

SWAHILI HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES

Report on the Historic Urban Landscape Workshops
and Field Activities on the Swahili Coast in East Africa 2011-2012



United Nations
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Cultural Organization



World
Heritage
Convention



WITH THE SUPPORT OF
THE FLEMISH GOVERNMENT



SWAHILI

HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES



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FOREWORD

by Kishore RAO
Director, UNESCO World Heritage Centre

On 10 November 2011 UNESCO's General Conference adopted the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*, six years after the General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention adopted Resolution 15GA/7 (in October 2005) that called for the elaboration of a new international standard-setting instrument that would be based on the recognition and guidance of investment in and development of historic cities, while at the same time honouring the inherited values embedded in their spatial and social structures.

Prior to the adoption of the new Recommendation, the World Heritage Centre organized, with financial support of the Flemish Government, three training workshops on the concept and application of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach for local authorities in three World Heritage-designated cities on the Swahili Coast in East Africa, being the Island of Mozambique, Lamu in Kenya, and Stone Town, Zanzibar, in Tanzania. With capacity building and research as main components of this project, cooperation was established with international and local universities and educational institutes on the Swahili Coast in the implementation of identified follow-up activities. The design, implementation, and outcomes of these Flemish-funded activities on HUL in East Africa are the subject material of this UNESCO Report.

The implementation of the 2011 *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* and its associated HUL approach will be coordinated by UNESCO World Heritage Centre, since the challenges regarding the conservation, management and development of living historic cities was identified and recognized by the World Heritage Committee. The new Recommendation, however, is not exclusive to World Heritage cities, but is applicable to all cities of cultural-historic significance and heritage value. At the adoption of the new Recommendation UNESCO's General Conference requested to be kept informed of the countries and cities that have been working with this new instrument, its usefulness and the first results. This General Conference report is due for October 2017, with regular updates before that to its Executive Board.

The World Heritage Centre is deeply grateful to the Government of Flanders for their generous financial support, which enabled the three East African countries to become the first to officially utilize UNESCO's latest standard-setting instrument on heritage conservation and to embark on long-term strategies to integrate heritage conservation processes with the overall socio-economic development of their World Heritage-designated cities. Many similar initiatives are currently underway in the different regions of the world, most of which will be documented and reported on by UNESCO, in order to develop a pool of critical cases and best practices to draw lessons from. I sincerely hope this Report will be an inspiration and guidance to professionals, institutions and local governments to engage in the important process of the implementation of UNESCO's *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*.

FOREWORD

by Nic Vandermarliere
Representative of the Government of Flanders to France and to UNESCO

A city consists of far more than its buildings and its heritage. It is dynamic, evolving over time, continuously undergoing cultural and natural influences. It moves to the rhythm of its inhabitants. While these elements contribute to the richness of cities, they also pose certain challenges to urban conservation; challenges that UNESCO chose to address by the development of the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape.

The Government of Flanders supported this approach from the very beginning. Indeed, many of the Flemish World Heritage sites are located in an urban environment and face the same challenges. But a Recommendation should not remain theoretic, it should be put to the test and applied on the field, providing a toolkit for communities and local authorities. It should encourage international cooperation, the exchange of practices and the building of capacities.

This is why, even before the formal adoption of this new approach, the Government of Flanders engaged in a dialogue with UNESCO in order to finance a project under its Funds-in-Trust to support and develop the World Heritage Cities Programme. It focused on three World Heritage sites along the Swahili Coast: the Island of Mozambique in Mozambique, Stone Town of Zanzibar in the United Republic of Tanzania and Lamu Old Town in Kenya. This collaboration followed a project that was financed through the Funds-in-Trust in 2008, geared towards the improvement of the state of conservation of the Island of Mozambique.

Central to our cooperation with UNESCO, is the capacity building aspect; not only in this project but also in other activities that are financed by the Government of Flanders, both in the field of Heritage as well as in the field of Science. This is especially prominent in the work that has been done on the Swahili Coast. Through the organization of preparatory workshops and fieldwork, involving all stakeholders, UNESCO contributed to a comprehensive mapping of the urban environment, taking into account natural, cultural but also intangible attributes. We are confident that these experiences in the Island of Mozambique, Stone Town of Zanzibar and Lamu Old Town will be further translated in solid management structures for conservation and can be beneficial to other urban heritage sites around the world. The two-day international colloquium on World Heritage Cities in the 21st Century, organized by the City of Bruges and the Flanders Heritage Agency in May 2012, gave us an opportunity to share these practices with an international public.

We feel proud that we were able to contribute to this success and we are thankful to UNESCO, the World Heritage Center and its Director, Kishore Rao, and to the coordinator of the World Heritage Cities Programme, Ron van Oers. Last, but definitely not least, we are extremely grateful to the universities that contributed to this project, to the local authorities and conservation staff and especially to the site managers. Without their continued support and enthusiasm, these results would not have been possible.

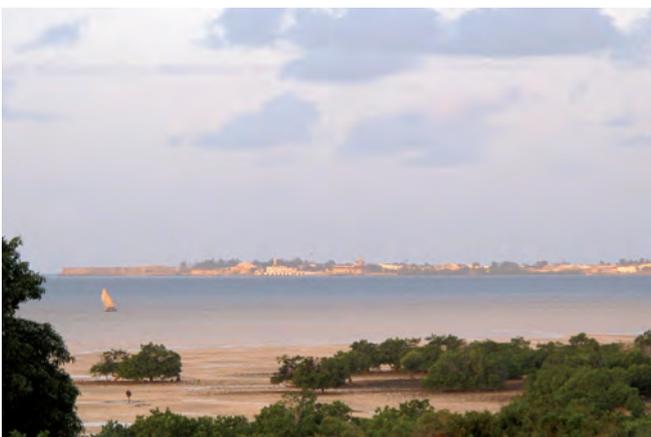
SWAHILI HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES APPLYING HUL IN EAST AFRICA

**Ron van Oers (PhD),
UNESCO Coordinator for Implementation
of the 2011 Recommendation on
the Historic Urban Landscape**

BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO EAST AFRICA'S SWAHILI COAST

At present between 300,000 and half a million people inhabit the settlements along the East African coast that were founded and built centuries ago by their ancestors and which are collectively known by the neighbouring tribes as Swahili. Since the first millennium the Swahili have occupied the nearly 3,000 km long coastline of eastern Africa, a territory which at its greatest extent in the sixteenth century ranged from Mogadishu in Somalia to the south of Mozambique. As one of several mercantile societies located around the rim of the Indian Ocean, they mastered long-distance seafaring with the use of the monsoon wind system to conduct trade across the ocean. For over 1,000 years the Swahili constructed and maintained a literate society, based on Islam, and a commercial empire founded on intercontinental trade and plantation agriculture. "They have been urban-based merchants [and] the form of their society and its civilization have largely been shaped by this particular specialization in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times" (Horton and Middleton, 2000:1). This specialized intercontinental trade is conducted by *dhow*s, which are traditional trading vessels with long thin hulls and lateen sails primarily used to carry bulky merchandise. Many of the products and ports of call have remained the same for centuries, although these boats and their traditional trade are now slowly vanishing. "From East Africa, Persian booms carry mangrove poles from the insect-infested swamps of the Rufiji Delta of the United Republic of Tanzania to Kuwait, over 3,500 miles away. Dhows from the Hadhramaut [in Yemen, RvO] carry to Mombasa salt and dried fish, returning to their home ports laden with ghee, lemon juice and grains. From Kuwait, cars are transported across the Gulf to a number of Iranian ports where fresh vegetables and fruit are picked up for the return trip." (Martin, 2007:1)

Dhows at dusk in Island of Mozambique (left) and Zanzibar (right), which are a classic element of East African seascapes
© Van Oers, 2011.



Accounting for some regional variation, the Swahili are quite different from their neighbours in that they are one group of people, speak a single language (or otherwise closely related dialects), observe the same customs and traditions, and their built environment, both historical and contemporary, is expressed in the same domestic, funeral and religious architecture – these are all elements of a single African civilization. The Swahili urban landscape, by and large, has been shaped by community-based commercial and trading functions, as opposed to a coast occupied by modest fishing villages and large container harbours with railway stations. “As with many maritime societies, their landscape includes not just the dry land but the creeks, the mangrove swamps, the shallow waters within the protective reefs and the reefs themselves, all of which are owned by one or other local group. We must include in their landscape the urban and peri-urban settlements, the cultivated lands and plantations, but also what appears to be wild or abandoned land, which is in fact owned but not exploited at a particular moment. In addition, a wider landscape stretches far into the mainland – comprising the “hinterland” lying just behind the immediate coastline, and the “interior” lying behind the hinterland and extending into the heart of the continent” (Horton and Middleton, 2000:8).

Dawn over a Zanzibari peri-urban landscape that is intimately linked with urban systems of production, commerce and trade
© Van Oers, 2009.



SWAHILI HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES



A finely restored merchant's house in Lamu that shows the blending of different (African and Arab) building styles, with a traditional macuti roof, increasingly being replaced by corrugated metal sheets, as seen in the foreground
© Van Oers, 2011.

The physical foundation of Swahili society and its civilization is urban: its towns and settlements, several of which have been continuously inhabited for hundreds of years, constitute the fundamental unit of social, economic and cultural life – production, government, religion and customs are all harboured in towns. Moreover, these Swahili towns “form a single category not by their appearance or buildings but because they are so defined by their inhabitants by the single noun *mji* (plural *miji*): the social and cultural significance of the town, of whatever size, plan or physical appearance, is paramount” (Horton and Middleton, 2000:11). In addition Usam Ghaidan, in his monumental work *Lamu – A study in conservation*, remarks that archaeological evidence suggests that many of the Swahili city States along the East African coast were similar in scale, layout and architecture (Ghaidan, 1976:ix). This being so, another important characteristic concerns the hybrid nature of Swahili building types and architectural forms, which

is an amalgam reflecting their origins in African, Arab, European and Indian building traditions. It is the synthesis of these various cultures and influences that creates the Swahili's unique urban and architectural environment (Siravo, 1997:31).

Horton and Middleton further remark that the Swahili have their own concept of urbanism, with certain characteristics found also in other mercantile societies but which bears little resemblance to more general and universal definitions. It consists of an elaborate service economy, a politically and militarily weak government, a complex system of social stratification, and manifold notions of purity and uncleanness with rituals for ordering and controlling them. The Swahili "refer to *utamaduni* as the characteristic of those living in towns; it has been literally translated as urbanity and refinement, but implies those who share a common view of the essential qualities of civilization in contrast to outsiders, or *washenzi*" (Horton and Middleton 2000:115).



Lively urban markets in Zanzibar (left) and Lamu (right), where the products of their hinterlands, as well as more distant destinations is available © Van Oers, 2011.

While the Swahili towns are characteristic of a mixture of cultural and architectural influences, where borrowing and experimenting with new styles was always more the norm than the exception, nevertheless in general the overall appearance was that of coherence and continuity – in functional, organizational and traditional terms. For all its diversity, at its core, however, the main elements were for very long periods derived from similarities in conduct (trade and commerce), assembly (urban communities) and belief system (Islam) around the central stretch of the Indian Ocean rim. While an exchange of ideas and practices occurred primarily within this rather extensive geographical realm, it was nevertheless taking place within a particular cultural sphere. This cultural sphere guided to a great extent the socio-economic processes that resulted in the expressions of Swahili material culture, including its built environment, and what still today defines its distinct sense of place.

While borrowing and blending is in general the norm for Swahili material culture, coherence and continuity nevertheless remain at its heart, as reflected here in the colourful diversity of appearance of these women in Lamu © Van Oers, 2011.



As everywhere else, also along the East African coast the impacts of a globalized (i.e. Western) culture are being felt. This is resulting in a loss of the ancient art of boatbuilding, with *dhow*s being replaced by speedboats; in the promotion of mass tourism and exclusive resorts along much of the coast, pushing out the original functions of community-based trade and commerce, and in the introduction of new architectural forms, construction techniques and building materials from outside its cultural sphere, seriously distorting age-old references to place and people. All of these are impairing in particular the integrity of Swahili towns, as they set in motion an incremental transformation of the functional, organizational and traditional patterns that have endured for centuries and which essentially constitute its DNA – reconfigure these patterns and the result will be unrecognizable as distinctly Swahili, but become instead the mass product of the homogenizing forces of a dominant global culture, which is essentially characterized by “the same difference everywhere” (Van Oers op. cit., 2006).

REVIEWING AND REVISING THE URBAN CONSERVATION PARADIGM

What does this all mean for the theory and practice of urban conservation? This was indeed the key question in the international debate initiated by the World Heritage Committee in 2003 and handed over to UNESCO in 2005, when the Committee at its 29th session in Durban, South Africa, requested that “the General Conference of UNESCO adopt a new Recommendation to complement and update the existing ones on the subject of conservation of historic urban landscapes, with special reference to the need to link contemporary architecture to the urban historic context” (Decision 29 COM 5D). To strengthen this request further and underline its urgency, in October 2005 the 15th General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, adopted the *Declaration on the Conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes* (Resolution 15 GA 7 – available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/cities>).



The Historic Urban Landscape approach can also be applied to other categories of cultural heritage under pressure from development processes, such as archaeological sites, as was done at Kilwa Kisiwani on the Swahili Coast during the World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring mission of March 2009 (see Van Oers and Bakker, 2009)
© Van Oers, 2009.

During the ensuing six years UNESCO organized expert meetings and community workshops, consulted international organizations and participated in public debates, to arrive at the heart of the matter, which implied that urban conservation has become “a moving target, to which a static, monumental approach as inherited from the previous century is wholly inadequate, or may become perhaps downright destructive” (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012:111). In short, living historic cities display characteristics that basically revolve around three competing and at times interlocking issues, which need recognition and attention if this valuable resource is to be managed and

preserved for the benefit of present and future local communities. They include: (1) a constant need for adaptation and modernization in recognition of the life cycles of cities that grow, mature, stagnate and then regenerate (or else decline); (2) an expansion of interrelationships with a widening of stakeholder groups and interests, which requires negotiation and conflict resolution, and (3) changing notions of what is to be considered heritage, which needs a broadening of approaches for recognition and inclusion (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012:110).



Instead of viewing Stone Town in Zanzibar solely as a collection of buildings that need to be preserved, the key to maintaining meaning and significance is to sustain and revive the cultural process that has nurtured this historic urban landscape
© Van Oers, 2009.

Sceptics in the conservation community would argue that the whole purpose of conservation is lost when emphasis is put on “adaptation and modernization”, as included in point 1 above; or “negotiation” as included in point 2, which would by necessity dilute the asset and be never-ending, and “changing notions of heritage”, which runs counter to a generation (figuratively and literally) of learning and experience with this subject. Perhaps this is precisely the issue, as has been put forward by Neil Silberman, who advocates a new paradigm of heritage interpretation based on Habermas’s ideal of rational public discourse leading to social consensus and collective action, which should focus on “process, not product; collaboration, not “expert-only” presentation; memory

community, not heritage audience” (Silberman, 2013:31). Or, in more practical terms as regards cultural and urban landscapes, the issue is to apply “an ecological model to resources that have often been deliberately separated out from their evolutionary context, into a more static realm of a designated and protected site [where] the very act of designating a cultural landscape as a recognized object of value may begin to undermine its integrity”, as argued by Julian Smith (Smith, 2013:49). Based on insights of Canada’s First Nations, he recalls a statement that is as simple as it is powerful: that cultural landscapes are not revealed through observation, but through experience, and that they must continually be practised into existence in order to be sustained – which is also the case for living historic cities (see Bianca, 2010). This brings us back to our Swahili towns and sites, and to the need to consider and understand the wider cultural sphere in which processes are generated that find expression in Swahili society and its built environment of distinct character and enduring quality.

APPLICATION OF THE HUL APPROACH IN EAST AFRICA

In November 2011 in Paris, during the morning sitting, the Culture Commission at the 36th session of UNESCO’s General Conference debated the proposal for a new standard-setting instrument on Historic Urban Landscapes, which took around one and a half hours. During that time representatives of 41 Member States took the floor,¹ all of whom congratulated UNESCO and its Secretariat on the lead role they had taken over the past six years in developing this new standard-setting instrument, indeed as part of the core mandate of the Organization, on the accompanying extensive consultations with experts, Member States and civil society, and on the holistic, inclusive and forward-looking nature of the text, which was deemed timely for guiding Member States in their challenging task of safeguarding their historic cities in the current period of globalization, urbanization and climate change. The Culture Commission recommended to the Plenary the adoption of the resolution with accompanying text of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (i.e. document 36 C/23),

¹ After introduction of the item by the representative of Saint Lucia, the following Member States took the floor: Finland, Greece, Mali, Canada, Norway, United States of America, Malta, Japan, Egypt, Czech Republic, Republic of Korea, Estonia, Thailand, Brazil, Turkey, Viet Nam, United Republic of Tanzania, France, Mexico, Philippines, Uzbekistan, China, The Netherlands, Slovenia, Niger, Barbados, Lebanon, Tunisia, South Africa, Algeria, Italy, Serbia, Belgium, Latvia, Honduras, Chile, Senegal, Ukraine, Kenya, Russian Federation and Jamaica.

which took place on 10 November 2011 and constituted a landmark decision for urban conservation.

Throughout the process and before that final debate at the General Conference, the Flemish Government had been a staunch supporter of UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach. With the aim of fostering international cooperation in the further development and implementation of the HUL approach, the exchange of ideas and practices, and communication and transmission of knowledge to stakeholders and civic society, a project was developed under the Flemish Funds-in-Trust (FFiT) at UNESCO that would focus on East Africa and in particular on three World Heritage cities along the Swahili Coast: Island of Mozambique in Mozambique (included in 1991), Stone Town of Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania (included in 2000) and Lamu Old Town in Kenya (included in 2001). Although the 2011 *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is not specific to World Heritage sites, those three cities were considered critical in understanding the complex relationships between conservation and development, including a need to build capacity of local site managers and conservation staff, as they do much to set examples for other urban and peri-urban sites, protected or not. Getting the message out here would resonate along the length of the Swahili Coast, it was thought.



Macuti Town (*macuti* meaning straw in Bantu) is the architecturally poorer but culturally richer part of the island, where the vast majority of the inhabitants live, and is therefore an important part of Island of Mozambique's historic urban landscape
© Van Oers, 2011.

Moreover, in 2003 an East Africa World Heritage Network was established under a collaboration project with Bergen in Norway (also a World Heritage city) lasting until 2007 and that contributed considerably to the sharing of traditional knowledge and exchange of professionals and skills between Zanzibar, Lamu and Island of Mozambique through a series of meetings, conferences and workshops (Mathisen, 2012).² It was the intention to contribute to the continued functioning of this network and to share and compare the introduction of UNESCO's new instrument in its constituent parts. Last but not least, in December 2009 the World Heritage Centre held a regional meeting in Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania, to discuss and receive inputs regarding UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape initiative, a meeting in which 40 experts from 10 countries participated, including representatives of six World Heritage cities in Africa. The outcome, the *Zanzibar Recommendations on the Application of the Concept of*

² The East Africa World Heritage Network was instigated during a workshop in Zanzibar in 2003, where a Protocol was signed by the Mayors of Bergen, Zanzibar, Lamu and Island of Mozambique, to develop knowledge and skills of the network partners through workshops. These involved "Heritage and Economics" in Zanzibar (2003), "Imparting history" in Lamu (2004) and a "Working programme for Eastern Africa" in Island of Mozambique (in 2005).

the Historic Urban Landscape in the African Context (3 December 2009), is annexed to this volume.

In brief, the Flemish-sponsored project would coordinate a series of activities in order to build capacity in local governments and communities to increase their development potential through the wise use of available urban heritage resources. The proposed activities aimed to:

1. frame urban conservation strategies in local development processes in general, and to promote the Historic Urban Landscape approach in particular;
2. increase public awareness of, involvement in and support for the Historic Urban Landscape approach, through the development of tools and dissemination of knowledge;
3. protect World Heritage sites against the impact of new global challenges, such as climate change, urbanization, and pressures from unsustainable tourism.

With the component of capacity-building so prominent, it was only logical to draw upon the network of partner universities affiliated with UNESCO for the structuring and implementation of this project. To stimulate international collaboration and an exchange of ideas and experiences, for each of the three selected pilot cities both a foreign and local university or academic institute were selected for the implementation of joint activities in close cooperation with the local authorities responsible for World Heritage site protection and management. For Island of Mozambique, collaboration was established between Eindhoven University of Technology in the Netherlands and Lúrio University in Nampula (Mozambique), in close cooperation with GACIM (the local conservation office in Island of Mozambique) and the Ministry of Culture in Maputo; for Lamu the University of Minnesota in the United States worked together with local staff and students from the University of Mombasa under the supervision of a resource person from the Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office and the Lamu Museum, which is responsible for World Heritage site management, and in Zanzibar the University of Pretoria in South Africa collaborated with the Karume Institute of Technology, Zanzibar's Urban and Rural Planning Office and the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (responsible for World Heritage site management). Jointly and under the guidance of the World Heritage Centre they were entrusted with:

- ▶ providing on-site technical assistance to discuss urban conservation strategies with respect to local development needs and wishes at the three selected World Heritage cities;
- ▶ supporting ongoing research into a robust toolkit for urban conservation, as well as assessing impacts of urban development projects on site significance, with the publication of research results;
- ▶ developing and disseminating guidelines and wise practices, thereby
- ▶ making the World Heritage Cities Programme a source of information and concrete guidance for urban heritage conservation practitioners, at both the national and site levels.

The Flemish Government had made funds available for two types of activities: a preparatory workshop followed by fieldwork. First a preparatory workshop would be held in each of the three selected World Heritage cities to introduce, explain and discuss the Historic Urban Landscape approach and to receive input on the needs and wishes of the key stakeholders concerning urban conservation and site development. Based on the inputs received an appropriate follow-up programme of activities would be agreed upon by the key stakeholders, which would become the second part of the Flemish-supported project.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE OUTCOMES OF THE PREPARATORY WORKSHOPS

The **first preparatory workshop** took place at Island of Mozambique from 11 to 15 July 2011. Thirty-five Mozambican experts, professionals, community leaders and representatives of government and organizations participated. High-level government participation was secured in the persons of the representative of the President of the Municipality of Island of Mozambique, the Administrator of the City of Island of Mozambique, the Provincial Deputy Director for Culture of Nampula, and the National Director for Cultural Heritage of Maputo. Nine of the 42 participants (including foreign experts and UNESCO staff) were women (21%).



The workshop in Island of Mozambique was held in the finely restored Slave House, an important site of memory also related to the liberation struggle of the Civil War (1964-1974), when it served as a prison
© Van Oers, 2011.

During the workshop a series of follow-up activities were identified, the most urgent of which was to develop an electronic database with cadastral map for GACIM (the local conservation office) by complementing and expanding on the technical surveys of buildings and structures, public spaces, their uses, population densities and home ownership on Island of Mozambique (building on previous surveys executed by, among others, architect José Forzas for UNESCO). This activity will be undertaken as follow-up to the preparatory workshop and as part of a partnership between Eindhoven University of Technology (The Netherlands) and Lúrio University in Nampula (Mozambique), in close cooperation with GACIM and the Ministry of Culture in Maputo, under the expert guidance of Prof. Luís Filipe Pereira of Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, in the period of November 2011 to January 2012.

The **second preparatory workshop** took place at Lamu in Kenya from 8 to 12 August 2011. Twenty-two Kenyan experts, professionals, community leaders and representatives of government and organizations participated, four of whom were women (<20%). High-level government participation was secured through the Chairman of the National Commission for Integration and Cohesion (NCIC) and former Director-General of the National Museums of Kenya (NMK), and the Director of Museums, Sites and Monuments of the NMK.



The Old Town of Lamu has restricted the use of automobiles and relies instead on transport by donkeys and the occasional camel
© Van Oers, 2011.

The participants in the Lamu workshop spent a fair amount of time discussing the planned Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor project. Despite adverse media publicity and a WH Committee discussion on the subject, many of the participants voiced the opinion that spin-off from the project could benefit Lamu Old Town and its residents. It was agreed that an Environmental and Cultural Impact Assessment should be undertaken that would outline the pros and cons in the short, medium and long term. The participants agreed that a database would be established to map the physical, intangible and natural attributes of Lamu Old Town, to be developed in a follow-up phase to be undertaken by the University of Minnesota in December 2011 – January 2012. It was also decided that the local Planning Commission would be reactivated.

The **third preparatory workshop** took place at Zanzibar in United Republic of Tanzania from 15 to 19 August 2011. Forty-four professionals participated in the five-day workshop, 12 of whom were women (25%). High-level government participation was secured through the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Lands, Housing, Water and Energy, the Director-General of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), and the Director of the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Zanzibar.

The workshop in Zanzibar was very replete in the number and types of stakeholders present, including a range of local government departments seeking synergies in their respective mandates and activities pertaining to Stone Town
 © STCDA.



The participants considered the technical assistance the town has received in recent years and found that a systematic inventory of all surveys and documents and other information and data was needed. It was decided that existing databases needed to be linked (online), along with the digitization and integration of existing studies and reports. They also called for the coordination and establishment of a stakeholder forum. The workshop pointed out the importance of rehabilitating Zanzibar's Botanical Garden, as well as the development of a traffic plan for the town. A Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) on a five-star hotel project is under way, by Prof. Karel Bakker, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture of Pretoria University (South Africa), as commissioned by the STCDA, and the workshop called for public participation, consultation and contribution to its outcomes.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY OF THE OUTCOMES OF THE FIELDWORK

LAMU OLD TOWN, KENYA

During the preparatory workshop on the concept and approach of the Historic Urban Landscape, which took place in Lamu from 8 to 12 August 2011, the participants agreed that a database had to be established to map and digitally store the physical, intangible and natural attributes of Lamu Old Town. In the follow-up fieldwork, undertaken by the University of Minnesota from 1 to 14 January 2012, technical assistance was provided to establish a database at the Lamu Museum, train the local office staff in its use and updating, assist in integrating previous inventories and surveys – partly on paper, partly in electronic format – and conduct a full survey of Lamu's public squares in collaboration with local staff and students from the University of Mombasa under the supervision of a resource person from the Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office. Dr Kalandar Khan, site manager of Fort Jesus in Mombasa, stated that he would be pursuing a similar exercise for Mombasa's historic city centre surrounding the World Heritage site.

Outcome and Output

- ▶ **Two-week training and capacity-building for local authority staff in Lamu in site surveying and database development**
- ▶ **Manual for the Inventory of Public Squares: Old Town Lamu, Kenya**
 Step-by-step guide on how to make an inventory, including preparation, fieldwork, office work, database development

Comments

- ▶ Basic “how to” guide for surveying, mapping and making inventories, in user-friendly format, developed for local authority staff with basic skills.
- ▶ Applied research-type technical assistance, since the recommendation of the HUL workshop in Lamu was to “update” and expand the existing database.
- ▶ The survey sheet and method developed would be useful for sites as yet unfamiliar with GIS surveys (such as on Pacific islands, for instance).

STONE TOWN OF ZANZIBAR, UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

During the preparatory workshop at Zanzibar’s Stone Town in the United Republic of Tanzania, which took place from 15 to 19 August 2011, the participants considered that a systematic inventory of all surveys and documents and other information and data was needed, along with the digitization and integration of existing studies and reports, which had begun under a previous technical assistance mission by the University of Minnesota (in 2010 with financing from the Netherlands Government). Prof. Bakker of the University of Pretoria undertook the further follow-up to the workshop from 9 to 27 December 2011 to finalize a public open space inventory with a focus on integrating the site’s intangible heritage values into the earlier physical space inventory. Additionally it was agreed with the Zanzibar authorities that guidelines for planning and design interventions would be needed in order properly to direct and control new urban development in the buffer zone of Zanzibar’s World Heritage site.

Outcome and Output

▶ **Report on Public Open Space of Stone Town, Zanzibar 2011 – An Exploration of Intangible Heritage Values in the Public Space Network**

This report aims to capture some of the tangible and intangible heritage values and their attributes, which are located in the public realm that support life in the city through use, movement, spiritual, visual, aesthetic and memory value, and contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of Stone Town of Zanzibar.

▶ **Report on Zanzibar Stone Town Ng’ambo Buffer Zone – precinct framework and coding**

A set of coding guidelines that aim not only to influence the future built form of the Buffer Zone but also to enhance its spatial urban qualities in order properly to guide future urban development in the Stone Town Buffer Zone.

▶ **Guideline for the future interventions at Government Boulevard**

This document serves as a basis to inform and guide the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Ministry of Lands, Housing, Water and Energy of Zanzibar in the development of the proposed Government Boulevard, ensuring quality and growth in an orderly manner.

Comments

- ▶ The first report on documenting tangible and intangible heritage values is a partial but valuable exercise on the road to a fully-fledged comprehensive cultural mapping of an urban environment, as suggested in Step 1 of the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation’s Action Plan.
- ▶ Only a selection of open spaces were surveyed owing to time and budget constraints – as explained, the completion of this work should be organized with local resources (students and staff) based on training received during the first exercise in which they participated, as it will be very difficult to find donor funding for this purpose.
- ▶ After building capacity in surveying and documenting, developing guidelines for urban conservation and contemporary architecture can be considered the “next frontier”: bad projects and designs are often put forward with the argument that no guidelines exist to explain what can and cannot be done. This is thus a valuable document.
- ▶ The third report is the only survey and research among the three fieldworks that expanded into the Buffer Zone, which is equally important to conservation.

ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE, MOZAMBIQUE

During the preparatory workshop, which took place at Island of Mozambique from 11 to 15 July 2011, a series of follow-up activities was identified, the most urgent of which was to develop an electronic database with cadastral map for Gabinete de Conservação da Ilha de Moçambique (GACIM, the local conservation office) by complementing and expanding on the technical surveys of buildings and structures, public spaces, their uses, population densities and home ownership on Island of Mozambique. This activity was undertaken from 1 November 2011 to 26 January 2012 as a partnership between Eindhoven University of Technology (the Netherlands) and Lúrio University in Nampula (Mozambique), in close cooperation with GACIM, the Municipal Council in Island of Mozambique and the Ministry of Culture in Maputo. Extensive surveys and mapping have been undertaken, including a historical survey by comparing ancient and contemporary photographs, all put into an electronic database of GACIM, which was presented at a public exhibition in Island of Mozambique under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture in Maputo.

Outcome and Output

► Inventory of socio-economic changes

This report aims to reveal and debate the impact of socio-economic changes on the legislation decreeing the ownership regime, implemented after the Independence of Mozambique, on the conservation of cultural heritage in the Island of Mozambique by looking at the property regime, their use, how they have changed and their current condition.

► Inventory of physical changes – maps and photographs

Overview of the changes over the last 30 years (1982-1985 and 2011-2012) and impact on the integrity of the Stone Town on Mozambique Island.

► Exhibition of fieldwork results with mini-conference on 19 January 2012

Comments

► Comprehensive inventory using photographic records for a comparison of Stone Town on the Island between field research done in 1982-1985 and the 2011-2012 survey, on issues such as building ownership, use, infrastructure, heritage assets. A valuable document for local authorities in particular, which can be used to keep monitoring and tracking changes.

► The fieldwork covered Stone Town, but further surveys of Macuti Town are planned by the partner, i.e. UniLúrio, which is of equal importance in the light of several WH Committee decisions expressing concerns – see below.

Expresses its concern about the uncontrolled development in Macuti Town and encourages the State Party to finalize work on the sustainable development plan for Macuti Town; (34 COM 7B.50)

Commends the State Party for the considerable progress made in improving the state of conservation of the property including the completion of the management plan, the hiring and training of staff, establishment of new zones for residential use to reduce congestion in Macuti Town, the infrastructure projects of sewage and water provision and the increased dialogue over conservation issues with stakeholders (36 COM 7B.46)

► The total exercise of field study, including a research component as well as local capacity-building, with an exhibition of the results achieved for the local authorities, population and partners, as part of further awareness raising and an exchange of information, is an excellent output and represents a nice flow as regards Step 1 of the HUL Action Plan.



The following sections of this volume will present the more detailed contents and outcomes of these preparatory workshops and the follow-up fieldwork for each of the three sites. The material is based on the reports submitted to UNESCO by the university partners as well as the local partners in the project. First though, three papers have been selected that look in more detail into issues pertaining to the Historic Urban Landscape approach, in particular how to conceive urban conservation on the Swahili Coast, by Joseph Heathcott; the limits of acceptable change on Island of Mozambique, by Ana Pereira Roders, and the application of a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) in Stone Town on Zanzibar, by Karel Bakker.

The Historic Urban Landscape approach aims to empower communities to increase their development potential through the wise use of available urban heritage resources, so that the youngest generation of Swahili stakeholders is also able to benefit from the labours and accumulated wisdom of previous generations
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SELECTED
PAPERS

HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES OF THE SWAHILI COAST: NEW FRAMEWORKS FOR CONSERVATION¹

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INTRODUCTION

Efforts to save elements of the Swahili built environment have been hampered over the past half century by colonial legacies that frame conservation in terms of pure architectural typologies and racially distinct building cultures. Conservationists have drawn on these legacies to define particular elements as “traditional”, and therefore worthy of protection. But the construction of normative knowledge about the built environment based on uncritical notions of tradition

and archetype constitutes a substantial problem for historic preservation at the level of townscape (Lowenthal, 1988: 384-406; Gospodini, 2004: 229-231; Greenfield, 2004: 165-168). The problem arises from a classic teleology. Those elements determined to be traditional are folded into portfolios of privileged structures warranting protection, which then constitute the common understanding of the historic built environment. Those structures falling outside this rubric warrant few protections, regardless of their age, function, utility, or importance within local lore. Thus, conservation efforts grounded in the identification and salvage of so-called pure typologies can weaken the complex, accretive, dynamic grain of the Swahili city. Ironically, however, the “traditional” forms of the Swahili city emerged within the crucible of an ever-changing urban condition where the “tradition” was innovation. Thus, the question arises as to the ultimate object of conservation practice in urban areas: saving select buildings of architectural merit, or the cultural processes that made such buildings possible in the first place?

Over the past decade, scholars and practitioners have addressed this basic question through critical reappraisals of conservation in urban areas around the world (Orbañli, 2000; AlSayyad, 2001a; Tung, 2002, ICOMOS, 2005, Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012). While many and varied, these efforts culminated in the landmark adoption of the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2011). Premised on “the dynamic nature of living cities”, the new Historic Urban Landscape approach seeks “integration of historic urban area conservation, management, and planning strategies into local development processes”. The approach

¹ An earlier, truncated version of this paper appeared in the *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (2012).



Fig. 1. The edge of growth, Lamu. The scene overlooks the inlet and Manda Island in the background. The new home construction in the foreground expands the city, with the concrete block construction providing an apparent contrast to the whitewashed coral buildings that comprise the Old Stone Town.

shifts emphasis from the monumentalization of architecture to the “conservation of urban values” that undergird the life of the city. As the 2011 UNESCO Recommendation states, the practice of conservation should move beyond the architectural archetype to embrace historic urban contexts and “the interrelationships of their physical forms, their spatial organization and connection, their natural features and settings, and their social, cultural and economic values”. In this way, the Recommendation provides conservationists with the conceptual tools to articulate heritage concerns to the ever-changing conditions and always incomplete processes of cities in the twenty-first century.

Still, the adoption of the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation opens up challenges for heritage conservation that can only be met by the conduct of new research. Such research, according to the Recommendation, “should target the complex layering of urban settlements” in order to develop new interpretive and practice frameworks. This chapter considers these challenges in the context of the Swahili coast – an archipelago of cities and towns along the Indian Ocean stretching from southern Tanzania to northern Kenya (fig. 2). Through a close examination of everyday spaces in Swahili cities, this study problematizes heritage practices as they developed in the post-colonial period, and explores how the Historic Urban Landscape approach might transform such practices. Such careful reading of the Swahili built environment reveals key locations where urban spaces are formed, contested and remade. The study concludes that in order to reflect the dynamic, multifaceted and cosmopolitan character of Swahili cities, conservationists must pay close attention to the ill-fitting spaces where landscape innovations arise. Not only will this approach auger a more socially just organization of urban cultural resources, but it will more accurately reflect the lived realities of Swahili cities in a global age.

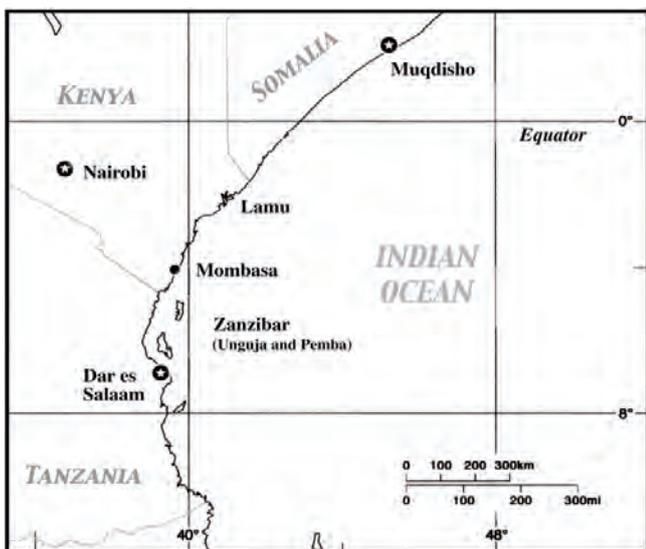


Fig. 2. The Swahili coast of East Africa. United Nations Department of Public Information, Cartographic Section, Map No. 3857, 1994; Adapted by Joseph Heathcott, 2006.

THE ORIGINS OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION ON THE SWAHILI COAST

Much of what we understand about the Swahili urban heritage emerged from a remarkable series of studies undertaken in the 1970s. Beginning in 1971, architect Usam Ghaidan led a team of surveyors, graphic artists, and craft specialists in a rigorous survey of the Swahili built environment. Funded by the Kenyan Ministry of Lands and Settlement, the landmark study defined and analysed the major building typologies of Lamu, grounded in the context of ecology, history and townscape. “The surviving towns and ruined sites of the East African Coast”, wrote Ghaidan, “are heir to a distinctive urban tradition that is over 1,000 years old” (Ghaidan, 1976: ix). Ghaidan and his colleagues walked through hundreds of buildings, measuring them against an exhaustive inventory of architectural traits and decorative characteristics. The team produced a set of findings that quickly came to constitute core technical knowledge of the Swahili built environment (fig. 3). Ghaidan concluded the study with a detailed set of recommendations for strengthening the local ordinances, national policies and economic incentives to conserve the historic architecture of Lamu.

Over the next three decades, many of these recommendations bore fruit. Lamu engaged in a slow but deliberate conservation process. The Kenyan National Museum expanded the gazette of historic places to include scores of vernacular buildings, sites, and structures throughout the country (Hart, 2007: 46-48). Both Kenyan and Tanzanian ministries made investment in historic architecture a priority, seeing the value in terms of both nation building and tourist revenues. And UNESCO declared the Old Stone Towns of Zanzibar (2000) and Lamu (2001) to be World Heritage Sites, establishing a series of benchmarks for implementing conservation programmes (UNESCO, 2001, 2007).

While it remains a major accomplishment, Ghaidan and his team illuminated only one aspect of the “distinctive urban tradition” that undergirds the Swahili townscape. Indeed, the very impetus of the survey, according to its authors, was to develop knowledge of this urban tradition in order to preserve it against what they saw to be the relentless march of modernity. They selected Lamu because, as Ghaidan argues, it is the only one among 80 Swahili settlements that retains “its traditional character almost completely”, having escaped “the pressures of modern urban growth” (Ghaidan, 1976: ix). For Ghaidan, Lamu provided a pure case of an authentic Swahili town against which other settlements could be measured, judged, and conserved.

Ghaidan’s study of Lamu grouped buildings into six architectural typologies: traditional stone houses, stone veranda buildings, shop-front buildings, mud and wattle buildings, mosques, and non-conforming structures (fig. 3). While each typology received attention, the team singled out the stone houses, veranda buildings, and some shop fronts and mosques for close analysis and conservation efforts.

Thus, while Lamu might have contained a greater density of these highly valued architectural typologies than other Swahili cities, it is the very fact of their valorization above other elements of the built environment that made Lamu appear to Ghaidan and his team to be a purer townscape. This implied that Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, and other cities suffered a degraded, less authentically Swahili condition. But what if Swahili urbanism derived not from a set of selective architectural typologies but from something else? Where would that lead historic preservation efforts on the East African coast?

