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Developing a methodology for a landscape-based approach to urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa.
The case of Maputo, Mozambique

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1.Introduction

{A city is not just architecture or a monument. It is, most of all, a living space, where the meaning of the built environment has to be understood in relation to the living society, its needs for the preservation of memory as part of its culture and life, its sense of beauty, its use of places and its changing processes. The values of the city cannot be understood without the participation of the people living, using and shaping the space}

(Bandarin, 2015)

Photo © Sukun/Maputo, 2014

1.1 Theoretical assumptions

This dissertation looks at the role played by urban cultural heritage conservation in urban development and planning in sub-Saharan Africa cities. In particular, it starts from the assumption that the evaluation of heritage socio-cultural and economic values is fundamental in order to activate attention and collaboration towards the sustainable conservation and use of heritage; and to develop systemic urban plans that translate these values into policies and practices capable of fostering city identity, improve urban quality and promote sustainable development. To this end, particularly important is the acknowledgement of a city's 'spirit of place' or *genius loci*, namely the character or quality of a place that contributes to define urban liveability.

Thus, the understanding of a city's urban value, including its problems and potentialities, is the basis for developing a systemic landscape-based approach to heritage conservation, management and planning (Landorf, 2011). This approach tackles not only the physical decay of the heritage areas, but also the larger urban context and related social, economic, political and cultural aspects. By doing so, it contributes to maintain the system of relationships between the different parts of the city and the whole (A. Bond & Teller, 2004), while retaining and further building upon its character and identity (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). In addition, this approach promotes diversity of cultural values, ways of life and social relationships (Girard, Baycan, & Nijkamp, 2012), by valuing the social, economic and environmental vital functions and potentialities of urban landscapes (A. Bond & Teller, 2004). As a result the dynamic, vibrant and balanced character of the city is sustained and enhanced, and the heritage areas are turned into fully functional and developed portions of the city (Rojas, 2012).

In academic literature, there is a general silence on the role of urban cultural heritage in sustainable urban development and planning in developing countries, and in Africa in particular. The research on this topic, in fact, is relatively new and is mainly focused on European countries. On the other hand, in the practical world of international cooperation, several International Development Agencies and the World Bank are acknowledging, and pushing to the forefront of their programmes, the critical role of culture and urban heritage as enablers and drivers of social and economic development. This vision is embedded into the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted at the special UN summit in September 2015, in particular in the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11, which aims to "make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable". The SDGs' implementation strategy will be discussed at the forthcoming global Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in October 2016 (Habitat III) where a new Urban Agenda for the next 20 years will be define, providing a great opportunity to address some of the key global issues facing the world today in a truly transformative manner (United Nations, 2015).

As more than half of the population of the world now lives in cities, their global role as engines of growth and centres of innovation, knowledge, information and creativity, and for engaged civil society, is progressively expanding. They generate income opportunities and influence on the quality of life of their citizens, and with good governance they can deliver education, health care and respond to people's evolving needs and aspirations. Urban heritage, when properly valorized and managed, can position itself at the core of this development process, becoming a key resource for cities globally (World Bank, 2001).

In many regions of the world, with the exception (and even so) of the sites protected under UNESCO's World Heritage Convention, urban heritage is threatened and many historic centers are subject to intense pressures due to neglect, decay, development of central areas, and building substitutions and alteration, among others. In certain countries marked by high rate of development (i.e. China and South East Asia) a large part of the traditional urban structures and heritage has been lost. In Latin America and Africa similar processes are underway. Today, many

countries and cities are asking for assistance to protect and value their urban heritage and are willing to develop policies and actions to address the issue (Jigyasu, 2015).

African cities, in particular, are considered by the World Bank "underutilized resources that concentrate much of the countries' physical, financial, and intellectual capital and will inevitably continue to do so" (Kessides, 2005). They are engines of growth and centres of innovation, creativity and economic development; their global role has expanded and is due to grow even more in the future. Rapid urbanization, however, is creating many socio-economic and physical challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa cities, amongst which urban poverty, urban expansion (often synonymous with slum creation) and greater pressure on their more central area, playing a destructive role *vis-à-vis* urban heritage.

Planners and administrators are often disoriented by the complexities of these social and economic issues and by the unresolved physical problems characterizing their cities. They often do not have the management and financial tools, the resources, the institutional and normative framework, and the technical expertise to cope with them. As a consequence, unregulated and uncontrolled – market-driven – real estate development initiatives and investments frequently result in property and land speculation, high-rise buildings, spatial fragmentation, loss of public space and amenities, inappropriate infrastructure, social inequality, and a drastic deterioration of the quality of the urban environment. The pressures on historic urban areas, in particular, will surely continue to grow, as urbanization continues to rise, land values continue to increase and adequate land use controls tools and measures are not developed and applied.

This type of development can totally transform a traditional city, which was earlier distinguished by a mixture of housing and other activities, into a single-function area where – in the best scenario – only a few representative buildings remain without any coherent interconnection. Or where – in the worst scenario – heritage assets are demolished to free some space for new buildings. Preservation of historic areas, in fact, is currently seen as an obstacle to development, and the solution normally adopted is wholesale demolition. Creating a *tabula rasa* and starting from scratch is mistakenly considered the simplest and most efficient solution, and only when it is too late, it becomes apparent that the situation is even more complex and difficult to manage than before (Jigyasu, 2015).

If these heritage areas are to survive, they must be acknowledged and understood by local authorities, civil society and development partners. They must continue to play important socio-cultural and economic roles in the urban development process, while maintaining historical continuity. Viable solutions should be found for these areas to improve the quality of life of local inhabitants, and to play a viable role within the overall economic development. This requires the development and use of evaluation methods and tools capable of demonstrating their value and their capacity to positively contribute to the future development of Sub-Saharan Africa cities.

In order to assess Sub-Saharan Africa cities heritage and associated values it is necessary to avoid simplified, ready-made and pre-packed definitions of what constitutes heritage and heritage values; but to recognize and consider all the different value systems of perception and appreciation of urban space and heritage, which contribute to form cultural diversity and identity. In fact, the range of values associated with urban space can be different than in Europe as different are the social and cultural contexts. Literature and practices show that a holistic approach is needed (Jigyasu, 2015) in order to consider the different heritage aspects, economic potential and social structure of complex cities such as in Sub-Saharan Africa.

In recent years, several methods have been developed or re-adapted from different disciplines to identify, quantify or qualify heritage values, but new methods and operational tools need to be developed in order to support the translation of these values into policies, strategies and concrete actions (Mason, 2002). Some of these methods matches the principles of the systemic landscape approach to urban conservation expressed by the 2011 UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015). The HUL approach provides an overarching conceptual and operational framework to help African cities in structuring and improving policies that reconnect the city management processes with heritage management and conservation (Jokilehto, 2010).

The HUL approach considers historic cities as a resource for the future (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015) and respects cultural diversity, recognizing that dissimilar societies attached different sets of values to their heritage. For this reason, HUL is particularly helpful for working on places with 'simpler heritage' and with different sets of heritage values, such in African cities. HUL, in fact, considers as valuable both the traditionally defined heritage – mostly from colonial times – than the 'minor heritage', whose value is not broadly well recognized nonetheless reflects the cultural specificities and diversities of the people belonging to a specific context. This 'minor heritage' is usually subject to substantial changes and destruction caused by lack of understanding of its role for the history and identity of a community.

This research study agrees with two principles pointed out by the HUL approach, namely the need to involve a broad constituency of stakeholders and to integrate different disciplines and professional practices in the decision-making and planning processes. These principles are key to achieve a systemic approach to urban conservation that considers the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage. In fact, they allow the development and application of methods and tools that place the human dimension at the center of their thinking and it is that – more than anything else – that is relevant if the wish is for the potential cultural benefits of urban heritage to emerge and contribute to human development.

The application of the HUL approach, however, calls for an additional intellectual effort. It is considered a broad and generic concept that needs to be further refined to be fully assimilated and used productively in a non-Western context. Moreover, the application of the stepped methodological process that HUL proposes has been too limited in number, time and depth to sustain reliable conclusions on its use (Veldpaus, Pereira, Roders, & Colenbrander, 2013). Additionally, there is a need to develop per geo-cultural region, or even per country, specific frameworks for the application of the HUL approach, each defined by particular questions and issues that relate to the local context (Van Oers, 2015).

1.2   Research focus and questions

The broad scope of this research study is to contribute on the advance of the academic knowledge as well as operational reflection on the debate regarding the need to adopt a systemic historic urban landscape approach to urban heritage conservation, management and planning as a means to develop and implement urban plans capable of fostering city identity and improving urban quality. In particular, it focuses on the widely recognized need to design and apply participatory and multidisciplinary methods and tools that facilitate the assessment of heritage values and their integration into landscape-based urban plans aimed at fostering city identity and improving urban quality. This research considers cities in developing countries, and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular, as area of study.

In order to provide deeper insights on the research topic, and considering the researcher's personal and professional interests, three clusters of research areas, hereunder presented, have been identified and addressed through the literature review.

1. The interconnections between urban heritage conservation and urban development and planning;

2. Methods and tools for assessing urban heritage values and subsequent integration in decision-making and conservation planning;

3. The relevance of urban heritage conservation in sub-Saharan Africa.

The linkages between the identified areas and their relevance for the research topic are the main reasons for determining the following research question:

"How the HUL approach can help to assess the heritage values of cities in sub-Saharan Africa, inform decision-making and the development of a sustainable landscape-based and values-informed plan, contributing to sustain the qualitative conservation and transformation of an urban area?"

The **first cluster of research areas** (Heritage conservation *vis-à-vis* urban development) relates to the relationship between heritage conservation and urban development and addresses the following question:

"How policies and practices on heritage conservation can be combined with and reinforce urban development and help sustain the dynamic, vibrant and balanced character of a city?"

This cluster is presented in section 2.3 and looks at the interrelations between urban heritage conservation and sustainable urban development. This section also describes the theory towards an integrated and holistic approach to urban conservation, presenting the economic and social benefits deriving from its adoption.

The **second cluster of research areas** (Assessing heritage values for urban development) relates to the process of assessing urban heritage values and subsequent integration in decision-making and conservation planning. It addresses the following question:

"What kinds of methodological strategies and specific assessment tools do conservationists and planners have to articulate and prioritize heritage values, and thus qualify heritage cultural significance, and to accommodate them in the conservation and planning process?"

This cluster is presented in section 2.4 and outlines the wide range of values attributed to heritage and the valuation methods already in use in the heritage field to identify and describe them. Secondly, it presents different methods and tools developed over the years to translate heritage values into policies, strategies and programmes and thus to facilitate the integration of heritage conservation in the context of decision-making and planning

The **third cluster of research areas** (Urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa: an *élite* concept or a development opportunity?) relates to the context of urban conservation and planning in Sub-Saharan Africa and addresses the following question:

"How urban cultural heritage is assimilated in local perceptions and understanding of space in cities in sub-Saharan Africa and used in the conservation and planning process?"

This cluster is presented in section 2.5 and focuses on the application of urban conservation theories and practices in sub-Saharan Africa. It first frames the global urban context and trends, and outlines the key urbanization challenges along with the advantages and benefits to work on sustainable urban development in sub-Saharan Africa. Then, it presents the current debate on heritage conservation and planning in this region, including a presentation of some applied urban cultural heritage practices and models.

The review of the literature (chapter 2) enabled the identification of a number of opportunities for further research on the topic of heritage conservation and urban development, in particular on the role played by value assessment in the context of decision-making and planning (see section 2.6). Considering the limits (in terms of quantity) of the existing academic literature on this topic, a broad spectrum of information sources has been taken into account for this dissertation (e.g. practitioners' reports, conferences' presentations, newspapers' articles). In addition, the

information obtained through the literature review has been integrated and grounded with the knowledge gained through a long-lasting fieldwork study conducted in a sub-Saharan Africa city, namely Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, and the analysis of a case study, namely the conservation plan of Maputo historic center (*Baixa*).

1.3 From theory to practice: the case of Maputo, Mozambique

With the intention to bring the theoretical discussion around the above-mentioned areas of research focus to a more operational perspective and levels of analysis, the researcher carried out between 2011 and 2015 a fieldwork study in Maputo. This was done with the intention to investigate the system of elements that contribute to form the city's identity and *genius loci*, and to come up with a contextually relevant understanding of the notion of urban cultural heritage. Different appraisal methods and a participatory approach have been used to read the city through the voices of a broad group of stakeholders, and identify Maputo most representatives' characteristics and spaces of social appropriation and cultural significance. In addition, given the richness of the evidence required for this research, a case study has being selected and studied in detail, namely the Urban Development Plan of the Historic District (*Baixa*) of Maputo, which has been developed between 2013 and 2015 by the Municipality with funding from the World Bank.

The researcher has chosen Maputo for the fieldwork study because it is representative of many middle-size cities in sub-Saharan Africa with a valuable but endangered cultural heritage. It is a fast paced growing city whose heritage is subject to intense pressures due to neglect, decay and population shifts, development of central areas, and building substitutions and alteration, among others. On the other hand, Maputo is faced with other incumbent problems, such as lack of basic infrastructure and services, limited financial resources, weak capacity of local administrations, and urban poverty. Another reason for choosing Maputo is that the national and local governments are increasingly paying attention to the fields of urban planning and heritage conservation and management. Since 2007, in fact, the World Bank has been supporting the Municipal Government of Maputo to strengthen its urban space management capacity, through the implementation of the ProMaputo Municipal Development Programme (2007-2016). In addition, the researcher has been living in Maputo for four years (2011-2015), working at the Municipal Government as Senior Urban Advisor for the ProMaputo Programme. This direct involvement has provided the researcher with a privileged and unique opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of Maputo urban, socio-economic and governance dynamics, and to collaborate on a daily basis with urban and heritage specialist, decision-makers, academics, the civil society, and with representatives of national and local government, international and national organizations and of the private sector.

On the other hand, the 'Urban Development Plan of the Historic District (Baixa) of Maputo' – which is one of ProMaputo key activities – has been chosen by the researcher as case study as the methodology used for its development has been highly participative and multidisciplinary, and thus in line with the key principles guiding the HUL approach. Moreover, the area of the *Baixa* has been identified, through the Cognitive Analysis of Maputo urban landscape, as the core of the City's urban heritage and the main contributor to its identity and character. In addition, the researcher has been directly involved in the *Baixa* urban conservation plan, as coordinator of the plan design process within the Municipality and as interface between the government authorities, the consultants hired to develop the plan and the civil society, amongst others. This direct involvement, has allowed the researcher to bring the theoretical debate on urban conservation to an operational level. This has been a possible thanks to the collaboration with a multidisciplinary team of international and local professionals hired by CMM to develop the plan. The researcher, therefore, had the opportunity to provide inputs into the plan development process, stimulating discussions on theoretical concepts and the development and application of tools. In addition, the researcher could analyse in-depth the entire plan development process, from its conceptualization

to its approval from the competent authority.

Based on the results of the fieldwork study and the analysis of a real urban conservation plan, an empirical participatory and interdisciplinary methodological process has been developed, aimed at qualifying heritage cultural significance, and identifying how it can be translated into policies formulation and urban conservation practices that foster city identity, liveability and urban quality. This has been done with the intention to contribute on the contextualization of the Historic Urban Landscape approach and expand academic knowledge and operational capacities for its implementation.

1.4   Structure of the dissertation

The dissertation has been organized in three parts dealing respectively with the Theoretical Perspective (Part One) on theories and practices related to the disciplines of urban heritage conservation and urban development and planning, with special emphasis on sub-Saharan African cities; the Empirical Perspective (Part Two) coming from the fieldwork study conducted in Maputo and the analysis of a case study, namely the *Baixa* urban development plan; and the overall Conclusions (Part Three) that led to the development of a tool-kit for the theoretical advancement and operational implementation of a systemic landscape approach to urban heritage conservation.

Figure 1.1 – Main phases and overall structure of the research study

Chapter 1:	**Introduction**	
Chapter 2:	**Literature review**	**Part I – Theoretical Perspective**
Chapter 3:	**Methodology**	
Chapter 4:	**Empirical context: Maputo, Mozambique**	**Part 2 – Empirical Perspective**
Chapter 5:	**Case study: Urban Plan of the *Baixa***	
Chapter 6:	**Conclusions**	**Part 3 - Conclusions**
Annexes:	**Tool-kit**	
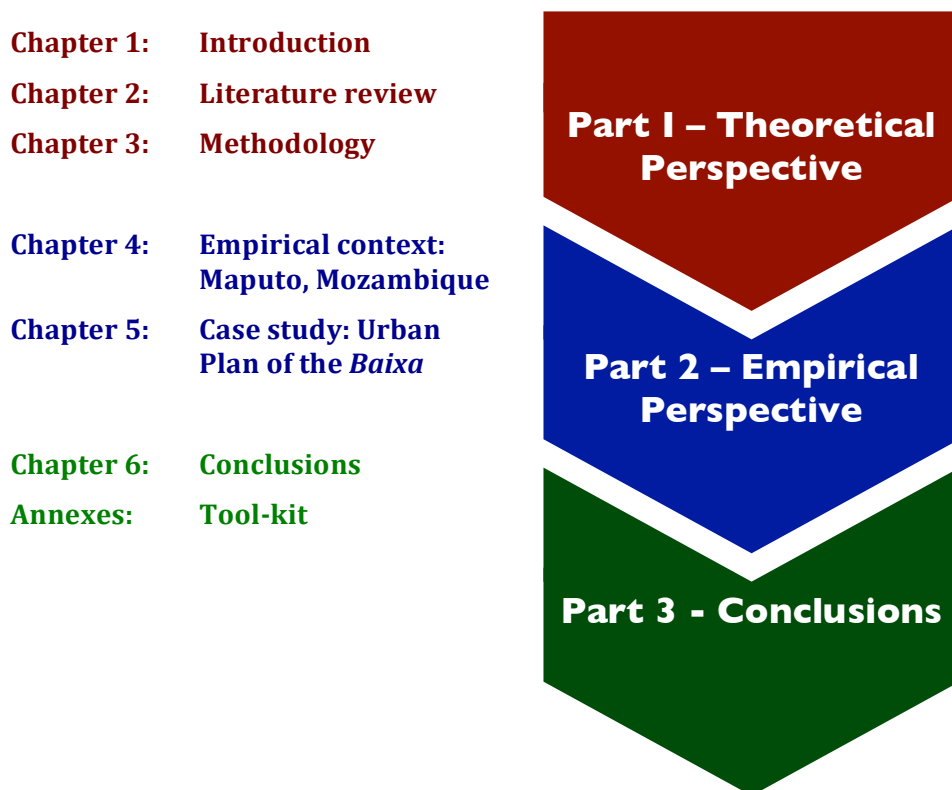
The dissertation has been divided in six chapters, whose content is outlined here below.

Chapter 1 is the **introductory chapter** and provides an overview of the dissertation and its theoretical perspective. Section 1.1 provides an introduction to the theoretical background and conceptual framework used in this research study. Section 1.2 presents the research focus and question, the research clusters and the questions to be addressed for each of them. Section 1.2 presents the fieldwork study carried out to bring the theoretical discussion around the research topic to a more operational perspective and levels of analysis. It also presents the reasons behind the choice of the case study selected for this research. The last section of this chapter (1.4) gives an insight in the structure of the dissertation. The main phases and the overall structure of the research study are given in Figure 1.1.

Chapter 2 presents the **literature review**, which aims to position the research *vis-à-vis* previous research efforts and existing documents on the topic and to provide the research with a well-informed perspective. Section 2.1 gives a brief explanation of the motivation and choices made for the literature review and presents the three areas of particular focus for this research, which have guided the review, namely:

- First research cluster: Heritage conservation *vis-à-vis* urban development.
- Second research cluster: Assessing heritage values for urban development.
- Third research cluster: Urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa: an *élite* concept or a development opportunity?

Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 describe the content of the review related to the first, second and third research clusters respectively. The literature review main findings and opportunities for further research are presented in section 2.5.

Chapter 3 presents the **philosophical and methodological bases of the research**. Section 3.1 presents the theoretical perspective that lies behind the methodology, along with the research aim and questions. Section 3.2 describes the guiding principles that led to the development of the data collection and analysis methods and tools used for the fieldwork research study conducted in Maputo. In the subsequent section 3.3, a step-by-step description is given of the analytical approach adopted for the fieldwork research study, including a presentation of the methods and tools developed, which has been divided in two phases:

- Phase One: Analysis of Maputo Urban Landscape.
- Phase Two: In-depth analysis of the *Baixa* urban development plan.

Chapter 4 presents the results of the fieldwork study conducted in **Maputo**, aimed at investigating the system of elements that contribute to form the city's identity and *genius loci*, and at coming up with a contextually relevant understanding of the notion of urban cultural heritage. Section 4.1 presents the results of the analysis carried out to understand Maputo socio-cultural and economic dynamics. Section 4.2 presents the results of the analysis of the City's political and governance context, including a description of the main stakeholders directly or indirectly involved in urban development and heritage conservation in Maputo. Section 4.3 describes the results of the objective analysis conducted to understand the historical evolution and physical characteristics of the City, including a presentation of the main heritage assets. Section 4.4 presents the main findings of the cognitive analysis carried out to explore the ecological system of attributes and values that contribute to create Maputo's 'spirit of place' and thus define a contextually relevant notion of urban cultural heritage.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the analysis of the case study, namely the Urban Development Plan of the Baixa of Maputo. Section 5.1 frames the Baixa conservation plan within the context of Maputo and gives a broad overview of the plan development process. Section 5.2 presents the

results of the appraisal conducted in the Baixa, including a description of the methods and tools applied to study different topics related to the socio-cultural, economic, political and governance context; and the historical and spatial development and characteristics. Section 5.3 presents the methods and tools developed and applied to assess Baixa's urban cultural heritage, including its economic value. Section 5.4 describes the methods and tools used during the plan development process to match the appraisal's findings, with the definition of the plan guiding principles, and the consequent actions that are needed in order to implement it.

Chapter 6 presents the **research results and their contribution** for the advance of the heritage conservation and urban development fields of study in sub-Saharan Africa cities. Section 6.1 summarizes the research scope and questions. The findings of this research study are presented in section 6.2. Section 6.3 discusses the implication of this dissertation's findings for policy and practice. Section 6.4 presents the proposed methodology developed through this research study, which can be used and applied in other similar contexts. Section 6.5 describes the limitations of this research study and identifies viable directions in which future research might go.

2.Literature review

{The built environment, old and new, is an aspect of our culture that is in constant change and gives physical form to our individual and communal histories. Historic sites, objects, modern or historic architecture can move us in just the same way as literature, music and the fine arts}

(Jowell, 2005)

The aim chapter two is to position the research vis-à-vis previous research efforts and existing documents on the topic and to provide the research with a well-informed perspective. Section 2.1 frames the motivations and choices made for the literature review and presents the three clusters of particular focus for this research that have guided the review. Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 describe the content of the review of the first, second and third research clusters respectively. The literature review main findings and opportunities for further research are presented is section 2.5.

2.1   Research perspectives

The literature review is done with the aim to provide the research with an informed and comprehensive perspective. It is based on the assumption that urban cultural heritage, when properly valorized and managed, represents a key resource for the sustainable development of cities globally, and in African countries in particular (World Bank, 2001). This research considers that this goal can be achieved by adopting a holistic landscape-based approach to urban conservation, management and planning, supported by the development and application of methods and tools that facilitate broad participation, collaboration and confrontation with different stakeholders and amongst various disciplines.

The application of a systemic approach to urban conservation contributes to revealing, preserving and enhancing a city's ecological balance, by promoting diversity of cultural values, ways of life and social relationships (Girard, Baycan, & Nijkamp, 2012), while sustaining the social, economic and environmental vital functions of urban landscapes (Bond & Teller, 2004). As a result, this approach contributes to diminishing the risk of homogenisation and uniformity so typical of many modern agglomerations, in developing countries in particular, enhancing the liveability and identity of urban areas and producing quality space.

Based on these premises, their relevance within the debate regarding the need to adopt a holistic approach to urban conservation, and the researcher's personal interests, three areas of particular focus have been identified to guide the literature review:

- The interconnections between urban heritage conservation and urban development and planning (section 2.3);

- Methods and tools for assessing urban heritage values and subsequent integration in decision-making and conservation planning (section 2.4);

- The relevance of urban heritage conservation for cities in sub-Saharan Africa (section 2.5).

The *first cluster* of research areas (Heritage conservation *vis-à-vis* urban development) relates to the relationship between heritage conservation and urban planning and development. It seeks to address the following question:

How policies and practices on heritage conservation can be combined with and reinforce urban development and help sustain the dynamic, vibrant and balanced character of a city?

Section 2.3 presents the content of the literature review for the first cluster and starts by providing an overview of how the concept of urban cultural heritage and the conservation of the heritage assets have evolved over the years, both in theory and practice, to progressively become more integrated and socially inclusive. It continues with a presentation of the theory behind the adoption of an integrated landscape-based approach to urban conservation, management and

planning; and outlines the main economic and social benefits and existing challenges that such approach presents. Considering that academic literature on this topic is very limited, the literature review for this cluster is done through a comparative analysis of international doctrine documents, and of existing articles, books and practitioners' reports related to urban planning and heritage theories and practices.

The *second cluster* of research areas (Assessing heritage values for urban development) relates to the process of urban heritage values assessment and subsequent integration in decision-making and conservation planning. It seeks to address the following question:

What kinds of methodological strategies and specific assessment tools do conservationists and planners have to articulate and prioritize heritage values, and thus qualify heritage cultural significance, and to accommodate them in the conservation and planning process?

Section 2.4 presents the content of the literature review for the second cluster. It first outlines the wide range of values attributed to heritage and the valuation methods already in use in the heritage field to identify and describe them. Secondly, it presents different methods used to translate heritage values into policies, strategies and programmes, in the context of decision-making and conservation planning. The literature review for this cluster is done through a comparative analysis of previous research efforts and key standard-setting documents on the topic, including international doctrine documents, articles, books and reports related to urban planning and heritage theories and practices.

The *third cluster* of research areas (Urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa: an *élite* concept or a development opportunity?) relates to the context of urban conservation and planning in cities in Sub-Saharan Africa and seeks to address the following question:

"How urban cultural heritage is assimilated in local perceptions and understanding of space in African cities and used in the conservation and planning process?"

Section 2.5 presents the content of the literature review for the third cluster. It first frames sub-Saharan Africa urban context and urbanization trends, and outlines the key challenges faced in cities, along with the socio-cultural, economic and environmental advantages and benefits to work on sustainable urban development. Then, it presents the current debate on heritage conservation and planning in sub-Saharan Africa, including a presentation of some applied urban cultural heritage practices and models. Considering that academic literature on urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa is very limited, the review is mainly based on the consultation of practitioners' views, documents and reports, mainly by international organizations, researchers and professionals working in developing countries.

2.2 First research cluster: Heritage conservation vis-à-vis urban development

2.2.1 Defining urban heritage conservation – from an object-based towards a landscape approach

It is useful to start the literature review by providing a brief caricature of how the concept of urban cultural heritage and the approach to its conservation have evolved over the years, going through a process of change both in theory and practice. The concept of urban cultural heritage is

a European creation. Initially focused on the conservation or restoration of isolated built heritage assets or monuments, it has progressively shifted towards a more comprehensive landscape-based approach (Jokilehto, 1998), to become with the UNESCO 2011 Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) more democratic and socially inclusive. This process of change has been driven by a search for ever-better ways of understanding and preserving the heritage (Fojut, 2009), and by the need for a more integrated approach towards urban heritage management, aimed at combining policies and practices on conservation with those of urban development (Veldpaus, Pereira Roders, & Colenbrander, 2013).

To better understand this evolution, a choice was made to concentrate the analysis on sixteen international doctrine documents[1], which are indicated as the system of international principles and charters that frame the issue of urban heritage management, in the UNESCO 2011 *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO, 2011) and in the book *The Historic Urban Landscape. Managing Heritage in an Urban Century* by Francesco Bandarin and Ron Van Oers (2012). Besides these guiding normative documents, the review considered as well additional regional Charters and Declarations, and existing articles, books and reports on urban heritage theories and practices that have enriched the debate in the past decades.

Urban conservation has become a policy and practice in most European countries since the Second World War. Initially linked to the needs of post-war reconstruction, it has subsequently evolved into a fully-fledged component of urban planning and management. Several countries have adopted specific legislation in the 1960s and 1970s that still are to date the main support to conservation practices. Following the European models, other regions of the world (e.g. Latin America) have developed conservation plans and policies that have been instrumental for the conservation of important heritage sites. Different is the situation of Africa and Asia, where conservation policies have been occasional and where urban heritage has been largely affected by rapid and sudden social and economic transformations (Van Oers, 2015).

In the 1960s the definition of heritage was narrow; heritage discourse and practice were strongly expert-dominated and conservation was seen as an end in itself (Fojut, 2009). Cultural heritage essentially meant cultural icons, in the form of historic buildings, archaeological sites and monuments. This object-based approach was more focused on the conservation of the tangible dimension of cultural heritage assets, and mainly dealt with the protection of surviving remains left to represent significance; thus making it difficult to attribute value to the intangible or the larger scale. In addition, such approach was about what to keep and protect, so almost automatically positioning itself in opposition to development (Veldpaus, Pereira, Roders, & Colenbrander, 2013).

For instance, the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (Venice Charter) (ICOMOS, 1964), which is considered the founding document of international principles and charters framing the issue of urban heritage conservation (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012), focuses on the conservation of historic monuments and their settings, without referring to the historic city (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). However, Bandarin & Van Oers (2012) argue that this attitude was not due to a lack of awareness of the problems facing the historic city, but rather to the fact that the drafters of policies and legislation on urban heritage were restorers and art historians, and not specialists in urban conservation or planning. In fact, at

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[1]Key international Standard-Setting Instruments: UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites* (1962); *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (Venice Charter) (1964); UNESCO *Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works* (1968); *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (World Heritage Convention) (1972); *Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage* (1972); *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* (1975); *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (Nairobi Recommendation) (1976); ICOMOS *Historic Gardens* (Florence Charter) (1982); *Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe* (Granada Convention) (1985); *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* (Washington Charter) (1987); *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994); UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001); UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion ofthe Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005); *Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape* (2005); UNESCO *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (2005); UNESCO *Recommendation of Historic Urban Landscape* (2011).

the *2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments* (1964), where the *Venice Charter* was adopted, a motion was passed concerning the protection and rehabilitation of historic centres (document 8). In this there is a call to 'rapidly…promote a legislation for safeguarding historic centres, which should keep in view the necessity both of safeguarding and improving these historic centres and integrating them with contemporary life'. The *Recommendation Concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works* (UNESCO, 1968) also stresses the importance of balancing out the socio-economic benefits of urban development with the preservation of cultural heritage. Thus, as Jokilehto (2010) emphasizes, the conservation of historic townscapes surrounding individual buildings was beginning to be considered. In 1965, the newly founded International Council on Monuments and Sites – ICOMOS, took this motion to heart (Jokilehto, 2010), and numerous national, regional and international seminars and conferences started to discuss the issue.

This situation has progressively changed and cultural heritage management has grown towards a more all-inclusive approach, to include also notions such as the intangible dimension of cultural heritage, the setting and the context, and sustainable urban development, and thus giving a greater consideration of the social and economic function of historic cities (Jokilehto, 2007). Key themes emerged in the 1970s and onwards, each of which saw changes not just in perspectives on heritage, but also in positioning heritage in relation to other domains, bringing political awareness of the wider potential of heritage (Fojut, 2009). In particular the UNESCO's *World Heritage Convention* of 1972 has been the main tool to promote urban conservation practices and values in the global sphere (Van Oers, 2015). It called upon State parties to adopt 'general policy with the aim of giving to cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes (UNESCO, 1972). On the other hand, the *Nairobi Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Area* (UNESCO, 1976) introduced a new way of considering urban cultural heritage, shifting the focus from buildings and monuments towards the wider historic environment, through the establishment of important guidelines[2]. The *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* (Council of Europe, 1975) and the *Declaration of Amsterdam* (ICOMOS, 1975) introduced the concept of 'integrated conservation', stressing the need to protect the social structure of historic cities as part of the conservation process.

By the mid-1980s, the concept of integrated conservation was widely accepted (Fojut, 2009). In 1987 ICOMOS issued the *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas* (ICOMOS, 1987) to fill the gaps existing in the *Venice Charter*. This is the first international document exclusively dedicated to historic urban areas and their conservation, introducing many important innovations in the definition of urban heritage. It defines the historic city in its complexity and specificity, linking its 'authenticity' not only to the physical structures, but also to the surrounding environment. The *Charter of Itaipava* (ICOMOS Brazil, 1987) is also of particular relevance as it introduced a landscape-based approach in the definition of urban cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2011). It describes 'the city in its totality [as] a historical entity', which is not only as a physical artefact, comprising built and natural features, but also as a 'living' heritage made up of the 'experience of its inhabitants'[3] (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). Furthermore, this *Charter* emphasizes the socio-cultural value of historic centres, stressing the importance of residents and of traditional activities in historic urban sites, by stating that 'the main purpose of preservation is the maintenance and enhancement of reference patterns needed for the expression and consolidation of citizenship […] that […] contribute to improve life quality'.

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[2]The Nairobi Recommendation (1976) establishes the following principles: historic areas have an important role in defining cultural diversity and the identity of individual communities; historic areas and their surroundings need to be considered as a coherent whole, which include human activities, buildings, spatial organization and the surroundings; cultural and social revitalization needs to be associated to physical conservation.

[3] The ICOMOS *Charter of Itaipava* (1987) states: 'urban historical sites are part of a wider totality, comprising the natural and the built environment and the everyday living experience of their dwellers as well. Within this wider space, enriched with values of remote or recent origin and permanently undergoing a dynamic process of successive transformations, new urban spaces may be considered as environmental evidences in their formative stages'.

Theory on such a landscape-based approach is to be found reflected more readily ever since the 1990s in several works (Hayden, 1997; Rodwell, 2007; Van Oers & Haraguchi, 2010). The definition of heritage, thus, has broadened and deepened, along with a growing awareness of the importance of the indivisible nature of tangible and intangible heritage and the meanings, values and context that the intangible heritage gives to objects and places. On the other hand, the need to move away from an excessively 'Eurocentric' framework, which has been dominant for a century (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012), has stimulated an intense dialogue on the *relativeness* of the concept of heritage. The questions 'whose heritage?' and 'whose value?' became a call for reflection. In this regard, the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (ICOMOS, 1994), which sought to challenge conventional Western-based definitions of authenticity in respect of cultural and heritage diversity, recognizes that the concept of authenticity needs to be understood in relation to criteria that originate in the respective cultural spheres. Authenticity, thus, is not a restrictive concept, either in time or space. Just as each generation precedent to our own has contributed to the historical layers of the buildings and cities that they have inherited, so this and subsequent generations have an equally valid contribution to make (ICOMOS, 1994).

At the turn of this century, UNESCO and other conservation and professional organisations, experts, practitioners and city planners, have opened a discussion to assess the viability of the definitions of urban cultural heritage and principles on urban conservation established in the previous fifty years, in relation to the new challenges and changing dynamics that have occurred in cities over the past three decades, especially in emerging countries (UNESCO, 2011). Under these circumstances, urban conservators and heritage professionals have started to advocate that new principles, approaches and tools need to be identified in order to develop doable strategies able to permit conservation and valorisation of urban heritage for present and future generations and the utilization of this in a sustainable way for the benefits of the wider population (UNESCO, 2011).

Various initiatives[4] have contributed to the evolution of a renewed and more comprehensive approach to urban conservation, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations have been reflecting and defining strategies that give a bigger role to the concern for landscapes as cultural heritage, such as the *European Landscape Convention* (Council of Europe, 2000); the *Vienna Memorandum* (UNESCO, 2005); the *Xi'an Declaration* (ICOMOS, 2005); and most recently the *Valletta Principles* (ICOMOS, 2011).

The *Vienna Memorandum* (2005) constitutes the first overall attempt in twenty years to revise and update the modern urban conservation paradigm (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). It proposes the notion of Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), which goes beyond traditional terms of 'historic centres', 'ensembles' or 'surroundings', normally used in the international doctrine, to include the 'broader territorial and landscape context' (Article 11). The *Vienna Memorandum* has been welcomed by the World Heritage Committee at its 29th session in 2005, and formed the basis for the *Declaration on the Conservation of the Historic Urban Landscape*, adopted by the 15th General Assembly of States Parties to the World Heritage Convention in October 2005. Following the adoption of the Declaration, ICOMOS dedicated two general assemblies to relevant themes for a modern interpretation of heritage values, in particular the 'setting' (in Xi'an, China in 2005) and the 'spirit of place' (in Quebec, 2008).

The 2005 *Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas* defines 'setting' as the 'immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character' (Article 1). 'Setting' includes the physical, visual

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[4] In particular the 2005 *Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture*, the 2005 *Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas*, the 2008 *Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place*. In addition, with the support from the States Parties to the World Heritage Convention, the World Heritage Committee and the Advisory Bodies to the World Heritage Committee, ICOMOS, ICCROM and IUCN, the World Heritage Centre undertook five regional expert meetings (Jerusalem, June 2006; Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, January 2007; Olinda, Brazil, November 2007; Zanzibar, Tanzania, November/December 2009; and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, December 2009) and thre planning meetings held at UNESCO Headquartes (in September 2006, November 2008 and February 2010) to receive expert input on concepts, approaches and tools to urban historic conservation.

and natural aspects as well as social and spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge and other intangible forms and expressions. Along this line, the *Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place* (ICOMOS Canada, 2008) is part of a series of measures and actions undertaken by ICOMOS[5] to safeguard and promote the 'spirit of place'. 'Spirit of place' is defined as the 'tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge), that is to say the physical, living, social and spiritual elements that give meanings, value, emotion and mystery to place' (Article I). The spirit of place 'responds to the needs of change of communities' and thus it 'can vary in time and from one culture to another according to their practices of memory'. 'A place can have several spirits and be shared by different groups' (Article III). 'Spirit of place', can also be considered as the contemporary equivalent of the *genius loci* of ancient times, which was the guardian divinity of a place, its 'genius' or protective spirit (Rykwert, 1989). Dissociated from its spiritual and symbolic meaning, today 'spirit of place' refers to the character or quality of a place, as can be perceived when visiting it (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012) and contributes to define urban liveability.

The notion of 'spirit of place' can be associated to the term 'cultural significance', which came to prominence with the *Burra Charter* (1999) and refers to the importance of a site as determined by the set of 'aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual' values attributed to it (De la Torre & Mason, 2002) for past, present or future generations' (Article 1.2), 'without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others' (Article 5.1). Both concepts are linked to identity, memory, social cohesion and sense of belonging, and aggregates and materializes the perceptions, cultural specificities, diversities and memories from the communities and groups that live, work and socialize in a city (J. Smith, 2010).

The discussions leading to the elaboration of the above mentioned documents, which show the use of a wider range of urban-related terms, contributed to the recent worldwide adoption of *UNESCO Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL), which reflects a century of evolution on theories related to urban heritage management (UNESCO, 2011). Built upon the four previous UNESCO Recommendations on heritage conservation and complementary to the existing conservation doctrine, HUL promotes a more comprehensive definition of urban cultural heritage and a more integrated and socially inclusive approach to urban conservation and management. It widens the concept of urban cultural heritage and introduces systemic dynamics with the recognition of places as living heritage. It understands the urban areas as a series of historic layers, each with its own cultural values and natural attributes, which extend beyond the 'historic centre' to include the broader urban context. It encompasses geographic settings, social and cultural practices and values, and economic processes that together form the intangible dimension of identity and 'place' (UNESCO, 2011).

The HUL Recommendation provides a theoretical framework and an operational approach for heritage management and urban development for all cities with heritage. It builds upon the assumption that, when an urban settlement is properly managed, initiatives, opportunities, and development can contribute to both quality of life and conservation of cultural heritage, while ensuring a social diversity and justness (Veldpaus et al., 2013). It emphasizes the importance of the indivisible linkage between the 'tangible' physical forms of urban heritage and the meanings and values that 'intangible' heritage gives to objects and places. This mix of tangible and intangible components makes up the whole and contributes to create the city's identity and cultural significance, and are the elements to be preserved through the development of conservation and management policies and practices (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). HUL also

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[5] ICOMOS *Kimberly Declaration* (2003) takes into account the intangible values (memory, beliefs, traditional knowledge, attachment to place) and the local communities that are the custodians of these values in the managemnt and preservation of monuments and sites; ICOMOS *Xi'an Declaration* (2005a) draw attention to the conservation of 'setting'; ICOMOS Americas *Declaration of Foz Do Iguaçu* (2008) specifies that the tangible and intangible components of heritage are essential in the preservation of the identity of communities that have created and transmitted spaces of cultural and historical significance; ICOMOS *Charter on Cultural Routes and on Interpretation and Presentation* (2008) recognizes the importance of intangible dimensions of heritage and the spiritual value of place.

reaffirms the importance of cultural diversity in the definition of heritage values, and recognizes that dissimilar societies attach different sets of values to the original and subsequent characteristics of their cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2011).

Jokilehto (2010) states that the HUL approach presents an important evolution in the definition and management of urban cultural heritage, as it contains new points of departure and innovative approaches. It can become another paradigm on the cultural route, which can provide an overarching frame to help structuring and improving policies involved in heritage management and urban development. It can also guide the implementation of a landscape-based approach for all cities with heritage, not necessarily exclusively for those with World Heritage properties (Veldpaus et al., 2013). However, HUL remains a broad and generic concept, whose application is still too limited in number, time, and depth to sustain reliable conclusions on its use (Veldpaus et al., 2013). It is therefore needed the development of new or the application of existing methods and tools to facilitate, disseminate and adapt the implementation of the HUL approach, as well as to monitor its impact on the conservation and management of historic cities.

2.2.2   The marriage between heritage conservation and urban development

As previously seen, over the years theories and practices on urban cultural heritage conservation in Western countries have progressively shifted from a top-down isolated built heritage restoration process towards a comprehensive and systemic HUL approach (Jokilehto, 1998). This approach is a young field of research, whose theory has been developing since the 1960s (Jokilehto, 1998), but whose application has started only from the 90s (Fairclough et al., 2008).

HUL stresses the need to reassess the historical divide between 'conservation' and 'development' (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012) and to open a dialogue – now almost inexistent – among and between heritage professionals, urban planner, development practitioners, decision-makers and various relevant disciplines (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). This conceptual and operational connection demands a stronger integration between sectors and disciplines, and the development of ad hoc knowledge and management tools (Van Oers, 2015).

The evolution of this systemic approach to urban conservation is part of a reflection over the broadly recognized limits of traditional urban planning and urban conservation processes in dealing with the new pace of urban development and the complex challenges brought into cities, including: rapid urbanisation, climate change, environmental pollution and degradation, social injustice, spatial segregation, inequitable distribution of resources and services, poverty, unemployment, traffic congestion, and urban sprawl and fragmentation. Alternative open-ended and flexible planning and conservation processes are thus needed.

