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*International Frameworks, National
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Conserving a World Heritage Site in Mozambique

Entanglements between politics, poverty, development and governance on the Island of Mozambique

Albino Jopela

Twenty-one years have passed since the Island of Mozambique was declared a World Heritage Site, since then, what has changed in peoples' lives? Some say *Ilha* [the island] has a special status, what does that really mean? The urban sanitation is poor, the population is poor, unemployment is high, and the one health centre is inadequate, with just one doctor on call for the entire district of more than fifty thousand people. There are serious problems of water supply on the Island; therefore, I do not see the importance of it [the World Heritage status]. Where are the incentives that allude to support the population to conserve the World Heritage?

(Local resident of the Island of Mozambique.
Omar 2013: 153).

The Island of Mozambique (or *Ilha*) is a small UNESCO World Heritage island city on the East African coast. It has a rich architecture that reflects an exceptional example of an urban dichotomy resulting from cultural diversity and interaction among people from different cultures of Bantu, Swahili, Arab, Persian, Indian and European origins (ICOMOS 1991: 2). Despite these unique values, the majority of the island population has not fully embraced the declaration of outstanding universal value that had justified the inscription of the island on the World Heritage list in 1991 (Jopela and Rakotomamonjy 2012). Development agencies and heritage institutions, at both national and international levels, identify poverty as the culprit. It is blamed for the degradation and poor up-keep of the island's built heritage as witnessed in the decaying architecture and as the reason for what is seen as an impoverished awareness of the outstanding universal value of the island's heritage by the local communities (see, e.g. Mutal 1998). In fact, poverty has been singled out as the major threat to ensuring the effective conservation of heritage and the sustainable development of *Ilha*.

Since 1991, the government of Mozambique has tried, in response to the UNESCO World Heritage Committee's recommendations, to reverse the increasing degradation of the island's built heritage and to improve the living conditions of its

inhabitants. Under the auspices of UNESCO and international agencies (e.g. the United Nations Development Programme – UNDP), several studies were conducted and a number of programmes implemented to assess and improve the state of conservation of the built heritage and the living conditions of the island's inhabitants. After a number of years when 'great concern' was expressed (WHC 2006a: 82), monitoring missions dispatched and, at one stage, threats made to list the property on the World Heritage List in Danger due to the State Party failure to take 'necessary actions' (WHC 2007: 79), the World Heritage Committee has recently praised the Mozambican government for the 'considerable progress made in improving the state of conservation of the property' (WHC 2012: 95). Yet the gloomy scenario described above by an ordinary local inhabitant (or *Ilhéu*) is symptomatic of the widespread opinion among *Ilhéus* that little has improved since the island was inscribed on the World Heritage list (see, e.g. Dantas e Sá and Mather 2011; Omar 2013).

In addition to poverty, both the government and international partners have also pointed to the lack of financial resources, in adequate infrastructure, poor local population awareness, no management plan (until 2010), and the weak institutional capacity for conservation and management as the 'root causes' of the conservation problems on *Ilha* (see GACIM 2010; WHC 2006b, 2014). While these factors doubtless contribute to the current state of affairs, I would argue that the often neglected aspect of governance of heritage conservation beyond regulatory frameworks (i.e. the power relations and dynamic processes involving key stakeholders who have influenced and shaped decision-making about *Ilha*) have at times undermined the implementation of the different and often well thought-out approaches and projects for effective conservation of *Ilha*. This paper discusses the complex relationship between world heritage, poverty, sustainable development and governance within the nexus of concerns related to heritage conservation and management on *Ilha*.

Between heritage conservation, sustainable development, poverty and governance: an appraisal from Mozambique

Today, the thinking about sustainable development is firmly embedded in the field of cultural heritage (see Introduction to this volume). Despite the common belief that securing sustainable development is an essential condition to guarantee the conservation of heritage (see, e.g. Galla 2012), at the practical level, there are still numerous challenges that often hamper the implementation of sustainable development approaches to the conservation of heritage; mainly the inadequate staff and resources, the lack of stakeholders' engagement and an inadequate system of governance (WHC 2010: 4). In fact, despite the widespread discourse on the benefits of World Heritage listing for local communities, with some noticeable exceptions (see, e.g. Taruvinga 2014), one still struggles to find successful examples whereby heritage is used to generate meaningful and sustainable livelihoods

for communities living in and around many African sites inscribed on the World Heritage list, as I witnessed at the 2012 International Conference on 'Living with World Heritage in Africa' in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Most so-called developing countries adopted the short-term (2000–15) goals that the sustainable development agenda specifically seeks to achieve (i.e. the Millennium Development Goals, MDGs). However, there are still tensions and contradictions between the priorities of global and local actors over the shift from the 'conventional development paradigm' (a growth-based economic model) to the current 'sustainability paradigm' (focusing on sustainable and equitable economies and societies worldwide) (Rijnhout *et al.* 2014: 2). As Pascall Taruvinga (2014: 2) noticed, the World Heritage Community often refers to concepts and the relationship between '[heritage] conservation', 'outstanding universal value', and 'sustainable development', whereas government institutions and development agencies are more comfortable with terms such as 'job creation', 'economic growth' and 'poverty alleviation'. In fact, poverty and poverty alleviation have become the catchwords within development circles and are increasingly entangled with concerns regarding heritage conservation. Yet, policy makers and development experts often struggle over questions of what poverty is, how to measure it and the best ways to alleviate it (Samuels 2009: 71).