INVENTORY FOR BUILDING TYPES A, B, C, D, F			TYPE	A
			PLOT NO.	210
1. PRESENT STATUS OF BUILDING				
<input type="checkbox"/> INTACT & IN USE	<input type="checkbox"/> PARTIALLY COLLAPSED & IN USE	<input type="checkbox"/> INTACT & VACANT	<input type="checkbox"/> PARTIALLY COLLAPSED & VACANT	<input type="checkbox"/> RUIN
				01
2. DATE BUILT			SOURCE:	
			<input type="checkbox"/> FACTUAL	<input type="checkbox"/> ESTIMATED
3. BUILDER			<input type="checkbox"/> KNOWN	<input type="checkbox"/> UNKNOWN
				02
4. HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE			<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	<input type="checkbox"/> UNKNOWN
PERSONAGE OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE			BUILDING SIGNIFICANT IN POLITICAL, CULTURAL, MILITARY, SOCIAL, OR ECONOMIC HISTORY	
<input type="checkbox"/> LOCAL IMPORTANCE			<input type="checkbox"/> LOCAL IMPORTANCE	<input type="checkbox"/> REGIONAL
EVENT OF HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OCCURRED HERE?			SPECIFY IMPORTANCE	
<input type="checkbox"/> LOCAL IMPORTANCE			<input type="checkbox"/> REGIONAL	
5. PRESENT USE			TERTIARY USE	SECONDARY USE
<input type="checkbox"/> MERCHANTILE & FOOD			<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATION & EXHIBIT	<input type="checkbox"/> HOTEL OR LODGE
<input type="checkbox"/> RETAIL OR WHOLESALE SHOP	<input type="checkbox"/> BAR	<input type="checkbox"/> TOURIST SHOP	<input type="checkbox"/> SCHOOL	<input type="checkbox"/> ADMINISTRATIVE & HEALTH
<input type="checkbox"/> BARBER SHOP	<input type="checkbox"/> MUSEUM	<input type="checkbox"/> TAILOR	<input type="checkbox"/> THEATRE	<input type="checkbox"/> BUSINESS OFFICE
<input type="checkbox"/> RESTAURANT OR HALWA SHOP	<input type="checkbox"/> RESIDENTIAL	<input type="checkbox"/> BAKERY	<input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE FAMILY DWELLING	<input type="checkbox"/> BANK
<input type="checkbox"/> BAKERY	<input type="checkbox"/> DOUBLE FAMILY DWELLING		<input type="checkbox"/> MULTIPLE FAMILY DWELLING	<input type="checkbox"/> GOVT OFFICE OR DEPARTMENT
	<input type="checkbox"/> UNKNOWN			<input type="checkbox"/> HOSPITAL OR CLINIC
				<input type="checkbox"/> GARMENTRY SHOP
				<input type="checkbox"/> STABLE
				<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER
6. ORIGINAL USE (USE ABOVE KEY)			TERTIARY USE	SECONDARY USE
<input type="checkbox"/> UNKNOWN				
7. PRESENT OCCUPANCY			TERTIARY USE	SECONDARY USE
<input type="checkbox"/> HOUSEHOLD	<input type="checkbox"/> HOUSEHOLD	<input type="checkbox"/> HOUSEHOLD		
NO. OF OCCUPANTS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	NO. OF OCCUPANTS	TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL OCCUPANTS
			3	22
8. PUBLIC ACQUISITION (IF KNOWN)			10. PRESENT OWNERSHIP	
<input type="checkbox"/> IN PROCESS			<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC	<input type="checkbox"/> WAGP
<input type="checkbox"/> BEING CONSIDERED			<input type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER
9. PRIVATE ACQUISITION				
<input type="checkbox"/> IN PROCESS				
<input type="checkbox"/> BEING CONSIDERED BY INDIVIDUAL				
11. ENVIRONMENTAL RELATIONSHIP				
URBAN (TOWN)				
<input type="checkbox"/> LOW, INTERMEDIATE	<input type="checkbox"/> ROW, END	<input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE, DETACHED		
RURAL (SHAMBIA)				
<input type="checkbox"/> GROUP, ATTACHED	<input type="checkbox"/> GROUP, DETACHED	<input type="checkbox"/> SINGLE, ISOLATED		
12. THREATS TO BUILDING				
<input type="checkbox"/> DETERIORATION FROM WEATHER	<input type="checkbox"/> MAJOR ALTERATION PROPOSED	<input type="checkbox"/> MAJOR ALTERATION IN PROGRESS		
<input type="checkbox"/> PROPOSED DEMOLITION FOR NEW BUILDING	<input type="checkbox"/> DEMOLITION IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> NO KNOWN THREAT		
<input type="checkbox"/> DEMOLITION IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> MATERIALS BEING CANNIBALISED	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER		
13. PRESERVATION (CONSERVATION) WORK				
<input type="checkbox"/> NO PRESERVATION	<input type="checkbox"/> PRESERVATION IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> MINOR		
<input type="checkbox"/> PRESERVATION PROPOSED	<input type="checkbox"/> PRESERVATION COMPLETED	<input type="checkbox"/> MAJOR		
14. EXISTING SURVEYS OF BUILDING				
<input type="checkbox"/> NONE				
<input type="checkbox"/> YES REFER TO:				

Fig. 3. The Inventory of Usam Ghaidan. Working under the auspices of the Ministry of Lands, Ghaidan's team produced a detailed redaction of the Swahili built environment, coding homes, shops, mosques, and other structures against an inventory of physical characteristics. From *Lamu: A Study in Conservation*, 1976.

TOWARDS A HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE INTERPRETATION

Two principal shortcomings arise from Ghaidan's typological approach. First, those buildings that fell outside "traditional" architecture types were marginalized through the rhetoric of pathology. For example, the team faulted mud and wattle or *macuti* buildings – the most common residential structures on the island – for their supposed lack of architectural merit and their impermanence, arguing that, rather than conservation, they required "improvements" (Ghaidan, 1976: 69-72). Yet many "non-conforming" building types are, in fact, as old as the "traditional" stone houses; these seemingly incompatible buildings play a crucial role in forging adaptation, experimentation and innovation –

qualities that power urban change over time (Brand, 1995; Groth and Bressi, 1997; Simone, 2004: 202-207). The second shortcoming of the typological approach is that it renders opaque the origins, meanings, and changing functions of buildings, substituting broad taxonomic categories for revelatory descriptions. If Swahili architecture constitutes a material inheritance, then the organization of preservation taxonomies suggests an effort to control what anthropologist Yukiko Koga (2008: 223) calls the "instabilities of inheritance". In the context of the Swahili townscape, instabilities such as the ruling class' Arabic origin myths, the racial foundations of oppression, religious tensions, and the legacies of slavery could potentially undermine the nation-building project and economic development potential of historic preservation.

Beyond the limitation of typology, however, lies the more basic question of what constitutes the "distinctive urban tradition" of the Swahili coast. Is it a collection of resultant buildings and structures, or is it the cultural forms, meanings, and impulses that give rise to landscape developments over time? Should the Swahili urban tradition be located in a select grouping of pure case townscapes or architectural typologies that exist apart from modernity? In reality, Swahili towns have never been isolated from the currents of the modern world; rather, their landscapes reflect an ongoing dialogue with and incorporation of new external forms (Simone, 2004: 162-166, 202-207). So where does that leave Ghaidan's notion of a "distinctive urban tradition" for the Swahili coast?

Instead of recapitulating Ghaidan's "distinctive urban tradition", this paper explores an approach to Swahili heritage conservation grounded in the broader notion of "urbanism" and informed by the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. Urbanism refers here to the constitution of cities and city life through politics, economies, social relations, and cultural forms. Scholars who study urbanism regard built environments as both registers and generators of human creativity, social meanings, and power relations. For urbanists, cities are constituted through a dynamic and ever changing mosaic of temporal, spatial, scalar and social relations (Amin and Graham, 1997; Lefebvre, 1974; Mumford, 1938). Because they continually shift, recombine, and adapt, cities are always and inevitably unfinished propositions (Beauregard and Haila, 1997; Shane, 2005). Viewed in this way, Swahili urbanism is not synonymous with particular typologies of architecture, historic eras of development, or modes of town planning, though these are important elements. Rather, Swahili urbanism emerges from the dynamic tensions between land and sea, place making and world seeking, restlessness and cosmopolitanism, which in turn shape the architecture and landscape condition (Mazrui, 1996: 158-161; AlSayyad, 2001[b]).

The following sections trace these tensions through variations in urban spaces of four major cities of the Swahili coast: Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam in United Republic of Tanzania, and Mombasa and Lamu in Kenya (see fig. 2). In order to inform preservationist discourse and practice, the paper presents a

series of short case studies of particular Swahili spaces that most acutely reveal the tensions between dynamic urbanism and the conservatory project and, therefore, offer opportunities for meaningful reinterpretation. The limited argument here is that these landscapes evidence a heritage best characterized as dynamic rather than static, recombinant rather than pure. The broader claim advanced by this paper is that Swahili town conservation will be most effective when it is conceived not as a mission of antique salvage, but rather as one more overlay in a series of landscape innovations characteristic of Swahili urbanism.

THE SWAHILI WORLD

The Swahili coast of East Africa is a system of island archipelagos and mainland port cities bound by language, colonialism, and monsoon trade winds. Early sojourners to the East African coast from Oman, Yemen and Persia encountered an array of small settlements along the coast, at times fragmented or isolated, and at other times conglomerated in complex social and political alliances (Pearson, 2002: 78-83, 155-161; Horton and Middleton, 2000: 72-75; Allen, 1993: 80-82). For one thousand years, merchants, missionaries and migrants have moved people, ideas and goods in a triangular circuit linking East Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, India, Indonesia and China (Sheriff, 1995: 8-15; Pearson, 2002: 63-72; 85-97; Kagabo, 2000). The cosmopolitan maritime society that emerged from this circulatory system established significant port cities by the fifteenth century, and by the eighteenth century a Swahili urban archipelago stretched from United Republic of Tanzania to Somalia (Middleton, 1992: 120-138).

The Portuguese and Yemeni Arabs dominated the Swahili coast through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, succeeded by the Omani Sultanate, which ruled through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from its capital at Zanzibar (Nicholls, 1971; Bhacker, 1992: 88-96). Merchant families amassed substantial fortunes through slave trading, importing of goods, and plantation-based export production (Depelchin, 1991: 14-21, 28-33). Sequent German and British colonial occupations were brutish, but relatively short, stretching from the late nineteenth century to the post-Second World War decades. Tanganyika gained formal independence in 1961 and Kenya in 1963. The islands of Unguja and Pemba – together known as Zanzibar – gained independence in 1963 as a constitutional Sultanate, which was overthrown a year later. In 1964 Zanzibar united with mainland Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s leaders of the East African nations attempted a variety of development initiatives to jumpstart their postcolonial economies, from command production and nationalization in the United Republic of Tanzania to public-private partnerships, import substitution, and market policies in Kenya (Biermann, 1998: 149-167; Ahluwalia, 1996: 5-12). However, since at least the early 1980s,

tourism and related services have provided major sources of foreign exchange and investment, and have led GDP growth in both countries (Sindiga, 2000). Heritage tourism on the Swahili coast accounts for a substantial part of this growth over the past 30 years (Kierkegaard, 2001: 59-63).

DYNAMIC URBANISM IN THE SWAHILI TOWNSCAPE

The openness of Swahili culture and language is reflected in its ever-changing and always incomplete built environment, and it is this dynamic urbanism that emerges from the following case studies. Motivating this paper is a set of basic questions. What is the relationship of this extant tradition of dynamic urbanism to the conservatory project? How can heritage professionals, urban designers and preservation planners move beyond practices governed by aesthetic categories and functional typologies? How can preservation efforts derange the static quality of current policy and instead incorporate dynamic urbanism as a mode of spatial artistry and place making?

This paper follows Usam Ghaidan and his earnest team of surveyors in reading the Swahili townscape as evidence of an urban tradition (Goin, 2001). But the urban tradition drawn from the following cases does not refer to fixed data points, unchanging *mentalités*, or timeless accomplishments of architecture. Instead, the cases present an urban condition formed by absorption, contradiction and innovation – all grounded in a culture characterized by motion and world seeking. Like most maritime peoples, the Swahili developed transoceanic connections, absorbing influences from multiple contact societies (Bhabha, 1994; Young, 1995). Their culture reflects the early globalization of maritime societies through commerce, war, sojourn and (eventually) tourism, with influences spread through language, food, fashion, architecture and urban form (Kaur and Hutnyk, 1999; AlSayyad, 2001b; King, 2004; Kraidy, 2005: 4-6). Moreover, Swahili cities, like all urban settlements, absorb these global influences with varying speed and intensity, while rates of change differ from one period to the next. And innovations in building, design and spatial organization reflect cultural exchanges that occur at multiple scales, along shifting lines of power, with varying degrees of impact (Harris, 2005; Beattie, 2008: 53-54). Thus, Swahili cities can be characterized by what theorist Graham Shane (2005) calls “recombinant urbanism”, an approach that views cultural forms as contingent, architectures as layered and interwoven, and cities as platforms for experimentation and change.

Each of the cases that follow can be most accurately conceptualized in terms of recombinant urbanism; they are sites of rich, unstable and shifting human dramas that flow through – and are shaped by – urban space over time. What makes this accretive and recombinant landscape “Swahili” is the cultural system that undergirds its formation. While dynamic, landscapes nevertheless accrue innovations

through the interpretive web of culture – the beliefs, values, customs and meanings that comprise a social group (Groth and Bressi, 1997: 5-11; King, 1984: 5-7). Moreover, these landscape accretions reflect the interventions of a range of actors specific to the place and with differing scopes of authority, influence and power – from politicians and wealthy landowners to bureaucrats, planners, conservationists and ordinary citizens engaged in their daily routines (Habraken, 2000: 42-54, 88-96; Harvey, 1989: 68-75).

While not a treatise on the intricate temporalities of Swahili town building, the following cases examine artefacts of those temporalities, and must account for them in the interpretive scheme. Different elements of any urban landscape change at different rates, some elements appearing more durable than others (Brand, 1995: 17-23). But what we perceive as durable features of the urban landscape are, in reality, either changing at a less perceptible rate or constructed of solid materials that mask their contingent existence. Meanwhile, those landscape elements that appear ephemeral to us often mask the deeper cultural continuities that produce them. Thus, the cases included here should not be read as archetypes of a categorically pure Swahili urbanity, but rather as nodal spaces where a range of actors have introduced, contested and worked through landscape elements over time. Such spaces pose critical challenges to conservation discourse and practice, and therefore merit close attention.

Commercial spaces

For at least a millennium, trade and commerce have lain at the heart of Swahili culture. But the modes of commerce and the spaces of exchange have changed and multiplied

over time. Rather than stable, authentic Swahili cultural artefacts, commercial spaces in the cities and towns reflect the multiplicity of origins and the cosmopolitan character of coastal life. At first glance, for example, the market in the Old Stone Town of Zanzibar would appear to derive its form from the bazaar, with its narrow passages and dense framework of buildings (fig. 4). However, the market mingles Middle Eastern, Bantu and Indian traditions of display and exchange. Moreover, it is also a space re-engineered more recently by colonialism. Beginning in 1904, British architects designed a series of Beaux-Arts market buildings to rationalize commercial activity and to centralize spaces of exchange for purposes of surveillance and control. Over time, the energetic life of Swahili commerce spilled out into a dense, twisting, makeshift network of stalls. The wooden kiosks depicted in fig. 4 comprise one small section of the larger web of markets that meander through the western edge of the Old Stone Town.

The markets encompass several interlaced building types beyond the British structures and their manifold additions. Narrow alleys grow even narrower with the additions of grade-level kiosks, sheds and projecting rooms attached to older shop fronts. Dozens of vendors sell their wares from “container shops” made from discarded shipping containers hauled over from the port. Moreover, many vendors have transformed their container shops into virtually permanent structures with the addition of walls, roofs and awnings. Other vendors lack permanent space and sell their wares from bicycles, carts, collapsible awnings and other apparatus (fig. 5). Thus composed, the markets thread through and link together numerous transportation stages, neighbourhoods and civic buildings.



Fig. 4. Darajani Old Market, Zanzibar. One of several markets in Zanzibar town, Darajani comprises the largest shopping district on Unguja Island. The section of old Darajani above specializes in print materials, vegetables, legumes and spices.



Fig. 5. Darajani Old Market, Zanzibar. Vendors deploy a plethora of selling strategies that add to the compositional complexity of the market. It is a series of spaces undergoing constant alteration and change.

Vendors array their stalls with produce from near and far: spices, dried and fresh fish, fruits, rice, cloth, coffee and household utensils. Also on display are compact discs of East African, Egyptian and American pop music, as well as videocassettes of films from Hollywood, Bollywood and Hong Kong; most of these discs and cassettes are bootlegged at studios in Dubai and shipped to markets around the world. Newsstands display the latest periodicals from near and far. Men cluster at the stands to breathe in the newsprint – Swahili urbanites are eager consumers of information, constantly hungering for world news.

In keeping with Islamic social mores, men predominate in the market. But Zanzibar is part of the United Republic of Tanzania, and is by law a secular State; as a result, women constitute a substantial presence in public life. The Swahili market is also a place for chance encounters between young people who find themselves momentarily free from the surveillance of adult relatives. Men may pass as women, wrapped head to toe in the full body covering and veils of *hijab*. Women likewise may conceal the elaborate palette of fashions and adornments available to islanders through maritime exchange with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Indonesia, China and India, and influenced by the abundant supply of Bollywood films (Fuglesang, 1994: 114-126; 166-173). Many of the younger men evince a decidedly Western taste for clothes – especially hip-hop fashions obtained from the *mitumba* (used clothing) stalls. Market vendors trade not only goods but also information, news and ideas with one another and with their customers.

This porous, accretive built environment of the market frames the quotidian activity of commercial exchange, and shapes social relationships in the process (Beattie, 2008: 45-46). It provides for daily encounters, both regulated and insurgent, between buyers, sellers, hawkers, tourists, young lovers, expatriates and officials. But conservation officials decry the ramshackle additions to the “original” British market buildings. As planner Francesco Siravo put it in the *Plan for the Historic Stone Town* (1996: 168), “the proliferation of uncontrolled commercial structures and spreading of informal vending areas [have] serious and potentially disruptive implications for the future of the entire area”. The evidence provided for this claim, however, is primarily aesthetic: the makeshift accretions detract from the architectural integrity of the

colonial structures. The conservation discourse emphasizes the architectural form over the social utility and human creativity embodied in the market landscape.

Another kind of commercial space, the informal street market in Mombasa (fig. 6), emphasizes the accretive and makeshift nature of daily trade culture. Of course, Mombasa is a very different place from Zanzibar, even though it remains at heart a Swahili coastal city. Unlike Zanzibar, Mombasa pulses with a continuous flow of activity. It is the busiest, most crowded and hectic city on the coast, where Swahili urbanism collides with and quickens to the hyperactive rhythms of Kenyan culture and civic life. On the streets and in the clubs, traditional Swahili *taraab* music, with its molasses pacing, coastal moods, and ponderous, orchestral complexity gives way to the rollicking, melodious, uptempo guitar twang of Zairian *soukous*. In Mombasa, the frenetic pace does not slow beneath the *jua kali* (hot sun) as it does in Zanzibar.



Fig. 6. Selling the products of the *jua kali*. The Sidiriya district of Mombasa shown here concentrates large stores, small shops, carts and kiosks devoted to selling household dry goods. The vendors above belong to the *jua kali* union – a trade federation of informal producers and marketers headquartered upcountry in Nairobi.

Jua kali is also the moniker given to the informal economy that occupies every nook and cranny of the streets. In fig. 6, *jua kali* vendors set up in the middle of a street intersection to hawk their wares from pull carts. They sell household utensils, cooking pots and pans, trunks, oil lamps and other objects fabricated from recycled metal in backyard operations. Deprivation in materials has led to a range of innovations in the production of the necessities of life. Energized by the tradition of Swahili artisanship, the *jua kali* account for the major portion of the movements, sights, smells and sounds of Mombasa’s busy street life. This informal craft and production sector also supplies the goods, services and innovations that undergird the everyday urbanism of East African cities (King, 1996; Macharia, 1997: 53-60). Employing nearly 6.5 million people in Kenya alone, this so-called “informal” sector is the leading arena for the creation of jobs and absorption of surplus labour in the nation (Adero, 2006).

Mombasa, the largest of East African coastal cities, teems with multi-ethnic and transnational commerce. Rural Mijikenda traders sell their produce in the city’s many open-air markets. Maasai artisans display crafts on makeshift tables along Digo Road. Elite Kenyans from Nairobi as well as foreign nationals from Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Britain and

Germany control the banking, financial and investment sector, as well as most of the major corporations. At the crux of this bustling commercial network is the diverse Indian/Pakistani community – or *wahindi* in Swahili. Many of the shops along the streets pictured in fig. 6 are owned by wahindi families.

The wahindi have been an important part of the Swahili economy for at least 300 years, settling in Kenya and Tanzania first as merchant traders and, through much of the twentieth century, as soldiers and railroad workers in the British colonial project (Romero, 1997: 93-106; Kagabo, 2000: 239-254). Today, Indian immigrants and their naturalized descendants control much of the middling trade, from warehousing to wholesaling and small dry goods retail. They also purvey a large share of the city's *matatus* – the brightly coloured buses and vans that constitute the backbone of the mass transit industry. The wahindi are Gujarati and Punjab, Goan and Pakistani, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Jain. Their temples dot the landscape, and their languages, music, performances, and religious parades and festivals add to the cosmopolitan character of Swahili street life (Salvadori, 1989).

Interstitial spaces

Like commercial spaces, interstitial spaces expose both important Swahili cultural practices as well as the conservation discourses that surround those practices. Interstitial spaces constitute socially marginal moments of transition between landscape elements. They are worlds betwixt and between where urban practices collide, categories unravel and spatial innovations accrue. Very often they also provide the urban connective tissue where distinct architectonic forms shift, change and recombine.



Fig. 7. The jagged edge of Old Stone Town, Lamu. This intersection of paths and structures marks the porous and shifting boundary between the so-called “Old” Stone Town and the “New” Town of *makuti* houses.

The photograph in fig. 7 documents the border in Lamu between Mkomani (Old Stone Town) and the “newer” districts of *macuti* (wattle-and-daub) homes known as Langoni. This border constitutes a classic case of interstitial collision and it documents three key features of Swahili urbanism. First, the border provides an archive of detailed environmental building knowledge gathered from sources throughout the Indian Ocean rim. Second, it records a spatial-temporal matrix

comprised of varied, interpenetrating processes of Swahili coastal home building and place making. And third, it exposes the fault line along which conservationists have differentiated architectural forms to support particular heritage claims.

Much of what we currently delineate as the Old Stone Town developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries under the dominion of the Omani Sultanate, and the “traditional” Swahili homes reflect the changing tastes of their builders. The stone house is dominated by a walled courtyard, from which recedes a stack of rooms that grade the spatial flow from the public to private realm (fig. 8). Ceilings are high for maximum air circulation, and room depths are squat, limited by the length of the mature mangrove poles that comprise the joists. Closely packed residential groups describe large block forms, or *mitaa*, usually inhabited by kinship groups (clans). The divisions between these building groups constitute the street pattern as well as gradations of status within the townscape (Horton, 1997). Narrow streets omit sun and conduct ocean breezes, keeping the town cool even at the hottest time of day.

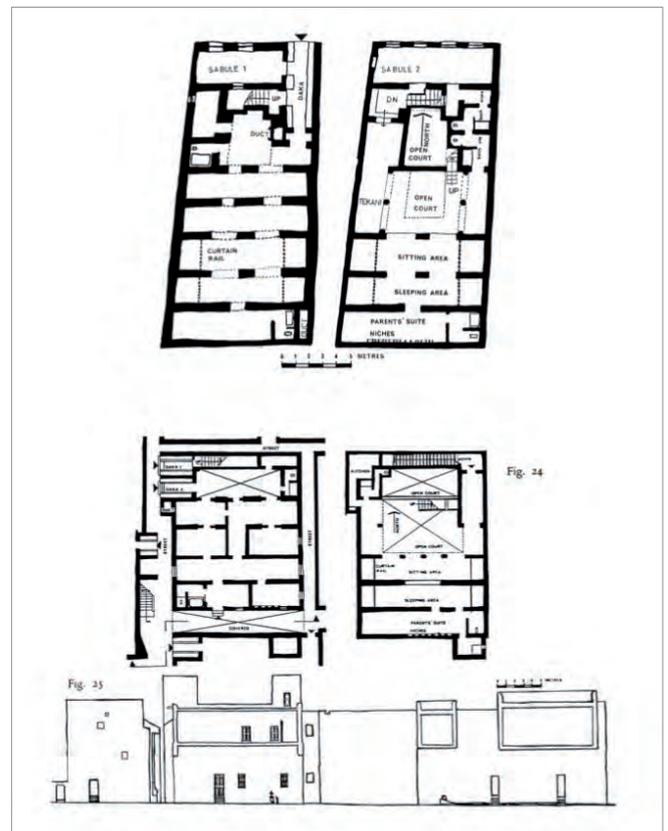


Fig. 8. Plan and section of an Old Stone house in Zanzibar. Like most vernacular residential forms, the Old Stone house presents as multiple variations on a few themes. From *Zanzibar: A Plan for the Historic Stone Town* (1996).

Meanwhile, what Ghaidan referred to as the “unimproved” macuti house follows a vernacular plan that resembles building types found up and down the East African coast. Mangrove poles provide the framing structure, with wattle and daub or crushed coral comprising the walls. A high-peaked thatch roof ensures a maximum of cool air circulation. Most macuti homes contain one room. In rural areas, home expansion is merely a matter of adding one-room buildings

to the compound. In tighter urban areas, families expand the size of their macuti homes by enlarging the ground plan or adding stories vertically.

Some of these macuti houses accumulated architectural modifications, context adaptations, expansions and fashion upgrades over time, according to the flow of wealth into the towns. In fact, many of the celebrated stone houses began their existence as the very wattle-and-daub structures that today press against the boundaries of the Old Stone Town (Horton, 1994: 147-152). Incremental changes over time, such as replacing thatch walls with lime whitewashed coral, re-enforcing ceilings to produce usable rooftops, and articulating homes with architectural fashions from Yemen and Oman, transformed “non-conforming” macuti houses into “traditional” stone houses (Bissell, 2007: 194-195; Donley-Reid, 1990: 114-122). Thus, in boom times, macuti neighbourhoods such as Langoni in Lamu would undergo phase changes, either through rapid upgrading or through multiple tear-downs to make way for the construction of purpose-built “traditional” stone houses (Donley-Reid, 1990) – often constructed of concrete block (see fig. 1). Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this complex, contrapuntal process of modification and rapid transformation constituted the Swahili town-building process.

For conservation officials, however, the grand stone house has long represented the end-state of the Swahili urban tradition. The valorization of stone houses in conservation policy reveals the ongoing commitment to distinct racial typologies and the preference for origin stories that privilege Arab over African roots. Ironically, while the “traditional” Swahili buildings of the Old Stone Town receive much attention from conservation officials, tourists and government programmes, these structures are based on relatively recent architectural borrowings from Yemen, Persia and India. The borrowed forms date to the sixteenth century, and most Stone Town houses standing today were constructed between the late eighteenth century and the mid-twentieth century. The existing macuti houses, while technically much younger (most have been built within the last 20-30 years), reflect a much older vernacular building form – a coastal house plan that predates even Swahili culture itself. Over time, the collision of these two town house forms resulted in an ever-shifting, interstitial line of demarcation that defines ever-shifting class and cultural boundaries. Such divisions persist today and continue to underpin the political culture of Zanzibar. But the colliding forms and porous edges depicted in figs. 1, 7, and 8 reveal alternative origin stories borne out by the ever-incomplete Swahili townscape.

In Dar es Salaam, another interstitial space reveals the social relations present in the landscape: the shoreline. Depicted in fig. 9, the beachfront shanties index the social inequality and creative resistance of people who have been pushed literally to the margins of the city. Here Swahili urbanism transects – and is transformed by – competing versions of cityscape. Located on the mainland, Dar’s urban form reflects the powerful

influence of Tanzanian national culture. The old city of Dar es Salaam unfolds within the long imprint of Omani Arab design, German military engineering, British town planning and the Tanzanian post-colonial socialist State. While the Tanzanian parliament transferred the functions of government to the centrally located city of Dodoma, Dar remains the unofficial national capital; only the National Assembly has relocated (Lusekelo, 2004; Kaufman, 1977). Dar retains most offices of State, embassies and agency headquarters, as well as museums, cultural institutions, theatres, cinemas, and all the varied features of a tourist and leisure economy.



Fig. 9. Seaside as shop floor and neighbourhood, Dar es Salaam. Only a few yards from Dar’s principal coastal motorway stretches an “informal” community of squatters. Some use the land primarily for work, as a dry dock for boat and net repair as well as a station for drying fish. Others have made homes out of the rusted ships lining the beach.

At the core of Dar es Salaam, as in all Swahili cities, is a cosmopolitan maritime culture oriented toward motion, commerce and trade. A great diversity of people and purposes crowds the waterfront promenade, mingling amid the clutter of boats, kiosks, drying fish and nets, all aerated by the breezes off the Indian Ocean. Mixed into this framework are the great temples of the merchant Indian families, high-rise office buildings, shopping malls, petrol stations, fast food chains, and other accoutrements of transnational post-modernity. Today the metropolis radiates in every direction inland from the ocean, sprawling into the hinterlands via tentacular roadways.

Despite the United Republic of Tanzania’s commitment to *ujamaa* (socialism), the Swahili coast has long been part of transnational and global networks of trade. In the background of fig. 9, an emergent skyline announces the most recent wave of global commerce, let loose after 1986 by a series of liberalizing reforms imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as a condition of debt service. This new wave of capital formation proliferates spatially in the offices of multinational banks, investment firms, brokerage houses, petrochemical corporations, and other agents of global commerce that co-locate in the new central business district. The glass boxes of this new high-rise landscape reflect the modernist quest for architectural transparency and render legible the space of capital accumulation, even as they obscure the channels through which wealth and power are organized (Lemmens and van Tassel, 2005: 166-167).

However, as structural adjustment policies induce the socialist State to recede from its once broad commitments, the visual evidence of inequality proliferates. In the foreground of the photograph, the rusty hulls of discarded freighters and tugboats – artefacts of older waves of capital accumulation – have been recycled into a makeshift residential landscape, literally anchoring people to the ocean’s shore. Lining the urban beach, these discarded watercraft provide shelter for port workers, fishermen, dislocated families, prostitutes, vendors, and others requiring proximity to the port or to downtown Dar. This squatter settlement, like others that ring the peri-urban areas of Dar, concentrate people within communities that often lack key services such as potable water, electricity, sewage and waste removal. In this respect, squatters are the front line of urbanization, and the makeshift landscape reflects the incapacity of the formal city to absorb the rapid influx of newcomers (Obudho and Mhlanga, 1988: 5-12; United Nations Human Settlement Programme, 2003: 11-15; 23-31).

At the same time, the shantytowns provide a crucial platform for newly arrived migrants from the upland *shambas* (rural farms) of the interior (Neuwith, 2007: 73-75). Residents have equipped the relegated boats with clotheslines, cook stoves, and even small box gardens on the decks. Vendors set up blankets and tables to sell produce, charcoal, flour and oil, used clothes, snack foods and other goods. This interstitial self-built neighbourhood reflects both the relative tolerance of the Dar municipal government as well as the astounding creativity of Swahili people to shape space within a maritime material culture – indeed, in the case of reclaimed boats, making homes out of the very symbols of that culture (Lugalla, 1995: 73-92; Nnkya, 2006).

Public spaces

At the core of the Swahili townscape of Lamu is the square, the chief public space of the city and a superbly scaled setting for the conduct of daily life (fig. 10). The baking equatorial heat and the austerity of the midday sun against coral whitewash promote calm, slow, shade-seeking movements as residents traverse the pavement and linger beneath the ample trees. But while the square might appear durable and timeless to visitors, it is in fact a fully modern construction. It came to life as the result of the Sultan’s chief public works project – the reclamation of land from the sea – and later underwent a slow but deliberate restoration funded by major multilateral development organizations.

Under the Omani Sultanate, Lamu grew in size and prominence, becoming one of the leading trading ports of the Swahili coast by the mid-nineteenth century. Though nominally part of British imperial expansion in East Africa through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Lamu was sufficiently remote to maintain a degree of autonomy. However, hardships imposed by the First World War, coupled with the construction of deep-water ports in Mombasa and Zanzibar in the 1920s and 1930s, sent Lamu into a long, precipitous decline.



Fig. 10. The Town Square of Lamu, Kenya. Often described as a “classic” Swahili space, the Lamu Town Square is actually part of a modern system of public works initiated by the Sultan and carried forward by the British.

After decades of lassitude under British rule, the post-colonial government of Jomo Kenyatta initiated a technocratic conservation and planning effort in the 1980s, grounded in the important early work of the architect Usam Ghaidan. In 1983 the Kenyan Parliament passed the Antiquities and Monuments Act, empowering the National Ministry of Works and the Kenyan Museums to produce a Conservation Plan for Lamu. The Ministry engaged Francesco Siravo to produce a conservation plan for Lamu focusing on key sites and structures, such as the Old Fort, the Town Square, and the Sea Wall. With funding from the Ford Foundation, the Swedish International Development Agency, Norwegian Aid, and the United Nations Development Project, Siravo and his team completed the plan in 1986 (Hoyle, 2001: 299-303). This effort recharged Lamu – especially the square and the old urban core – with an infusion of expertise and capital. In 2001 UNESCO placed Lamu’s Old Town on the World Heritage List.

Physically, the town square is resultant space, conscribed by Lamu’s chief municipal buildings – the fort, post office, customs house, market, district commissioner’s headquarters, and rows of old Indian and Yemeni merchant houses. One gains access to the square from the north, south, and west via narrow streets, and from the east via the customs walkway that communicates between the fort and the seaside docks. Socially, the square provides a space of circulation, overlap, and encounter between the wealthier families of Mkomani (north of the square) and the poorer families of Likoni to the south (Ghaidan, [1975] 1992: 61-65).

The British colonial administration used the fort as a prison, but today it houses a Swahili culture museum, the city’s main public library, and conservation offices and laboratories. The interior courtyard of the fort has also become one of the city’s principal gathering spaces for concerts, rallies, and other public performances. Such adaptive reuse demonstrates the determination of Swahili people to experiment with and transform even the most obdurate architectural forms of their towns. But conservationists should avoid the temptation to view the forts and squares along the East African coast as traditional spaces of Swahili public culture. Rather, these spaces reflect the critical intervention of a modern State-

directed, international donor-financed urbanism geared towards reformatting a productive but declining “shop floor” waterfront into a site of consumption, tourism and leisure.

A similar process formed the main public space of Zanzibar’s Old Stone Town, the waterfront park of Forodhani (fig. 11). Today the park is central to the heritage infrastructure in Zanzibar, foregrounding the island’s principal tourist attractions, the Ngome Kongwe (Old Fort) and the Beit al-Ajaib (“House of Wonders”), once the Sultan’s ceremonial palace and today the island’s main museum. The Fort contains tourist shops and a restaurant, together with an amphitheatre for concerts, performances and major annual island events, such as Sauti ya Busara (a music festival) and the Dhow Countries International Film Festival.

At the same time, Forodhani is a major civic amenity for island residents where the maritime city embraces its waterfront as a site of leisure. Protected from the ravaging currents of the Indian Ocean, Zanzibar’s Stone Town has served as an important transoceanic port for two centuries. For much of that time, what is now Forodhani was the site of the island’s principal customs station. In the 1930s, however, port traffic shifted to a new harbour developed by British colonial authorities. The Tanzanian national government completed the new harbour in the 1960s with major industrial-scale offloading facilities. While hand-built dhows continued to transport goods and people, their share of maritime commerce fell to the transoceanic tankers loaded with uniform shipping

containers. Meanwhile, in 1935-1936 court officials developed Forodhani as a staging ground for the silver jubilees of King George V and Sultan Khalifa. Since then it has remained Zanzibar’s principal waterfront amenity (Siravo, 1996: 141-142).

Recently refurbished, Forodhani is a bright, tranquil open space with small clusters of vendors, tourists, students, and passers-through. Groups of children wander down during their breaks from the Madrassas to take a dip in the ocean. Workers occasionally take meals or stretch out on the grass to nap, though most Zanzibaris spend the afternoon hours indoors away from the baking equatorial sun. Tourists hang out on the bandstand after spending an hour or two across the street in the Old Fort and nearby Beit al-Ajaib. After relatively quiet days, the night-time park comes to life. Zanzibaris young and old, male and female, gather at the park to promenade, to meet with relatives and friends, and to cool down from a day of blazing equatorial sun. Vendors set up long tables laden with fried squid, urchin, and shrimp, as well as fresh coconut milk, Coca Cola, chai, tamarind soda, and sugar cane. Families, neighbours and friends gather to visit and talk well into the night. Periodically the bandstand serves its intended function as a venue for a traditional *taraab* ensemble or pop group performance.

With the extension of the routine hydrofoil ferry service from the mainland in the 1990s, however, many more Maasia vendors have crowded into Forodhani during the evening. As a result,



Fig. 11. Bandstand at Forodhani Park, Zanzibar. Tranquil by day, the seafront park comes alive nightly with food vendors, hawkers, occasional concerts, strolling families and tourists.

citizens of Zanzibar increasingly regard the waterfront park as a space primarily for tourism. And tourists, who typically use the park space as a respite between visits to island attractions, remain unaware that Forodhani is itself a space produced by histories of colonialism and post-colonial nation building.

Expansion spaces

Markets, stone town houses, waterfront parks and shorelines occupy the old core of Swahili coastal cities. But these cities must grow outward in order to accommodate newcomers, expanding into their peri-urban hinterlands. And while this growth may seem inexorable, the frameworks and modes of expansion are by no means inevitable; rather, urban growth has always been an intensely political process.

The blocks shown in figs. 12 and 13 grew out of the controlling vision of British town planners as they expanded and reconfigured old Mombasa into the space of a new, modern city. Bounded by Moi Avenue, Haile Selassie Road, Uhuru Gardens and Jamhuri Park, this is one of Mombasa's densest neighbourhoods. It is not the old stone town familiar to tourists, with its sixteenth century Portuguese Fort Jesus and its eighteenth and nineteenth century whitewash coral stone townhouses of the Shirazi elite. But it is as much a part of the evolution of Swahili urbanism, and today houses far more people than the older historic districts. This effort to inscribe colonial authority into the organization of Swahili urban spaces reached its pinnacle in 1963 with the publication of Harold Thornley Dyer's Master Plan for Mombasa (Mombasa Municipal Council, 1963). Dyer's plan contended with the fact that large numbers of people from rural areas were migrating into Mombasa, dislocated by a long legacy of colonial agricultural and land use policies that favoured large landowners (Cooper, 1987). But colonial planning efforts faltered before the footloose migrations, entrepreneurial energies and rapid informal build-out of the metropolis. Dyer's plan went largely unimplemented in any case, mooted by the achievement of Kenyan independence in 1964. Nevertheless, builders filled the expansion district with new structures throughout the post-Second World War decades, as development carried forward regardless of the political regime. The result was a densely packed, richly textured neighbourhood with complex block morphologies, irregular parcel geographies, and a hierarchy of roads from well paved to non-existent (Varkey and Roesch, 1981).

Today, the expansion neighbourhood contains a workaday jumble of shops, offices, hotels, rooming houses, apartments, garages, and restaurants (fig. 13). There are also cinemas, music clubs, taverns and other establishments geared towards leisure time. Many of the buildings house residential and low-budget tourist hotels. Rooftop laundering, evident in both figs. 12 and 13, reveals the presence of a sojourning population of newly arrived migrants, displaced and relocating families, office workers, students, and budget-minded backpackers from around the world. More than a handful of the hotels tolerate or openly purvey prostitution. With so many people

in transitional circumstances, the expansion neighbourhood attracts a variety of con artists, plying their trade amid an ever-changing international population. And throughout the night, the twang of live Afro-pop bands washes over the blocks, occasionally drowned out by the thundering base of American hip hop or Egyptian disco blaring from the passing *matatus*. In many respects, the expansion neighbourhood is where the Swahili city remakes itself in a post-colonial world.



Fig. 12. Rooftops of Mvumoni district, Mombasa. The image, taken from the sixth floor of a hotel on Moi Boulevard near Uhuru Park, shows an area just outside the Old Stone Town. Today Mvumoni serves a bursting population with residential flats and hotels.