Traditional urban planning – as a spectre of post-war modernism – intended as a rational political and administrative process aimed at governing large-scale urban and territorial development processes, focuses on top-down processes by which the urban planner create the plans. As a result, it promotes rigidly determined single land use zoning as its primary tool for decision-making, which favours a mono-dimensional approach to urban planning. In most countries this approach has failed to recognize and protect the different aspects that heritage conservation proposes (Gabrielli, 2010), as it seldom recognizes the mixed activities that are characteristics of historic urban areas. In addition, it does not take into account the social and economic measures and incentives necessary for retaining the traditional social fabric and preventing gentrification of historic urban areas (Jigyasu, 2015).

Planners, in fact, traditionally viewed historic areas as a collection of monuments and historic buildings to be preserved as relics of the past, whose value was considered to be totally separate from their day-to-day use and city context (Siravo, 2015). In some instances, historic urban areas were identified for protection as 'special areas', but, even in such cases, only physical attributes were normally considered. On the other hand, the city's intangible heritage, namely the living

traditions, memory and spirit of place, was usually not considered, as there was a lack of understanding the complexity of its intangible values, and of their direct relationship with the physical structure of the city and the creation of the *genius loci* (Jigyasu, 2015).

As previously viewed, cities are places where intangible heritage values (social values, communities' identities and civic pride) linked to collective identities are found in tangible attributes of the city, but not only at private monuments and buildings, but also in specific places of the collective life. The acknowledgement of these intangible values is key in order to guarantee the conservation of several physical attributes, which appear to be humble, but may be of great significance to the local community because of their associated intangible values, or because of the traditional socio-cultural or economic activities related with them (Jigyasu, 2015). The conservation use of these values and associated elements is thus key in order to guarantee the qualitative planning of cities (Gabrielli, 2010).

The traditional approach to urban heritage conservation – as it was shaped in the second half of the twentieth century – has also proven to reach its limits in the new urban context. Amongst heritage specialists, there has been a little sense and awareness of how cities are mosaics of interrelated forms, assets and features, which relate to one other and are connected to the historical grain of the city. Awareness of the existence of historic features is not enough. How they fit together is critical (Gabrielli, 2010). Another dimension underemphasised by the traditional urban conservation approach was the central role of the identification and preservation of urban intangible values in the urban space (Bandarin, 2015).

Along this line, the Getty Conservation Institute (2000) confirmed that 'conservation cannot unify or advance with any real innovation or vision if we continue to concentrate the bulk of our conservation discourse on issues of physical condition. Conservation risks losing ground within the social agenda unless the non technical complexities of cultural heritage preservation, the role it plays in modern society and social, economic and cultural mechanisms through conservation works are better understood'.

The traditional mono-dimensional approach to heritage conservation also considered other aspects of the urban context (i.e., infrastructure, services, open spaces, transport systems, land use, tenure issues) as separate and completely unrelated components (Siravo, 2015). As a consequence, conservation too often remained at the level of dating and describing individual features and did not gone further than preservation of individual buildings, monuments and special areas that are architecturally or historically significant, or both (Gabrielli, 2010). Old structures divorced from their everyday context have also lost their social and economic life, becoming obsolete (Siravo, 2015).

The conservation of urban cultural heritage thus required a radical revision of its established paradigms. Heritage could no longer be conceived of as a separate reality, to be shielded from change and separated from the inevitable evolution of the urban context. On the contrary, all the elements that make up the historic urban area must be re-integrated with the other components of the social fabric (including the 'intangible' heritage) in order to understand their interdependent relationships and identify the best way to ensure their long-term continues preservation and functioning (Siravo, 2015).

In this context, researchers in the domains of landscape and ecologic urbanism have proposed a holistic approach towards urban planning, offering the possibility to observe, understand and manage cities in a unitary manner. The landscape urbanism approach was based on an understanding of the natural, physical, social and cultural context within which to operate. Its application required the use of different disciplines, methodologies and model in the landscape plan (i.e., classical design processes, planning approaches, discipline of cultural geography, natural sciences), which allowed to establishing a dialogue amongst different disciplines over the city context and its territorial dimension, without the need to define a new discipline with its own paradigms and doctrines (Bandarin, 2015). Since its appearance a decade ago, landscape urbanism has allowed an extensive array of experiences in all parts of the world, from the level of territorial planning on the urban scale, to small regeneration interventions on the built urban environment. The ecologic urbanism approach, on the other hand, supported principles similar to

landscape urbanism, but placing greater attention on the issue of sustainability, resource management and resilience, distancing itself from the cultural orientation that characterized the landscape approach (Bandarin, 2015). In fact, while tangible relationships are recognised through the ecological planning approach, intangible/spiritual relationships have not received the attention that they deserved (Jigyasu, 2015).

In Europe and in Western countries the traditional urban planning approach has been substituted by a more strategic planning process, which includes a variety of management, participatory and design tools, with the intention of understanding and reflecting in the plans the real problems and needs of the city and its citizens. This approach recognizes that the only way to move ideas and plans beyond the planning phase, and thus achieve significant impacts, is though the active involvement and participation of those who have direct interest in the area under development. For this reason, from the outset it requires the involvement of private and public interest groups operating within the area covered by the plan, including community groups, which are called to participate both in shaping the plan's objectives and policies and in implementing practical initiatives (Siravo, 2015). Thus, it is crucial to create lasting links and partnership arrangements with these stakeholders (Siravo, 2015). Public participation, however, is a complex and time-consuming exercise, which requires compromises and a balancing act between various stakeholder groups. However, without this dialogue all players are bound to lose, as little or no progress can be made in ameliorating unsatisfactory conditions and translating ideas into concrete actions (Siravo, 2015).

Now, spatial planning is widely recognized as the preferable approach to urban planning, as it is an interdisciplinary and comprehensive process that gives geographical expression to the economic, social, cultural, ecological and environmental policies and needs of society. It is intended as a coordinated system of methods, approaches, practices and policies used by the public and private sector to influence and affect the distribution and organization of people and activities in spaces of various scales (Van Assche, Beunen, Duineveld, & De Jong, 2013). Depending on the context where spatial planning is applied, the conservation of urban cultural heritage is integrated and regulated within the broader urban context. The Dutch and the Scottish governments, for instance, actively encourage the integration of heritage conservation with spatial planning, with the support of normative frameworks that gives proper place to tangible and intangible heritage values in the process of interpretation, planning and conservation of historic cities.

In other cases, however, even when spatial planning frameworks have been adopted, the conservation of urban cultural heritage cultural values has not received proper attention. As a result, many historic places have maintained their architectural appearances but have turned into empty shells, tourist supermarkets and theme parks (Bandarin, 2015). In fact, in order to sustain the cities vital function, intangible heritage values need a proper place in the process of interpretation, planning and conservation of historic cities, as they contribute to create the city's identity, liveability and character, and thus need to be evaluated and preserved. To sustain their vital function, cities have to be replenished and recreated through modernisation, adaptation and regeneration (Roberts & Sykes, 2000), while retaining and further building upon their character and identity (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012) and by guaranteeing that the system of relationships between the different parts of the city and the whole is maintained.

The 2011 UNESCO *Recommendation on the Historical Urban Landscape* opens important avenues for stimulating internationally a new way of rethinking the concept of urban cultural heritage and its conservation paradigm. As previously seen, this approach is particularly useful for cities in developing countries, in particular in Africa. HUL defines the role of urban heritage in society, and the parameters to be used in managing its conservation, evolution, and integration within the broader urban management and decision-making process, following the principles of both landscape, ecologic and spatial urbanisms (Bandarin, 2015). The HUL approach is not restricted to the traditional concept of 'historic area/centre/districts', but rather opened to the concept of 'urban heritage', which is a much more flexible, open-ended and people-driven approach to conservation (Bandarin, 2015). Thus, it can be used to respond to the new social and economic needs of contemporary cities, and to define innovative physical and social patterns,

valuing what centuries of experimentation in the design of urban spaces and form has given us. Its implementation can bring substantial changes and benefits to the urban environment. (Bandarin, 2015).

The HUL approach seeks to sustain the production of quality space and diminish the risk of homogenization and uniformity that many cities are facing in this urbanized world. To this end, HUL stresses the need to pay greater attention to the role that local communities play, both in the process of conservation and in maintaining the sense of place, the importance of their values and knowledge, as well as their creative capacity. Therefore, a highly participated approach is needed in order to be able to capture and fully utilise the knowledge, skills and strengths of different stakeholders and identify new opportunities for sustainable development (Van Oers, 2015).

The HUL approach to urban conservation fits well with the 'place-making' multi-faceted process and philosophy to planning, which capitalize on a local community's assets, inspiration, and potential, with the intention of creating public spaces that promote people's health, happiness, and well being. Jan Gehl says that "in a society becoming steadily more privatized with private homes, cars, computers, offices and shopping centers, the public component of our lives is disappearing. It is more and more important to make the cities inviting, so we can meet our fellow citizens face to face and experience directly through our senses. Public life in good quality public spaces is an important part of a democratic life and a full life" (Gehl, 2010). Thus, the intention is to create or restoring spaces that enable a given community to engage in social interactions and contribute to creating social capital. The latter can be measured and quantified as the higher the concentration of social capital, the higher is the perceived user value. A typical example is seen in many cities in China. Parks and gardens designed purely as western style artefacts (e.g., don't walk on the grass, walk this way) are empty. Parks and gardens that have some socio-cultural reference points (e.g., feng shui, indigenous plants and trees, rock gardens) are very popular and attract different users, age groups and interest groups throughout the day (You, 2012).

A HUL approach to urban conservation also ensures a better use of heritage, which is considered as a crucial and useful resource that can be utilized to serve society, rather than being served by society. It promotes a mixed-use of space and a more flexible rehabilitation of heritage buildings and public spaces, adapted to contemporary social or market-based demands, but in the respect of their associated historic, aesthetic, symbolic, and social values and attributes (Rojas, 2012). This approach, therefore, also contributes to guarantee the sustainability of a plan, as it makes the area more attractive to a wide variety of users, including private investors that demand space for developing residential, commercial, service, cultural, and recreational activities. It is therefore important that the understanding of heritage cultural significance is integrated with the acknowledge of the heritage potential use, in order to define the basis for well-developed strategies that sustain the heritage value and use its potential benefits to foster development. Economic values need to be considered as well in order to achieve the sustainable use of cultural resources (Frey, 2000; Navrud & Ready, 2002; D. Pearce & Mourato, 1998; Throsby, 2001). Finally, a landscape-based urban conservation plan guarantees the conservation of heritage legally, and invites each intervention within the city to reflect on the identity of the heritage. All this cannot be achieved through an architectural project (Gabrielli, 2010) or a traditional land-use plan.

To enable this broad understanding, HUL suggests an integrated approach to urban conservation, whereby the identification, conservation and management of historic areas are done within the broad urban context, by considering the interrelationships of their physical form, their spatial organisation and connection, their natural features and settings and their social, cultural and economic values (Jigyasu, 2015). HUL, therefore, views urban conservation as a complex and multifaceted discipline, which should be better integrated and framed within the urban planning and development process, and not just limited to the field of heritage resource management. Urban conservation, in fact, is seen as a continuous and evolutionary process, which is inherent to development and not opposite to it (Veldpaus et al., 2013).

Literature, on the other hand, indicates that there is to date no comprehensive theory on urban or territorial conservation capable of providing a conceptual operational basis to apply the HUL

approach. But, there have been many sector initiatives and practical attempts globally, which can be taken as reference and used to implement a landscape approach to urban conservation. Over the six years of policy review and best-practice analysis, done during the discussion and elaboration of the HUL Recommendation, the international community of practitioners identified four main types of tools that would be needed to this purpose (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). These tools are presented in detail in section 2.3.3, and relate to different disciplines mostly involved in the field of urban management, specifically in the area of civic engagement and participation, the analysis of the urban form, the reflection on the context and the spirit of place, the analysis of people's perceptions and memory in the creation of urban values, and finally, the understanding of the importance of the natural processes in guiding urban development and management and of the economic roles of the historic city (Bandarin, 2015).

Literature broadly recognized that the next step is to ensure a systematic, integrated and broad use of existing or new methods and operational tool sets in urban conservation, in order to support the marriage of heritage conservation with urban development. This will also stimulate the implementation of the HUL approach at a national and local level (Van Oers & Haraguchi, 2010) and thus the development of comprehensive urban conservation plans that utilise the city's unique potentials for sustainable development.

2.3 Second research cluster: Assessing heritage values for urban development

2.3.1 Characterizing heritage values

Heritage values[6] remain at the centre of all heritage practice and strongly shape the decisions that are made in heritage conservation and planning: they are what inspires people to get involved with heritage (Kelly, Mulgan, & Muers, 2002); what justifies legal protection, funding and regulations; and are concerned with giving an asset "heritage" status, deciding which asset to invest in, and planning for the future of historic sites. The definition and understanding of heritage significance is fundamental also to assess if a historic environment is vulnerable to harm and loss, to develop respect for its vulnerability, and to secure the historic environment for the benefit of present and future generations (Mason, 2002).

Despite the widely recognized critical role of values to define urban cultural heritage and to plan for its conservation, literature indicates that little is known about the actual magnitude of the heritage values (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). So that a comparative study of these values and evaluation methods is fraught with many difficulties, of both a methodological and empirical nature (Nijkamp, 2012).

In order to get a deeper understanding of the values of urban heritage, it is now useful to sketch a brief caricature of how the discourse of heritage value has evolved over the years. Until recent times the heritage field has been relatively isolated, composed of small groups of specialists and experts (De la Torre & Mason, 2002) and the discourse of heritage value has been almost exclusively a conversation between professionals and politicians (Kelly et al., 2002). These groups determined what constituted heritage and how to conserve it (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). As a consequence, the protection of urban cultural heritage has for long been primarily object-based and about the conservation or restoration of monuments, even in large-scale properties such as urban ensembles (Jokilehto, 1998; Whitehand & Gu, 2010). This approach has

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[6] The sense in which "values" is used in this research does not refer to ethics or morals, but to the qualities and characteristics that are associated to any particular asset or place.

often neglected the intangible dimension of cultural heritage (Veldpaus et al., 2013), and as such it has contributed to patterns of museum creation (Albert, 2012), gentrification and domestic migration (N. Smith, 1998).

But, as seen in Section 2.2.1, over the past decades the concept of what heritage is has expanded and the articulation and understanding of heritage values have acquired greater importance. Various scholars and organizations have tried to break down the concept of values and establish a typology in the attempt to facilitate the assessment and integration of different values in conservation planning and management (see Table 2.1) (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). Establishing a typology or a nomenclature of heritage values has proven to be problematic, but it is necessary in order to define some common grounds for comparison, to facilitate the discussion among heritage practitioners, and to guide their choices of appropriate assessment methods, keeping them from having to continually reinvent the wheel (Mason, 2002). Any value typology, however, should serve only as a starting point, as values types have to be adjusted and revised for each project and specific context.

Since Riegl's (1902) distinction between memorial and present-day values, several typologies of values have followed (Labadi, 2007), including in national and international heritage conservation guidelines. The *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972), for instance, refers to the notion of value as part of the notion 'outstanding universal value', and presents a set of cultural values when defining the notion of cultural heritage. Accordingly, the outstanding universal value of cultural heritage would be recognized for monuments and groups of buildings 'from the point of view of history, art or science' and for sites 'for the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view'(UNESCO, 1972). The *Burra Charter* (ICOMOS Australia, 1999) sees values as derived from cultural and historical values, and thus minimizes economic values. The typology suggested by the *English Heritage* (1997) is perhaps the most comprehensive and balanced, as the suggested value categories focus on how heritage is used and valued, whereas many other typologies resonate more with professional values and are strongly influenced by the notion of heritage's intrinsic value (Mason, 2002).

Table 2.1 – Summary of heritage value typologies devised by various scholars and organizations

Reigl (1903)	UNESCO, World Heritage Convention (1972)	English Heritage (1997)	ICOMOS Australia, Burra Charter (1999)
Age Historical Commemorative Use Newness	Value for monuments (historical, artistic, scientific) Values for groups of buildings (historical, artistic, scientific) Values for sites (historical, aesthetic, ethnological, anthropological)	Cultural Educational and academic Economic Resource Recreation Aesthetic	Aesthetic Historic Scientific Social (including spiritual, political, national, other cultural)

Source: Author based on Mason (2002)

The Australian professor David Throsby divides the heritage values into two broad categories, namely economic and socio-cultural values. But, Mason (2002) argues that economic and socio-cultural values are two alternative ways of understanding, conceptualizing and measuring the same, wide range of heritage values. In fact, many of the qualities described as socio-cultural values could be classed also as *non-use* economic values, because individuals would be willing to spend money to acquire them and/or protect them. The distinction proposed by Throsby, however, is widely shared and remains a very useful analytical approach (Mason, 2002).

Throsby's distinction of heritage values is presented here below.

Figure 2.1– The values of Urban Heritage

Economic values		

Use values		Non-use values		

Direct use	Indirect use		Existence	Inheritance	Philanthropic

Socio-cultural values						

Aesthetic	Symbolic	Spiritual	Social	Historic	Authenticity	Scientific
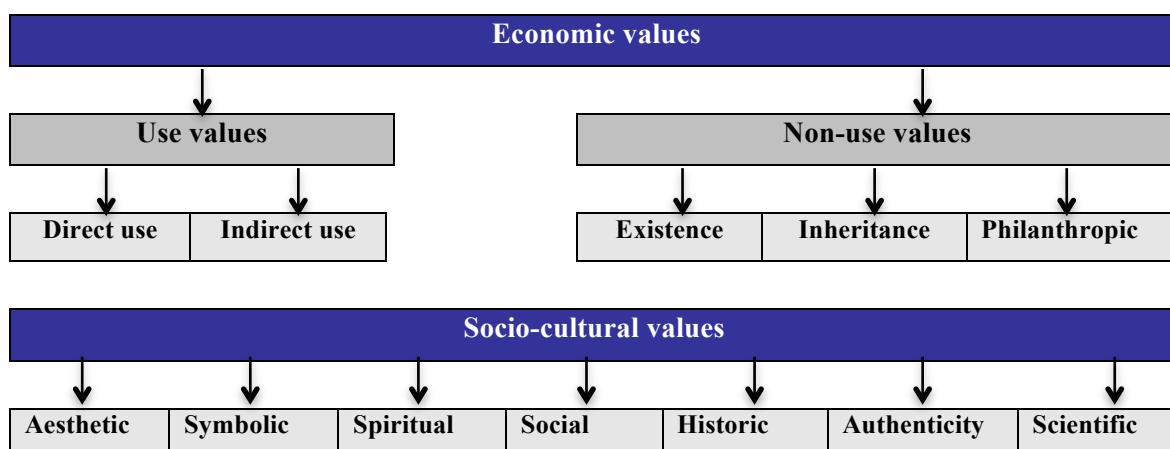
Source: Author based on Mourato & Mazzanti (2002); and Throsby (2002)

Economic values

According to neo-classical economic theory, economic values are the values seen primarily through the lens of individual consumer and choice (utility) and are most often expressed in terms of price (Throsby, 2001). Throsby divides the economic values into two categories, based on their use and non-use values, as follows:

- *Use (market) value:* Use values refer to those assigned to urban heritage by individual or social groups that appropriate its utility and/or the economic return it produces (Rojas, 2012). These can be *direct use values*, as in case of a heritage property used for offices that yield higher rents than other similar building by virtue of its heritage status. There are also *indirect use values*, such as the value gained by non-heritage properties that benefit from their location in proximity to heritage properties (Rojas, 2012). Use values can be expressed in terms of price, and are susceptible to economists' analytical tools (Throsby, 2001).

- *Non-use (non-market) value:* Non-use values capture the less-tangible economic benefits that the urban heritage affords (Rojas, 2012). They refer to the public-good qualities of heritage, which are "non-rival" (consumption by one person does not preclude consumption by someone else) and "non-excludable" (once the good/service is provided to anyone, others are not excluded from consuming it). Non-use values, for instance, are the *inheritance values* that reflect individual's or groups' interest in bequeathing the heritage asset to future generations; or the existence value, which captures the benefits that certain people derive from the fact that a specific heritage asset simply exists (Rojas, 2012). A public archaeological site exhibits these qualities very clearly (Mason, 2002). Non-use values are not traded in or captured by markets and are thus difficult to express in terms of price.

Socio-cultural values

Socio-cultural values are hard to define and quantify, as they are not immutable (De la Torre & Mason, 2002) and embody the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive – actual and potentials – characteristics (Mason, 2002). They contribute to regard a heritage property as significant (Pereira Roders & Hudson, 2011) and are considered subjective, as they are strongly influenced by the changes in time and are shaped by contextual and spatial factors of reference held by specific groups , such as social and historical forces, economic opportunities, and cultural and intellectual trends (Darvill, 1995; Mason, 2002).

The socio-cultural values relative importance depends upon an individual or public perspective, and all together they contribute to create the heritage 'cultural significance' and to determine a city's 'spirit of place'. People may value the material assets that constitute the environment in which they live for many reasons: for their distinctive, beautiful or inspiring architecture or landscape (intrinsic value[7]), because they are a safe and welcoming place to meet friends (instrumental value[8]) or for their role as focus of memory, identity or cohesion of a community (institutional value[9]) (Clark, 2006). Socio-cultural values sometimes can overlap and compete: a church, for instance, can have a spiritual/religious value, a historical value as well as an artistic value. Ashworth (1998), in fact, argues that different stakeholders can attribute different and often conflicting values to the same cultural heritage property.

Throsby (2001) disaggregates the socio-cultural values into some of their most important constituent elements, including:

- *Aesthetic values:* They refer to the visual qualities of heritage – the many interpretations of beauty, harmony, form and other aesthetic characteristics of an asset (Throsby, 2001) – and, in particular, to the benefits community members may derive from being in the presence of an object that is considered aesthetically beautiful (Rojas, 2012). This category can encompass also all the senses (e.g., smell, sound, feeling, sight), as a heritage site could be seen as valuable for the sensory experience it offers. Aesthetic value is a strong contributor to a sense of wellbeing (Mason, 2002). Under the general heading of aesthetic value it is possible to include also the relationship of the site to the landscape in which it is situated, that comprises all the environmental qualities relevant to the site and its surroundings (Throsby, 2012).

- *Symbolic values:* They refer to those shared meanings associated with heritage (political, ethic, or related to other means of living together) (Mason, 2002). For instance, the site may convey meaning and information that helps the community in which the site is located to interpret that community's identity and to assert its cultural personality. For example, the site may symbolize some event or experience of historical or cultural importance (Throsby, 2012).

- *Spiritual values:* They involve the identification by individuals and communities of buildings or places with their religious practices or traditions such as honouring theirs ancestors (Rojas, 2012). They may contribute to the sense of identity both of the community living in or around the site and also of visitors to the site; and provide them with a sense of connectedness between the local and the global (Throsby, 2012).

- *Social values:* They refer to the 'place attachment' aspect of heritage value, meaning the social cohesion and sense of connection with others, community identity, or other feelings of affiliation that social groups derive from a heritage site or asset (Mason, 2002). Social values arise when the heritage assets lead to interpersonal relationships valued by the community (Rojas, 2012) and refer also to the use of a site for social gathering such as celebrations, markets, or games, therefore activities that capitalize on the public-space and shared-space qualities.

- *Historic values:* They represent the capacity of a site or an asset to convey historical connections, including how it reflects the conditions of life at the time it was created, and how it illuminates the present by providing a sense of continuity with the past (Throsby, 2001). There are two important subtypes of historical value, namely the educational/academic

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7 The value of heritage in itself in terms of the individual's experience of heritage intellectually, emotionally and spiritually (Clark, 2006).

8 The value that refers to those effects of heritage where it is used to achieve a social or economic purpose (Clark, 2006).

9 The value that relates to the processes and techniques that organizations adopt to create value for the public. Institutional value is generated, or destroyed, by how organisations engage with their publics (Clark, 2006).

value (the potential to gain knowledge about the past in the future) and artistic value (based on an object's being unique, being the best, being a good example, being the work of a particular individual) (Mason, 2002).

- *Authenticity values:* The site may be valued for its own sake because it is real and unique (Throsby, 2012).

- *Scientific values:* The site may be important for its scientific content or as a source or object for scholarly study (Throsby, 2012).

2.3.2 Values assessment methods and tools

Literature indicates that the assessment of the values attributed to heritage is a very important activity in any heritage conservation, management and planning effort. This principle is confirmed by the *Burra Charter* (ICOMOS Australia, 1999), which argues that the understanding of the heritage cultural significance should come first, then the development of policy and urban development strategies, with related programmes and actions and finally the management of the place in accordance with the policy. This *Charter* also says that 'the aim of conservation is to retain the cultural significance of a place' (Article 2.2); which should be 'based on a respect for the existing fabric, use, associations and meanings' (Article 3.1), and 'should make use of all knowledge, skills and disciplines which can contribute to the study and care of the place' (Article 4.1). The 2005 *Xi'an Declaration* also emphasizes the importance of 'understanding, documenting and interpreting the setting'[10] as a means to 'defining and appreciating the heritage significance of any structure, site or area' (Article 3). It also outlines that 'understanding the setting in an inclusive way requires a multi-disciplinary approach, the use of diverse information sources' (Article 4) and the development of planning tools and strategies (ICOMOS, 2005).

A landscape-based approach to urban conservation acknowledges that also heritage economic values need to be considered to achieve the sustainable use of cultural resources. The estimation of the economic value of cultural heritage conservation, in fact, has increasingly been recognized as a fundamental part of cultural policy (Frey, 2000; Navrud & Ready, 2002; D. Pearce & Mourato, 1998; Throsby, 2001). Neglecting to take into account the economic value of cultural heritage conservation and the full costs and benefits of policies, regulations, and projects with cultural components can lead to suboptimal allocation of resources in the sector, investment failure, and continuous degradation of the world's cultural assets (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002).

Despite the broadly recognized importance of heritage values assessment in the context of urban conservation, literature indicates that research in heritage studies is still struggling to find pragmatic and operational modalities to evaluate the whole range of heritage values in the context of planning and decision-making (Mason, 2002). In the last two decades universities, professionals, international agencies and development banks have developed various techniques to assess the particular manifestations of values that urban heritage represents, in ways that can assist in policy formulation[11].

Mark Casson, (1993), Nathaniel Lichfield (1996), Xavier Greffe (2003) and Demos (2004), among others, have all made attempts to find a methodology to bridge the gap between heritage value and performance measure, but have not succeeded (Sorensen & Carman, 2009). The HUL

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[10] 'Setting' is definedas the *'immediate and extended environment that is part of, or contributes to, its significance and distinctive character'* (Article 1). 'Setting' includes the physical, visual and natural aspects as well as social and spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge and other intangible forms and expressions (ICOMOA Xi'an Declaration, 2005a).

[11] Detailed reviews of the various techniques can be found in Mitchell and Carson (1989); Freeman (1994); Pearce, Whittington, and Georgiou (1994); Bateman et al. (2002); Garrod and Willis (1999); Bateman and Willis (1999); Hanley, Mourato, and Wright (2001); Louviere, Hensher, and Swait (2000); and Bennett and Blamey (2001).

approach, on the other hand, is considered a valuable instrument to reinterpret the values of urban heritage (Jokilehto, 2010). The *civic engagement* and *knowledge and planning tools* defined by HUL can be used to evaluate a city's heritage and associated values, but to become operational they need to be properly developed in practice, tested and adapted to local contexts (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

Economists have also been paying an increasing amount of attention to 'cultural economics', in an attempt to assess the market and non-market values of and benefits derived from urban cultural heritage (Throsby, 2001). David Throsby, in particular, has contributed substantially on this debate, thanks to his ability to open up a dialogue between heritage professionals, who are concerned about the value and the conservation of heritage, and economists, who desire for a rational approach to assessing and are concerned with the formulation of economic and cultural policy. Aware of the market-dominated forces that are increasingly shaping conservation policies and practices, Throsby uses a language that economics and policy-makers can comprehend by treating heritage as a cultural capital[12] that gives rise to a flow of services, and that will deteriorate if it is not maintained, with consequent loss of economic[13] and social benefits[14] (Throsby, 2001).

It is now useful to present a review of various heritage valuation methods[15], which are described in detail in the sections here below:

- Quantitative valuation methods;

- Qualitative valuation methods; and

- Integrated Evaluation Approach.

Each of them produces a different set of knowledge and has different strengths and limitations as illustrated in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 – Strengths and weaknesses of evaluation methods

Methods	Strengths	Weaknesses
Quantitative evaluation methods	• Can provide wide coverage of the range of situations. • Can be fast and economical. • May be of considerable relevance to policy decisions, particularly when statistics are aggregated from large samples.	• Tend to be rather inflexible and artificial. • Not very effective in understanding processes or the significance that people attach to heritage assets. • Not very helpful in generating theories. • Makes it hard to infer what changes

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[12] Items of cultural heritage can be brought into the economic calculus by regarding them as assets with the usual characteristics attributable to economic capital: they require investment of resources in their manufacture or creation; they function both as stores of value and as long-lasting resources of capital services over time; and they will depreciate unless maintained. It can be suggested that heritage items are members of a class of capital which is distinct from other forms of capital; this class has been called cultural capital (Throsby 2010).

[13] For instance, the economic value of a heritage building could be realized by putting the building up for sale (Throsby 2010).

[14] Some intrinsic or assigned quality which stands apart form the financial worth and which reflects some evaluation of its cultural significance (Throsby 2010).

[15] Detailed reviews of the various techniques can be found in Mitchell and Carson (1989); Freeman (1994); Pearce, Whittington, and Georgiou (1994); Bateman et al. (2002); Garrod and Willis (1999); Bateman and Willis (1999); Hanley, Mourato, and Wright (2001); Louviere, Hensher, and Swait (2000); and Bennett and Blamey (2001).

		& actions should take place in the future.
Qualitative evaluation methods	• Ability to look a change processes over time. • Capacity to understand people's meanings. • Adjust to new issues and ideas as they emerge. • Contribute to the evolution of new theories.	• Data collection is time consuming and expensive. • Analysis and interpretation of data may be difficult. • Some people might give it low credibility, because it is based on few experiments in a modest number of contexts.
Integrated evaluation approach	• Can answer a broader and more complete range of research questions. • Complementarity. • Produces more complete knowledge.	• More expensive. • More time consuming. • The researcher has to learn about multiple methods and approaches. • Difficult for a single researcher to carry out, especially if expected to be done concurrently.

Source: Author based on (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012; Beebe, 1995; De la Torre & Mason, 2002; Low, 2002; Mason, 2002; Mitchell & Carson, 1989; Moser & McIlwaine, 2001; Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002; Nijkamp, 2012; Veldpaus et al., 2013).

This division does not pretend to identify the single best methodology, tool or approach, but to assess and organize the information that already exists on the subject of heritage valuation, exploring the conditions under which they may be applied.

Quantitative valuation methods

The economic literature offers a wide array of possible quantitative evaluation approaches (Mitchell and Richard Carson, 1989), also known as economic valuation methods. They have their roots in the positivist paradigm and entail a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research, which represents the view that hypotheses (drawn from existing theory) must be subjected to empirical scrutiny (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe, 2002).

Economic valuation methods pretend to assess the economic values associated with cultural heritage – that is, the flow of benefits arising out of a physical asset (D. W. Pearce & Atkinson, 1993). In fact, they generally adhere to the basic economic principle that the value of a good depends on the functions offered to and the use of it by the society at large (Nijkamp, 2012). In general, economic valuation refers to the 'use value' of a good, as described in Section 2.4.1. Nevertheless, in many cases there are also non-users who may attach a possible value to a cultural asset, even though this asset is not actually visited by them. For instance, non-users see it as their moral responsibility to protect and maintain a certain public good for future generations (Nijkamp, 2012). It is also clear that there are many intangible elements involved with the specific kind of use associated with a historic asset, and making a reliable monetary assessment of these elements in the framework of cultural heritage is not an easy task (Nijkamp, 2012).

Various methods used for the evaluation of environmental goods, are also used for the economic valuation of cultural heritage projects. Both domains, in fact, have several issues that are related: they both make up the environment context in which we live, both provides a wide range of direct and indirect benefits to humankind, and both are concern over the loss of diversity. In addition, several supporting pillars from the economics of environmental evaluation apply also to cultural goods, such as increasing scarcity, non-market values, and site specificity (Carruthers & Mundy, 2006; Navrud & Ready, 2002).

The existing quantitative valuation methods can be divided into four categories: (i) Revealed-preference methods; (ii) Stated-preference methods; (iii) Compensation methods; and (iv) Social cost-benefit methods. A concise overview of these methods is presented here below.

(i)   Revealed- preference methods

Revealed-preference methods look at 'surrogate markets' and analyze preferences for non-market goods as implied by the willing to pay (WTP) behaviour in an associated market (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). They are useful and theoretically sound, but their potential application in the estimation of the value attached to cultural sites is limited, as they cannot estimate option and non-use values and cannot evaluate future marginal changes in cultural assets (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002).

They include two main classes, namely the travel-cost method and the hedonic price method, which are presented here below:

- **Travel-cost Method** is based on the estimation of the total cost people are prepared to pay to visit a particular cultural site and represents the consumer's financial sacrifices – in terms of distance a visitor is willing to travel and the time is willing to devote – minus the actual costs of a visit, including entry tickets and accommodation costs (Nijkamp, 2012).

  This method has some intrinsic problems and limited applicability. It can only estimate visitor values for cultural heritage sites and is only useful for sites entailing significant travel (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). In addition, in the case of multipurpose trips it is hard to distinguish which part of the costs of the trip can be assigned to a particular cultural heritage good. A visitor can also derive utility from the trip itself or from the company in which the journey occurs. Despite these limitations, the travel-cost method has gained momentum in applied evaluation studies (Nijkamp, 2012).

- **Hedonic Price Method** is based on the idea that prices of heterogeneous goods derive from the attributes or characteristics variety (Nijkamp, 2012). The hedonic price model offers great potential to assess the additional economic value of real estate in the case of its location being adjacent to cultural assets. This approach also offers many opportunities for value transfer of findings from a given case study to comparable sites or monuments (Nijkamp, 2012).

  This method, however, carries some important limitations in the evaluation of cultural heritage. It does not measure non-use or option values and is only applicable to cultural heritage elements that are embodied in property prices. It also relies on the assumptions of a functioning and efficient property market (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). But in the reality, the information available on potentially relevant characteristics is limited and this implies the risk of omitted variable bias. However the recently emerging availability of large databases – constructed by land registry or cadastral offices – can provide detailed information on transactions in the real estate market, facilitating the use of this method (Nijkamp, 2012).

(ii)   Stated-preference methods

Stated preference methods are rooted in behavioural economics and use "hypothetical markets", described by means of a survey, to uncover what individuals are willing to pay (WTP) or are willing to accept in case of a change in the availability of a public good or service (Nijkamp, 2012). For a market good, the marginal willingness to pay is equal to its price. But, for a non-market good the evaluation of the willingness to pay is more complex. Cultural heritage offers many valuable benefits, which cannot be traded on a market, such as, for instance, the benefits of living in a historic city district. An optimal design of public policies for cultural heritage requires to estimate the willingness to pay also for non-market goods (Nijkamp, 2012).

The Stated preference methods include two main classes, namely the Contingent Valuation Method (CVM) and the Choice Modelling Method (CMM), presented here below:

- *Contingent valuation method (CVM)* relies on the creation of hypothetical markets where the good in question can be 'traded' (Mitchell and Carson, 1989). By means of an appropriately designed questionnaire, survey respondents are asked to make hypothetical choices, which are then analyzed as value judgements (Mason, 2002). Theoretically, the CVM assumes that stated WTP statements are related to respondents' underlying preferences. This contingent market defines the good itself, the institutional context in which it would be provided, and the way it would be financed. A random sample of people is then directly asked to express their WTP for a hypothetical change in the level of provision of the good (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002).

  The most often quoted criticism of CVM studies is 'Ask a hypothetical question and you will get a hypothetical answer'. Thus, it is necessary to examine what type of questions are likely to deliver useful information even when they are asked in regards to a hypothetical scenario (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). In order to address this issue it is useful to create a scenario that is sufficiently understandable, plausible, and meaningful to respondents so that they can and will give valid and reliable values (Mitchell and Carson, 1989).

  CVM has been extensively applied in both developed and developing countries to determine the economic feasibility of public policies for the improvement of environment quality (Mitchell and Carson, 1989). This method is considered the best available technique to estimate the total economic value of cultural assets, as it is able to capture all types of benefits from a non-market good or service, including non-use values (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002), which are important component of cultural assets. But there have been few applications of this method to cultural assets (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002).

- *Choice Modelling Method (CMM)* is based on choice experiments and is a family of survey-based methodologies for measuring preferences for non-market goods. It relies on the creation of hypothetical markets in which hypothetical choices are made by the survey respondents (Mason, 2002). Respondents are presented with various alternative descriptions of the good and are asked to do one of the following: (i) Rank the various alternatives in order of preference; (ii) Rate each alternative according to a preference scale; or (iii) Choose their most preferred alternative out of the set (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002).

  This method is considered very relevant for evaluating heritage and has advantages over the CVM in the analysis of goods of multidimensional nature. CMM brings together a structured economic theoretical framework, a powerful and detailed capacity of evaluation, and a great variety of application possibilities (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002). However, this method also suffers from the problems associated with survey techniques, as it presumes very well informed participants and does not capture well the intangible and difficult-to-price values (such as spiritual values) (Mason, 2002).

(iii)   Compensation methods

Compensation methods belong to the monetary analysis assessment category, which is based on the assumption that public policy serves to improve national welfare; consequently they require measurements of costs, benefits, and distributive effects (Nijkamp, 2012). These methods seek to define the sacrifices and revenues involved with a change in the availability or quality of cultural asset (Lazrak, Nijkamp, & Rouwendal, 2011). For instance, if a cultural heritage good needs to be restored, the financial compensation is estimated based on the conservation costs of this good. On the other hand, if a cultural good is demolished the financial compensation for the loss may be estimated by assessing the virtual costs of reconstructing the asset, or by the construction of a new heritage good with at least the same cultural quality value (Nijkamp, 2012).

Compensation methods are increasingly used in urban planning, however an important limitation that they present is the fact that they presuppose the substitutability of the good concerned, either in physical terms or in monetary terms. If a good is seen as exclusive or unique, then a major evaluation problem emerges (Nijkamp, 2012).

(iv)   Social cost-benefit methods

Social cost-benefit analysis has a long history in the economics of evaluation methods and includes a sophisticated toolbox that has been developed over the past decades, including two complementary evaluation methods, namely the economic impact assessment and the multi-criteria analysis methods.

- *Economic impact assessment methods* can be used for valuing various types of cultural heritage, in particular those that attracts large numbers of tourists (Snowball, 2008). Such studies try to monetize the direct and indirect effects of a concerned heritage asset on the area affected by its presence. To this end it is necessary to identify the main spending groups in the heritage impact area (Nijkamp, 2012). Cost-benefit studies have provided a meaningful contribution at the interface of tourism and cultural heritage (Nijkamp, 2012), but they have raised many methodological and conceptual concerns (Snowball, 2008).

  A limitation of this method is that it mainly focuses on the private good character of the arts, that is usually captured by market transactions, instead of merit or public good characteristics (Nijkamp, 2012). Costs can be measured relatively easily, but when cultural goods are free of charge the benefits are hard to quantify (Nijkamp, 2012). Another criticism is that the demarcation of the impact area influences the outcomes of the study, as depending on the size of the impact area there might be more or less alternative spending opportunities (Nijkamp, 2012).

- *Multi-criteria analysis methods* are quantitative judgement methods based on a multidimensional impact assessment, which has become a popular tool in many evaluation studies over the past decades. They do not require a monetary translation of relevant socioeconomic impacts, and are able to capture (assess and weigh) both qualitative and quantitative effects of plans and programmes (Nijkamp, 2012).

  These methods may be applied in the cultural heritage field, as they are based on the assumption that cultural heritage has multiple use dimensions and that its societal significance is hard to translate in a single common denominator, such as a monetary dimension. This approach allows to consider qualitative categorical information – social, environmental and cultural aspects – in economic evaluation and to address policy trade-offs by assigning policy weights to the different attributes of cultural heritage. This method is adequate in the case of the assessment of distinct alternatives to be decided on, but is less effective when it comes to a broader societal evaluation of cultural heritage (Nijkamp, 2012).

Qualitative valuation methods

Quantitative methods generate scalable results that can be easily cross-compared (Mason, 2002), which makes these methods preferably adopted by policy makers. David Throsby (2001), in fact, recommends the use of CV Method and Choice Modelling tools to assess heritage values. However, nor Throsby or other economics claim that economic values subsume all that is important in cultural heritage conservation policy and that not all values can be measured in monetary terms and be captured in actual financial flows (Hanemann, 1994).

Other relevant (non-monetary) cultural, religious, symbolic, and spiritual values also have a role to play in heritage conservation. There are many different kinds of socio-cultural values, which correspond to different ways of conceptualizing the value of heritage by different stakeholders groups. These values and the benefits they generate (economic, social and cultural), are clearly

multi-dimensional in nature. So, although it may be claimed that a full economic evaluation of the benefits of heritage is all that is necessary to capture the cultural significance of the heritage in question, it is important to realise that various aspects of the wider qualitative and multi-dimensional character of cultural heritage will remain unaccounted for (Throsby, 2001). The assessment of these qualitative aspects is also needed (Mason, 2002) in order to facilitate their integration in conservation planning and decision-making (Mason, 2002), as they are invaluable for revealing and documenting the diversity and variety of people's perceptions towards heritage.

These values, however, cannot be objectively measured and broken down; they are difficult to assess and define (Mason, 2002), and are resistant to quantification. Qualitative methods of investigation are useful in this regard, as they can be used to document and analyse perceptions, attitudes and motivations of those involved in the heritage process (Filippucci, 2009).

Qualitative techniques are more difficult to be defined, as they embrace a mosaic of orientations as well as methodological choices, depending on the different disciplines and professions where they are applied. Yin (2003) considers five features of the qualitative methods to arrive at a definition, as follows:

- Studying the meaning of people's lives, under real-world conditions;

- Representing the views and perspectives of the people in a study;

- Covering the contextual conditions within which people live;

- Contributing insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to *explain* human social behaviour; and

- Striving to use *multiple sources of evidence* rather than relying on a singe source alone.

Another important feature of qualitative techniques is that the process of data collection and data analysis is continuous and interactive (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002).

De la Torre & Mason (2002) state that the heritage field has routinely borrowed assessment methods from other disciplines specialising in the study of 'people', such as sociology and social anthropology, which can be deployed productively for advancing the understanding of heritage and for the purposes of policy. This is confirmed by Sorensen & Carman (2009), who say that urban heritage is the meeting and merging ground of many disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, architecture, urban planning, art, history, psychology, sociology and economics. Each discipline contributes to a different understanding of what heritage is and can provide and offers different tools to better approach its conservation.

It is now useful to present the main qualitative valuation methods used in the heritage field, which can be divided into two categories: (i) Expert analysis and research; and (ii) Anthropological-ethnographic methods. A concise overview of these methods is presented here below.

(i)   Expert analysis and research

The heritage conservation field can rely on expert appraisals, by architects, art historians, archaeologists and so on, who rely on scientific and documentary methods to define what to conserve and determine how to do it. The appraisal of the heritage value is usually done in accordance to a scale of values internal to the profession, which often does not consider others' knowledge and inputs and tends to avoid wider participation (Mason, 2002). On the other hand, the humanistic methodology of primary (archival) research, interpretation, and writing of historical narratives remains an effective way to construct and express knowledge about values (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). Secondary literature research is also relevant to construct and express knowledge about a heritage asset and related values, but must not be treated as a strategic methodology for quickly generating relevant information (Mason, 2002).