Responding to the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionality policies for development assistance, Mozambique, in 2000, produced the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA I). Under PARPA I, poverty levels were reduced from 70 per cent in 1997 to 54.1 per cent in 2004, leading the government, civil society and the international community to believe that the country was on track to meet the MDG 1 on poverty and hunger (Vollmer 2012: 4). Following the failure of PARPA II (2006–9) to reduce poverty to 45 per cent in 2009, in 2011, the government approved the Poverty Reduction Action Plan (PARP) 2011 to 2014 aimed at reducing the incidence of food poverty levels from the current 54.7 per cent to 42 per cent by 2014 (GdM 2011: 7). However, a Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) estimation, made in 2011, revealed that 70.2 per cent of the population are 'multidimensionally poor', while an additional 14.8 per cent are 'near multidimensional poverty' (UNDP 2014: 5).

Two main factors might help explain the failure of PARP(A)s to meet their goals. These are the neoliberal development models that operate within a framework of neoliberal bias and the political discourse about poverty in Mozambique. PARP(A)s are based on the assumption that both donors and the government should invest in human capital (health and education) and infrastructure and leave economic development and poverty reduction as a mainly private sector responsibility. Thus, the emphasis of government intervention has been on the MDGs 2 to 6 (education, gender and health), relinquishing the MDG 1 on poverty eradication to the private sector and foreign investment (Cunguara and Hanlon 2010: 14–15). Therefore, Mozambique does not seem to be successful in achieving the MDG 1, which is a milestone towards achieving sustainable development. Contributing to this scenario is also the political discourse about poverty in Mozambique. Since

2005, when the former President Armando Guebuza made the elimination of poverty his main policy goal, the official political discourse puts the focus of the fight against poverty on economic growth and the transformation of the mind, or culture, of the poor (i.e. people are poor because they are lazy, they lack self-esteem or they have a fear of being rich) (Chichava 2010; Brito 2010). The belief is that 'the poor are materially poor because they suffer from mental poverty' (Castel-Branco 2010: 6). This political discourse on poverty removes the responsibility from the State and foreign developmental agencies and places the failure of the fight against poverty on the poor themselves. It is against this socio-economic and political backdrop that the conservation efforts in Mozambique, especially with regard to the World Heritage Site of *Ilha*, should be understood.

Within the donor-driven neoliberal policies aimed at addressing world poverty, good governance is elevated as the most important platform for poverty alleviation (Bush 2007: 180). Instead of good governance, this study is more concerned with the notion of governance, and cultural governance most specifically, defined as 'the field for the regulation and contention of political and economic dynamics through culture, comprising a variety of procedures, technologies, organisations, knowledge, discourses and actions' (Wang 2012: 10). Thus, in a context where the development cooperation plays a major and decisive role in Mozambican politics, which often results in the asymmetrical co-production in the policymaking process (see, e.g. Macamo 2006), the notion of cultural governance is useful not only to grasp the macro trend of cultural policy, and to highlight the close interaction among culture, politics and economy, but also to scrutinise various processes that are part of the World Heritage system (see, e.g. Logan 2012) based in the specific context of *Ilha*.

Locating the setting: Island of Mozambique

The city of *Ilha de Moçambique*, from which the name of the country is derived, is a calcareous coral reef situated 4 km from the mainland coast at the entrance to the Mossuril bay of the Indian Ocean in Nampula province, northern Mozambique (Figure 3.1). *Ilha* is 3 km long and 200 to 500 meters wide, with an urban area of approximately 1 km². It forms an archipelago with the two small, uninhabited islands of Goa and Sena, and it is now connected to the mainland, at Sanculo-Lumbo, by a bridge that was built in the 1960s (GACIM 2010: 28).

Inhabited by Bantu speakers at around AD 200 and recorded in the navigation routes of the Indian Ocean since the first millennium, *Ilha* was dominated by Arabian trading between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries AD. There was Portuguese settlement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries AD, followed by Indian economic dominance and the slave trade in the next two centuries, and thus, the island became an intercultural melting pot (Aarhus Arkitektskolen 1985). This dramatic and rich history is expressed in the historic urban landscape of the island that is divided into two different types of dwellings and urban systems: the city of Stone and Lime in the north and the city of Macuti to the south of the island (Figure 3.2).