Fig. 13. Mvumoni district, Mombasa. This mixed-use area features numerous commercial enterprises, from cafés and restaurants to pharmacies, hardware stores, cloth merchants, cinemas, banks, furniture and household-goods shops.

Within the expansion districts in Mombasa, Dar es Salaam, and other British-controlled Swahili cities, planners and builders populated the blocks with buildings conceived in a new architectural vocabulary distinct from the Old Stone Town. The clean-line modern buildings depicted in fig. 14 offer a case in point from Dar es Salaam. Conceived as offices and residences for the urban elite, colonial planners located these buildings close to the political and commercial centre of Dar. Yet as with the derelict ships that line the Dar shore, Swahili urbanites have reformatted these mid-century modern structures for new residential and commercial uses. Modern architecture spread through channels of colonialism – whether by the French in Indochina and West Africa or the United States of America in Puerto Rico and Philippines or the British in India and East Africa. From the 1920s through the 1950s, British town planners, architects, and engineers in Dar emulated their counterparts in Nairobi and Mumbai, laying

out new districts in an attempt to create a legible, predictable and controlled urban landscape (Willis, 1993: 118-122; 145-160). After independence, the Tanzanian national political class readily adapted these modern blocks to suit their needs for an in-town residential and commercial landscape. The architecture firms of C.A. Bransgrove, French and Hastings, Anthony Alameida, B.J. Amuli and H.L. Shah designed the bulk of the city's modernist buildings between the late 1940s and the early 1970s (Lemmens and van Tassel, 2005: 160-162).



Fig. 14. Mussaji Building (1954), architect unknown, Dar es Salaam. Dar bears a substantial imprint of successive colonial occupations, from Omani port developers to the German street grid to the art moderne architecture favoured by British builders.

The Mussaji Building (1954), pictured in fig. 14, is a five-story block of flats near downtown Dar that typifies the best features of durable colonial architecture. Located in a bustling neighbourhood of apartments, greengrocers, clothing stores, restaurants and cinemas, the building contains 16 apartments as well as two storefront shops at street level. The bisymmetry of the modern façade is accentuated by the seemingly machine-tooled Art Deco vertical elements in the centre and by the dramatic circular corner balconies that cantilever over the street. Casement windows ensure that the building imbibes the cool ocean breezes. A riot of wires crosses and connects buildings to one another and to the street posts; the posts conduct the electric grid throughout the city, delivering power to licit and illicit hook-ups.

Swahili urbanism is highly adaptive and open to influences from afar. Viewed abstractly, this building could just as well be in Miami or Tel Aviv. However, examined *in situ* it is clearly part of the diverse architectural conversation of polyglot Dar es Salaam. The knot of wires suggests not simply connectivity, but also fundamental qualities of Swahili urbanism – adaptability, problem-solving, making do, absorbing change. Cities of the East African coast have digested wave after wave of imported and imposed architectural traditions, urban design schemes and technological interventions, incorporating them successively into the local idiom. Such importations become part of the Swahili urban condition with its rich vocabulary and wide-ranging syntax of many tenses and moods.

Template spaces

Even more obdurate than the forts and squares are intrusions into the landscape made by authorities deploying the intellectual apparatus of techno-rational city planning. On the outskirts of the Old Stone Town, in the Michenzani neighbourhood, a regiment of concrete slab tower blocks defines a wholly new urbanism for the Swahili context (fig. 15). A relic of the revolutionary Zanzibar government's socialist reconstruction, these modernist towers resemble the many thousands of such developments in Berlin, Paris, London, Warsaw, Moscow, Chicago, Kiev, Budapest and Prague. Like the Art Deco structures in the expansion districts, the buildings deploy architectural style in order to set them apart from the old city. But unlike the Art Deco buildings, which are defined by their spatial condition, the tower blocks themselves define the space around them. Designed in the International style and constructed by the East German Government between 1965 and 1968, the blocks challenge the landscape with an insistent rectilinear form. The international vocabulary eschewed history in favour of design out of time – a rejection of the architectural past and its oppressive cultural baggage. In place of the particularistic vernacular of the Swahili built environment, with its stark differences rooted in colonial underdevelopment, caste and religion, the East German architects believed that the modernist housing projects would discipline a new spatial format for an egalitarian Zanzibar. This design agenda reflected the aspirations of President Abeid Amani Karume's administration to extend the modern secular State to the provision of basic needs, and to get people out of their "mud hut" dwellings, which Karume viewed as a legacy of colonial underdevelopment (Meyers, 1994: 452-458). The adoption of modernist architecture also reflected the broader post-colonial deployment of Western categories to make claims about African progress and modernity (Hosagrahar, 2005: 131-147).

To a large degree, the socialist project was a victim of its own success and excess. To begin with, where Karume and his architects saw "mud huts", there were actually well-established neighbourhoods of older, solidly constructed homes, each of which played a part in a complex system of ownership, exchange and intergenerational kinship ties. Once replaced with tower blocks, the new socialist landscape did

not so much provision a public good as it did establish a cipher in local power politics. The tower blocks themselves proved to be well enough built and arrayed with sufficient amenities to attract the notice of government patronage networks. Wealthy, politically connected families took up apartments in the tower blocks, sometimes converting their old stone houses into hotels for the tourist market – “authentic” Swahili digs for European consumers (MacCannell, 1999: 96-107). Routine political cronyism trumped the government’s vision of a socialist housing paradise for the masses.



Fig. 15. Tower Blocks of Michenzani, Zanzibar. Laid out along two broad intersecting boulevards, these East-German-designed, Soviet-era apartments introduced a new urban form to the island. Despite their popularity, Karume’s government completed only nine of the 20 towers planned.

Today, the tower blocks are an integral part of the Swahili townscape. The long tradition of hybridity in Zanzibar led to the rapid absorption of the towers into the open, flexible Swahili vernacular. The German-designed tower blocks proved to be no more “internationalist” than the already world-aware Swahili townscape, and the tower blocks derive from a European vernacular that is every bit as rooted in a particular history as is the Swahili built environment. Indeed, as Jyoti Hosagrahar (2005) has argued in the case of Delhi, the very notion of “traditional” architecture is itself a modernist concept that serves to legitimate the authority of Western architects to define the “universal” language of design. Residents of Zanzibar have rendered the a-historical historical, bending the universal aspirations of modern architecture and the nationalist project of the revolutionary government into local networks of patronage. And in any case, cosmopolitan Swahili society had already provided its own version of internationalism, one that absorbed and announced new ideas through an East African cultural vantage.

Like the tower blocks, the practice of heritage conservation – represented by the incised sewer cover in fig. 16 – constitutes a radically new template of urbanism layered atop the Swahili coast. This emergent form of townscaping has generated new divisions of wealth as residents convert historic resources (houses, beaches, old forts, antiques, crafts, performance traditions) into valuable commodities for tourists (Bissell, 2000). As a systematic encoding of the landscape, however, heritage practice will have a much more far-reaching impact

on Swahili urbanism than the more dramatic, but spatially limited, intervention of modernist tower blocks. In deploying these codes, municipal officials, religious leaders, scholars, and civic activists in Swahili cities confront basic questions about how to organize collective memory into official narrative. What are the frameworks of selection? What elements are to be included or excluded in the telling of stories about the past? How can conservators capture the dynamism and cosmopolitanism that produced the townscape through a process that fixes narratives and finalizes the accretions of history?

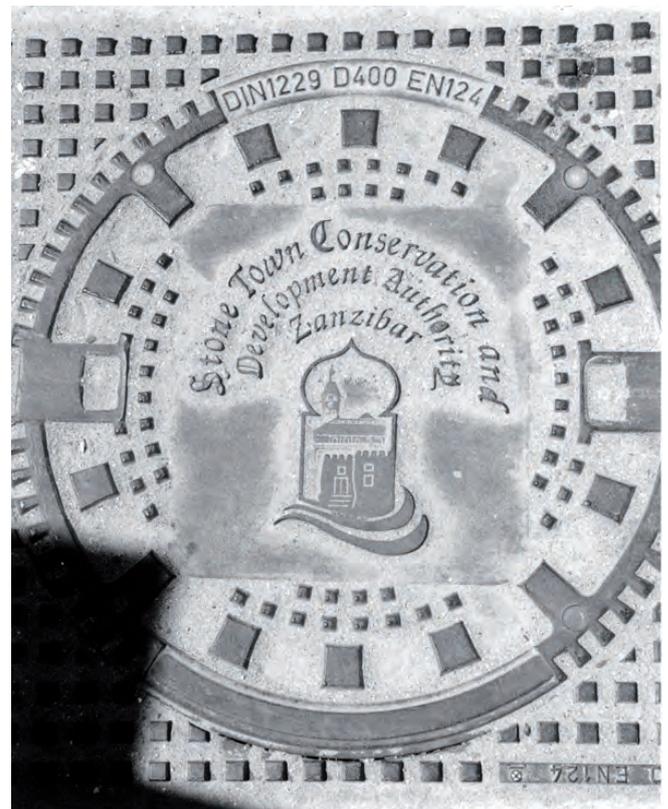


Fig. 16. Incised Sewer Hole Cover, Zanzibar. The design and distribution of this infrastructure element announces the reach of a new kind of urban political entity – the conservation and development authority.

As the “Tintin in Zanzibar” mural in fig. 17 suggests, high-style, tourist-oriented architecture formed the basis of the new political economy of conservation, as townscape diversity subsumes beneath elite narratives of history and place. In the mural, the Old Fort of Zanzibar looms behind Tintin’s speeding automobile, providing the exotic backdrop against which the European colonial adventure unfolds. Likewise, the white sand baked into the crevices of the sewer hole cover underscores the connection of land and town to the great Indian Ocean. To this extent, both the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority and the anonymous muralist accurately link the Swahili built environment to the oceanic currents, monsoon winds, and colonial interventions that shaped coastal mobility and commerce over the centuries. The objection that these representations are likely to have emerged from the canny design hand of Swahili artists does not diminish the complex histories of colonialism and elitism that underlie such urban imaginaries.

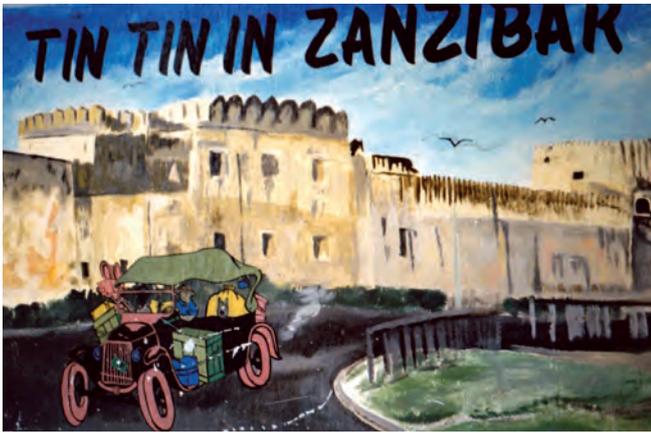


Fig. 17. Mural, Zanzibar. This painting on the wall of a residential building in Old Stone Town depicts intrepid journalist Tintin and his dog Snowy, creations of the Belgian cartoonist Hergé, driving past the Old Fort.

Absent from the representations are the many and diverse elements that comprise the ordinary Swahili townscape: wattle-and-daub macuti homes, commercial buildings, warehouses, schools, hospitals, libraries, university campuses, giant high-tech loading cranes, parks, soccer pitches, socialist housing schemes, discarded ships, and the many and sundry place-making practices of Swahili men, women and children. The onion dome of the mosque describes a seemingly timeless Islamic culture, but obscures the long histories of struggles among Islamic sects, between Muslims and animists, as well as the presence of a wide array of religious traditions and influences. The sewer cover image freezes a vision of the Swahili past untroubled by wars, colonial occupation, anti-colonial struggle and other historic ruptures. To be sure, these depictions of heritage in the form of the mosque, palace and fort draw on important elements of Swahili coastal history. But they also reveal a highly selective architectural vocabulary that privileges a particular origin narrative, which in turn exerts a profound influence over political and economic priorities in heritage investments (Horton and Middleton, 2001: 16-21; Pouwels, 2004: 35-37, 127-133; Bissell, 2007).

Finally, the sculptural quality of the sewer hole cover belies the fact that, rather than a stand-alone piece of art, it is a mechanically reproduced image broadcast throughout the sewer network. On the one hand, as a product of industrial design its replication suggests that the architectural achievements of the Swahili and European elites can now be read as part of the Swahili commonweal, successive idioms formed and reformed into a unified vernacular expression available to all through the technocratic benevolence of the State – a proper narrative of conservation and power. However, the extension of this image is limited by the scope of the sewer system, which in turn is limited by decisions of elite officials regarding the location of public capital improvements. Ironically, these popular artistic forms (the incised sewer hole cover, the mural) promote an elite-driven conservation narrative to the foreign investors and well-off families that reside atop the sewer network and to the tourists who share their world.

In 1985, the governing Revolutionary Council of Zanzibar adopted a Master Plan for the city. Prepared by a team of urban planners from China, the document did not establish an explicit scheme for the preservation of Old Stone Town, but did recommend the formation of a heritage conservation effort geared to tourism, development and foreign exchange (UNESCO, 2001: 19-20). Responding quickly to these recommendations, the Zanzibar Government authorized the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority to make a rudimentary assessment of Zanzibar's building stock. Then, in June 1992, with funding from the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, planners working under the auspices of the Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy, Lands and Environment launched an extensive inventory of the physical fabric of the Old Stone Town (Balcioglu, 1995: 131-132). The result of these efforts was the Stone Town Conservation Plan, adopted in 1994 and featuring thoroughly revised baseline maps, a database of architectural, social, economic, and land tenure conditions, infrastructural and streetscape reports, and traffic flow analyses (Siravo, 1995: 135-138). To activate the plan, the Tanzanian Government directed the STDCA to exercise oversight of a range of new building codes, and to develop linkages to bilateral and multilateral agencies.

Over the course of two decades since the adoption of the Stone Town Conservation Plan, a range of local, national, and international bodies have contributed to the rehabilitation of hundreds of Stone Town buildings. Major grants from the Aga Khan Trust had already resulted in the restoration of Grade I listed buildings such as the Beit al-Ajaib, the Old Fort, the Custom House, the Dispensary, and the People's Palace. Between 1998 and 2004, the STDCA partnered with the Swedish Development Cooperation Agency to operate the Stone Town Urban Housing Rehabilitation Programme. The Programme funded the restoration of nine large historic stone houses owned by the Government or religious charities for the purpose of providing low-income housing to over 500 families (Jodido, 2011: 192). Throughout the early to mid-2000s, successive restoration projects generated a raft of detailed case studies and new technical knowledge covering restorative practices such as floor repair, wall bracing techniques, coral aggregation, lime mortar and wash, window treatments, arch reconstruction, drainage, and timber conservation (Battle and Steel, 2001; Carbonetti, 2004). Thus, in considering the future of urban conservation on the Swahili coast, the challenge is not a lack of technical knowledge or State legal authority. And while funds are limited, both the Tanzanian and Kenyan Governments remain committed to partnering with non-governmental organizations, civil society groups, and international signatory bodies to effect conservation projects. Rather, the major challenge is to increase the relevance of conservation to everyday urban life, whether by increasing awareness among building owners and tenants or expanding participation by citizens in all levels of decision-making.

These goals can only be accomplished by creating more inclusive narratives of architecture, landscape, and history. Where, then, do the concepts of a dynamic, recombinant, and cosmopolitan urbanism outlined in this paper take us as we deliberate new conservation practices?

While the following recommendations draw from the Swahili case, they nevertheless have broad implications. Currently, UNESCO recognizes over 260 World Heritage Cities and around 350 World Heritage sites located within cities. These urban heritage sites, particularly in the global South, face substantial challenges, including unyielding rural-to-urban migration, rapid and poorly planned development, and unsustainable competition for resources (Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012: 75-76, 175-182). To adapt heritage practices to these challenges, UNESCO adopted the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape*. It constitutes a major improvement on current practices, providing general guidelines for the framing of urban heritage in the context of the dynamic character of cities.

Based on the Swahili case, several recommendations follow – three major conceptual shifts and four policy implications that emerge from such shifts. First, heritage officials should reframe the discourse of conservation in order to remove the language of stasis and archetype from heritage programming, cultural resource management, and restoration practice (Sinha and Sharma, 2009: 204-205). Typically, conservationists strive to describe the “period of significance” for buildings and structures, and subsequently to devise codes geared towards restoring the historic built environment to an archetypal norm. Thus, history begins and ends comfortably in the past. But as Jorge Otero-Paillos, Amita Sinha and others have argued, conservation should not simply unfold as an artefactual discipline, archival project, or spatial fix; rather, it should enrich our “sense of time” while providing a new point of departure for incorporating historic resources into urban development (Otero-Paillos, 2005: iv; Nagpal and Sinha, 2008: 59; Sinha and Sharma, 2009: 209-210). After all, conservation is both a spatial and a temporal discipline, and its practice should not result in the sublimation of change over time to the reification of space.

Second, heritage officials should interrogate the ways in which current conceptualizations of Swahili history limit conservation discourse, and in turn urban form. As William Bissell argues in the case of Zanzibar, most conservation efforts have failed “to account for or even grasp the intricacy of social relations and spatial practices in the city”. Up and down the Swahili coast, heritage consultants and bureaucrats continue to deploy essentialist racial categories such as African, Arab and Indian, mapping them against batteries of built environment traits, ultimately reifying colonial categories and exacerbating the social and economic cleavages of Swahili cities (Bissell, 2007: 182-184). This permits the construction of colonial nostalgia for tourist consumption, but it does little to embed historic cultural resources within the lived experience of daily life for most citizens of the Swahili coast. Instead, deliberations over

the form, nature and meaning of Swahili urbanism – and over the cultural significance of the historic built environment – ought to include a broad segment of the population. Major international signatory bodies, including the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), have identified the unequal distribution of access to planning around cultural resources to be a problem of profound importance (ICOMOS, 2004: 9-10, 41-44).

Third, heritage and town planning practice should recognize that designations such as “Old Stone Town” are ultimately discursive creations, formed and concretized by successive political commitments. Indeed, as Shirine Hamadeh (1992) has argued in the case of the Islamic “Walled City”, the notion of something called an “Old Stone Town” is largely a colonial construction, reinforced by post-colonial heritage practice. In shifting to the view of Swahili urbanism as dynamic, recombinant and cosmopolitan, heritage officials can begin to redraw the relationship between “historically significant” and “non-conforming” landscapes, looking to the social utility of the historic built environment for clues to its potential for adaptation. Clearly, all landscapes are historically produced; how we define significance and what we do with that definition is the key consideration. While buildings designated as “historic resources” will inevitably exist in tension with buildings that are not so designated, this tension can be either damaging or productive. The productivity of these tensions depends on how far citizens of Zanzibar or Mombasa or Lamu are consulted in the heritage process, and on the extent to which investments in designated and undesignated landscapes are equalized.

Four general policies emerge from this broad reconceptualizing. The first policy is perhaps the most readily enacted: to incorporate recent research findings on Swahili history into the definition and interpretation of designated historic buildings. Current research demonstrates that much of the historic Old Stone Towns of Swahili cities are accretive landscapes; that they did not well up whole cloth from some unitary vision, but rather settled into their current state through centuries of improvements, multiple cycles of investment and decline, and changing tastes and fashions. Many of the greatest stone buildings began life as “non-historic” wattle-and-daub “huts” – a form once derided by colonial and conservation officials. Rather than uniformly ethno-racial taxonomies such as “African” or “Indian” or “Arab”, historic preservation narratives should incorporate research that indicates a far more diverse and intertwined set of influences on the built environment, from multiple borrowings to intermarriages that together create hybrid, creolized and cosmopolitan landscapes.

The second policy that emerges in the case of Swahili town conservation is to broaden substantially the definition of historic significance, coupled with a recalibration of restoration standards. By expanding the net, heritage officials will capture more buildings within the “historic” purview, bringing far greater inclusiveness to the narrative of place. This will require the first major attempt by conservationists to look beyond the

Old Stone Towns to the surrounding urban frame, to examine and record the twentieth-century built environments reflected in the preceding photographs – and to do so in historicized terms. The expansion of historic significance will have the additional benefit of de-territorializing the Old Stone Towns, wrenching these districts out of their “island within an island” isolation and placing them into much-needed dialogue with the cities that surround and sustain them. At the same time, this expansion should be coordinated with an effort to fine-tune the restoration standards, graded against considerations such as level of significance, degree of need, current uses, local interests, and time to completion. A ladder approach to restoration will avoid blanketing cities with inappropriately uniform codes while staunching tendencies toward dislocation that can result when codes are applied to properties where residents have no capital to invest.

The third policy that emerges from this study is that of investment parity. Conservation officials should advocate a linked development process where capital sums invested in “historic” neighbourhoods are matched by similar sums invested in “non-historic”, especially low-income neighbourhoods. This is not only socially just but also good preservation practice. As Stephen Battle (1991: 33) observed, the worst outcome would be to establish a tightly defined, geographically contiguous “historic” area of elite homes surrounded by an ocean of poor neighbourhoods stressed by lack of funds to lift buildings out of decline. Even modest parity can produce more egalitarian results; while 100,000 shillings invested in an elaborate Old Stone Town mansion may not go far, the same amount invested in a poor neighbourhood – especially in infrastructure – produces substantial multiplier effects. After all, funds spent on conservation are social investments like any others, and should be broadly deployed. The Stone Town Urban Housing Rehabilitation Programme detailed earlier in the paper provides a model for greater equity. But such investments should not stop at the edge of the Old Stone Town. Ultimately, linked development funds for infrastructure upgrading in poorer neighbourhoods constitute another form of heritage practice.

Finally, the fourth policy that emerges from the findings of this study is perhaps the most challenging of all: to make the heritage process transparent to all citizens. At the simplest level, this suggests a significantly expanded role for citizens in the process of identifying, defining and interpreting the heritage resources of their city. But beyond public input meetings, design and planning workshops, focus groups and surveys, this policy also suggests an active role on the part of heritage officials to lay bare their own practices. For example, Old Stone Town house museums should be reinterpreted to include not just lessons on Swahili architecture and urbanism, but also accounts of conservation practices as they change over time. The socially constructed nature of heritage should be reflected in any historic buildings open to the public through practices such as: leaving small sections unrepaired; peeling back layers of construction to reveal original (less highly regarded) materials; delineating the codes that govern

the restoration; identifying the complex history of ownership and use of buildings; adopting contemporary designs for all future additions and changes. Conservation ideology is deeply embedded in a long history of colonial and post-colonial political practices. Swahili citizens can at once be proud of their built heritage and at the same time cognizant of the global tourist desires served by that heritage. This transparency makes for a richer conversation about heritage, to be sure, but it also brings citizens a modicum of control over their own history as they imagine a future for their past.

CONCLUSION

In the end, like all elements of architecture and urbanism that have washed over Swahili cities and towns, conservation provokes yet another round of accommodation and resistance. Residents contest representations of the past and raise questions about how certain historic built elements come to be supported by public investment while other elements fall outside of the conservation narrative. Indeed, the flexible nature of Swahili urbanism hints at one possible future of the past: that conservation will settle into the townscape not as a last proclamation of the order of things, but rather as one in a succession of landscape innovations. The problem with this outcome is that it eludes basic questions of cultural patrimony, of the social constructed-ness of heritage infrastructure, and of the just distribution of access to cultural resources. To be sure, the heritage tourism industry accounts for an ever-increasing share of the Gross Domestic Product of Global South nations such as the United Republic of Tanzania and Kenya (Rypkema, 2005), and the Swahili cities are major generators of this revenue. But without significant shifts in how Swahili architecture and urbanism are conceptualized, donors, state officials, local practitioners and outside conservationists will continue to isolate the historic built environment from its dynamic origins and contexts. The result will be not only historically problematic but also culturally and economically unjust.

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LESSONS FROM THE ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE ON LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE CHANGE

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INTRODUCTION: PROTECTION AS TRANSFORMATION

Antoine Lavoisier (1743-1794), a French pioneer, father of modern chemistry, once stated: "Nothing is lost. Nothing is created. Everything is transformed"¹. Both nature and humankind contribute to this continuous transformation process, influencing each other, at their own pace and in their own manner. Mankind, however, can decide to challenge the laws of nature and strive to protect what is predestined to be transformed. However, such effort also requires transformation. Thus, rather than being opposites, as often echoed in cultural heritage management, protection needs to start being understood as a challenging form of transformation; a form of transformation whose main aims are to maintain and restore cultural significance, even when proposing to improve or partially replace cultural heritage properties.

Protection and conservation have proved to be most successful when they are community-led and community-based. Hence the strategic objective of the World Heritage Committee adding a fifth C of Communities, in 2007, to the four Cs of Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication, which were adopted in 2002.

Over recent years, international organizations such as UNESCO and the European Commission have published a series of recommendations, resolutions and conventions, raising awareness of the protection of cultural heritage and its context, and providing guidance on how transformations should take place. Recently issued are the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO, 2011); the 2005 Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (United Nations, 2005), and, with regard to Europe in particular, the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage, also known as the Faro Convention (COE, 2005). These documents aim to promote and raise awareness of the World Heritage Convention as a

vehicle for sustainable urban development, rather than solely for protection.

These doctrinal texts are most inspiring on "what" should happen, leaving the "how" open for national and local interpretation. This results in a lack of exact global targets for the protection of cultural heritage, whereas such precision is already in place for e.g. mitigation of climate change. The European Member States agreed to settle as goal the 20 – 20 – 20 targets, with a 20% reduction in EU greenhouse gas emissions from 1990 levels, raising the share of EU energy consumption produced from renewable resources to 20%, and 20% improvement in the EU's energy efficiency.²

On one hand, it can be argued that the absence of such exact targets offers countries the opportunity to work within their own set of resources and cultural traditions and habits. On the other, one cannot disregard the effect of not agreeing precisely on when, how and how many of the common goals are to be reached. The line between positive and negative transformations, and between sustainable and unsustainable urban development remains vulnerable to partiality (Sutherland et al., 2004). Its misuse to attain short-term goals has proved to affect the more long-term ambitions on which cultural heritage management is based worldwide (Labadi and Long, 2010).

The decision to protect while transforming natural and cultural environments, probably accompanies mankind since its genesis, as it is strongly linked to human ecology and on how humankind and nature relate. Hall (1997) argues that humankind conveys meaning to "our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them". However, Hall (1997) also elaborates on the fact that as humankind changes, "meanings, will accordingly always change, from one culture or period to another".

Six centuries ago, Leon Battista Alberti, an Italian humanist, already complained about the abundance of incompetent contractors in Rome "who could not start a new building without demolishing everything on the site as the first operation" (Alberti, 1452). However, the same Alberti also stated it "to be a rare occurrence for a great building to be completed by the same person who began it"³. Thus, it is not a principal question of whether transformation should or should not occur. It is more an ethical question of how transformations should impact on the buildings under intervention.

In fact, transformation is inevitable and somewhat predictable through its varied life spans, such as the life cycle (durability), and the service, design and economic life cycles (Pereira Roders, 2007). Therefore, unless transformation is also targeting protection, the state-of-authenticity and integrity of cultural heritage properties will always decrease in time.

1 <http://www.antoine-lavoisier.com/>

2 http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index_en.htm

3 Translated from the original Latin "Maxima quaeque aedificatio vox numquam dabitur per eundem absolvi possit, qui possuerit" by Cramer and Breiting (2001, pp. 9).

Consensus on the limits of acceptable change, further explained, on how far transformations are allowed to deviate from the main aims to maintain and restore when changing cultural heritage properties is therefore crucial. The time of nomination is often referenced as the baseline to their state of conservation (ICOMOS, 2011), but seldom includes defined limits of acceptable change, beyond which the state of authenticity and integrity would be considered irreversibly damaged.

LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE CHANGE

One of the notions bridging the ethical question between protection and transformation, and which could be settled as an exact global target, is the notion of *limits of acceptable change* (LAC). Developed in the context of designated wilderness in the United States of America, LAC is “the definition of acceptable social and environmental conditions in the management area and the prescription of measures to monitor and protect these conditions” (Stankey et al, 1985). LAC has already been applied in varied management fields. LAC has been mostly used for nature conservation (Diedrich et al, 2011), tourism management (Gössling, 1999) and its sustainability (Wallace and Pierce, 1996 and Ahn et al., 2002).

Stakeholders and scholars active in cultural heritage management do not often reference LAC directly. Instead, LAC is nearly always mentioned indirectly, whenever discussing theories, policy analysis or assessing the impact of transformation trends in the built environment. LAC in cultural heritage management concerns the defined limits to what can or cannot change in the built environment, often decreed in urban planning and conservation policies. The greatest difference in cultural heritage management might be that currently LAC are mostly found applied in binary scales (yes/no), to either allow or prohibit transformations to comprise certain changes. LAC are found applied in most varied levels. Two of the most common are the levels of change e.g. protected areas can hardly be changed, non-protected areas can even be replaced, and the building level, e.g. building interiors, can be replaced, building façades cannot be changed. Especially when applying LAC in extremes as per the examples provided, this binary scale can have serious repercussions in urban development, where the disparity between areas, protected and non-protected, and the escalation of urban planning-related disobedience are two of the main concerns.

The disparity between areas results from the attempt to compensate extremely high LAC in protected areas with extremely low LAC in non-protected areas. That has proven to cause situations such as the abandonment and non-use of protected areas (Shin, 2010), gentrification (Smith, 1998), the domestic migration of local communities and their investment to the non-protected areas (Marks, 1996), as well as the decline in architectural and urban planning quality outside protected areas. Attempts to mitigate such imbalance in use between

areas are being put into practice by scaling levels of change according to the importance of cultural heritage properties (e.g. order 1, 2, 3 monuments), though these scales seem to be based on weighting, ranging from more to less important, rather than on their cultural significance (Amsterdam, 2013). As such, areas conveying similar cultural significance are often found with variable scaling, reflecting the allowed level of change.

The escalation of urban planning-related disobedience, meaning the infringement of conservation and planning policies in urban contexts, results from the attempt to force transformations in protected areas which do not comply with the decreed LAC. Three of the most common patterns, referred to in contexts with a binary scale towards the LAC, are: the abandonment and non-use of protected buildings until they collapse, occasionally “helped” by arson (Chiou et al., 2009); the approval of development projects under exceptional circumstances, sometimes resulting in corruption (Trumbull, 2013) and illegal construction, often escaping criminal sanction (Boxem and Furhen, 2011).

Meanwhile, the latest debates explore the potential of more gradual scales of LAC (Pereira Roders and Van Oers, 2013), where changes are kept under observation through periodical monitoring and are only halted when reaching the decreed LAC. The main difference between a binary and a gradual scale is that the latter allows changes to occur, accepting the loss of attributes until reaching the minimum state of integrity required to keep cultural significance understood. Such an approach is illustrated in the Coliseum, in Italy. Its current state of authenticity and integrity is not the one that remained over time, but the one considered to be necessary – including parts restored – reclaiming an earlier state of integrity needed to convey its cultural significance. However, as ICOMOS puts forward in its guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments regarding cultural World Heritage properties, despite growing attention there is still a lack of consensus on the usefulness and operationalization of LAC (ICOMOS, 2011). Therefore, further research is very welcome, at both global and local levels, not only exploring variations in LAC but also their impact over time in cultural heritage management and in urban contexts, where transformations are expected to escalate in this urban century.

LEARNING FROM PRACTICE

“Outstanding Universal Value, World Heritage Cities and Sustainability” is a step forward in raising understanding for LAC integrated into heritage impact assessments applied in World Heritage properties located in an urban context. It is an international research project, which since 2009 has been jointly executed by Eindhoven University of Technology (TU/e), the Netherlands, and UNESCO’s World Heritage Centre. The main research aim is to gain a better understanding of the role heritage impact assessment practices will play in

protecting the cultural significance of heritage properties and in facilitating decision-making as regards sustainable development of their urban setting and context, by means of evidence-based research.

The purpose is to develop a groundbreaking tool, Protected Urban Planet⁴ (PUP), which enables academics and practitioners to learn from practice. PUP is being developed to assist the comparison of protected urban areas worldwide and to underline best practices. Besides locating the World Heritage cities and their cultural significance of outstanding universal value (OUV), PUP inventories heritage impact assessment practices, and reveals their sustainability and effectiveness in mitigating the adverse effects of specific change agents related to urban development.

A global and a local line of research were defined in parallel for this research project. The global line focuses on the entire selection of World Heritage cities and aims at the identification of geographical and temporal patterns. The local line concerns the case studies, where PhD researchers, trainees and MSc students are challenged to focus on specific issues in World Heritage cities. The comparison between local and global data allows validation and knowledge sharing. The case studies, 13 so far⁵, have proved to assist governments and their heritage managers with monitoring the OUV of their World Heritage city, when performing heritage impact assessments on proposed development projects.

LEARNING FROM THE ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE

The main objective of the case study on the Island of Mozambique was to reveal and debate the impact of the socio-

4 www.protectedurbanplanet.net

5 2009: Evora, Porto and Guimarães (Portugal); Salamanca (Spain) and Willemstad (Curacao); 2010: Galle (Sri Lanka) and Zanzibar (United Republic of Tanzania); 2011: Island of Mozambique (Mozambique) and Amsterdam (Netherlands); 2012: Macao (China); Valparaiso (Chile); Queretaro (Mexico); Edinburgh (Scotland) and Amsterdam (Netherlands).

economic changes on the protection of the cultural heritage of the Island of Mozambique. The changes were caused by the legislation decreeing the ownership regime, implemented after independence from Portugal in 1975. The team looked at the property regime and use, the properties themselves, how they have changed in time and their condition. By comparing and relating the results it became possible to distinguish patterns and identify the impact of these national governance strategies on the protection of cultural heritage properties.

The research team comprised a group of students from TU/e and from Universidade de Lúrio (Unilúrio), coordinated by Ana Pereira Roders (TU/e), Jaime Aguacheiro (Unilúrio) and Jens Hougaard, on behalf of the Conservation Office of the Island of Mozambique (GACIM), part of the Ministry of Culture in Mozambique. An incompatibility of timeframes prevented direct cooperation between the two groups of students. Nonetheless, they did use similar methods and tools. Priority was given to "Stone Town", as this urban area was the most affected by the changes in the governance strategies concerning the ownership regime. While TU/e students completed the research on "Stone Town", Unilúrio students began research on "Macuti Town" (see figure 1).

Previous research in 1982-85 by the School of Architecture of Aarhus, Denmark (coordinated by Jens Hougaard) in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture in Mozambique, was crucial in providing a base for comparison with the present research. The research report, generally known as the "Blue Book" (Aarhus, 1985), is very important for cultural heritage management on the Island of Mozambique. Besides, having supported the inclusion in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1991, it became the reference book for interventions on the Island of Mozambique. Last, it provides a snapshot in time on the property rights and context, cultural significance and condition of the Island of Mozambique, during nationalization, the first ownership regime phase after independence.

The Island of Mozambique was placed on the UNESCO World Heritage List, under criteria (iv) and (vi). When justifying the selection criteria, ICOMOS (1991) highlighted under



Fig.1. Division between Macuti Town on the left and Stone Town on the right (Damen et al., 2012)

criterion (iv) “the town and the fortifications on the Island of Mozambique, and the smaller Island of St. Laurent, are an outstanding example of an architecture in which local traditions, Portuguese influences and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Indian and Arab influences are all interwoven”. Under criterion (vi), the Island of Mozambique was considered to bear “important witness to the establishment and development of the Portuguese maritime routes between Western Europe and the Indian subcontinent and thence all of Asia”. According to ICOMOS (1991), “the incredible architectural unity of the Island derives from the uninterrupted use of the same building techniques, with the same materials and the same decorative principles”. This paper elaborates on the limits of acceptable change and respective application in practice to protect the architectural unity of the Island of Mozambique.

ARCHITECTURAL UNITY AND LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE CHANGE OF THE ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE

There are two main governmental institutions involved in protecting the architectural unity of the Island of Mozambique. These are the Local Authorities of the Island of Mozambique and the Office of Conservation of the Island of Mozambique (GACIM), affiliated to the Ministry of Culture in Mozambique. In accordance with No. 2 of Article 15 of Decree No. 27/2006 of 13 July 2006, on the Special Status of the Island of Mozambique, with its constitution, GACIM was given responsibility to:

- (a) promote and plan scientific research activity about the Island of Mozambique;
- (b) analyse, evaluate and authorize new construction projects;
- (c) review, evaluate and advise on plans for the conservation and restoration of listed buildings or those in the process of classification;
- (d) propose programmes for the conservation and restoration of listed buildings;
- (e) promote awareness and respect for the laws and national and international policies on the preservation and conservation of built heritage;
- (f) provide technical assistance and supervise activities related to research, preservation and enhancement of the heritage of the Island as a whole;
- (g) supervise the specialized agencies in monitoring, surveillance and inspection of underwater research activities, as well as the restoration of movable and immovable property of the Island;
- (h) promote educational programmes on cultural heritage and environment on the Island of Mozambique;

- (i) organize a file of information on the heritage of the Island, by creating a computer database or similar;
- (j) promote cultural tourism;
- (k) promote partnership for advice and technical assistance and support for projects of conservation, rehabilitation and sustainable development of the Island;
- (l) manage the rental contracts of the classified buildings or those under classification.

The policies and regulations protecting in general the architectural unity of the Island of Mozambique are varied.⁶ In principle, no new construction is allowed on the Island of Mozambique. It thus adopts an extremely high LAC towards transformation. Exceptions can be made if there is evidence of indisputable public interest, and in the absence of disregard for the principles of conservation. Thus, in those exceptional cases, LAC has been defined in more detail in the *Código de Posturas* – Code of Postures (AMCIM, 2011).

It follows a binary scale approach (yes/no), and regards the following rules for construction works: maintain and restore are the main aims. Replacements are only recommended in cases where materials other than the traditional ones have been used e.g. cement. Damaging vegetation is also recommended to be removed. It is forbidden to demolish building façades, as well as any other historical elements, such as stones, doors, windows, chandeliers and structural beams. That also includes the ruins or abandoned buildings. The LAC focus is:

Macro scale	Micro scale
▶ Pattern of streets and streetscapes e.g. heights and street alignment	▶ Building area, volume, morphology and structural plan
▶ Parks and open spaces in existing developed areas	▶ Traditional building techniques
▶ Street pavement on the main streets;	▶ Traditional building materials
▶ Lighting systems	▶ Traditional decorative principles and elements (architectural expressions)
▶ Work buildings, public roads, non-built spaces, walls, vegetation and natural formations, ensuring its preservation	▶ Traditional colours
	▶ Water storage

⁶ Resolução n. 22/AMCIM/2010, Código de Posturas; Lei n. 19/2007 e Decreto n. 23/2008, Ordenamento do Território; Lei n. 19/1997 e Decretos complementares, Lei de Terras; Diploma Legislativo n. 1976 e Decretos complementares, Regulamento Geral Das Edificações Urbanas (RGEU); Lei n. 10/88 e Decreto n. 27/2006, Património Cultural, and, Decreto n.º 2/2004 e Decreto n.º 2/2008, Licenciamento.

The field research results of 1982-1985 clarify the origin of such architectural unity by stating that "the homogeneity is emphasized by the fact that through the centuries the builders have employed the same materials (limestone and wood), the same building methods (masonry and wooden beam constructions), the same surface treatment of façades (render and lime), together with consistent detailing (cornices, window surrounds, and pilaster strips). In addition, the same façade arrangement has been used (rectangular rhythmically placed windows in restrained wall surfaces) and the same method of water supply (collection of rain water on flat roofs). It is also of interest that the plan arrangement and functions of the buildings have been preserved through the years. What is remarkable in this connection is that the same plan arrangement can be found in building in Macuti Town (Aarhus, 1985; pp. 59).

PROTECTION AND TRANSFORMATION ON THE ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE

Despite the efforts to establish a high LAC on the Island of Mozambique, research revealed that the state of authenticity and integrity of its protected areas has decreased since its nomination. Not only has its general condition decreased (-15%), but also its architectural unity is being changed (Damen et al, 2013). A lack of earlier data on the state of conservation of the specific traditional building techniques, materials and decorations under protection rules out more exact conclusions. However, it was noted that other building techniques, materials and decorations –not necessarily more modern – are being used on the Island of Mozambique (Pereira Roders et al, 2012). Tradition does seem to prevail in most cases. As we can see in fig. 2, research results confirm the large majority of buildings with external walls constructed in coral limestone masonry (orange, 96%) and as much cement block masonry (green, 2%) as other materials (light green, 2%). However, figs. 3 and 4 evidence the patterns of change on roof construction and façade colour schemes, discrediting the architectural unity in traditional building techniques, materials and decorations.