(ii)   Anthropological-ethnographic methods

Anthropology and ethnography include various qualitative methods that can be applied for assessing and measuring heritage socio-cultural values and thus identifying and codifying cultural significance (Throsby, 2001). These methods have been designed in the field of social anthropology and can help conservation professionals and managers understand the complexity of social relations and cultural dynamics at play in the conservation planning and development of heritage sites (Low, 2002). They include structured or unstructured interviews, focus groups with few key informants or with samples of hundreds, oral histories, mapping exercises, observation, and recording of the characteristics of material culture (Mason, 2002).

This collaborative approach, that helps to establish a relation and a dialogue between the heritage experts and the community involved, contributes to empower the community and to solve possible conflicts and preservation problems. Low (1987), in fact, suggests that most problems in cultural landscapes could be prevented with more dialogue between the community and the governmental agency. Another benefit of ethnographic research is to present and represent the cultural heritage of local communities within an overall heritage programming.

The anthropological-ethnographic methods that have been mostly adapted to heritage conservation are presented as follows:

- *Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure (REAP)* is a useful assessment methodology for planning, design, reconstruction, and management of heritage sites (Low, 2002). Multi-disciplinary teams of experts usually investigate socioeconomic conditions in a particular area, usually in less than a month or even a week (Ervin, 1997), with the aim to identify the elements of a local system and how they interrelate, through a qualitative data collection process of uncovering local knowledge (Low, 2002).

- *Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA)* methodology comprises a flexible menu of ethnographic and public-involvement techniques that aim to gather knowledge about the values and skills of non-experts about a certain topic, and to empower them (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). PUA uses group animation and exercises to facilitate information sharing, analysis, and action among stakeholders, with the aim to enable development practitioners, government officials, and local people to work together to plan context-appropriate programs (Moser & McIlwaine, 2001).

- *Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA)* is increasingly being recognised as a tool aimed at evaluating effectively the impact of potential development on the heritage values of a site. It considers the impact of any proposed project or change on the attributes that carry these values, both individually and collectively, by assessing the adverse impact on the appearance, skyline, key views and other attributes that contribute to the heritage values of historic urban landscapes (Jigyasu, 2015).

The methods usually applied in REAP, PUA and HIA are briefly presented below:

- *Physical traces mapping:* maps completed based on data collected early in the morning at each site, with the aim to record physical evidence of human activity and presence, and provide indirect information on what goes on at these sites during the night. This mapping presumes that there is a base map of resources and basic features available (Low, 2002).

- *Behavioural mapping:* maps that record people and their activities and locate them in time and space. They are useful to do planning and design analysis of the site, and to develop familiarities with the everyday activities and problems of a site. They are most effectively used in limited areas with a variety of social and economic uses (Low, 2002).

- *Transect walks:* record of what one or two community members describes and comments upon during a guided walk of a site (Low, 2002).

- *Surveys: carried out* to elicit simple data or complex responses, gathered in person or on paper. They can be designed in many ways and used in different fields, from market research in the business world to those done to collect data for sociological studies (De la Torre & Mason, 2002).

- *Individual interviews:* interviews collected from the identified populations, whose sampling strategy can vary from site to site. Usually, on-site users and residents who live near the site are interviewed (Low, 2002). Interviews can be structured or unstructured, focused on few key informants or consider a sample of hundreds. As REAP is a rapid procedure, the number of interviews is usually under 150.

- *Expert interviews:* interviews collected from people identified as having special expertise to comment on the area and its residents and users (Low, 2002).

- *Impromptu group interviews:* groups interviews from people that gather outside of public spaces or at special meetings set up with church or school groups. These interviews are also an educational opportunity for the community (Low, 2002).

- *Focus groups:* discussions with six to ten individuals selected to represent different social groups that are important in terms of understanding the site and local population (Low, 2002).

- *Participant observation:* researchers' observations and impressions of everyday life at the site, recorded on field journals, that integrate behavioural maps and interviews and enable data interpretation (Low, 2002).

- *Thick description:* seeks to deepen the understanding of the context and meaning of observed behaviour, and relies on the description of a heritage object, environment or process, based on the interpretation of the underlying cultural systems (Throsby, 2001).

- *Historical and archival documents*: collection and review of historical and archival documents, newspapers and magazines, which enable a thorough understanding of the history of the site (Low, 2002).

Qualitative methods thus are indispensable for the documentation and analysis of perceptions, attitudes and motivations of those engaged directly or indirectly in the heritage process. However, they can reveal 'too much' nuance for the purposes of policy, and for advancing the theoretical understanding of heritage (Filippucci, 2009). In other words, even in a field centrally concerned with 'people', the richness of qualitative data does not speak by itself: it must be made to speak by being related to a framework of analysis. In social anthropology, this framework is called 'comparative method', which assumes that insights about human phenomena in general may be derived from comparing and contrasting case studies (Filippucci, 2009). The aim is to compare and contrast an individual case with others in a search for patterns and regularities. Comparison, in fact, helps to clarify questions, such as: what does and what does not become heritage in a given case? Who does and does not engage with it? (Filippucci, 2009).

Integrated Evaluation Approach (IEA)

David Thorsby has contributed substantially to the debate on value assessment, recommending the use of an Integrated Evaluation Approach (IEA), which takes in account the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage. He states that the heritage economic value is relatively easy to measure, at least in principle, because it can be expressed in monetary terms through economic evaluation methods, such as cost-benefit analysis and contingent valuation methods (CVMs). The cultural significance and benefits of heritage, on the other hand, are not easily measured nor realistically rendered in monetary terms.

To address this challenge, Throsby attempts to unpack the notion of cultural value into its constituent elements[16] (i.e. aesthetic, spiritual, social, historical, symbolic, authenticity values), as a means of giving a clearer sense of the material from which the cultural value of heritage is formed. He then identifies a range of indicators which, when taken together, can provide an overview of the cultural value yielded by a given heritage building or place. These indicators would ideally represent a mix of public or community preferences and expert judgement, so that to provide the best-informed basis for decision-making (Throsby, 2001).

Throsby's integrated evaluation approach (IEA) is suitable to evaluate the cultural significance and benefits of urban heritage and to achieve a wider social and cultural definition of physical and cultural assets. In fact, it takes into account the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage and has the merit of attributing a clearer sense of "value" or cultural significance of a given heritage depending on how and where it was formed. IEA involves the collaboration of a multidisciplinary team, whereby the economists engaged in the economic analysis shall work alongside the team dealing with the evaluation of the heritage cultural significance (Throsby, 2001). In this regard, a critical issue that emerge from the application of this approach is the identification of who should be involved in the evaluation and preservation process and which role should be given to professionals and experts (Mason, 2006).

Difficulties, however, emerge in its application, as there are insufficient quantitative and qualitative scientific data available, financial resources are limited, and there is limited experience in this field. In addition, the constituent elements that Throsby identified to deconstruct the notion of cultural value need to be recalibrated based on the local cultural environment. Throsby's approach to heritage evaluation also considers the urban fabric as the sum of various individual assets; and not as a lively organism whose elements are interrelated as a whole. His approach is also mainly quantitative, which is not sufficient to understand how society perceives urban space and which are the values associated with it.

2.3.3 How to integrate value assessment in decision-making and urban planning

The evaluation of heritage values is a fundamental step in the process of adopting a holistic approach to urban heritage conservation, management and planning. As seen in the previous section, several heritage evaluation methods have been developed or readapted from different disciplines to identify, quantify or qualify heritage values, but new methods and operational tools need to be developed in order to support the translation of these values into policies, strategies and concrete actions (Mason, 2002). To this end, there have been a variety of sector initiatives and practical attempts, which need to be re-conceptualised and integrated into a flexible, operational framework applicable to the guidance of the transformation of historic settlements (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

It is useful to present some of these methods, which are described in detail in the following sections:

- Expert decision-making process;
- Planning process methodology;

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[16] Aesthetic value (beauty, harmony); Spiritual value (understanding, enlightenment, insight); Social value (connection with others, a sense of identity); Historical value (connection with the past); Symbolic value (objects or sites as repositories or conveyors of meaning); Authenticity value (integrity, uniqueness) (Throsby 2001).

- Spatial analysis methods and tools; and

- Historic Urban Landscape approach.

Expert decision-making process

The expert decision-making process in evaluation (see Figure 2.2) mainly relies on the evaluation of heritage significance by scholars and conservation experts. They usually consider scientific and documentary methods (see section 2.3.2) to define what to conserve and determine how to do it, and their heritage assessment is done in accordance to a scale of values internal to the profession (Mason, 2002). The methodology of primary and secondary literature research represents another effective way used by experts to construct and express knowledge about values (De la Torre & Mason, 2002).

Figure 2.2 – Traditional Expert Decision-Making Process
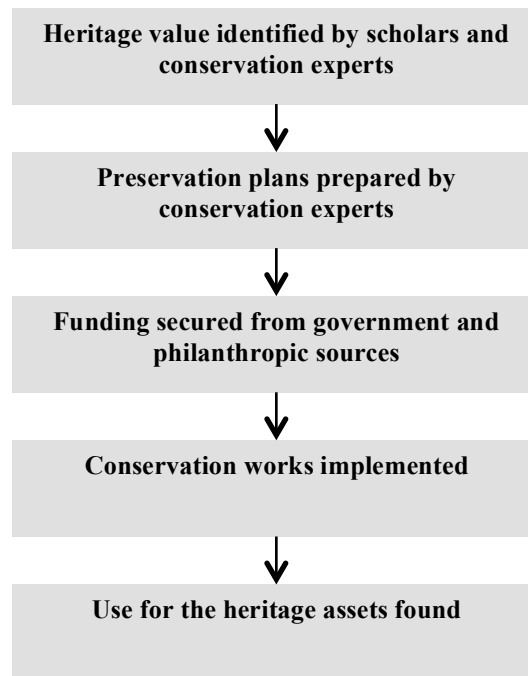
Source: Rojas (2012)

The traditional conservation decision-making sequence, which mainly relies on experts' evaluation of heritage significance, is not sufficient. In fact it mainly focuses on the physical qualities of the heritage buildings and assets and is usually based on a limited number of established criteria. As a consequence, the protection of heritage is primarily about the conservation or restoration of monuments, even in large-scale properties such as urban ensembles (Jokilehto, 1998; Whitehand & Gu, 2010), often neglecting the intangible dimension of heritage (Veldpaus et al., 2013), and as such contributing to patterns of museum creation (Albert, 2012) and gentrification (N. Smith, 1998). In addition, this approach usually does not consider the uses and potential partners that may contribute to sustaining the preserved heritage asset, and cannot mobilize all possible human resources and funding for its preservation and management.

As a consequence of the shift toward an urbanistic conservation practice, an outward-looking approach is needed, which is more engaged with other fields, institutions and ideas; connects arguments for preservation to other non-heritage plans for the place; and links conservation goals to society's broadest wants and needs. With such an approach, heritage is best positioned to be

more relevant to the majority of a society, and conservation becomes more socially and politically engaged and a more viable part of the place's future development (Mason, 2006).

Planning process methodology

ICOMOS Australia, the Getty Conservation Institute and Mason advocate for the adoption of a planning process methodology to match investigations, decisions and actions. The ICOMOS *Burra Charter* captures a general decision-making regime in a diagram illustrated in Figure 3.4 (Mason, 2006). A second diagram published by the Getty Conservation Institute shares important features of the *Burra* process (Figure 3.5) and emphasizes the central role of creating a statement of significance, not simply as a listing of the site's values, but as a synthesis of them.

Figure 2.3 – The *Burra Charter* Values-centered Decision-Making Sequence

1. Understanding significance
1.1 Identify place and associations (secure the place and make it safe)
1.2 Gather and record information about the place sufficient to understand significance (documentary, oral, physical)
1.3 Assess significance
1.4 Prepare a statement of significance

2. Develop Policy
2.1 Identify obligations arising from significance
2.1 Gather information about other factors affecting the future of the place (owner/manager's needs and resources, external factors, physical condition)
2.2 Develop policy (identify options, consider options and test their impact on significance)
2.3 Prepare a statement of policy

3. Manage
3.1 Manage place in accordance with policy (develop strategies, implement strategies through a management plan, record place prior to any change)
3.2 Monitor and review

Source: Author based on Mason (2006).

Figure 2.4 – Getty Conservation Institute values-centered preservation planning process

1.   Identification and Description (Collecting Information)

1.1 Aims (what are the aims and expectations of the planning process?)

1.2 Stakeholders (who should be involved in the planning process?)

1.3 Documentation and Description (what is known about the site and what needs to be understood?)

2.   Assessment and Analysis (Taking Stock)

2.1 Cultural Significance/Values (why is the site important or valued and by whom is it valued?)

2.2 Physical Condition (what is the condition of the site or structure; what are the threats?)

2.3 Management Context (What are the current constraints and opportunities that will affect the conservation and management of the site?)

3.   Response (Making decisions)

3.1 Establish Purpose and Policies (for what purpose is the site being conserved and managed? How are the values of the site going to be preserved?)

3.2 Set objectives (what will be done to translate policies into actions?)

3.3 Develop Strategies (how will the objectives be put into practice?)

3.4 Synthesize and prepare plan

4.   Periodic review and revision

Source: Author based on Mason (2006).

Mason (2002) represents a planning process methodology that includes a step in which the significance of the site or building in question is established (see Figure 2.5), with the aim to generate and collect knowledge about values and to identify its use within the overall planning process.

Figure 2.5 – Mason's planning process methodology

Identification and Description   **Assessment and Analysis**   **Response**
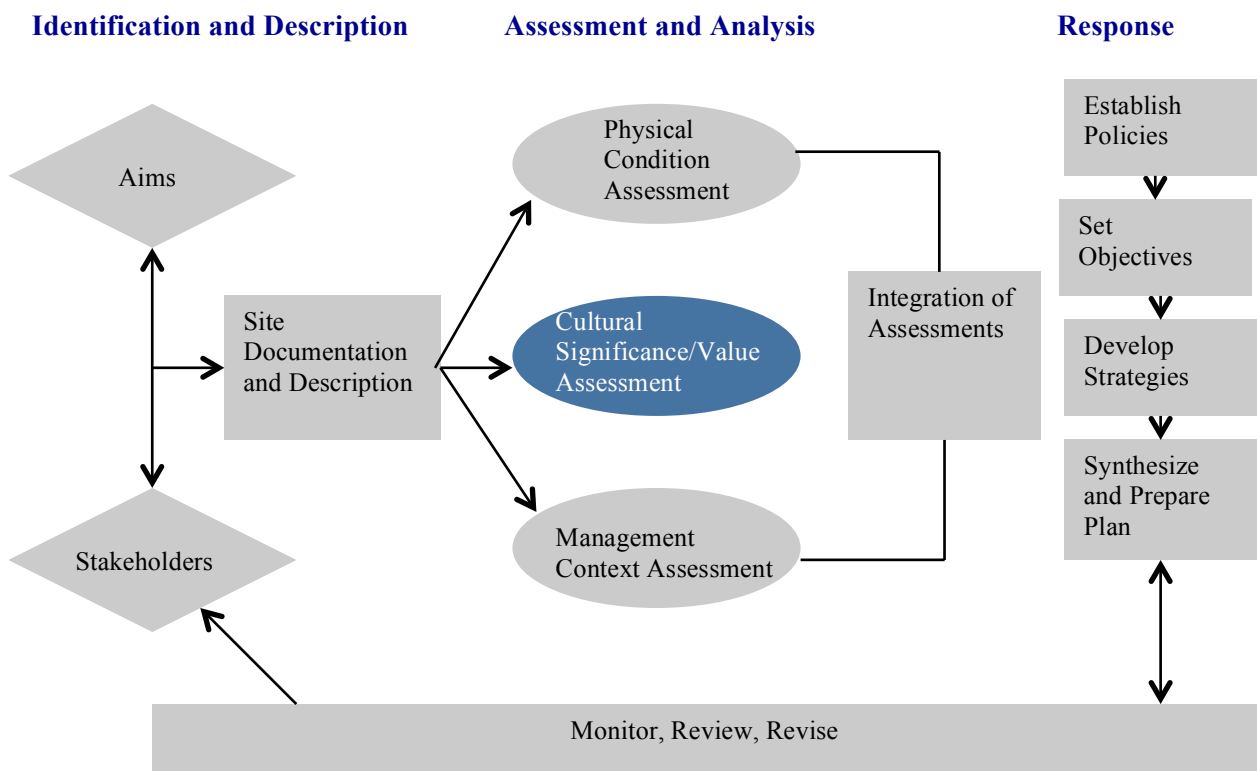
Source: Mason (2002)

Mason (2002) suggests four steps for integrating value assessments in the planning process and influence decision-making, namely:

- Create statements of significance, which synthesize the reasons behind all the decisions and actions to be taken for the site (e.g., conservation, development). A statement or statements of significance is defined by the professional team based on the plural, perhaps even contradictory, values as interpreted from the perspectives of the various stakeholder groups involved on the values assessment. It shall be expressed in terms that are understandable to all stakeholders, and its creation starts with cataloguing and articulating all aspects of the site significance, without prioritizing some values over others (Mason, 2002). To introduce some sense of priorities, Pearson & Sullivan (1995) and Kerr (2000) suggest not to rank categorically the values importance, but to evaluate the degree of importance of a particular value (e.g., unique, important, typical) of a site when compared with that value in related sites considered in the decision-making domain.

- Match values to the physical attributes of heritage to evaluate the connections between specific physical aspects of heritage and specific values, with the aim to inform management, plans and decisions, and thus monitor how values are affected by material interventions or management decisions. This matching occurs at the end of the assessment phase and can be done by mapping the physical elements of the site investigated and linking them with the associated values. The most important heritage assets will likely be the focus of conservation and management interventions (Mason, 2002).

- Analyze threats and opportunities against the statements of significance and their association with particular material aspects of the site (Mason, 2002). Threats can be both physical (e.g., from environment factors, vandalism or violence, from neglect or poor management, from economically driven redevelopment), than cultural (e.g., from social or political forces that

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produce changed in meaning and valuing). The opportunities encountered at sites (e.g., economic, political, interpretative) should also be considered in this analysis, as they can have an impact on the value-material assets. Threats and opportunities can be defined against the context of the conservation and management goals of the stakeholder groups that have a role in governing or influencing the site. "One stakeholder's threat may be another's opportunity" (Mason, 2002).

- Make policies and take actions upon the values identified. The steps to be taken will vary from site to site, depending on institutional setup, organizational cultures, and other issues raised in the management context assessment (See Section 3.2.1). Mason, (2002) argues that there are some robust decision-making processes and protocols available and used in other fields, in particular in environmental conservation, but that none of them are a priori appropriate to heritage conservation. Sexton, Marcus, Easter, & Burkhardt (1999), based on the analysis of several decision-making tools used in the environmental conservation field, argue that there are no hard-and-fast rules or procedures for making effective decisions, but a lot of experimentation and improvisation are required. They suggest the following guidelines: (i) Build mutual trust and understanding; (ii) Adopt sustainability as a unifying principle; (iii) Take shared responsibility; (iv) Institutionalize public participation; (v) Continually refine and use decision-making tools; (vi) Collect and analyse important information; (vii) Use incentives to encourage innovation (Sexton et al., 1999).

Mason (2002) also states that the assessment of heritage physical conditions and values shall be preceded by the Assessment of the Management Context, which refers to a number of factors that affect the capacity of people and organizations to decide, direct, and implement any plans that are formulated. This includes the analysis of concerns such as financing, institutional architectures, legal and regulatory frameworks, and available personnel. Other issues are related to political factors such as power and influence relationships, which shape the interactions and capacities of the various stakeholders in the site. Mason (2002) argues that some of the methods for management assessment used in the fields of urban planning and business management can be adopted for the Assessment of the Management Context.

Mason (2006) begs an important question: Should some values be elevated, *a priori*, over others? To answer this question, it is very important that the heritage values traditionally defined by experts are combined to the values that other stakeholders see, and thus consider a full range of historic and contemporary values. By doing so, heritage experts are taken beyond their comfort zone of expertise and into areas where the rest of society senses additional values that experts might not see (Mason, 2006).

The planning process methodologies advocated by ICOMOS Australia, the Getty Conservation Institute and Mason provide a good starting point for the analysis of urban heritage in the context of decision-making and planning. In particular, Mason's approach provides a valuable and comprehensive operational framework for this purpose. But, they are still limited in scope, as their concept of heritage is still circumscribed to the notions of "place" and "site" and thus they lack a broader landscape approach to heritage conservation and planning. However, they can be readapted for the analysis of heritage within a broader landscape approach. Particularly valuable is the five steps process suggested by Mason for integrating values assessment in the decision-making and planning process.

Spatial analysis methods and tools

The field of urban planning is a valuable source for extending the understanding of heritage values and supporting their integration into decision-making and actual planning. Dealing with decisions on urban, social, environmental, infrastructural, and economic development issues, planners have developed and employed various spatial methods and tools for engaging multiple stakeholders, studying and understanding the territory, and taking decisions for its development

and conservation. Methods often include surveys, public meetings, focus groups, key-informant interviews, visioning exercises (*charette*), GIS mapping and participatory planning (De la Torre & Mason, 2002).

The heritage field can rely on these spatial analysis methods and tools to extend the understanding of heritage values, and identify how they affect development decisions and actions. Besides, the methods used for the appraisal of the context under investigation (i.e., Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure – REAP and Participatory Urban Appraisal – PUA) presented in section 2.3.2, other participatory planning tools can be very useful. The organization of a *charette*, for instance, is very effective to provide a common direction and a shared understanding of priorities when preparing complex urban plans. It is a session of intense planning in which different institutions and stakeholders work together in a collaborative manner. Its most important aspect is that it concludes with an outcome that is shared by all, or at least a majority of group members. A *charette* provides important benefits for a more effective, faster and risk—controlled implementation (UN-Habitat, 2013).

Mapping is another basic method already used by conservation professionals, architectural and landscape designers, and planners for approaching any project (De la Torre & Mason, 2002), as they deal with physical space and thus need to understand spatial relationships in the cities they are planning. Mapping the attributes of a city, involving physical, geographical, social, anthropological and heritage elements, helps to establish an overall framework, to visualize data and think spatially. This knowledge can inform the assessment of each of the elements of cultural significance (Throsby, 2001). Interactive mapping, for instance, is an useful type of mapping methodology that allows to record information provided by community members or other non-professionals (De la Torre & Mason, 2002).

The analytical potential of mapping techniques has improved with the introduction and wide use of geographic information system (GIS) based mapping. This system is useful for organizing and analysing the data available, coordinating visual data and capturing the visual morphology of the city (Smith, 2015). Urban heritage can be mapped at different scales: for small-scale site GIS maps help keeping track of the precise location of heritage assets; at more macro levels GIS can be used to map attributes of civilizations and their relationship to natural landscape at one point in time or over time.

The GIS-based mapping system, however, has its limitation when recording the urban experience. But, it can be supplemented with cultural maps that often come closer to the truths of the city. Environmental psychologists and others have developed cultural mapping practices to map different cultural realities and thus expand the recording of the city's urban experience beyond observation. In fact, it is through this layering of experience that one can understand and evaluate the cultural richness of a place. At the same time, the use of more creative mapping systems raise the question about how the information obtained can be condensed and articulated in ways that become useful for design and development. These tools, therefore, must be integrated into the planning framework (Smith, 2015).

Spatial methods and tools are valuable for extending the understanding of heritage values and supporting their integration into decision-making and actual planning. They provide several opportunities to the heritage field, which are outlined as follows:

- Allow to visualize data, think spatially and to understand spatial relationships in cities;
- At macro levels it maps attributes of civilizations and their relationship to urban landscape;
- Help keeping track of the precise location of heritage assets;
- Create a useful database and cadastre to be used for heritage evaluation methods;
- Helps to better organize and analyze the data available.

On the other hand, there are some limitations in the use of spatial methods and tools, which are presented as follows:

- Requires knowledge of GIS software and operations;
- Requires knowledge on participatory planning methods and tools;
- Expensive;
- Time consuming;
- Difficult for a single researcher to carry out.

Historic Urban Landscape approach

The HUL approach provides a conceptual and operational framework to foster sustainable urban conservation and management, suggesting a critical process of identification and analysis to arrive at informed decisions regarding the policies and tools needed to achieve this goal (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015). In order to facilitate the implementation of the HUL Recommendation by local governments and city councils, and to seek a reconnection between disciplines and professional practices to create synergies, a six-step HUL Action Plan was elaborated. It suggests the following set of actions (Van Oers, 2015):

a. Undertake comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city's natural, cultural, and human resources (such as water catchment areas, green spaces, monuments and sites, view sheds, local communities with their living cultural traditions);

b. Reach consensus by participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on values to protect and to transmit to future generations and to determine the attributes that carry these values;

c. Assess vulnerability of these attributes to socio-economic pressures and impacts of climate change;

d. Integrate the outcomes a, b and c into a wider city development strategy (CDS) or a city conservation strategy (CCS) to integrate urban heritage values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework of city development, the overlay of which will indicate (i) strictly no-go areas; (ii) sensitive areas that require careful attention to planning, design and implementation; and (c) opportunities for development (among which high-rise constructions);

e. Prioritize policies and actions for conservation and development;

f. Establish the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks for each of the identified projects for conservation and development in the CDS/CCS, as well as to develop mechanisms for the coordination of the various activities between different actors, both public and private (UNESCO, 2011).

The first three steps of the HUL action plan deal with an extensive identification, mapping assessment and discussion of the city's values and sense of place, namely the tangible and intangible heritage and their respective physical and associated attributes, that the majority of the community considers essential not to lose when further developing the city. When preparing broader developments as well as detailed intervention plans, HUL outlines the need to perform Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA), in order to assess what the vulnerabilities are in terms of socio-economic as well as climatic impacts. To reach this knowledge and a reasonable degree of consensus HUL stresses the need to involve the

participation of a wide range of public, private and civil society leaders, who normally do not have many occasions to meet and work together (Van Oers, 2015).

Once a comprehensive picture of the city's unique character has emerged, and its vulnerability to change has been determined, this information can be integrated into a vision for the future of the city and subsequent elaboration of a CDS or a CCS, with the aim of establish in a synergetic manner policies and actions for conservation and development, which involve different constituencies and various disciplines and professional practices needed for the day-to-day running of the city as a whole. Cross-sectoral communication and information sharing between different actors and institutional levels is thus necessary to avoid incoherence with potential damaging effects. Another essential element concerns the establishment of the necessary partnerships and management frameworks to guide and integrate each and every significant action affecting the historic city. The challenge is then to integrate this action plan into the city's (or nation's) planning framework (Van Oers, 2015).

The international community of practitioners has identified four main types of tools that would be needed to support the application of the HUL stepped approach and thus regulate and facilitate heritage management in contemporary and dynamic urban contexts (UNESCO, 2011).

- *Civic engagement tools:*

They seeks to involve a diverse cross-section of stakeholders and facilitate: (i) Intercultural dialogue and cooperation between various groups; (ii) Mediation and negotiation between conflicting interests and groups; (iii) Analysis on the interest, role and function of different groups in urban heritage conservation and management; and (iv) Definition of their involvement in the whole process (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). They are based on the recognition that the management of heritage rests in the hands of its creators and custodians, not in the hands of absent caretakers (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015).

Cultural mapping, broad consultations, workshops and seminars in the decision-making process are important tools to foster civic engagement; raise awareness among stakeholders on heritage values; empower them to identify key values in their urban areas; develop visions that reflect their diversity; develop work plans; and specify rights and responsibilities of the various stakeholders. The implementation of the work plans also requires community engagement tools, in order to guarantee that the participatory and collaborative actions of stakeholders can be carried out in practice. Special educational and training programmes for the stakeholders involved in the conservation initiative should also be established (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

- *Knowledge and planning tools:*

These tools are needed to read and interpret the relevance and meaning of the urban landscape, namely the essential attributes of historic areas that give them identity and diversity; and define how to conserve the forms, spaces, and meanings that communities choose to remember collectively (Jigyasu, 2015).

For reading, interpreting and analysing the urban landscape, mapping and measuring tools for knowledge and data gathering can be used. Detailed surveys and inventory of the historic areas and the surroundings can be carried out, including the analysis of architectural, social, economic, cultural, environmental and technical data (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). Different tools can be used to support the development of appropriate conservation plans and regulating interventions in historic areas, and to make decisions and choices aimed at protecting, enhancing and improving the urban landscape. These tools include SWOT analysis, visioning and strategic planning tools, cultural heritage impact assessment, environmental impact assessment and the analysis of the management system (Hosagrahar, 2015).

- *Regulatory systems:*

These tools are needed to build context relevant legislative and regulatory measures that aim at the conservation and management of the tangible and intangible attributes of the urban heritage, including their social, environmental and cultural values (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

Regulatory systems encompass a group of tools that directly or indirectly shape the urban landscape, influencing its character and features. These regulatory tools, however, are not necessary urban landscape specific. In fact, there are different laws at the local, regional, and national level and international treaties that address, and thus have an impact on, the larger scale of the city or settlement and can range down to the small-scale of an individual property. Specific historic preservation legislation directing attention to cultural heritage is globally widespread, although cultural heritage is not afforded specific legal protection in some cultures (O'Donnell, 2015). It is therefore necessary to support the development or improvement of a legal framework that guarantee the protection of heritage. The HUL approach, in fact, in order to be effective and fully efficient would need to be embedded in a larger framework of polices and strategies, both at the national and local level (Van Oers, 2015).

- *Financial tools:*

Not even the most prosperous governments in the world have available the financial resources necessary to restore and maintain all of the heritage assets worthy of conservation. Additional non-public funds are necessary and can come from other sources, such as from the private sector, owners, and institutions. Financial tools are thus needed to build capacities and support innovative income-generating opportunities, in order to encourage or facilitate the investment of capital into heritage assets, and thus allow effective heritage management (Rypkema, 2015).

These tools involve multiple source financing and investments schemes, and complex cost recovery mechanisms, incentives and subsidies (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). Amongst the most effective in promoting heritage investment are: grants, micro loans, property tax reductions, tax credits, transferable development rights, public private partnerships. Which tools can be used in which countries varies based on local enabling legislation, the political and economic systems, the priority of heritage as a public policy goal, and other variables (Rypkema, 2015).

2.4 Urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa: an élite concept or a development opportunity?

2.4.1 Urbanisation in sub-Saharan Africa: scale, challenges and opportunities for development

African cities are considered by the World Bank "underutilized resources that concentrate much of the country's physical, financial, and intellectual capital and will inevitably continue to do so". They are engines of growth and centres of innovation, creativity and economic development, whose global role have expanded and is due to grow even more in the future (Kessides, 2005).

In 2014, out of a world's population of 7,2 billion, 54% was urban (3.9 billion). This proportion is projected to reach 66% by 2050, out of a total population of 9.5 billion (6.4 billion), representing an increase of 2.5 billion urban dwellers within roughly 35 years (United Nations, 2014). Although all of the world's regions are expected to urbanize further in the next decades, 90% of the additional urban dwellers are likely to concentrate in Asia and Africa, whose urban populations account for 40% and 48% respectively in 2014. The remaining 10% will be shared between Europe, whose urban population is projected to grow from 73% (2014) to over 80% in 2050, and the Americas where the level of urbanization already accounts for around or above

80%. Most megacities and large cities are located in the global South and are expected to grow in number and proportion of the global urban population by 2030. The world's fastest growing cities have 0.5 to 1 million inhabitants and are located in Africa and Asia. Conversely, some cities in Europe and Asia have experienced a population decline since 2000 (United Nations, 2014).

In the developing world, Africa has experienced the highest urban growth during the last two decades at 3.5% per year and this rate of growth is expected to continue to 2050. Rural-urban migration and natural population growth rates in cities are the major causes of the increasing rate of urban growth and slum proliferation in Africa. Projections indicate that between 2010 and 2025, some African cities will account for up to 85% of their national population. This rapid expansion has changed the continent's demographic landscape. However, there are large variations in the patterns of urbanization across African regions. North Africa has a higher proportion of urban population (47.8%) relative to sub-Saharan Africa (32.8%). The relatively fewer slums in North African countries is mainly attributed to better urban development strategies, including investment in infrastructure and in upgrading urban settlements. In contrast, sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest proportion of urban population (32.8%), but the highest proportion of slum dwellers (65%) (African Development Bank, 2012).

Urbanization in Africa has failed to bring about inclusive growth, which, in turn, has resulted in rising inequality, proliferation of slums and urban poverty. Inequality in African cities remains the second highest in the world with an average Gini coefficient of about 0.58, well above the average of 0.4 (African Development Bank, 2012). 65% of sub-Saharan Africa's population lives in slums, which are densely populated, poorly constructed, are served by poor mobility systems and are lacking in almost all forms of infrastructure and basic services (only 20% of sub-Saharan Africa's population has access to electricity). In slums, in addition, many experience acute security and health problems; have no legal rights to their land; are highly vulnerable to natural disasters; and are dependent on the informal sector for survival, which is expanding (UN-Habitat, 2012).

Urban poverty, on the other hand, is a complex phenomenon and many aspects and dynamics of deprivation suffered in the cities have not yet been investigated. In recent years an extensive body of literature has emerged on the definition, measurement and analysis of poverty[17], as only through a deep understanding of its causes and characteristics it is possible to identify adequate strategies to alleviate it. Urban poverty is not solely income or consumption-related, but includes political, social, environmental and cultural dimensions. Vulnerability can be manifested, for example, in denied dignity, lack of power, choice and security; and can be related to insecurity of land tenure; unaffordable access to housing, social services (particularly health care and education), and to sufficient and adequate basic services (low-cost water supply, hygienic sanitation facilities, safe sewerage and waste disposal systems) (UN-HABITAT, 2003); reliance on the cash economy; exposure to multiple pollutants, crime, violence and natural disasters; lack of community and inter-household mechanisms for social security (Baker and Schuler, 2004).

Rapid urbanization is not only determining urban expansion, but also greater pressure on SSA cities more central areas. Unregulated and poorly planned market-driven real estate development initiatives and foreign investments frequently result in property and land speculation, excessive building density, high-rise buildings, spatial fragmentation, loss of public space and amenities, inadequate infrastructure, social inequality, and a drastic deterioration of the quality of the urban environment. This development can totally transform a traditional town, which was earlier distinguished by a mixture of housing and other activities, into a single-function area where only a few representative buildings remain without any coherent interconnection (UNESCO, 2008).

Urbanization is also playing a rather destructive role vis-à-vis urban heritage, which is subject to intense pressures due to neglect, decay and population shifts, development of central areas, and

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[17] For a summary and list of references, see Coudel, Hentschel, and Wodon, "Poverty Measurement and Analysis" in World Bank, 2002, A Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies, Chapter 1. Web link: http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/strategies/sourctoc.htm

building substitutions and alteration, among others. In certain countries marked by high rate of development (i.e. China and South East Asia) a large part of the traditional urban structures and heritage has been lost. In Latin America and Africa similar processes are underway. With the exception of the sites protected under the UNESCO's World Heritage Convention, many historic centers are threatened and many will disappear in the coming one to two decades, should the development rates experienced in the past 30 years continue unabated and the governments not address the issue through the development of policies and actions (Jigyasu, 2015).

Despite Africa's clear urbanization trend and threads to its cultural heritage, little have being done so far to reduce the harmful consequences of urbanization or to maximize its potential benefits, especially in sub-Saharan Africa countries. Heritage conservation, moreover, is not considered a priority in Africa's development agenda and investments, as the attention has been mainly drawn by other priorities such as basic services and infrastructure provision and access to health care services.

This situation has been compounded for many years by anti-urban bias in "development" policies (Jenkins, 2012). National government and international aid organizations, including nongovernmental groups and the bilateral aid organisations, tend to privilege rural development. They view urbanization as a problem to be contained rather than an inevitable trend that necessitates policy changes or an opportunity for sustainable development and, thus, are reluctant to allocate resources for urban development. Ignoring this reality and overlooking the urbanization of poverty will make impossible either to plan for inevitable and massive city growth or to use urban dynamics to help relieve poverty and promote sustainable development (UNFPA, 2007).

Only recently, the dramatic urban demographic growth described above has been increasingly recognised as an important development issue across the globe. The quality of life in urban areas underpins the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, adopted at the United Nations (UN) Special Summit in New York in September 2015.[18] At the Agenda's core are the closely interlinked 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their 169 targets, which integrate and balance the three dimensions of sustainable development (economic, social and environmental). The Agenda includes SDG 11 as a specific goal on sustainable urban development, calling for "cities and human settlements" to be "inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable".

The Third United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development[19] (known as Habitat III to be held in Quito, Ecuador, in October 2016) will be amongst the first UN Conferences to take place following the adoption of the 2030 Agenda and 2015 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of the Parties (UNFCCC COP 21). It will adopt a global "New Urban Agenda", intended to guide sustainable urban development for the next 20 years, and thus give an important impetus to the implementation of the Agenda 2030, in particular SDG 11 but also a number of other goals and associated targets with a preeminent urban dimension, and the COP 21 decisions.

In academic literature, there is a general silence on the role of urban cultural heritage in sustainable development. The research on this topic, in fact, is relatively new and is mainly focused on Europe and North America. Recent research shows that 'conflicts between heritage needs and development needs' is ranked as being the issue of greatest concern among practitioners, from both the fields of conservation and urban management (Getty Conservation Institute, 2010). In sub-Saharan Africa, urban heritage is often experienced as an obstruction to the development of cities and local communities as, accordingly, changes are required to allow those cities to evolve and little can be changed in these urban areas (Fairclough, Harrison, &

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[18] Resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly on 25 September 2015 "Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development", New York 2015

[19] The Conference is held every 20 years and started with Habitat I in Vancouver, in 1976 (see the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements at http://habitat.igc.org/vancouver/van-decl.htm), and Habitat II in Istanbul, in 1996 (see the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements and the corresponding Habitat Agenda at http://www.un.org/ga/Istanbul+5/declaration.htm).

Jameson, 2008). On the other hand, development pressures and management deficits are commonly found factors affecting cultural heritage (ICOMOS, 2005).

However, in the practical world of development assistance we may note that the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development policy and practice is becoming more prominent. This growing interest is similar in some ways to the attention paid to the environment more than three decades ago. Like the environment, there is a risk of permanent loss of diversity in the tangible and intangible heritage. Given the strong relationship and synergies between urbanisation, sustainable development and urban conservation, Habitat III offers a unique opportunity to revisit how urban and peri-urban areas are planned and managed in the light of the Sustainable Development Goals, and to reflect upon monitoring and financing of a "New Urban Agenda".

Throsby (2001) indicates that central to this shift has been a reorientation of development thinking and practices from a uniform commodity-centred model of development towards a pluralistic human-centred one, which focuses on human beings themselves as both the object of development and as the agent by which development is brought about. As indicated by the UN World Commission on Culture and Development (1996), 're-conceptualizing development in human terms brings culture [of which urban heritage forms a part] in from the periphery of development thinking and places it in centre stage' (W. C. on C. and D. United Nations, 1996).

In 2004 the *Agenda 21 for Culture* has been adopted and passed under the coordination of the United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), the world's biggest association of local governments, founded in 2004 to defend democracy and local autonomy and to give voice to the cities in international forums. The Agenda 21 for culture is comparable to what the Agenda 21 meant in 1992 for the environment. It is a tool to enhance the role of culture in urban policies and to make cultural issues the fourth pillar of sustainable development. In effect, the current canonical triangle of sustainable development (environment, social inclusion and economics) either does not include culture or considers it an instrumental element. Therefore, the Agenda 21 for culture proposes, on the one hand, strengthening local policies, asserting the importance of solid and autonomous cultural policies, and establishing bridges with other areas of local governance (UCLG, 2004).

The *Resolution 65/166 on Culture and Development*, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2011, has strengthened the prominent role that culture plays in development, noting that 'culture is an essential component of human development … providing for economic growth and ownership of development processes' (G. A. United Nations, 2011). The *Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development* (ICOMOS, 2011a) also examines the relationship between development and heritage and highlights the need to 'ensure that its use [i.e. heritage], its promotion and enhancement, and its economic, social and cultural value are harnessed to the benefit of local communities and visitors' (ICOMOS, 2011a).

On the other hand, the Council of Europe (2009) highlights that central to this shift has been the need by some countries, dealing with many social and economic challenges, to create a link between the costs of conservation and the value of heritage to everyday public life. The traditional approach to heritage conservation was seeing as an excessive drain on national resources. In this respect, the World Bank states that heritage conservation policies serve best when they reflect not only what contemporary societies must do for the heritage, but also what heritage could do for the development of contemporary economies and societies (World Bank, 2001a). The trend on theory, in fact, has been followed also by application in policy in several countries (Stubbs & Makas, 2011). The *English Heritage*, for instance, has stressed an entirely new, integrated approach to managing the historic environment for the next century. France also aims for a better integration with tourism and regional development (Janssen, Luiten, Renes, & Rouwendal, 2012).

UNESCO (2011) highlights that efforts to conserve and enhance urban heritage assets not only reduce the risks to lose the existing values, but they can produce new important economic and social values and opportunities. In addition, conservation can constitute a strategy to achieve a balance between urban growth and quality of life, as the future of humanity is linked on the effective planning and management of the resources available. In fact, urban heritage, when

properly valorized and managed, can act as a powerful economic generator that can contribute to the economic and territorial development of an area and its population, and to poverty alleviation.

Heritage tourism, for instance, is widely recognized as a strongly expanding industry that can attract capital and business interests in places endowed with historical and cultural sites, and thus initiate a cycle of growth that may generate income for the whole region (Greffe, 2009). Tourism, however, should be developed with due respect for and in harmony with the surrounding environment, and the returns gained from these activities should benefit the local community.

Besides cultural tourism, heritage conservation can have many other positive impacts to local economy: create employment opportunities; develop small and medium sized business; increase inward investments and foreign exchange earnings; increase total outputs and revenue levels from cultural industries and service industries; and increase the real estate values (World Bank, 2001a). Economic growth, however, has to go hand in hand with responsible management of the available resources. Wise heritage management, for instance, should principally be based on traditional handicrafts methods and local materials, and done by local workforce and local contractors. This can be a way to support the informal sector, which is an important income generator for the urban poor. The resources of the local community can then be mobilized, activated and re-invested (Greffe, 2009).

Urban heritage can foster also positive socio e cultural benefits on educational levels and identity cultivation, social cohesion, social inclusion and social capital formation (World Bank, 2001a). Heritage conservation is also crucial to enhance the liveability of urban areas and diminish the risk of homogenization and uniformity so typical of many modern agglomerations. It also has an important role to play in promoting diversity of cultural values, ways of life and social relationships (Girard et al., 2012). Urban cultural heritage also helps construct memories that can then be shared collectively to create a sense of solidarity and a feeling of sharing a common fate. The same applies to 'traumatic' memories, which should not be repressed by the destruction of the buildings or places in which they took form. Cultural heritage can also be considered a great equalizer, as the finest and most inspiring things sometimes can be found in the least promising surroundings (Jowell, 2005).