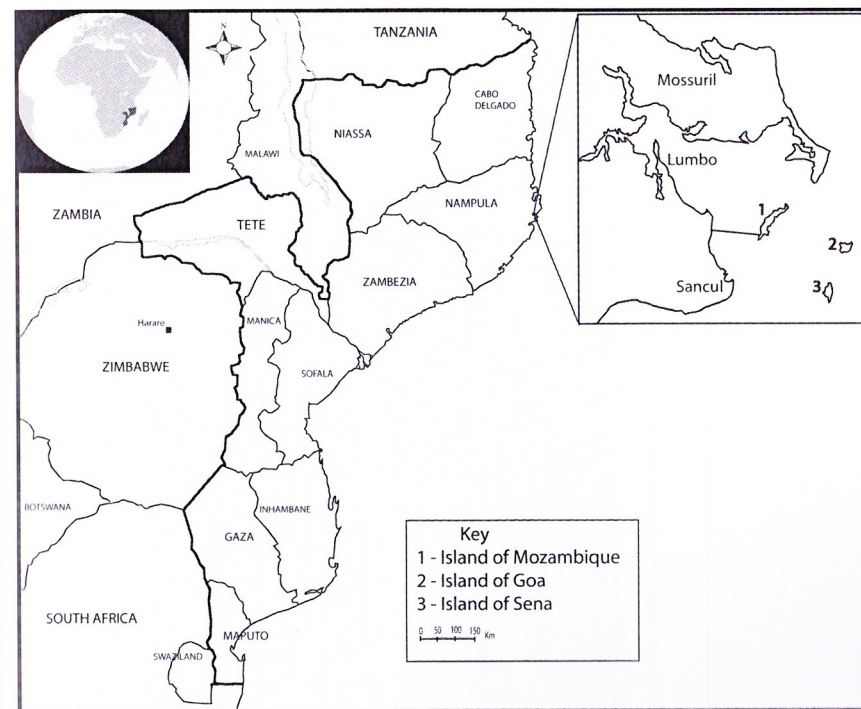


Figure 3.1 Map showing the location of the Island of Mozambique.

The city of Stone and Lime, commonly designated Stone Town, has Swahili roots but with strong Arabic and Portuguese influences. It comprises numerous administrative, commercial, religious and military buildings testifying to the first seat of the Portuguese colonial government between 1507 and 1898. Occupying approximately two-thirds of the island, Stone Town is organised in 33 city blocks with a total of 379 original buildings and it is inhabited by a relatively small part of the island population (Forjaz 2010; GACIM 2010) (Figure 3.3).

The city of Macuti, named after the original coconut palm leaf roofing (*macuti*) of local houses, is also of Swahili origin and it hosts many different variations of the vernacular type of architecture, ranging from precarious stick huts, without plaster and windows, to solid houses built of a stone, lime and sand mixture (Sollien 2013: 50) (Figure 3.4). This area of *Ilha*, also known as *Ponta da Ilha*, is organised into seven neighbourhoods (*Bairros*)¹ with 1,330 original buildings. The *Bairros* of Macuti are already predominantly built using other types of material (e.g. concrete block and the metal industrial roof sheet) and suffer from an acute water shortage, a lack of sanitation and a serious flooding danger at certain times of year (Forjaz 2010; GACIM 2010).

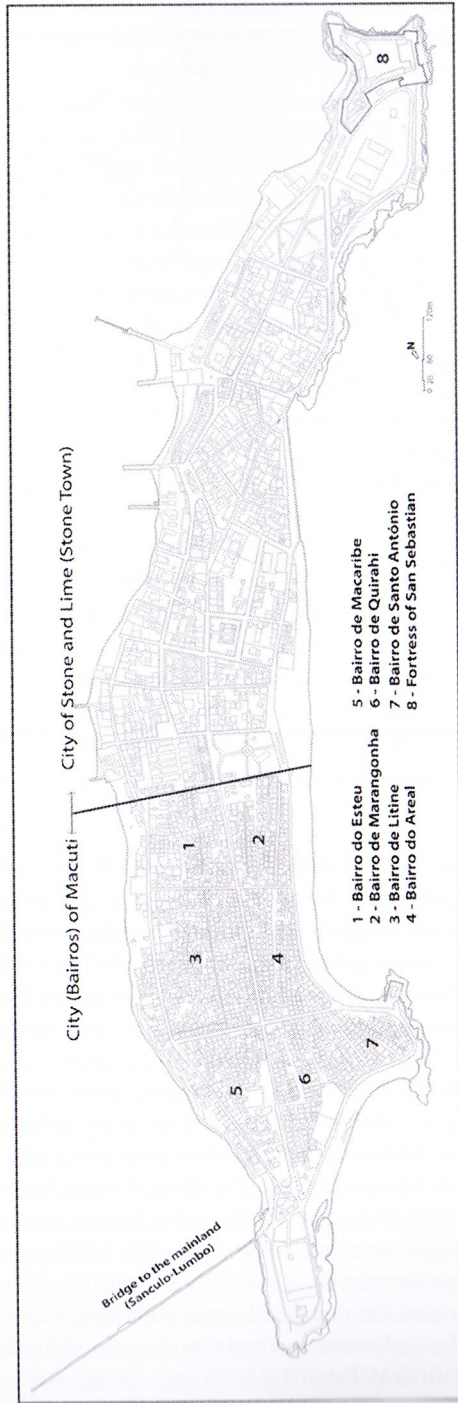


Figure 3.2 Map showing Stone Town and the city of Macuti (adapted from GACIM 2010).