Traditional flat terrace roof constructions (see fig. 3) are still the most prominent (orange, 48%), but no longer the majority. These are closely followed by industrial processed roofing sheets (light green, 45%) and by few exceptions in tiles (dark green, 3%), macuti roofs (green, 2%) – attribute of cultural significance in Macuti Town – and a combination of varied dominant roofing materials (grey, 2%). Following a similar proportion, traditional white decorations (see fig. 4) on coloured façades remain prominent (orange, 45%); but already less than all other deviations together. The most common deviation is white decorations and façades (red, 45%). The exceptions are coloured decorations on white façades (yellow, 3%) and coloured decorations and façades (green, 2%).

Patterns on new buildings, built over the last decades, raise more concern (see figs. 5-10). Twenty-three new buildings were identified in Stone Town, built for recreational purposes. Their volume and isolated urban morphology contrast greatly with the existing dense and consolidated patterns. They mix different types of roofs, built with new materials, which besides disrupting the traditional wooden beam building method, also prevent rainwater collecting and storage. They also discontinue opening forms, their accessories and traditional decorations (Pereira Roders et al, 2012).

LIMITS OF ACCEPTABLE CHANGE IN PRACTICE

The regulations show high LAC in the conservation and urban planning policies. In addition, hardly any new building or non-traditional typologies, techniques, materials and decorations are allowed. This contrasts greatly with how LAC are being monitored or enforced, whenever transformation takes place on the Island of Mozambique. The low rate of technical staff, hardly existent, was common in both GACIM and the local authorities (one person per institution in January 2012). As a result, they were quickly overloaded and transformations would occur without being checked as to their infringement of the defined LAC.

It seemed normal to apply for a building permit in case of transformation, as one was expected to pay a fee to the local authorities and that seemed to be under control. However, the nature of transformations did not seem to matter. Against the legal requirements, some projects were being annexed to applications for building permits, assuming the construction works were all "small" in scale, even when changing the pre-existent building (or ruins) almost completely. These project proposals hardly reached GACIM for advice and, when they did, the advice was not made mandatory.

The Island of Mozambique is also a small and friendly community. There is strong social control, probably due to the familiarity and strong social relations among the relevant stakeholders; confrontations seem difficult, unless there are external parties that can be used as protection shields. However, the "bad habits" return the moment these external parties leave the Island. Compromises are rapidly reached, even in infringement of conservation and urban planning policies, which causes a snowball effect of subsequent cases, hard to stop without collateral damage.

As such, it can be concluded that a binary scale approach (yes/no) for establishing LAC in conservation and urban planning policies was adopted on the Island of Mozambique. However, this did not seem to work well. It was not being applied, or taken into consideration when transformations took place on the Island of Mozambique. Related decision-making took place, regardless of GACIM advice. GACIM seemed reluctant to advise against projected action.



Fig. 2. Map of building techniques applied in external walls, Stone Town, Island of Mozambique, 2011-2012.

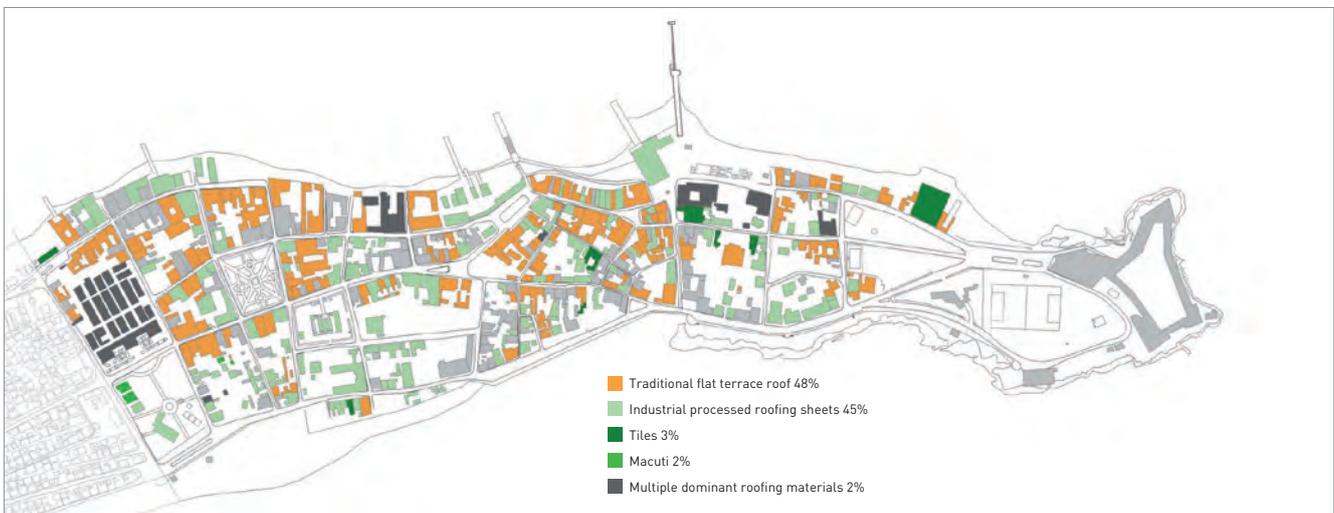


Fig. 3. Map of building techniques applied in roofs, Stone Town, Island of Mozambique, 2011-2012.

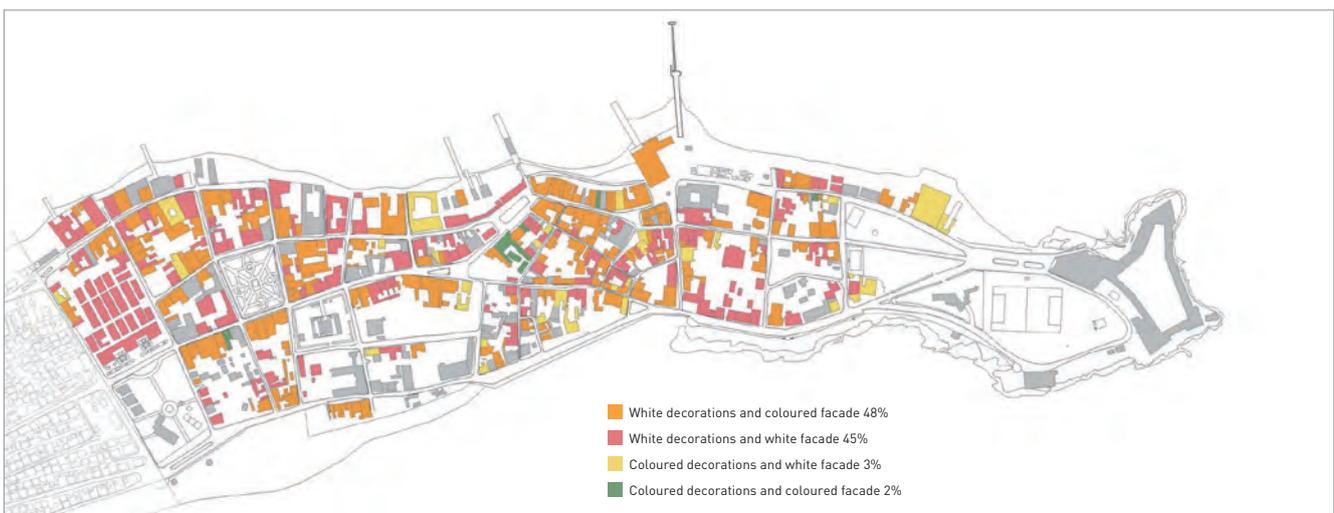


Fig. 4. Map of colour schemes applied in main façades, Stone Town, Island of Mozambique, 2011-2012.



Figs. 5 to 10. Impressions of Stone Town, Island of Mozambique, 2011-2012

CONCLUSIONS

The Island of Mozambique is undergoing change, inflicted by both nature and humankind. Nature may be accelerating the degradation process of its built environment, but also the involved stakeholders are doing their share in the transformation. Unfortunately, not all stakeholders aim chiefly to restore and maintain the cultural significance of the Island of Mozambique, and clearly disregard the defined LAC or any other targets concerning its protection. Thus, logically, they also have no interest in verifying the impact of their changes, other than checking achieved success in their own aims.

The Island of Mozambique has proved to be a case relevant to the eternal dilemma between protection and transformation; however, mostly on the challenges of applying conservation and urban planning policies, especially with high LAC. Imposing high LAC on the Island of Mozambique seems useless since the defined LAC are either not understood or not respected by the stakeholders involved. The lack of technical staff might indeed contribute to such escalation of partiality, but it is not the only problem for the application of high LAC on the Island of Mozambique.

Stakeholders on the Island of Mozambique first need to accept that there are two sets of goals coexisting in the transformation process: short- and long-term goals. LAC and related conservation and urban planning policies make sure the long-term goals are respected, for the benefit of present and future generations. If those are neglected, short-term goals will overrule, often providing benefits to a limited group of individuals. Unless this difference is understood, there is no point in developing tools to assist in protecting the Island of Mozambique. Instead, it is relevant to keep monitoring the transformation so that patterns of change can be better understood.

Actions of dissemination and awareness-raising work can also help the local community to better understand the importance of protecting the attributes and values considered of cultural significance on the Island of Mozambique, including those of outstanding universal value. The more aware it is, the better is the understanding why certain transformations should or should not take place, rather than making it a personal and subjective discussion. Ongoing social control could be most profitable when used to help monitor protection on the Island of Mozambique.

Similarly, the snowball effect could be redirected to help maintain or even restore the architectural unity, as it has been helping over the last four centuries. If there are traditional techniques, materials and decoration principles which seem impractical or logical to target, new patterns of techniques, materials and/or decoration principles could be agreed in consensus among the relevant stakeholders to protect architectural unity on a more intangible dimension. Based on consensus, the development and adoption of tools such as a "Structural Plan" and a few "Detail Plans" would make clearer for the involved stakeholders and outsiders what the guidelines are to be followed when proposing transformations.

Further research can assist the Island of Mozambique and its LAC on many levels. Besides inventorying resources and monitoring transformations, it could also eventually assist stakeholders in raising more understanding for the role of the architectural typologies and urban morphologies, e.g. roof terraces for water collection and cross-ventilation on the floor plan, which seem to be forgotten and include very creative solutions that previous generations developed to cope with their context, natural and cultural. Surely, more lessons on sustainable urban development are to follow.

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USING HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT AS A TOOL IN THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE APPROACH: THE CASE OF THE MAMBO MSIIGE, IN ZANZIBAR'S STONE TOWN

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INTRODUCTION

The UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (2011) – holistically inclusive of existing conventions, recommendations and charters – is a vital new instrument to address challenges affecting historic cities on the World Heritage List. It is particularly geared to ensuring the integration of conservation strategies into local development processes, in order, inter alia, to achieve the integrated management of heritage attributes that carry the significance of an urban environment, and to see that these attributes are optimally protected and employed as resources for sustainable urban development.

Urban heritage is a key component in achieving urban identity, vitality, social and functional diversity, liveability, productivity and social cohesion. Rapid change in the urban environment is a threat to urban heritage, if the change is not managed with heritage in mind. Likewise, if the assessment of impacts – affected by change on the heritage attributes – is performed in isolation, a lack of integration with other urban management processes will greatly diminish the chances for an appropriate conservation strategy that has urban development and process in mind. When Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) is employed within a Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, it is a powerful, and critical, tool for safeguarding historically significant tangible and intangible urban cultural attributes for use in the formation of liveable, productive and socially cohesive cities.

Cultural or heritage impact assessment has been prevalent in some developed countries since the last decades of the twentieth century. Despite having been performed as a requirement in heritage legislation, or as a component in Integrated Assessment (IA), Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) or Environmental Impact Assessment

(EIA), the science of Cultural, and then more specifically, Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA), also as it pertains to World Heritage, is fairly young.¹

While some countries require cultural impact assessment, or heritage impact assessment, as part of a subset of tools in a statutory Environmental Impact Assessment process in order to ensure that development options under consideration are sound and sustainable, these EIA's are usually only performed for (what are considered) scheduled activities, and thus the impacts of many other environmental changes are never assessed.

Very few countries have a system for monitoring and assessing the impacts of change on urban environments that are rich in heritage, and most countries either rely on archaic Conservation Acts that still define historic urban attributes as singular elements, or use heritage guidelines – appropriately dealing with attributes like aesthetics, architectural or urban form, style, pattern, scale and setting – for demarcated conservation zones of an urban environment. In doing so, they are not dealing with other important attributes like urban interrelationships, social and cultural values, developmental issues and integrated management, or *de facto* isolating heritage zones artificially and simultaneously forgoing any heritage fabric and qualities located in the broader urban context outside the conservation zone. Only in rare instances does one find a broad vision of balancing conservation and development in a dynamic, integrated urban management approach (e.g. in Canada and Sweden).

In World Heritage properties, impacts on Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) are traditionally dealt with via the regular system of periodic reporting and follow-up monitoring of the State of Conservation (SoC) of a property, and subsequent intervention (in the form of a request from the World Heritage Committee), based on recommendations from mission reports of advisory bodies such as ICOMOS, ICCROM and/or IUCN. Many States Parties are in a quandary to act positively or decisively on such requests or recommendations when their existing, local development legislation has allowed a proposed change to be put in motion without assessment of its impacts, or is preventing them from changing the course of events that lead to the impacts in question, or when the acceptance of a request or recommendation will lead to adverse litigation with

¹ At the 14th ICOMOS General Assembly of 2005 in Xi'an, UNESCO presented methodology for cultural impact assessment, and Arlene Fleming of the World Bank made a presentation on the need for heritage impact assessment in World Heritage properties. HIA was an important component of the UNESCO Cultural Mapping Workshop at NCA Lahore in 2006. The 2008 IAIA Conference in Yellowknife Canada focused on cultural impact assessment, and the 2008 IAIA Conference in Perth was noteworthy for the attention devoted to heritage impact assessment, but not with a focus on World Heritage and OUV. In 2009 the World Bank published the *Physical Cultural Resources Safeguard Policy Guidebook* and a *Performance Standard* on Cultural heritage, while ICOMOS started the process of drafting *Guidance* for heritage impact assessment in cultural World Heritage properties, resulting in its publication in 2011. The 2011 International Conference on Heritage Conservation in Hong Kong devoted a session to CIA/HIA, where HIA specialists also formulated new ideas on process and a standardized Case Study format.

substantial claims for damages or an impasse in development terms.

The *ICOMOS Guidance on Impact Assessments in Cultural World Heritage Properties*, put forward in 2011,² now allows those State Parties which do not have adequate environmental management legislation, the opportunity to require that all future EIA's in World Heritage properties must have OUV as their central focus³ and, additionally, that impact assessment must be performed for all changes to the significant attributes of the cultural layer of the environment, and which happen to fall outside those listed activities for which EIA's are normally performed.

THE INTRODUCTION OF HIA IN THE HERITAGE MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OF STONE TOWN IN ZANZIBAR

In Zanzibar's Stone Town, the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) is the legal entity managing the OUV of the World Heritage property. Up to 2011, the legal planning and conservation environment afforded the STCDA no tool for the assessment and subsequent guidance of any changes to the environment that were effected within the legal bounds afforded by municipal planning regulations, land lease agreements or development permits granted by other regulatory bodies. The only way in which it could prevent or guide an instance of development was through withholding a positive recommendation, a scenario that could only be moulded by, or overturned through, a decision to the contrary by another entity in the planning and development system. This scenario has until now precluded a more sophisticated, integrated urban development control process and only served to reinforce the perception that conservation is a brake on development. A Manichean (i.e. opposing) conservation-development dialectic – partly caused by the “thin” (as opposed to “thick”⁴) understanding of the value of heritage in development – combined with a lack of integrated urban management and management tools, is not unique to the locale in question. They are prevalent in many World Heritage properties around the world.

In 2010, as part of the Revolutionary Republic of Zanzibar's development of the ever-growing tourism industry, a 99-year *Land Lease Agreement* (Zanzibar Government 2010) was awarded to an international hotel company for the reuse of and additions to the historic *Mambo Msiige* complex – an

important element of Stone Town that was gazetted as a Grade 1 monument – and for encroachment on an adjacent portion of open land in the Shangani sector of Stone Town – an urban component that also carries significant intangible heritage values.⁵

The design was produced within the legal terms of the *Zanzibar Stone Town Management Plan for the World Heritage Site* (SY&A, 2008). This document does not propose an integrated system of development and heritage management, and it contains no triggers for early impact detection. Furthermore, the 99-year *Land Lease Agreement* (Zanzibar Government, 2010) that granted the development rights clearly contravened many conservation principles and bye-laws, and, despite containing a caveat for retention and upkeep of the “Grade 1 monument” in principle, it did not provide for a suitably sophisticated impact assessment process. This situation left the STCDA – which rightly perceived the development as potentially harmful to the OUV of the World Heritage property under its jurisdiction – with no alternative but to withhold a “no objection” recommendation for the project. Following an ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission in January 2011, the World Heritage Centre expressed concern about the design, as well as its potential social and environmental impact on the OUV of the property.

Owing to the potential for the property to be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger, as well as to adverse comments about the design of the proposed development that were brought to the World Heritage Centre by Zanzibari stakeholders and an international audience alike, the State Party took action.

In July 2011 the World Heritage Committee could “note with satisfaction the State Party's commitment to reassess the plans for the construction of a hotel in a designated public space and next to the *Mambo Msiige* building, and urges the State Party to continue working with the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS to ensure that potential new developments and rehabilitation of the historic building and its associated public space do not impact on the Outstanding Universal Value of the property” (Document WHC11/35COM/20E; Decision 35 COM 7B/45).

2 The ICOMOS *Guidance* that resulted from a task team on HIA (of which the author was a part) which convened in Paris in 2009 was published as a draft in 2010, and the approved document was published in 2011.

3 The resolution for this requirement was made at the UNESCO *Workshop on the State of Conservation of World Heritage properties*, in Dakar Senegal in 2011.

4 The term “thick description” was devised by the philosopher Gilbert Ryle to explain an event from the perspective of both the observed and the experienced – this term was later taken up by Clifford Geertz (1973), similarly as a way to get to a multi-perspective description of phenomena or events in order to increase understanding of meaning.

5 The *Mambo Msiige* (meaning “not to be imitated”) and the adjacent Bushiri Mosque were both built in 1850 by the prominent trader Bushiri bin Salim Al-Harthi. In 1864, in the reign of Sultan Majid, the house was allowed to become the centre of the Universities Mission in Central Africa (UMCA), and from 1875 to 1903 it was used as the residence of the British Agents and Consuls General. From 1918 to 1924, the *Mambo Msiige* accommodated the European Hospital, which was set up to care for First World War casualties. In the period until the Revolution in 1964 the *Mambo Msiige* was used for various government and commercial functions – after the Revolution the building was used as the offices of the Registrar General, (where births and deaths were recorded), the WAKF and Trust committee, Zanzibar Shipping Corporation and the Ministry of Finance's Audit department. In 2010 a 99-year Land Lease Agreement was awarded for the development of a five-star hotel in and adjacent to the *Mambo Msiige* – in 2011 the adjacent Staraha Club, being the remains of the European Yacht Club building, was demolished to make way for the new development.

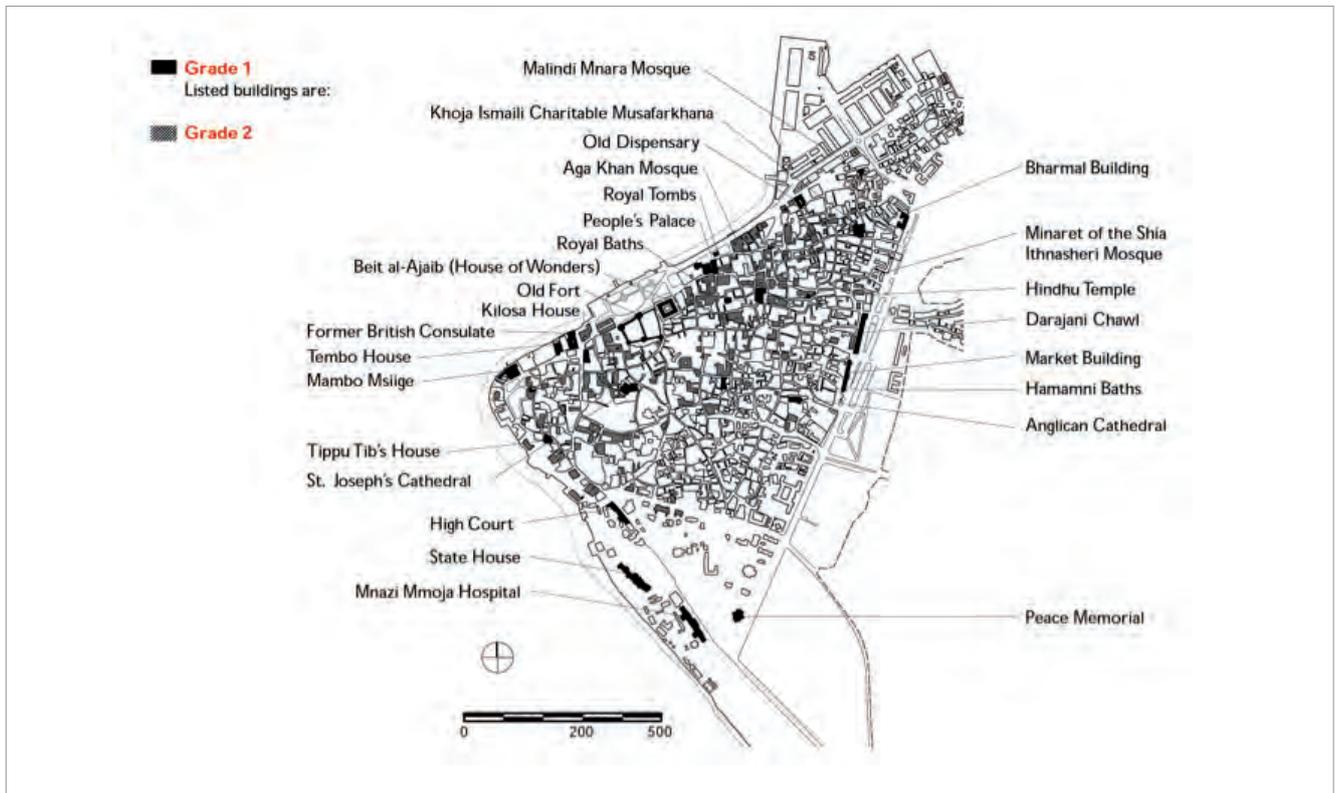


Fig. 1a The core zone of the Zanzibar Stone Town World Heritage property with Mambo Msiige indicated at the western Shangani Point (Agha Khan Trust for Culture/Seravo 1994).



Fig. 1b, Location of Mambo Msiige in Shangani Ward and the outline of the proposed development (Author overlay on Google Earth).



Fig. 1b, Sea front view of the proposed five-star hotel in and adjacent to the Mambo Msiige (Collage by the developer, in Bakker et al. 2012: App 12.8).

In the light of the decision made by the World Heritage Committee, the State Party agreed on the need to arrange a technical advisory mission to assist the State Party with a review of the architectural design of the proposed project, based on a heritage impact assessment, including the evaluation of potential social and environmental impacts, to identify measures that would ensure that the Outstanding Universal Value, authenticity and integrity of the World Heritage property would not be adversely affected by the proposed development. The results of this review would include guidelines for the revision of the design and specifications. The State Party agreed that a separate EIA and HIA would be performed on the design in question, the HIA being the most pressing. The State Party appointed the author for the HIA, and to perform a limited social issues survey with Dr G. Abungu. The request was to combine both as an integrated assessment, in order more fully to establish the impacts of the current design and establish whether the

development could proceed with mitigation (Note: The major flaw in the process at that point was that, because a legal 99-year *Land Lease Agreement* (Zanzibar Government 2010) had already been granted, a “zero option” was not deemed to be a permissible, or possible, recommendation forthcoming from the HIA). The Terms of Reference from ICOMOS required that the HIA format be based on the recently published ICOMOS *Guidance* (2011) – the limited social issues survey was integrated into this format. The completed integrated HIA was delivered to the State party in January 2012.

In 2009, a UNESCO *Workshop on the application of the concept of Historic Urban Landscape in the African context* was held in Zanzibar’s Stone Town. After the presentation of the *Zanzibar Recommendations on the Application of the Concept of the Historic Urban Landscape in the African Context* (2009) at the 34th session of the WHC in Brazil in 2010, the HUL approach was firmly accepted by the array of stakeholders involved with

the management of the Zanzibar Stone Town World Heritage property, at the *Workshop on the Application of the Historic Urban Landscape Approach to Stone Town* that was held in Stone Town in August 2011. At the first Workshop, the author (Bakker, 2009) delivered a paper on the major issues facing the conservation of historic cities in Africa in the future, and at the last workshop (Bakker, 2011), the author introduced the concept of assessing impacts on historic contexts, but from a HUL perspective. It is important that, at both these workshops, the wider social and urban issues around the proposed *Mambo Msiige* development continuously surfaced in stakeholder comments, already indicating that there was a lively interest in the well-being of the historic urban landscape, and further that an HIA for the hotel development project should not only deal with the reuse of the historic building and the adjacent portion of land as the ToR requested, but would have also to deal with the attributes of a wider urban sector and the sustenance of management of the historic urban landscape as a whole. Owing to these events, as well as to the subsequent acceptance of the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* at the UNESCO General Conference session in Paris in November 2011, the author identified the required HIA for the *Mambo Msiige* development as an opportune experimental test bed for the deployment of the ICOMOS *Guidance* (which was drafted in isolation of the global discussion on HUL conducted during 2009-2011) as a critical heritage management application within the newly accepted HUL approach.

This paper elaborates on the HIA (Bakker and Abungu, 2012) as it was delivered to the State Party for further use, but mainly reflects on the results of the author's personal and professional understanding of the ICOMOS *Guidance* that he was instructed by the World Heritage Centre to apply, as well as the incorporation of aspects of the HUL approach in the assessment process. While the ICOMOS *Guidance* has received minor criticism since its publication – understandable for a “be-all” document intended for application in very diverse locations and systems of heritage management, some of which are sophisticated and some rudimentary – in the case of Zanzibar it proved to be a robust vehicle, capable of being moulded to meet the challenges. As this paper shows, the theory and practice of heritage impact assessment is continuously evolving, as will be the *Guidance*.

This HIA was chosen also as a case study for the international HIA training workshop organized by ICCROM, in cooperation with WHITRAP-Shanghai and ICOMOS, in the World Heritage property of Lijiang, China, during October 2012, and where the various presenters and participants developed additional aspects of the impact of the HUL approach on HIA, during the workshop.⁶ How these aspects, together with critical discussions at the training workshop, have consequences for

and may yet inform the ICOMOS *Guidance* and also further improve the specific HIA process posed in this case study, will be further elaborated in a joint publication on HIA best practice, to be edited by Prof. R. Engelhardt of Hong Kong University.

THE HIA FOR THE *MAMBO MSIIGE* DEVELOPMENT

For major developments and changes in a World Heritage Property the early identification and assessment of the possible adverse effects of any change, is the best way to avoid a scenario where a point of no return is reached in planning and development. The Management Plan for Stone Town rightfully identifies impact assessment as an important heritage management tool. In terms of architectural qualities, it states that “...it is important to ensure that careful consideration is given to the potential impact of all works, however small, on the Outstanding Universal Value of the site”. (SY&A, 2008: 26). The document's Implementation Plan identifies the need to include for impact assessment, where it states that the STCDA, the Zanzibar Municipal Council, the Department of Environment and Central Government must, on an ongoing basis, “...ensure that WH issues are taken into account in the planning of all major developments, with EIAs used where needed to evaluate the impact on the WHS and design statements to demonstrate the suitability of the proposal” (SY&A, 2008: Table 4, p. 75).

In the case of the proposed hotel development at the *Mambo Msiige*, the need for an EIA was not triggered at the relevant Ministry, and the STCDA was not privy to the decision to grant a 99-year *Land Lease Agreement*, and so were confronted by a situation where their only role was to either grant or withhold a “no objection” to the project. While the provision of a high-grade hotel was part of the overall development strategy for Stone Town, the process was reactive, did not pass through a scoping process, and lacked an integrative approach to conservation and development of Stone Town by the major stakeholders, identified in the Implementation Plan mentioned above.

Clearly then, if a new high-grade hotel had been planned from an integrated urban planning and heritage management perspective, and if the location had been screened and evaluated as to its suitability of purpose and also its capability to absorb the proposed changes in terms of the impacts on authenticity and integrity of attributes of the OUV of Stone Town, the *Mambo Msiige* and its adjacent open land would probably not have been identified as a suitable location for this hotel development.

Through their withholding of a “no objection” for the proposed development, the STCDA triggered the requirement for impact assessment – the problem was that neither the Antiquities Act nor the approved heritage management system for Stone Town thus far provided clear guidance for the Terms

⁶ Prof. Richard Engelhardt (ICCROM, University of Hong Kong), Ayesha Pamela Rogers (ICCROM, NCA Lahore) and Prof. Karel A. Bakker (ICOMOS, University of Pretoria) collaborated (with co-presenters and participants) on a draft augmented HIA process and inclusion of aspects from the HUL Approach.

of Reference for the format or extent of heritage impact assessment, or how it had to be performed and evaluated. Additionally, the Stone Town Management Plan (SY&A, 2008) makes no provision for methodology which will ensure that an impact assessment is not linear in its approach, or so delineated as to include only impacts of the immediate project and its setting, but rather that cumulative and indirect impacts of an environmental change on the OUV and other qualities of Stone Town are incorporated in the assessment, and that the inter-relatedness between tangible and intangible urban systems and their components are included as vital aspects of a more holistic approach to the management of the ecology of a developing historic urban environment.

Together with the above lack of impact assessment tools, the current planning, development and heritage legislation institutions had, at that time, not yet been able to formulate an integrated approach of, and processes for, dealing with a complex issue such as the impacts on the OUV of the World Heritage property, in this case effected by the proposed development of the *Mambo Msiige* and its setting.

AN AUGMENTED APPROACH TO THE HIA OF THE MAMBO MSIIGE DEVELOPMENT

The ICOMOS (2011) *Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessment in Cultural World Heritage Properties* is clearly and directly tied to those attributes pertaining to the OUV of the property. The *Guidance* proposes a format within which the attributes and the links between them are defined and understood from the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value (SoOUV), as well as an examination of authenticity and integrity (2011: 1), based on which the impacts of the effected change are defined and recommendations drafted for their avoidance and/or mitigation. The recommendations have to be enacted within the parameters of the existing legislation and planning processes, as well as the management plan of the World Heritage property.

The ICOMOS *Guidance* states: "If the management plan is sufficiently robust and has undergone a thorough consultation process in its development, it should be possible to implement cooperative approaches to potential problems within the framework of the plan" (2011: 1). It has been made clear that in the case of Stone Town, the *Zanzibar Stone Town Management Plan for the World Heritage Site* (SY&A, 2008), the manner of cooperative resolution of potential problems (in this instance an inappropriate development like that at *Mambo Msiige*), is not clearly identified and developed, and therefore had to be compensated for in the HIA and its recommendations.

Specific challenges for performing an HIA that would be appropriate for the proposed development at the *Mambo Msiige* can be stated as follows:

- ▶ to understand the role and level of significance of the site and its setting as vital components of the World Heritage

property, and how their tangible and intangible attributes contribute to and are related to the overall OUV of the property;

- ▶ to make provision for the required social issues and participative component within the HIA format, in order to include hitherto ignored intangible values related to the social environment, and to facilitate and protect the practice of social participation in planning and conservation;
- ▶ to make provision for a complex, integrated and layered understanding of urban environments and processes within the ICOMOS HIA format;
- ▶ to include attributes of the site and its setting that may not be part of the OUV but are culturally significant;
- ▶ to utilize the holistic perspective of the UNESCO *Recommendation for the Historic Urban Landscape* in the understanding of the heritage values within a sustainable development scenario;
- ▶ to ensure that the implementation phase, following on the recommendations of the HIA, implements HUL objectives and also to provide a system of integration.

In terms of the required limited social impact assessment, the STCDA's requirement was to perform a social issues survey among major stakeholders. However, the author additionally requested that, firstly, the results of an earlier public participation process performed by the STCDA (the results of which were not in the public domain) be integrated into the HIA and that, secondly, the HIA and its recommendations also be brought into the public domain and be explained to stakeholders. Both these requests were approved and implemented - the completed, integrated HIA, together with the State Party's decisions regarding the development, were subsequently communicated to stakeholders at an awareness campaign held by the relevant Ministry and the STCDA, in Stone Town on 9 August 2012.⁷

Whereas the nomination dossier and scholarly publications provided one with sufficient data to understand the OUV of the World Heritage property as a whole, a full and rich understanding of the assessment site and its setting was made all the more complex by a general dearth of documentation of the history of the assessment site, its architectural and urban components, and its setting. This *lacuna* was used to the advantage of the HIA - the literature survey, archival survey and *in situ* survey were all tuned to include for identifying relationships of the assessment site with a larger context, inclusive of historic events, evolving political events, discourses, town-planning phases, incremental changes in urban patterns and land uses and regional typologies. In this manner not only

⁷ The results of the public awareness seminar on the HIA and subsequent mitigatory decisions regarding the proposed development were delivered to the WHC.

an understanding of the attributes, authenticity and integrity of the assessment site could be made manifest, but also its role in and relationship to the OUV of the World Heritage property as a whole, so important in the management of the heritage resources from a HUL perspective.

INTEGRATING HUL PRINCIPLES INTO THE HIA

In terms of identifying and understanding the attributes of the building concerned, an extensive analysis of the extant *in situ* fabric as well as of visual representations of the building from archival material – including historic photographs, historic postcards and descriptions in histories that mention the building – had to be performed because of the lack of existing research data. Sufficient data was gathered to be able to define an extensive timeline of the building as well as its historic context, architectural typology, the base form of the building at the time of construction, the underlying design discourse and design order and style components of the architecture, the various additions effected to the building in various periods, and the authenticity of all remaining elements as well as their level of integrity. This newly posited understanding made it possible more specifically to identify and understand negative impacts that would be effected on the historic *Mambo Msiige*.

The problems experienced in this phase of the HIA clearly indicated the urgent need for managers of World Heritage properties to consolidate research on the attributes of the property for purposes of management, and to support research on the complex layering of urban settlements, in order to identify values, understand their meaning for the communities and present them to visitors in a comprehensive manner. It is essential to document the composition of urban areas and their evolution, so as to be able to facilitate the evaluation of proposals for change, but also to improve protective and managerial skills and procedures.

The experience in Stone Town also showed that there are always civic groups, institutions and individuals that are very knowledgeable regarding the historic urban environment, and that one should continue to harness their knowledge and foster their attention, support and participation.

In terms of the definition and understanding of the setting of the building, the ICOMOS *Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas* (2005) would, in an urban management environment where heritage is integrated with other planning and developmental concerns and processes, be deemed sufficient to ensure that a proposed development is appropriately integrated within an existing setting that frames and sustains. As regards the site-bound



Fig. 2a Oldest surviving depiction of Stone Town sea front – Richard Burton leaving the town on 18 June 1857. The *Mambo Msiige* is on the right (<http://libweb5>).



Fig. 2b *Mambo Msiige* as the UMCA Mission, depicted in the Illustrated London News of 1866. The *Mambo Msiige* is on the right. (<http://amazon.com>)

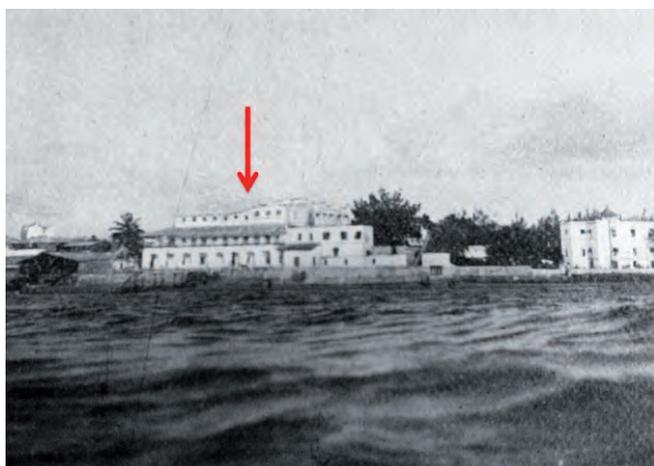


Fig. 2c Depiction of the *Mambo Msiige* by Riffarts in 1888 when it was the British Consulate (Schmidt 1888).

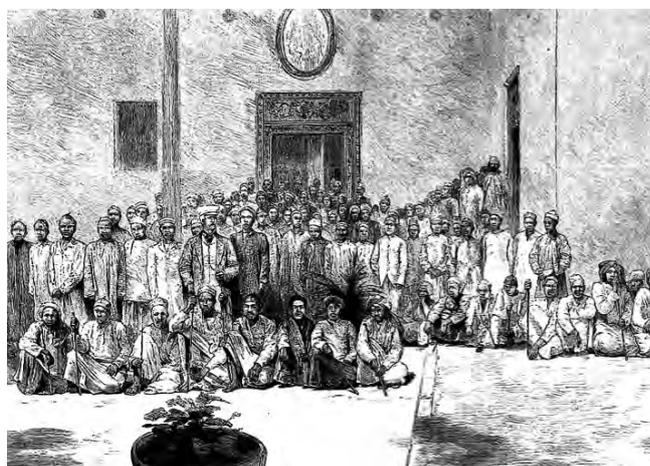


Fig. 2d “Mr Stanley and his porters at the British Agency Zanzibar” – illustration in the GRAPHIC of 1 February 1890 showing the *Mambo Msiige* north side.

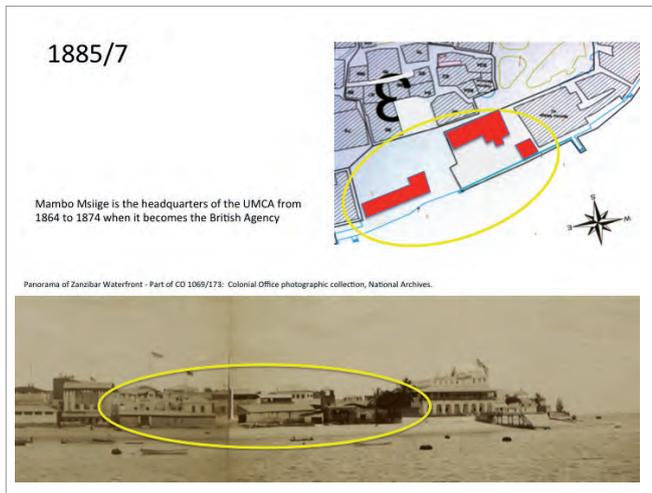


Fig. 3a. Example of precinct evolution from analysis of historic photographs (Part of CO 1069/173, Zanzibar National Archives).

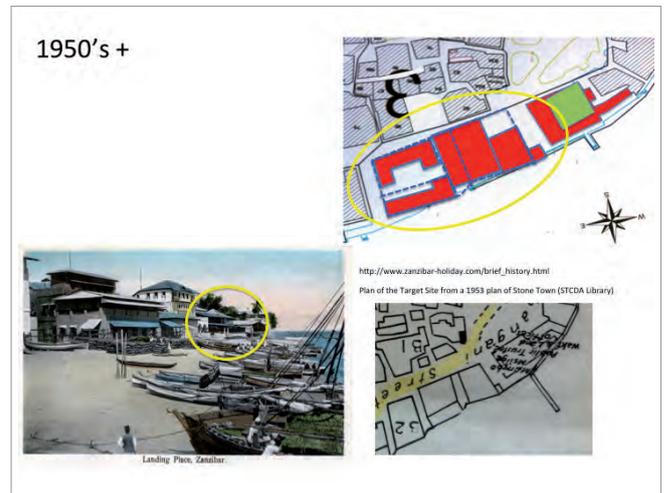


Fig. 3b Example of precinct evolution from analysis of historic city plans and postcards (1953 Survey Plan 2755 Drw29/49)

intangible attributes, a similar statement could be made about the ICOMOS *Quebec Declaration on the preservation of the Spirit of Place* (2008), and as regards the introduction of contemporary architecture in a historic context, a similar claim can be made for the ICOMOS *Resolutions of the Symposium on the introduction of contemporary architecture into ancient groups of buildings* (1972). Each of these Charters or Recommendations have their specific role to play in understanding attributes and defining impacts and recommending mitigation, and have indeed been taken into account in the assessment of attributes and impacts for the *Mambo Msiige*. When used separately, however, they cannot deliver the required integration of heritage and development resulting from a lack of institutional and legal integration in the urban management arena, or owing to omission of this integration in the management plan (SY&A, 2008) for the World Heritage property – the Manichean divide between heritage management and urban development persists. The HUL approach provides an opportunity to bridge that divide, and provides a suitable framework for all critical heritage management tools to be employed in concert, and to be integrated with other planning and developmental instruments and processes. In this sense, the HIA can also be fine-tuned towards supporting the main principles of the HUL approach, to make it a more directed and more effective tool in achieving a solution for the stand-off between conservation and development, as well as the achievement of sustainable historic urban environments.