Besides UNESCO, many international organizations such as the World Bank, the Aga Khan Foundation, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Spanish International Development Cooperation (AECID), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and UN-Habitat are increasingly aware of the potential economic and non-economic benefits that urban cultural heritage carries, and are putting a growing interest in the links between heritage conservation and forms of sustainable development. In addition, they are recognizing the urgent need to assist developing countries in preserving their cultural resources and assets (Cassar, 2006).

The (World Bank, 2001a), for instance, recognizes and advances the idea that culture and urban cultural heritage, in particular, can contribute directly to its core socio-economic development objectives[20]. Among other things it sees culture in a development context as helping to: (i) Conserve and generate revenues from existing cultural assets by reviving city centers, conserving socially significant natural assets, and generating sustainable, significant tourism revenues. (ii) Provide new opportunities for poor communities to generate incomes from their own cultural knowledge and production, and to grow out of poverty. (iii) Strengthen social capital – in particular, to provide a basis on which poor and marginalized groups can pursue activities that enhance their self-respect and efficacy – and strengthen respect for diversity and social inclusion so that they can share in the benefits of economic development. The Bank is pursuing these lines of action in its operational work through efforts, first, to integrate cultural considerations into its lending strategies in all sectors; secondly, to promote culture in its grass-roots community

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[20] Two milestones in this progress for the World Bank were a 1992 conference on culture and development in Africa, and a conference held in Florence in 1999 organised by the Bank, the Government of Italy and UNESCO under the title 'Culture Counts'.

development work; and thirdly to engage with specifically cultural projects in borrowing countries, such as heritage projects of various sorts (World Bank, 2001a).

This vision is embedded also into the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted at the special UN summit in September 2015 and in its seventeen Goals (SDGs) that provide a great opportunity to address some of the key global issues facing the world today in a truly transformative manner (United Nations, 2015). In particular, SDG 11 aims to "make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable". The SDGs' implementation strategy will be discussed at the forthcoming global Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in October 2016 (Habitat III) where a new Urban Agenda for the next 20 years will be defined.

Nevertheless, despite some exception, the application on the ground of the theoretical principles around heritage-led urban development rarely succeeds. Urban heritage is generally treated as a mere commodity and an economic resource; the cultural value of heritage is generally not accounted for; the linkage between the contribution of heritage conservation to development and poverty alleviation is seldom understood and established; and the focus remains clearly on material progress, especially of the poorest groups, as the principal indicator of advancement (Throsby, 2001).

As a result, concerns related to history, to heritage and its valorization are usually perceived as a "luxury" in development policies and agendas, compared to other challenges such as hunger, health or poverty deemed of primary importance. In addition, it is sometimes asked whether the orientation toward poverty alleviation is incongruous with patrimony conservation and is not artificially forced on it by the "development perspective" (World Bank, 2001a). In fact, scepticism among economists still persists, especially at the macro-economical level, where remains considerable speculation as to whether and to what extent cultural factors have played a role in determining economic performance in different countries (Cassar, 2006).

2.4.2 The need for a new development paradigm for sub-Saharan Africa cities

As previously seen, urbanization, in combination with other factors, is playing a rather destructive role *vis-à-vis* urban heritage. Trends seem today negative for historic areas in many fast developing countries in the world, and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular. Thus, we need to understand what is happening and what can be done (Jigyasu, 2015).

In Africa, many cities have a unique historical and cultural patrimony that could open up major opportunities, as it could produce important economic and cultural benefits. Cities such as Mombasa (Kenya), Maputo (Mozambique), Kampala (Uganda), Asmara (Eritrea) and Elmina (Ghana) have a valuable cultural heritage, captures in their urban structure, public spaces, the variety and diversity of their buildings and different architecture, each referring to different period in time and carrying a different value. This heritage, if properly valorised and used, could play a very significant role in Africa sustainable development, positioning cultural and cultural activities at the core of the development process.

But, the radical and rapid changes that accompany urban growth in sub-Saharan Africa are transforming the essence and the face of many historic cities, undermining the sense of place, integrity of the urban fabric, and the identity of communities. The growing population density led to an increasing use of land, which has implicated negative effects on the conservation of historic ensembles, settlements and inner-city historic areas including open spaces. Core city areas often become over-populated zones of neglect and despair, where the urban poor are segregated with inadequate infrastructure and services. Alternatively, historic districts are demolished or altered through a gentrification process. Residents belonging to lower socio-economic strata are often the first to be evicted from inner-city areas (UNESCO, 2008).

Urbanization in sub-Saharan Africa, in fact, is taking place in a weak political and economic context, where national governments and local authorities are faced with the challenge of guiding this rapid urban growth with limited financial resources; weak institutional, management and technical capacities; lack of proper urban management policies and tools; and absence of financial mechanisms to efficiently and adequately mobilize resources and guide investments. As a result, planners and administrators are often disoriented both by the complexities of the social and economic issues characterizing their cities, as well as the many unresolved physical problems in older urban areas. The traditional fabric is often considered incompatible with modern building practices and new urban dynamics, including the traffic systems. Too often, the solution that is advocated is wholesale demolition. Creating a *tabula rasa* and starting from scratch is mistakenly considered the simplest and most efficient solution, and only when it is too late, it becomes clear that the situation is even more complex and difficult to manage than before (Jigyasu, 2015).

This lack of attention and respect for urban cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa is due to a combination of factors. On one side, within decision-makers and the international community the linkage between the contribution of heritage conservation to development is seldom understood and established (Throsby, 2001); on the other, conservation professionals, who mainly know the international conservation charters and recommendations, are seldom involved in the decision-making process regarding urban development. There is also a general absence at international, national and local level of legislative provision that regulate the conservation and management of urban heritage in Africa (CRATerre-ENSAG, 2006).

In these countries, in addition, urban land management tools are often obsolete or do not exist. The traditional top-down land-use planning approach is still largely applied and when spatial planning frameworks are followed, such in South Africa, they remain too broad, utopian, concept driven, and not sufficiently linked to land use management or to infrastructure. The focus on spatial concepts such as nodes and corridors, densification and infill, have drawn attention away from the need to understand the socio-spatial and cultural dynamics of cities, namely how different groups of people locale and move within the city, what these choices, and the implications of these patterns for their survival and livelihoods. In addition, these plans have been contradicted by both national policy, and by trends in the property and housing markets (Todes, 2008). Heritage conservation, on the other hand – if taken into account in urban plans – it remains at the level of monumental cataloguing and preservation. This approach clearly underemphasizes the conservation of urban heritage within the broad urban context, and thus the opportunity of utilizing the city's unique potentials for socio-cultural development and economic revitalisation.

On the other hand, in countries where urban heritage initiatives have been implemented, the focus has remained mainly on the material and economic aspects of heritage, generally treated as a commodity and economic resource (Throsby, 2001). The World Bank heritage projects, for instance, usually target UNESCO World Heritage sites only, and mainly focus on cultural tourism as main asset for economic development and poverty alleviation, overlooking the vast range of non-economic socio-cultural benefits that heritage conservation can generate, which may not be quantifiable in economic terms, but are no less real and important.

Largely because of the limited recognition of the potential benefits of urban heritage, policymakers, development actors and civil society have been little concerned and able to activate and harvest the economic and cultural value of urban cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa. If these areas are to survive, they must continue to play important roles in the urban development process by improving the quality of life of local inhabitants through increasing their livelihood opportunities and addressing their basic needs. At the same time viable roles should be found for these areas, within the overall economic development while ensuring that these areas continue to play a crucial role in maintaining historical continuity. This will require support to demonstrate their capacity to positively contribute to their future development. Their heritage values, economic potential and social structure can only be identified, elaborated and disseminated if the structural integrity of these historic areas is improved in a holistic manner (Jigyasu, 2015).

Source: World Bank (2005)

On another note, when working on urban heritage conservation, management and planning in sub-Saharan Africa countries it is necessary to avoid importing – as currently happens – simplified, ready-made and pre-packed definitions of what constitutes heritage and heritage values, as conceived for and defined within a very different context. In sub-Saharan Africa the range of values associated with urban space can be different than in Europe as different are the social and cultural contexts, and thus the range of values associated with urban space. In Europe, the concept of urban cultural heritage has been shaped by a long history of urban spaces, places and identity. In much of sub-Saharan Africa, urban history is often relatively short and the existing urban cultural heritage – i.e. as defined by the international doctrine - is mainly from colonial period and is not generally fully assimilated in the local perception and understanding of space. Sometimes its perceived value can be negative, as it can be associated with a brutal colonial past, apartheid and thus with traumatic memories (You, 2012).

In fact, the effect of colonialism goes beyond immediate history. It remains, in various architectural and urban forms, as a constant reminder of deliberate social, ethnic and racial exclusion. Physical planning of cities in Asia and Africa was done in London, Paris or Lisbon by a small number of expatriates' specialists that consulted their capital cities whenever needed, and not by local technical experts. They had to design cities that could grow rationally and that could respond to the colons' needs (Khan, 2015). In these "colonial cities" the so-called "natives" were prohibited access to public institutions (schools, libraries, hospitals, post offices, banks, etc.), and public spaces, especially parks and gardens. In Nairobi, for instance, colonial urban planners deliberately omitted the provision of pavements, as any person not in possession of a car or a horse and carriage "had no business going from one place to another". All elderly people in Shanghai, also, remember vividly signs that were posted along the bund excluding "Chinese and Dogs" (in that order). In such a context, it is not difficult to understand that, in the post-independence euphoria, many leaders opted for the destruction or benign neglect of what westerners would consider of considerable aesthetic value and architectural heritage, in favour of new iconic structures and landscapes that clearly represented a radical departure from the past (You, 2012). The colonial urban heritage, therefore, can hardly be perceived by the local population and their post-independence leaders as having any positive value except for tourists originating from ex-colonies, at best, and at worst, as symbols of extreme forms of social and cultural exclusion and racism (You, 2012).

Against this background and given the need to manage scarcity of resources and consider opportunity costs at the country level, policymakers, development actors and civil society working in sub-Saharan Africa cities, they first need to understand the potential benefits and advantages of investing in urban heritage conservation (World Bank, 2001). Thus, evaluation is fundamental to recognize heritage economic and socio-cultural values and benefits and activate attention and collaboration towards its conservation and use. To assess sub-Saharan Africa urban

heritage and associated values, it is necessary to recognize and consider all the different value systems of perception and appreciation of urban space and heritage, which contribute to form cultural diversity and identity. The HUL approach is particularly helpful for working on places with 'simpler and minor heritage' and with different sets of heritage values. HUL, in fact, respects cultural diversity and recognizes that dissimilar societies attach different sets of values to their heritage. HUL considers as valuable both the traditionally defined heritage, than the 'minor heritage', whose value is not broadly well recognized nonetheless reflects the cultural specificities and diversities of the people belonging to a specific context. This 'minor heritage' is usually subject to substantial changes and destruction caused by lack of understanding of its role for the history and identity of a community.

Box 2.2 – Old Stone Town of Zanzibar (Tanzania)

In 2006 the European Commission funded a rehabilitation project for the Old Stone Town's port, which was conceived as remedial work for an existing project that had begun prior to the inscription of the site onto the World Heritage List in 2000. However, the rehabilitation project did not include an assessment of the possible impact on the property. A 2008 mission reported that the work included some massive interventions in the port area, including an unauthorised demolition of two protected warehouses from the early-twentieth century, as well as new construction between the jetty and quay. These had an overall negative visual impact on the property's townscape and urban fabric, which retains the site's particular character of fairly homogeneous elements from different cultures spanning more than a millennium, the value for which the site was listed. The project has since been completed without an Environmental Impact Assessment or monitoring component, despite several requests from the World Heritage Committee. But in 2010 a Management Plan was developed with a clear action plan, which included urban conservation, while an inventory of the public spaces in the Old Stone Town is currently underway.

Source: (UNESCO, 2007)

However, the use of the HUL approach calls for an additional intellectual effort. It requires to 'de-construct' its theoretical concepts and principles and to properly refine and codify them to become more contextually relevant (Jokilehto, 2010). To this end, it is necessary to perceive and understand if, how and where cities in Africa have spaces or physical assets that the majority of the people value – in sum, their socio-cultural significance – and whether and how the urban heritage from the colonial time can be or is assimilated in local perceptions and understanding of space.

The City of Cape Town, in South Africa, has managed to understand these benefits and has committed itself to ensuring that diverse cultural heritage of the City of Cape Town is protected and enhanced, putting heritage assets to a wide variety of uses through the collaboration of public and private entities. In 2001, the City authorities adopted the first *Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy* (IMEP) along with its implementation strategy, the *Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Management Strategy* (IMEMS), which is associated with *Integrated Development Planning* (IDP). Cultural heritage was one of the sector approaches of IMEP, which includes:

- Recognising the rich cultural history of the City of Cape Town;

- Recognising all cultures and religions represented within the City of Cape Town; and

- Including cultural values, sites and landscapes of historic significance, areas of scenic beauty and places of spiritual importance in planning and decision-making.

This commitment has been further augmented by the *Cultural Heritage Strategy for the City of Cape Town*, which was approved by the Executive Mayor and Members of the Mayoral Committee in 2005. The document sets out a policy and framework for the management and protection of the cultural heritage resources of the City. It also provides a response from the City to the obligations of local government contained in the National Heritage Resources Act. Finally, the document provides a framework for cooperation among the national, provincial and local spheres of government in managing and protecting heritage resources in the City of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2005).

An additional effort is therefore needed to recognize, nurture and use the potentialities of sub-Saharan Africa cities' cultural heritage to spur economic growth and enhance the quality of life. Fulfilment of this potential demands new ways of thinking and changes to policy and practice. Notions of economic development, social development and cultural development need to be absorbed into a new more comprehensive and integrated development paradigm, whereby culture is treated as a priority and a basic need and no longer as an élite concept.

Box 2.3 – Cape Town's Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Development

In Cape Town, South Africa, the Victoria and Alfred (V&A) Waterfront is internationally benchmarked as a successful waterfront project, with lessons of all kinds to be learnt there.

The launch of the V&A Waterfront project in 1988/89 was initially regarded as over-idealistic and costly, and no financial institution was willing to provide funding for its realization. There were no Government or Municipal subsidies to kick-start the V&A Waterfront project. The V&A Waterfront (Pty) Ltd ("V&AW") was established in 1988 as a wholly-owned subsidiary by the State-owned South African Transport Services (Transnet Ltd). Thanks to the backing of Transnet Ltd, who provided the initial funding tranches, and the intuition, determination and strategic work of "V&AW" Ltd, what was considered a loss-making asset has become a vibrant and profitable property development project that now enjoys an international profile.

The "V&AW" Ltd has been responsible for the planning, development and management of the V&A Waterfront project since its inception. The main planning motivation for the project was the re-establishment of physical links between Cape Town and its waterfront in order to create a quality environment; a desirable place to work, live and play; and a preferred location to trade and invest for Capetonians and visitors. To fulfil its objectives, the "V&AW" Ltd set the following goals:

- Create appropriate public places within the V&A Waterfront;

- Develop the V&A Waterfront in ways which account for its special location, conditions & history;

- Achieve financial self-sufficiency and the maximization of value through development & management.

Twenty-four years later, it is evident that the V&A Waterfront project has succeeded admirably in achieving its objectives in a sustained manner. Today, the V&A Waterfront is considered as a world class place-making endeavour and commercially one of South Africa's biggest real estate success stories. Annually it receives 22 million visitors, earning its place as South Africa's most visited shopping and entertainment destination for locals, domestic visitors and international tourists alike. Through the integration of water, working harbour, heritage, urban revitalization and tourism development, the V&A Waterfront has also re-united Cape Town with its proud maritime heritage, given Capetonians a new sense of pride.

There are key success factors and design criteria developed on the Cape Town project that have proven to be critical components of successful waterfront projects and that could be applied with success to any waterfront project opportunity:

- Build on a waterfront's unique qualities;

- Respect the water as a body of space;

- Maximize waterfront views;

- Focus on water-dependent and water-related uses;

- Create a wide variety of waterfront spaces;

- Design waterfront spaces for public events and celebrations;

- Clearly define public access.

The V&A Waterfront project has been very successful in transforming the under utilised historic part of the Port of Cape Town into the City's premier tourist, retail and entertainment destination. Learning from the successes and failures of other waterfronts contributed to the V&A Waterfront being successful within a relatively short period of time. Today, the success of the V&A Waterfront project has made it one of the international benchmarks for waterfront projects.

Source: Van Zyl (2005)

2.5   Literature review main findings and research opportunities

Driven by the three questions presented in section 2.1, the literature review conducted for this study demonstrates the many aspects related to the subject of urban cultural heritage conservation, management and planning. Below are presented the main findings and opportunities for further research that emerged from the literature review.

The **first cluster of research** areas **(Heritage conservation vis-à-vis urban development)** related to the evolution of the concept of urban heritage conservation, both in theory and practice, and its relationship with urban development and planning. The **main findings** that emerged from the review of the literature in this cluster are:

- From a focus primarily on the conservation or restoration of isolated built heritage assets or monuments, theory and practice on urban heritage conservation have progressively shifted towards a more comprehensive landscape-based approach (Jokilehto, 1998), to become with the historic urban landscape (HUL) approach more democratic and socially inclusive. This approach contributes to guarantee a holistic and sustainable vision of conservation and development processes, and is considered the premises to support the best decision-making processes and guarantee the long-term sustainability of urban conservation and management. HUL can provide an overarching frame to help structuring and improving policies and practices that involve and match heritage management and urban conservation, including for cities in developing countries (Jokilehto, 2010).

The **main gap** that emerged from the review of the literature in the first cluster of research areas is:

- The existing doctrine on urban heritage is widely criticized by conservationists and professionals, who are increasingly aware of the existing gaps between the ideal world of its Charters, Conventions and Declarations and the practical realities, especially in emerging societies (UNESCO, 2011). It is also considered weak and powerless when it comes to put in place planning and regulatory tools. In fact, most of the existing doctrine does not take into due consideration the new challenges and dynamics that cities are facing now, and leaves

aside considerations of intangible meanings and socio-cultural values of heritage, which contribute to regard a heritage asset as significant and to create a city's 'spirit of place' and identity (UNESCO, 2011). The application of the HUL approach lies in practice, as there is to date no comprehensive theory on urban or territorial conservation capable of providing a conceptual operational basis to apply the HUL approach. However, there have been many sector initiatives and practical attempts globally, which can be taken as reference and used to implement a landscape approach to urban conservation.

The **second cluster of research** areas (**Assessing heritage values for urban development**) related to the different values attributed to urban heritage and to the methods and tools used for their assessment and for their translation and use into planning decisions and actions. The **main findings** that emerged from the review of the literature in this cluster are:

- Heritage values are by nature varied and socio-cultural values, in particular, are subjective and strongly shaped by contextual factors, such as social forces, economic opportunities, cultural trends (Mason, 2002), and even spatial contexts (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). These values contribute to determine the cultural meaning of a city's heritage, which is usually linked to memory, social cohesion and sense of belonging, and aggregates and materializes the 'perceptions, cultural specificities, diversities and memories from the communities and groups that live, work and socialize in a city' (J. Smith, 2010). Evaluation, thus, is a fundamental step in the process of heritage conservation and urban development and planning, as it allows to assess and compare the social, economic, environmental, spatial and visual possible values of the urban environment, in order to define priorities and choose their best possible use. Given the varied nature of heritage values, it is possible to assume that no single value-assessment method will give perfect, total, or even adequate knowledge to evaluate the cultural significance of heritage and to inform conservation decision (Mason, 2002).

The **main gap** that emerged from the review of the literature in the second cluster of research areas is:

- Research is still struggling to find operational modalities to assess heritage value and translate them into policies and practices. There has been little methodological reflection and little dialogue about how heritage as phenomenon can be investigated (Sorensen & Carman, 2009), and how our analytical procedures affect and dictate the aim and premises of research and thus shape our understanding (Uzzell, 2009). Literature indicates that the next step is to ensure a systematic, integrated and broad use or development of existing or new tools and methods in the management of urban heritage, which need to be properly developed in practice and tested (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012). This should be done by adopting a long-term participation and collaboration with a broad range of stakeholders, in order to design and test assessment tools and frameworks that consider the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage and can support a sustainable landscape-based and values-informed approach to urban heritage conservation, management and planning.

The **third cluster of research** areas (**Urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa: an *élite* concept or a development opportunity?**) related to heritage conservation and urban development in cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. The **main findings** that emerged from the review of the literature in this cluster are:

- Research in the field of heritage conservation and planning has mainly had a Western emphasis, putting little effort to properly understand and consider the dynamics, challenges and specificities of urban cultural heritage in developing countries and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular, where the application in praxis of emerging theoretical principles about heritage based urban development and conservation is very limited. There, given the need to manage scarcity of resources and consider opportunity costs at the country level, policymakers,

development actors and civil society need to understand the potential benefits and advantages of investing in urban heritage conservation (World Bank, 2001b). Thus, evaluation is fundamental to recognize heritage economic and socio-cultural values and benefits and activate the attention and collaboration of policymakers, development actors and civil society towards heritage conservation and use.

The **main gap** that emerged from the review of the literature in the third cluster of research areas is:

- To assess Sub-Saharan Africa heritage and associated values it is necessary to avoid simplified, ready-made and pre-packed definitions of what constitutes heritage and heritage values; but to recognize and consider all the different value systems of perception and appreciation of urban space and heritage, which contribute to form cultural diversity and identity. The HUL approach is particularly helpful to this end, as it permits to work on places with 'simpler and minor heritage' and with different sets of heritage values. However, its use calls for an additional intellectual effort, as it requires to 'de-construct' its theoretical concepts and principles and to properly refine and codify them to become more contextually relevant (Jokilehto, 2010). To this end, it is necessary to perceive and understand if, how and where cities in sub-Saharan Africa have spaces or physical assets that the majority of the people value – in sum, their socio-cultural significance – and whether and how the urban heritage from the colonial time can be or is assimilated in local perceptions and understanding of space.

3.Philosophical perspective and methodology

{Cities are more than buildings and places where people simply survive. They are cradles of social and economic activity, where the very diversity of interactions creates new initiatives, new ideas and new energy}

(Roberts & Sykes, 2000)

Chapter three presents the philosophical and methodological bases of this research study. It starts by presenting the critical choices regarding the theoretical stance informing the methodology (3.1). The research scope and question of this study are presented in section 3.2. Section 3.3 presents the methodology used to address the themes under investigation, including a presentation of the reasons behind the choice of the fieldwork study and of the case study. In section 3.4, an overview is given of the profile of the stakeholders involved during the fieldwork study. In the subsequent section (3.5) a step-by-step description is given to the analytical approach adopted to carry out the fieldwork research study and the analysis of the case study, including a presentation of the methods and tools developed.

3.1   Critical choices

Based on the findings and opportunities identified through the literature review, this research study argues that urban heritage needs to be considered as a resource for the sustainable development of cities globally and in sub-Saharan Africa countries in particular. In fact, urban heritage when properly valorized and managed, can become a key resource for cities, opening up major development opportunities (World Bank, 2001). This research considers that this goal can be achieved by adopting a landscape-based approach to urban conservation, management and planning; supported by the development and application of methods and tools that facilitate broad participation and multidisciplinary collaboration.

The application of a landscape-based approach to urban conservation promotes diversity of cultural values, ways of life and social relationships (Girard et al., 2012), while sustaining the social, economic and environmental vital functions of urban landscapes (A. Bond & Teller, 2004). As a result, it contributes to diminish the risk of homogenisation and uniformity so typical of many modern agglomerations, enhancing the liveability and identity of urban areas and producing quality space. Too many cities, in fact, risk losing their identity, destroyed by bulldozers and substituted by random and disorganized settlements deprived of character. In this regard, the New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman wrote: *"There are two ways to make people homeless: one is to take away their home and the other is to make their home look like everybody else's home"* (Rypkema, 2008). Global processes, in fact, have a deep impact on affecting the values attributed by communities to urban areas and their settings. Therefore, the adoption of a systemic approach to urban conservation has an important role to play to mitigate this impact. It represents the premises to support the best decision-making processes and guarantee the long-term sustainability of urban conservation and management.

Evaluation is a fundamental step in order to adopt a systemic approach to urban conservation, and to inform the decision-making process that lead to the development of an urban conservation plan. Evaluation, in fact, allows to recognize heritage socio-cultural and economic values and benefits (Frey, 2000; Navrud & Ready, 2002; D. Pearce & Mourato, 1998; Throsby, 2001) and use them to guarantee long-lasting sustainable actions. This research gives more relevance to the evaluation and use of heritage socio-cultural values, namely those elements and places of cultural significance that contribute to sustain and enhance the dynamic, vibrant and balanced character of a city, to create its identity and vitality, and influence positively on liveability, economic growth and development (Mason, 2002). Therefore, more prominence is given to qualitative and spatial analysis methods and tools, as they are considered invaluable for revealing, analysing and documenting the diversity and variety of people's perceptions, attitudes and motivations towards heritage, in ways that are difficult with formal quantitative survey instruments (Mikkelsen, 2005).

At the same time, this research recognizes the importance of considering heritage economic values to guarantee a sustainable use of cultural resources, and thus to use economic assessment methods. In fact, considering the global need to manage scarcity of resources and to take into

account opportunity costs at country level, the evaluation of heritage economic values plays a major role to make policymakers, development actors and civil society understand the potential economic advantages of investing in urban heritage conservation (World Bank, 2001b).

This research also acknowledge the need to adopt a long-term participation and multidisciplinary collaboration and confrontation in order to apply a systemic approach to urban heritage conservation, management and planning, and develop new directions to fulfil the potential of urbanization and urban conservation. In fact, heritage conservation and rehabilitation need to go beyond the expert opinion of the conservation specialists only. It is necessary to involve a broader constituency comprised of other groups, such as residents, youth, private sector, urban planners and managers, academics, artists and the media, among others, in order to forge collaborative alliances, reduce conflicts and optimise creative use of urban cultural heritage (Van Oers, 2015).

On the other hand, this research highlights the need to use different lenses of interpretation and understanding, when working on urban conservation and management in developing countries, and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular. Their cities, in fact, present complex socio-cultural, economic and environmental realities, and the range of values, perception and appreciation associated with their urban space and heritage can be different and difficult to understand. The assessment of these urban realities should cover material assets and processes that carry different values for different actors, as well as the human factor (Zancheti & Ferreira Hidaka, 2011).

The challenge of adopting a systemic approach to urban conservation in sub-Saharan Africa countries lies in practice, as heritage management and urban development have not yet merged into a common path (Veldpaus et al., 2013). In addition, literature indicates that research is still struggling to find operational modalities and tools to assess heritage value and translate them into policies and programmatic actions. There has been a variety of sector initiatives and practical attempts internationally, which need to be re-conceptualised and integrated into a flexible, operational framework applicable to the guidance of the transformation of historic settlements (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).

This research argues that the Historic Urban Landscape approach can provide a conceptual and operational framework to help structuring and improving policies involved in heritage management and urban conservation, in particular in sub-Saharan Africa countries. HUL, in fact, suggests a critical process of identification and analysis to arrive at informed decisions regarding the policies and tools aimed at fostering sustainable urban conservation and management.

HUL, in addition, is considered particularly useful when working in cities with 'simpler and minor heritage' and with different sets of heritage values, as it respects cultural diversity and recognizes that dissimilar societies attach different sets of values to their heritage. In fact, while affirming the universal importance of urban heritage, HUL advocates strongly for local solutions to its management, in the face of rapid urbanisation processes, as well as of the different political, cultural, and economic trajectories of contemporary societies (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2015).

HUL, however, is considered a broad and generic concept, whose application is still too limited in number, time and depth to sustain reliable conclusions on its use (Veldpaus et al., 2013). In addition, in order to be applied in a city in Africa, it needs to be refined to be fully assimilated and used productively. The methodology for its implementation, therefore, needs to be advanced. Literature, in fact, calls upon the need to enhance the design and testing of the methods and tools needed for its application. To this end, it is widely encouraged the adoption of a long-term participation and interdisciplinary collaboration with a broad range of stakeholders, in order to design and test assessment tools and frameworks that consider the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage and support a sustainable landscape-based and values-informed approach to urban conservation.

This research study considers also Mason's (2002) planning process methodology as a valuable operational framework for integrating value assessments in the context of decision-making and planning. At the same time, it recognizes the limits of his approach, as its concept of urban heritage lacks a broader landscape perspective. However, the five steps process suggested by

Mason and presented in detail in section 2.4.3 can be readapted for the assessment and subsequent use of heritage values within a broader landscape context.

3.2   Research aim and question

The broad scope of this research study is to provide a contribution and stimulate the advance of the academic knowledge as well as methodological and operational reflection on the debate regarding the need to adopt a systemic historic urban landscape approach to urban heritage conservation, management and planning as a means to develop and implement urban plans aimed at fostering city identity and improving urban quality. Considering their relevance for the research topic and the researcher's personal and professional interests, this dissertation considers cities in developing countries, and in sub-Saharan Africa in particular, as area of study. In particular, bearing in mind the widely recognized need to design and apply participatory and multidisciplinary methods and tools that facilitate the integration of heritage values assessment and use in the context of decision-making and planning, the research specific object is to develop an empirical methodological process aimed at contributing to the application and contextualization of the HUL approach in sub-Saharan Africa cities.

This research seeks to provide deeper insights on the following specific question:

"*How the HUL approach can help to assess the heritage values of cities in sub-Saharan Africa, inform decision-making and the development of a sustainable landscape-based and values-informed plan, contributing to sustain the qualitative conservation and transformation of an urban area?*"

Considering the limited number of academic contributions on this topic, the literature review, as seen in chapter two, has been based on a broad range of information sources. In addition, given the richness and depth of the data required and evidence needed for this research, the findings of the literature review have been integrated with the knowledge gained through the fieldwork study carried out in Maputo between 2011 and 2015 and the analysis of the case study, namely the Urban Development Plan of the Historic District (*Baixa*) of Maputo. The intention was to bring the theoretical discussion around the debate on the research topic to a more operational perspective and level of analysis.

3.3   Methodological approach

3.3.1   Fieldwork and selection of case study

The researcher carried out between 2011 and 2015 a fieldwork study in the city of Maputo, which has been chosen because it is representative of many middle-size cities in Africa with a valuable but endangered cultural heritage. Maputo, in fact, is a rapidly growing city faced with the challenge of safeguarding its patrimony, while dealing with many other incumbent constraints, among them: absence of basic infrastructure and services; urban poverty; weak capacity of local administrations; limited financial resources; and exposure to pressure of global competition and investments.

Another reason for choosing Maputo is that the national and local governments are paying an increasing attention to urban planning and heritage conservation and management. Since 2007, in fact, the World Bank has been supporting the Municipal Government of Maputo to strengthen its urban space management capacity, through the implementation of the ProMaputo Municipal Development Programme (2007-2016), a governance strategic programme meant to improve the delivery and ensure the sustainability of municipal services. ProMaputo has a strong urban planning component that has financed key land management tools, plans and investments in Maputo, with the aim to guiding the city's growth towards sustainable patters that are both competitive and socially inclusive.

Given the depth of the evidence required for this research, a case study has being selected and studied in detail, namely the Urban Development Plan of the Historic District (Baixa) of Maputo, which is one of ProMaputo key activities. A case study is defined by (Eisenhardt, 1989) as a research strategy that entails the detailed exploration of a specific case through a wide variety of data collection techniques. Yin (2003) describes it as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident".

The case study selected for this research is purposive. Babbie (1989) explains that the purposive case selection includes those cases that the researcher believes will yield the most comprehensive understanding of the subject of the study, based on the intuitive "feel" for the subject that comes from extended observation and reflection. In this research, the selection is not based on intuitive "feel" only, but on "facts" as well, considering the level of maturity and development of the case study identified. The plan of the Baixa, in fact, has been chosen as case study as the methodology used for the development process has been highly participative and multidisciplinary, and thus in line with the key principles guiding the HUL approach. Moreover, the area of the *Baixa* has been identified, through the Cognitive Analysis of Maputo urban landscape, as the core of the City's urban heritage and the main contributor to its identity and character.

In addition, the researcher has been living in Maputo for four years (2011-2015), working at the Municipal Government as Senior Urban Advisor for the ProMaputo Programme. This direct involvement has provided the researcher with a privileged and unique opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of Maputo urban, socio-economic and governance dynamics, and to collaborate on a daily basis with urban and heritage specialist, decision-makers, academics, the civil society, and with representatives of national and local government, international and national organizations and of the private sector. In particular, the researcher has been directly involved in the *Baixa* urban conservation plan, as coordinator of the plan design process within the Municipality and as interface between the government authorities, the consultants hired to develop the plan and the civil society, amongst others. This direct involvement, has allowed the researcher to provide inputs into the plan development process, in terms of theoretical concepts and tools development and application; and, at the same time, to analyse in-depth its entire development process, from the conceptualization of the plan to its approval from the competent authorities.

3.3.2 Methodological guiding principles

The fieldwork study has been divided in two phases. Phase One was focused on a broad analysis of Maputo's urban landscape, aimed at reading the city's ecological system and come up with a contextually relevant understanding of the notion of urban cultural heritage. Phase Two was focused on a detailed analysis of the case study, namely the Urban Development Plan of the historic district (Baixa) of Maputo, with the aim to test and verify if and how the methodology used for the plan development process has permitted to bridge the assessment of the area under investigation with decision-making and concrete actions.

The methodological approach used to conduct the fieldwork study in Maputo and to analyze the *Baixa* case study has considered as terms of reference and comparison the approach developed by HUL to integrate analysis with decisions and actions. This approach is presented in detail in section 2.4.3. In summary it comprises the following six critical steps for its implementation:

(1) Comprehensive surveys and mapping of the city's natural, cultural, and human resources;

(2) Reach consensus by participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on values and attributes conveying those values;

(3) Assess their vulnerability to socioeconomic pressures and impacts of climate change;

(4) Integrate the outcomes (1), (2) and (3) into a wider framework of city development;

(5) Prioritize actions for conservation and development;

(6) Establish the appropriate partnerships and local management framework for each of the identified projects and activities (UNESCO, 2011).

This research also considers the planning process methodology advocated by Mason (2002) as a valuable operational framework for integrating value assessments in the context of decision-making and planning. This process presented in detail in section 2.3.3 has been taken as a reference and readapted to conduct the fieldwork study and the analysis of the case study.

The methodological approach used by the researcher has been guided by two principles, advocated both by HUL as key in order to pursue a landscape-based approach to urban conservation, namely broad participation and multi-disciplinary collaboration. In fact, as previously seen, these two principles are the premises to consider the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage, guarantee the appreciation and successful protection and use of heritage, and thus enhancing the liveability and economic vibrancy of cities (Rojas, 2012).

The pursue of these two principles has been facilitated by the role played by the researcher within the Municipality of Maputo for the World Bank funded ProMaputo programme, and thanks to the continuing collaboration with the multidisciplinary consulting team hired by the Municipality to develop the *Baixa* urban development plan. On the other hand, throughout the fieldwork study the researcher had the opportunity to develop and apply in a real context and a real urban conservation plan, different quantitative, qualitative and spatial appraisals methods and tools.

As previously seen, special emphasis has been given to qualitative and spatial appraisal research methods and tools, as they are considered the most appropriate to analyse, understand and capture a complex urban context as such of Maputo; to involve people themselves in assessing their own context in ways that are difficult with formal quantitative survey instruments; to document and reveal the perceptions, attitudes and motivations towards heritage of those engaged directly or indirectly with it; to define heritage nature and potential use; and to inform the decision-making process that lead to the development of a regeneration plan (Mikkelsen, 2005).

The analysis has also relied on a combination of written documentation, primary and secondary data and maps, including survey-data obtained through focus groups or provided by the Municipality of Maputo and international and national organisations. In addition, the researcher has utilized online research methods for gathering data and literature from publicly available sources.

The two principles that have guided the researcher's work are explained in detail here below.

First guiding principle: Broad participation

Existing doctrine and practices on urban cultural heritage widely encourage the adoption of a participatory approach to heritage conservation, stressing the important role played by local

authorities and local communities to guarantee its appreciation and successful protection. For instance, the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972), the *Amsterdam Declaration* (ICOMOS, 1975), the *Nairobi Recommendation* (UNESCO, 1976), the *Washington Charter* (ICOMOS, 1987), *the Charter on the Build Vernacular Heritage* (ICOMOS, 1999), the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2008b) and the *Paris Declaration* (ICOMOS, 2011a) all encourage participatory processes in the governance of heritage conservation and management.

Besides this recognized importance, however, in practice serious efforts to involve citizens and other actors in decision-making are uncommon and participation often takes the form of brief consultation, which may or may not result in any tangible outcome or influence (UN-Habitat, 2009). In the heritage field, in particular, participatory confrontation and comparison is rare or indeed absent, and there are no implementable strategies and tools available to apply this approach in heritage conservation and management practices (Sorensen & Carman, 2009). In fact, so far, conservation professionals, who are seldom involved in the decision-making process regarding urban development and planning, are usually in charge of heritage evaluation.

This top-down model of heritage conservation and management, dominated by politicians and professionals only, is however no longer efficient. There is an urgent need to involve a broader constituency comprised of other groups. Engaging different layers of players including academics, professionals, institutions and NGOs in dialogues and partnerships is very important in order to articulate the rules of the games, create a consensus on the content in addition to establishing a clear conceptual framework and a common language (Turner & Singer, 2015).

The propensity for engaging in effective protection and maintenance, however, does not emerge spontaneously in the absence of education, and should not be assumed as a given (World Bank, 2001). This involvement needs to be sustained by education and training incentives, good communication and building up of attitudes (Jokilehto, 2010).

The involvement of different stakeholders, therefore, is widely recognized as necessary as each of them can give a different perspective and understanding about the city, about its cultural heritage value and potential benefits and use. Urban areas, in fact, comprise material assets that carry different values and their assessment must take into consideration the wide variety of reasons why different stakeholders consider these assets valuable. Along this line, Mark Moore (1995), the inventor of the public value concept, emphasizes that 'public value is what the public values', therefore to understand and define the cultural significance and the spirit of a place, it is indispensable to consider what is that the public values about the urban environment in which they live and what their interests are, and to recognize and take into account all the elements that form the diversity and vitality of a city. The array of actors to be involved in the process grows when the variety of values brought into play expands (Rojas, 2012).

The advantage of a broad-based participatory approach over other methods is that it places the human dimension at the centre of its thinking (Neuman, 2000) and it is this – more than anything else – that is relevant if the wish is to capture the multivalent aspect of heritage, to discover the its potential benefits, priorities and use options for a given society. In fact, the informed involvement and active engagement of different stakeholders is crucial to produce a shared understanding of cultural heritage and define concerted actions.

In addition, this engagement gives different stakeholders the right and possibility to participate in those decisions that impinge on their own environment, which is a pre-requisite for people to improve their living conditions (Mikkelsen, 2005). In fact, they are asked to identify the extent to which urban heritage-related benefits can impact their lives and contribute to development. This approach also stimulates stakeholders to define their role, contribution and responsibilities in the process of safeguarding and managing their heritage.

Furthermore, a participatory approach at the micro-level provides insights into the stakeholders' experiences and perceptions in a way that a macro-level analysis cannot do. The object is to study stakeholders' behaviour in their natural settings, by interacting with them and gaining an understanding of their social world from their vantage points and to construct a theoretical

statement about their perspectives (Neuman, 2000).

A broader participation, however, poses the challenge of defining who is in charge of which part of the process, and could undermine the authority of conservation professional (Mason, 2002). What happens, in fact, when the democracy of voices decides that a heritage site can be destroyed? Do conservation professionals have a right, or even a responsibility, to speak against the democratic will? (De la Torre & Mason, 2002). The relationship between these interest groups needs to be renegotiated.

With this respect, Rojas (2012) argues that a participatory approach to urban conservation, poses a significant governance challenge. Governance is here intended as "the use of institutions, structures of authority and even collaboration to allocate resources and coordinate or control activity in society or the economy" (Bell, 2002). The governance of urban heritage is fundamental for decision-making and to work toward a common goal in the conservation and development process. Governance is also important to pool funds and resources of various actors and channel them into activities for which each has the greatest comparative advantages (Rojas, 2012). Different stakeholders, in fact, can also contribute or mobilize political and financial support to the conservation effort and can complement with their creativity the public administration's efforts to conserve the heritage (Rojas, 2012).

The governance of urban heritage requires the design of institutional mechanisms and techniques that can guarantee the collaboration and interaction of various stakeholders, to reach a workable agreement that better align their different interests in the conservation of the urban heritage. The public administration has a key role to play to coordinate the different actors operating in urban heritage areas. Its role is key to mitigating the bias of individual actors toward certain values to the detriment of others; and to establishing a sustainable urban heritage conservation vision and a process that is consistent with the community's objectives (Rojas, 2012).

As with any political process, public participation is a complex and time-consuming exercise, which requires compromises and a balancing act between the various groups and sometimes powerful interests. Without this dialogue, however, all players are bound to lose, as little or no progress can be made in ameliorating unsatisfactory conditions and translating ideas into concrete actions (Siravo, 2015).

Second guiding principle: Multi-disciplinary collaboration

The fieldwork methodological approach is premised as well on the need to ensure collaboration across the variety of disciplines and professional practices concerned with urban conservation and management; and the application of many different methods (i.e., quantitative, qualitative and spatial appraisal) to characterize and understand the values of a place and to translate them into policies and strategies formulation and urban conservation practices.

As the history and sociology of science demonstrate, new methods and ideas are not (or not only) born through comparison and confrontation in the recess of a researcher's own mind, but also crucially in and through social encounter, dialogue and collaboration between scholars (Sorensen & Carman, 2009) coming from different disciplines. By the heterogeneity of its object, the heritage field facilitates such interdisciplinary encounters and collaborations. Urban heritage, in fact, is the meeting and merging ground of many disciplines, including anthropology, archaeology, architecture, urban planning, art, history, psychology, sociology and economics. Each discipline contributes to a different understanding of the concept of heritage (Sorensen & Carman, 2009), and how to better approach actions for its conservation. This makes urban heritage a privileged site for methodological reflection and innovation.

Mason (2002) confirms that the knowledge about heritage value is best gained by using a number of quite different methods, moving beyond the normal capabilities of preservation and planning professionals (Mason, 2006). The volume 'Heritage Studies: Methods and Approaches'(Sorensen & Carman, 2009) provides an exhaustive listing or discussion of the many methods applied in different disciplines that have been or could be used in heritage studies, and illustrates their

application through case studies from different parts of the world. Several of these quantitative, qualitative and spatial appraisal methods have been presented in detail in section 2.3.2.

Sorensen & Carman (2009) point out that while the use of methods from other disciplines is reasonable, it does not ensure that they are developed and adapted to the needs of this field of studies, as there has been little methodological reflection and little dialogue about how heritage as phenomenon can be investigated. Key concerns that need clarification include recognition on how different methods can be used to investigate heritage (Sorensen & Carman, 2009) and how this knowledge can be matched with decisions and actions. Cultural policy and practices would benefit a great deal from the development and application in different contexts of a set of sound, theoretically structured evaluation and operational tools (Mourato & Mazzanti, 2002).

