of the green grass into the blue sea. A new fence would have to be visually permeable and of light construction. The existing distance from the fence to the main road is only a foot wide and does not allow for pedestrian traffic. This distance has to be increased. The short pier extending into the water along the water front was

formerly a single-storeyed restaurant that was demolish. This pier provides a very aesthetically pleasing view of the ocean on one hand, while on the other hand allows one to view the whole park from an isolated location. This pier if enclosed by a low pre-cast perforated wall, shaded with a light structure and provided with some seating and soft lighting could becoming a very attractive 'place'.

In terms of sports and recreation activities, soccer will have to be accommodated along the sandy beaches or only permitted during defined periods of the day. However, there is a need to introduce other court games such volley ball, basket ball and other similar sporting activities. Also, there is a need to support the beach and swimming activities. High diving is a very popular activity along the edge of Forodhani park as it provides an elevated surface. Perhaps, by introducing a few diving boards along this edge will produce some excellent talent for international competition. Board games such as draughts, chess, cards and bao are very popular and are usually played in a relaxed manner on the grass. The introducing of permanent pre-cast boards in shallow 'pits' would serve to enhance such activities. The existing band-stand is seldom used. There is a need for this structure to live up to its function as the focal point of the park. Sponsored Taarab performances on certain days of the week would attract many people to the park. This could also be the stage for other performances related to poetry and other musical performances. Another element of

the park that needs attention and repair is the water fountain.

A popular area that forms an extension of the park is the Forodhani seafront. This stretch of road is primarily used as a vehicular road and currently does not clearly indicate a defined path for pedestrian use. There is a need for new design for this areas and the introduction of either a light structure or trees that will provide shade over this lengthy path. The former is preferable as it will not obstruct the view of the impressive buildings along the inner side of this stretch of road, from the port on the sea. This road extends from Forodhani park through the warehouse area up to the Cine Afrique cinema hall and is a very popular stretch for an evening stroll. Finally, the buildings along the Forodhani seafront and around Forodhani park should be upgraded to serve touristic and entertainment purposes. The buildings along the seafront could be converted into hotels, the Sultan's Palace becoming perhaps, a VIP hotel. The Beit-el Ajaib, next to the park, could become a museum and the Old Fort an entertainment complex. The former children's orphanage, next to the fort, might also be a hotel. This building has open spaces around it that could be used to accommodate other entertainment facilities. Besides Forodhani park, other green open spaces that could be developed along similar lines are Kelele square, Vuga park, the green areas around the former European quarters, and those along the Creek road. Also, there are a few sites of former buildings which collapsed along the main roads that have been cleared and converted to green open spaces; these need a re-definition of use.

However, the crucial aspect to any intervention is to provide for a natural growth of activities that relate to the lifestyle of Zanzibar's population, a lifestyle that is deeply based on Islam and the need for intimacy as well as privacy.

In their relationship to the other type of open spaces, namely the local open spaces, these need formal recognition and additional activities that could promote their use in a better and more efficient way. Many of these spaces are either formed by enclosing buildings, or are left-over spaces, and in some cases they are the cleared sites of collapsed buildings. In every case, if the surrounding buildings could support additional activities or offer attractive services, these 'places' could become very popular and promote a stronger 'sense of place'. For example, restaurants with outdoor eating areas, a sports facility supporting indoor and outdoor sporting activities, schools that offer training in domestic and administrative skills and in different trades, these and other similar activities could be accommodated within the surrounding buildings and generate more activity. In order to permit the continuing flexible use of these spaces for social occasions, the 'places' will have to have movable street furniture that can be used but that can also be moved aside when the need arises. The provision of furniture would be part of an overall physical upgrading of the environment around these 'places'. These types of 'places' could become the neighbourhood activity centres serving functions similar to that of the baraza but on a

much larger scale and possibly accommodating some activities that women could also participate in.

Perhaps the most essential 'place' in the Stone Town is the market place. The market covers an extensive area and its functions and roles in serving Zanzibar city are too extensive to mention. Under these circumstances only very general recommendations can be proposed. The overall environment of the main market has to be carefully reassessed in terms of organisation, efficient use, and general physical upgrading. The significance of the market as the focal point of all commercial activity in the city has yet to be realised and given serious consideration. Since the recent economic liberties permitted by the Government, many of the commercial streets leading to the market have become increasingly active and many shops which were formerly vacant have now re-opened supporting additional commercial activities. Besides retail activities the market area also accommodates the wholesale trade. At present warehousing in the area around the market is not in great demand. Most of the wholesale goods brought to the market are perishable and are sold on the same day. However, if there is an increase in economic activity and the emphasis is placed on industrial production and importation, the need for warehousing close to the wholesale market will become a crucial issue. Taking into consideration the fact that trading may become a major activity around the market area, the expansion of this trade

is bound to exert pressure on the existing dense fabric in this area and will need an outlet. This factor will have to be given careful consideration when dealing with the market. Perhaps extending the market complex and some activities across Creek road would indicate a direction for relieving some of this pressure. This extension would help bring the two historically areas closer together and reinforce the concept of the Stone Town as an evolving entity which should be considered an integral and essential part of greater Zanzibar City.