In terms of the HUL approach, items 11-22 from the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (2011) were deemed to be particularly pertinent to fine-tune the HIA for the *Mambo Msiige*, in order to ensure that it will:

- ▶ integrate the goals of urban heritage conservation with those of social and economic development;
- ▶ have a comprehensive approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic

urban landscapes within an overall sustainability framework;

- ▶ permit the recognition of cultural significance and diversity;
- ▶ help protect the essence and values attributed to the area of historic Stone Town;
- ▶ help protect the sense of place by managing the intensification of urban growth and density;
- ▶ help ensure that the new functions will contribute to the well-being of the inhabitants of the historic area and that the opportunities arising from the development are appropriately implemented;
- ▶ ensure that the new development follows traditional local knowledge to use materials and construction technologies that are appropriate and to use an appropriate architectural and urban planning response to climate;
- ▶ provide for the monitoring and management of change;
- ▶ improve the quality of life and of urban space;
- ▶ support sustainability and continuity in planning and design;
- ▶ strive to preserve the quality of the human environment and enhance the productive use of urban spaces and social and functional diversity;
- ▶ learn from the traditions of local communities and promote respect for their values;
- ▶ achieve a balanced continuity between urban continuity and contemporary architecture, and ensure that contemporary interventions respect and are harmonious with heritage in a historic setting.

The augmented understanding of the assessment site and its setting that was afforded by using the HUL perspective likewise permitted a more effective understanding of the qualities or defects of the proposed development, and subsequently also of the identified impacts. Since the 99-year land lease agreement for the proposed project, apart from an insistence that all pertinent legislation had to be complied with, dealt only cursorily with heritage legislation and heritage directives and guidelines, the HIA (Bakker, 2012: 29-35) also surveyed an array of planning and conservation legislation and guidelines that the proposed development needed to comply with or satisfy, and in the section on identification of impacts could point out all transgressions and non-compliance of the proposed project.

If one scrutinizes the identified impacts (Bakker, 2012: Table 5.1, 44-53), as grouped under the following headings and subheadings, it is clear that the impact assessment was based on an integrated understanding of heritage management from a broader HUL perspective, rather than on a narrow building conservation perspective.

A. Impacts: Non-conformity with heritage and planning standards

- ▶ Different values in the interpretation of internationally accepted conservation approaches, theory, method and practice.
- ▶ *Zanzibar Stone Town Conservation Plan 1994* not complied with.
- ▶ *Heritage Management Plan 2008* not complied with.
- ▶ The *Land Lease Agreement 2010* not complied with.
- ▶ The *Conservation and Design Guidelines for Stone Town Zanzibar 1996* not complied with.
- ▶ The ratified UNESCO WHC concept of *Historic Urban Landscape* not understood.
- ▶ Ports Authority requirements to be incorporated.

B. Impacts: Heritage loss and deterioration

- ▶ Change to urban form due to changed subdivision patterns and form of new development.
- ▶ Change to urban skyline and cognitive understanding of the townscape.
- ▶ Change to historical fabric and layering due to demolition, alteration, new uses, insertions and additions.
- ▶ Change to scale and use-intensity of the heritage asset.
- ▶ Change in land-use and zoning in contrast to historical character.
- ▶ Change to historical patterns of public access.
- ▶ Change to historical pattern of form and use of space.
- ▶ Change to scenic landscape and spirit of place due to type of development and intrusive new infrastructure.
- ▶ Incompatibility of new development related to setting, historical context, architectural character.
- ▶ Visual intrusion into view corridors and visual impacts (historical spaces, axes, corridors, etc.) associated with siting and design of new facilities.

- ▶ Potential impact on historical pre-colonial and colonial remains related to the construction of new or upgrading of existing infrastructure or facilities.
- ▶ Removal of relevant historical fabric and meanings related to misinterpretations of past associations.
- ▶ A tendency to mix historic styles and details with no relevant contemporary detailing.
- ▶ Impacts on archaeological structures and deposits related to new building work and infrastructure.
- ▶ Loss of public memory due to privatization.
- ▶ Inappropriate changes in use in contrast to regional character.
- ▶ Impacts on movable objects.
- ▶ Loss of specific architectural language associated with the particular institution.
- ▶ Diminishing of the freshwater resource.

C. Social impacts

- ▶ Change to social fabric due to urban renewal.
- ▶ Impact on intangible and living heritage.
- ▶ The need to balance issues of social justice (regarding marginalized or voiceless communities) with heritage management issues.

D. Probability and acceptability of risk

- ▶ Irreversible loss of integrity and authenticity in terms of the OUV related to the setting as well as the heritage asset.
- ▶ Change in quality level.
- ▶ Transfer of rights.

The integrated nature of the understanding of significance and assessment of impact within an overall HUL perspective is clear from the above.

INTEGRATION OF HUL OBJECTIVES IN THE HIA MITIGATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the HIA the author attempted, in a didactic manner, to define the HUL-based understanding of the complex developmental environment within which conservation of the *Mambo Msiige* and the OUV of the World heritage property is to take place. It explained how the HIA could (and should) play an active part in a larger, integrated vision for the protection of the significance of the assessment site and the OUV of the World Heritage property, and how the formation of a sustainable historic environment could be positively supported (Bakker *et al.*, 2012: 34-35).

Although not usually the task of an HIA, but owing to the approach chosen, the mitigation and recommendations could point the way towards integration of heritage management into the development strategy and processes of Stone Town, in the instances where there was no integration. The General Observations of the HIA stated clearly that: "Development

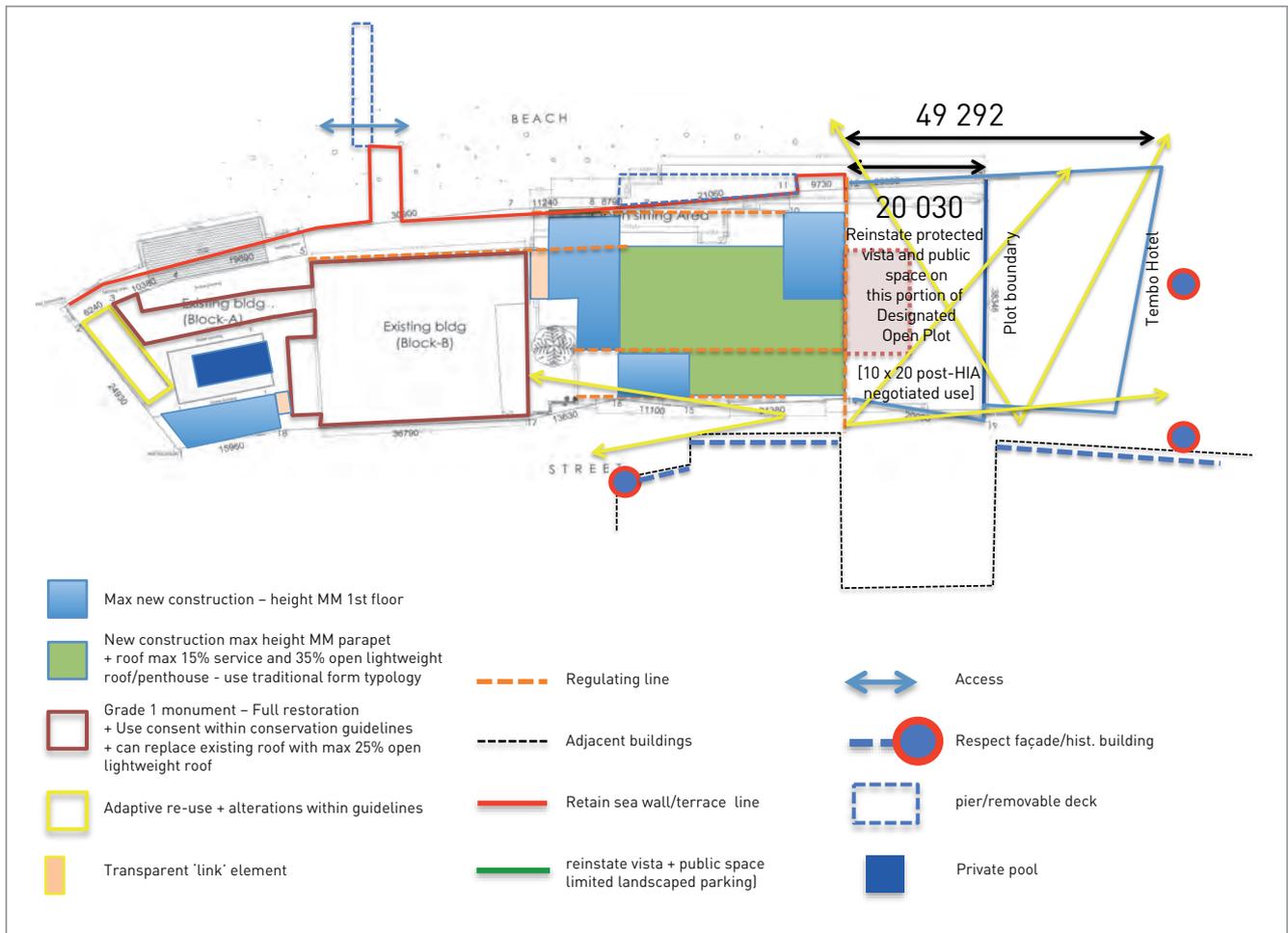


Fig. 5a Mitigation proposed for protecting attributes of the *Mambo Msiige* and its immediate setting – Plan [Overlay on developer’s drawing. Bakker *et al.*, 2012, Appendix 12.10].

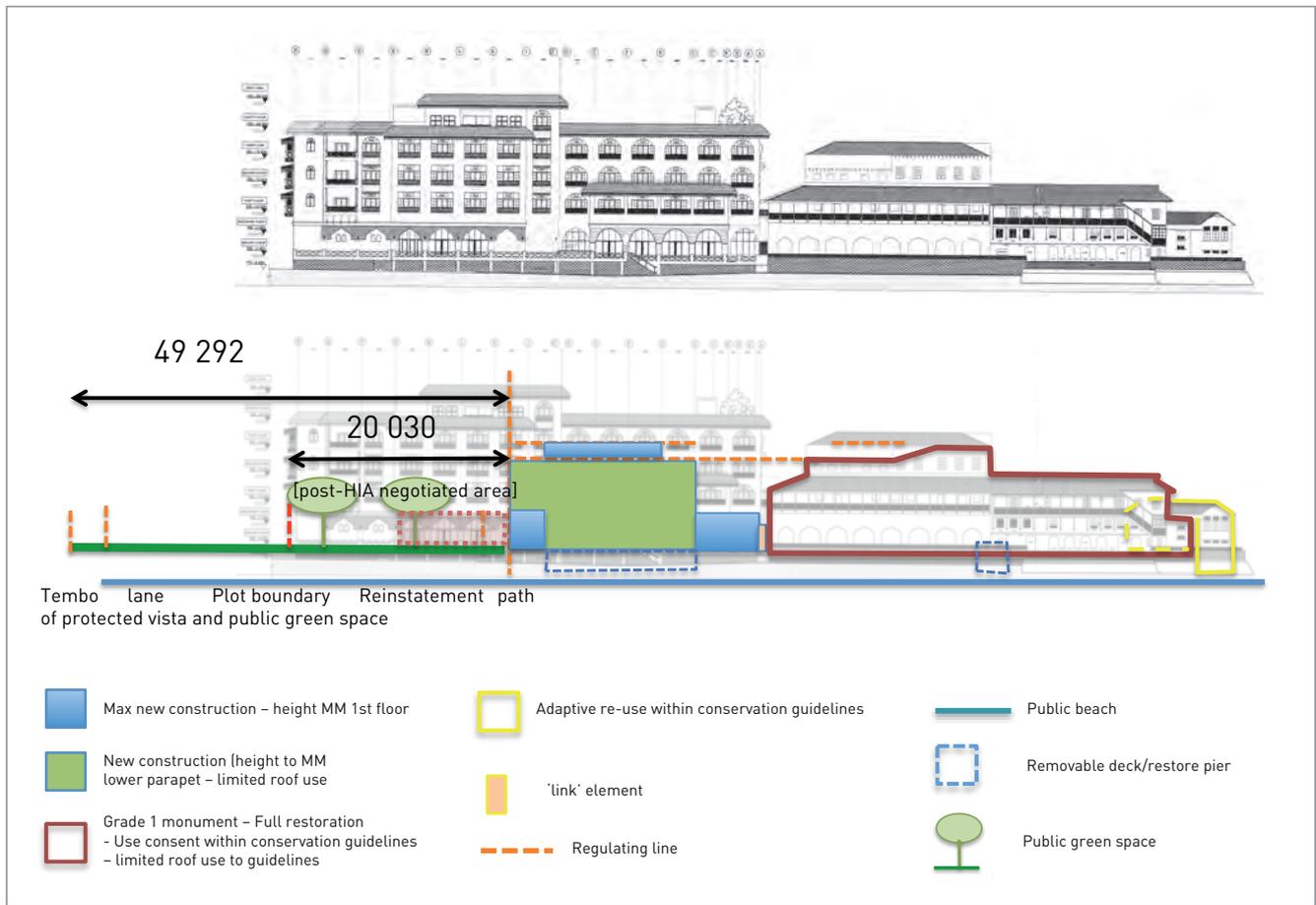


Fig. 5b Mitigation proposed for protecting the attributes of the *Mambo Msiige* and its immediate setting – Sea front [Overlay on developer’s drawing, Bakker *et al.*, 2012: Appendix 12.10].

in an urban landscape requires an integrated management approach, where both the interested and affected parties have to be involved in all the process of development. This calls for developing mechanisms of communication and consultations. Any redevelopment of the assessment site must be integrated by nature, and continue to be so during the development process.” (Bakker *et al.*, 2012: 54). In this process the HIA also continuously strove to highlight the positive role and reinforce the crucial contributions of the heritage authority (STCDA) within the larger planning and development arena.

Mitigation effected from the HUL approach includes, *inter alia*:

- ▶ the protection of intangible values and qualities of the area and assessment site;
- ▶ the protection of the rights of communities and individuals to participate in planning and heritage management, and the creation of the vehicle for participation;
- ▶ the protection of historic urban qualities such as view lines, vistas, urban pattern, land uses and movement systems, urban scale, urban silhouette, sea edge conditions, and the like;
- ▶ the insistence on the conservation and memorialization of the full richness and various layers of history and meaning, to be made accessible as cultural heritage and protected as cultural capital;
- ▶ that the contemporary reuse of historic architecture of high significance must have the utmost respect for the historic achievement of this environmentally balanced, sustainable response as an asset of the OUV of the World Heritage property. Owing to the environmental stresses resulting from non-sustainable settlement and building practices, new developments must support the OUV of the World Heritage property by achieving the maximum environmental performance rating, with reference to the historic patterns of environmental responses;
- ▶ there must be a definition of the range of benefits to the city and society flowing from a “no objection” statement issued by the heritage authority for the developer to proceed with a five-star hotel development that is sufficiently mitigated not to detract from the attributes of OUV of the World Heritage property – this definition of benefits must *inter alia* refer to tangible support for the improvement of the World Heritage property inside and outside the boundaries of the assessment site, local economic development, bulk services upgrading, contribution to both townscape and streetscape improvement, supporting and improving the public use of the beachfront, and overall long-term sustainability (environmental, social and economic);
- ▶ that the importance of sustaining the living Swahili culture of part of the OUV demands that as much public open

space carrying heritage significance be conserved and developed for cultural use;

- ▶ that unavoidable adverse effects be balanced with other positive contributions to the OUV by the developer via any other means (architecturally, through urban design, economically or socially) and any form of compensation for loss of OUV;
- ▶ that a suitable urban design proposal, inclusive of a revised, mitigated design for a hotel complex and the open land, is required to substantiate and show that such a proposal will ensure protection of the intangible heritage, be responsive to, allow and support current cultural expressions of living heritage in the study area that sustain the SoOUV, protect the tangible heritage of the assessment site and its immediate context, enhance the public realm and be suitably integrated with the character, form, space and order of the larger, very significant, Shangani Point precinct and its public space structure;
- ▶ that a Heritage Management Plan (HMP) be brought for approval, and which will indicate the various methods of conservation, define the approach to adaptive reuse, and how the buildings, trees, beach and spaces of the proposed development will be managed, according to the approved desired state of conservation document drafted for the project, as well as the WH Operational Guidelines and the Management Plan 2008 of the Zanzibar Stone Town World Heritage Property, and according to internationally accepted norms and guidelines as well as best practice;
- ▶ that no development can proceed without official approval from STCDA for an integrated development proposal – i.e. the whole assessment site, open spaces, streetscape, square, beach and immediate urban context – supported by a suitable and approved Heritage Management Plan for future management and monitoring.

In terms of best practice for sustainable and responsible tourism and welcome-industry related development in the World Heritage property, the HIA insisted on a hotel grading that would obtain the required amount of financial support for the conservation required and be able to enrich and sustain its setting in return. The General Observations of the HIA stated that “...the proposed development [should] be mitigated in such a manner as to be a baseline or standard for sustainable heritage-based development by the hotel industry in this developing environment, and that best practice [should] be followed.” (Bakker *et al.*, 2012: 55). The Overarching Mitigation of the HIA required that “...the finally approved format of this development must set the standard, both in process and in project, for future hotel/tourism developments, including the adherence to guidelines, formation of beneficial partnerships, and the appropriate and sufficient compensation for loss or contribution to heritage conservation” (Bakker *et al.*, 2012: 56).

It was also necessary to insist on benefits from the new development for the historic urban landscape – it was recommended that “...the developer should provide arguments of how the specific form of development will benefit the precinct and World Heritage property... and that the... responsibility for this should remain with the developer and not a hotel operator, to be decided on in the future”. In support of this recommendation, the post-construction mitigation of the HIA instructs that there “...must be regular monitoring [to ensure] that the [agreed-to] benefits from this development, to flow to the World Heritage property and its citizens, are effectively maintained” (Bakker *et al.*, 2012: 61).

From the foregoing one realizes that the HIA played a far greater role than the mere identification of impacts and providing of mitigation: the HIA concluded that the benefits of this first HIA performed in Zanzibar would include the bringing about of “a new approach to heritage-related development in the Zanzibar Stone Town World Heritage property, and... will help to raise awareness about the Historic Urban Landscapes approach and integrated and guided development and planning, in a World Heritage property” (Bakker *et al.*, 2012: 64). While an understanding of the HUL approach and its implementation has been fostered through the two workshops in Stone Town, and the use of HIA has been aptly demonstrated as a critical technical tool within the HUL approach, the further enactment and monitoring of the recommendations of this augmented HIA should now be supported through a capacity-building strategy to empower all stakeholders, and be accompanied by the formation of an appropriate mechanism to ensure continued interaction of the main actors in the development, urban planning and heritage sectors.

Apart from the positive outcome resulting from the employment of the ICOMOS *Guidance* on HIA, the support for the recently emergent, integrated planning and heritage management ecology in Zanzibar – so necessary to ensure a sustainable historic urban environment – through augmentation of the HIA process with principles inherent to the HUL approach, provided the conservation and development authority (STCDA) with a new critical tool for application in the new, integrated management of the historic urban landscape. The HIA for the proposed development of the Mambo Msiige therefore not only showcases the beneficial role of an HIA format focusing on the OUV of a World Heritage property, but also serves as a pilot to demonstrate its power and usefulness as a critical tool for HUL application, to “support and facilitate decision-making processes within a framework of sustainable development” (UNESCO, 2011: item 24b).

RECAPITULATION

The HIA Report and its suggested alternatives, mitigation and recommendations to the STCDA, accepted by the State Party, peer-reviewed by ICOMOS and discussed with the World Heritage Committee, resulted in a jointly accepted definition of the limits to change, and a related list of jointly accepted guidelines for a total redesign of the proposed hotel complex and adjacent land, an outcome of the HIA that is able, in principle, to ensure the maximum safeguarding of OUV of the World Heritage property as a whole, together with the specific significant tangible and intangible attributes of the urban precinct and the built components in question. In this sense, despite the limitations on the effectiveness of the HIA that was posed by the initial exclusion of the possibility of the HIA being able to deliver a “zero option” recommendation, as well as the limitations posed by the pre-existing dearth of data on the historical condition of the assessment site and its setting, the fullest and most effective use was made of the required ICOMOS format for HIA.⁸

8 Refer to the work of Pereira Roders and Bond (2011) and Pereira Roders and Van Oers (2012) on increasing the effectiveness of HIA.

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SWAHILI
PILOT CITIES
FOR HUL APPLICATION



© Van Oers

Date of Inscription: 2000
Criteria: (ii)(iii)(vi)
Property: 96 ha
Buffer zone: 85 ha

STONE TOWN OF ZANZIBAR

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

Brief Description

The Stone Town of Zanzibar is a fine example of the Swahili coastal trading towns of East Africa. It retains its urban fabric and townscape virtually intact and contains many fine buildings that reflect its particular culture, which has brought together and homogenized disparate elements of the cultures of Africa, the Arab region, India, and Europe over more than a millennium.

Statement of Significance

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

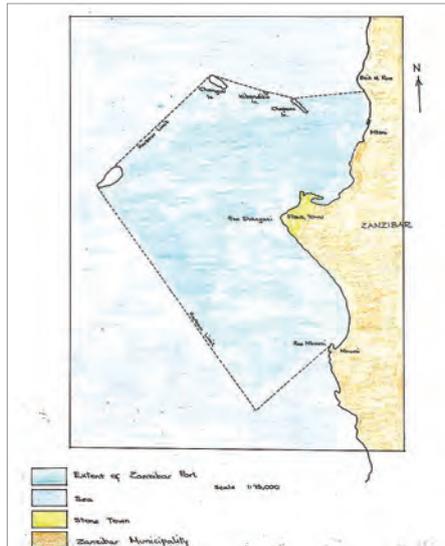
Criterion (iii): For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and urban structure of the Stone Town.

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

Map

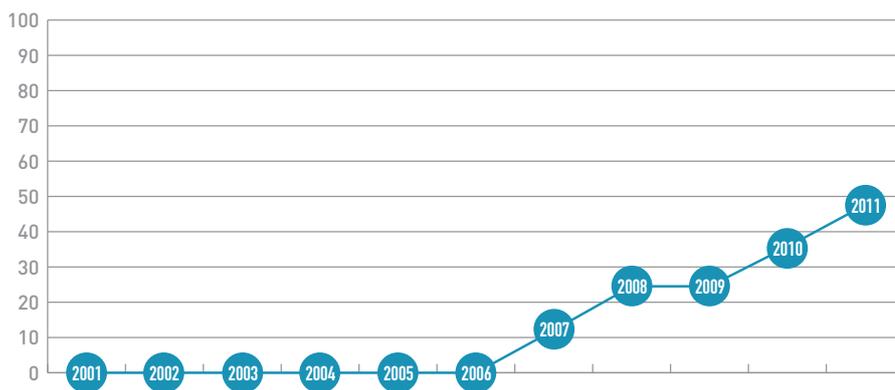


Map showing the extent of the conservation area



Map showing harbour limit

Reporting Trend *



*Based on the frequency at which the World Heritage Committee has deliberated over this property over the past 15 years. 0 = minimum reports, 100 = maximum reports.

The reporting trend, with the former threat intensity coefficient, shows that the frequency with which the World Heritage Committee has deliberated during the sessions regarding the Stone Town of Zanzibar over the past 10 years is very low but has been growing since 2007. Those deliberations addressed threats in general and the infrastructure construction and development (roads, airports, ports, sewers, etc.) in particular.

Over the years, the causes discussed were the following:

- ▶ insufficient implementation or enforcement of regulatory framework (including management plan, conservation plan, zoning laws, urban plan); and
- ▶ lack of, or insufficient impact analysis.

A report on the state of conservation of the property was submitted by the State Party on 1 February 2011. From 23 to 31 January 2011, an ICOMOS reactive monitoring mission was carried out, as requested by the World Heritage Committee at its 34th session (Brasilia, 2010). The mission report is available online at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/35COM>.

(a) Malindi Port

The State Party reports that works have now been completed and the Port is fully operational. Problems have arisen due to the lack of completion of the passenger terminal, which causes congestion, and the landing of craft at the Shangani Beach. It notes that this will be addressed by using another area within the Port for landing. The Zanzibar Port Corporation has agreed to carry out the environmental auditing, using the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for the Sea Wall extension as baseline documentation, but the State Party notes that funding might be requested from the World Heritage Centre to implement it. It is not clear how the results from the environmental audit will be used to put in place a 3-5 year monitoring project for the port area as requested by the World Heritage Committee. No timeframe has been provided for the implementation of this request.

The mission states that the monitoring of the project will be carried out by the Zanzibar Port Corporation and the first report is expected by March 2011, based on which the number and timescale of other reports will be defined. It notes that some environmental changes, like the increase in wave height, have been observed but these have yet to be monitored.

(b) Sea Front Project Phase II

An Environmental and Social Impact Assessment on the planned Sea Front Project was submitted to the World Heritage Centre in July 2010 for review. The project, due to begin in early 2011, will refurbish infrastructure for services (water and storm sewers, electricity and telecommunications) below Mizingani Road, resurface the road itself and create a pedestrian area. The project is likely to receive financial support from the World Bank and the Aga Khan Development Network.

The mission evaluated the proposal and noted the need to harmonize future refurbishment projects at open spaces to ensure the maintenance of visual harmony with respect to the historic attributes of the property.

(c) Management system and legislative arrangements

The State Party reports that a new Act for the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) was passed in July 2010 and this is expected to improve the conditions of the property significantly by providing additional funding, capacity for enforcement of regulations and application of sanctions, and the creation of a stakeholders' forum to broaden consultation in regard to interventions at the property.

The mission noted that, since the new arrangements were approved only recently, it is difficult to ascertain how efficiently they operate. It emphasized that cooperation between key institutions existed but communication could be improved. Human and financial resources remain limited for ensuring effective and sustainable implementation of the Heritage Management Plan.

(d) Current conservation conditions

The State Party reports that work has continued on implementing the Heritage Management Plan; a series of goals have been identified for the preservation of built heritage and the historical environment, and also to address tourism development pressures; a traffic management plan has been developed and is currently under review before implementation.

No precise information is provided on the actual implementation of activities prescribed in the Heritage Management Plan.

The mission noted a series of factors currently affecting the property that need to be adequately monitored. The monitoring process is expected to improve by means of a Geographic Information System (GIS). Factors include pressures to meet the demands of tourism development, poverty and living conditions of the Stone Town inhabitants, over-occupation of buildings due to limited housing opportunities, changes in land uses, traffic congestion and waste management. The mission also noted that decay of the historic fabric continued given the limited interventions carried out to date. Illegal construction has also continued to affect the overall setting of the property. Furthermore, control and regulations in the buffer zone have yet to be fully addressed. The mission also noted that there were several planned projects for the property, including the reorganization of the northern part of the port and development for commercial activities, as well as interventions in the House of Wonders and at the Tippu Tip House. Because these projects entail major interventions, they need to be submitted for review before approval and implementation, according to paragraph 172 of the *Operational Guidelines*.

As to new constructions, the mission expressed concern about a proposal by the Kempinski Group to build a hotel using in part the Mambo Msiige historic building and the adjacent designated public space. As per letters dated 19 January 2011 and 8 March 2011, the World Heritage Centre alerted the State Party to the potential risk of Danger Listing as the proposed development could come under the conditions set out in paragraphs 178 and 179 of the *Operational Guidelines*, and requested the Government's position in this regard.



Preparatory Workshop on the Historic Urban Landscape in Zanzibar

Date:	15-20 August 2011
Partner Institutions:	UNESCO World Heritage Centre University of Pretoria (South Africa) University of Minnesota (USA) Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands) Ministry of Lands, Housing, Water and Energy, Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Zanzibar, Tanzania
Number of participants:	48

Report by the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), Zanzibar

Objectives

Pursuant to the recommendations on application of the HUL concept in the African context from the workshop held in Zanzibar in December 2009, and the regional consultations on conservation and management of HUL, this forum was organized to further explore and discuss modalities of application in each city and to share national, regional and international experiences applicable to the HUL concept. The participants in the workshop thus firstly shared definitions, challenges and tools concerning Historic Urban Landscapes in the African context. Secondly, they discussed issues related to the local context of East African cities, Zanzibar City and Stone Town of Zanzibar, and finally, discussed policies and technical issues to be summarized into a set of priorities and a plan of action.

The workshop aimed to identify needs and issues concerning East African historic cities in general and Zanzibar's Stone Town in particular. The workshop brought forward the spirit of the Zanzibar Recommendations so as to share best practices and case studies and to develop a HUL Plan of Action for Zanzibar City.

Outcomes

Six steps of the Historic Urban Landscape approach: stocktaking of activities undertaken in Stone Town, Zanzibar

The discussion centred on the activities needed for better integration of planning and conservation, with a view to including the wider surrounding areas as well as reconnecting them to protected areas. The World Heritage site values should be integrated with the values of the communities and therefore be integrated in their widest possible setting. This demands an inventory of social values and architectural values of the communities. The forum was expected to come up with a Road Map to address a few urgent issues as part of the work and responsibility of local authorities. This

Road Map should be related to the six steps of the HUL Approach and, as agreed, cover the following activities:

1. making a comprehensive inventory for better-informed decision-making;
2. connecting this inventory to other inventories related to different stakeholder groups;
3. assessing the vulnerability of heritage assets to socio-economic impacts as well as climate change;
4. developing a vision of how to bring these related issues to public attention;
5. prioritizing activities;
6. arranging partnerships and management frameworks.

Plenary discussion

The plenary discussion decided on the need to ensure that when a project came to Stone Town, it should follow a well-defined procedure for making assessments. An emotional debate is understandable, as can be seen in the case of Mambo Msiige, but officials need a systematic approach for protecting and preserving the site. For example, the residents need to be able to distinguish how much structures can be changed and how much needs to be retained. Despite the different feelings and knowledge, they are entitled to know where the town is going in years to come. It was further discussed that the city has to function with a possibility and practicality of establishing a 'one-stop-shop' for heritage and planning issues.

The discussion on the Zanzibar Plan of Action based on the six HUL steps took them one by one.

1. On surveys and mapping

- A. Start archiving
 - database on public spaces
 - database on buildings
- B. Surveys and mapping
 - natural resources partially available with IMS, MACEMP
 - built environment

- C. Cultural resources
 - public spaces, graveyards, historic buildings
 - built environment's intangible heritage
- D. Human resources
 - ZIORI, forthcoming maritime museum, tour guide associations, tourism-related studies
- E. Compilation and indexation of all surveys, inventories and studies
 - reports, municipality (buildings, plans, permits), archives (have a rich collection that is catalogued)
 - it was also realized that all areas of studies are available, but would require centralized coordination for a comprehensive inventory/database

2. On the reaching of a consensus

- A. Participants agreed on the need for a translation and interpretation of various aspects and significant studies relating to the city.
- B. Apart from looking at the transformation of spaces and issues, including the aspect of rehabilitation, participants pointed specifically to the case of the Zanzibar Botanical Garden, which has been neglected for many years and is considerably encroached upon.

3. On assessing vulnerability

- A. On the socio-economic front
 - state of conservation
 - impact of climate change
 - risk preparedness
 - existence of contingency plans for fires, calamities, floods
 - state of preparedness, or positioning of the Disaster Management Unit to deal with Stone Town
 - pressure on land and population growth
 - accessibility for people with disabilities in public buildings
 - beach erosion and privatization
 - sea rise and beach destruction
 - availability of traditional building materials such as coral stone, mangrove, limestone as against the Environmental Act that prohibits production of certain materials.
- B. The issues and constraints below that seem to merit serious attention and debate falling under capacity, policy, resource and governance constraints before an exercise to prioritize in

order to focus on delivery within the context of constraints:

- rapid change through urbanization which, if not controlled, will contribute to affect cultural heritage, identity and traditions
- growing land disputes
- land encroachment as against small island State economy
- employment opportunities
- drinking water
- over-occupancy in public buildings
- high number of shops selling souvenirs not made in Zanzibar
- increased transformation of buildings for hotel use, which means fewer residential houses
- traffic congestion near the port area.

4. Regarding a city development strategy

- A. Stocktaking of development strategies registered in the following plans:
 - Lancaster Plan (1923)
 - Kendel Plan (1958)
 - German Master Plan (1968)
 - Chinese Master Plan (1992)
 - Aga Khan Conservation Plan (1994)
 - Port Master Plan (2008).
- B. Upcoming projects include the Sea Wall Project, sewerage, Zanzibar Urban Services project, DoURP Master Plan, and a Revision of the Land Use Plan of 1993.

5. On the prioritization of actions

- A. Database for knowledge management
 - Zanzibar Land Information System/ Database/e-governance/
 - public spaces done
 - buildings done
 - intangible heritage (needs to be done)
 - systematic inventory of intangible heritage
 - planning coordination (DoURP, STCDA, ZMC, UDCA and other stakeholders)
 - risk preparedness and mitigation
 - rehabilitation of botanical garden
- B. It was stated that the Ardhi Institute, apart from conducting architecture and land surveys, also provided customized short courses.
- C. A mechanism should be set up for databases such that a common person can have access and be made aware of the implications
 - promotion of /honouring best practices
 - creation of an institution on HUL in Tanzania

- linking online of existing databases system (web linking).
- ▶ considering the issue of heritage, the proposal for a plan to create a forum for three institutions to engage in dialogue and create common values

6. Finally, on partnership

- A. Stakeholders meetings and process review that would result in integrated management.
- B. One can hence understand Stone Town by looking closely and understanding some structures outside Stone Town, for there is always an interrelationship.
- C. Many challenges arise because, while there is an institution for conservation and culture, there is no institution dealing with heritage. Which of the institutions would be the right place for heritage?
- D. Many heritage activities are scattered and, if left uncoordinated, could fall into the hands of local authorities lacking the desired skills. Reference was made to Kizimkazi Mosque.
- E. There are also marine sites that are left unattended or given over to treasure hunters and finally destroyed. Reference was made to Chumbe Island.
- F. The Government has to realize its responsibilities for various aspects, heritage and heritage authority, Board or other structures.
- G. Management of heritage site out of Stone Town.
 - initiating a heritage institute will take time before it can work and identify a short-term structure for policy.
- H. The Heritage Act needs some amendments to include the urban landscape and heritage.
 - Option 1: upgrade law on heritage.
 - Option 2: provide guidelines that would carry through a mapping process.
- ▶ looking at heritage more broadly, which will be useful in land use and planning; Dr Ifunya of TPSF is interested in connecting with land development
- ▶ with urban planning that has been unclear for a number of years, credit to be given for newly introduced (i) urban planning, (ii) climate change, (iii) environment, (iv) solid waste initiatives
- ▶ on conflict of interest, the need for planning in collaboration with ZMC and STCDA, but also bearing in mind the issue of poverty, especially among youth, and involvement in income-generating activities
- ▶ how to work so that the Government allocates space for them
- ▶ permit issuance for plots is rampant.

Road map and implementation of urgent follow-up activities

Summary of HUL Action Plan

The debate on the six steps of the action plan can be summarized as follows

1. Survey and mapping of city's natural, cultural and human resources (assets)

Significant knowledge with plentiful data is available with institutions and individuals. Data are needed for management planning and longer-term use for research and universities. Upgrade SFT.

2. Reach consensus

Overall value is there with some gaps that need to be filled and fine-tuning by stakeholders. This will be achieved through participatory planning and stakeholders' consultations to establish values to be protected and attributes that would carry those values.

3. Assess vulnerability in relation to socio-economic stresses and impacts of climate change

Since there is a long list going far beyond heritage and conservation, assessments are needed per sector and per actor, to be linked through management.

4. Develop a vision with a city development strategy

Territorial and institutional responsibilities for shared accountability call for redefining priorities.

Plenary issues conclusion

The main topics that were debated in the plenary discussion included:

- ▶ on the cluster competitiveness programme, the need for institutional capacity-building
- ▶ exploring the possibility of a "one-stop-shop" to provide information and directives
- ▶ public-private partnership as one source of dialogue

Capacity in terms of buildings, human resources and tools require funding in order to develop programmes and databases.

5. Prioritize activities

An extensive shopping list was drawn up by the participants to prioritize items and fit them into specific projects for conservation and development.

6. Partnerships and management frameworks

Developing partnerships and management frameworks would help to fill gaps for institutions to work together, whether through programmes or short-term plans. Overall it is an issue of national authority [ZLS, ZIORI STCDA].

Recommendations, conclusion and way forward

Based on the plenary and discussions of the five-day workshop, the following recommendations were brought forward in respect of four identified areas of cooperation:

- A. planning and coordination;
- B. management and partnerships;
- C. heritage impact assessment for the 5-star hotel development at Mambo Msiige;
- D. rehabilitation of the Botanical Garden.

A. On planning and coordination

A short-term plan would be possible through enforcement of existing mechanisms and reestablishment of a Planning Commission (See Report

on the Analytical Review and Restructuring of the Zanzibar Planning Commission, 2011)

- ▶ being reformulated;
- ▶ integrate Stone Town in Zanzibar planning;
- ▶ guidelines for Zanzibar planning (Actors: STCDA, DOLR, Heritage society, ZAORI, Heritage Society)

As to a long-term plan:

- ▶ initiating a National Institute of Cultural Heritage and updating the respective Act.

B. On management and partnerships

Agree to work and link the existing databases by ZALIS, STCDA and ZIORI. UNESCO to mobilize donors for funding of technical assistance in project planning and sharing of best practices. DoURP to coordinate and facilitate cooperation by preparing MOU that will integrate this action into the government programme.

C. Mambo Msiige Hotel Project

Need to pursue a proactive attitude to find a consensus on the hotel project in the Mambo Msiige area and ensure that the intervention will not adversely affect the site's OUV.

D. Botanical Garden

DoURP to prepare a project file focusing on the Botanical Garden and the type of technical assistance for protection, emphasising the need for full government support to stop anyone trying to encroach on the Garden.



Follow-up fieldwork

Dates:	9-27 December 2011
Partner Institutions:	University of Pretoria (South Africa) Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority Karume Institute of Technology Zanzibar Urban and Rural Planning Office ICOMOS-NL
Number of participants:	19
Output:	3 Reports: An Exploration of Intangible Heritage Values in the Public Space Network; Precinct Framework and Coding of Ng'ambo Buffer Zone; Guideline for future interventions at Government Boulevard

Report by the University of Pretoria (South Africa)

Aim of the Fieldwork

This fieldwork was a follow-up mapping exercise building on the already executed Inventory of Public Spaces, Zanzibar, Stone Town prepared by the Centre for World Heritage Studies at the College of Design, University of Minnesota during 2009-2011. This preceding study identified five square typologies occurring in Stone Town of Zanzibar, identified and numbered 142 public open spaces and mapped their basic physical attributes such as length and width, access, and basic materiality.

In 2010 another team of students from Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands) visited Zanzibar and set out to map the locations of a set of physical elements deemed to contain value adding to the Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) of Stone Town, Zanzibar. This study was published under the title *Cultural Heritage and Sustainability. Stone Town as Case Study* (Moor, B. and Vroomen, Y.: 2011). This study identified buildings where these elements, such as barazas (raised solid street side benches) and carved doors occur (and compared this with earlier studies to determine how much of this fabric has been lost) but did not aim at establishing their spatial contribution to the public open spaces they create.

Building on these documents, the team from the Department of Architecture, University of Pretoria, was entrusted with mapping both tangible and intangible attributes of the public open spaces of Stone Town, Zanzibar. This was to be achieved through photography, on-site data gathering, oral interviews and personal observation. The project and report are seen as information on the management of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Stone Town of Zanzibar World Heritage Site of which the living Swahili Culture forms part. The mapping of attributes, both tangible and intangible, supports the living culture of the site.