On the other hand, Bandarin and Van Oers (2015) point out that despite of the decades long call for interdisciplinary work, formally codified in the 1975 Amsterdam Declaration (ICOMOS, 1975) of Integrated Conservation; there is still little integration between the many disciplines and professional practices concerned with heritage conservation and urban development. The field of urban heritage management is still seriously compartmentalised, with limited exchanges between the professional 'silos'.

With the view to de-compartmentalise and reconnect the city's human, social and cultural capital, and plan for comprehensive intervention in historic cities that target the physical, legal, economic and social context, it is necessary to rely on the inputs from a variety of disciplines. This allows to gather essential inputs for decision-making as regards interventions, and to build ownership and trust (Van Oers, 2015).

3.3.3 Identification of stakeholders

The identification of stakeholders has been a critical part of the research study, and has been an on-going task, as there is always the potential for learning something substantially different and new from a new stakeholder (Mason, 2006), and because they all have different motivations and incentives for engaging in the conservation of urban heritage.

Very schematically, Throsby (2001) identified five distinctive groups of stakeholder with an interest of or particular connections to urban cultural heritage:

- All levels of government that should contribute to the definition, elaboration, implementation and assessment of urban heritage conservation strategies, to be integrated into national development policies and agendas;

- Professionals whose work is to administer and care for heritage;

- Public which is not a homogenous group (local citizen and community);

- Private stakeholders which are playing an increasing role in the conservation of urban heritage, as they have the financial means often lacking in the public resources;

- National and international governmental and non-governmental organizations dealing with sustainable development processes that should integrate the conservation of urban heritage into their strategies, assistance programmes and operations. These organisations have a particular interest in promoting activities at the grass-roots level and have often established direct links with local communities. They can be instrumental in stimulating public awareness and participation in the planning process (Siravo, 2015).

In addition to these groups, Siravo (2015) indicated other stakeholders operating in historic areas:

- Other government agencies and institutions, municipal departments or semi-private agencies that provide services or that have interests or properties in the historic area;

- Local constituencies, religious groups, residents, and community organisations sharing similar problems and expectations for improved public services and housing;

- Shopkeepers, artisans, small manufacturers, café and restaurant owners, as well as vendors and people in the informal sector who are concerned about better working conditions;

- Property owners, developers, hoteliers and large businesses or institutions – banks, insurance companies – which are often eager for investment opportunities and an improved business climate in the historic area;

- International aid organisations and bilateral donors active in different fields such as infrastructure development, housing, health, small business development, conservation and education. All these sectors can be linked directly or indirectly to improving living and working conditions in historic areas.

For the fieldwork study, the stakeholders' identification has considered a diversified group of actors, targeting local and national decision-makers; urban professionals; heritage specialists; people from national and international organizations; people noted for their contribution to the city's life (i.e., photographers, video makers, artists, politicians, historians, academics); representatives from the private sector and the informal economy; as well as city-dwellers from different socio-economic groups and living in different areas of Maputo.

For **Phase One** of the fieldwork study, focused on a broad analysis of Maputo's urban landscape, 16 individual interviews and 3 focus groups (with seven people) with different stakeholders have been conducted. The people interviewed have been identified based on their renowned knowledge and expertise to analyse and comment on the City's characteristics, challenges and opportunities; considering the relevance of their work with respect to urban cultural heritage; and for their capacity to provide relevant information on the behaviours and preferences of Maputo's residents' and users'. A full list of the people interviewed can be found in Appendix One. To stimulate the discussion, an interview guide has been designed and can be found in Appendix Two.

For **Phase Two** of the fieldwork, as part of the Baixa urban development plan process, almost 500 field quantitative socio-economic interviews have been conducted with the support of 10 students from the Faculty of Sociology, targeting: 183 households living in the area of study, 126 formal businesses, 100 informal vendors, 54 enterprises representatives and 25 tourists, with a total of 488 surveys completed.

Twelve focus groups have been conducted with different stakeholders: (i) Local authorities (so called *Secretarios de Bairro*) of the three neighborhoods of the Baixa; (ii) Local authorities (so called *Secretario de Bairros*) of 8 neighbourhoods outside of the Baixa; (iii) Head of the Baixa neighborhoods' blocks (Chefes de Quarteiroes); (iv) Representatives of the Baixa residents; (v) Professors at the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning; (vi) Municipal Councilors and Directors; (vii) Representatives of the Ministry of Culture; (viii) Civil Society Organizations; (ix) Informal business associations; (x) Developers and Investors; (xi) Real Estate and Property Managers; (xii) Urban Planners and Architects.

Two *charette* workshops have also been organized to define a common vision for the future of the Baixa and what needs to be done to deliver the vision. The workshops have been facilitated by the Consultancy firm and has been attended by a wide spectrum of stakeholders, such as representatives from the National and Local Government, from the private sector and associations, from civil society organizations and academics.

3.4   Fieldwork study analytical approach step-by-step

The fieldwork study has been divided in two phases.

Phase One (3.4.1) is focused on a broad analysis of Maputo's urban landscape with the intention to identify the system of elements that contribute to form the city's identity and *genius loci*, and to come up with a contextually relevant understanding of the notion of urban cultural heritage.

In Phase Two (section 3.4.2) the researcher conducted a detailed analysis of the case study, namely the Urban Development Plan of the historic district (Baixa) of Maputo with the aim to test and verify if and how the methodology used for the plan development process permitted to bridge the assessment of the area under investigation with decision-making and concrete actions.

3.4.1   Phase One: Analysis of Maputo urban landscape

Phase One seeks to provide a thorough reading of the area and its different components. The appraisal is conducted using a landscape approach, which requires an integrated assessment of Maputo urban context, including the acknowledgement of the socio-cultural and economic dynamics; the governance that rules the functioning of the City; and the historic and physical development of the urban fabric. To this end, several qualitative and spatial analysis methods have been used, including secondary data and documents consultation, interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders, participatory mapping and participant observation. This understanding will serve as foundation for all the further fieldwork.

This analysis frames the context for the subsequent cognitive analysis of Maputo's heritage cultural significance, which aims to come up with a context specific understanding of urban cultural heritage. It also creates the premises to support the Second Phase of the fieldwork study, namely the detailed analysis of the *Baixa* urban conservation plan.

Phase One is divided in four steps hereunder outlined and the information obtained is presented in Chapter 4.

Step 1.1 – Socio-cultural & economic analysis

This analysis seeks to understand the contextual factors that contribute to influence and shape the City's character, such as social-cultural and economic opportunities, challenges and trends. It is done considering the relevance of reinterpreting the relationship between the social structure and the built environment to better understand how urban spaces and environment are used and transformed by people (Shane, 2005). This understanding is needed to drive the decisions for an urban conservation plan and contribute positively to the socio-cultural and economic development of a city, turning a heritage area into a fully functional and development portion of the city (Rojas, 2012).

This analysis relies on a combination of written documentation, primary and secondary data and maps. A detailed description of the methods and tools used to conduct this analysis, and the main findings obtained is presented in section 4.1.

Step 1.2 – Governance and management analysis

This step seeks to assess Maputo's governance and management context, which refers to a number of factors that affect the capacity of people and organizations to decide, direct and implement any development and management plans (Mason, 2002). This includes the analysis of financing and institutional structures, legal and regulatory frameworks, human resources availability and capacities, and the identification of existing opportunities and risks. As seen in section 2.4.2, some of the methods used for this analysis are applied in the fields of urban planning and business management.

The documents used for this analysis include, amongst others, the national and municipal legal framework on urban planning and urban cultural heritage conservation and management. The interviews and focus group, conducted in Phase 1 – Step 1.4 of the fieldwork (Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape), provided as well some information on Maputo's governance and management context. A detailed description of the methods and tools used to conduct this analysis, and the main findings obtained is presented in section 4.2, and form the basis for the analysis of the Baixa "Analysis of risks and opportunities for implementation" to be conducted in Phase 2 – Step 2.6 of the fieldwork study.

Step 1.3 – Historical and spatial analysis of Maputo urban landscape

This step seeks to understand the historical and physical (architectural and urbanistic) evolution of Maputo urban landscape from the colonial period (late 19th c – 1970s) to date. This analysis is relevant to understand the City's historic development and current urban form and dynamics; and to identify the urban attributes and values that contribute to define Maputo urban space and identity. To this end, an overall picture of the current situation in terms of public infrastructure and utilities, public services, land use and tenure issues, is presented.

This analysis relies on the use of expert appraisals' documents, produced by architects, art historians, and archaeologists, done to document Maputo's development and to define its cultural heritage. In particular, the heritage catalogue produced by the Faculty of Architecture & Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo has been particularly useful to get information about Maputo's heritage assets. Other source material used for this assessment include secondary data and documents from the Municipality and national and international organizations; historical records, maps and photos from the National Historic Archive; and archive photos from the National Center of Photography.

A detailed description of the information obtained through this analysis is presented in section 4.3.

Step 1.4 – Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape

This step consists of a qualitative analysis of Maputo urban landscape and represents a core stage of the proposed methodology. As previously seen, the literature appraisal conducted in the Phase 1 – Step 1.3 of the fieldwork (Historical and spatial analysis of Maputo urban landscape) is relevant to construct knowledge about heritage assets and related values. However, this assessment is not enough as it usually refers to experts' views only, which are defined in accordance to a scale of values internal to their profession, and does not consider others' knowledge and inputs (Mason, 2002). The heritage values defined by experts need to be combined to the values that other stakeholders see if the intention is to investigate the perception of Maputo urban space from a pluralistic and human-centric perspective.

The methods used for this cognitive analysis are hereunder presented and comprise a flexible menu of anthropology, ethnographic, spatial analysis and public-involvement techniques, usually applied to conduct Participatory Urban Appraisals (PUA):

- *Unstructured individual interviews and focus groups:*

Fifteen individual interviews and 2 focus groups (with two people in each group) with different stakeholders have been conducted (see section 3.3.3). The people interviewed have been identified as having special expertise to comment on the City situation, challenges and opportunities and on its urban heritage; and to provide relevant insights on the behavior patterns and preferences of Maputo's residents' and users'. To stimulate the discussion, an interview guide has been designed (see Annex Two). During the interviews, people were invited to talk rather than to answer direct questions (Low, 2002), with the aim to gather knowledge about the values and skills of non-experts about urban space (De la Torre & Mason, 2002); to emphasize local knowledge and empower people; to enable people to express their own ideas and perceptions in an inductive manner; and to allow them to make their own analysis of the problems they face and to identify their own solutions (Moser & McIlwaine, 2001). In particular, people interviewed were encouraged to:

– Define the notion of urban cultural heritage;

– Identify what they value about their urban environment and why, and describe the values associated to the most representatives assets;

– Identify what the residents of Maputo value about their urban environment and why;

– Identify concerns and priority needs about the city and its heritage;

– Define their respective role, responsibilities and contribution to heritage conservation and management;

– Forge a vision of how urban heritage related actions could positively impact the lives and livelihoods of people.

- *Participatory mapping:*

During the interviews people were asked to indicate in the plan of Maputo the assets and area (including communal spaces) that, from their perspective, are most representative and contribute to create the collective 'sense of place', the urban identity and character of Maputo, highlighting all the associated attributes and values.

- *Participant observation:*

The researcher's observations and impressions of Maputo's everyday life have been recorded on field journals. In addition, the researcher's extensive professional experience at the Municipal Council has allowed gaining a close knowledge and intimate familiarity with Maputo's society, urban dynamics, local governance and practices.

Various procedures have been used to **analyze the data collected**. First, the responses from the interviews have been organized in a matrix or "framework of analysis", developed based on the structure of the questions themselves, on the field notes and on the findings of the maps. This has allowed to search for common regularities and patterns of behaviours and to identify areas of conflict and differences, both in the nature of the data and in the groups themselves. Each generalization and statement captured has been broken into this matrix. The matrix has also allowed to integrate and rank the different, sometimes conflicting values identified by various people, so that they could inform the resolution of different or conflicting stakeholders' interests. The physical assets and areas of heritage identified through the maps have been matched with the associated values, with the aim to identify the most significant heritage assets and areas that contribute to create the city's identity, from the perspective of a wide cross-section of stakeholders.

This comparative analysis had the scope to develop a vocabulary of signs, symbols and metaphors that make up Maputo's urban space and what it represents in terms of people's understanding, perceptions and use of recognised structures and landscapes. This vocabulary represents the implicit and unspoken attitudes to heritage by the concerned communities, and considers the cultural dynamics that underpin the creation and maintenance of identity, and issues of meaning and interpretation of the heritage. Based on this vocabulary, it has been possible to come up with a contextually relevant understanding of Maputo cultural heritage.

The information obtained from the Cognitive Analysis is presented in section 4.4 and has been integrated with the information resulted from the Historical and spatial analysis of Maputo urban landscape (Phase 1 – Step 1.3).

3.4.2 Phase 2: In-depth analysis of the Baixa urban conservation plan

Phase Two of the fieldwork seeks to analyse in depth the case study, namely the urban conservation plan of the historic district (Baixa) of Maputo. As previously seen, the researcher has been closely involved in the entire process of the Baixa urban development plan, as coordinator of this plan within the Municipality of Maputo. On one hand, this position gave the researcher the unique opportunity to provide constant inputs and feedbacks to the consulting team hired by the Municipality, on both theoretical concepts to be considered for the development of the plan process methodology, than on the design and implementation of operational methods and tools. This has allowed the researcher to test and apply in a real urban conservation project theoretical ideas and concrete operational tools. At the same time, this direct involvement has put the researcher in a difficult position when analysing, from a neutral perspective, the plan development process. For this reason, the HUL proposed approaches has been taken as a reference for comparison.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology used to develop the plan development process, a presentation of the information obtained through the application of this methodology, and an analysis of the entire plan development process

The plan development process has been divided in six key steps, which are illustrated in Figure 3.1 and are outlined here below.

Fig. 3.1 – Plan development process at a glace
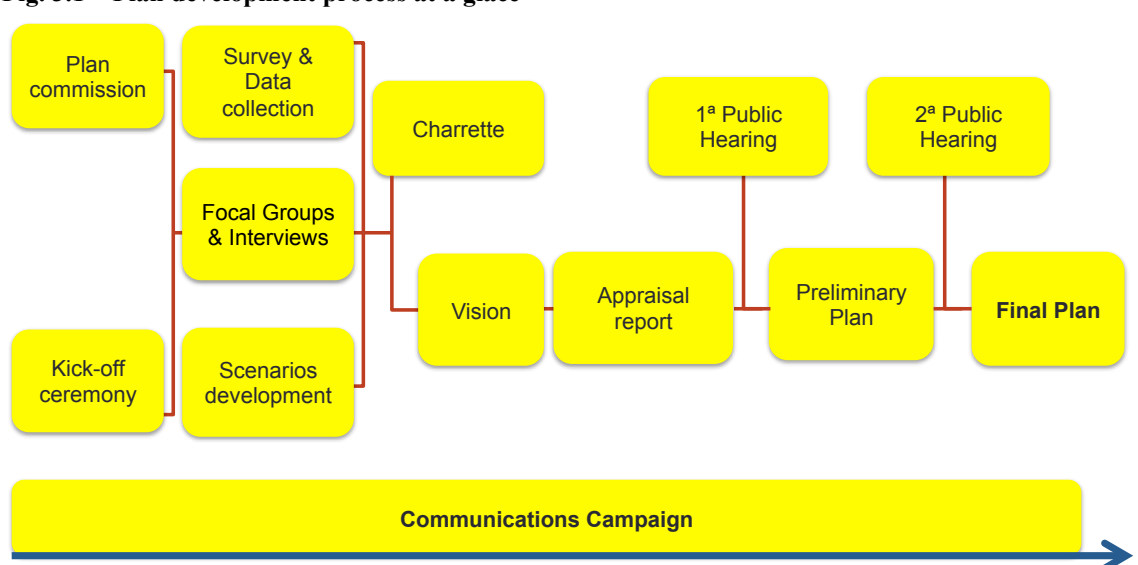
Step 2.1 – Establishment of the Plan Supervision Commission

At the start of a plan preparation process a Plan Supervision Commission (PSC) has been created by the Municipal Council, according to the Mozambican Territorial Planning Law (Assembleia da Republica, 2007), in order to promote interdepartmental coordination and ensure that the plan complies with relevant technical, legal and planning aspects, to smooth its further approval. Furthermore, the Commission is conceived as a vehicle to facilitate the participation of key stakeholders in the plan elaboration process (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2013).

Step 2.2 – Appraisal of the current situation

The Territorial Planning Law also requires to assess the context encompassed by the plan, from different perspectives (i.e., socio-cultural and economic, the historical and spatial analysis, regulatory and institutional framework). For this purpose, several participatory and multidisciplinary methods and tools have been developed and applied, going far beyond the Law requirements and what the Municipality usually do for the development of urban plans. For instance, over 500 field interviews were conducted with residents, tourists and businessmen; several focus groups were carried out with various stakeholders including architects, developers and media; and different thematic groups were hold with developers, planning, design and engineering professionals, informal associations, representatives of the National Commission for Heritage Preservation.

The appraisal has been divided into several steps, hereunder presented, and the information obtained, which is presented in section 5.2, has supported the identification of the guiding principles and key actions to be taken during the plan development process.

Step 2.2.1 – Analysis of the Baixa socio-cultural and economic dynamics

This analysis seeks to present the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the population living in the Baixa, going there or using it for different purposes, with the aim to understand the factors and dynamics that influence and determine the Baixa's character.

This analysis relies on different methods, including the review of a wide range of existing literature; primary and secondary data; maps; and practitioners' documents and reports. Socio-economic and individual interviews and focus groups have been conducted with the support of the students of the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning and the Faculty of Sociology of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo.

A detailed description of the methods and tools used to conduct this analysis and of the information obtained is presented in sections 5.3.1.

Step 2.2.2 – Historical and spatial analysis of the Baixa urban landscape

This analysis seeks to understand the physical and historical evolution of the *Baixa* from the colonial area to date and to present its current conditions in terms of infrastructure, urban attributes, environment and cultural heritage, which contribute as a whole to define the Baixa urban character and identity.

This analysis relies on different methods, including the review of a wide range of existing literature, and spatial surveys (e.g., infrastructure, land use, public space, transportation) conducted by the CMM consulting team in collaboration with the researcher. Key aspects of the urban context addressed with this appraisal include public infrastructure and utilities (i.e., water,

electricity, sewage, drainage, paving of streets and roads, street lighting), public services (i.e., garbage collection), transport systems, land use and tenure issues. The methods and tools used for this analysis and the information obtained are presented in section 5.3.2.

Step 2.2.3 – Assessment of Baixa's cultural heritage

This analysis seeks to identify and characterize, from a pluralistic and human-centric perspective, the Baixa's cultural heritage and associated values. It also aims to identify the threats against its conservation and opportunities for better management; and how heritage conservation can positively impact people's life and contribute to the city's development. This assessment has been conducted relying on different methods, including a heritage spatial survey; on site evaluation of the Baixa's urban landscape; and several focus groups with key stakeholders.

Besides the evaluation of urban heritage cultural significance, which is the main focus of this research study, as part of the plan development process, the consulting team hired by CMM also conducted an economic evaluation of the Baixa's cultural heritage, which combined different approaches in a multi-criteria analysis.

A detailed description of the methods and tools used to conduct this analysis and of the information obtained is presented in section 5.3.3.

Step 2.3 – Organization of public hearings

The Territorial Planning Law requires as well that the Municipal Council holds three public hearings in order to announce the beginning of the plan development process (Public Launching Ceremony); to present the appraisal report with the preliminary ideas of the plan (First Public Hearing); and to present the final version of the plan (Second Public Hearing). These public meetings provide a valuable opportunity for the Municipality to create awareness and involvement on the plan development process and, when relevant, to adjust and improve it according to the inputs provided by the citizens during the hearings.

Section 5.4 presents a detail description of the scope and content of the public hearings organized during the plan development process.

Step 2.4 – Development and implementation of a communications campaign

Throughout the plan development process, a communication campaign has been developed and implemented, with the aim to create awareness about the plan and involvement in its elaboration. The campaign included the design of social media tools, such as a website in English and Portuguese (www.minha-baixa.com), a Facebook page (www.Facebook.com/MaputoPPU), articles in local newspapers and videos to announce the public hearings.

In addition, three public design contests have been organized with the aim to gain the involvement of the citizens of Maputo and receive their inputs for the development of the plan, in particular on the challenges and opportunities for the economic and social improvement of the selected area, three public contests were organized. The contest targeted three separate audiences, namely: children (ages 10-12), architecture and engineering students (age 16-22) and entrepreneurs (ages 16 +). The award ceremony has been held at the end of the second public hearing. Some ideas and concept from the candidates were taken into consideration when preparing the final Plan.

Section 5.5 presents a description of the content of the communications campaign developed and implemented during the plan development process.

Step 2.5 – Organization of two *charettes* with the Plan Supervision Commission

In addition to the requirements of the Mozambican legal framework for plans formulation, the Baixa's conservation plan process included the organization of two intense working sessions (*charette*) in which different stakeholders worked together to define a vision and the principles to guide the plan preparation. The two *charette* allowed to define an outcome that was shared by all, or at least a majority of the group members, and this provided an essential sense of direction and a shared understanding of priorities (UN-Habitat, 2013).

Besides, other participatory planning and business management tools and methods have been adopted during the plan development process, which included a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) qualitative risk analysis for plan implementation.

Step 2.5 can be divided into three steps, hereunder presented, and the information obtained, which is presented in section 5.6, has supported the identification of key actions to be included in the plan development process.

Step 2.5.1 – Vision *charette*

The objective of the first session (Vision *charette*) was to present to the members of the Plan Supervision Commission the essential aspects of the appraisal report and to engage them in the establishment and adoption of a vision and principles to guide the plan preparation.

The successful re-qualification of the Baixa, in fact, needs to be driven by an inspirational vision collectively held, which is a clear and simple message of how Baixa should be and the values it stands for. This vision must be the result of an inclusive process and shall forms the basis for defining policies and strategies to achieve a long-term aspirational goal (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

To this end several participatory planning tools and methods have been used during a Vision *charette* organized at CMM in collaboration with the consulting team, including a mix of plenary presentations and discussions; a visual preference survey; team building exercises; scenario planning; visual and inter-active polling charts; small working groups; consensus building and feedback loops (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

A detailed description of the methods and tools used and the information obtained are presented in section 5.6.1.

Step 2.5.2 – Spatial options *charette*

The objective of the second session (Spatial *charette*) was to present different plan concept alternatives that illustrated various development options of the area, with the aim to collect inputs, choose a preferred option, further develop the conceptual plan, and prioritize and validate the proposed improvements (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

To this end, different approaches and tools related to participatory planning have been used, including scenario planning, visual and inter-active polling charts, consensus building and feedback loops.

A detailed description of the methods and tools used and the information obtained are presented in section 5.6.2.

Step 2.6 – Analysis of risks and opportunities for implementation

A SWOT qualitative strengths-risk analysis has been conducted to identify the existing opportunities and barriers to effective plan implementation. This includes the analysis of

financing and institutional structures, legal and regulatory frameworks, human resources availability and possibilities; along with the identification of possible solutions for operationalizing ideas.

A detailed description of the methods and tools used and the information obtained are presented in section 5.7

4.Empirical Context: Maputo, Mozambique

{Heritage must again be placed at the heart of development concerns; its ownership must be restored to the communities to whom this heritage belongs and to those who come to discover and enjoy it, by rendering it accessible in all its richness}

(ICOMOS, 2011)

Photo © Sukun/Maputo, 2014

Chapter four presents the results of the fieldwork study that the researcher conducted in Maputo between 2011 and 2015, done with the intention to document and understand the system of elements and relationships (i.e. socio-cultural, economic, governance, historical, etc.) that contribute to form the city's diversity, vitality and identity; and to come up with a contextually relevant understanding of the concept of urban cultural heritage.

This Chapter is divided in 5 sections. Section 4.1 starts with the introduction to the context of Maputo and describes the City's socio-cultural (4.1.1) and economic situation (4.1.2) and growth dynamics. Section 4.2 presents the analysis of Maputo's management and governance context, including a presentation of the main stakeholders directly or indirectly involved in urban development and heritage conservation in Maputo. This section (4.2.6) also includes a presentation of the main threats to the conservation of Maputo's cultural heritage. Section 4.3 presents the results of the analysis of Maputo historical evolution from the colonial period (late 19th c – 1970s) to date (4.3.1) and of the spatial analysis of its urban landscape, including a presentation of the main built heritage assets (4.3.2). Section 4.4 presents the cognitive analysis of Maputo's urban landscape, done with the intention to investigate its perception from a pluralistic and human-centric perspective, identify the most relevant places of cultural significance, and to come up with a contextually relevant understanding of urban cultural heritage (4.4.1).

4.1 Characterization of Maputo

This section presents the results of the socio-cultural and economic analysis carried out during "Phase 1 - Step 1.1" of the fieldwork study (see section 3.4.1), done with the intention to understand the contextual socio-cultural and economic dynamics within which people live; the system of relationships that govern their life and their relation with the City; and how the variety and diversity of Maputo human and economic activities can contribute to create its unique character.

As previously seen, the analysis has been conducted considering the relevance of reinterpreting the relationship between the social structure and the built environment, in order to better understand how urban spaces and environment are used and transformed by people (Shane, 2005); and to develop urban conservation plans that contribute positively to socio-cultural and economic development, and turn a heritage area into a fully funcional portion of the city (Rojas, 2012).

This analysis has been done using a combination of written documentation, primary and secondary data and maps, including field survey-data provided by the Municipality of Maputo and international and national organisations; data from the most recent Mozambican national census (2007); satellite cartography from 2011 provided by the Municipality; and documents and reports from the Municipality, national and international organizations and from the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo. The interviews and focus group, conducted in Phase 1 – Step 1.4 of the fieldwork (Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape), provided as well some information on Maputo's socio-cultural and economic dynamics.

4.1.1   Socio - Cultural Dynamics

As in most of African cities, Mozambique's urban population will soon constitute a majority: increasing from 36% in 2009 to a projected 60% by 2030, thus growing by nearly 12 million people (INE, 2010). By 2025, it is projected to be the fourth most urbanised country in Sub-Saharan Africa, after Botswana, South Africa and Angola (World Bank, 2010).

Maputo, known as Lourenço Marques before independence (1975), is the capital and largest urban agglomeration of Mozambique. Maputo is also known as the *City of Acacias* in reference to the many acacia trees commonly found along its avenues, and the *Pearl of the Indian Ocean*, due to its location and function as a port city on the Indian Ocean. The City is not only the seat of government, but it is also the gateway for investors, tourists and immigrants.

Figure 4.1 – Location of Mozambique and Maputo
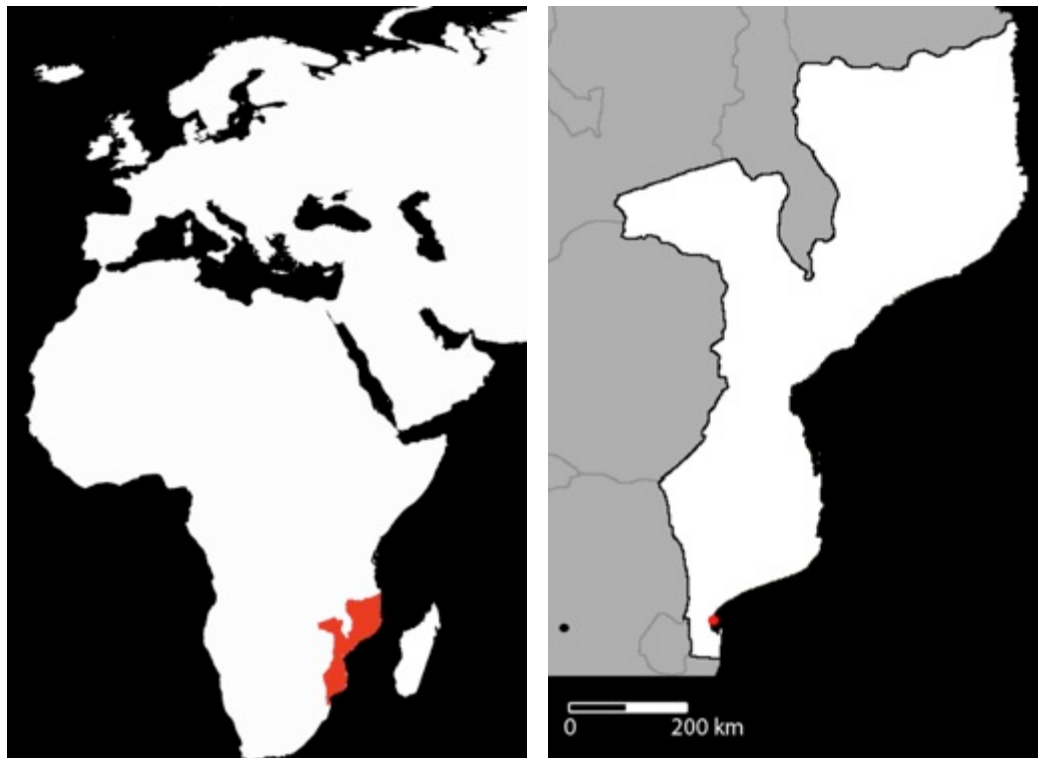
Source: Willeumier (2012)

Located in southern Mozambique, the Municipality of Maputo covers an area of 308 km2 and is composed of three parts: the City of Maputo, which covers 54% of the total municipal area; and the Municipal Districts of KaTembe and KaNyaka, which are separated from the City by the Maputo Bay (World Bank, 2007) (see Figure 4.2).

The City of Maputo is divided administratively into five urban districts, each of which consists of several smaller neighbourhoods or *bairros* (a total of 53 *bairros*), which in turn are divided into 'blocks' or *quarteirões* (table 4.1). There are between 20 and 75 'blocks' in each *bairro*, and between 40 and 100 smaller units of 'ten houses' (*dez casas*) in each *quarterão*. Figures 4.2 outlines a breakdown of the City of Maputo administrative districts and *bairros*, including the population.

Figure 4.2 – Administrative Districts of the Municipality of Maputo
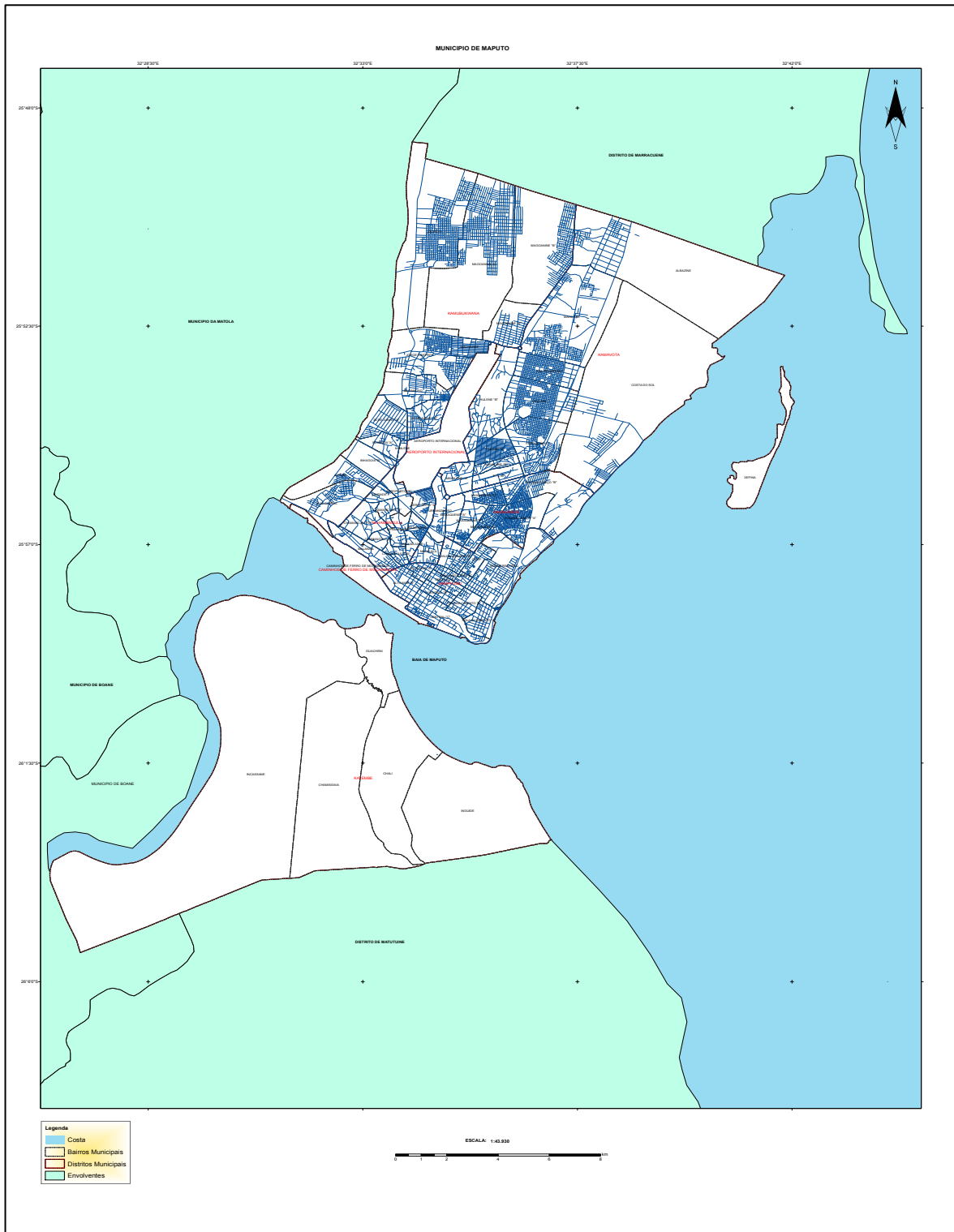
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo (2008a)

Table 4.1 – City of Maputo Urban Districts

Urban Districts	City Quarters or *Bairros*	Population (2007)
UD 1 *KaMpfumo*	Central A, B and C - Alto Maé A and B - Malhangalene A and B - Polana Cimento A and B - Coop – Sommerschield	110,538
UD 2 *Nlhamankulu*	Aeroporto A and B - Xipamanine - Minkadjuíne - Unidade 7 - Chamanculo A, B, C and D - Malanga – Munhuana	158,723
UD 3 *KaMaxakeni*	Mafalala - Maxaquene A, B, C and D - Polana Caniço A and B – Urbanização	231,315
UD 4 *KaMavota*	Mavalane A and B - FPLM - Hulene A and B - Ferroviário - Laulane - 3 de Fevereiro - Mahotas - Albazine - Costa do Sol	329,509
UD 5 *KaMubukwana*	Bagamoyo - George Dimitrov (Benfica) - Inhagoia A and B - Jardim - Luís Cabral - Magoanine - Malhazine - Nsalene - 25 de Junho A and B – Zimpeto	337,252

Source: INE, (2010)

According to INE (2010), there are 1,209,993 residents currently (2013) living within the City of Maputo, with a density of 6.332 persons per km2 (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008a). By 2035, it is expected to exceed 1.5 million people, with a forecasted residential density of 8.104 persons per km2 and an annual growth rate of 1.5% (INE, 2010).

Between 1975 and the beginning of the 1980s, the city of Maputo has experienced a moderate population growth, at an average annual rate of 3.6 percent. This has resulted from the flow of people who, as a consequence of independence, migrated from the periphery or other parts of the country to the capital, searching for job opportunities. From 1980 until 1997 (date of the census) the population of Maputo has doubled from approximately 540,000 inhabitants to almost one million. The pace of growth (annual rate of 4.5 percent) was particularly high during the civil war, which ended in 1992, as the rural population fled the battles in the countryside and migrated to the city looking for a safe haven and economic opportunities. In fact, during the period 1991-1997 the annual rate of growth has decreased to 1.7 percent.

Maputo is part of a rapidly growing metropolitan area extending towards the neighbouring administrative jurisdictions of Matola, Marracuene and Boane. The Metropolitan area is very complex, comprising of multiple nodes of centrality that relate to various social and economic aspects. They represent clusters of business and social life, as well as regional competitors to the CBD for economic and social development. Through this process of regional urban growth, the entire metropolitan area of Maputo has attained a population of almost two million inhabitants (1,807,510 in 2007) and is expected to exceed 4 million people by 2025, with a forecasted residential density of 12.500 persons per km2, which represents an increase of 221% over the current density of 5.648 persons per km2 (Jenkins, 2012).

INE (2010) reports that the City of Maputo has undergone a period of emigration towards these new centers within the metropolitan area, primarily in the residential areas of the Districts of Boane, Marracuene and the city of Matola. Likely this trend is in response to the geographical and physical barriers that the City of Maputo has to planned expansion and population growth. The Bay, in fact, provides a geographic barrier to the south and east of the area, and the informal settlements provide a physical barrier to the north and west sides. Statistics from INE reports that between 2006 and 2007 there were 26,038 people that migrated to Maputo from other provinces, but simultaneously there were 39,614 people that emigrated from Maputo to other provinces. The result is a net loss of 13,576 people from the population of the City.

Figure 4.3 – The Cement City and the geographic and physical barriers

Cement City = Blue; Geographic & Physical Growth Barriers = Red
Source: FAO (2008)

Maputo, in particular, is closely linked with the neighbouring city of Matola, the latter designed as a satellite settlement for the city of Maputo is located approximately 20 kilometres away. Matola has a population of approximately 700,000 (INE, 2010) and is located within an industrial park. Maputo and Matola are clearly interconnected despite the lack of any formal administrative structure. Transport, solid waste management, production markets, as well as the housing and labour sectors of the two cities are clearly interconnected, as are many others.

These population dynamics and growth are a result of the major economic development that Mozambique and the City of Maputo, in particular, are experiencing. This growth, however, is putting a high degree of stress on a city that is already lacking sufficient housing facilities, basic services and infrastructure. In fact, it has not been accompanied by sufficient investments in local infrastructure and services needs, which have been worsening as urbanization has increased. Only 9% of Maputo residential area is fully urbanized, in terms of infrastructure and housing (Jenkins, 2013) and the coverage of some services remains low with drainage (20-30%), road maintenance at about 15% of unpaved and 50% of paved roads. Private investors and citizens continue to express dissatisfaction with the existing levels of infrastructure and service delivery (Jenkins, 2013).

Maputo has one of the largest rates of urban poverty in Mozambique. In 2007, 75% of the population lived in informal settlements, which occupy 60% of the territory and are mostly concentrated in the peripheral areas of the City. Fifty-four percent of this population lived below the poverty line of $1.50 per day (World Bank, 2010). Informal settlements are characterized by sub-standard living conditions without adequate clean water supply, sewage, few roads and transport facilities, drainage, limited access to electricity, virtually no garbage removal services, and limited access to schools and health facilities; as well as with few developed spaces for cultural and leisure activities. These areas, whose development and expansion have not been planned, have little to no commercial or industrial sector activities other than small retail outlets and informal street vendors (World Bank, 2010).

In Maputo there is a strong correlation between geographical areas, population growth, income and real estate values (Table 4.4). The population growth has particularly affected Maputo's suburban and peripheral neighbourhoods. The Municipal Districts with highest populations—in terms of quantity and density—are located to the north on the periphery of the City (Table 4.3). These are KaMavota and KaMubukwana, with 335.544 and 345.574 inhabitants respectively. These areas are characterized as having the lowest average household incomes and lowest real estate values. They are additionally areas with a high concentration of informal settlements (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008a).

As the population of the City of Maputo has grown radially outwards from its core, the most central Municipal Districts of the City, Nlhamankulu and KaMpfumo, have substantially lower populations (Jenkins, 2013). These districts encompass commercial areas, tall buildings, but also residential areas or villas with individual houses and avenues that retains low population densities (e.g., Sommerschield) and high socio-economic level (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008b). For instance, in the district of KaMpfumo, which was historically the original core of the city, the population growth was found to be negative (-17%) in 2007. It retains only 9% of Maputo's inhabitants, but its residents represent more than 75% of the wealth and they inhabit the most expensive real estate properties (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008a).

The type of accommodation used by the population of Maputo reflects their economic and social situation and the cultural patterns that govern their ways of life. There are significant differences between the more central and peripheral urban districts. In the central part of the city the vast majority of the population (85%) live in apartments or houses, mostly from the colonial time, with an average of 2-4 bedrooms. Slightly more than 10% of the central district population lives in basic houses in highly density-populated areas (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008a). The dwellings of the peripheral urban districts are primarily self-built one-story houses, with no bathroom and kitchen inside, mostly without sewage, and with a small yard for the practice of self-consumption agriculture.

Table 4.2 – Population increase in the City of Maputo over the past 75 years

Year	Population	% Increase - Annual
1940	74,000	n.a.
1950	93,000	2.6%
1960	181,00	9.5%
1970	395,862	11.9%
1980	755,300	9.1%
1997	966,837	1.6%
2007	1,099,112	1.4%
2009	1,145,307	2.1%
2013	1,209,993	1.4%
2018	1,288,720	1.3%
2025	1,401,480	1.2%
2035	1,565,770	1.2%

Source: Jenkins (2012a)

Table 4.3 – Maputo population growth by the residential areas

Years	Cement City (%)	Suburbs & Periphery (%)
1970	**26.8**	**71.2**
1980	**24.3**	**75.7**
1991	**18.1**	**81.9**

Source: CEDH (2006)

Figure 4.4. – City of Maputo with area occupied by informal settlements (in yellow) and pictures of the informal neighbourhood of Chamanculo C (top) and George Dimitrov (bottom)

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, (2008a)

Table 4.4 – Variation of population by Municipal District in Maputo City in the last 10 years

Municipal District	Area (Km2)	Population			
		1997	**2007**	**Variation (%)**	**Density (people / km2)**
Total	303	966,837	1,099,112	13,7	3,663.67
District nº 1	13.5	154,284	106,259	-20.6	7,870
District nº 2	8.8	162,750	155,462	-4.5	17,616
District nº 3	12.2	210,551	223,688	6.2	18,335
District nº 4	76.9	228,244	293,768	28.7	3,820
District nº 5	59.8	211,008	293,998	39.3	4,916

Source: INE (2010)

Figure 4.5 – Density of the population by neighborhood (2007)
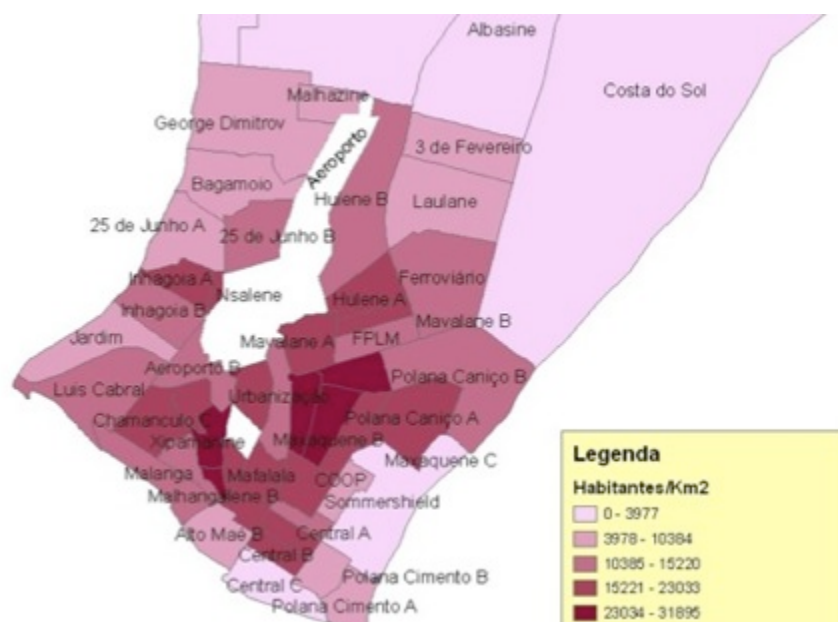
Source: INE (2010)

4.1.2 Economic Situation

Mozambique has experienced a rapid economic growth in the past few years. In 2011, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate was at 7.2%, rising to 7.87% by 2013. A large part of this growth has to do with Mozambique's natural resource base and increasing mining activity, which grew by 54% in 2012. The recent discovery of natural gas off the Mozambican coast has prompted further exploration for oil. There are also plans for the expansion of coal production. Analysts expect that the development of these mineral resources could bring Mozambique's GDP to the level of Angola's (World Bank, 2010), which in 2013 it was US$138.4 billion[21], with a growth rate at 6.8%[22].