Figure 3.3 Image showing part of Stone Town (photo: A. Jopela).



Figure 3.4 Image showing part of the city of Macuti (photo: A. Jopela).

The state of conservation of *Ilha*

The concerns regarding the conservation of *Ilha* have focused, over the years, on two major areas: the condition of life and habitation in the *Bairros* of Macuti and the general degradation of the built heritage in Stone Town. A well-known Mozambican architect, José Forjaz (2010: 57), has argued that before any elaboration on the abstract concept of ‘patrimony’ [heritage] can be discussed it is important to establish and accept that ‘the so-called “Macuti” town is a slum’. In fact, since their inception in the nineteenth century the *Bairros* of Macuti have been perceived as a ‘dangerous place to urban hygiene’ (Sollien 2013: 52), given the serious problems of sanitation and drainage, especially in the current *Bairros* of Esteu and Litine. In addition, the island’s population has increased from 7,760 inhabitants in 1980 to 14,889 in 1997 and 17,356 in 2007, transforming the *Bairros* of Macuti into a poorer quality construction environment, characterised by the progressive encroachment of private and public spaces for new housing, and the subdivision of existing housing and plots, resulting in the impoverishment of the quality of life in general, as well as the disruption of basic services such as water and sewerage (Forjaz 2010).

Adding to this scenario is the absolute poverty in which the majority of the population lives. In 2009, the gross per capita income in *Ilha* was US\$ 0.21 daily, well below the US\$ 1 per day established as the poverty threshold in Mozambique (CESO-CI 2009: 49). This is why the poverty has been considered the biggest threat to the conservation of *Ilha* as World Heritage. It is often argued that the ordinary *Ilhéus* do not participate actively in conservation because their basic needs are a constant daily concern and priority (see, e.g. Mutal 1998). Although I do not disagree with this view, I contend that given the current ritualised political discourse on poverty, the elevation of poverty as the primary cause of the degradation of the built heritage in *Ilha* also attempts to depoliticise the heritage management process by downplaying the role of politics and power relations among key stakeholders who shape the governance of heritage conservation on the island (although they actually remain instrumental in the process).

There is a record of the ‘general degradation’ of the built heritage in Stone Town. In fact, a recent survey revealed that the condition of the buildings in the Stone and Lime part of the island has decreased (minus 15 per cent) between 1983 and 2012 and that such ‘general degradation is indeed posing a threat to these buildings of outstanding universal value’ (Pereira Roders *et al.* 2012: 178). The list of the causes of degradation on the island, as discussed by the World Heritage Committee, include, amongst others: (i) the insufficient regulatory framework (including conservation and management plans and urban plans); (ii) the insufficient implementation or enforcement of a regulatory framework; and (iii) the lack of insufficient human, financial and technical resources (Damen *et al.* 2013: 84). Although this list touches on some issues concerning the governance of heritage (e.g. the lack of a regulatory framework), I suggest that there has been a predominantly technical approach to the causes of the conservation issues at *Ilha* that downplays the problem of the confrontation between the different views and interests of

stakeholders at both local and national levels. For example, many reports indicate that one of the key conservation issues was the lack of a conservation and management plan, which was finalised in 2010, to be implemented until 2014. However, annual reports from GACIM between 2011 and 2013 clearly illustrate that the problems reaches beyond the ‘insufficient regulatory framework’ such as a management plan or the ‘insufficient human, financial and technical resources’ to implement the plan. Although these are factors that cannot be overlooked, the problem also lies with the way in which political, economic, administrative and ideological authority is exercised by some stakeholders on issues of heritage conservation. To put it simply: the issue lies with the way *Ilha* has been governed through heritage conservation.

Governing the conservation of heritage in *Ilha*

Colonial creation of heritage (1855–1975)

From 1855, the Portuguese colonial administration undertook efforts to clear huts (*palhotas*) out of Stone Town by moving slaves to *Ponta da Ilha*. In 1878 the colonial authorities passed a by-law prohibiting the construction of houses with *macuti* roofs in Stone Town, setting the division of the island into two towns of different building materials, urban patterns and occupants (Sollien 2012: 3–4). The Commission for Monuments and Historic Relics in Mozambique (CMRHM) was created in 1947, responsible for carrying out an investigation into the classification and conservation of the monuments in the colony. In 1955, the core urban area of *Ilha* was classified as ‘buildings of public interest’ 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 in Stone Town and a campaign to valorise the old traditional houses in the *Bairros* of Macuti (Hougaard 2011). The colonial authority’s interest was fuelled by the growing tourist interest in the island (particularly the exotic and picturesque *macuti* houses) as well as the shift of the colonial ideology to a multiracial colonialism, in response to the growing nationalist contestation for independence (as materialised in the liberation struggle initiated by Frelimo in 1964). Although there is a widespread belief that during this period the residents of Macuti were not allowed to change their roofs, it has been suggested that such conservation guidelines were never legally formalised. Nevertheless, the fact that people had to place a written request to undertake any building work and to pay a fee to do so was itself prohibitive of change (Sollien 2012: 9).