Specific attention went to physical built fabric supporting the Swahili way of life and culture of Zanzibar's Stone Town. Change potentially threatens

these attributes, and oral history surveys and workshops with long-time residents of Stone Town highlighted many changes that have occurred in their lifetimes. These now lost or altered elements relating to infrastructure, space use, and cultural and spiritual association were mapped within restraints imposed by time and medium. In order to manage change in Stone Town of Zanzibar, these attributes must be known if the impact of physical or social change is to be assessed and mitigated in order to preserve the Outstanding Universal Value as a living city. The mapping allows interpretation as to how tangible and intangible attributes support and inform each other and sustain the living culture.

The aim of this fieldwork project was to document those tangible and intangible attributes located in the public realm that contribute to the Outstanding Universal Value of Stone Town of Zanzibar on the spatial, spiritual, use and aesthetic levels.

Methodology

The methodology, while organic in origin, can be structured into four succinct phases, which were followed by production of the document.

Phase 1: Exploration and photographic documentation

As part of the exploration process, and building on the work contained in the Inventory of Public Spaces, Zanzibar, Stone Town report, all already identified public open spaces were visited and photo-documented in panoramic 360 degree rectified photography. Under guidance of planning and conservation staff, additional public open spaces were added to the register and included in the documentation. This photo-documentation takes the form of panoramic photographs which capture the façades of all buildings on a square, including their heights, relationships to each other and the public open space, aesthetic appearance and the state of preservation of their façades. Date and time

of documentation were recorded. These panoramic photographs formed the basis for further investigation.

Phase 2: Selected open space documentation

Due to time restraints the planning and conservation team of the STCDA were requested to provide the team with a "wish list" of squares to be documented in detail. The request listed the following as criteria for inclusion in the detailed mapping project:

- ▶ development pressure;
- ▶ decay;
- ▶ spatial or social significance;
- ▶ recent unapproved change to the site, or a lack of knowledge of the place felt by the STCDA staff.

In order to retrieve tacit knowledge a questionnaire was drawn up. It was informed by observations of the public open spaces of Stone Town made during the photo-documentation. Site documentation teams were constituted, with a mix of foreign and local students accompanied by representatives of either STCDA or the (Re)Claiming Women's Space in World Heritage (NGO).

The site documentation team set out to:

- ▶ garner tacit knowledge through oral interviews;
- ▶ measure the heights of individual buildings. This was done with smartphones and the Site Survey, v4.1 smartphone application (app), developed by Robert Dewhurst;
- ▶ map current detailed physical elements in the public space; and
- ▶ map uses. The mapping of use and physical attributes was executed on prepared plans of each individual square, as well as on the panoramic façade elevation photographs.

Shortage of time meant that each square could be visited only once, so that the documentation represents the place at the time and date of visit.

Phase 3: Compilation

Back at the STCDA offices the data was reworked into digital format. The Autodesk Autocad CAD package was selected for data capture as the STCDA is currently using this software. This ensures that the captured digital data is useful for the STCDA.

Phase 4: Verification and augmentation

On the team's request the STCDA arranged for a public forum to which local historians, the (Re)Claiming Women's Space in World Heritage and the conservation and planning staff of the STCDA were invited. This public meeting was held on 21 December 2011 and the results of the mapping of 12 public open spaces in Funguni and Malindi districts were presented and scrutinized by the attendees. Their comments were

recorded and incorporated into the final document. Post-mapping a presentation was held of interim results for the staff and invited guests at the STCDA offices on 27 December 2011.

Recommendations

This study was commissioned as a mapping exercise and did not aim to interrogate the current and future management of the city (although we found this to be informed, engaged in and carried out energetically by the STCDA) or the state of conservation of the city. However some observations will be hazarded in this section. These were work-shopped with the whole team and reflect a common perspective.

Immediate recommendations regarding further mapping

- ▶ At the 21 December workshop only 12 of the mapped public spaces could be presented to the attendees and their tacit knowledge incorporated into the document. This process should ideally be undertaken for the remainder.
- ▶ It is recommended that this study be widened to include all public spaces. This should include streets, as the street network and its uses are also important to the now identified public open spaces. Street and square cannot be seen in isolation. Most streets in Stone Town are lined with baraza's, which allow their use as social space.
- ▶ Time limitations restricted the number of public open spaces that could be covered in this mapping exercise. It would be beneficial to extend the exercise to cover all of Stone Town of Zanzibar; it is a large task that will allow a complete document to be prepared in time for future reference and management.

Stone Town of Zanzibar's relationship to the ocean

- ▶ Stone Town of Zanzibar owes its origin to the sea, and its physical relationship to the ocean must be carefully managed if the living Swahili culture, so intrinsically tied to the ocean, is to be sustained.
- ▶ The full length of the beach of Stone Town is therefore an important public open space which also needs to be mapped. The public nature of this open space is under threat from commercialization of the beach front related to high-end hotel development.
- ▶ The harbour has been the *raison d'être* for Stone Town of Zanzibar. The management of the harbour,

its physical location and the interface with the city are critical aspects with regard to the future of Stone Town.

- ▶ Neither this study nor the preceding mapping exercises took in the beaches or harbour areas. It is strongly recommended that the beaches of Stone Town be studied with respect to their present and past use, that these traditional uses be reinforced, and that the influence of the harbour on the culture, traditions and formal and informal economy of the town be understood.

General observations

- ▶ Stone Town grew from an informal structure as is still evidenced by its street layout. This process of informal accretion is still in full swing, especially where buildings have collapsed, and should also be mapped and the implications addressed.
- ▶ Traffic control remains a problem but we are confident that this is being addressed.

Special essay

Culture and Urban Development in Zanzibar – Can UNESCO’s Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape play a role in developing a Spatial Strategy for Culture?

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Director of the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Zanzibar (United Republic of Tanzania)

Introduction

The growth of the tourism economy¹ has been a factor in accelerating social and economic reform to boost the Zanzibar economy. The nomination and inclusion of Zanzibar’s Stone Town as a World Heritage property in 2000 was instrumental for tourism growth. Yet, with a vision to become a middle-income country by 2020, Zanzibar needs to diversify and further develop its economy. The cultural industry could be an option. So far, the tourism industry has failed to create a basis for better-distributed growth and a healthy society.

Today, the gap between urban growth² and cultural development in Zanzibar is quite obvious. A key example of this is the decline of rich local cultural activities since the 1980s.³ A lack of strategy in both cultural and spatial activities rather than of a lack of policy could be a cause. The newly created cultural events are for tourists rather than for all of the population, and target solely one area: the World Heritage property. They are hardly seen in the wider Zanzibar municipal areas.

Indeed, Stone Town is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization. But local identity has been challenged in the past years, not least by the tourism sector. For decades, emphasis had been placed on physical conservation and restoration. Again, areas outside Stone Town were not included in conservation or regeneration efforts. Consequently, they are degraded socially, culturally and economically.

The Government of Zanzibar has recognized these challenges. In the context of the application of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) recommendations, the aim is to see how the idea of continuity of urban landscape could be exploited to develop a “Spatial Strategy for Culture”. This

1 From 1980 to 2000, Zanzibar increased its capacity from 1,000 to 300,000 tourists per year. In 1984, Zanzibar had 204 rooms as against today’s 13,288 rooms.

2 The demography of the Islands has changed since the 1980s. In 1988 Zanzibar had 640,749 inhabitants with a density of 260 inhabitants /km²; today it has 1.3 million inhabitants with a density of 530/km².

3 In 1982, for example, with only 100,000 inhabitants, Zanzibar town used to have three theatres; today, with 500,000 inhabitants and hundreds of thousands of tourists, it has none.

is an approach to explore spatial development through the promotion of local cultural values, identities, skills and knowledge, as well as the universal values of the World Heritage property, all for sustainable development.

Implementation of HUL Recommendation in Stone Town, Zanzibar

Stone Town, Zanzibar, is among the few historic cities that have been engaged at an early stage in the process of developing inputs and recommendations for the HUL approach. In December 2009, thanks to financial support from the Government of the Netherlands, 40 experts from 11 countries convened in Zanzibar to discuss the application of HUL in the African context. The continuity and consistency of tradition in the landscape was the main emphasis of the workshop. In August 2011 a follow-up workshop was organized, with the generous support of the Flemish Government, to further explore and discuss in depth the concept of HUL, and to share national, regional and international experiences related to HUL. The challenges and tools concerning HUL in the African context that were examined are part of this report in the following section.

An important concern, expressed specifically by the experts in the two workshops, is how this new standard-setting instrument could facilitate an approach comprising urban development strategies based on cultural values with a strong focus on sustainable local development. Implementation of the HUL Recommendation in Zanzibar offers an opportunity to develop an approach in order to integrate social, cultural and spatial development. The local authorities and private stakeholders intend to use this opportunity offered by the elaboration of a newly started World Bank-funded project to prepare a Structural Plan (Spatial Development Plan) of Zanzibar Town, to enhance the continuity of its landscapes. The belief is that with a proper spatial strategy and related tools, an integrated urban development will promote both cultural industries and a vibrant urban economy for sustainable local development.

HUL in the Spatial Development Strategy of Zanzibar Town

Today, the key role played by culture in development is more fully recognized. Two recent United Nations General Assembly resolutions⁴ highlight the relevant connections and invite not only the specialized agencies but also all Member States, their institutions and civil society organizations to integrate culture into their development initiatives. The 2005 UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions is the basis, together with the 1972 World Heritage Convention, addressing the physical and spatial heritage, and the 2003 Convention for Intangible Heritage. These statutory documents create a useful framework for connecting physical, spatial and cultural development.

The United Republic of Tanzania has ratified all three culture conventions and is thus embarking on a new path in linking culture, heritage and development. Yet, as the case of Zanzibar shows, even when the overall policy favours cultural development and promotes a variety of its manifestations, this may not benefit the development of local communities. The challenge lies in finding ways of developing and integrating cultural development in the spatial, social and economic strategies. In fact, in most African cities, promoters of both urban and cultural development need a common framework of understanding and strategy to bring together the two sectors. Observations show that key players in African cities lack knowledge and ideas on how and where to articulate the connection between culture and development.

With its ambition to become a prime cultural destination in East Africa, Zanzibar is promoting an economic sector that thrives on culture and heritage. The Zanzibar Government policy of "Tourism for All" aims to promote culture as a vector for local sustainable development. Through cultural tourism it is believed that the pride of local values can be encouraged and lead to social and

4 UNGA resolutions 65/166 and 66/208.

economic development. In Zanzibar this ambition can be achieved only by bridging the existing spatial gap between cultural promotion and urban growth. The continuity of landscape may, for example, facilitate the manifestations of cultural activities (the film, music and literary festivals) to a much larger part of the population and become a real driver of the idea of cultural tourism.

Cultural development, however, has to go beyond tourism. It has to become an economic and social driver in itself, not only fuelling growth but also strengthening local identity, social stability and sustainable urban living. It is a true alternative to the current trend towards radicalism in religion and local identity. Pursuant to that objective, in collaboration with UNESCO, AAmatter (NGO based in Amsterdam) and the City of Amsterdam, the local authorities wish to capitalize on the process of the elaboration of a Master Plan for Zanzibar Town to develop the idea of a spatial strategy for culture. This is a strategy where urban and cultural development are conceptualized, designed, developed and implemented together. By sustainably exploiting its rich heritage, unique cultural fusion and contemporary creativity, Zanzibar will also be in a position to put culture at the centre of its development strategy, and better and more sustainably to benefit from the tourism and creative industries.

The idea of a spatial strategy for culture will be developed through tools and techniques successfully applied in other World Heritage cities (such as Amsterdam) to serve for cultural promotion of sustainable local development. Once developed, tested and successfully adapted, the idea can also be applied to other World Heritage cities in East Africa.⁵ These towns have very important cultural values needing not only to be mapped but also to be integrated into spatial planning and cultural development policies for sustainable local development. The approach should be holistic and closely integrated, linking efforts for urban regeneration, as well as a scheme for capacity-building and technical support for the local population. The project thus intends to empower the inhabitants of Zanzibar Town better to explore culture as a means of their local development.

Conclusion

Stone Town in Zanzibar is fully engaged in applying the HUL Recommendation. There have been surveys and mapping of the cultural landscape since 2009 to understand its natural and cultural resources and workshops organized to mobilize local stakeholders and to enhance the participatory approach in management of the historic town. Today, local authorities and high learning institutions are collaborating in the promotion of heritage values.

The ongoing World Bank project to prepare a Master Plan for Zanzibar Town gives the local authorities a context for exploring further the concept and recommendations of HUL and developing a spatial development plan that links urban and culture developments. Including a World Heritage property with a rich and diverse sociocultural fabric, Zanzibar Town is an ideal place where cultural and social manifestations can be integrated into urban development through the formulation of a spatial strategy for culture, as an approach to exploring culture as a vector for sustainable local development.

5 Three cities, namely Lamu-Kenya; Island of Mozambique-Mozambique and Harar-Ethiopia form the East African Secretary of World Heritage Cities. Like Stone Town of Zanzibar, Lamu and Island of Mozambique have been in the case study for the implementation of HUL recommendations.



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Date of Inscription: 1991
Criteria: (iv)(vi)

ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE MOZAMBIQUE

Brief Description

The fortified city of Mozambique is located on this island, a former Portuguese trading-post on the route to India. Its remarkable architectural unity is due to the consistent use, since the 16th century, of the same building techniques, building materials (stone or *macuti*) and decorative principles.

Map

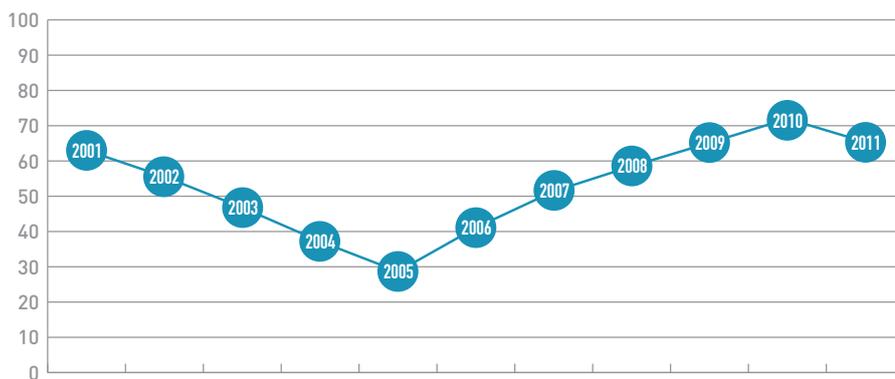


Map A, 1:50,000. Island of Mozambique and the surrounding mainland with indication of a protective buffer zone. Black-line print, 40x53cm, annotated in red.



Map B, 1:5,000. Island of Mozambique, the nominated property [used in the ICOMOS evaluation] (item #14)

Reporting Trend



*Based on the frequency at which the World Heritage Committee has deliberated over this property over the past 15 years. 0 = minimum reports, 100 = maximum reports.

The reporting trend, with the former threat intensity coefficient, shows that the frequency with which the World Heritage Committee has discussed the Island of Mozambique in sessions over the past 10 years declined until 2005 and since then has been steadily growing. Those deliberations addressed threats such as natural disasters, for instance Cyclone Nadia (1994), general degradation and lack of/or insufficient infrastructure, including lack of sewage and water systems, particularly in Macuti Town.

Over the years, the causes discussed were the following:

- ▶ lack of/or insufficient regulatory framework (including management plan, conservation plan, zoning laws, urban plan, etc.);
- ▶ lack of corrective measures and their timely implementation;
- ▶ insufficient implementation or enforcement of regulatory measures;
- ▶ insufficient coordination of stakeholders or integration of respective initiatives;
- ▶ lack of/or insufficient human, financial and technical resources, and insufficient understanding of the heritage's value and conditions of integrity.

The Committee expressed ongoing concern about the conditions of historic structures in the town and the lack of adequate planning instruments, affecting the authenticity of the property. The Committee also stated that, failing substantial progress, it might consider placing the property on the World Heritage List in Danger at its 34th session.

In April 2010, a joint World Heritage Centre/ICOMOS/ICCROM reactive monitoring mission was invited by the State Party to assess progress of the Emergency Action Plan as well as the steps for implementing the recommendations of the previous monitoring mission. Owing to the ash cloud over Europe in April 2010, the mission was carried out by the ICOMOS expert alone.

Degradation of the historical fabric and the collapse of buildings

With regard to rehabilitation of the historic fabric, the State Party reports that 25 private and public buildings have undergone restoration work. In addition, there were 20 worksites in operation at the time of the report, and 12 additional requests for permits being considered. Owners with buildings in an advanced state of disrepair were notified in writing of the need to prepare a plan for rehabilitation of those buildings.

The mission found that the situation as to collapsed buildings had improved considerably since the last mission, with no collapses in the intervening period. It reported that the State Party had also made considerable efforts to clean and clear those buildings that had collapsed previously. The mission did, however, report some collapses of fencing walls.

The mission further reported that the GACIM and Municipality had become stricter about repairs and constructions not in conformity with the historic environment in the Stone Town. The mission reported several projects that were stopped and/or demolished. Such actions have set examples for those implementing projects at the property.

The mission did report, however, that there were still serious problems in relation to the transformations of urban space in Macuti Town, affecting both the urban layout and traditional layout of individual houses, and to the use of modern building materials, both of which affect the authenticity of the property. The GACIM and the municipality have yet to be able to carry out the necessary planning controls to stop illegal development which adversely affects this part of the property. In addition, the question of building materials is of particular importance as there is an ongoing conflict between the use of traditional materials and the need for a more sustainable development and better quality of life for residents. These issues will need to be resolved in order to ensure a better state of conservation for the property as a whole.

Improvement of infrastructure, and in particular sewerage and water systems

The State Party reports that it is in the process of producing a sustainable development plan for Macuti Town as per the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee. In the meantime, an inventory of existing sanitary infrastructure has been made and 34 sanitation facilities (out of 166 planned) have been constructed in Macuti Town. The World Bank and the Government of Australia are also currently funding a plan to modernize and augment the supply of potable water to the island. A plan to pave the road from the San Sebastian Fortress to the port and other roads to be determined is also under way, coordinated by the municipal council and financed by the National Authority for Roads.

The mission also reported on the various initiatives to improve both water supply and sewerage, including those mentioned above and others being carried out by the Government of Portugal and the municipality. The mission notes that these projects show a positive effort by the State Party to improve the situation. It does point out,

however, that better control and coordination of all these efforts is needed to ensure that they are of the utmost benefit to local residents.

Implementation of a stronger legal framework

The State Party reports that the legal framework for the protection of the heritage of the Island of Mozambique is under revision. However, it gives no further details of the activities being undertaken.

Delineation of the buffer zone to include concern for underwater heritage

The State Party reports that there is ongoing discussion among the local and national authorities, as well as the local community, on the need to create a buffer zone to protect the cultural and natural heritage in its entirety, including underwater archaeological sites. No further details are provided.

The mission found that the development control situation had improved considerably in the previous year. In addition to work on the management plan and the coordination of activities by the inter-ministerial commission, the mission reports the existence of an advisory technical commission co-chaired by the municipality and the GACIM with membership of many key institutions on the island. This commission has allowed more open and transparent decision-making. The only problem reported by the mission was the non-arrival of technical equipment which would have facilitated planning control.

The mission also reported that the State Party had recently put into force a new National Monuments Policy and National Cultural Policy. Both those documents have been approved at Cabinet level, showing the commitment at the highest levels to conservation of the cultural heritage.

The World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies note the many positive steps taken by the State Party in the past year. Efforts have been made to implement the emergency action plan, including stopping the collapse of historic urban fabric, cleaning the town, and stopping illegal developments. Improvements in sewerage and water supply are also in progress. A most valuable contribution to the management plan is the architectural survey on both Stone Town and Macuti Town, which was conducted in early 2010 by a Mozambican architectural consultant team with the support of Mozambican architecture students. With funding from the World Heritage Cities Programme (Netherlands) and the Flemish Government, the survey was produced together with a study on the vernacular architecture in Macuti Town and submitted to the World Heritage Centre in April 2010. Both documents should inform the management plan and should be duly taken into consideration for finalization.

The World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies remain concerned, however, at the continued problems facing Macuti Town in regard to illegal developments, the loss of open space, and the use of inappropriate materials. These issues need to be discussed fully and proper solutions developed to allow the necessary development, while ensuring that the authenticity of the property is not compromised further. The State Party is therefore encouraged to finish the sustainable development plan for Macuti Town mentioned in its report. It is also hoped that these issues are covered within the management plan that is nearing completion. In this regard, it would be useful for the World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies to have a copy of the draft management plan as soon as possible, to ensure that these issues are addressed.

In summary, the World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies feel that major progress has been made by the State Party in the previous year, but more efforts are needed in order to consolidate gains and deal with serious problems (particularly in Macuti Town) that still need addressing.

Preparatory Workshop on the Historic Urban Landscape in the Island of Mozambique

Date:	10-15 July 2011
Partner Institutions:	UNESCO World Heritage Centre University of Minnesota (USA), Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands) National Directorate for Cultural Heritage City Council of the Island of Mozambique (Conselho Municipal da Cidade de Ilha de Moçambique) Cabinet for the Conservation of the Island of Mozambique (Gabinete de Conservação da Ilha de Moçambique – GACIM)
Number of participants:	48

Report by Albino Pereira de Jesus Jopela, Eduardo Mondlane University and Solange Laura Macamo, National Directorate for Cultural Heritage, and UNESCO's World Heritage Centre

Workshop Objectives

Purpose: To receive feedback from the local government and community representatives on the HUL approach and its proposed Action Plan of six steps, whether or not they are relevant to the Island's conservation management context, as well as local capacities for implementation – and if not, what needs to be adapted in order to increase relevance and usefulness.

Aim: To use the workshop for information about the HUL approach and its proposed Action Plan and exchange views and experiences on the Island's conservation management, in particular with regard to current urban development pressures, and thereby to build further local capacity in urban conservation of the WH-designated city.

Objectives

1. To determine a "road map", realistic and feasible, in consultation with local government and community representatives, of actions to undertake for conservation and development, building upon previous surveys, studies, reports and projects and based on priority-setting. Such a road map should be a useful planning tool for seeking additional support and funding, by both local and national authorities, as well as for UNESCO.
2. To decide on (one of) the most urgent project(s) to follow-up the workshop, to be undertaken in the second half of 2011 by one of the partner universities, and to determine the modalities of implementation in close cooperation with a local university.

Outcomes

After several presentations by national and international participants, on the fourth day the six steps of the HUL Action Plan were reviewed and discussed, in order

to determine their relevance and usefulness for the Island, to take stock of past surveys, reports, projects and activities carried out, to determine major gaps in these, and thereby to arrive at a Road Map for the Island indicating the most urgent activities to be undertaken, by whom, when and how – all in order to improve information exchange, communication and coordination regarding the Island's conservation management.

A long list was discussed as regards the many studies conducted, primarily in 1983, with several updates and extensions until 2010 when the Island's Management Plan was developed. In short, the built environment, in particular of Stone Town, has been surveyed extensively and put into a database as part of UNESCO's technical assistance to the site between December 2009 and April 2010 by José Forjaz Arquitectos, in connection with a conservation project funded by the Flemish Funds-in-Trust. However, the mission learnt that this database was not available at GACIM (the local conservation office), even though it had been sent in 2010 via the UNESCO Maputo Office to the Directorate of Culture. The resending would constitute a first urgent action to take.

The database was established in the computer application *FileMaker Pro*, which is an expensive programme and requires regular updates. The representative of Eindhoven University of Technology offered to check possibilities of converting the data into the standard Office programme *MS Access* to then merge them with other databases, such as that established by the University of Pennsylvania.

Action 1: to make available to GACIM via the Directorate of Culture the database established by José Forjaz Arquitectos, by transfer through UNESCO.

Action 2: to send the database to Eindhoven University of Technology to check possibilities of converting it into an appropriate Office programme available free of charge in order to compile it with other major databases.



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While, in addition, the architecture, building use and state of conservation of Macuti Town were extensively surveyed in 2010, what is still lacking is a proper inventory of the Island's public spaces and their use by local communities, as well as an overall picture of population densities and home ownership in both Stone and Macuti Towns. A previous cadastral database had been created and should be taken into consideration when developing a new one. The ultimate goal would be an integrated database for all relevant data of the Island's built heritage. Furthermore, in accordance with the site's retrospective SOUV, the studies and surveys have confined themselves to the island and do not make the necessary connections with the surrounding marine environment, a key resource on which the sustainable development of the Island hinges, and the Bay of Mossuril, which is the mainland entry point for the Island. The Integrative Development Plan submitted in 2009, born of an initiative for a Master Plan by the African Development Bank and UNESCO in 2006, did consider the wider scope of the Island, yet has not been adopted by the State Party. It may however provide important information to be taken into account in future related endeavours. Completing the picture of the wider physical setting and socio-economic context of the Island will allow a better determination of the sources of certain phenomena (such as population pressures in Macuti Town) and thus facilitate informed decision-making on requisite remedial action, which is at the root of the Historic Urban Landscape approach.

Action 3: to develop a cadastral map for GACIM by complementing and expanding on the technical surveys of public spaces, their uses, population densities and home ownership on the Island. Time permitting, this will be extended to the Bay of Mossuril. This information will be inserted in the database developed by the University of Minnesota (by Prof. Dr Arthur Chen and his students) during the July preparatory workshop and corroborated and overlaid with the one developed by the architect José Forjaz.

This activity will be undertaken as follow-up to the preparatory workshop and as part of a partnership between Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands) and Lúrio University in Nampula (Mozambique), in close cooperation with GACIM (the local conservation office) and the Ministry of Culture in Maputo, and under the expert guidance of Prof. Dr Luís Filipe Pereira of the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo, in the period November 2011 to January 2012.

Outcomes as per Step in the HUL Action Plan:

1. Mapping of natural resources, human and cultural urban centres

1.1. Completed actions	1.2. Actions to be completed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical background (200 BP - 1975) • Regional framework (1983) • Geographical conditions (1983) • Population trend (1822-2007) • Population and labour occupation (1983) • Ownership and cadastral map (1983) • Traffic (1983) • Vegetation (1983) • Technical infrastructure (1983) • Planning and use of space (1983, 2010) • Urban Development (1500-1983, 2010) • Comparative study of historical maps (1600-1983) • Use of buildings • Buildings of stone and lime (1983, 2010) • Macuti Buildings (2010) • Architectural inventory • Stone and lime buildings (1983, 2010) • Macuti buildings (1983 partial, 2010) • State of Conservation • Stone and lime buildings (1983, 2010) • Macuti buildings (2010) • Environmental Studies (1997) • Study of the Public Sphere (partial) • Tourism study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural inventory • Buildings in Mossuril Bay • State of Conservation • Buildings in Mossuril Bay • Inventory of Public Spaces (to be completed) • Use of Public Spaces • Geographical conditions (2011) • Population and labour/occupation (2011) • Traffic: pedestrian, boats, vehicles, bicycles, etc. (2011) • Vegetation (2011) • Technical infrastructure (2011) • Inventory of natural and maritime heritage (priority) • Lobsters • Inventory of movable heritage • Inventory of intangible heritage • Study of the introduction of speed bumps on main roads • Ownership and cadastral map • State property • State property that was privatized (in the process of being legalized) • Private property • Study of Legislation (Ministries of Culture, Infrastructure, Planning, etc.) on the privatization process and how to act in this situation (reference in step 5) • Studies by the Architect José Forjaz and Professor Luis Filipe • Study of migration flux • Inventory of natural resources - traditional building materials (apart from the island) - reference in Step 4 and 6 • Mangrove (consider replacement material) • Coral stone • Lime • Wood • Macuti (very expensive but still available)

2. Participatory planning and stakeholders' consultations on what values to protect

2.1. Completed actions	2.2. Actions to be completed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Statement of Cultural Significance (defined by experts and community) • International (Statement of Outstanding Universal Value) • National (Conservation and Management Plan for the Island) • Urban Landscape • Scientific/e.g. Ancient Masonry • Social/people – community • Social/religious value • Meetings of the Management Plan Committee, including the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of attributes and values to be protected, including local/community • Define exactly what should be protected and what can be changed • OUV • Management Plans • Community • Find these values and attributes (very useful to help in the discussion and approval of projects because it will affect the values and attributes deemed important by the community) • Expressions of cultural significance

- “Everyone wants to come to the island and then to the continent”, protection is important
- Survey – house-owners can stay, others living there should be moved to the mainland; more people living in a house means more poverty, therefore some should be moved to another house – both in Macuti buildings as in the neighbourhood Stone and Lime (mentioned in step 1), there should be funding to restore their homes and to develop their economic activities – to facilitate the acquisition of instruments, cooperative working to share tools – carpentry (mentioned in step 6)
- Silje (GACIM) is developing a study to identify/find the attributes to protect the Macuti neighbourhood together with the local community
- Additional study of alternative techniques and materials, compatible with respect for the cultural significance of the Island

3. Assessment of the vulnerability of these values and attributes in relation to the most urgent threats

3.1. Completed actions	3.2. Actions to be completed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of threats and/or causes (partial) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find the threats and causes • marine resources • lobster • Macuti/Zinc • Hybrid palm tree (not 100%) is different from the Mozambican one • Identify the urgency of the threats and causes • Preparing an emergency plan/prevent disasters (e.g. hurricanes) • Evaluation of environmental impact of tourism (visitors versus local community) – to support decisions in the coastal zone of the continent, Mozambique Island, Goa, Siena and other islands • Understand the causes and decide measures to be taken to prevent guests from exceeding the number desired and impairing the quality of life of the local community • Assessing the impact of degradation and transformation • Understand the causes and decide on measures to be taken to prevent degradation and transformation from becoming a threat but to make them a contribution to the Island • Distinction restoration and rehabilitation • Overpopulation of the city of Macuti • Evaluate the transformation of housing into “guest houses,” because the houses are rehabilitated but are not continuously used • The opinion of a resident to explain why you want to live on the Island: “Mozambique is the city, the continent is the bush” • Residents wanting to start business activities in the City of Stone and Lime find it difficult to rehabilitate and choose to create a tent that degrades public space • The conditions in the Island are different from those on the continent • The local community fish because they think it the appropriate course and do not think that it is affecting natural resources • Reception centre (food, accommodation and training) • Inquiry into what families know /want to do to define strategies to support training and achieve economic independence • Example, there are many mechanics, but few workplaces • Fire – City of Macuti (4-5 times) people run to the beach with buckets to get water and try to stop the fire • Request for the establishment of a group of volunteer firefighters (special people in the community trained to act in emergencies – to lead the crowd in times of evacuation) • Environmental changes • Uncertainty in order to protect tourism, and encourage tourism in order to protect one’s vulnerability • Uncertainty in the definition/authorization of change (restoration or rehabilitation) is a vulnerability

4. Development of a conservation strategy for urban centres

4.1. Completed actions	4.2. Actions to be completed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategic Plan for the Conservation of Built Heritage (2005-2010) • Integrated Development Plan for the Island of Mozambique (2009) • Strategic Development Plan of Nampula Province (2010-2020) • Action Plan (2010-2014) • Master Plan of the Island of Mozambique • Conservation and Management Plan and the Island of Mozambique (2010-2014) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incentives for farmers producing Macuti, the continent to support the restoration of Macuti houses suggested by the local community • Selection of houses in the Macuti neighbourhood to serve as pilot projects • Facilitate the exchange of resources between Municipalities • Operationalize the management system • Urban plan of the Island (nineteenth century, now partially done) and necessary legislation (general problem in Mozambique – to move slowly in Maputo and Nampula)

5. Prioritize development and conservation activities

5.1. Completed actions	5.2. Actions to be completed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action Plan (2010-2014) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritize Action Plan (2010-2014), based on previous steps and determine who will implement what • Cadastral map • Urban planning of the Island and continent (in particular Macuti) • Manual of good practice for interventions in the Island (rehabilitation, restoration, demolition, etc.) • Impact of threats and causes • Macuti/Zinc – project Macuti/Hospital (Sheyk Hafiz/John) • Overpopulation and occupation – to integrate the study of the cadastral map

6. Establish partnership and frameworks for local management

6.1. Completed actions	6.2. Actions to be completed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation in 2007 of GACIM • Sunflower house (Casa Girassol) • Restoration of the Fortress, UNESCO, Japan, Flanders, etc. • Research Centre in cooperation with UNESCO and the University Lurie, Nampula • Guest houses in Macuti Project/Hospital (Sheyk Hafiz/John) • Portugal bilateral project for vocational training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project of 400 houses Lumbo – failed in the facilities for the community • Millennium Villages – law of the land (if you live in one place for more than 10 years, the property is yours), provision/location was not of interest; the project exists but the problem is the implementation, the area having already been planned as an area of expansion • Dynamic database (temporary) architectural and urban inventory • System/Management Committee • Strengthening the technical team GACIM / multidisciplinary

Follow-up Activities Identified

As the principal outcome of our workshop, the following was noted:

- (i) Development of a cadastral map for GACIM by complementing and expanding on the technical surveys of public spaces, their uses, population densities and home ownership on the Island. Time permitting, this will be extended to the Bay of Mossuril. This information will be inserted in the database developed by the University of Minnesota (by Prof. Dr Arthur Chen and his students) during the July preparatory workshop and corroborated and overlaid with that developed by the architect José Forzas.
- (ii) This activity will be undertaken as follow-up fieldwork to the preparatory workshop.

Follow-up fieldwork

Dates:	1 November 2011 – 26 January 2012
Partner Institutions:	Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands) Universidade de Lúrio in Nampula Gabinete de Conservação da Ilha de Moçambique Conselho Municipal da Ilha de Moçambique Ministério da Cultura
Number of participants:	16
Objectives:	GIS, the Orange book, Exhibition and Capacity-Building
Output:	Two reports: Inventory of physical changes – maps and photographs, and an Inventory of socio-economic changes Exhibition of results with mini-conference on 19 January 2012

Report by Ana Pereira Roders and Jens Hougaard

Objectives

The main aim of the field research was to reveal and debate the impact of the socio-economic changes on the legislation decreeing the ownership regime, implemented after Independence, on the conservation of cultural heritage in the Island of Mozambique. We began by looking at the property regime and use, the properties, how they have changed and their condition.

We concluded by comparing and relating the results, in order to be able to distinguish associated from dissociated patterns and to identify the impact of the governance strategies concerning “ownership” on the protection of cultural heritage, in the Island of Mozambique. Even if quite short in duration, this research opens paths to new research, needed to support the local and national authorities in creating strategies of conservation and development on the Island of Mozambique that better reflect its community.

Methodology

The Island of Mozambique was the subject of extensive field research in the early 1980s by the School of Architecture of Aarhus, Denmark, in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture, Government of Mozambique. The main results were published in a report entitled “Island of Mozambique: Report 1982-1985” (Aarhus, 1985), generally known as the “Blue Book”.

This report is extremely important for cultural heritage management on the Island of Mozambique, with its timely and rich content. First, it supported the inclusion of the Island of Mozambique in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Second, it has become the reference book for technicians intervening on the Island of Mozambique. Lastly, it provides a snapshot in time on the property rights and context, cultural significance and condition of the Island of Mozambique, during Nationalization, the first phase after Independence.

Comparing those values with current ones would allow us to understand how much of the initial property regime and context, have changed, and the cultural significance and condition of the Island of Mozambique. The emergence of patterns of change or associated changes would help us determine the impact and assist local and national authorities verifying their governance strategies. To be able to compare, one would need a reliable base for comparison. So, whenever possible, similar data sources and collection methods have been used, for instance when the same perspective from the old photographs is used on the new photographs.

New or complementary data sources and collection methods have been used in situations where particular variables would be found referenced qualitatively in the “Blue Book”, but not located or quantified. An example of these variables is the number of occupants per building.

The coding system used was the one already being implemented from the “Blue Book”, so that only the new buildings have been given a new code; the other buildings retained their original code. In brief, the code is a combination of four numbers: the block, the building, the floor and the parcel number.

Teamwork and work plan

The fieldwork was carried out by a group of nine students and one research assistant from Eindhoven University of Technology (TU/e), the Netherlands, and Universidade de Lúrio (Unilúrio), Mozambique, coordinated by the present authors, Dr Architect Ana Pereira Roders (TU/e), Architect Jaime Aguacheiro (Unilúrio) and Architect Jens Hougaard, on behalf of the Conservation Office of the Island of Mozambique (GACIM), part of the Ministry of Culture, Mozambique.

An incompatibility of time frames prevented direct cooperation between the two participant teams, TU/e and Unilúrio. TU/e team worked for 12 weeks, while the Unilúrio team worked for five weeks, starting in the seventh week. However, both teams did follow similar methodologies, methods and tools, as agreed by the TU/e team and GACIM in the third week. Priority was given to Stone Town, as this urban area was the most affected by the changes in governance strategies concerning property rights. The TU/e team goal was therefore to complete the fieldwork in Stone Town, while the Unilúrio team’s goal was to begin the fieldwork in Macuti Town, which could be later completed by CEDIM or other partner teams. The TU/e team comprised five members. For four weeks, two TU/e team members defined the framework and prepared the GIS (geo-referenced information system) to be used by both teams, later complemented by the Unilúrio team on the map update and coding of all buildings located in Macuti Town.

During those weeks, three other TU/e team members went into the field, assisted by a GACIM worker, to collect data through interviewing, filming, photographing and map drawing. Back in the office, the same team inserted the collected data into the GIS, while the other two TU/e team members inserted the data from the “Blue Book” and defined the format and content of the report and posters. The data analysis was divided among the TU/e team members and all members worked equally for the completion of the report and posters, with the exception of the opening and closing chapters, to which the project coordinators contributed more substantially.

The Unilúrio team divided up the team members similarly. The greatest difference was that while one group of four members went into the field, the other

group of three members worked simultaneously on inserting the collected data in the GIS.

Methods and Tools

The ICT programmes used to create the GIS were Access for the database and MapInfo to generate the map illustrations. A list of related variables was created and priority was given to each of them in relation to the greatest benefit and the main research focus by the TU/e team and GACIM. The selection presented in this report was the one given highest priority.

Concerning the data collection, there were five main sources: the “Blue Book” and related documents, the interviews and filming, the photographs and the map drawing. The interview followed a semi-structured format and would only be filmed if the interviewee consented. Otherwise, only the sound would be recorded. On very rare occasions, it was not possible to film or record, so the interviewer just noted the answers. The Unilúrio team created a printed questionnaire form per building to be filled in during the interview, which was very beneficial for speeding up data insertion in the GIS, considering time constraints.

The language chosen for the interviews was Portuguese. When the interviewee could not speak Portuguese, the GACIM worker would act as interpreter, and interpret Macua to Portuguese and vice versa. A set of photographs was taken per building; following the perspectives of the photographs taken during the fieldwork from the 1980s and a few more considered necessary to catalogue the building and its elements, such as roof, façades, openings, decorations, etc. The map drawing used an old floor division map (ground and first floor) created during the fieldwork from the 1980s and applied the method commonly known in Mozambique as the “Red and Yellows” to distinguish new construction and subtractions. The same surveyor would also identify vegetation and the uses given to the different buildings.

All data, whatever the source, were inserted either in the GIS or in its archive location. After all data had been inserted, the varied variables to which priority had been given were analysed and compared, in order to find parallel or associated patterns of change. The results of this exercise can be found in the following chapters. The concluding chapter extrapolates the results and discusses scenarios of correlations, recommending activities to address, monitor and/or mitigate the patterns of change considered to be of most concern and requiring attention.

Expected Results

The direct outputs of this field research are four: the GIS, this report, the exhibition and capacity-building of the participants in integrating cultural heritage management and sustainable urban development.

GIS

The GIS will provide the local partners with a powerful tool to digitize, structure, use and disseminate all information available relating to the Island of Mozambique. Being a dynamic system, not only can new themes be added to the database but the same themes can also be added in different time periods. Such monitoring practice supports local and national authorities with updated information that helps to identify the changes and/or determine actions of prevention and/or mitigation for changes of adverse impact on the conservation of cultural heritage in the Island of Mozambique.

Report

The report presents systematically and graphically the results achieved with the present field research, in comparison with the results achieved with the field research undertaken in the early 1980s. It will reveal and discuss the impact of the changes on the governance strategies concerning property rights, implemented since Independence, on the conservation of cultural heritage in the Island of Mozambique. Local and national authorities can use this report to verify, improve or create new governance strategies, not necessarily exclusive to property rights. Moreover, it can also be used to sustain the development of Master Urban Plans and/or Detailed Plans for the Island of Mozambique.