The influence that the market exerts on the nature of activities that take place along Creek road is quite considerable. The market could be described as the focal point of most of the activity. However, there are a number of other 'place' that are also active but support non-commercial activities. The most common of these are the sports fields and a few green parks which are spread along the entire length of the road. The other type of activities are those related to the education facilities along both sides of the road. The northern edge of the road is wider with a narrow island in the middle. It houses a few administrative buildings including the Municipal Council building and the main police station. This road continues, leading eventually to Bwawani Hotel. The CCM Headquarters are located at the centre of the length of Creek road, with a few residential buildings also located in this area. At the southern end of this road is the Peace Memorial Museum and the Zanzibar House of

Representatives. This stretch of road could be developed into the main 'down-town' area of Zanzibar city by introducing additional activities that generate a much more coherent use of this area and which are structured in a manner that allows a continuous 'flow' between the various 'pockets' of activity along both sides of the road. This 'flow' should also be considered in connecting the various 'places' within the Stone Town, such as the 'places' around the cinema halls, the barazas, the open spaces, and other popular 'places'.

Finally, careful attention should be paid to the different 'places' that emerge as foci of activity during the month of Ramadhan, as they could serve as indications that development there might promote the creation of better 'places' within the Stone Town in the future.

The crucial aspect to any intervention is to provide for a natural growth of activities that relate to the lifestyle of Zanzibar's population, a lifestyle that is deeply based on Islam and the need for intimacy as well as privacy.

The current drive behind the conservation program for the Stone Town has largely been the effort of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA). Since its inception however, it has not received legal powers and continues to operate under the Ministry of Water, Energy and Construction. The main argument for this delay in granting the STCDA legal autonomy is that conservation is not among the immediate priorities of the government. The economic 'liberties' allowed by the government recently have led to an

increase in investment in property within the town, most of which had hitherto been owned by the government and managed by the Ministry of Construction. The recent trend has been to sell this property to private developers, and this offers the opportunity for unofficial 'speculation' by government officials in charge of this task. These 'vested interests' are probably one of the reasons that have caused the delay of the STCDA's direct control over the conservation and development of the Stone Town. Perhaps, the formation of a larger urban development authority - in which the conservation program of the Stone Town formed only part of an overall development strategy - would be much more readily accepted by the government, and would be allowed to operate as an autonomous body. This strategy would also seem much more realistic considering the fact that Zanzibar city is treated as a 'whole' organism and to have an 'exclusive' authority that only deals with the Stone Town 'dissects' this organism. Also, most of the main government administration buildings and important commercial activities are located within the Stone Town. The STCDA today is considered a very 'exclusive' and 'privileged' body by other employees within the Ministry, an attitude that places a considerable pressure on its development goals. This attitude is again related to its delicate task that carries with it political overtones, perhaps leading to the misconception of attempting to support the re-emergence of a 'privileged' society within its boundaries. Besides these problems, the lack of authority to supervise the

general renovations of buildings has led to the loss of valuable architectural elements and stucco details. There is a clear indication by the government that the role of the STCDA remains questionable and that it would perhaps be advisable to reduce the emphasis on conservation and highlight the role of the Stone Town as an evolving social entity that could contribute towards strengthening some of the socio-economic weaknesses of the government. In this way emphasis would be placed on exploiting its economic potential and creating employment and other similar initiatives that will benefit the majority of the population. This would perhaps create a different image of the Stone Town, differing from the 'negative' historic image, that it has acquired in the minds of many people today.

Conclusions

The trend of the events that have occurred in the past few years in relationship to the Stone Town indicates a concern for its conservation. The current efforts however, have only been directed towards the preservation of individual buildings. At present the task of conservation of the Stone Town carries with it a misconceived meaning and is confused with the preservation of the town. The Stone Town should not be perceived as an entity

that is frozen in time but rather as an organism that is evolving and adapting to the different changes that are occurring within it through time. The current emphasis on efforts directed towards the preservation of individual buildings should focus on the a structural reinforcement of the deteriorating and structurally weak parts of these buildings, especially the roofs. Most of the available funds should be directed towards promoting better 'places' within the Stone Town, that could serve a larger section of the population and at the same time contribute towards the revitalization of the town. The activities that will develop in these 'places' will probably act as a catalyst for the full preservation of individual buildings within the Stone Town, by encouraging future investment by companies and individuals. In conclusion, the conservation of the Stone Town must be a connected effort directed by a sensitivity towards the consciousness of the different elements that make up this entity which in turn form the various types of 'places' at different environmental levels within the Stone Town. There is a need to change the current historical image of the Stone Town and strengthen its image as an evolutionary organism that has to continue changing and adapting to the fluctuating needs of society through time. Perhaps, with this understanding and through time, change will be able to be perceived from an advantageous position to conservation.

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