Post-independence inheritance of colonial heritage (1976–91)

Mozambique gained its independence from Portugal in 1975 and the emphasis in terms of cultural heritage policy was placed on the creation of a new national

cultural identity based on the official selective memories of the armed liberation struggle (1964–74) led by Frelimo (Barnes 1978). Seen through the lens of the Socialist Frelimo leadership, *Ilha* was the ‘cradle of colonialism’. As Samora Machel, the first President of Mozambique, described it in 1977 in the daily newspaper *Notícias*, *Ilha* was a place where capitalism had installed its repressive machine and used it to plan military operations against Frelimo . . . It was also the stronghold of prostitution, luxury, obscurantism and the backward ideas of colonialism’ (Rosário 2012: 309). This conception of *Ilha* has resulted, over the years, in a relationship of conflict between Frelimo and the local *Ilha* elites, seen in the political and economic marginalisation of local elites and the ambivalent position taken by central government on matters such as the conservation and management of the island and the solution to the precarious living conditions of the majority of the island’s inhabitants.

A debate on how best to integrate the ‘Portuguese colonial monuments’ of *Ilha* into the national cultural strategy resulted, in 1975, in the creation of a National Service for Museums and Antiquities, followed in 1980 by the setting up of a Restoration Office on the island, aimed at assuring its conservation. In order to gain broader private support for the conservation of *Ilha*, the government promoted the creation of a local NGO (the Association of the Friends of the Island of Mozambique) and approached UNESCO and the Gulbenkian Foundation in Portugal for support. This resulted in two consultant visits to the island in 1981. The first UNESCO visit report by Krzysztof Pawlowski suggested that enlisting *Ilha* as a UNESCO World Heritage Site could be one way to get support for its conservation (Pawlowski 1981). The postcolonial government enthusiastically embraced the idea of World Heritage nomination as a strategy for getting external support from international donors for the conservation of *Ilha*. In fact, one of the aspects of the cultural governance of the island over the years has been that conservation is highly dependent on foreign donors’ support.

Between 1982 and 1985, the Restoration Office carried out a series of conservation studies that were compiled in the *Report of the Island of Mozambique 1982–1985* (Aarhus Arkitektskolen 1985). In 1985, the work stopped due to the civil war between the Frelimo government and the Renamo (Mozambican National Resistance) guerrillas from 1977 to 1992, which made any conservation initiative in *Ilha* very difficult and contributed to its continuing degradation. In terms of cultural governance it is interesting to note that although the postcolonial government sought to reform the legacy and the *modus operandi* of the colonial bureaucracy, many ideas and practices of the colonial period were in fact carried over into the years that followed independence (Gonçalves 2012: 36). For instance, despite technical recommendations regarding intervention in Macuti (Aarhus Arkitektskolen 1985), just as the colonial authorities before them, the postcolonial State adopted a Western monumentalist approach to heritage conservation (Jopela 2011) and has been ambivalent as to how to treat the Macuti houses in a heritage conservation policy (Sollien 2012: 2). I shall return to this point below.

World Heritage listing and the quest for sustainability (1991–2006)

In 1991, *Ilha* was inscribed on the World Heritage list under criteria (iv) and (vi). A year later the Rome General Peace Accords ended 16 years of civil war and in 1994 the country hosted its first multiparty democratic elections, won by Frelimo ever since. From 1992, attention was mostly directed towards the social and economic reconstruction of the country leaving little space for concerns about historical conservation (Hougaard 2013: 39). In 1997, the Director General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor, launched an international campaign to ‘safeguard the Island of Mozambique’. Under this initiative, the World Heritage Centre spearheaded a Programme for Sustainable Human Development and Integral Conservation funded by UNDP, UNESCO, the European Union and the Finnish Government. This programme resulted in the design of 50 micro-projects in areas such as water and sanitation, tourism development and heritage restoration. The rehabilitation of the architectural, urban and cultural heritage component of the programme was estimated in the region of USD 11,737,000 (Mutal 1998).

This programme constituted the first application of the sustainable development approach to heritage conservation in Mozambique. As the coordinator of the programme, Silvio Mutal puts it: ‘In addressing the question of conservation of the *Ilha* (World Heritage Site), the aspects of people and sustainable development and culture outweigh aspects of place, building and physical heritage *per se*’ (Mutal 1998: 8). Despite presenting a forward-looking approach to heritage conservation and providing important recommendations (e.g. the need for a Special Status of *Ilha* in the form of a law which was only adopted in 2006), this programme was not implemented, at least not in its integrated format. Two main reasons have contributed to this. Firstly, the programme was based on the assumption of the availability of donor, government and private funding that did not materialise despite the fact that different donors continued to bilaterally invest in specific projects on the island. Second, as Jen Hougaard (2011) noticed, the Ministry of Culture was given the responsibility to be the direct interlocutor for the implementation of the programme, while the tools for action were in the hands of other ministries (i.e. the Ministries of Finance, Public Works and Housing, Tourism and others), making it difficult for the Ministry of Culture to impose cultural concerns as crosscutting issues in any development strategy.