On the other hand, despite the strong and sustained economic growth experience since the end of the civil war, the Mozambican economy has undergone minimal structural transformations. Its productive base remains dependent largely on natural resources, which are concentrated in a few megaprojects, specifically coal, gas and aluminium, whose primary areas of operations are located outside of the City of Maputo. These megaprojects have resulted in large Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows that have continued to create large-scale economic growth, but they have not produced equally significant impacts in terms of government revenues, employment creation, economic diversification and wellness distribution. It is perceived that weak human capital, the high cost of credit, deficient infrastructure and burdensome regulations have slowed the diversification of the economic structure. However, according to the World Bank, the emerging extractive industry, if managed appropriately, is so lucrative that it could provide the means for Mozambique to reach the status of a middle-income country by 2025 (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

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[21] http://data.worldbank.org/country/angola
[22] http://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/global-economic-prospects/data?region=SST

Maputo's economy contributes more than 40% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and has an estimated GDP per capita of US$1.457, compared to a National GDP per capita of US$332 (World Bank, 2010). The city's economy can be divided between formal and informal activities. The formal economy is mainly centered on the harbour – chromite and ferrochrome, coal, sugar, copra, and hardwood are the chief exports (World Bank, 2007). But the local economy also includes other sectors, such as real estate services and tourism. The informal economy is growing by 7 to 8% per annum and represented 60% of the urban labour force in 1997 and 76% in 2003. It creates opportunities for poorer households that the formal economy cannot offer (World Bank, 2007).

Table 4.5 – Economic growth rates within Mozambique

Segment	2009	2010	2011	2012	2018	2025	2035
City of Maputo	6.1%	6.3%	6.6%	6.9%	7.0%	5.5%	4.0%
Province of Maputo	5.9%	6.5%	7.0%	7.2%	7.8%	7.8%	5.1%
Mozambique	6.4%	7.1%	7.3%	7.5%	8.2%	8.6%	5.1%

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA (2013)

Formal Economy

More than 50% of the population of the City of Maputo is economically active. KaMpfumu central district has the most active commercial and industrial sector (Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA, 2013). Maputo's formal economy includes several sectors, which are presented as follows.

Commercial Trade is the most dynamic sector of Maputo's economy. It represents more than 30% of the GDP and its activities are divided into three main categories: (i) large-scale supermarkets and department stores; (ii) medium-size retail shops and stores; and (iii) small retail markets. Currently, there are 61 retail markets within the City of Maputo, which are distributed equally across the districts. The largest are located outside the central districts (i.e., Xipamanine, Malanga and Xiquelene) and are generally characterized by low quality of infrastructure conditions. In the past decade, the opening of several new supermarkets and shopping centers has changed profoundly the local commercial trade sector. The majority of these venues targets the higher income inhabitants of Maputo and are installed in the central districts, with high quality infrastructure conditions (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

Industrial sector is primarily composed of small (less than 20 employees) to medium sized (between 20 to 200 employees) enterprises. According to a survey taken in 2002, almost 96.9% of the businesses in the City of Maputo were small enterprises, which employed 57.3% of the workforce (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014). Few relatively large foreign construction companies dominate the industrial sector, in particular from Portugal (e.g. Teixeira Duarte and Soares da Costa), South Africa (e.g. SB Construction and Group Five), Italy (e.g. CMC Africa Austral) and China (e.g. SOGECOA and CCM). There are very few significant formal Mozambique players – one exception is CETA, which used to be State owned. These international players estimate that they only reach 50% of their productivity potential. This is caused by the lack of specialization and technical skills (e.g. lack of carpenters and plumbers); lack of economies of scale (there are virtually no large scale housing construction projects); disruptions in the workflow (due to land market regulation, financing and government procurement) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

Table 4.6 – Spatial distribution of enterprises, employment, and GDP in the City of Maputo (2002)

Segment	Enterprises	Distribution	Employment	Distribution	GDP (2002)	Distribution
City of Maputo	8,085	100.0%	141,009	100.0%	30,716,016	100.0%
DM1	3,106	38.4%	92,271	65.4%	21,963,143	71.5%
DM2	1,156	14.3%	22,368	15.9%	3,950,181	12.9%
DM3	1,028	12.7%	12,838	9.1%	1,637,426	5.3%
DM4	1,222	15.1%	5,016	3.6%	571,030	1.9%
DM5	1,473	18.29%	8,023	5.7%	2,565,871	8.4%
Katembe	77	0.95%	348	0.2%	23,301	0.1%
Inhaca	23	0.3%	145	0.1%	5,065	0.02%

Source: INE (2002)

Construction sector is the main segment of Maputo's economy. In Mozambique it has contributed between 3 and 3.5% of GDP in recent years, which is quite small for a fast growing country; considering that the construction sector typically accounts for more than 10% of GDP in high growth developing countries.

Figure 4.6 – Construction of a five stars resort along Avenida Marginal

Source: Author (2013)

Construction costs are on average high in Mozambique (more than 30% higher than in South Africa) due to high costs of materials (most of them imported), low productivity and high financing costs. The current level of activity may not be sustainable as most of it is still driven by donor-funded programs, which are bound to decrease as a share of GDP as the country continues to develop (Nhabinde, Marrengula, & Ubisse, 2012).

Real Estate has become a major business in Maputo. It contributed 16.7% of the GDP of Maputo in 2007. The real-estate stock had remained relatively stable for the past four decades, but this trend has dramatically changed over the last decade, due to the economic growth and the increasing of financial development investments in Maputo. This has led to a significant increase in demand for high quality real estate in the central business district. Since 2011, in fact, many new buildings have been built, particularly in the most central areas, comprising both apartments geared to the higher segments of the market, as well as office space. Within the area of the *Baixa* alone, for example, it is estimated that there is almost $2.4 billion of current or planned real estate investments (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014). In terms of asset ownership, local upper income investors and developers make up a large proportion of the market (Knight Frank, 2013). Foreign investments are also bringing some negative impacts, including significant inflation regionally, especially in terms of real estate values, and a rapid population growth on the periphery of the city, which is producing a large commuter culture that is increasing traffic congestion and creating parking issues, especially in the CBD (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

Table 4.7 – Average real estate costs by building and ownership type

Type	Rental Costs (per month)	Purchase Price	Prime Yields
Office	$20-30 / m2	$1,500-1,900 / m2	10%
Industrial	$8-10 / m2	$250-600 / m2	14%
Retail	$40-50 / m2	$2,000-3,500 / m2	10%
Residential	$2,000-6000 / various sizes	$100,000-$400,000 / various sizes	7%

Source: Knight Frank (2013)

Figure 4.8 – Distribution of real estate prices across the metropolitan of Maputo
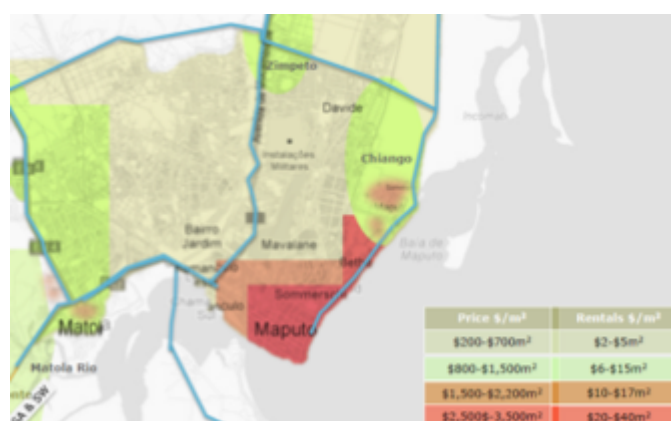
Source: Knight Frank (2013)

Financial Sector has increased the municipal contribution of the GDP from 7% to 14.9%, since the approval of the policy of liberalization of the financial system in the 90's. The historic district of Maputo (Baixa) is the heart of the financial sector and is the headquarters of all the major banks (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

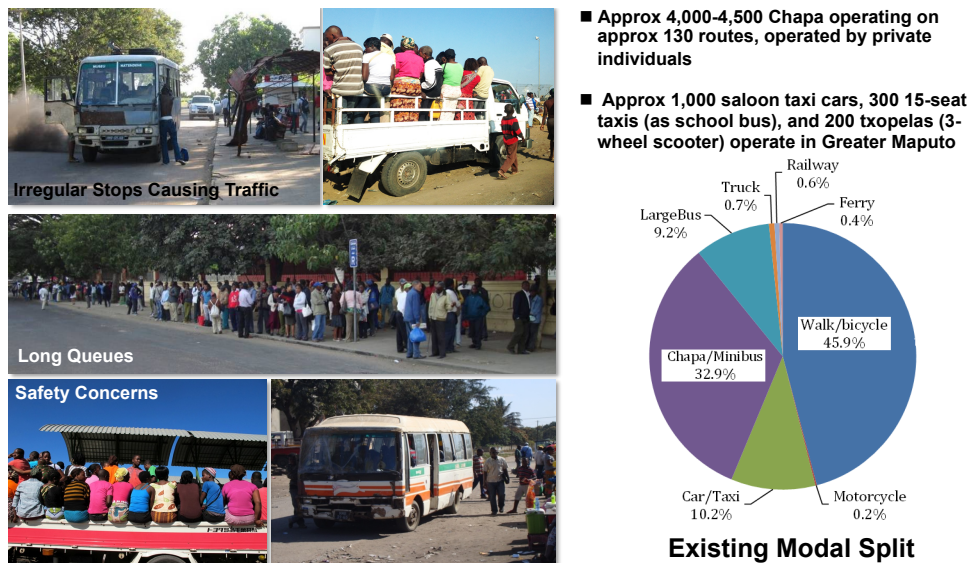**Figure 4.7 – New premises of Bank of Mozabique in the Baixa**

Source: Author (2015)

Maputo is also increasingly subject to **foreign investments**, particularly in natural resources, logistics, financial services, and construction sectors. Increasing political stability of the central and municipal government, the recent discovery of natural resources and years of steady investment in urban infrastructure have led to an attractive investment climate for foreign companies and small to medium sized enterprises (SMEs). This can be witnessed by the increase in new office space being developed and leased to foreign companies, as well as by the construction of new residential buildings and hotels in the City.

Transport and Communications sectors in 2007 accounted for approximately 16.7% of the municipal contribution to the GDP. This success is mainly due to the location of Maputo in the economic corridor between Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland. The transport sector is a major employer and the main large-enterprises include the Railways of Mozambique (CFM) and Maputo Public Bus Transport (TPM). There are also small-scale enterprises for the transport of personnel that run the so-called semi-collective *(chapas)* and private cars and taxis (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

Figure 4.8 – Existing transport conditions: public transport, chapa and taxi

- Approx 4,000-4,500 Chapa operating on approx 130 routes, operated by private individuals

- Approx 1,000 saloon taxi cars, 300 15-seat taxis (as school bus), and 200 txopelas (3-wheel scooter) operate in Greater Maputo

Truck 0.7%
Railway 0.6%
Ferry 0.4%
LargeBus 9.2%
Walk/bicycle 45.9%
Chapa/Minibus 32.9%
Car/Taxi 10.2%
Motorcycle 0.2%

Existing Modal Split

Source: Aoki (2014)

Tourism sector contribution of the national GDP (2.5%) is very low in comparison to South Africa (8%) and worldwide trends (10%) (INE, 2010) Maputo has historically been the main entry point and premier destination for tourists visiting Mozambique, and in 2004 it received around 200,000 visitors. Nearly 40% of all international travellers come to Maputo and the large majority of them (80%) fall into the business segment, corresponding to nearly 70% of the segment for the country (AHSM, 2006).

Figure 4.8 – View of Maputo from Ilha Inhaca
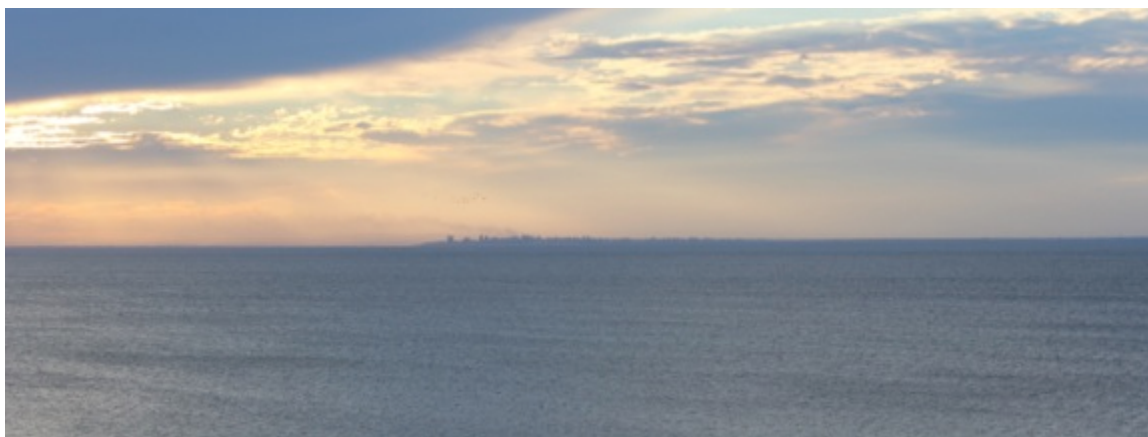
Source: Author (2014)

Fishing and agriculture sectors are small contributors to the total economic productivity of the City of Maputo. The fishing sector's contribution to GDP in 2007 was nearly 0.4%. Few large companies, whose activity is oriented towards the export market, run it. A significant number of artisan fishermen also sell their daily catch in Maputo local markets or on the street just outside the Port, mainly informally. This is a historic and cultural practice that is embedded in the social fabric of Maputo historic district (Baixa) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014). Urban agriculture is rarely practiced in Maputo, and therefore it represents only 0.1% of the GDP of the entire municipality. These activities are mostly conducted in marginal areas or on the periphery of the City, and they focus mainly on small cash crops (e.g. peanuts, maize, sweet potato or cassava). Agriculture is mostly for self-consumption and only a small proportion is sold outside the Municipality.

Informal Economy

The informal sector in Mozambique is a critical element to the livelihoods and security of the lowest income households. In Maputo, 22 out of the 61 markets are informal and are a robust and active sector of the economy, as they employ thousands of people, most of who are young and female (FAO, 2008).

The growth of the informal sector in Mozambique has been boosted mainly by the high rate of job losses caused by the privatization of large firms and the reorganization of the workforce. At the end of 2002, in fact, over 1,470 companies were privatized and 120,000 workers lost their jobs. The textile, cashew nut, railway, post and telecommunications industries were the hardest hit by these job losses (Paulo, Rosario, & Tvedten, 2011). In the particular case of the City of Maputo, the factors that caused the development of the informal sector include: (a) the numerous refugees displaced by the war, who have not returned to their regions of origin; (b) the increase of internal migration (rural to urban) as a result of people seeking better living conditions (employment, studying); (c) the restrictive labour market legislation, which hinders the establishment of formal

businesses; (d) the mass privatization of public companies and the streamlining of the workforce; (e) the increase of the active population and the limited manpower absorption capacity in the formal private economy (Paulo et al., 2011).

Figure 4.9 – Informal vendors in the Baixa

Source: Author (2015)

Amongst these factors, the high cost of doing business formally is the main reason for continuing to operate informally. Leaders of informal organizations say that it is very difficult and time-consuming to start a formally registered firm. Many of the informal vendors do not have the identification documents or property rights needed to initiate a formal business or to have access to financial tools (Tostensen, Tvedten, & Vaa, 2001a). Therefore, economic activities are conducted in areas that have low to no operating costs, such as public places (parks, streets sides, vacant properties, etc) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

The Municipal Council is trying to organize the informal sector across the city through several interventions. Its support mainly target informal markets located outside the central districts, but there are also some important initiatives that took place in the historic district (Baixa), such as, for instance, the requalification of the Maputo Central Market, which provides an organized location for informal market activities run by micro-enterprises and traders (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

The vendors who work in informal markets struggle with high levels of uncertainty; police harassment; and lack of basic infrastructure and of energy, water and sanitation facilities. These stakeholders require legal recognition and an improved working environment (Snow, 2011). There are multiple associations that provide organization and representation for informal workers within Maputo and the Baixa. The Associations of Operators and Workers in the Informal Sector (ASSOTSI and ASSOCAVA) are two of the largest organizations aimed at improving the working conditions of informal operators and workers, by defending their rights and interests. In 2003, for instance, ASSOCAVA created a financial support fund to support informal workers in case of injuries (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014). Social networks also play a critical role

in providing social and financial support and services to informal workers. Among them exist many types of cultural related micro-finance and insurance mechanisms, which range from group saving plans (*xitique*), to lending programmes and social or welfare services in times of emergency (e.g., sickness, death, marriage) or poor business performance.

While these institutions and social networks have been crucial to help informal workers, additional support is requested, such as: improved representation of informal vendors to the state; increased access to credit and training opportunities for micro-entrepreneurs; new market facilities that are located closer to public transportation facilities; the development of a poverty rights system that can be used to access financial tools; and public transportation options to support the movement of goods and people within the CBD of Maputo and between urban-peri-rural areas (Tvedten, Roque, & Bertelsen, 2013). In fact, the majority of the informal workers live in the outskirts of Maputo and they have to commute long distances everyday to their location of employment.

4.2   Governance and management analysis

This section presents the results of the analysis of Maputo governance and management context (Phase 1 – Step 1.2 of the fieldwork), including the assessment of financing and institutional structures, legal and regulatory frameworks, human resources availability and capacities, and the identification of existing opportunities and risks. The stakeholders directly or indirectly involved in urban conservation in Maputo, including their roles and responsibilities, are also presented.

The documents used for this analysis include the national and municipal legal framework on urban planning and urban cultural heritage conservation and management; the heritage catalogue and studies from the Faculty of Architecture & Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo; documents provided by the Municipality of Maputo, the National Government and international organizations. The interviews and focus group, conducted in Phase 1 – Step 1.4 of the fieldwork (Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape), provided as well some information on Maputo's governance and management context.

The information obtained formed the basis for the analysis of the Baixa "Analysis of risks and opportunities for implementation", conducted in Phase 2 – Step 2.6 of the fieldwork study.

4.2.1   Defining urban governance

Urban governance is here defined as "the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a city's economic and social resources for development" (World Bank, 1992). UN-Habitat considers urban governance as 'the software that enables the urban hardware to function' (UN-Habitat, 2015), referring to the many ways institutions and individuals exercise their power in a city's day-to-day management of economic and social resources (World Bank, 1992), and the processes used for effectively realizing the short term and long-term agenda of a city's development (UN-Habitat, 2015). In the urban management context, governance refers to all the laws, regulations, frameworks, processes and systems that shape the way in which different institutions and individuals operate to respond to the needs of citizens.

Urban governance is thus a continuous process of decision-making that engages various actors with different priorities, to ensure that rules are made and enforced, development is realized and services delivered. It informs the success of a city system and mostly is at the hands of local governments, which have the proximity, legitimacy and scale, in most countries of the world, of

being directly elected by the citizens and thus becoming the first gate for people's participation in public affairs (UN-Habitat, 2015).

In African cities, there are many actors involved in urban governance, who operate within formal or informal frameworks, processes and systems. The formal governance structures relate to the political and legal framework in which a city operates. The informal system refers to the behaviours, systems and processes that have become part of the way the city does business through non legal influences such as culture, historical traditions, social norms and business practices (World Bank, 1992).

In this regard, in the face of the failure of local governments to meet growing urban needs, popular initiatives have played an important role in the provision of urban services (Halfani, 1997; McCarney, 1996, 2003). In fact, large numbers of urban residents, lacking access to formal jobs or state provision of basic services, have created their own income activities and established the necessary services and infrastructure, often through collective efforts. This has resulted in an extensive informalisation of cities, where many existing laws, policies and urban plans do not materialise (Lindell, 2002). Neo-liberal policies have provided an additional impetus on these processes (Devas, 2004) and the number of civil groups in African cities has greatly increased during recent years (Halfani, 1997; Tostensen, Tvedten, & Vaa, 2001b).

4.2.2 Maputo Municipal Sector

The Government of Mozambique has recognized the importance of urban areas for both economic growth and poverty reduction; and, through a process of decentralisation, is progressively passing to municipalities the responsibility for basic urban services and infrastructure provision. However, while economic development is growing fast, cities lack the capacity to respond effectively to urbanisation. One of the key development challenges is the need to strengthen municipal-level government and ensure that the poor also benefit from the country's economic growth (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

Local Authorities, in fact, are weak structures without the institutional capacities to mobilize and manage the resources needed to provide adequate services to their citizens and to meet the social, environmental, and economic challenges that they face (World Bank, 2010). This critical situation is partially due to the recent history of Municipalities in Mozambique. In fact, until the late 1990s, Mozambique's urban areas were under the political and administrative authority of the centralized state. Mozambique's municipal laws have been implemented in 1997, resulting in the first municipal elections late in that year. The first 23 elected municipal governments, including Maputo Municipality, assumed office in January 1998 and a further 10 shortly thereafter. In 2009 an additional 10 municipalities were created, bringing the total to 43 (World Bank, 2010).

As a consequence of this recent municipal history, the existing legislation on decentralization is often unclear about specific roles in the provision of urban services (World Bank, 2010), resulting in a structural mismatch between the capabilities of municipalities and the complex governance and multi-sectoral service delivery demands by citizens. Thus, Municipalities require considerable investment to become functioning local governments (World Bank, 2010).

The municipal sector in Maputo is faced with different challenges, among which urban poverty, growing social and economic inequality, weak capacity of local administrations and limited financial resources. As previously seen, approximately 70% of the population of Maputo is still living in informal settlements with insufficient services; and 54% live below the poverty line. In addition, Maputo municipal boundaries circumscribe a mix of densely populated urban areas, where people with different socio-economic situations live, including the core historic commercial "cement city"; informal settlements; expanding peri-urban settlements and rural space with self-built houses; luxurious and high-rise middle-class mixed-use neighbourhoods; and several industrial/commercial corridors (World Bank, 2010).

In Maputo, the low level of investment in urban areas over many years has also reduced the quality and quantity of service delivery, especially in the maintenance of existing infrastructure. The ability of the City Council (CMM) to provide quality services to its citizens is also limited by inefficiencies and resource constraints (Tvedten & Candiracci, 2016). The Municipality, in fact, inherited an extremely weak and highly centralized political and administrative culture (Tvedten & Candiracci, 2016) that often results in fragmented and inefficient planning and management functions. Weak operational supervision and information systems also limit the management's ability to achieve improvements in service delivery (Tvedten & Candiracci, 2016). The Municipality inherited as well a very limited municipal tax base with no or out-dated property registers and generally no culture of tax payment (World Bank, 2010). Therefore, it is still dependent on the state for operating costs and on donors for capital investments. State transfers are very small, representing less than 1% of the national budget; and municipal expenditures of US$15 per capita are low in comparison with other primary cities in the region like Addis Ababa and Dar es Salaam (World Bank, 2010).

International aid allocation has only recently begun to shift toward urban investments. Since the end of the war, a large number of development partners have been supporting the Government of Mozambique with substantial funding in the rural sector and commerce, but only recently they realized that more emphasis on sub-national authorities is needed in order to build long term and sustainable service delivery capacity in the country. Municipalities are the only decentralized political entities in Mozambique and their success is crucial for the development of the country as a whole (World Bank, 2010).

The World Bank is one of the few development partners (along with UN-Habitat; the German, the American and the Swiss Development Cooperation Agencies; and Cities Alliance), which are actively supporting Municipalities in the area of urban development in Mozambique. Since 2006, the focus of the World Bank financed urban investment in Mozambique has been in Maputo, where it has implemented a two-phases (2007-2010 and 2011-2015) Municipal Development Programme (ProMaputo) to support a comprehensive restructuring of the Municipal Council (CMM). The Programme aimed at strengthening the Municipal Council institutional and financial capacities and to improve the delivery and sustainability of municipal services to the citizens. This has been done through a broad range of investments that go from "soft" long-term institutional improvements (e.g. governance, capacity building) to large infrastructure investments (e.g. landfills, sewage systems, major road rehabilitation) (World Bank, 2010).

ProMaputo resulted from a broad stakeholder consultation process, supported by the municipality of Maputo and the World Bank, which produced a vision, mission, and a 10-year development strategy and programme for the City. The vision of Maputo is for a "Prosperous, attractive, clean, secure, and united city." This strategy has provided a basis for policy continuity despite changes in political leadership, and has also proved sufficiently flexible to accommodate evolving political priorities (World Bank, 2010).

ProMaputo I focused on significant initial investments in institutional and financial reform and capacity building. ProMaputo II continued to support the institutional and financial reforms developed so far, seeking to promote innovation in the provision of services and sustainable operation and maintenance of municipal facilities. It is comprised of five components:

- Component A: *Institutional Development* to strengthen municipal capacity to deliver services in response to citizen demand.

- Component B: *Financial Sustainability* to ensure the financial sustainability of the CMM.

- Component C: *Urban Planning and Environment* to ensure the equitable and sustainable management of municipal land.

- Component D: *Urban Infrastructure Investment and Maintenance* to ensure the construction and maintenance of key municipal transport and drainage infrastructure.

- Component E: *Metropolitan Development* to introduce a metropolitan approach for the improvement of selected municipal services (i.e. urban transport and solid waste management) (World Bank, 2010).

Since 2007, ProMaputo introduced significant changes in how CMM manages municipal services, operations and maintenance of municipal facilities, supported by the development of institutional and financial reforms. It strengthened the urban planning capacities of CMM, improved standards for urban roads and drainage, introduced strategic planning and operational budgeting, as well as information technology-based systems for financial management, land use planning, and personnel administration. Notoriously, the Maputo Municipality Urban Structure Plan (PEUMM - *Plano de Estrutura Urbana do Município de Maputo*), approved in 2009, defined the essential elements of the urban structure of Maputo, contributing to improving the management of the city and enabling the subsequent elaboration of various urban plans. Other activities included the development of environmental management plans; the establishment of a Geographic Information System (SIGEM) and associated cadastres to improve the management of urban land and tax collection; the design and implementation of socially and technically appropriate methodologies for informal settlements improvement, and for peri-urban land titling and land tenure regularization.

ProMaputo also significantly increased the credibility and confidence of other partners in the CMM and helped to leverage additional partner financing, not only from other development partners but from the private sector as well (Tvedten & Candiracci, 2016).

4.2.3   Institutional Framework

The City of Maputo is the designated seat of the Central and Local Governments. As previously seen, it is divided administratively into five urban districts, each of which consists of several smaller neighbourhoods or *bairros* (a total of 53 *bairros*), which in turn are divided into 'blocks' or *quarteirões*. These administrative divisions are governed through a hierarchical political order currently in the hands of the governing party Frelimo, which includes a mayor, a municipal council with aldermen (*vereadores*) and a municipal assembly (Tvedten & Candiracci, 2016).

There are many actors involved in urban governance, which can be divided into eight distinctive groups:

- Central Government (housing, environment, economy, finance, education, culture), which support the development and implementation of national urban development policies and agendas;
- Local Government (urban planning, infrastructure, economy, finance, education);
- Parastatals and public authorities (roads and railways, sea and airport authorities, public transport providers, holders of land reserves and open spaces);
- Utility operators (telephone, internet, electricity, gas, water, refuse collection and disposal, wastewater disposal);
- Professionals and academics;
- Civil society, which is not a homogenous group (local citizen and community);
- Private stakeholders that are playing an increasing role, as they have the financial means often lacking in the public resources;

- National and international governmental and non-governmental organizationsdealing with sustainable development processes, which provide to the local government assistance programmes and operations.

The World Bank affirms that a critical element for effective governance at the local government level is the establishment of an inter-governmental institutional framework that:

- Clearly specifies the responsibilities of each level of government;

- Provides the appropriate authority to support the delegated responsibilities;

- Specifies and enforces a code of conduct to underpin administration;

- Encourages private sector and civil actors to participate in development or management (World Bank, 2001a).

In Maputo these forms of collaboration and partnership are very weak or absent. All public institutions that have a stake in urban governance are not aligned under the leadership of a single entity and thus do not act and deliver as one, be they autonomous authorities such as the Port of Maputo and the Railway Authority (CFM); parastatals such as TV of Mozambique (*Televisão de Moçambique*); and the different central and local government entities.

In order to improve the collaboration with different stakeholders, in particular with the private sector, the Municipality of Maputo is in the process of strengthening its Public Private Partnership (PPP) operations under the leadership of the Municipal Councillor for Economic Development. In fact, in August 2011 a new Law on Public-Private Partnerships (PPP), Large Scale Projects (LSP) and Company Concessions (CC) was published in Mozambique. These reforms are aimed at streamlining and rendering more coherent the regulatory framework for PPPs, and thus should facilitate the collaboration among public and private actors, and provide medium to long-term benefits in terms of the operation and maintenance of basic services. However, these reforms do not provide yet a clear and comprehensive regulatory framework to rule PPPs (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015b), leaving thus a big gap in terms of clear and transparent collaboration and partnership amongst different public and private actors. In accordance to the opinion of several real-estate experts, interviewed during the fieldwork study, due to this unclear and ineffective partnership framework, Maputo's real estate and investments' opportunities are not used and managed at the best of their potential:

"The rules of the game are not clear; there are different interlocutors, each of whom give different answers to the same question; the procedures for projects approval and construction are too complicated and slow. This situation creates a sense of incertitude amongst private investors, who have no time and money to loose".

4.2.4 Normative Framework for Urban Management and Challenges

The analysis of Maputo urban management legislation seeks to document the evolution of past and present legislative efforts on urban planning, and identify existing gaps towards the development of a comprehensive normative framework that guarantees the sustainable development and management of the city.

Maputo has a robust normative planning framework, which confers to the Municipal Council the authority to prepare and approve its development and land use plans. In particular, the main legal instruments being used by the Municipality are the Land Law (*Lei de Terras* – LT) (Assembleia

da Republica, 1997), and the Territorial Planning Law (*Lei do Ordenamento do Territorio – LOT*) (Assembleia da Republica, 2007), and their respective regulations.

The Land Law provides guidance on land use rights and how to facilitate its management. It defines that in Mozambique all land is State property and 'cannot be sold, transferred, mortgaged or pledged' (The Land Law, 19/97 of 1 October, Art. 3). Access to land by individuals or legal persons is obtained through the acquisition of *rights to use and benefit from land*, known as DUATs (*Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra*). People have rights of property for investing/building on the land, not for the land itself.

The Territorial Planning Law (2007) clearly establishes the different planning levels and responsibilities, from the Strategic National Plans to the Local Detailed Plans. The three main instruments that the Municipality has for territorial management and planning are presented here below.

- **Maputo Municipality Urban Structure Plan (PEUMM - *Plano de Estrutura Urbana do Município*)**

At the highest level, the PEUMM (approved in 2009) defines the essential elements of the urban structure that contribute to improving the management of the city and thus the living conditions of the population. PEUMM is based on the following guiding topics: (i) Improved accessibility to all areas, including the city centre and its connections with the region and neighbouring countries; (ii) Ecological balance and environmental sustainability; (iii) Densification of the urban fabric, enabling profitability and rationalization of infrastructure and urban services and an increased social interaction among the population; (iv) Construction of social housing; and (v) Conservation of monumental, cultural and historic assets qualities, which enrich and embody the city's collective memory. Since the PEUMM approval, the City of Maputo has experienced a rapid urban growth. Therefore, this Plan is currently under review in order to assess its level of implementation and to define a new tool able to properly guide and regulate the future growth of the City, and forge a new vision and development strategy for the next 10 years (CMM, 2015 TOR).

- **Partial Urban Plans (PPU – *Planos Parciais de Urbanização)***

The next level of planning is the PPU, of which seventeen have been developed between 2007 and 2015. It is an intermediate instrument that takes objectives to the ground, establishing planning standards and development control guidelines at a block scale. PPUs aim at establishing the structure and the territorial organisation of a defined area, taking into account the balance between the various uses and urban functions, and defining the networks of transport, communications, energy and sanitation, and the social equipment, with particular attention to the areas with informal settlements and basic infrastructure and services.

- **Detailed Plans (PP – *Planos de Pormenores*)**

PPs set out in detail the typology of occupation of a specific urban area covered by a Partial Urban Plan, establishing the design of the urban space, the characteristics of infrastructure networks, services and buildings, the land uses and the general conditions and characteristics of the buildings.

Tables 4.8 lists the key laws and regulations related to urban management in Mozambique.

Table 4.8 – Laws and regulations related to Urban Management in Mozambique

Law / Regulation	Year
Land Law *(Lei de Terras)*	1997
Land Law Regulation *(Regulamento da Lei de Terras)*	1998
Technical Annex to the Land Law Regulation *(Anexo Técnico ao Regulamento da Lei de Terras)*	2000
Alteration to articles 20 and 39 of the Land Law Regulation *(Alteração aos artigos 20 e 39 do Regulamento da Lei de Terras)*	2003
Urban Land Regulation *(Regulamento do Solo Urbano)*	2006
Local Governments Law *(Lei das Autarquias Locais)*	1997
Environmental Law *(Lei do Ambiente)*	1997
Environmental and Social Management Framework *(Quadro de Gestão Ambiental e Social)*	2010
Posture on the "Right to Land Use and Utilization – DUAT" *(Postura sobre "Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra - DUAT)*	2003
Resolution on the DUAT's Posture *(Resolução sobre a Postura sobre o DUAT)*	2003
Alteration of the DUAT's Posture *(Alteração à Postura sobre o DUAT)*	2011
Territorial Planning Policy *(Política do Ordenamento do Território)*	2007
Territorial Planning Law *(Lei do Ordenamento do Território)*	2007
Territorial Planning Law Regulation (Regulamento da Lei de Ordenamento do Território)	2008
Municipal Strategy for Interventions in Informal Settlements (Estratégia Municipal de Intervenção em Assentamentos Informais)	2010
Resettlement Policy (Quadro da Política de Reassentamento)	2010
Directive on the Process of Expropriation for the Purposes of Land Planning	2010
Resettlement Policy Regulation (Regulamento da Politica de Reassentamento)	2012
Policy and Housing Strategy (Política e Estratégia de Habitação)	2011

Source: Author based on analysis of existing urban legislation

While the Municipality of Maputo has demonstrated over the past decade a significant effort to adhere to this legal framework, several challenges towards its implementation have been identified, more specifically:

- The Land Law (LT) is not accompanied by a proper and updated cadastre of land use and land use rights, which creates discrepancies and uncertainties in the enforcement of owners' rights and obligations.

- The Territorial Planning Law (LOT) does not include methodological procedures, institutional frameworks and financial instruments for the implementation, supervision and monitoring of approved urban plans.

Local experts interviewed during the fieldwork study explained that in practice, few cities in Mozambique have the capacity to comply with the existing legislation and to develop and implement urban plans. Several critical factors have been identified, as follows:

- **Weak legislative framework**: The existing normative framework is focused on the development of traditional land use/zoning plans, and does not provide the legal tools and operational methods that are needed to support and implement a landscape and spatial planning approach to urban development. Its limitations can be related to the recent urban history of Mozambique. In fact, on a national scale, the inhabitants and thus authorities of the country have a longer rural background, where land issues were less commonly debated. Therefore, as the country has started to urbanize, the government and the society are jointly acquiring and learning the culture and the practices of urban land rights and of possible planning and management methods and tools.

- **Weak land information and management systems:** The availability of land information and management systems and tools is still very limited in Maputo (despite the achievements obtained through the ProMaputo programme) and absent in the rest of the country, which is critical to effectively develop, implement and monitor a landscape and spatial planning oriented legal framework and operational approach. In addition, there is a poor availability of reliable data and a minimal availability of written and textual documentation.

- **Responsive rather than strategic approach:** The pressure on land deriving from investors or individuals, forces authorities to deliver detailed urban plans of poor quality, which mostly consist on a topographic demarcation of plots, for organizing the land use and assigning land use titles (DUATs). This approach is far from the internationally recognized concept and practice of landscape and spatial planning for urban development, seen in chapter 2. All this indicates a responsive rather than a proactive strategic approach to urban development and planning.

Figure 4.10 – Example of detailed urban plan developed by the Municipal Council in the area of Costa do Sol

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo (2015a)

- **Lack of academic education on urban planning:** The acknowledgement, facilitation and implementation of landscape and spatial planning theories and practices require an adequate academic background. Currently, there are only two faculties and one technical institute of architecture and physical planning in Mozambique, two in Maputo (*Faculdade de Arquitectura e Planeamento Fisico da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane* and *Escola Superior de Arquitectura do Instituto Superior de Ciências e Tecnologia de Moçambique*) and one in Nampula (Faculdade de Arquitectura e Planeamento Físico da Universidade de Lúrio). They pursue the teaching and application of a traditional land-use urban planning approach. As a result, the institutional capacities of professionals working on urban development within municipalities in Mozambique are limited. Only at the Maputo municipality there are few architects trained on urban planning at university level, while in the rest of the country the academic level is limited to technical secondary schools. In Maputo, thanks to the ProMaputo programme, many urban plans have been developed with the technical support of international urban professionals or local experts trained abroad, who have closely collaborated with the municipal technical team with the intention to show a different way of doing planning and thus enhance capacity building.

- **Limited financial resources:** Financial resources are also very limited, with few taxes being regularly and widely collected. On the other hand, when resources are available from the private sector, they are not used and managed at the best of their potential, due to the unclear and generic framework regulating private and public partnerships.

4.2.5 Normative Framework for Heritage Conservation

Heritage conservation in Maputo is governed by a set of laws and regulations, which frame its theoretical concept and confer to the Central Government (Ministry of Education and Culture) the legal authority for its preservation and management.

Table 4.9 lists the key laws and studies related to heritage conservation in Mozambique.

Table 4.9 – Laws and Regulation related to Heritage Conservation

Law / Regulation (Name)	Jurisdiction (Ministry, Municipality, etc.)	Year Enacted	Geographic Scope
Study for the Urban Valorisation of Maputo Historic District (Baixa) *(Estudo da Valorização Urbanística da Baixa de Maputo)*	Ministry of Culture - National Directorate for Cultural Heritage	1984	Baixa – Maputo
Law 10/88 for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (Lei do Património Cultural) – Law No. 10/88, of 22 December	Ministry of Culture People's Assembly of Mozambique	1988	Mozambique
Law 4/94 establishing basic principles for legal bodies working in the fields of the arts, letters, science, culture and social service.	Assembly of the Republic	1994	Mozambique
Regulation for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage – Decree No. 27/94, of 20 July	Council of Ministers	1994	Mozambique
Mozambique Cultural Policy and Implementation Strategy (Política Cultural de Moçambique e Estratégia de sua Implementação)	Council of Ministers	1997	Mozambique

Proposal for the Classification of National Cultural Heritage *(Proposta de Classificação do Património Cultural Nacional **)*	Ministry of Education and Culture	2008	Mozambique
Monuments Policy (Política de Monumentos)	Ministry of Education and Culture	2009	Mozambique
Inventory of Maputo Built Heritage Assets (Inventariação do Património Edificado da Cidade de Maputo *)	Not approved	2010	Maputo
Regulation for the Protection of the Built Cultural Heritage (Regulamento de Protecção do Património Cultural Edificado **)	Not approved	2010	Mozambique

* Report/Study, not Law or Regulation; ** Proposed Law/Regulation, not approved yet

Source: Author based on analysis of existing heritage legislation

The National Directorate for Culture of Mozambique is the central body with competence for directing and controlling the realization of the Government policy, programs and plans in the area of culture. Its main tasks include:

- Promote culture as an integral factor for social development, cultural identity, unity and education of citizens;

- Promote the preservation and valorization of monuments, historical sites and other aspects of cultural expressions;

- Formulate government policies and legal framework for cultural development in Mozambique, in cooperation with local and international institutions;

- Promote an inventory and dissemination of the Mozambican cultural heritage and undertake protective measures for the protection of classified properties;

- Stimulate community participation, public institutions and private sector in the realization of actions for cultural development.

The concept and legal basis for heritage conservation in Mozambique has been in existence since 1984, shortly after the proclamation of independence, with the intention to promote the development of a national culture and identity. Thus, they had a national scope and a broad view over heritage classification and protection. In the same year, in the context of a study for the urban development of the *Baixa* of Maputo, the delimitation of a protected zone of downtown has been defined.

Figure 4.11 – Protected zones of historic architecture in the city center of Maputo
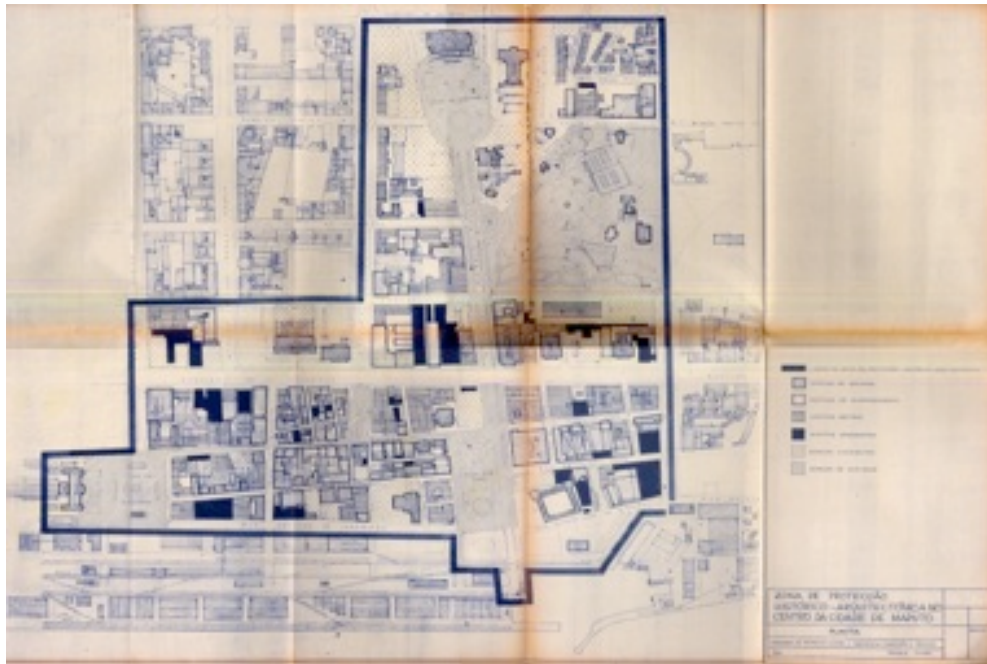
Source: Ministerio da Cultura (1984)

Since then, there have been multiple studies and reports commissioned to describe the value and importance of protecting the heritage assets of the country, and further laws and legislation passed to support its conservation. In recent years, there has been a growing appreciation of Maputo's cultural heritage and architectural legacy, and the key elements that frame and regulate their legal protections are presented hereunder.