Exhibition

The results were presented to the involved partners in a public exhibition named after this publication, "Mozambique Island: A Historic Urban Landscape in Perspective", held on the Research Centre of the Island of Mozambique (CEDIM), Fortaleza de S. Sebastião, launched on 19 January 2012. Besides the involved partner institutions, all those interviewed also received an invitation during the fieldwork to visit the exhibition and become acquainted with the research results. In such a way, it can also contribute to raising awareness of the cultural heritage in the Island of Mozambique and of the importance of its protection for the benefit of past, present and future generations worldwide.

Capacity-building

In terms of capacity-building, this field research was a great success in tutoring and training a group of future architects with experience of cultural heritage management in general and in the Island of Mozambique in particular. A few were able to join the expert teams working worldwide for their protection; others, while designing and building, were able to disseminate best practices in integrating conservation and sustainable urban development.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Building permissions

Much of the development in the Island of Mozambique seems to be happening without the acknowledgement of GACIM. This can either mean that the local authorities do not forward all applications for building permission to GACIM, as they should according to the Code of Postures (2010), or that the local authorities too are unaware of all development projects in the Island.

For the first option, the Ministry of Culture together with GACIM could opt to halt, with the support of the local police, every development in respect of which they have not received an official request for GACIM assessment. Furthermore, a letter could be written to the local authorities alerting them to the irregularities and requesting consultations of the respective building permission files. In time, local authorities could learn to involve GACIM in the process or, if not, at least the Ministry of Culture and GACIM would have collected enough evidence to prove such misconduct.

For the second option, the Ministry of Culture, GACIM and the Local Authorities could together form a monitoring team or select local observers at strategic locations to sound the alert on signs of illegal developments and, with the support of the local police, halt every development for which they have not received a building application.

Technical teams and their assessments

Even though GACIM has within its structure a technical team that should meet periodically to discuss the development projects submitted for approval, they do not meet as periodically as needed, and they are not exactly what is traditionally known as a technical team. They should rather be called a local team, a group of representatives from the varied local institutions and communities. They defend what they consider best for the sustainable urban development of the Island of Mozambique, but most of them have no technical

background or awareness of the laws in place. Such lack of technicians in the technical team is probably due to the fact that neither GACIM nor the local authorities have at the moment any technical teams – including technicians such as urban planners, architects, engineers, archaeologists, historians, sociologists, etc. – to assess the development proposals with an awareness of the laws in place and the cultural significance of Island of Mozambique.

Moreover, even when GACIM receives the development proposals for approval, they have also not been assessed by technicians in the local authorities and they are in most cases breaking the laws in place, such as the Code of Postures, RGEU, etc. Therefore GACIM technical assessment, made by external technicians collaborating in particular aid projects, is often negative and gives the wrong impression that GACIM is against development. The development proposals thus often go ahead and are built, when according to the Code of Postures (2010) only developments consented to by GACIM should be executed. Further research into these matters could therefore help address the problems exactly where they need to be addressed.

Lastly, five actions are recommended for follow-up application, not exclusively related to these research purposes, but generally as a contribution to the sustainable urban development of the Island of Mozambique. These are respectively:

1. completion of this research, broadening the sources of information at the level of property registries, and including the urban area of Macuti Town and Lumbo in the mainland (buffer zone) to provide information for an overall assessment and permit the establishment of priority areas and monitoring strategies;
2. law enforcement, with the support of the local police, by means of halting and sanctioning illegal constructions – not submitted to or approved by both GACIM and local authorities;
3. creation of an inter-institutional local technical team (GACIM, local authorities and museum) to assess the environmental impact of development proposals (social, economic, ecological and cultural). Proper living and working conditions should be given to such a team to facilitate their impact evaluations. Furthermore, their selection should be based on their expertise and experience of working in urban areas of cultural significance rather than other discriminatory criteria, such as nationality, political party or religion;
4. development of Structural Plans and Detailed Plans for the two urban areas; regulating what can

or cannot change in the Island. That should include clarified location of the properties listed as cultural heritage and maybe the creation of categories, for instance distinguishing the buildings or urban areas that are considered entirely culturally significant (A) from those where parts of buildings and/or uses concern locations regarded as culturally significant (C); this could help in assessing development proposals. Moreover, a map of uses would be useful for initiating further steps in tourism management.

5. strengthening of the commitment of the ownership entities to protecting their buildings and raising their awareness of the attributes of cultural significance by means, for instance, of pilot projects and funding programmes for urban rehabilitation.

It is important to emphasize that historic urban landscapes are particular, as they need to keep evolving to provide the required and desired living conditions for their inhabitants. Since such evolution requires changes, rather than halting development and the resultant changes, the focus should be on moulding this development into patterns that do not affect but only enhance the cultural significance of the Island of Mozambique. As such, both can benefit since cultural heritage is, like any other resource, capable of stimulating sustainable development and human wealth. Moreover, unlike any other resource, it reflects who we are and how past and present generations interact with their environment. Such wealth of knowledge is priceless and future generations should not be deprived of it.

Ownership and use regime

The ownership regime is indeed changing and more buildings in Stone Town are privately owned. Still, the interview results and GACIM's list of ownership entities did not tally. There has been a decrease since 1982-85 in administration, commerce and protection services uses, while residential use remains dominant. However, new tourism-related trends (e.g. holiday homes and guest houses) are beginning to define occupancy in Stone Town and require attention.

Although the population of Stone Town is growing, only in a few limited areas have overpopulation patterns been identified; the same goes for illegal occupation. The size of families is decreasing, though there seem to be patterns of strong social dependency, with the exception of those working for administration, commerce and protection services. There is openness for mobility among those occupants who were either dissatisfied with the current conditions or simply interested in moving to a better place.

Still, there is much to do and improve concerning the results so far achieved. The difficulty of conducting interviews is the dependence on the interviewee to tell the truth, which may not have always been the case. Further research should complement these results with other sources of information. That would surely help as regards current and future stakeholders of the Island of Mozambique acting against problems that really matter for their local communities.

Historic urban landscape

Despite of the lack of data for comparing the physical attributes of Stone Town and its evolution since 1982-85 to the present (2012), it became clear that Stone Town is losing some of its characteristic homogeneity. The more frequent adoption of new and varied buildings in the east coast area is threatening the constancy of the traditional construction methods, materials and decoration principles but also its sustainability, as instanced by flat roofs for water collection. The changes on the west coast are more probably linked to a higher population density. These transformations may have not yet affected main façades, contributing to the preservation of traditional views and heights. However, they hint at trends of typological changes and overpopulated buildings.

There is a clear improvement in infrastructure, though there are still buildings with unsatisfactory infrastructure, which impairs the living conditions of their occupants. Priority should therefore be given to providing these buildings with the basic living conditions, as well as to halting this trend of change which disrespects the cultural significance in Stone Town. Further research could help us understand why these changes are taking place and determine the level of danger in order better to define the priority areas where they are more needed.

Changes

Despite the strict regulation that in principle no changes are allowed in the Island of Mozambique, changes evidently have taken place in almost every single building in Stone Town since 1982-85. One may therefore question whether such a rule is realistic or even suitable for a historic urban landscape that needs to keep evolving to meet the needs and/or requirements of local communities. Nonetheless, this also proves the deficiency of the conservation and planning laws and/or their implementation. The evolution of urban morphology into new isolated buildings, as well as the creation of courtyards on collapsed roof areas and the addition of new volumes, instead of restoring the roofs and the traditional typology, are a matter of concern for the integrity of Stone Town.

More thorough research is surely needed to confirm these patterns and their impact on the protection of the five typologies defined in 1982-85. However, the results so far have already raised some concerns such as the communication between rooms which is in several cases being closed. This change adversely affects the typology but also prevents natural ventilation, which, coupled with the matter of the roofs, also contributes to overheating and thermal discomfort inside these buildings.

Condition

The condition of the buildings in Stone Town has deteriorated. It can therefore be confirmed that the general degradation is indeed posing a threat to these buildings of Outstanding Universal Value. A trend has been identified in buildings considered deteriorated in 1982-85, which are now in ruins. This deterioration of condition can escalate considerably over the next decades, if no measures are taken to reverse the process.

With regard to the distribution of the buildings in bad condition, there are three specific urban areas that can be highlighted. Hopefully, this outcome will help the national and local authorities to define priority areas to parry this threat urgently; and, more strategically, to initiate prompt mitigation measures addressing the level of degradation in Stone Town.

Further research could help an understanding of the level of threat which deterioration is posing to the cultural significance of Stone Town, as well as its contribution to a potential vicious circle: starting with letting buildings degrade and go to ruin so that new buildings or strong intervention can take place without much regard for the building traditions; and therefore slowly contributing to the extinction of part of the attributes of outstanding universal value.

Relations

Even if limited, overpopulation was identified in a few public institutional buildings as well as in private buildings, in use by those other than the owners. Among these same public institutional buildings, however, buildings were also found with low occupation densities. The openness to mobility of those occupying them allows local and national governments to define new strategies for their relocation, providing the required living conditions, with enough area, protection and infrastructure. Even if improved since 1982-85, infrastructure is still far from being accessible to all in the Island of Mozambique. That is a major obstacle to sustainable development of the local community.

Private buildings are better-equipped in terms of infrastructure and are in better condition than public buildings. However, private buildings also seem to take a greater part in development projects that have been altering Stone Town. Thus, even though particular patterns in relation to particular attributes have been identified per ownership entity, the general conclusion is that there are no heroes or bandits. They

are all active in developing Stone Town, and that brings changes in volumes, materialization and/or detail. Still, given the nature of the changes identified, law enforcement and better guidance on conservation and urban planning practices are essential for enhancing the current integrity of the Island of Mozambique, which has significantly decreased over the last 30 years.

Special essay

The Historic Urban Landscape and the Conservation and Management of the Island of Mozambique World Heritage Site

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The Island of Mozambique World Heritage Site

In 1991, the Island of Mozambique was placed on the World Heritage List for its Outstanding Universal Value as its diverse architecture bears witness to a long history as an international trading post on the maritime route between Western Europe, the East African Coast, India and Asia. Architectural materials, building techniques and decorative styles owing to Bantu, Swahili, Arab, Persian, Indian and European origins blend together on the Island of Mozambique, creating a unique historic urban fabric (ICOMOS, 1991).

The city of Island of Mozambique, from which the name of the country is derived, is a calcareous coral reef situated four km from the mainland coast in the entrance to the Mossuril Bay of the Indian Ocean in Nampula Province, northern Mozambique. The Island is three km long and 200m-500m wide, with an urban area of approximately one km² and almost 17,000 inhabitants (Aarhus, 1985). The Island of Mozambique, which forms an archipelago with the two small uninhabited islands of Goa and Sena, is now connected to the mainland at Sanculo-Lumbo by a bridge built in the 1960s.

Inhabited by Bantu speakers at around AD 200, and recorded in the navigation routes of the Indian Ocean since the first millennium, the Island was dominated by Arabian trading between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries. The cultural influences are particularly evident in the local language, makhuwa nahara. With Portuguese settlement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, followed by Indian economic dominance in the next two centuries and then the slave trade, the Island became an intercultural melting pot (Eloundou and Weydt, 2009). This interchange of human values is expressed in the historic urban landscape of the Island that is divided into two different types of dwellings and urban systems: the Stone Town of European, Arab and Swahili influences in the north half (numerous administrative, commercial, religious and military buildings testify to the first seat of the Portuguese colonial government between 1507 and 1898), and the Macuti Town (City of Straw) of traditional African architecture in the south (GACIM, 2010). These two urban systems reflect urban development within a cultural continuum, where local and external architectural designs and building techniques were adjusted to the local socio-environmental context.

Brief history of conservation and management efforts

The first public efforts towards conservation of Island of Mozambique date back to 1943 with the adoption of the Legislative Diploma (N. 825) and creation of the Commission for Monuments and Historic Reliquaries in Mozambique (CMRHM), in 1947, responsible for carrying out investigation, classification and conservation of the monuments and reliquaries in the colony. In 1955 the urban core area of the Island was classified as “buildings of public interest”, excluding the area occupied by non-permanent constructions and some architectural intervention guidelines were introduced (GACIM, 2010: 116). During the late 1960s and early 1970s the CMRHM carried out a number of conservation and reconstruction works including the creation of Museums on the Island (e.g. the Museum of Decorative Arts and the Maritime Museum at the Palace of S. Paulo), with the aim of reflecting the long Portuguese presence in the territory.

Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal in 1975 and the emphasis in terms of cultural heritage policy was placed on intangible heritage (songs, dance and music festivals), with the intention to “follow the path opened by the armed struggle for national liberation” (Honwana, 2008:9), to create a new national cultural identity and to foster national unity. Despite the debates on how best to integrate the historic urban landscapes perceived as “Portuguese colonial monuments” into the national cultural strategy, in 1975 a National Service for Museums and Antiquities was created under the Ministry for Education and Culture, with the task, among other things, of ensuring the conservation of Island of Mozambique. The new approaches to conservation of the Island came along with the studies carried out by the Restoration Office, created on the Island in 1980. The Office carried out a series of conservation studies in order to understand the historical development of the urban structure and to address conservation and sanitation problems. The results of those studies were compiled in the Report of the Island of Mozambique 1982-1985 (Aarhus, 1985, also known as the Blue Book) in 1985, when the work stopped owing to warfare in the region (Hougaard, 2011). During the following years the Island suffered from continuous degradation and the influx of internal refugees from the mainland. The nomination dossier of Island of Mozambique for the World Heritage List in 1990 was based on the Blue Book.

At the time of its inclusion in to the World Heritage List, the Island of Mozambique faced serious conservation and management problems due to the continual degradation of its architectural heritage (UNESCO/UNDP, 1998). Subsequently numerous reports from UNESCO and ICOMOS monitoring missions to the Island (e.g. World Heritage Centre missions in 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008; ICOMOS mission in February 2007) called attention to the ongoing degradation of the property due to, among other things, the lack of a management and conservation plan, lack of adequate sewage and water systems, and the lack of adequate financial and human resources (WHC-12/36.COM/7B). In response to the Island’s most urgent needs and in the interests of sustainable development, the Mozambique Government along with international organizations spearheaded by UNESCO undertook a number of projects and activities. For instance, a Bureau of Technical Support for the Rehabilitation of Mozambique Island (GTARIM) was created in 1994. An Action Plan for the Management and Development of the Mozambique Island World Heritage Site (2007-2011) was drawn up in 2006 in order to take urgent measures against the increasing degradation of the Island until a “Master Plan” could be elaborated. In the same year two Government Decrees approved the Specific Statute for Mozambique Island and created the Mozambique Island Conservation Office – GACIM. In 2007 the first Phase of the restoration project of St. Sebastian fortress was initiated, focusing on urgent structural consolidation and restoration works to prevent further deterioration and on the provision of basic services and facilities (electricity, public water facilities and public toilets). Between 2009 and 2010 the Ministry of Culture of Mozambique in collaboration with GACIM oriented the preparation of a Conservation and Management Plan for Mozambique Island (2010-2014) with the support of CRATERRE-ENSAG and UNESCO. In 2010 a survey of the Island’s buildings and the creation of an inventory database with detailed survey work of the Island’s architectural heritage were successfully concluded and submitted to the Government of Mozambique for use at GACIM. As noted by the World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies in 2012, these actions

have contributed to the considerable progress made towards the conservation and management of the Island of Mozambique.

The Historic Urban Landscape Approach in the Island of Mozambique

As part of the World Heritage Cities Programme, a five-day workshop was held by UNESCO's World Heritage Centre in July 2011, on the Application of the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach on the Island of Mozambique, in order to debate issues of effective conservation and to test the validity and robustness of the HUL approach in the Island of Mozambique (Van Oers & Roders, 2012). The workshop provided a unique platform to introduce and discuss the HUL approach and to identify and understand the needs and wishes of the Island of Mozambique stakeholders. As a result, there has been an enhanced understanding of the challenges of urban conservation and management in the World Heritage city of the Island of Mozambique. An action plan with a set of strategies to assist in implementing the recommendation of the HUL instrument in the Island was produced. The workshop also created the platform for cooperation between some of the participating universities and the local institutions in the Island for follow-up activities (Jopela and Macamo, 2011).

Subsequent field research conducted in partnership between the Lúrio University (Mozambique), Eindhoven University of Technology (The Netherlands) and the University of Minnesota (United States of America), surveyed open spaces on the Island and developed a cadastral map for GACIM to strengthen its management tools. The results of the work were presented to stakeholders on the Island and published in a 2012 report, *Island of Mozambique Historic Urban Landscape in Perspective: Part 1 – Stone Town* (Roders, Aguacheiro and Hougaard, 2012; also known as the Orange Book). This report presents the results of field research on the "ownership of buildings on the Island of Mozambique" undertaken during the period November 2011 to January 2012, along with the results achieved from the variation analysis between this fieldwork and previous fieldwork undertaken during 1982-85 (Aarhus, 1985) on the Island of Mozambique.

Conclusion

The HUL approach proved to be of critical importance in the Island of Mozambique not only by broadening the concept of heritage conservation and including various aspects of conservation into an integrated framework (see Bandarin and Van Oers, 2012) but also by facilitating, through the six-step Action Plan, a deeper assessment of the various needs regarding the conservation, management and development of the Island of Mozambique. However, implementation of the HUL Recommendation on the Island still requires the development of some practical guidelines and tools on, for instance, how to deal with change: how to accommodate contemporary interventions and regulate the "uncontrolled development" in Macuti Town and yet still maintain the heritage values of the Island without obstructing the improvement of the population's living conditions. Another major challenge for implementation of the HUL recommendations, as noted by many stakeholders, is that the inaction of any conservation and management instrument (e.g. the existing Conservation and Management Plan) needs further work with reinforced human and financial resources, in particular at GACIM, where technical staffing remains insufficient despite the reported capacity-building efforts.

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Date of Inscription: 2001
Criteria: (ii)(iv)(vi)
Property : 16 ha
Buffer zone: 1,200 ha

LAMU OLD TOWN

KENYA

Brief Description

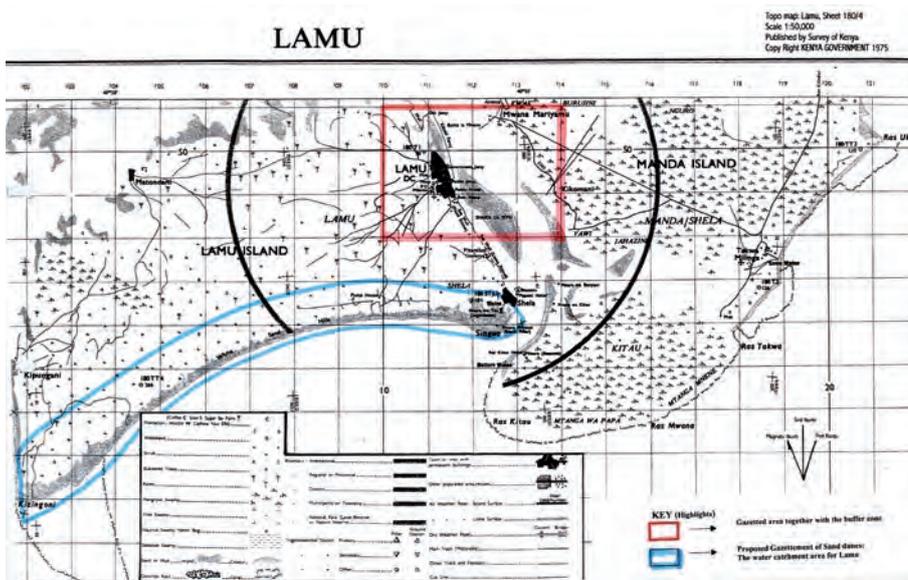
Lamu Old Town is the oldest and best-preserved Swahili settlement in East Africa, retaining its traditional functions. Built in coral stone and mangrove timber, the town is characterized by the simplicity of structural forms enriched by such features as inner courtyards, verandas, and elaborately carved wooden doors. Lamu has hosted major Muslim religious festivals since the 19th century, and has become a significant centre for the study of Islamic and Swahili cultures.

Criterion (ii): The architecture and urban structure of Lamu graphically demonstrate the cultural influences that have come together there over several hundred years from Europe, Arabia, and India, utilizing traditional Swahili techniques to produce a distinct culture.

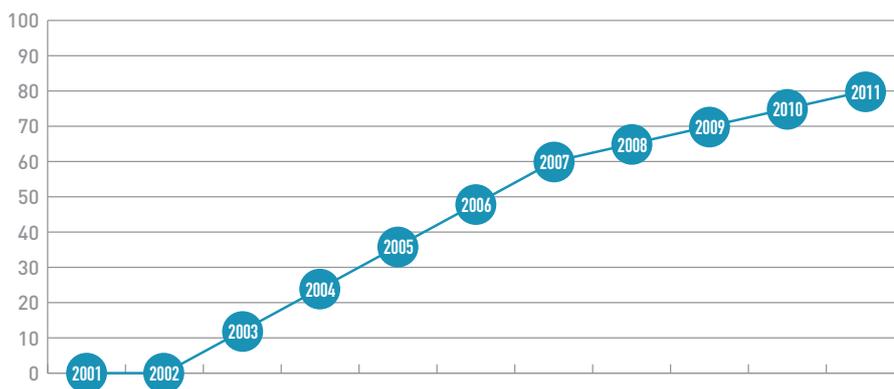
Criterion (iv): The growth and decline of the seaports on the East African coast and interaction between the Bantu, Arabs, Persians, Indians, and Europeans represents a significant cultural and economic phase in the history of the region which finds its most outstanding expression in Lamu Old Town.

Criterion (vi): Its paramount trading role and its attraction for scholars and teachers gave Lamu an important religious function (such as the annual Maulidi and Lamu cultural festivals) in East and Central Africa. It continues to be a significant centre for education in Islamic and Swahili culture.

Map



Reporting Trend*



*Based on the frequency at which the World Heritage Committee has deliberated over this property over the past 15 years. 0 = minimum reports, 100 = maximum reports.

The reporting trend, with the former threat intensity coefficient, shows that the frequency with which the World Heritage Committee has discussed Lamu Old Town in sessions over the past 10 years has been steadily growing since 2002. Those deliberations addressed threats such as oil and gas exploration and mining, new developments, informal/illegal settlements or construction, lack of or insufficient infrastructure, and infrastructure construction and development (roads, airports, ports, sewers, etc.).

Over the years, the causes discussed were the following:

- ▶ lack of or insufficient regulatory framework (including management plan, conservation plan, zoning laws, urban plan);
- ▶ lack of corrective measures and their timely implementation;
- ▶ lack of or insufficient funding; and
- ▶ insufficient coordination of stakeholders or integration of respective initiatives.

Conservation issues (35 COM 7B.39)

On 1 February 2011, the State Party submitted a state of conservation report responding to issues related to the proposed port, water catchment area, boundaries and buffer zone, and other factors affecting the property.

(a) Proposed New Port in Lamu District

The State Party reports that the Ministry of Transport has engaged a consultant, Japan Port Consultants, to carry out a full technical, economic and financial feasibility study for the proposed Port of Lamu at Manda Bay, approximately 15-20 km to the north of Lamu, and for the Lamu-Addis-Juba-Kigali corridor development project. In addition, the consultant has been asked to advise on appropriate regulatory and institutional frameworks for support of the project and to develop at least three investment models for financing it. The consultant has further been asked to develop a Lamu Port master plan as well as detailed designs for the first three berths and associated infrastructure.

The National Museums of Kenya (NMK) was contacted by the consultant to obtain information about heritage sites in the area concerned, and the NMK stressed to the consultant the need for a comprehensive heritage, archaeological, and socio-cultural impact assessment. To this end, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture has requested the Ministry of Transport, as a matter of urgency, to include heritage experts from the NMK in the team that will assess the overall Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), and also as an integral part of the teams that undertake individual EIAs for project components. The report does not, however, indicate any response from the Ministry of Transport.

(b) Development at the Shela Sand Dunes

The State Party reports that the NMK and the Water Resource Management Authority (WRMA) conducted a survey of the Lamu sand dune in February 2010, to map the 19 km² proposed for gazetting, including the fragile water source for Lamu Town. In May 2010, the Chief Registrar of Lands cancelled title deeds for the 21 plots illegally issued within the dune area. Currently the NMK and the WRMA are preparing documents to facilitate the gazetting of the 19 km² as a protected area. Further, the WRMA and the Lamu WHS and Conservation Office (LWHSCO) have established a water catchment management committee, which brings together stakeholders from civil society.

(c) Boundaries of the property and buffer zone

The State Party reports that it is developing a heritage map of all historical and archaeological sites within Lamu Island with the help of a local Geographic Information System (GIS) expert. This map will show the historical core of Stone Town and the buffer zones. The NMK has initiated consultations with the District Development Committee and other stakeholders on the proposed extensions to the buffer zone, as requested by the Committee.

(d) Finalization of the management plan

The State Party reports that it has received international assistance in an amount of US \$8,900 for the completion of the management plan. No plan, however, has been received by the World Heritage Centre.

(e) Uncontrolled development

The State Party reports that the Lamu World Heritage Site Office (LWHSCO) is developing a strategic proposal for the improvement of the informal settlements surrounding the World Heritage property. This strategy will be incorporated in the 2010-2030 Lamu District Development Plan. In addition, the chairperson of the NMK has asked the Minister of Local Government to include Lamu in an ongoing World Bank project, for upgrading of informal settlements in medium-sized towns.

(f) Other issues

The State Party also provides information on a number of ongoing conservation and restoration projects, cultural festivals and other heritage development projects.

Preparatory Workshop on the Historic Urban Landscape in Lamu

Date:	8-12 August 2011
Partner Institutions:	UNESCO World Heritage Centre National Museums of Kenya, University of Minnesota (USA), Eindhoven University of Technology (Netherlands)
Number of participants:	35

Report by Eindhoven University of Technology and UNESCO's World Heritage Centre

Lamu Workshop Outcomes: "Road Map"

Several strategic documents have been prepared in Kenya in recent years, which will or can have an impact on the conservation and development of Lamu Old Town World Heritage site. At the moment the National Urban Development Policy is taking shape, while currently the new Constitution, Vision 2030 and the National Medium-Term Plan (2008-2013) are in force. Specifically for Lamu, Master Plans for conservation were developed in 1975 (Ghaidan) and 1986 (Siravo), which should be reviewed and where necessary updated, while currently a Management Plan is also under preparation. These should address in particular Infrastructure and Services (garbage collection, water provision, sewage, etc.), as well as Guidelines and Regulations for development projects (for the core, buffer and outer zones of Lamu Old Town).

Next to the general issues of conservation and development relevant to Lamu, a considerable amount of time was allocated to discussing the planned Lamu Port Project. Despite the negative media publicity and the WH Committee's discussion (34 COM 7B.46) of this US\$20 billion project, many of the participants adopted a cautious position in stating that significant spin-off could occur, which may benefit Lamu Old Town and its residents. In order to make an informed decision, it was agreed that an Environmental and Cultural Impact Assessment should be undertaken that would outline the pros and cons in the short, medium and long term. Since no-one present at the workshop had recently been informed of the status of the Lamu Port Project, it was also agreed that a proactive approach be adopted to seek funding and partnerships actively in order to have this EIA commissioned, so that the proper arguments could be gathered in favour of or against this mega-development project.

In connection with the above, the participants agreed that the following five actions for conservation and development should be prioritized:

1. establish a database, with comprehensive mapping of attributes (physical, intangible, natural, etc.) and periodical monitoring and updating (also to review the boundaries of the WH site);

2. reactivate the Planning Commission;
3. hire a judicial consultant on the role and leverage of NMK with a view to new constitution;
4. start working on resource mobilization for infrastructure and services improvement;
5. commission Environmental and Cultural Impact Assessments for the Lamu Port Project to outline positive and negative impacts (potentially to be financed by the WB).

Action 1: Database establishment, mapping and periodical monitoring and updating (review boundaries) to be undertaken, in the period October to December 2012, by:

- ▶ University of Minnesota/Centre for World Heritage Studies (Prof. Artur Chen);
- ▶ in close cooperation with Nairobi University (Stephen Nyamato), as well as Pwani University (local) and the Mombasa Polytechnic (tbd);
- ▶ and in partnership with the National Museums of Kenya and the Lamu Council.

Action 2: Reactivate the Planning Commission:

- ▶ National Museums of Kenya is taking the lead on this.

Action 3: Hire a judicial consultant on the role and leverage of NMK in view of the new Constitution, with a review of all the bylaws relevant to heritage conservation:

- ▶ WHC shall endeavour to search for funding, in partnership with the National Museums of Kenya and the Lamu Council.

Action 4: Resource mobilization for infrastructure and services improvement to be sought by the National Museums of Kenya from:

- ▶ AWHF
- ▶ UN-Habitat
- ▶ NWHF
- ▶ UNDP
- ▶ WB
- ▶ UNEP
- ▶ UNESCO

Action 5: Environmental and cultural impact assessments for the Lamu Port project:

- ▶ to be financed by the WB – NMK talk to WB Country Director, in close consultation with UNESCOIWHC.

Fieldwork 1. Training Workshop and Mapping Exercise for the Lamu World Heritage Site staff on the Identification and Documentation of Public Open Spaces in Lamu Old Town

Dates:	1-14 January 2012
Partner Institutions:	University of Minnesota (USA) National Museums of Kenya Lamu Museum University of Mombasa SAVE LAMU Elderly Leaders Council Mombasa Old Town Conservation Office
Number of participants:	14
Output:	Manual for the Inventory of Public Squares: Old Town Lamu, Kenya

Fieldwork 2. Training and Mapping Exercise of Public Open Spaces in Lamu Old Town by local university students

Dates:	1-14 April 2012
Partner Institutions:	National Museums of Kenya University of Nairobi Pwani University individual students from the Mombasa Polytechnic University and the Jomo Kenyatta University of Technology
Number of participants:	20
Output:	32 open/public spaces were surveyed in detail

Report by the University of Minnesota and the National Museums of Kenya

On-site training workshop on the identification process of significant squares, fieldwork survey, database operation and management of the digital system.

The Lamu World Heritage Site Conservation Office staff received detailed lectures on the workings of the digital platform and also had extensive practical sessions on data collection, processing and data input conducted by the participants from the University of Minnesota.

The second component was the actual identification of the squares, survey of the identified squares and data input. This was conducted in collaboration with students from local universities.

The successful Lamu Workshop on Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) held in Lamu, Kenya from 8 to 12 August 2011 resolved that, as part of the way forward, the University of Minnesota would conduct a fieldwork exercise with their students, in close cooperation with the National Museums of Kenya and in collaboration with the University of Nairobi, and Pwani University, on the mapping of heritage assets within the World Heritage site of Lamu. This fieldwork was to be executed as technical assistance for the site authorities to assist them in implementing the HUL concept by establishing the priority of conservation efforts in preserving urban fabric in general and public squares in particular.

The mapping exercise had originally been scheduled for November/December 2011. Unfortunately it was not possible to set a definite date with all the partners following the travel ban to the north coast area. However the Minnesota team managed to find time and clearance to travel to Lamu on 1 January 2012. Unfortunately the local participating universities could not make it to Lamu at the time following disruptions in their academic programmes, which had been pushed forward into 2012. Finding a suitable schedule for the local students to travel to Lamu was also complicated by a fire in the University of Nairobi halls of residence, in which most of the architecture students housed in the building had to do all the work again and hence could not leave for Lamu.

Introduction

The mapping project was intended to serve as a capacity-building programme for the staff of the Lamu World Heritage Site and Conservation Office (LWHSCO) by helping them establish a digital database of public/open squares in collaboration with students from local universities under the direction of the University of Minnesota - Centre for World Heritage Studies. The digital platform developed by the UOM was dispensed on-site in January 2012 to LWHSCO staff through a hands-on training exercise intended to familiarize them with its operation and means of survey inputs followed by extensive practical work on actual surveys

of several open spaces. A detailed mapping of the open squares was later conducted in collaboration with students from local universities in April 2012. The completed work forms a base which can be continuously updated over time.

The University of Minnesota was responsible for providing technical assistance and guidelines to facilitate the project development. Specifically, UoM developed the Microsoft access-based digital database and its training manual to be used as a reference point. The UOM also conducted training of the LWHSCO staff and assisted in making the database operational.

National Museums of Kenya – Lamu World Heritage Site and Conservation Office was responsible for providing computer working stations, hosting of the UOM experts during the two weeks of fieldwork, administering the database and organizing a workshop for participants from the local universities.

The University of Minnesota (UOM) conducted a 14-day training workshop and mapping exercise for members of the Lamu World Heritage Site and Conservation Office (LWHSCO) in January 2012. The training workshop highlighted details of a mapping tool developed by the UOM for documenting public open spaces within the old town. The Windows access-built database provides for incorporation of a location map, a photograph, GPS coordinates, notes and a brief narrative of the target object. The database forms the basis for a comprehensive inventory of all public open spaces, including their current functions and uses. Members of the LWHSCO team had ample opportunity to practise on field collection of data, preparation of specific location maps and data input into the database.

Objectives:

- ▶ establish the priority of conservation efforts in preserving urban fabric in general and public squares in particular;
- ▶ develop appropriate procedures for documenting historic squares;
- ▶ demonstrate the survey work in process and adopt an appropriate reporting tool;
- ▶ operate digital inputs and database for the inventory of squares, plans and base maps;
- ▶ prepare an interactive map of squares for easy access to the data of each square.

The intention was to provide expert assistance and guidelines to facilitate the conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes (HUL) and, in particular, to establish a capacity-building programme for the Lamu World Heritage Site Conservation Office. This phase of work thus included:

- 1. capacity-building:** to design a training programme for the Lamu Conservation Office staff, citizen groups, faculty and students of the University of Nairobi and Pwani University, and experts of the National Museums of Kenya to conduct a survey inventory of public squares including mapping techniques, fieldwork and office work;
- 2. design of digital database:** to work with the local conservation office to devise a low-cost database capable of documenting urban conservation data and history;
- 3. data collection and inventory:** to digitize all historical and current maps available and to collect updated data for an inventory system of heritage resources;
- 4. buffer zone boundaries:** to facilitate meetings for discussing new boundaries of buffer zones and core properties to arrive at feasible proposals for conservation;
- 5. urban fabric, public squares and spaces:** to review social, cultural, commercial and public uses of squares for proposing future patterns of urban growth;
- 6. urban and building conservation:** to review the current state of urban conservation under a holistic approach to field surveying of buildings and open spaces.

The Lamu World Heritage Site Conservation Office and the National Museums of Kenya coordinated the *Lamu workshop on GIS mapping fieldwork* and decided to launch the inventory of public squares as the starting point for establishing the office and fieldwork for the database in mapping heritage resources. Although Lamu has kept extensive official information on urban and building conservation, the current challenge is to create digital access to existing data and updating records for conservation management. In addition, the urgent need to expand the buffer zones to protect sand dunes and freshwater resources requires a holistic approach to managing heritage resources in the GIS digital database.

Lamu is a pedestrian city within which buildings, streets and public squares have woven a unique kind of urban fabric intrinsic to daily life. The value of heritage intertwines with the pedestrian networks of buildings, neighbourhoods, mosques and public squares of cultural and social significances. The main square, Mkunguni Square, in front of the Old Fort, lies majestically at the centre of the networks of streets and squares. Mosques in Lamu lack minarets but have adjoining squares of various sizes. The square



around Riyadhha Mosque has the largest area for hosting the annual Maulidi Festival celebration. A variety of social activities take place at squares, such as public gathering, vending, trading, resting and chatting, weddings, playgrounds, stick dance, donkey ride stations, etc. Neighbourhood squares still provide access to freshwater from wells or tap water sources. At the seafront, squares easily become working areas for repairing fishnets, sailmaking, dhowbuilding, storing ship supplies and construction materials, etc. Public squares have enriched the heritage of Lamu and are essential to the conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes.

The workshop activities consisted of two components: training courses through the inventory of public squares and consultation on the conservation of Historic Urban Landscapes of Lamu. In discussing the conservation strategies for redefining the buffer zones and the design guidelines for new buildings, the workshop participants recognized the growing pressure from the newly built and renovated houses within the historic urban fabric, as well as recently developed areas near the township of Lamu. The urgency of expanding the buffer zones to prevent sand dunes at the beachfronts of Shela from being further damaged by new construction becomes apparent and evident from visits to the site. In addition, Lamu Old Town must prepare for the potential impacts of the LAPSSET project, an infrastructure system of railways, highways and pipelines for the Lamu-Port-Southern-Sudan-Ethiopia Transit Corridor. The

Kenyan Government should release the LAPSSET environmental impact assessment report to the public for the purposes of conservation soon. For now, the Lamu Office can update the inventory of heritage resources and propose expansion of the buffer zones.

During the workshop, participants collectively decided on and prioritized the survey items for the digital database and the standard operation procedure for inventory work and GPS information. The Lamu Office staff went through the hands-on training of handling the office work of database management and fieldwork surveying. They became very proficient in operating the database framework and inventory procedure as the training courses proceeded.

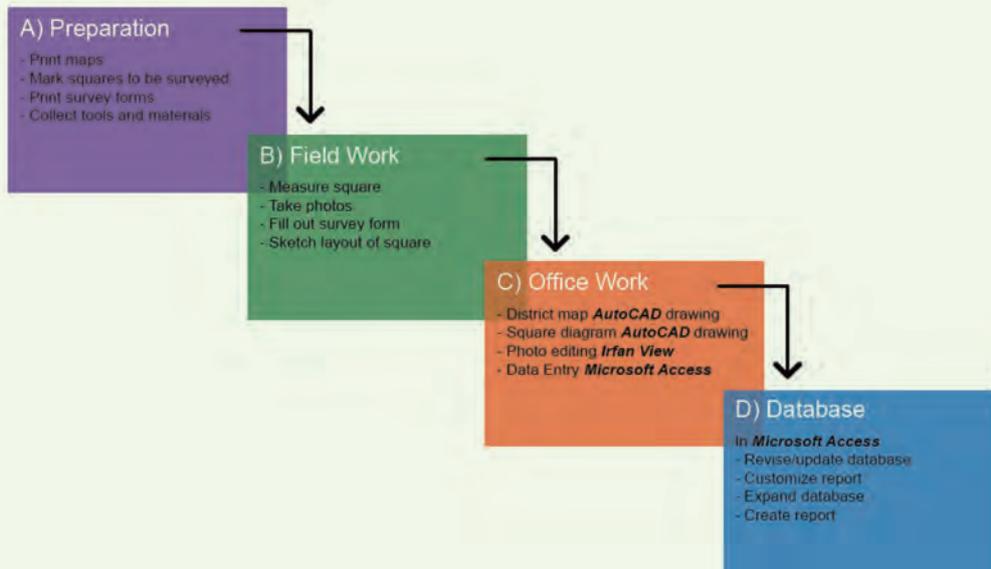
Since the end of the workshop, at the request of the Lamu Office staff, the University of Minnesota agreed to continue distance consulting on the inventory work and to produce a standard manual for the succession of inventory skill and database knowledge. The Manual for the Inventory of Public Squares: Old Town Lamu, Kenya has been written for the users' systematic learning and reference, specifying five sections in sequence: general information, preparation, fieldwork, office work, and database. The Manual has been edited for clear instructions on each step of operation.

Brief introduction of field survey instructions for public squares

by the University of Minnesota

WORK FLOW DIAGRAM Survey Inventory

OLD TOWN LAMU, KENYA



Complete the designated survey form by selecting and completing the following parameters.

Date

Write the date the survey was conducted in the space provided.

Open Space Number

The OSN includes the first two letters of the square name, followed by its order-number

Example: RI-12

Square Name = Riyadhha

Order of Completion = 12

1. Assign the open space number while inputting the data into the Microsoft Access Database.
2. To find the number meant to follow the district abbreviation, open the Microsoft Access Old Town Lamu Kenya Public Square Inventory database and select "Tables". This will show a list of all squares that have been inventoried in a Microsoft Excel format. Open Space #'s are located on the left-hand side of the table.
3. Scroll down to the district in which the square is located (DA-xx, KA-xx, RI-xx, and so on) to find the last number recorded.
4. The surveyor should begin recording the Open Space # where the last survey left off. If for example the table shows RI-12 as the last square surveyed, then the next square surveyed will have Open Space # xx-13.

Time

The time of day has an effect on the civic activity of each square. Record the time the field survey was conducted in the space provided on the survey form.