In terms of institutional framework, *Ilha* is both a District and Municipality. In 1997, Law no. 10/97 of 31 May, created the City Council of the Island of Mozambique, which comprises the island and the *Posto Administrativo* of Lumbo in the mainland. In addition, the State Local Authority Act (LOLE) (Law no. 8/2003 of 19 May 2003) created the District of the Island of Mozambique (with exactly the same territorial boundaries as the City Council), which has a District Government (CESO-CI 2009: 162). Until 2006, the City Council was the main local actor in charge of the conservation and management of heritage in *Ilha*.

Conservation of Ilha under GACIM (since 2007)

In 2006, an Action Plan for the Management and Development of the Island of Mozambique World Heritage Site (2007–11) was drawn up in order to take urgent measures against the increasing degradation of the island (Hougaard 2013: 42). The following was achieved:

- The Conservation Office of the Island of Mozambique (GACIM) was created in 2006 and made operational in 2007;
- An Integrated Development Plan for the Island of Mozambique, commissioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture and funded by the African Development Bank, was finalised in May 2009;
- A Conservation and Management Plan for the Island of Mozambique was drawn up by the Ministry of Education and Culture, with support from UNESCO and the African World Heritage Fund (and finalised in October 2010).

In the same year, two Council of Ministers' Decrees approved the Special Status of the Island of Mozambique (Decree no. 27/2006 of 13 July 2006) and created GACIM, under Decree no. 28/2006 (also of 13 July). This Decree defines the protection of architectural, historical and archaeological heritage as well as the promotion of cultural tourism as the key areas of GACIM's intervention. Despite the competences of the City Council as the primary authority for the management of *Ilha* as an urban environment, under the Special Status regulations (Decree no. 27/2006), it became necessary to gain authorisation or prior approval from GACIM to: (i) implement projects concerning the conservation, restoration and protection of cultural heritage; (ii) change internal or external architectural features of the built heritage; (iii) use different/exotic materials or introduce foreign elements into the island's architecture; and (iv) construct and reconstruct buildings.

Although the Organic Statute of GACIM of 2007 creates a Technical Committee, composed of representatives from the District Government, the City Council and other institutions, as the consultation and coordination body, the inter-institutional coordination with the City Council does not always occur seamlessly and without conflicts. For instance, until the end of 2008, the main factor undermining the coordination between GACIM and the City Council was the fact that the State administration was under the ruling Frelimo Party, while the local government (i.e. City Council) was under the Renamo Party. The victory by Frelimo in the first municipal elections in 1998 was followed by five years of alleged 'bad governance' by the City Council. Consequently, Renamo won, with an absolute majority, the second municipal elections in 2003. In response, between 2004 and 2008, Frelimo mobilised all resources at its disposal to block the municipal management policies of Renamo through its administrative and financial State powers. Thus, in the context where the political governance is characterised by the political dominance of the ruling party (Frelimo), where local authorities are considered 'municipalities of poverty' due to their fragile tax-payer base and overwhelming

dependency on central government budget transfers, Renamo failed to implement its initial programme (there were also internal politics that had weakened the Party) and to renew its mandate. The November 2008 elections confirmed the return of the Frelimo to the municipality with 64 per cent of the votes against 35 per cent for Renamo (Rosário 2012: 317–24).

One of the practical implications of this political scenario for the conservation of *Ilha* was the loss of institutional memory and poor capitalisation of the activities and initiatives undertaken between 1998 and 2003, when the Municipality was under Frelimo, and between 2004 and 2007, when the city was under Renamo. For instance, when Renamo took office in 2003, it found no administrative or financial records from the previous municipal government. These documents were 'captured and transferred to the local headquarters of the Frelimo Party, as if it was the end of the public administration in this municipality' (Rosário 2012: 325). A similar attitude from Renamo, after losing the municipal elections in 2008, was reported during a stakeholder meeting in *Ilha* in 2009. This contest between political forces also resulted in the greater intervention by the central government, for instance, through the creation of GACIM in 2006 and rehabilitation work on the Fortress of San Sebastian in 2007, as a response to the pressure from the World Heritage Committee, and at the same time as a means to regain and to consolidate Frelimo's authority in *Ilha*. This case clearly illustrated the inability of the existing 'regulatory framework' to ensure effective coordination mechanisms between key stakeholders in the conservation of *Ilha*, in the context of a disputed multiparty democratic dispensation.