- **Law 10/88 on the Protection of Cultural Heritage (and related Directive 29/98) (Assembleia Popular, 1988)**

The primary national legislation relating to heritage is contained in the Law 10/88, enacted on December 22nd, 1988, which defines the notions and establishes legal protection for both tangible and intangible cultural heritage property, movable and immovable property. It also explains the concept of classification and establishes a framework of responsibilities for the protection of the State's heritage. Article 7 defines as object of immediate protection all archaeological monuments and elements; all structures built before 1920; all movable cultural property made or imported prior to 1900; and, the archives and principal operational bases of the Frelimo Party. The law also allows the designation of protected urban zones.

- **Law 4/94 (*Lei do Mecenato*) (Assembleia da Republica, 1994)**

A short piece of legislation that establishes the basic principles for legal bodies working in the fields of the arts, letters, science, culture and social service.

- **Regulation for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage (Decree No. 27/94, of 20 July) (Conselho de Ministros, 1994)**

This law establishes that assets of archaeological, anthropological or geological value, as well as non-physical assets, are considered items of cultural heritage and worthy of protection. Depending on the nature of such items of heritage, the regulation indicates that their existence must be communicated to the relevant authority which is required to inspect and determine the

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further management and classification of the find, including further construction or excavation near the site.

- **Mozambique Cultural Policy (*Política Cultural de Moçambique e Estratégia de sua Implementação*) (Conselho de Ministros, 1997)**

A consolidating document that sets out amongst other things the foregoing two laws and 16 directives, mainly related to organizations working in the field of culture, including archives, libraries and museums.

- **Monuments Policy *(Politica de Monumentos)* (Ministerio da Educacao e Cultura, 2009)**

This is the main policy document related to heritage protection. It restates the precepts of the existing legislation; defines the objectives to be protected by the heritage policy; states the creation and maintenance of an inventory of classified cultural heritage property; highlights the World Heritage Site status of the Island of Mozambique; sets out a policy for a protective zone of 50 meters around the boundary of classified property; establishes principles for intervention in such property and further develops official responsibilities for protection and conservation.

- **Regulation for the Protection of the Built Cultural Heritage** *(Regulamento de Protecção do Património Cultural Edificado)* (Conselho de Ministros, 2010 but not adopted)

In 2007, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture and through the Italian-Mozambican co-operation, the Faculty of Architecture carried out an inventory of Maputo heritage assets and drafted a proposal of regulation for the protection, preservation and valorization of different categories of cultural property (FAPF, 2010). This work led to the publication of an "Inventory of the Built Heritage in the city of Maputo" (*Inventário do Património Edificado da Cidade de Maputo*) (see figure 4.12), which proposes the protective classification of 30 buildings and memorials considered of heritage value, mainly located in the Baixa, from an initial inventory of 203 structures and public spaces.

Figure 4.12 – Front page of the Inventory of Maputo Built Heritage

Source: FAPF (2010)

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This publication ended up with the development of the 2010 draft Regulation for the Protection of Heritage Properties in Maputo, not yet approved by the competent authorities. The aim of the draft regulation is to:

- – Restate concepts relating to immovable cultural heritage property using internationally accepted terms;

- – Define the bases for the identification and listing of immovable cultural property in a systematic way;

- – Guarantee the conservation and classification of buildings and monuments, ensembles/collections of buildings and sites, beyond their historical period;

- – Guarantee the preservation and valorization of intangible cultural heritage; and

- – Place value on traditional techniques and education on popular heritage.

Article 20 of the draft Regulation proposes the heritage value of immovable property to be considered for its assessment, specifically historical/cultural, archaeological, architectural, landscape/ecological and spiritual criteria only. Article 19 of the draft Regulation proposes a tripartite system of classification, which considers as well the type of future interventions to be allowed.

ProMaputo has also played a key role in growing the local and national government attention to the conservation and management of Maputo cultural heritage. The Municipal Council, in fact, as part of ProMaputo II, has developed a Spatial Urban Plan for the *Baixa* historic district (which is the case study under investigation with this research) and the *Marginal* (the coastline), in order to effectively promote the rehabilitation and re-qualification of these areas and enhance the social and economic development benefits of their heritage.

However, despite these efforts, heritage conservation has not yet reached widespread recognition and practice by governmental institutions or by individuals and property owners. As illustrated in section 4.2.6, Maputo's cultural heritage is exposed to deterioration and demolition. Policy inaction could most likely result in the next decade or so in the replacement of existing heritage assets by non-descript buildings of a scale and size that do not consider the urban landscape context. This would threaten the city's character, vitality and identity.

4.2.6   Threats to Maputo urban cultural landscape

Maputo today is strongly characterized by real and objective problems that are affecting the entire population and the urban fabric, threatening the sustainability and vitality of its character. Heritage assets are exposed to deterioration and demolition, public spaces, gardens and sidewalks are poorly maintained, existing infrastructure are unable to cope with the demand resulting from high-rise new developments, and inadequate waste collection practices are signs of sub-optimal management. While pressures for replacement are increasing, and many heritage assets are exposed to the risk of being demolished, the general public is not yet aware of the durable economic benefits that retaining a differentiated character would bring to Maputo.

From the analysis of Maputo governance and management system (Phase 1 – Step 1.2) and of its historical and spatial development and characteristics (Phase 1 – Step 1.3), and based on the results of the focus groups conducted for the Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape (Phase 1 – Step 1.3) and for the appraisal of Baixa's current situation (Phase 2 – Step 2.2), it has been possible to identify different key factors that are threatening the conservation of Maputo urban landscape and that explain the general inaction of national and local authorities towards the valorisation and use of its cultural heritage. These factors are presented here below.

Lack of empathy with heritage

The lack of interest and care for Maputo's heritage is related to different factors:

- **The colonial past:** it is important to remember that Maputo is a post-colonial African city and its inherited built patrimony is part of the history, but not the culture of the majority of people now living in the city. Each generation and culture has its own feelings over each of Maputo sites and assets. For some, there are painful memories because they were places of a colonial town they had no access to. A feeling later modified when access to these places was conquered. Some look sadly upon some of these heavily degraded spaces, missing the times when the city was more organised. For those born shortly before or after the Independence (1975), these are generally spaces connected to happy memories, memories of a town with a free, solidary society, although now becoming a clearly individualistic, unfair one (Branquinho, 2015).

- **The weak educational system:** the educational system in Mozambique does not put any emphasis on the teaching of art, architecture and culture, and does not stimulate reflection on the socio-cultural context or the relevance of heritage for the memory and the history of the country, and of Maputo in particular. Therefore, as one of the interviewees stated: *"How can we expect any sensitivity, even from the most gifted among the architects, towards the values and potential of urban heritage? Culture is still perceived as an "élite" field, which has nothing to do with the daily life."*

- **The socio-economic conditions of the majority**: as previously seen, the big majority of Maputo population is poor and lives in the informal settlements mostly located in the outskirts. Their relation with the "formal" part of the City is mostly related to business opportunities and administrative activities. They usually consider Maputo's heritage as old and decadent, and not worth of conservation. They like the high-rise buildings recently built, as they are *"new and big"*, or the Maputo Shopping Center, for instance, as it is a *"nice place full of people and things to buy"*. Their daily life is connected to other parts of the city, such as the beach or the markets.

Figure 4.13 – Pott Building is acknowledged as a heritage asset but is in a severe state of degradation

Source: Author (2015)

Restrictive normative framework

The current legislation targets only the protection of "all structures built before 1920 and all movable cultural property made or imported prior to 1900" (Law 10/88, Assembleia Popular, 1988). But, most of Maputo's cultural heritage is relatively new and thus generally not considered of historic value and, as a consequence, difficult to classify and protect. In addition, the concept of heritage in the existing legal framework, including the 2010 draft Regulation for the protection of heritage properties, can be described as rather monumental or building specific.

Therefore, the legislation might be considered as adequate for the protection of prominent monuments and institutional or religious buildings; but it does not contemplate the preservation of the historic urban landscape. This further exposes historic areas to the risk of being demolished. The legislation, in addition, doesn't include a regulatory framework or operational mechanisms (institutional and financial) that regulate and ensure the classification, conservation and management of urban heritage. An example is the $3.8 million rehabilitation project of the Central Market (2011-2013), whereby many elements of value from the original architectural form have been eliminated.

On the other hand, the absence of unifying criteria, zoning guidelines and a cadastre, results in an insufficient consideration of the urban form as a whole, which would hamper the city's character in the long term. For instance, in the *Jardim dos Professores*, on the ridge above the eastern part of *Baixa*, the construction of tall buildings is compromising stunning views of Maputo Bay (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Figure 4.14 – The heritage law targets the protection only of structures built before 1920

Source: Author (2015)

Lack of knowledge of heritage value and benefit

The general public (including the government) is not yet aware of the embedded social, cultural and economic potential benefits that the conservation of Maputo's cultural heritage and a diversified city could provide if properly managed. Therefore, there is also a general lack of knowledge on how best it can be used to contribute effectively to economic growth, social inclusion and poverty alleviation.

Figure 4.15 – Also many structures built before 1920 are abandoned and deteriorated

Source: Author (2015)

Pressure from development

In Maputo the conservation agenda is a conflictive topic, and the pace of investment is affecting rapidly the urban heritage. Planners, governmental administrators and developers often see historic preservation as an obstacle that constrains the redevelopment of the city for new constructions, which bring commercial opportunity in the short term. In Maputo, too often the solution that is advocated is for wholesale demolition of colonial and modernist buildings, in favour of tall-buildings that maximise the high-end profit. There are also concerns of speculation as the future supply of properties could greatly exceed the real demand.

Weak institutional framework

Urbanisation in Maputo is taking place without the support of a strong institutional framework, which on the contrary is characterized by limited management and technical capacities, and often by the stigma of corruption. In addition, the existing urban management policies and tools at their disposal are not enough. For instance, it is not clear who is responsible for the conservation and management of urban heritage. In principle, the Ministry of Culture covers this role, however it is understaffed and underfinanced. Cross-sectorial cooperation with other sectors, ministries and local authorities is sporadic. From the interviews, it came out clear that local authorities should take more responsibilities in the conservation and management of urban heritage, and that the collaboration with and coordination amongst different entities in necessary.

Figure 4.16 – Tall-buildings built next to or on top of heritage assets

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.17 – Old colonial house demolished to create space for a new tall-building

Source: Author (2013)

Lack of funds and financial mechanisms

National and local authorities do not have the resources to fund the conservation of their heritage, the financial mechanisms needed to efficiently mobilize additional non-public resources – mainly from the private sector – and the regulations to guide investments. The funding allocations for heritage conservation are meagre and have to compete with the many compelling financial demands coming from other sectors (infrastructure, basic services). On the other hand, there are no incentives for the owners of historic buildings to restore them if they are in a state of sub-optimal maintenance conditions. Conservation costs can be too high and owners and renters might not want to pay for them. While the public sector cannot be asked to pay for works in privately owned buildings, it could create incentives or other types of financial mechanisms so that owners feel compelled to do so (for example through land and property tax breaks, land sharing and other instruments). This, however, requires an enabling institutional and normative framework, and coordination between entities at the national and local levels (between those mandated to establishing and collecting taxes, and those issuing building permits and allocate land).

Figure 4.18 – Colonnaded building downtown (Baixa) in a state of degrade

Source: Author (2015)

4.3 Historical and Spatial Analysis of Maputo Urban Landscape

This section presents the information obtained through "Phase 1 – Step 1.3" of the fieldwork study, done with the intention to understand the historical evolution and characterization of the city's urban landscape, to identify which elements of its urban structure contribute to define its identity and to understand the system of relationship between the different parts of the city and the whole.

4.3.1 History of Maputo urban development

The understanding of Maputo urban landscape requires a step in which its urban history, which has more than 730 years, and its architectural and commemorative assets, realized in the City from the late 19th century until independence, are studied.

Maputo, in fact, bears the imprints of many urban plans, each a reflection of the goals and visions of its era, and whose influence can be seen still today. In particular, the Portuguese colonial period, which ended in 1975, has left in Maputo's urban fabric an organized dualistic structure, with the *cidade de cimento* (cement city) in the centre and along the bay, and the suburbs (*cidade de caniço* or reed city) with increasing urban sprawl into the hinterland.

Besides this clearly defined structure, the City's boundaries circumscribe a heterogeneous mix of densely populated and diversified areas, in particular a historical commercial core in the centre (*Baixa*); luxurious and high-rise middle-class mixed-use neighbourhoods; high density informal settlements; several industrial/commercial corridors; wide crescent peri-urban settlements and rural space used primarily for self-built housing and agriculture; the semi-urban district of KaTembe across the bridgeless bay; and the Island of Inhaca, which is a ecological protected area 25 km from the continent.

Maputo urban history can be divided in six periods, namely: (i) Establishment Period (1787-1850); (ii) Early colonial period (1850-1915); (iii) Middle colonial period (1915-1955); (iv) Late colonial period (1955-1975); (v) Early independent period (1975-1990); and (vi) Contemporary period (1990-2010).
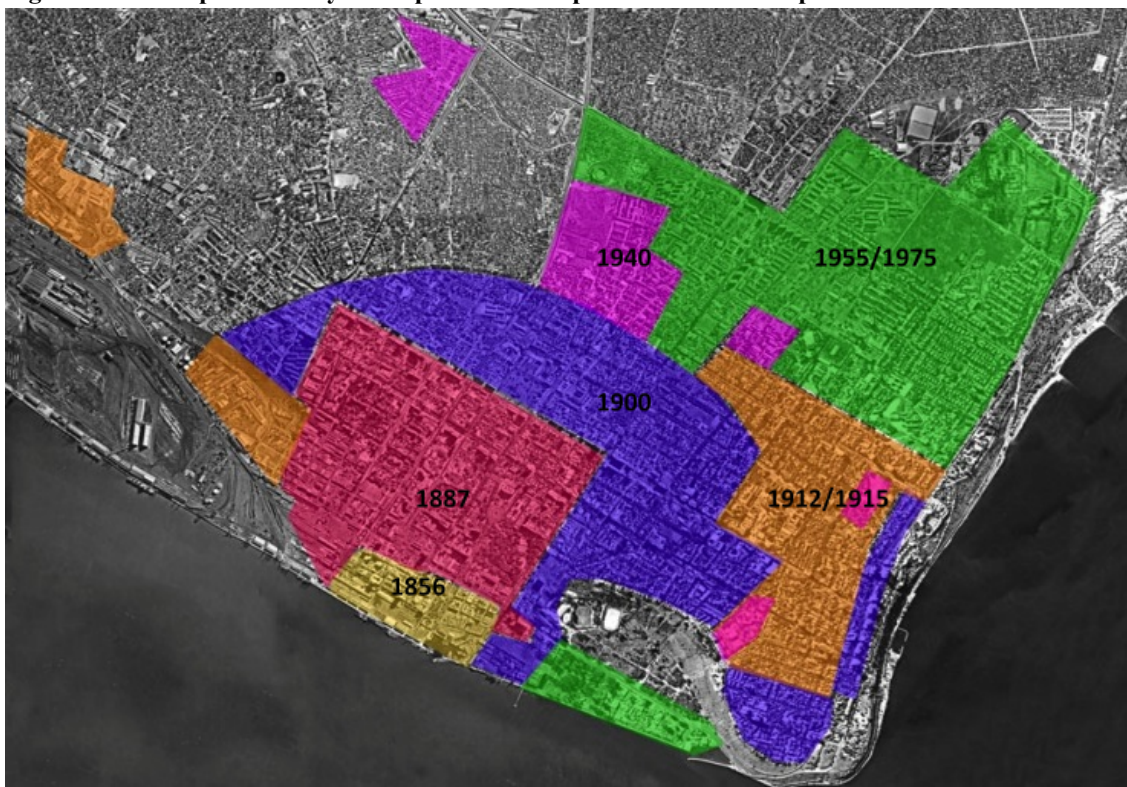
Figure 4.19 – Visual timeline of the urban growth of the City of Maputo (1500-1987)
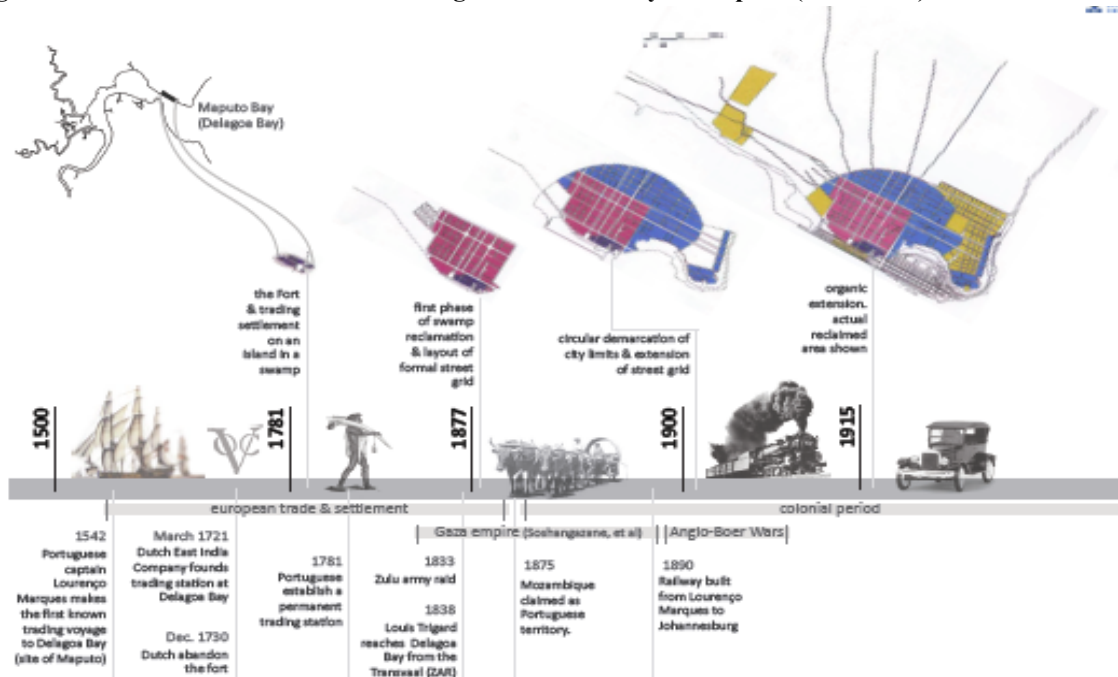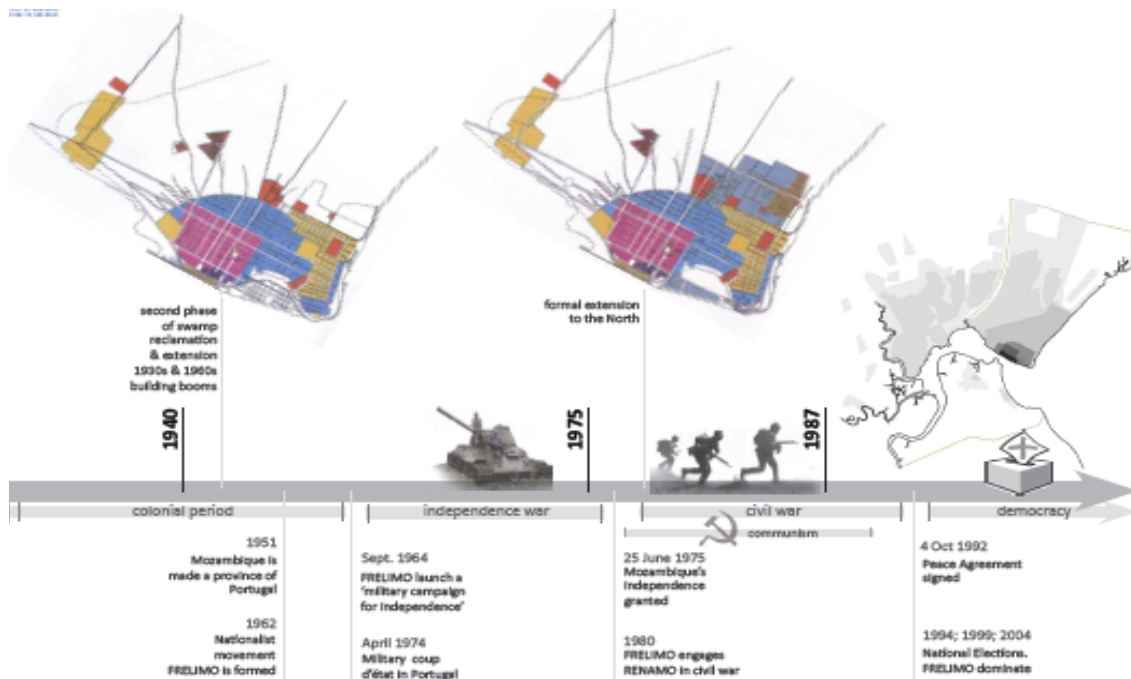
Figure 4.20 – Map of the City of Maputo with the periods of its development

(i)   Establishment Period (1787-1850)

Lourenço Marques (renamed Maputo after independence in 1975) became the capital of the Portuguese Colony of Mozambique in 1887, a status until then held by the Island of Mozambique. The Portuguese crown ordered the establishment of the first settlement in a small island near the

mouth of the river, surrounded by swampy marshlands, which corresponds to the area of today's *Baixa*. It served as shelter for ship repairs, and later as a supply base for operations of trading companies. A fort was built in 1782 (Our Lady of Conception Fortress or *Fortaleza Nossa Senhora da Conceição*), located in the same place where today's Fortaleza was rebuilt during the 1940-50s. In 1825, the Lourenço Marques Commercial Company established itself in the future urban area, which would be the definite site of the city. As trade increased, so did the needs for labourers and housing. In 1825, there was a house built outside the fortress; in 1841-1844 there were 19 wooden houses; and in 1851-1854 there were already two masonry houses. *Casa Amarela* is the primary remnant still existing in the *Baixa* from this period (Correia, Fernandes, & Lage, 2012).

(ii)   Early colonial period (1850-1915)

Lieutenant Antonio Pedra Baptista Gonçalves did the first organized development plan of the city in 1851. The Plan featured six parallel streets, comprising a Chapel (*Conception*) and the Cemetery (St. Timothy). The defence line of the settlement was constructed in 1867-1868, clearly defining the first small coastal urban core. It was implemented along the future Linha Street (present day Avenida 25 de Setembro). The emerging core had 56 stone houses, for around 1.100 inhabitants; the centre corresponded to the Picota Square, with Our Lady of Conception Fortress. The main streets of the core of the city under construction were Alegria/Dom Luis/Consiglieri Pedroso and Mercadores/Major Araujo, which organized some kind of citadel with two streets, a square and a fort, surrounded by a wall (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.21 – Probably the oldest plan of Lourenço Marques, by António Pedro Batista Gonçalves, 8 October 1851 (original AHM mem. 28, III 1B)
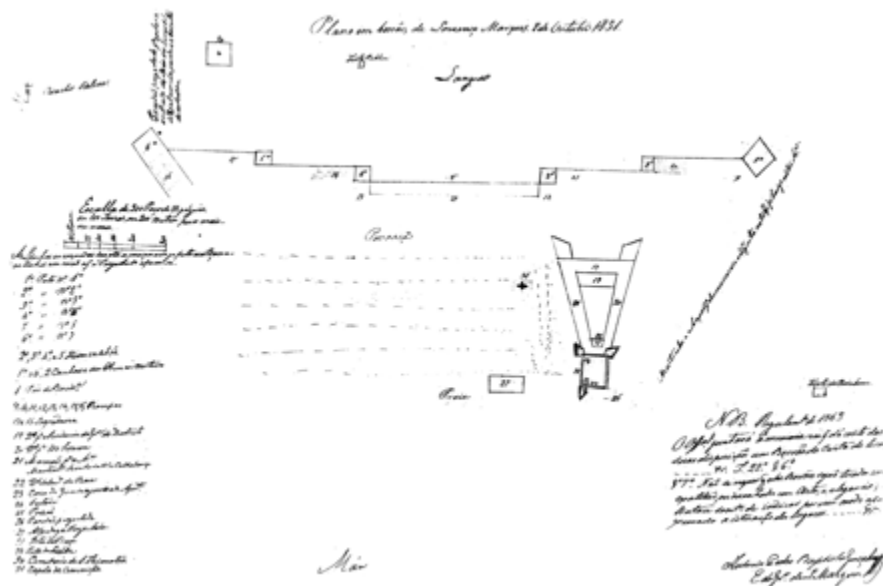
Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

Before 1870, Lourenço Marques was nothing more than a trading point protected by a small fort. But the treaty of 1869 with Transvaal and the increase in trade from the hinterland, a result of the discovery of iron ore, soon turned Lourenço Marques into one of the most developed urban centres in Africa(Correia et al., 2012).

In 1876, after the Mac-Mahon sentence, which ended litigation between Portugal and England and gave to Portugal legal and undeniable development rights to occupy the bay, the settlement was raised to the status of town, with a municipal regime. Its urban area then corresponded

simply to the present day city centre, with a modest structure of two or three streets parallel to the coast and emerging from the fortress square (Correia et al., 2012). This led to increased investment and the structure of the town began to grow rapidly.

In 1887, the Portuguese Crown elevated the town to the status of city and on the 1st December 1898, it became the capital of the Portuguese Colony of Mozambique. The same year, António José Araújo (director of the Public Works of Lourenço Marques) proposed the Plan for the Enlargement of the city (*Plano de Ampliação da Cidade de Lourenço Marques*). Approved in 1892, it defined the urban structure of the city for decades, enabling the expansion of the city with a new scale and grandeur, while continuing the existing fabric of the former settlement towards the vast areas on the north. This plan outlined the whole city – the most "modern" in Portuguese Africa at the time – with a regular lay-out which expressed the practical sense of military engineering models. The city would then have around 1,400 inhabitants (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.22 – Plan of Lourenço Marques by unknown author probably done around 1926 (original AHM, D.1.23./263)
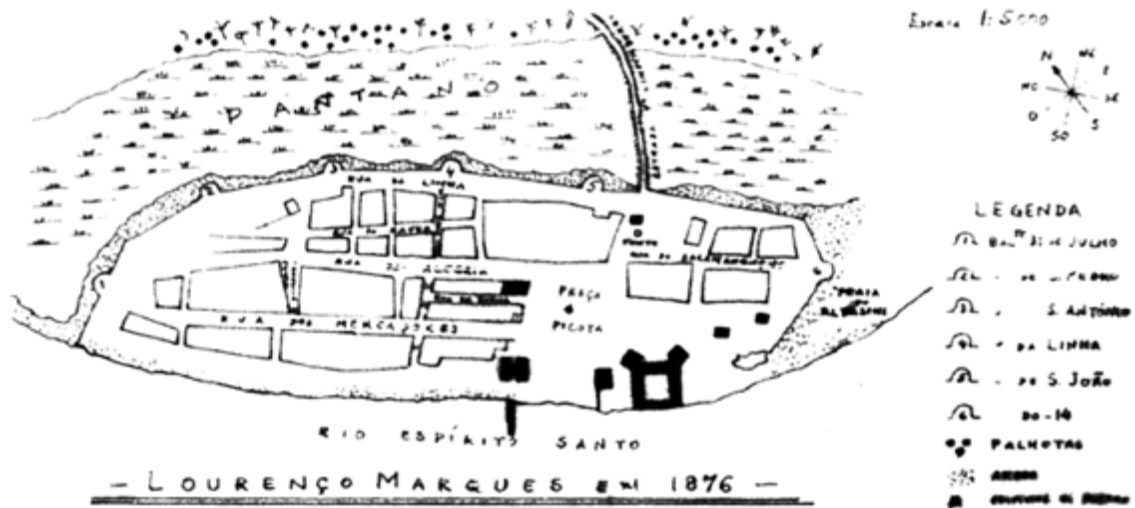
Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

Figure 4.23 – Expansion plan of Lourenço Marques (Maputo). Major engineer António José de Araújo - Office of Public Works, General Directorate of Overseas, Ministry of Navy and Overseas, 1887 (original AHM, D. 1. 34)

Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

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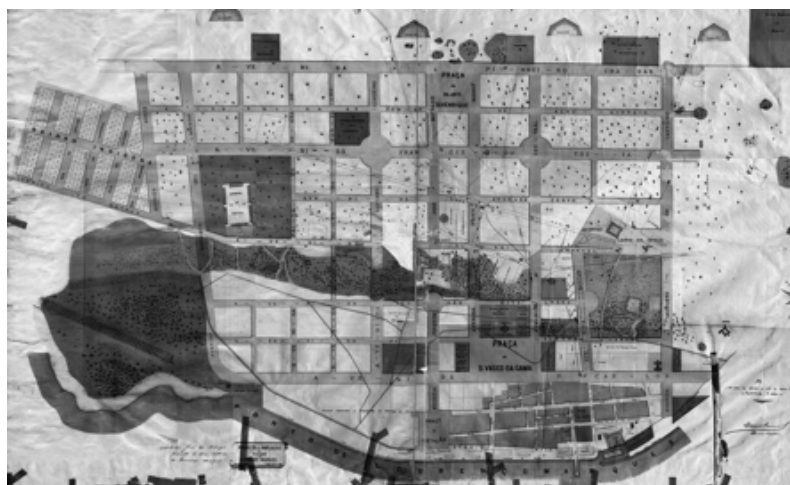
In 1898, the railway to Pretoria was inaugurated. This led to a period of great expansion. In 1902, the urban core was already provided with the main infrastructures needed for the beginning of a growing urbanization, including tap water, telegraph, a lighting system and a tram network. The city thus began its expansion and urban growth. In 1912 the population of the city amounted to approximately 26.000 inhabitants (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.24 – City of Lourenço Marques and Suburbs (Maputo) – Directorate of Surveying, Geometric Cadastre, 1907 (original AHM D.1.30 / 363, 364, 365)

Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

(iii) Middle colonial period (1915-1955)

During the middle colonial period (1915-1955) residents began to move into new housing areas built outside the city core, but *Baixa* continued to be Maputo's center of activity, with important commercial houses, banks, restaurants, cafes, cinemas, and hotels. In the early years of the 20th century the town saw the completion of buildings of high quality. A number of Art Deco buildings (Train Station, Library, Post Office) along with the Municipal Council and Cathedral are some of the remnants still existing from this period. During the colonial period, Lourenço Marques became one of Africa's most beautiful and fashionable cities, with a cosmopolitan atmosphere, beautiful architectural masterpieces, and a prosperous tourist industry (Correia et al., 2012).

By the 1930s, Lourenço Marques displayed a dualistic structure, still visible today, not only physically, but also socially and economically. The city was divided in two parts, respectively the "concrete city" (*cidade de cimento*) or inner city for the Portuguese people, and the "reed city" (*cidade de caniço*) in its belt around the city, where the "natives" were ostracized before independence (Tvedten & Candiracci, 2016). As was the case during apartheid in South Africa, black people could not access the "city for the white", unless otherwise stated on their indigenous identity card. In order to gain entry into the "exclusive club," they had to undergo an examination to test, among other things, their ability to speak Portuguese, to eat meals in the Portuguese way, to dress up as Europeans, to be Christian, and to be of "good character." People living in the "*caniço*" were not allowed to build permanent brick houses, but only temporary constructions made out of corrugated iron and wood. The Portuguese, in fact, wanted to be free to relocate these people easily, quickly, and cheaply in case they wanted to expand "their city" (Candiracci, 2014). The city was run under the rules of the Portuguese dictatorial system known as the *Estado Novo* (New State), which involved a strong central control of the Portuguese colonies rather than autonomous local government. By 1940, the city had a population of 68,000 inhabitants (Correia et al., 2012).

Between 1947 and 1952, the Ministry of Overseas Affairs promoted the design of an Urbanization Plan for the city, which was approved in 1955. Entitled 'Plano de Urbanização de Lourenço Marques', it adopted a style and discipline in design that was often interpreted as a means of consolidation of the grandeur of the regime's image. The master plan outlined a radial mesh extension along the coast in a "city-garden" style, with wide avenues, large roundabouts and larger public spaces. It also established new residential units for the so-called indigenous population, and a policy of segregation between the "cement city" occupied mostly by settlers, and the area for the indigenous with houses of precarious material (Correia et al., 2012).

As the city consolidated itself as a centre of regional attraction, the rate of population growth quadrupled between 1950 and 1960, due mainly to the intense informal urban growth of the outskirts, which started during this period with the African population making up 89,6 percent of the inhabitants (Correia et al., 2012). The neighbourhoods of Xipamanine, São José, Chamanculo, Munhuana, Tlhambane and Mavalane are among the most renowned (Correia et al., 2012) and were characterized by the presence of traditional houses in wood and zinc.

Figure 4.25 – Left: General Plan of Urbanization of Lourenço Marques (Maputo); Right: Indigenous residential unit – Arq João Aguiar; Colonial Office Urbanization, 1947-1952 (original Town Hall Lourenco Marques, 1955)

Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

(iv)   Late colonial period (1955-1975)

The last *Plano Director* (Master Plan) of urbanization during the colonial period was drawn up in 1967, under the supervision of the engineer Mário de Azevedo. Around 1970, the Mozambican capital was clearly organized along three central main axes, the long straight avenues heading roughly to the northwest/southeast, namely: República (present day Avenida 25 de Setembro), 24 de Julho and Pinheiro Chagas (present day Avenida Eduardo Mondlane). Two others, northward, complementary and parallel to those mentioned above, organized the new quarters being developed between the 1950s and 1970s: Avenues Massano de Amorim (present day Avenida Mao Tse Tung) and Nossa Senhora de Fatima (present day Avenida Kenneth Kaunda). Crossing them perpendicularly in the southwest/northeast direction, from downtown there were the avenues Augusto de Castilho/Elias Garcia (present day Avenida Vladimir Lenin) and Manuel de Arriaga (present day Avenida Karl Marx).

New quarters emerged in the city or existing ones were developed, such as Sommershield (1950s-1970s), COOP (1970s) and Maxaquene, for the middle classes; and Alto-Maé, which was more associated with the population with Indian origin (Correia et al., 2012).

The *Plano Director* proved to be a flexible and an orientating instrument for the structuring of the urban land use, not only until the independence of the country, but also after its declaration in 1975.

Figure 4.26 – Urbanization Plan of Lourenço Marques (Maputo) – Mário de Azevedo, 1969-1972

Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

(v)   Early independent period (1975-1990)

The Independence of Mozambique altered profoundly the social and economic dynamics and conditions of Maputo. When independence was proclaimed in 1975, the leaders of FRELIMO's military campaign rapidly established a one-party state allied to the Soviet bloc, eliminating political pluralism, religious educational institutions, and the role of traditional authorities. Mozambique's Portuguese population were ordered to leave the country within 24 hours.

Figure 4.27 – Maputo City Structure Plan. Alternative 2. National Institute of Physical Planning, 1985.

Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

Panicked Portuguese left the country via plane, road and sea and had to leave behind their assets, returning to Portugal where they became destitute and fell under the ridicule of the European Portuguese who saw their rehabilitation as a burden on the country's meagre resources. They became known as the *retornados* or refugees. Many of them, also considering having lost all took their own lives (International Business Publications, 2009). Soon after independence the country plunged into a long and devastating civil war between the Frelimo (the so called "government") and the Renamo (the "opposition"), which ended only in 1992.

The newly established government initiated a process of national ownership of the properties built during the colonial period, with the intention to redistribute them – and thus to share wealth – amongst the people of Mozambique. In 1976 the Government created a state-owned company called *Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado* (State Properties Administration), better known as APIE, to manage those properties. The APIE was in charge of assigning these properties to the population, signing lease agreements, charging rents, guaranteeing the maintenance of these properties and assuming the costs of common areas (guards, lifts, cleaning, etc.).

This regime altered dynamics and conditions of the "cement city", previously occupied only by the Portuguese settlers. After independence, Mozambican people who, during the colonial period were forced to live in the periphery of the City, now they could move to live in the "cement city", changing drastically their living conditions.

There might have been good intentions in nationalisation. But the urban space quotidian was, from then on, dictated by rurality. The new occupants, in fact, did not have neither the financial means nor the urban culture to adjust to something that was not meant for them from scratch (Branquinho, 2015). Who took over the city, in fact, was an out-of-towner sort of logic: a rural logic of people who called Lourenço Marques *Xilunguine* (the place where one lives as white people do). A double displacement was beginning, a journey between Lourenco Marques and Maputo. And so was the one between *Xilunguine*, and the cosmopolitan capital of the new nation. This relationship proceeded as all loveless marriages do: sometimes passionate, most often in a dialogue of misunderstandings. Both spouses spoke different languages, thought different thoughts (Couto, 2015).

This APIE system as originally conceived did not last long and in the long term has influenced the state of conservation and maintenance of most of the buildings in the "cement city". In 2006, in fact, of the 70,000 properties originally nationalized and managed by APIE only 14,000 remained under its responsibility and in 2008 that number dropped to 10,000. All the other properties were sold. According to a former Minister of Public Works and Housing: because of APIE's lack of managerial capacity *"the city is crumbling and the new homeowners demonstrated to be unable to rehabilitate their properties. This change would mean the closure of APIE"* (O PAÌS Maputo, 2006).

The measures taken by the State after the independence did not prevent the growth of the population in the outskirts of Maputo, which accelerated from the mid 1980s, when the civil war intensified in the Southern Region of the country. The impacts can still be seen today in the form of vast informal settlements with peculiar characteristics, including great density, narrow streets rarely paved, inadequacy of infrastructure and low mobility. Until 1980 only 27% of the urban population had access to basic infrastructures and about 75% of urban houses were "informal" (World Bank, 2010).

(vi)   Contemporary period (1990-2010)

The fast population growth experienced during the civil war put a high degree of stress on the city of Maputo, due to the lack of affordable residential land with basic infrastructure, and the low occupancy of areas where infrastructure exists (Jenkins, 2012). In addition, the low rate of investments over many years of civil war reduced the quality and quantity of service delivery, especially in the maintenance of existing infrastructure. As a result, the urban system of the

"cement city" could no longer respond formally and adequately to the socio-economic and infrastructure requirements of the population.

Figure 4.28 – Structure plan of the metropolitan area of Maputo, 1999. General scheme – (Arcadis Euroconsult / Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies / UTK Associates)
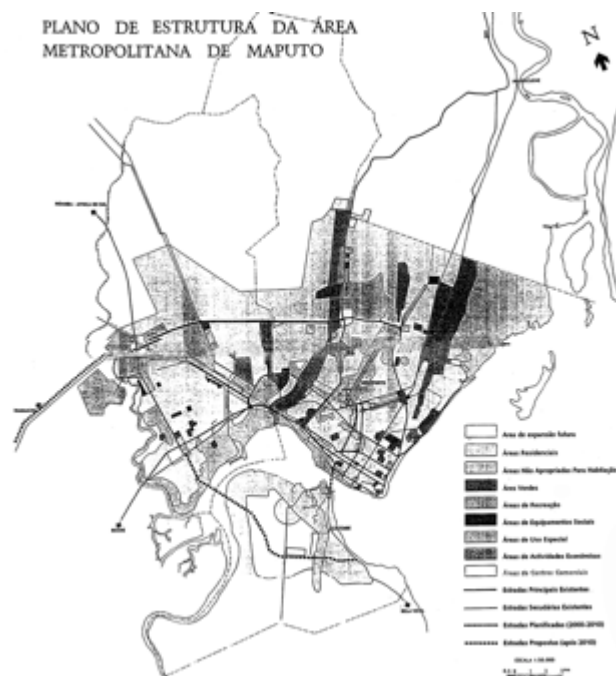
Source: Bruschi & Lage (2005)

The lack of capacity of the local government to respond effectively to this rapid urbanisation (Jenkins, 2012) has worsened the sprawling of unplanned growth of the peri-urban area, with large number of informal settlements, whose growth has continued after the war. Today only 9% of the residential area of Maputo is fully urbanized, in terms of infrastructure and housing.

Access to land, in particular, has been exploited by the rich as well as the poor, albeit differentially. The political and economic elite has speculated in land since the late 1980s – taking advantages of the lack of legislation – and accessed the best and larger lands through state allocation, to consolidate their rights after the new land legislation was approved. The poor, on the other hand, operated as informally as possible, trying to avoid the State interference while accessing and building informally in the sub-urban areas of Maputo. The emerging middle class has been excluded until recently from this process, but is now acting under the new planning legislation to strengthen their access to land, targeting and threatening in particular the lower-income informal areas situated in Maputo and its outskirts (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014).

After the civil war (1976-1992), political stability and the establishment of a legal framework brought the attention back to urban planning and management. Since the Peace Agreement signed in 1992, the City of Maputo has witnessed a tremendous growth in public, but particularly private investments in the reconstruction of the "cement city"; a gradual privatization of the real estate and social services; the densification of residences; and an increased commercial profitability of the CBD.

These new dynamics, on one side re-initiated a cycle of urban improvements in the "cement city", on the other, they accelerated a process of social stratification and exclusion, which can be witnessed today in the gradual abandonment of the central municipal districts by lower-income groups, who sold or sublet the properties bought from the APIE to the new local elite or to

foreigners. The municipal authorities, on their side, contributed to this trend. Soon after the civil war, in fact, with the excuse to "clean" the city center from street vendors and countless, who emerged during the war, they resettled outside of the City those people who did not have the necessary documents (e.g., license of citizenship, identity card, resident card) or who was accused of having delinquent or subversive behaviours (e.g. drunk, homeless, prostitute and artists).

Initial plans after the civil were focused on the definition of cadastral plots for informal and semi-rural settlements, and consisted on drawing a grid over informally occupied land. This practice, however, has proven soon to be inadequate for the management and growth of the city. It was realized that comprehensive planning was indispensable. The World Bank boosted this effort through the ProMaputo Municipal Development Programme (World Bank, 2010). In particular, the Maputo Municipality Urban Structure Plan (PEUMM), approved in 2009, defined the essential elements of the city urban structure, and contributed to improving the management of the urban land.

Since the approval of the PEUMM (2009), Maputo has growth exponentially, with increasing demand for public infrastructure and housing and rising investments; with new infrastructure and buildings constructions; new urban plans; and new strategies for urban and environment management and protection, which reinforced the existing urban and environment legal framework.