Square name

If the square has a name, record it in the space provided. The name of a square can be determined by surrounding building names or a particular remarkable feature. An example currently in use is "Aziz Boss Square."

Square conservation

The surveyor will address overall conservation of the space by evaluating attention given to authentic elements of the square. The surveyor will circle one of the following options: Outstanding, Good, Fair, Poor, Not Visible, and No Data. Notes may be included to supplement the observations and decisions made regarding the square conservation, thereby augmenting the particular level of conservation assigned and determined by surveyor.

Photos, drawings and maps

The surveyor will make note of any additional resources utilized in capturing the physical features or geographical location relating to the square.

When using digital photos, it is important for the survey team to devise a unified methodology for categorizing which photos match their related site survey assessment.

This information will be incorporated in the Microsoft Access Old Town Lamu, Kenya Square Inventory database to further document the square.

Remarkable elements and features

The surveyor should make note of any outstanding features within the space that affect the space in any way not addressed within the survey. The surveyor may address any variety of features within this space. For example, "Clothes line used for domestic purposes" or "Heavy traffic flow (vehicle and pedestrian) through space" may be entered.

Maintenance and safeguard levels

The surveyor should record the assessment of the square's maintenance and safeguards. Items to note include cleanliness, pavement condition, availability and function of light fixtures, etc.

Comments

The surveyor may choose to make any additional comments he or she feels necessary in filling in this space. For office use include the numbers of the pictures taken.

CONCLUSIONS AND WAY FORWARD

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM “WORLD HERITAGE CITIES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY”, 30 MAY-1 JUNE 2012, CITY OF BRUGES, FLANDERS

Introduction

On 31 May and 1 June 2012, the City of Bruges and the Flanders Heritage Agency (Flemish Government) organized a two-day colloquium on “World Heritage Cities in the Twenty-First Century – Challenges and Opportunities for the Conservation and Management of Urban Heritage”. Some 200 Belgian and international heritage experts looked at a number of issues that twenty-first century World Heritage cities face. They did so in Bruges, which became a UNESCO World Heritage city in 2000. The venue for the colloquium was the Brugge Concertgebouw, which was actually no coincidence: its construction – now some 10 years ago – prompted widespread discussion about contemporary interventions in the historic urban fabric.

The aim of the colloquium was twofold. On the one hand, a number of plenary sessions were organized with lectures on specific topics such as the UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL) and the holistic approach to urban heritage. On the other hand, four round-table sessions were held, in which participants were invited to discuss a number of themes that are food for discussion in almost every World Heritage city. To facilitate the discussion, two or three participants were invited to present a certain case or elaborate on their position. A large number of World Heritage cities are caught between, on the one hand, the prestige and the honour that accompanies international recognition and, on the other, the realization of the heavy responsibility of conserving, managing and developing such a valuable urban environment. As one of the speakers aptly put it, “entre modernité et continuité, entre préservation et une dynamique urbaine”. This duality was one of the main areas of concern and a guiding principle throughout the debates. The results of the colloquium are presented in synthesis here in this publication, citing the main lines of thought.

Synthesis

A number of topics came up regularly during the discussions and they concerned the points on which work will continue in the near future.

In practice, the everyday management of the World Heritage site is in the hands of the local authorities. They are therefore the ones asking to be involved more closely in the consultation processes related to a World Heritage nomination and the follow-up of its state of conservation. They want closer cooperation and a more transparent and direct dialogue with UNESCO.

The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* offers an opportunity to embed the management of a World Heritage property in an integrated urban policy. This implies that the policy must go beyond the urban environment, integrating the broader cultural, social, economic and other urban dynamics. After all, protecting a World Heritage site and dynamic urban development are not necessarily self-contradictory, but they should make up the core of a long-term vision for the city.

The protection of World Heritage is not only the responsibility of the local authorities or those at a higher level. Naturally, they set out the policy but it has to be widely supported by the population. Inhabitants and everyday users of World Heritage cities must be carefully informed and proactively involved in the decision-making. This builds awareness of the importance of conserving World Heritage and reduces the risk of conflicts.

A vigorous plea was heard for closer cooperation between World Heritage cities. Everyone expressed the view that such meetings as the Bruges event fill a certain gap. Starting up a platform where knowledge and experiences can be exchanged will strengthen not only cooperation but also the position of individual World Heritage cities.

The (public) debate about World Heritage is at its fiercest when people feel that the World Heritage is threatened. In practice, this is often the case with large-scale interventions in the historic urban fabric, or when projects in a distinctly contemporary style are being considered. Still, new interventions are unavoidable in a dynamic city, and are often desirable; “development by preservation, preservation by development” is still a frequently cited philosophy for guiding urban development.

Nevertheless it seems impossible to agree upon or establish a fixed set of criteria for contemporary interventions (or architecture). In any case, communication between the various stakeholders is crucial. By entering into a dialogue from the start, all the concerns, ambitions and objections will be out in the open, and the framework within which the project can be developed will be clear. In this way, no one will be met with any surprises later on in the process.

The environment undeniably has an impact on a World Heritage city as well. It should be taken into account in the management of the World Heritage site. One cannot remain blind to developments outside the World Heritage property; it has to be acknowledged that, for example, large-scale redevelopments (including infrastructure works) can have an impact on the World Heritage. This must be evaluated in the course of the project, without jeopardizing the urban development projects that are considered necessary. After all, World Heritage cities are living cities.

The conservation of (world) heritage requires a considerable investment from owners and users. The efforts made by governments to offer financial aid are in many cases essential for supporting owners and stimulating them to invest in the maintenance of their heritage. It is important to emphasize, however, that heritage is not only a liability but also an economic sector generating revenues and jobs. With its specific nature and local embedding, it is even an excellent and sustainable sector in the current knowledge economy.

As a rule, being awarded the World Heritage recognition in general leads to greater tourist appeal. However, tourism is a double-edged sword. On the one hand tourists generate revenues for the city (although this should not be overestimated; day-trippers for example generate hardly any additional revenues). On the other hand, too many tourists can put a lot of pressure on the appeal of the city and the quality of life within the city. The debates made clear that the great majority of World Heritage cities have to deal with this issue and are actively looking for an adapted tourist policy that guarantees the quality of life in the city.

Four Concrete Applications of HUL

Following the presentation by Marie-Noel Tournoux, UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, four concrete applications of the HUL approach were presented. Ana Pereira Roders presented the methodology for implementation of the Historic Urban Landscape approach that is being developed at Eindhoven University of Technology in

the Netherlands. Her research aims at establishing a link between the Outstanding Universal Value and sustainable urban development of the World Heritage city. To do this, there are six steps that the responsible authorities can take for management of the historic urban landscape, as identified as part of the HUL Action Plan. This, among other things, entails an inventory of the urban landscape, an examination of the carriers of the values to be preserved, and determining the vulnerability to socio-economic pressure. Subsequently, an urban development strategy has to be drafted, together with priorities for conservation and development, for cooperation and finally a management framework.

The Island of Mozambique is one of the case studies in the project of Eindhoven University of Technology. Albino Jopela, researcher at the Eduardo Mondlane University of Mozambique explained how an inventory of the entire fortified city on the Island was made in Mozambique – including the intangible dimension (e.g. past projects, and actions that have to be taken). On the basis of this large-scale intervention campaign, involving close cooperation with the local population, it was possible to determine exactly what is part of the historic urban landscape of the Island of Mozambique.

Site manager Salim Bunu presented the example of the Old Town of Lamu (Kenya), a World Heritage site of an unmistakable economic value for the region that at present cannot be sufficiently measured. In his presentation, he particularly emphasized the importance of cooperation and public participation for the conservation of World Heritage. Such conservation is also determined by very pragmatic issues, such as the reuse of vacant buildings or the choice of materials for road works. In Lamu, public space forms an essential part of both the heritage policy and the ambition to improve the inhabitants' quality of life.

As in Mozambique and Kenya, in Zanzibar's Stone Town (United Republic of Tanzania) the documentation process was an important link in developing the management structure. Muhammed Juma, Director of Urban Planning of Stone Town pointed out in his account that one of the major challenges lay in defining a buffer zone around the World Heritage site. To this end various involved authorities were brought together to determine a working method. In the end this led to an institutional reform in which the various managers of the Stone Town heritage management are involved on an equal basis. The importance of good site management has increased systematically in Stone Town over the past few years. This is above all due to a number of new developments and the increase in traffic, mainly the profusion of tourists. This plethora of tourists also meant that a number of traditions are becoming increasingly commercialized, thus affecting the intangible component and the integrity of World Heritage.

Epilogue – UNESCO World Heritage cities are living cities

The topic of the seminar "World Heritage Cities in the Twenty-First Century" was appreciated by the participants and emphasized the importance that everyone attaches to the fact that World Heritage cities are living cities. The format of the seminar, a concept of intensive exchange in numerous round-table discussions on topics combined with a number of strategic plenary sessions, was particularly appreciated. However, the seminar's strength undoubtedly lay in the meeting and exchange of experiences and examples of good practice. Many participants were enthusiastic about the fact that they finally found colleagues who are facing similar problems so that they can learn from each other's methods. In general, it was felt that a foundation has been laid that in the coming months and years must be further embedded into a real network.

A number of points of attention, as already indicated above, must be taken up by World Heritage cities individually, but also in the consultations within a future network:

- ▶ the role of the World Heritage and heritage conservation for the community (civil society);
- ▶ reconciliation of the living World Heritage city with contemporary architecture and (large-scale) interventions in the historic fabric;
- ▶ communication with, raising awareness and creating support among inhabitants and stakeholders;
- ▶ communication and collaboration with the (international) heritage partners and in particular with the World Heritage Committee, the World Heritage Centre and ICOMOS;
- ▶ the urgent integration of a heritage reflex in educational and tourist programmes;
- ▶ data collection on the basis of various indicators for monitoring and management (e.g. economic, social, heritage conservation and management, etc.);
- ▶ limitation of unbridled tourism and other threats facing the twenty-first century (heritage) city;
- ▶ inclusion of the economic (added) value of heritage as a basic criterion.

This list is not exhaustive and the participants agreed that there should be a sequel to Bruges 2012. In the twenty-first century, the World Heritage cities should unite and become a privileged partner in the international heritage world. The city of Bordeaux was willing to investigate whether it could organize a meeting in 2013 based on the same format as the Bruges seminar.

More customers, including foreign tourists, would be very welcome for these girls selling local products in Ilha de Mozambique's Stone Town, and efforts by government and private investors are underway to refurbish the island's colonial houses into guest houses and boutique hotels.
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THE WAY FORWARD

The implementation of the 2011 *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* is just beginning in several countries around the world. UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, through its World Heritage Cities Programme (under which this Flemish-sponsored project was coordinated), aims to support the Members States in their endeavours by providing advice, guidance and technical assistance, where relevant and necessary. As a first priority there is the need to embed the HUL approach firmly in the toolkit of World Heritage site authorities, and the World Heritage Committee has requested the convening of a meeting of experts to discuss the integration of HUL into the Operational Guidelines. The Government of Brazil will host this meeting, scheduled for September 2013.

As regards exploring possibilities for application of HUL, following the Swahili Coast, several initiatives have already been undertaken in the Arab States region, for instance. In April 2013 an expert meeting in Bahrain was held for the HUL application in the historic city of Muharraq, organized by the Arab Regional Centre for World Heritage (ARC-WH) in cooperation with the local authorities. In addition, a regional meeting of representatives of Arab States was organized by the World Heritage Centre on the application of HUL, hosted by the World Heritage city of Rabat in Morocco (May 2013).

Furthermore, in the Asia-Pacific region multiple activities are under way regarding the application of HUL, most notably in the historic city of Ballarat in Australia, where in September 2013 a special workshop on the issue will be held, and in the historic city of Rawalpindi in Pakistan, where close cooperation between the National College of Arts and the local authorities is under way to explore HUL. Next door in India, the World Bank and UNESCO have been working together since 2011 on the integration of culture and heritage, by way of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, in a US \$2 billion urban development programme of the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM). Executed by the Government of India with the assistance of the World Bank and UNESCO, the first phase of this initiative focused on the development of demonstration projects in three historic cities: Varanasi, Hyderabad and Ajmer-Pushkar. At present, the second phase is being set up whereby through the buy-in of other cities and states the way could be paved to broader implementation throughout the Indian subcontinent. In addition, the World Heritage Institute of Training and Research for the Asia-Pacific region (WHITRAP) is now setting up a special programme for HUL implementation in China.

With respect to Africa, WHITRAP aims to seek closer cooperation with the African World Heritage Fund, another UNESCO category 2 centre (like ARC-WH and WHITRAP), to explore ways and means of collaborating in rolling out the application of HUL in other subregions, in close cooperation with the World Heritage Centre. As regards the three Pilot Cities on the Swahili Coast, concrete follow-up and spin-off are already taking place.

Lamu Old Town

As direct follow-up to the Flemish Government-sponsored workshop on the application of the Historic Urban Landscape approach, the Netherlands Government agreed in early 2012 to provide seed funding in an amount of US \$80,000 under its Funds-in-Trust agreement with the World Heritage Centre to undertake a Heritage Impact Assessment of the Lamu Port Project. Developing an HIA of Lamu Old Town as part of the major regional development project in northern Kenya, some 40 km from the Lamu WH Site, was earmarked as the most urgent by the workshop participants. While a full-scale Environmental Impact Assessment would of course be needed, to start with an HIA for the Old Town would be an important first step. The project will be executed by the national Kenyan authorities responsible for heritage (National Museums of Kenya) and

its outcomes presented in a national symposium in Nairobi. Consultations are ongoing between the World Heritage Centre and the NMK regarding the set-up of this project.

Stone Town Zanzibar

As explained by Muhammad Juma earlier in this publication, the Master Plan of Zanzibar Town is in its early stages of drafting, and the Zanzibar Government intends to create a Cultural Strategy as part of the sustainable development of the city, and indeed the island, through an integration of culture and heritage in city planning and local development – very ambitious and, if successful, this would be a major achievement towards implementing the HUL approach.

At an earlier stage a concept note had been submitted to the EU within a call for proposals to support cultural heritage protection and promotion projects in the United Republic of Tanzania (EuropeAid/133162/L/ACT/TZ) on the Historic Urban Landscape – An Integrative Approach to Heritage-Based Urban Regeneration in Ng'ambo as part of the World Heritage Site "Stone Town of Zanzibar". Although receiving several good marks, the grant proposal was unfortunately not awarded (information received in March 2013). Nevertheless, the main idea is still alive and will be further pursued through the World Bank-supported project of the elaboration of a Master Plan for Zanzibar Town.

Island of Mozambique

At the time of this publication going to print (June 2013) GACIM and the Ministry of Culture are part of a concerted effort to apply for funding from the World Monuments Fund (WMF) for the establishment of an urban development strategy with related tools, together with the improvement of conservation know-how and management practices as a direct follow-up to the workshop and fieldwork sponsored by the Flemish Government. The partners involved in this grant request are Lúrio University, Centre of Research and Documentation (CEDIM) in Nampula, the Provincial Government of Nampula, the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning of Bergen University (UiB) and Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI) in Norway, and Eindhoven University of Technology, The Netherlands. The indicated duration is two years with a requested budget of US \$750,000.



Stone Town-Zanzibar's narrow and winding streets are full of the smells and sounds of artisanal workshops and shops, although a process of gentrification is now pushing these functions out in favour of tourist-related activities, such as cafes, restaurants and hotels, which do not cater to the local population.
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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1

RECOMMENDATION ON THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

including a glossary of definitions

**Adopted by the General Conference at its 36th session
Paris, 10 November 2011**

PREAMBLE

The General Conference,

Considering that historic urban areas are among the most abundant and diverse manifestations of our common cultural heritage, shaped by generations and constituting a key testimony to humankind's endeavours and aspirations through space and time,

Also considering that urban heritage is for humanity a social, cultural and economic asset, defined by an historic layering of values that have been produced by successive and existing cultures and an accumulation of traditions and experiences, recognized as such in their diversity,

Further considering that urbanization is proceeding on an unprecedented scale in the history of humankind, and that throughout the world this is driving socio-economic change and growth, which should be harnessed at the local, national, regional and international levels,

Recognizing, the dynamic nature of living cities,

Noting, however, that rapid and frequently uncontrolled development is transforming urban areas and their settings, which may cause fragmentation and deterioration to urban heritage with deep impacts on community values, throughout the world,

Considering, therefore, that in order to support the protection of natural and cultural heritage, emphasis needs to be put on the integration of historic urban area conservation, management and planning strategies into local development processes and urban planning, such as, contemporary architecture and infrastructure development, for which the application of a landscape approach would help maintain urban identity,

Also considering that the principle of sustainable development provides for the preservation of existing resources, the active protection of urban heritage and its sustainable management is a condition sine qua non of development,

Recalling that a corpus of UNESCO standard-setting documents, including conventions, recommendations and charters¹ exists on the subject of the conservation of historic areas, all of which remain valid,

Also noting, however, that under processes of demographic shifts, global market liberalization and decentralization, as well as mass tourism, market exploitation of heritage, and climate change, conditions have changed and cities are subject to development pressures and challenges not present at the time of adoption of the most recent UNESCO recommendation on historic areas in 1976 (Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas),

Further noting the evolution of the concepts of culture and heritage and of the approaches to their management, through the combined action of local initiatives and international meetings², which have been useful in guiding policies and practices worldwide,

Desiring to supplement and extend the application of the standards and principles laid down in existing international instruments,

Having before it proposals concerning the historic urban landscape as an approach to urban heritage conservation, which appear on the agenda of the 36th session of the General Conference as item 8.1,

Having decided at its 35th session that this issue should be addressed by means of a recommendation to Member States,

1. *Adopts*, this 10th day of November 2011, the present Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape;
2. *Recommends* that Member States adopt the appropriate legislative institutional framework and measures, with a view to applying the principles and norms set out in this Recommendation in the territories under their jurisdiction;
3. *Also recommends* that Member States bring this Recommendation to the attention of the local, national and regional authorities, and of institutions, services or bodies and associations concerned with the safeguarding, conservation and management of historic urban areas and their wider geographical settings.

1 In particular, the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, the 1962 Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites, the 1968 Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works, the 1972 Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage, the 1976 Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, the 1964 ICOMOS International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter), the 1982 ICOMOS Historic Gardens (Florence Charter), and the 1987 ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter), the 2005 ICOMOS Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas, as well as the 2005 Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape.

2 In particular the 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City, the 1994 Nara Meeting on Authenticity, the 1995 summit of the World Commission on Culture and Development, the 1996 HABITAT II Conference in Istanbul with ratification of Agenda 21, the 1998 UNESCO Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development in Stockholm, the 1998 joint World Bank-UNESCO Conference on Culture in Sustainable Development—Investing in Cultural and Natural Endowments, the 2005 International Conference on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture in Vienna, the 2005 ICOMOS General Assembly on the Setting of Monuments and Sites in Xi'an, and the 2008 ICOMOS General Assembly on the Spirit of Place in Québec.

INTRODUCTION

1. Our time is witness to the largest human migration in history. More than half of the world's population now lives in urban areas. Urban areas are increasingly important as engines of growth and as centres of innovation and creativity; they provide opportunities for employment and education and respond to people's evolving needs and aspirations.
2. Rapid and uncontrolled urbanization, however, may frequently result in social and spatial fragmentation and in a drastic deterioration of the quality of the urban environment and of the surrounding rural areas. Notably, this may be due to excessive building density, standardized and monotonous buildings, loss of public space and amenities, inadequate infrastructure, debilitating poverty, social isolation, and an increasing risk of climate-related disasters.
3. Urban heritage, including its tangible and intangible components, constitutes a key resource in enhancing the liveability of urban areas, and fosters economic development and social cohesion in a changing global environment. As the future of humanity hinges on the effective planning and management of resources, conservation has become a strategy to achieve a balance between urban growth and quality of life on a sustainable basis.
4. In the course of the past half century, urban heritage conservation has emerged as an important sector of public policy worldwide. It is a response to the need to preserve shared values and to benefit from the legacy of history. However, the shift from an emphasis on architectural monuments primarily towards a broader recognition of the importance of the social, cultural and economic processes in the conservation of urban values, should be matched by a drive to adapt the existing policies and to create new tools to address this vision.
5. This Recommendation addresses the need to better integrate and frame urban heritage conservation strategies within the larger goals of overall sustainable development, in order to support public and private actions aimed at preserving and enhancing the quality of the human environment. It suggests a landscape approach for identifying, conserving and managing historic areas within their broader urban contexts, by considering the interrelationships of their physical forms, their spatial organization and connection, their natural features and settings, and their social, cultural and economic values.
6. This approach addresses the policy, governance and management concerns involving a variety of stakeholders, including local, national, regional, international, public and private actors in the urban development process.
7. This Recommendation builds upon the four previous UNESCO recommendations concerning heritage preservation, and recognizes the importance and the validity of their concepts and principles in the history and practice of conservation. In addition, modern conservation conventions and charters address the many dimensions of cultural and natural heritage, and constitute the foundations of this Recommendation.

I. DEFINITION

8. The historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the

notion of “historic centre” or “ensemble” to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting.

9. This wider context includes notably the site’s topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity.
10. This definition provides the basis for a comprehensive and integrated approach for the identification, assessment, conservation and management of historic urban landscapes within an overall sustainable development framework.
11. The historic urban landscape approach is aimed at preserving the quality of the human environment, enhancing the productive and sustainable use of urban spaces, while recognizing their dynamic character, and promoting social and functional diversity. It integrates the goals of urban heritage conservation and those of social and economic development. It is rooted in a balanced and sustainable relationship between the urban and natural environment, between the needs of present and future generations and the legacy from the past.
12. The historic urban landscape approach considers cultural diversity and creativity as key assets for human, social and economic development, and provides tools to manage physical and social transformations and to ensure that contemporary interventions are harmoniously integrated with heritage in a historic setting and take into account regional contexts.
13. The historic urban landscape approach learns from the traditions and perceptions of local communities, while respecting the values of the national and international communities.

II. CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

14. The existing UNESCO recommendations recognize the important role of historic areas in modern societies. These recommendations also identify a number of specific threats to the conservation of historic urban areas, and provide general principles, policies and guidelines to meet such challenges.
15. The historic urban landscape approach reflects the fact that both the discipline and practice of urban heritage conservation have evolved significantly in recent decades, enabling policy-makers and managers to deal more effectively with new challenges and opportunities. The historic urban landscape approach supports communities in their quest for development and adaptation, while retaining the characteristics and values linked to their history and collective memory, and to the environment.
16. In the past decades, owing to the sharp increase in the world’s urban population, the scale and speed of development, and the changing economy, urban settlements and their historic areas have become centres and drivers of economic growth in many regions of the world, and have taken on a new role in cultural and social life. As a result, they have also come under a large array of new pressures, including:

Urbanization and globalization

17. Urban growth is transforming the essence of many historic urban areas. Global processes have a deep impact on the values attributed by communities to urban areas and their settings, and on the perceptions and realities of their inhabitants and users. On the one hand, urbanization provides economic, social and cultural opportunities that can enhance the quality of life and traditional character of urban areas; on the other hand, the unmanaged changes in urban density and growth can undermine the sense of place, the integrity of the urban fabric, and the identity of communities. Some historic urban areas are losing their functionality, traditional role and populations. The historic urban landscape approach may assist in managing and mitigating such impacts.

Development

18. Many economic processes offer ways and means to alleviate urban poverty and to promote social and human development. The greater availability of innovations, such as information technology and sustainable planning, design and building practices, can improve urban areas, thus enhancing the quality of life. When properly managed through the historic urban landscape approach, new functions, such as services and tourism, are important economic initiatives that can contribute to the well-being of the communities and to the conservation of historic urban areas and their cultural heritage while ensuring economic and social diversity and the residential function. Failing to capture these opportunities leads to unsustainable and unviable cities, just as implementing them in an inadequate and inappropriate manner results in the destruction of heritage assets and irreplaceable losses for future generations.

Environment

19. Human settlements have constantly adapted to climatic and environmental changes, including those resulting from disasters. However, the intensity and speed of present changes are challenging our complex urban environments. Concern for the environment, in particular for water and energy consumption, calls for approaches and new models for urban living, based on ecologically sensitive policies and practices aimed at strengthening sustainability and the quality of urban life. Many of these initiatives, however, should integrate natural and cultural heritage as resources for sustainable development.

20. Changes to historic urban areas can also result from sudden disasters and armed conflicts. These may be short lived but can have lasting effects. The historic urban landscape approach may assist in managing and mitigating such impacts.

III. POLICIES

21. Modern urban conservation policies, as reflected in existing international recommendations and charters, have set the stage for the preservation of historic urban areas. However, present and future challenges require the definition and implementation of a new generation of public policies identifying and protecting the historic layering and balance of cultural and natural values in urban environments.

22. Conservation of the urban heritage should be integrated into general policy planning and practices and those related to the broader urban context. Policies should provide mechanisms for balancing conservation and sustainability in the short and

long terms. Special emphasis should be placed on the harmonious, integration of contemporary interventions into the historic urban fabric. In particular, the responsibilities of the different stakeholders are the following:

- (a) Member States should integrate urban heritage conservation strategies into national development policies and agendas according to the historic urban landscape approach. Within this framework, local authorities should prepare urban development plans taking into account the area's values, including the landscape and other heritage values, and features associated therewith;
 - (b) Public and private stakeholders should cooperate, inter alia, through partnerships to ensure the successful application of the historic urban landscape approach;
 - (c) International organizations dealing with sustainable development processes should integrate the historic urban landscape approach into their strategies, plans and operations;
 - (d) National and international non-governmental organizations should participate in developing and disseminating tools and best practices for the implementation of the historic urban landscape approach.
23. All levels of government – local, regional, national/federal, – aware of their responsibility – should contribute to the definition, elaboration, implementation and assessment of urban heritage conservation policies. These policies should be based on a participatory approach by all stakeholders and coordinated from both the institutional and sectorial viewpoints.

IV. TOOLS

24. The approach based on the historic urban landscape implies the application of a range of traditional and innovative tools adapted to local contexts. Some of these tools, which need to be developed as part of the process involving the different stakeholders, might include:
- (a) **Civic engagement tools** should involve a diverse cross-section of stakeholders, and empower them to identify key values in their urban areas, develop visions that reflect their diversity, set goals, and agree on actions to safeguard their heritage and promote sustainable development. These tools, which constitute an integral part of urban governance dynamics, should facilitate intercultural dialogue by learning from communities about their histories, traditions, values, needs and aspirations, and by facilitating mediation and negotiation between groups with conflicting interests.
 - (b) **Knowledge and planning tools** should help protect the integrity and authenticity of the attributes of urban heritage. They should also allow for the recognition of cultural significance and diversity, and provide for the monitoring and management of change to improve the quality of life and of urban space. These tools would include documentation and mapping of cultural and natural characteristics. Heritage, social and environmental impact assessments should be used to support and facilitate decision-making processes within a framework of sustainable development.
 - (c) **Regulatory systems** should reflect local conditions, and may include legislative and regulatory measures aimed at the conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes of the urban heritage, including their social, environmental and cultural values. Traditional and customary systems should be recognized and reinforced as necessary.
 - (d) **Financial tools** should be aimed at building capacities and supporting innovative income-generating development, rooted in tradition. In addition to government and global funds from international agencies, financial tools should be effectively employed to foster private investment at the local level. Micro-credit and other

flexible financing to support local enterprise, as well as a variety of models of partnerships, are also central to making the historic urban landscape approach financially sustainable.

V. CAPACITY-BUILDING, RESEARCH, INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

25. Capacity-building should involve the main stakeholders: communities, decision-makers, and professionals and managers, in order to foster understanding of the historic urban landscape approach and its implementation. Effective capacity-building hinges on an active collaboration of these main stakeholders, aimed at adapting the implementation of this Recommendation to regional contexts in order to define and refine the local strategies and objectives, action frameworks and resource mobilization schemes.
26. Research should target the complex layering of urban settlements, in order to identify values, understand their meaning for the communities, and present them to visitors in a comprehensive manner. Academic and university institutions and other centres of research should be encouraged to develop scientific research on aspects of the historic urban landscape approach, and cooperate at the local, national, regional and international level. It is essential to document the state of urban areas and their evolution, to facilitate the evaluation of proposals for change, and to improve protective and managerial skills and procedures.
27. Encourage the use of information and communication technology to document, understand and present the complex layering of urban areas and their constituent components. The collection and analysis of this data is an essential part of the knowledge of urban areas. To communicate with all sectors of society, it is particularly important to reach out to youth and all under-represented groups in order to encourage their participation.

VI. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

28. Member States and international governmental and non-governmental organizations should facilitate public understanding and involvement in the implementation of the historic urban landscape approach, by disseminating best practices and lessons learned from different parts of the world, in order to strengthen the network of knowledge-sharing and capacity-building.
29. Member States should promote multinational cooperation between local authorities.
30. International development and cooperation agencies of Member States, non-governmental organizations and foundations should be encouraged to develop methodologies which take into account the historic urban landscape approach and to harmonize them with their assistance programmes and projects pertaining to urban areas.

APPENDIX

Glossary of definitions

Historic area/city (from the 1976 Recommendation)

"Historic and architectural (including vernacular) areas" shall be taken to mean any groups of buildings, structures and open spaces including archaeological and palaeontological sites, constituting human settlements in an urban or rural environment, the cohesion and value of which, from the archaeological, architectural, prehistoric, historic, aesthetic or sociocultural point of view are recognized. Among these "areas", which are very varied in nature, it is possible to distinguish the following "in particular: prehistoric sites, historic towns, old urban quarters, villages and hamlets as well as homogeneous monumental groups, it being understood that the latter should as a rule be carefully preserved unchanged.

Historic urban area (from the ICOMOS Washington Charter)

Historic urban areas, large and small, include cities, towns and historic centres or quarters, together with their natural and man-made environments. Beyond their role as historical documents, these areas embody the values of traditional urban cultures.

Urban heritage (from European Union research report N° 16 (2004), Sustainable development of Urban historical areas through and active Integration within Towns – SUIT)

Urban heritage comprises three main categories:

- ▶ Monumental heritage of exceptional cultural value;
- ▶ Non-exceptional heritage elements but present in a coherent way with a relative abundance;
- ▶ New urban elements to be considered (for instance):
 - The urban built form;
 - The open space: streets, public open spaces;
 - Urban infrastructures: material networks and equipments.

Urban conservation

Urban conservation is not limited to the preservation of single buildings. It views architecture as but one element of the overall urban setting, making it a complex and multifaceted discipline. By definition, then, urban conservation lies at the very heart of urban planning.

Built environment

The built environment refers to human-made (versus natural) resources and infrastructure designed to support human activity, such as buildings, roads, parks, and other amenities.

Landscape approach (from the International Union for Conservation of Nature – IUCN, and the World Wildlife Fund – WWF)

The landscape approach is a framework for making landscape-level conservation decisions. The landscape approach helps to reach decisions about the advisability of particular interventions (such as a new road or plantation), and to facilitate the planning, negotiation and implementation of activities across a whole landscape.

Historic urban landscape

(see definition in paragraph 9 of the Recommendation)

Setting (from the ICOMOS Xi'an Declaration)

The setting of a heritage structure, site or area is defined as the immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character.

Cultural significance *(from the ICOMOS Australia Burra Charter)*

Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.

ZANZIBAR RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

WORKSHOP ON THE APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE (HUL) IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT, ZANZIBAR, 30 NOVEMBER - 3 DECEMBER 2009

The meeting was co-organized with the support of the Government of the Netherlands, in partnership with the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy and Land of Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania.

The participants thanked the host country and supporters of this workshop.

The welcoming addresses were given by Mr Issa S. Makarani, Director General of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, and Mr Mwalim A. Mwalim, Principal Secretary of Ministry of Water, Construction, Energy and Land and Coordinator of the East African Secretariat of the Organization of World Heritage Cities; opening remarks were made by the UNESCO Dar-es-Salaam office representative, Ms Adele Nibona, and the official opening address was given by Mr Mansour Yussuf Himid, Minister of Water, Construction, Energy and Land of Zanzibar.

Mr Mwalim A. Mwalim also made some closing remarks and the meeting was officially closed by Professor Mohammed S. Sheya, Minister Plenipotentiary and Deputy Permanent Delegate of the United Republic of Tanzania to UNESCO.

The meeting recalled the current process of debate on the Historic Urban Landscape (hereafter HUL), the shift in paradigm regarding heritage and urban conservation and the broadening of the scope to integrate cultural responses in the relationship between people and their environment and the evolution towards a long term sustainable culturalist approach. It recalled the regional consultations on the subject of HUL, following previous regional meetings held in Jerusalem (June 2006), Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation (January 2007), Olinda, Brazil (November 2007) and two expert meetings held at UNESCO Headquarters (September 2006 and November 2008).

The Zanzibar workshop is a timely initiative, rooted in the framework of the drafting of the UNESCO Recommendation on the conservation and management of HUL (as per Resolution GC 35/42, adopted by the General Conference at its 35th session, UNESCO 2009; and as per Decisions 29 COM 5 and 33 COM 7.1 adopted by the World Heritage Committees at its 25th (2005) and 33rd sessions (2009) respectively.

Forty experts from ten countries, amongst which representatives of six World Heritage cities of the African region, participated in this meeting which included ten presentations, three panel presentations, four plenary sessions and lively discussions, following which the conclusions and recommendations were adopted.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Noting that cities are the most represented category of properties on the World Heritage List including eight cities in the Africa region;

Further noting that there are universal generic values of cities, that most urban management challenges are the same, but that socio-economic and political conditions differ between regions and countries, consistent approaches should be developed regarding the documentation and integration of urban planning, development practice and heritage management systems, to allow for dialogue and cross-cultural debate;

I. With regard to the global processes, the participants:

Welcomed the HUL initiative as an important process and mindset to develop new attitudes to conservation and comprehensive and integrated planning and its sustainability;

Acknowledging the fact that threats and challenges of African cities are shared around the world recognised the urban population's aspiration for betterment and change;

Stated that urban conservation is not limited to building preservation but is a component of environmental policies rather than an isolated action not acknowledging the dynamic, ever changing process nature of urban environments, hence the importance of strengthening the relevance of urban landscape to our built environment,

Recommended to identify the historic driving forces of cities, villages and settlements while anticipating their evolution, enhancing their connectivity and to consider heritage as a socio-economic and environmental resource;

Further recommended to improve, when appropriate, with focus on the continuity of the intergenerational links, the transmission of local knowledge, its global relevance, ecologically sound restoration, participatory urban planning and management, the development of technical assistance in areas such as building techniques, land-use;

Emphasized that detailed studies of the physical and social morphology, cultural, spiritual and economic components should be used as planning and decision-making tools and that consideration be given to: custodians and local communities' management systems, coordination and integration of global and local interventions, trans-generational skills transmission processes and practices, natural resources, land rights and infrastructure, which needs to include housing and social amenities, mobility, access to work, water and waste management;

Underlined that the Outstanding Universal Value of these layered urban landscapes lies in the long tradition of the linkages between tangible and social-cultural heritage, urban and rural components which create a unique form of patrimony;

Urged to take measures to integrate at a local, regional and national scale the adaptive planning of infrastructure projects taking into account their cumulative effects on the cultural environment as a whole and warned against the threats of non integrated public works and infrastructure works;

II. With regard to the state of conservation in Africa, the participants:

Recommended to consider the identification and documentation of the rich diversity and complexity of African urban heritage, including archaeology, settlements, villages and cities in their relationship to the natural and rural environment, their regional specificities, their site-related intangible values and the dynamics of their contemporary transformation. These tasks of identification will be based on information and data collecting, inventories, specific studies and field exchanges paying special attention to the local values systems;

Further recommended to foster and support primary research on African urban landscapes whilst developing research programmes in African Universities;

Encouraged the African countries to consider the integration of the concept of urban landscapes into their national, regional and local planning, environmental planning and impact assessments, land and water management, so that heritage development and protection systems would assimilate the above concept in legal provisions, safeguarding measures and conservation steps;

Considered that since urban landscapes encompass a multiplicity of fields and stakeholders, it is most important to develop and strengthen integrated planning and decision-making processes between the national, regional, and local authorities;

Proposed that support programmes as well as awareness-raising and capacity-building, particularly at the local level, should be facilitated by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee, in particular in the coming cycle of the regional Periodic Reporting exercise in Africa with specific regard to the preparation of the retrospective statement of Outstanding Universal Value;

III. With regard to implementation, the participants:

Debated the application of Historic Urban Landscapes under the headings of: "identification", "challenges and opportunities" and "tools", and agreed that the following issues should be further studied and prioritized:

Identification

The multi-layered "mosaic" African landscapes with their close interrelation between urban and rural, highlight the need for an inclusive landscape approach which is based on the recognition of the continuity of local value systems and the dynamics of informal processes and community driven associations;

Identification of HUL in Africa is based on overlapping and sub-regional narratives. The regional patterns for urban landscape typologies suggested could include the Maghreb, Sudan, West Africa, the West African forest, Ethiopian highlands, Central Africa, the Zimbabwe plateau, the western coastline, the tropical belt, southern Africa and coastal Swahili towns. These general thematic, chronological and regional frameworks and headings need further studies regarding their functionality and comparative analysis;

Challenges, opportunities and tools

The discussions and debates acknowledged a series of challenges and opportunities and tools, which focused more specifically on:

- ▶ urban development strategies based on cultural values;
- ▶ integrated planning with a strong focus on sustainable local development;

- ▶ human dignity and betterment of quality of life;
- ▶ updating and reinforcement of the legal framework, ensuring consistency;
- ▶ empowerment of local communities and local authorities and strengthening of their relationship with the national government;
- ▶ awareness and communication including all parts of the community;
- ▶ transmission of local know-how;
- ▶ inter-relation between the historic city and its territory, the extended city;

The participants further recognized the need of good practices, capacity-building, training, research and communication regarding issues pertaining to urban landscape in an African context, and invited international stakeholders, UN agencies and the Advisory Bodies to integrate the HUL initiative in their programmes, action plans and field projects.

IV. With regard to Zanzibar, the participants

Visited the Stone Town of Zanzibar and heard presentations on issues of conservation and city management and congratulated the authorities for their activities and efforts with the support of donors and development partners, especially regarding urban space, the reclamation of Tembo house open space an urban space threatened of privatization and the revitalization, of Forodhani park, a previously degraded urban space;

Further recommended that the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority develop implementation strategies for its comprehensive management system and prioritized action plan, with the relevant authorities and stakeholders, to include the following topics:

Policies

- ▶ Base urban development on cultural values and promote integrated planning with a sustainable local development focus;
- ▶ Link heritage conservation actions (restoration, preservation, maintenance, adaptation etc) to upgrading quality of life;
- ▶ Update inventories and historical archives resources;
- ▶ Facilitate compatible, integrated and incremental infrastructure development above large-scale projects, favouring re-use and maintenance;
- ▶ Adapt and implement coherent urban scale traffic system with effective public transport and a pedestrian focussed core;
- ▶ Channel tourism development and promote cultural tourism;
- ▶ Curb excessive tourism and excessive land-use change
- ▶ Redirect tourism benefits to a local level for urban conservation and revitalization;
- ▶ Develop a sustainable financial resource system;
- ▶ Facilitate financial incentives to promote heritage management and urban planning processes;
- ▶ Micro-finance young and women entrepreneurs.

Decision-making

- ▶ Strengthen political decision-making and local authority capacities;
- ▶ Facilitate an integrated decision-making platform at all levels of government;
- ▶ Empower local communities by activating and supporting a participative forum;
- ▶ Communicate with the local communities;
- ▶ Promote education and awareness programmes;
- ▶ Promote "access to culture for all" policies (e.g. access to museums for local residents).

Actions

- ▶ Facilitate maintenance and prevent demolition by neglect;
- ▶ Integrate action-orientated projects;
- ▶ Identify immediate participatory actions (e.g. annual lime washing of facades),
- ▶ Continue uses of the public space and their integration in the urban life of the city;
- ▶ Capacitate local agents to sustain traditional skills;
- ▶ Consider differences of tempo, time and scale and complexity in planning processes

The participants *further recognized* the need of strengthening the relationship between Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority, the Zanzibar Municipal Council and the Zanzibar Government, and to promote good practices, capacity-building, training, research and communication regarding issues pertaining to urban landscape in Zanzibar and invited stakeholders involved at the local level to integrate the HUL initiative in their programmes and projects.

V. Way forward, the participants

Recommended to bring forward the Zanzibar Recommendations to the next World Heritage Committee to foster best practices and case studies and develop an action plan for cities in the African Region.