Since 2009, all key government institutions are under Frelimo and the institutional relationship between GACIM and the City Council has improved significantly. In 2010, the City Council Code of Postures regulating the conditions to conserve and develop *Ilha* was approved (Resolução n° 22/AMCIM/2010). In principle, no new construction is allowed in *Ilha*. Exceptions can be made if there is evidence of indisputable public interest and if conservation principles are adhered to. Despite this high level of the 'limit of acceptable change' (Pereira Roders 2013: 43), it is obvious that between 1983/5 and 2012 many changes did take place in *Ilha* and the urban landscape is continuously changing (Metgod *et al.* 2012: 150). A critical issue is that the Code of Postures is not very clear in its heritage guidelines and part of the development in *Ilha* seems to be happening without the acknowledgement of GACIM or against its often 'non-mandatory' advice (Pereira Roders and Hougaard 2012: 197). In fact, there are numerous cases in which the City Council has promoted and authorised new constructions that violate the Code of Postures, against GACIM's advice, resulting in a loss of moral and legal authority of both GACIM and the City Council in the eyes of the *Ilhéus* (Forjaz 2010: 53). The fact that *Ilha* is a small and friendly community, with strong social relations among the relevant stakeholders, makes confrontations and law enforcement difficult at times. Often, 'compromises are reached, even in infringement of conservation and urban planning policies, which causes a snowball effect of subsequent cases' (Pereira Roders 2013: 44).

There are many competing development trends in *Ilha*, and therefore GACIM is just one voice amongst many (Hougaard 2013: 42). In order to adopt a shared vision in terms of development strategy and build effective coordination mechanisms, the government, with support from development partners, including UNESCO, carried out successive coordination seminars in 2006 and 2007 and produced an Integrated Development Plan for the Island of Mozambique (hereafter IDP) in 2009 and a Conservation and Management Plan for the Island of Mozambique (hereafter CMP) in 2010. With its catalogue of 25 programmes, including 112 budgeted projects, the IDP has a close resemblance to the PSHDIC presented in 1998. In fact, as with the PSHDIC, the implementation of the IDP is dependent mostly on availability of foreign donor and other private funding as well as strong political commitment from central government. Similarly, the success in the implementation of the CMP, between 2010 and 2014, was dependent on the:

- Approval of the plan by the central government in order to ensure the direct involvement of all stakeholders;
- Existence of adequate State funding to ensure public participation in conservation projects and on-going operating costs of local authorities (e.g. budget for maintenance of real estate in possession of GACIM);
- Strengthening of human and technical resources available to GACIM for the implementation of various activities as defined in the Specific Statute of *Ilha* (GACIM 2010: 109).

Despite being presented publicly, both plans were never formally approved by the Ministry of Culture or by the Council of Ministers. Although local stakeholders made it clear that the CMP had to be formally approved so that the local administration could access State funding, during the presentation of the plan to the Ministry of Culture in 2010, some top officials argued that ‘we [the Ministry] cannot be seen to send everything to the Council of Ministers’ and that ‘the Province has money to implement these plans [IDP and CMP]’. A key reason for the need to have some sort of formalisation of the CMP is that the existing legal framework in terms of State funding allocation recognises other types of planning instruments (e.g. General Urbanisation Plans) but not Heritage Conservation and Management Plans. Thus without formal government approval, it was left to GACIM to use the CMP as a guiding tool to its activities each year, but they are limited by having to fall within the normal budget set by the Ministry of Culture, and mostly allocated to running costs. In fact, the 2013 Annual Report of GACIM indicates that in terms of the institutional relationship with central government, GACIM still awaits a response from the Ministry of Culture in relation to:

- A clear definition of the authority of GACIM in order to give it a greater degree of authority on the island;
- The rapid adoption of the proposed use of the spaces of the Fortress of San Sebastian;

- The approval and submission of the Adjustment of the Organic Statute and Professional Qualifier of GACIM to the Ministry of Public Administration (GACIM 2013: 19).

These points deserve further consideration. Between 2007 and 2009, UNESCO coordinated the first phase of the rehabilitation project of the Fort of San Sebastian, which focused on urgent structural consolidation and restoration works to prevent further deterioration and the provision of basic services and facilities. This initiative was praised for combining heritage conservation and development needs (e.g. through the employment of 100 local community members and installation of a water fountain outside the Fortress for public use) (see Eloundou and Weydt 2009). However, in my recent visit to *Ilha* and to the Fortress, in July 2014, heritage officers from GACIM were still lamenting the undefined future use of the Fortress, as the proposal for utilisation sent by GACIM to the Ministry of Culture in 2011 is still awaiting approval. In addition, eight years after its creation, GACIM still needs an ‘Adjustment of the Organic Statute and Professional Qualifier’. The current organisation chart of GACIM provides for the Director’s Office, two Departments with five Divisions and a General Secretary with 78 employees and a budgetary impact of about 3 million Meticaís (approximately US\$ 100,000) (CESO-CI 2009: 178). Of these, GACIM had only 13 employees in 2013 and a budget for the operation of about 3.24 million Meticaís. Although GACIM considers itself ‘a public institution with the mandate to manage and preserve the cultural and natural heritage of the Island of Mozambique’ (GACIM 2013: 7), as it is, this institution does not seem to meet the institutional, organisational and financial conditions to provide the technical and political-institutional support for the promotion of the much desired sustainable development of *Ilha*.

Although I do not disagree with the multiple reasons advanced in several studies and considered by the World Heritage Committee as the ‘root causes’ for the current state of affairs in *Ilha*, here I have illustrated that the complexities in terms of the governance of heritage conservation have undermined the implementation and sustainability of the different conservation efforts on the island. The issue of governance will undoubtedly continue to determine the fate of the new ‘sustainable development’ approach to heritage conservation such as the UNESCO recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), adopted in 2011 by the UNESCO Member States. Like any other non-binding standard-setting instrument for heritage management at the international level, the success of the HUL approach is dependent on its adoption and domestication by national and local institutions (van Oers and Roders 2012). Even though *Ilha* benefited from a five-day workshop on the ‘Application of the Historic Urban Landscapes on the Island of Mozambique’ in 2011, the full implementation of the HUL approach still requires the development of some practical guidelines and tools, for instance, on how to deal with change (e.g. how to accommodate contemporary interventions and regulate the ‘uncontrolled development’ in both Macuti and Stone Town) (Jopela 2013: 94). Most importantly, the implementation of the HUL approach transcends the purely

technical sphere to the attitudinal and calls for the political willingness of central government to move beyond the existing empty political discourses on the importance of culture and heritage for development, which finds no translation into the main development policy documents (i.e. PARP(A)s), to a meaningful devolution of decision-making powers and resources (human and financial) to local institutions such as GACIM.

Concluding remarks

Against the background of opinion among some *Ilhéus* that little has improved since *Ilha* was inscribed on the World Heritage listing in 1991, this chapter discusses the complex relationship between World Heritage, poverty, development and governance within the nexus of concerns related to heritage conservation and management on the Island of Mozambique. I have demonstrated that the government's neoliberal development policies and the political discourse about poverty in Mozambique have contributed significantly towards the country's failure to achieve some of the targets of the sustainable development agenda. It is against this socio-economic and political backdrop that the challenges of connecting heritage conservation, poverty alleviation and sustainable development in Mozambique, especially with regard to *Ilha*, should be understood.

I have argued that while factors such as widespread poverty, lack of financial resources, in adequate infrastructure, poor community awareness and weak institutional capacity for conservation and management, doubtless contribute to the current state of continuous degradation of *Ilha*, the often neglected aspect of governance of heritage conservation, specifically the power relations and dynamic processes involving key stakeholders who have influenced and shaped decision-making in *Ilha*, has been a key factor and it has undermined the implementation of the different and often well thought-out approaches and projects for the island. In fact, the conception of *Ilha* as 'the cradle of colonialism' by the Frelimo elite has, over the years, created conflicting relationships between Frelimo and local elites often manifested in the ambivalent positions and 'foot dragging' of the central government regarding issues of conservation and management of *Ilha*. Thus, the conservation strategy has been based on advocacy for international donor funding and less on domestic measures that would empower the local authorities in charge of conservation on the island.

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Note

- 1 The *Bairros* are Litine, Esteu, Marrangonha, Makaribe, Areal, Quirahi and Santo António or Unidade.

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Chapter 4

Interrogating the ‘implementation’ of international policies of urban conservation in the medina of Tunis

Bianca Maria Nardella and Elisabete Cidre

In this way, a historical perspective can sensitize us to alternative states of being and ways of acting, and thereby challenge managerialist ‘one best way’ type of thinking.

(Lewis 2009: 43)

In 1881, the Mission de Tunisie¹ (1881–3) was charged by the French government with

a complete study of the country, to undertake the excavation of ancient cities and in particular on the site of Carthage; scholars had to research, draw and describe all antique monuments, from prehistory to the Roman conquest, and record all inscriptions anterior to the Arab conquest.

(Bacha 2006: 124)²

A century later, in 1999, the World Bank sponsored a feasibility study for a *Projet de gestion et de valorisation du patrimoine culturel*³ (cultural heritage management and enhancement project), a country-wide assessment to study and record the cultural heritage sector in Tunisia.

Although separated by a century, what is common to both studies is the idea of recording and cataloguing cultural heritage ‘things’; of making *order* by creating a system for their management and administration through the rule of law. As Mitchell suggests, Europeans believed that modern government, like modern science, was based on principles true in every country, the strength of which lay in their universality (Mitchell 2002: 54). Both studies refer to a realm of ‘external’ knowledge (*scientific* in nineteenth-century ideology and *technical* in the twentieth century), depicted as higher than the existing system (*status quo*), and in both studies, either the creation of *ex novo* institutions or the reform of existing ones is proposed with the implicit aim of healing cultural heritage structures and systems described as neglected, not properly exploited, and ultimately, in danger. The former study sees colonial heritage legislation represented as superior to Ottoman norms for maintaining vestiges of the past,⁴ while current policies of urban heritage and development are framed as belonging to an international sphere higher than national laws.