Figure 4.29 – Current land use plan of Maputo as established by PEUMM, 2008
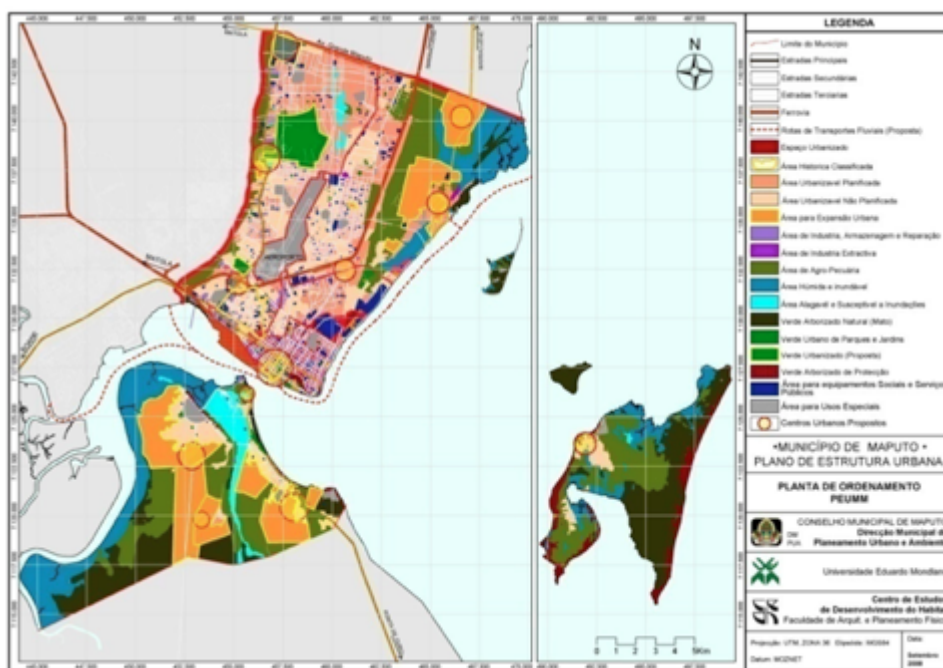
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008a.

This trend has put significant pressure on urban and peri-urban land and on more central areas of a city already facing several incumbent constraints among which: poor basic infrastructure and services; and urban poverty (54% of the city's residents live below the poverty line and 75% of the population live in informal settlements) (World Bank, 2007). Traffic congestion is another critical challenge for Maputo, despite the good street network that characterizes the city. Public transport is poor, private vehicles number is increasing and because demand for parking greatly exceeds supply, parking in undesignated areas compromises street capacity. In addition, as previously seen, national and local governments lack a normative and institutional framework, the technical capacities and the spatial operational tools that are needed to guarantee a better land management, and to adopt a broader spatial planning approach to urban planning. As a result,

often this physical development happens spontaneously and with limited control by the State, leading to sub-optimal results.

In the more central areas, unregulated and uncontrolled market-driven real estate development initiatives and investments, have frequently resulted in property and land speculation, spatial fragmentation, loss of public space and amenities, social inequality, and a drastic deterioration of the quality of the urban environment. The area of the *Baixa*, the coastline (the Marginal) and Polana Cimento are the parts of the city more attractive for property development. Uncoordinated overbuilding could make these parts of the city become non-descript areas, impairing their potential.

On the other hand, in order to respond to immediate market-driven needs, inadequate and fragmented infrastructure systems are often built, without considering an overall plan/framework that tackles the real city/territorial conditions and needs. Often, only after their construction it has become clear that the situation created is even more complex and difficult to manage than before. In addition, the urban poor are often excluded from access to serviced land on the official market, and thus are "forced" to find informal residential solutions in the outskirts of the city, increasing urban sprawl and the creation of slums.

Due to this ongoing rapid – and often uncontrolled – development growth and the subsequent market-driven foreign investments, Maputo is at a breaking point of being able to retain its unique character, or of losing direction and thus spatial quality, cultural diversity and identity. Many heritage assets, in particular colonial and modernist buildings, are often demolished in favour of tall-buildings that maximise the short-term and high-end profit. The conservation and maintenance of public spaces, squares and gardens are also facing many threats as a result of limited investment and maintenance of the physical space, congestion from vehicular traffic and informal vendors, and pressures for redevelopment and new construction. In addition, people's scarce attention for the protection of the environment, contribute to its degradation and abandonment.

Trees are also under the threat of being torn down, due to the increasing demand for urban spaces driven by new development needs. Further, the health conditions of these trees are significantly threatened by poor maintenance, and pollution from contaminated storm water and solid waste. In addition, the Australian eucalyptus introduced at the beginning of the 20th century to control the level of the aquifer, are destroying the original habitat.

4.3.2 Maputo Architectural Assets

The understanding of Maputo urban cultural heritage requires the analysis and study of the architectural assets realized in the City from the late 19th century until independence. In recent years there has been a growing appreciation of Maputo's architectural heritage. The 1990s saw a growing number of related academic publications, culminating in Luigi Corvaja's *Maputo – Desenho e Arquitectura*, published first in Italian in 1998. In addition to setting out a consolidated history of the city's development, it contains a detailed analysis of notable buildings of historical and architectural value, mostly located in the Baixa. Furthermore, the Italian-Mozambican co-operation in 2009 led to the already mentioned inventory of 30 buildings in the city of Maputo, considered of heritage values. Again, the greater proportion of these assets was situated in the Baixa. At the same time, reviews of the work of the architect Pancho Guedes and a major retrospective exhibition in Lisbon attended by 48,000 people considerably raised the international profile of Maputo architectural legacy.

It is possible to consider four main periods to study Maputo's architectural assets, namely: (i) First Period, prior to the 1920s-1930s; (ii) Second Period, 1920s-1930s; (iii) Third Period, from the 1930s onwards; and (iv) Fourth Period, 1950s and 1960s, which are presented in detail here below.

(i)   First Period – Prior to the 1920s

During the first stage (prior to the 1920s-1930s), the most important buildings in the city had metal frameworks, in mixed constructions of brick and iron. Typical examples of the time are: the Customs House of 1877; the Hospital of 1879-1880 (plan by engineer João António Ferreira Maia), enlarged in 1889; the new Hospital Dona Amélia/Miguel Bombarda started in 1904; the new Town Hall (from c. 1914); the Public Works building and the church of 1888. Other important buildings for the operation of the new urban community are: the house at Ponta Vermelha for local government of 1889; the Post Office of 1903; and the Municipal Market of 1901-1903. It is also worth mentioning the Port Captaincy, near the port, in colonial Dutch style imported from South Africa, which is an imposing two-storey work in masonry and iron dating from 1899-1900; and the monumental Central Railway Station, of 1908-1910 (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.30 – Maputo Post Office Building

Source: Author (2013)

The Hotel Carlton, at Araújo Street with three floors of verandas, and the Hotel Club (present day *Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano*), started in 1898, are two examples of urban hotels with iron galleries surrounding the main volume. The same epoch was also marked by revivals, or by late-romantic historicism, stylistic tendencies which can be found in the Mosque, connected to the important Muslim community in the city, rebuilt in 1887, and enlarged in 1902; the centrally located Pott Building from 1891-1904; and the Police Station, from 1914. The Theatre Varietà, property of an Italian settler, followed a neo-Renaissance style. Neo-Manueline, as a nationalist revival, was shown on the loggia of Vasco da Gama, at the Tunduro Garden, dating from 1924, and the Álvaro de Castro Museum, a late example, from 1931 (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.31 – Theatre Varietà

Source: Author (2015)

(ii)   Second Period – 1920s-1930s

During the second stage (1920s-1930s), flourished the so-called "architecture of reinforced concrete" and subsequent Modernism in the Art Deco style. Worth mentioning are: the Masonic Palace; the *Primeiro de Maio* Industrial School; the Nautical Society (present day *Clube Naval*), with a design between Art Nouveau and Art Deco; and the Tea Pavilion, a typical concrete architecture of verandas and consoles. The Hotel Polana, of 1922, with Anglo-Saxon influence and classical lines can be added to this list (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.32 – Left: *Primeiro de Maio* **Industrial School. Right:** *Clube Naval*

Source: Author (2015)

(iii)   Third Period – From the 1930s onwards

From the 1930s onwards, architectural production in Maputo has been marked by the emergence of a more radical modernist architecture, done according to a nearly anonymous production that summed up themes that were successful in Portugal; and a bolder and experimental production that deepened, sometimes more freely than it was then possible in the place of origin, the

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innovative tendencies from international architecture, experimenting with varied materials and taking into account figurative expressions that were alien to the mainstream culture.

Starting in the 1940s, architectural works have been characterized by neo-traditional lines with more conservative themes, favoured by the Estado Novo regime, which dominated the 1940s and 1950s. Typical examples are the Town Hall, inaugurated in 1947; the Cathedral, from1944; the former Salazar High School (present day *Escola Josina Machel*) from 1952; as well as the broad cluster of public buildings, set on the República Avenue (present day Avenida 25 de Setembro), near the sea, with their rows of arcades and colonnades, which the Estado Novo used to locally establish its authoritarian notion of public architecture.

Figure 4.33 – Left: Town Hall. Right: Cathedral

Source: Left: Sukun (2013). Right: Author (2015)

From the same period, but more interesting as urban architectures, are the Central Telephone Station (*Central Telefónica Automática de Lourenço* Marques) from around 1946-1948, with a tower at the corner; and the monumental building and seat of the radio club (*Rádio Clube de Moçambique*) from 1948, with a façade with a screen like a brise-soleil and a prismatic tower. It is also worth mentioning the Hotel Girassol, of an original cylindrical body; and the Hotel Cardoso, rebuilt in 1938 – both panoramic, set upon the hill line on the platform of the city over the bay and the Indian Ocean.

Figure 4.34 – Left: Central Telephone Station. Right: Radio Club of Mozambique

Source: Author (2015)

Downtown is notable for the building of the Statistics Office, a modernist work with an entrance through the central cylindrical body in concrete and glass from 1936, by architect António Rosas, enlarged in 1947 by Francisco Assis (at 7 de Março Square, now demolished); the Rubi Building, with a prismatic tower of vertical glazed stripes at the corner; the Café Scala, also theatre; and the building of the Coimbra House, at República/25 de Setembro Avenue, with a central, turreted body, made of glass, and symmetrical verandas. The Gil Vicente Theatre, which had been burnt to the ground in 1931, and rebuilt with an Art Deco façade in 1933 (project by José Ferreira da Costa) (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 4.35 – Left: Rubi Building. Right: Gil Vicente Theatre

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.36 – Left: Coimbra House. Right: Scala Theatre

Source: Author (2015)

(iv)   Fourth Period – 1950s and 1960s

The works of the so-called modern architectures of international influence and with an abstract spatial and volumetric style have been gradually consolidated throughout the 1950s and 1960s. In terms of public works it is possible to mention the buildings along transitional lines such as António Enes High School (present day Francisco Manyanga) by Lucínio Cruz and Eurico Pinto Lopes, from 1956-1961; or the more recent block of the Hospital Miguel Bombarda, with a new

main entrance, by Luiz de Vasconcellos and Francisco Assis, from 1958. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino, (present day Bank of Mozambique), a project from 1956-1965 at 25 de Setembro Avenue (formerly Avenida da República), is definitely the most notable work of institutionalized modern architecture, with a powerful impact on the urban and spatial fabric. The present day Cine Charlot (1963) and the building of the present day Ministry of Health, following the Hospital, are two other examples of this kind of modern architecture, which have deeply marked the urban landscape of the city. It is also worth mentioning the Church of Saint Anthony of Polana, unusual and innovative in its round design, and the new Gago Coutinho Airport, a successor to a former air terminal, of the modernist epoch (inaugurated in 1962).

Figure 4.37 – Left: Banco Nacional Ultramarino. Right: Cine Charlot

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.38 – Left: Hospital Miguel Bombarda. Right:

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.39 – Ministry of Health

Source: Author (2015)

Besides to these examples that place the architecture of Maputo within global movements, it is necessary to consider works more marked by personal styles, and which give character to the most recent stage of Mozambican art. The most notable authors are the architects Pancho Guedes, and João José Tinoco. The first (1925-2015), original in his symbolic, formalist or expressionist language, built more commonplace works, but of a clear graphic/chromatic aim and feeling, such as the Abreu, Santos e Rocha Building, of 1954-1956, near the railway station; or the Hotel Tamariz, built for Ebrahim Mohamed (in 1954), in the downtown. He also designed more innovative residential buildings, such as the Leão Que Ri (1956-1958), the Casa do Dragão and the Prometheus block (1951-1953). It was, nonetheless, through buildings of curvilinear shapes and bodies, such as Saipal Bakery (1952-1954), at the quarter of Alto-Maé, that his inventive talent has been marked.

Figure 4.39 – Church of Saint Anthony of Polana

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.40 – Hotel Tamariz

Source: Author (2015)

João José Tinoco (1924-1983) is notable for large-scale buildings, such as the present day Ministry of Agriculture of Mozambique, at the entrance to the city (partially destroyed by fire). Around the Mozambican capital, Tinoco also designed private works, some of an industrial character, such as: the Clock Factory (A Reguladora de Moçambique), with an interesting modulation into distinct bodies, of a regular triangular profile; the Commercial Emporium of Mozambique (Entreposto), with António Veloso, of 1970. Others buildings for banking purposes include the agency of the former Bank "Banco Nacional Ultramarino", at the quarter of Maxaquene, with a remarkable ceramic piece by António Quadros on the façade under the roofed gallery; the Bank of Crédito Comercial e Industrial – BCCI, a tower of a characteristic vertical silhouette, of 1972, only concluded several decades later. Other recreational buildings include the Cinema Dicca and Estúdio 222 in downtown, dating from 1967.

Figure 4.41 – Left: Saipal Bakery. Right: Casa do Dragão

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.42 – Left: Clock Factory (*A Reguladora de Moçambique*). Right: Estúdio 222

Source: Author (2015)

4.3.3 Maputo Monumental and Statuary Assets

In Maputo, beside the architectural assets, there are also several monuments and statuary commemorative works worthy of note, included in the urban landscape. The monument, at MacMahon/Trabalhadores Square, opposite the railway station, built by the Comissão dos Padrões da Grande Guerra (Great War Memorial Commission) and commemorating the "Military Effort of Portugal in the War of East Africa", consists of a qualified Art Deco work, which is still standing, unlike many other monuments, which have been removed after the independence of 1975.

Figure 4.43 – Monument at MacMahon/Trabalhadores Square

Source: Author (2015)

Unusual among its kind is the monument-ossuary at the Cemetery of Saint Francis Xavier, the "*Mansão dos que se Bateram pela Pátria – Terra, Ar e Mar – 1916-1918*" (Mansion of those who

fought for their homeland – on Land, Air and Sea – 1916-1918). The monument to Mouzinho de Albuquerque, in front of the Town Hall, of 1934-1940, in terms of its size, was the most outstanding in the city, with a sculpture by Simões de Almeida and podium by architect António do Couto (now moved to the Fortress at 7 de Março Square and replaced with a statue of Samora Machel, considered one of the heroes that led Mozambique to independence). In 1939 a marker by architect Abel Pascoal was inaugurated in front of the Vasco da Gama Garden, which commemorate the Carmona presidential visit.

Figure 4.44 – Statue of Samora Machel

Source: Sukun (2013)

It is also worth mentioning works in public buildings, such as: the artworks in the Town Hall (statues at the entrance, by Simões Sobrinho, 1947); those of the Cathedral (by Francisco Franco, António Lino, Simões de Almeida, Leopoldo de Almeida and A. M. Ribeiro, from 1936- 1944); and those of the so-called Radio Palace by António Duarte (bronze panels), José Mergulhão (mural decorations), and Tossan (stained glass windows of the studio-chapel). Finally, the later Monument in praise of Prince Henry the Navigator (a copy of a monument placed in several colonial capitals), celebrating the "Fifth Centenary of the Death of Prince Henry", is located on the square opposite the Natural History Museum, from 1960 (Correia et al., 2012).

4.4   Cognitive Analysis of Maputo Urban Landscape

This section presents the results of the Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape (Phase 1 – Step 1.4 of the fieldwork), aimed at providing a qualitative assessment of the City's heritage, namely the identification and understanding of the attributes and values that make up urban space and what it represents for the society. This analysis seeks to lead to a contextually relevant understanding of the cultural significance of Maputo cultural heritage, based on the plural, perhaps even contradictory, perceptions and perspectives of different stakeholders.

The information obtained from the Cognitive Analysis has been integrated with the information resulted from the Historical and Spatial Analysis of Maputo Urban Landscape (Phase 1 – Step 1.3), which enabled a thorough and objective understanding of the City urban fabric and its development.

4.4.1 Understanding the cultural significance of Maputo urban landscape

The process of understanding Maputo cultural heritage has moved beyond the physical form and the historic buildings of the city, towards the full spectrum of material and immaterial heritage that shape urban space, in its multiplicity of forms, expressions and functions. To this end, the relationships between people, places and lived experience in the production of identity has been explored. This approach helped understanding the urban perspective of different stakeholders, including of communities that are often marginalised.

This exercise pointed out the need to start the analysis of Maputo urban identity by considering the historical and socio-structural aspects of the City, in order to understand the way people perceive their urban landscape and care for its conservation. Maputo, in fact, has been planned by different Portuguese specialists with the intention to create a rational and easy-to-grow city, capable of responding to the needs of the colons. The city was divided in two parts, respectively the "concrete city" (*cidade de cimento*) for the Portuguese people, and the "reed city" (*cidade de caniço*) in its outskirts, where the "natives" were ostracized before independence.

This system of relationships has undergone important changes with the independence from Portugal (1975) and the set up of the new regime run by the FRELIMO. After the Portuguese people left Mozambique, the Mozambican that occupied the *cidade de caniço* had the opportunity to be resettled in the *cidade de cimento*, altering profoundly – and not always smoothly – their social and economic conditions. In fact, the interviews revealed that *"many families, used to live in one-story houses with a small yard for the practice of self-consumption agriculture, they found sometimes difficult to live in an apartment with no open spaces. Some of them, in fact, used their bathtub for planting crops."* Only then one can understand initial attitudes such as burning parquet flooring, corn rows in front gardens or a fear of using unusual equipment in their way of inhabiting in planned urban environments (Carrilho, 2015). Thus, as highlighted by another interviewee, with the independence the *"content", namely the population of the city, has drastically changed, but the "container", namely the structure of the city, has remained basically the same.*

Therefore, inevitably, even the social relationships between the population and the urban environment changed. In addition, in the post-independence euphoria, many leaders opted for the destruction of several buildings or heritage assets, as they were considered the symbolic reminders of deliberate social, ethnic and radical exclusion; in favour of new iconic structures that wanted to represent a radical departure from the past (You, 2012).

Still today, as emerged form the interviews, the "colonial" urban heritage is not always perceived by the local population and their leaders as having any positive value, except for tourist purposes. For some people Maputo's built heritage still evokes mixed feelings in terms of cultural identity and associated memories. They represent vivid signs of a period of exclusion and repression. Therefore, as indicated by several interviewees *"many people don't feel empathy with heritage, they don't own it."*

As previously seen, Maputo is a post-colonial African city, whose inherited built patrimony is part of the history, but not the culture of the majority of people now living in there. As it was predictable, the very personal nature of heritage value is such that different stakeholders value different aspects of the City urban landscape. Each generation and culture has its own feelings over each of Maputo sites and assets. For some, they represent painful memories because they were places of a colonial town they had no access to. Some look sadly upon some of these heavily degraded spaces, missing the times when the city was more organised. For those born shortly before or after the Independence (1975), these are generally spaces connected to happy memories, memories of a town with a free, solidary society, although now becoming a clearly individualistic, unfair one (Branquinho, 2015).

Thus, from one individual to another, the same heritage asset had its enthusiasts and supporter, and different type of assets have been identified as part of the city's heritage and identity. Monuments, architectural buildings, sites and artefacts have been pointed out as some of the elements that contribute to create Maputo collective identity. Some people find modernist architecture hard to appreciate; others recognise the distinctive character that it provides to the City nonetheless; while others consider the Maputo Shopping Center as the most relevant landmark of the city. Besides, other people have identified an "alternative" rich vocabulary of assets, spaces and immaterial values that need to be understood and integrated as a dynamic system. Slums, for instance, have been indicated as valuable assets that need to be protected, as some of them are considered a place of national pride and collective identity. Therefore, depending on the people interviewed, on their personal history towards the City and their socio-economic conditions, both the built heritage from the colonial time, than the day-to day lived experience or both, have been recognized as important factors in the production of Maputo's identity.

Figure 4.45 – Maputo Shopping Center

Source: Author (2015)

The cognitive analysis of Maputo, thus, helped acknowledging the multiple realities that can exist within the city, whereby a combination of aesthetic, commemorative, socio-economic and leisure interests creates its identity. In particular, from the interviews it got evident that heritage values for the inhabitants of Maputo are closely engaged to the collective memories associated with a building or a place and to the economic, political, religious and leisure/recreational practices and day-to-day activities that are carried in the urban space. Socio-cultural diversity is another factor that contribute to create the significance of Maputo urban landscape.

Therefore, it is possible to affirm that Maputo has a critical mass of tangible and intangible heritage assets, captured in its urban structure, in the fabric of its historical streets, public spaces, gardens, the variety and diversity of its buildings and different architecture, each referring to different period in time and carrying a different value. The most challenging to recognise and reinforce have been the informal community spaces that give urban areas their identity. These range from rituals places, such as the beach, to everyday community spaces such as sidewalks and markets. This diversified but valuable heritage contributes as a whole to create Maputo's unique character, and represents a resource for the sustainable development of the city.

Below are presented the main elements that have been identified as key to create Maputo's distinctive urban character.

Baixa of Maputo

Most of the people interviewed, recognized the area of the *Baixa* as important to the memory of the city and its inhabitants. This role has been recognized, as well, in the Heritage Inventory carried out by the Faculty of Architecture & Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo, which proposed the protective classification of 30 buildings and memorials of heritage value, mainly located in this area.

Containing the core of Maputo early settlement, Baixa has always lain at the heart of the city's day-to-day life and cultural activities. Therefore, it has an inherent value. For every person raised in Maputo, Baixa is associated from early childhood with visits to the seaside, the cinema and other leisure activities; with civic administration, provisioning, vending and warehousing. This still sums up Baixa's principal functions today. The continuity of historical functions is a key aspect of Baixa's heritage and a part of the cultural memory of the community. In fact, it is the linkage connecting its past, present and future that gives inherent distinctive character to its physical form.

We must also consider the large concentration of financial and communication services, the variety of businesses and opportunities for employment al all levels, the concentration of religious and public structures, and the inherent social diversity of this area. In fact, from the fieldwork study, it emerged clearly that a relevant urban characteristic and quality of the Baixa, both historically and as an urban entity, is its multi functionality, the diversity in its users and its vitality. There are a lot of economic formal and informal activities and diversified social dynamics through the Baixa, primarily during daytime, as it constitutes a meeting point for many people from different social background, all trying to make a living there (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014). The woman selling fish are on the same sidewalks as the businessman, the homeless car washer, the student and the drunk. These people create the vital atmosphere present throughout the Baixa. Take the people away, and this atmosphere disappears, as it usually happens in the evenings and at night. It is difficult to imaging replicating similar urban entities today, and indeed doubtful that we would be able to create *ex novo* such socially vibrant urban area or invent a similar quality of architectural and urban expression.

Figure 4.46 – Some images from the area of the Baixa

Source: Author (2015)

Maputo urban structure

Several people interviewed recognized that urban planning can be considered part of the City's heritage, as it has shaped its identity for more than two centuries and has made Maputo the place it is today, conditioning and orienting its development, and affecting – still today – the way citizens live and work, the modes of travel, and the design of communities. Maputo, in fact, bears the imprints of many past urban plans, each a reflection of the goals and visions of its era, and its urban structure – including the City's ecological system – shall be taken into account in any interventions.

In particular, Major Araujo's orhogonal urban layout, in its orderly military fashion permeating all other layouts, has the ability of being the inclusive grid, in a practical fashion, of all that diverse and lively overflow of architectonic manifestations, bringing them together in a regular, orderly and predictable fabric. The street effect, and the intense possibility of interaction it brings, is well expressed. The numerous of intersections it originates makes for a rich, ingenious approach of direction-shifting formal solutions that would deserve a specific analysis in themselves: the architecture of city corners (Carrilho, 2015)

Iconic/historic buildings

Most of the people interviewed associated to the concept of cultural heritage iconic buildings from the cast-iron age, the Art Deco years and modernist times. Maputo, in fact, as previously seen, has a good collection of important art deco inspired structures and tall modernist architecture dating from the 1930s to the late 1960s. A number of influential and highly talented architects were resident in Maputo during this period or were commissioned, mainly from Portugal, to design commercial, residential and public accomodation and functions buildings. This collection must be regarded as being of considerable importance to Mozambique. It rivals the survival of such heritage assets in many key European capital cities and is believed to be among the better collection – if not, indeed, being the best – in Africa. There is a considerable potential for important research into the architects who created this architecture in Baixa, as the identity of the architects behind many of the finest of these buildings is unknown.

The top-ten buildings that have been identified as most valuable by the people interviewed include:

1. *Museo da Moeda* also known as Casa Amarela;
2. Central Railway Station;
3. Railway Building;

4. The Fortaleza;

5. Centro Cultural Franco Moçambicano;

6. Cathedral;

7. Predio Pott;

8. Catedral da Polana;

9. Town Hall;

10. Several buildings by Pancho Guedes, in particular the Predio Rocha and the Leão Que Ri.

Figure 4.47 – The top ten of Maputo

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.48 – In Maputo there is a rich collection of modernist buildings, unique in Africa

Source: Author (2015)

Everyday heritage assets

Besides these more iconic buildings, many other places and assets have been recognized as having cultural significance. Maputo, in fact, presents a critical mass of "everyday heritage" assets, which by themselves would perhaps not merit being considered, but that contribute to create Maputo's distinctive urban character and the city's differentiation. In fact, they carry historical, artistic, social and cultural values that reflect the cultural specificities and diversities of the city and are key to contribute to create its remarkable vitality. The fish market for instance, has been recognized as one of them. The warehouse zone (or industrial area), located within the area of the Baixa, has also being pointed out as relevant. It contains an unrivalled collection of industrial buildings of great character, dating from c1930 onwards. It is hard to identify elsewhere

in Africa, or, indeed, in Europe, any similar survival of a zone of Art Deco and modernist inspired yet modest 'everyday' industrial/warehousing buildings with the completeness and integrity found in Baixa (Bond, 2014). That makes the continued survival and use of these structures important for Mozambique, even though the character value of many of the units is essentially as a group, rather than as individual set pieces or landmark architectural works (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015b).

Figure 4.49 – Some examples of every-day heritage that contribute to create Maputo's character

Source: Author (2015)

Public spaces (waterfront, markets, sidewalks, gardens, views)

Maputo also retains a unique urban layout and equilibrium of public spaces, which the focus groups and interviews revealed to play a major role within people's history, social and cultural life. Public spaces in Maputo take the form of public squares, sidewalks, gardens and the beach, which are tied to people through intangible linkages defined by leisure, religious or spiritual associations, socio-economic relationships, and belief systems or memories linked to events that are shared at various levels, ranging from larger social groups or families, and even to the individual level.

Maputo bay waterfront in the Baixa and along the Marginal also constitutes an important urban amenity and landmark, which attracts many people especially in the weekends. They combine natural and man-made assets that are exceptional in both size and identity. However, only about one third of the waterfront in the Baixa is currently accessible, as warehousing and light industrial uses dominate (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015b). The coastal line along the Marginal is particularly important, as it playing a unique role within the city's life. It represents people's gateway for the weekends (especially for those living in informal settlements), as they go there for recreational purposes (to meet friends, get some breeze, and have fun), and because *"it is for free"* and is a fresh place to *"kill the heat"*. The beach has also a spiritual or religious

aspect for the population. Every morning, in fact, different groups of people gather there to pray and to conduct ritual ceremonies (such as baptisms).

Figure 4.50 – Maputo's waterfront and the beach during a religious ceremony

Source: Author (2015)

Markets and **sidewalks** are also considered important places deeply connected to the majority of Maputo's citizens, within or around which different social and economic activities occur. For instance, the *Mercado do Museu* (Museum Market) is an important meeting point, as it is located nearby a big bus transport station and there are many bars (*barracas*) all around the area that attract people at all hours of day or night. Another markets acknowledged by many people are located in the informal settlements of Xipamanine and in Chamanculo C.

Figure 4.51 – The market of Mafalata neighbourhood

Source: Author (2013)

Gardens have also great importance for the population and can play a pivotal role in ensuring the success of a sustainable future for the city, contributing to its distinctive character. With their natural and socio-cultural characteristics, their primary role and value are to improve life quality; guarantee a set of ecological functions in the urban environment; and support recreation, sport and leisure activities of the population. Many of the parks and squares — such as 25 de Junho, Tunduro or Repinga — in addition, date from the early years of Maputo's formation and share a significant role, adding an intangible layer to the quality and importance they have as public spaces.

Figure 4.52 – Jardim dos Cronistas, Jardim Tunduro and Jardim dos Namorados are amongst the most popular gardens in Maputo

Source: Author (2013)

Maputo also has several vantage points that offer finest **views** towards the sea or visual presentation of monuments or places. Within the area of the Baixa, for instance, there are several views and gateways, the spaces between buildings, that frame iconic buildings or urban ensembles to the best advantage. They are vital to the community for orientation, linkages and movement, and for cultural memory. They also provide an understanding of some aspects of the Baixa's historical development and of the underlying original coastal escarpment and topography.

Figure 4.53 – A view towards the sea from Jardim dos Namorados

Source: Author (2013)

Acacia and palm trees

The acacia trees are also considered important historic and cultural landmarks that define the city of Maputo, in particular the "cement city." They were planted by the Portuguese all across Maputo, starting in 1920 and going on for over 50 years. Over 25,000 trees of 30 different species, most of them red and yellow acacias, have been planted, covering approximately 60km of streets, leading to the rise of the title of "Maputo as the City of Acacias". Besides these historic and environmental values, the trees lining the streets of Maputo provide a valuable source of shade in public spaces and sidewalks, creating an attractive and pleasant set up for pedestrians. Moreover, the shade that these trees provide to the sidewalks is critical, considering the many economic and social activities that are conducted along them, and the extended periods of warm weather and sun in Maputo. Additionally, these trees create conditions that are visually attractive and pleasurable to consumers walking pedestrians.

Figure 4.54 – Acacia and palm trees are an important heritage asset for the City

Source: Author (2013)

Social-economic construct

One of the most important characteristics of Maputo that contribute to determine its vitality comes from the diversified socio-cultural and economic functions and dynamics that have historically characterized its streets and public spaces. Maputo is considered by the majority of people interviewed a multi cultural multi ethnic City, where people from different parts of Mozambique and other countries migrated, in particular after the independence and during the civil war.

In the area of the Baixa, in particular, the economic formal and – especially – informal activities and diversified social dynamics are relevant urban characteristics that need to be taken into account as an ingredient determining its character.

Figure 4.55 – Social dynamics contribute to create Maputo's character

Source: Author (2013)

Informal settlements

Many interviewees considered the informal neighbourhoods of Mafalala, Chamanculo and Xipamanine as important heritage areas for the city, as they are places of national pride and collective identity. Mafalala, in fact, as can be see in section 4.4.2, has a rich history, infused with the struggle for independence, a landscape marked by colourful historic corrugated iron and wood houses, and a multicultural population that live together in mutual respect for each others' tradition.

In Xipamanine the Ntsindya Cultural Center has been pointed out as an important landmark for the population. Earlier called "*Centro Associativo dos Negros da Colónia de Moçambique*" (Associative Centre of the Black of the Cologne of Mozambique), it has been a cradle of nationalist ideas and struggle for independence. The first president of Frelimo, Eduardo Mondlane, founded NESAM (*Núcleo dos Estudantes Secundários Africanos de Moçambique* - Nucleus of African Secondary School Students of Mozambique) within the center. NESAM was a group of intellectuals resisting the colonial power. Its leaders included Mondlane, Joaquim Chissano, and Armando Guebuza among others. The activities were considered disruptive to the time's political and social order, and the center was closed down in 1965 by police forces. During the subsequent years, the building served as a health center, as a home for the Mozambican authors' society, and finally, became a warehouse for the shoe merchant (*Rei do Chinelo*). Citizens were infuriated by the degradation of the historically significant site. The center was at last re-opened in 2006 by the President of the Republic and designated municipal cultural center. It was named "Ntsindya", which means the "center of attention" in Ronga.

Figure 4.56 – Typical house in zinc and wood in Mafalala informal settlement

Source: Author (2013)

4.4.2 "Mafalala is the capital of Maputo"[23]

Mafalala is Maputo's oldest township and, based on the interviews carried out for the Cognitive analysis of Maputo urban landscape, it is considered a place of national pride and collective identity. Mafalala, in fact, has a rich history, infused with the struggle for independence, a landscape marked by colourful historic corrugated iron and wood houses, and a multicultural population that live together in mutual respect for each others' tradition.

Figure 4.57 – Mafalala Blues and passion for football

Source: Author (2013)

"Mafalala is the capital of Maputo" Ivan said the first time that the researcher went to Mafalala, Maputo's oldest township for a site visit and an interview. Ivan is a young man who leads IVERCA, an association of students and young professionals created in 2009 with the objective of supporting the development of the neighborhood through the promotion of tourism and culture and respect for the environment.

As in many other informal settlements in Maputo, the population of Mafalala (21,000 inhabitants) lives in severely disadvantaged conditions, with insufficient and inadequate basic services and infrastructure, inadequate houses and social services, acute security and health problems, and high unemployment levels. Mafalala is located along the line that the Portuguese drew to mark the division between the white part of the city, known as the "concrete city" (*cidade de cimento*), and its outskirts, called "reed city" (*cidade de caniço*), where the local black communities were ostracized before independence.

During the colonial period, Mafalala served as the stage upon which some of the greatest actors from the Independence Movement played their important roles. The famous journalist José Craveirinha and the poet Noémia de Sousa were both born and raised here and both members of

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[23] Section is extracted from an articles that the researcher wrote for UrbIm – For Just and Inclusive Cities (Candiracci, 2014).

the *Négritude Movement*. They addressed with their writing issues such as racism, colonialism, and black heritage and identity, awakening the political consciousness of the repressed population and turning Mafalala into a hotspot for anti-colonial resistance. Here the former Presidents of Mozambique Samora Machel and Joaquim Chissano, as well as the former Prime Minister Pascoal Mocumbi — all considered national heroes for their role in the liberation fight — used to hold secret meetings against colonial repression.

Figure 4.58 – Houses in zinc and wood in Mafalala

Source: Ivan Laranjera (2012)

Figure 4.59 – Interiors of Mafalala's houses
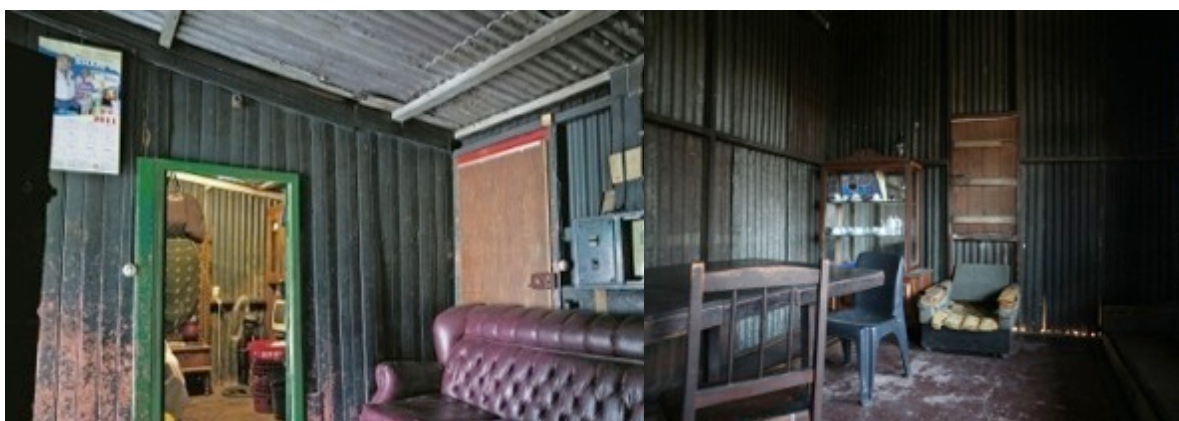
Source: Mauro Pinto (2012)

Mafalala is also famous for the *Marrabenta*, a typical Mozambican style of music and dance, which was coined here and blends traditional Mozambican rhythms and Portuguese folk music with influences from Western popular music. A musical style that is synonymous with the multiculturalism that characterizes Mafalala, which has over the years welcomed and adopted different groups from all over the country (e.g., Ronga, Changana, Chopi, Macua) and people from abroad (e.g., Comoros Island, Pakistan, Greece, India, Madagascar, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and Goa among others). Last but not least, Mafalala is the birthplace of Eusébio de Silva Ferreira, considered one of the best footballers of all time.

Mafalala is, therefore, a place of tremendous contradictions, where grinding poverty and lack of basic social and physical infrastructure coexist alongside rich culture, history, and heritage. By recognizing the potential contained within this township, Ivan, Erica, and Carlos — the founders of the IVERCA — conceived a simple but inspirational initiative to help address the challenges of

this area, redeem its identity, and reinforce daily life. Through the use of culture, tourism, and the creative support of the local community, their aim is to change Mafalala for the better.

Figure 4.60 – Group of Tufo from Mafalala

Source: de los Santos Perez (2012)

IVERCA organizes historical and cultural tours in the area, through which tourists can learn about its history, visit the heritage landmarks, taste local food, and see the performances of local dancers and musicians. Once a year, the Association organizes the Mafalala Street Festival, a one-month event that celebrates its culture and diversity through its food, crafts, traditional dance, music, poetry, and street theatre. IVERCA also tries to mobilize funds to improve the environmental conditions of the neighbourhood. For instance, with funds from the International American School of Maputo they improved the water and sanitation conditions of the local primary school. Here they also promote awareness in relation to Mozambican culture and art and encourage their production, as they recognize the potential that exists when investing in primary school education in lifting people out of poverty. In 2003, the City Council improved the sewage system of Mafalala and is 2014 refurbished the local market.

Figure 4.61 – Cultural tour in Mafalala organized by IVERCA

Source: de los Santos Perez (2012)

The experience of IVERCA, therefore, provides inspiration. This community association is helping Mafalala to fast become an important reference point for cultural events and entertainment in the city, while creating job opportunities, supporting the local school, improving the environmental conditions of the neighbourhood, and promoting its identity. They are creating a new paradigm for the future development of this township, based on culture and creativity, which approach the community and its groups, the city and its places, the environment and its resources.

Figure 4.62 – People from Mafalala

Source: Author (2013)

5.Case Study: Baixa conservation plan

{Cities are more than buildings and places where people simply survive. They are cradles of social and economic activity, where the very diversity of interactions creates new initiatives, new ideas and new energy}

(Roberts & Sykes, 2000)

This Chapter presents the results of the in-depth analysis of the case study, namely the Urban Development Plan of the historic district (*Baixa*) of Maputo. Section 5.1 presents the methodology used to develop this plan and the reasons behind the choice of this as case study. Section 5.2 presents the members of the Plan Supervision Commission and their roles in the plan development process. Section 5.3 presents the results of the appraisal conducted in the Baixa, including a description of the methods and tools applied to qualify and document the socio-cultural and economic dynamics (5.3.1), its historical and spatial development (5.3.2) and key characteristics related to land use, infrastructure and basic services, transportation system, threats to Baixa's urban cultural heritage, environment conditions, and projects approved in the area of study. The political and governance context has been analysed in function of the plan development process, but is not presented in this chapter, as section 4.2 already provides a detail analysis of Maputo's context, which remains valid for the area of the Baixa. Section 5.3.3 presents the methods and tools developed and applied to assess the cultural significance of Baixa's heritage and to evaluate its economic value. Section 5.4 presents the public hearings organized to create awareness and contribution towards the plan development process. Section 5.5 presents the communications campaign implemented throughout the plan development process. Section 5.6 presents the steps taken to support the preparation of a demand-based conservation plan that matches investigations, vision and actions. Section 5.7 presents the SWOT qualitative strengths-risk analysis conducted to identify the existing barriers and opportunities to facilitate an effective implementation and management of the plan of the Baixa. It includes also the identification of possible implementation options.

5.1   Plan development process

5.1.1   The reasons behind the choice of the case study

As previously seen, the urban plan of the *Baixa* has been chosen as case study, as the researcher believes it can contribute to yield a comprehensive understanding of the subject of this study, providing the evidence needed to address the research question formulated in Section 3.2, namely:

"*How the HUL approach can help to assess the heritage values of a city in Sub-Saharan Africa, inform decision-making and the development of a sustainable landscape-based and values-informed plan, contributing to sustain the qualitative conservation and transformation of an urban area?*"

The methodology used for the plan development process, in fact, has been in line with the key principles guiding the HUL approach. Aware of the fact that a plan by itself does not guarantee execution, but that it needs the active involvement and cooperation of several stakeholders, the plan has been developed using a highly participatory and multidisciplinary approach, keeping in mind from the beginning of the need to set clear rules on what can and what should not be done, and to identify strategies and tools to enable its implementation (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2012b).

The area of the *Baixa*, moreover, has been identified, through the Cognitive Analysis of Maputo urban landscape, as the core of the City's urban heritage and the main contributor to its identity and character. It has an inherent value and represents the melting pot of people's memories, cultures, religions, economies and aspirations. The *Baixa* is the colonial historic core of the City, and has always been a multicultural area, with residents and visitors coming from different parts of the country, across Africa and the globe, resulting in a variety of unique buildings and spaces that cover a blend of architectonic styles, from the colonial, vernacular decorative and modernist periods – with each asset having its own particular significance, but as a whole combining to create a characteristic area. Today the Baixa serves as Maputo's central business and administrative district, the heart of the formal and informal trade of the city – and of the country – containing many types of enterprises, banks, ministries, and various small formal and informal markets and shops.

In addition, the direct involvement of the researcher in the Baixa plan development process has provided a privileged opportunity to give continuous inputs to the plan, in terms of theoretical concepts and tools development and application; and to analyse the entire process, from the plan conceptualization to its approval. The researcher also had the possibility to collaborate on a daily basis with different stakeholders (urban and heritage specialists, academics, decision-makers, civil society, private sector), gaining a deeper understanding of their perspectives in relation to the area of the Baixa and the plan, and on their interest and eventual contribution to its implementation.

5.1.2 Why an urban plan for the Baixa of Maputo?

As illustrated in Figure 5.1, the *Baixa* is located on the southern tip of Maputo and covers an area of around 320 hectares or 0,94% of the area of the entire city. It includes the two municipal administrative districts of KaMpfumo (MD1) and Nlhamankulu (MD2) and six smaller neighbourhoods or *bairros*, namely Central A, B and C; Alto-Maé A and B; and Malanga.

Baixa has the potential of been one of Sub-Saharan Africa's most singular districts (Vaggione, 2014). If properly valorized and managed, *Baixa* is a resource that can generate social and cultural benefits for the city and the entire population, improving the quality of the built environment; generating positive benefits in terms of cultural identity and place making as well as social inclusion; and diminishing the risk of homogenization and uniformity that too often comes in the wake of the process of rapid urbanization and globalization. At the same time, the conservation of its cultural heritage can be an asset for economic development, creating new employment opportunities, stimulating heritage tourism, developing small and medium sized business, and increasing real estate values. Making the most of *Baixa* favourable characteristics and conditions is a once-in-a lifetime opportunity for Maputo (Vaggione, 2014).

Figure 5.1 – Skyline photo of the area of intervention

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo (2014a)

Figure 5.2 – Location of the area of the Baixa within the City of Maputo
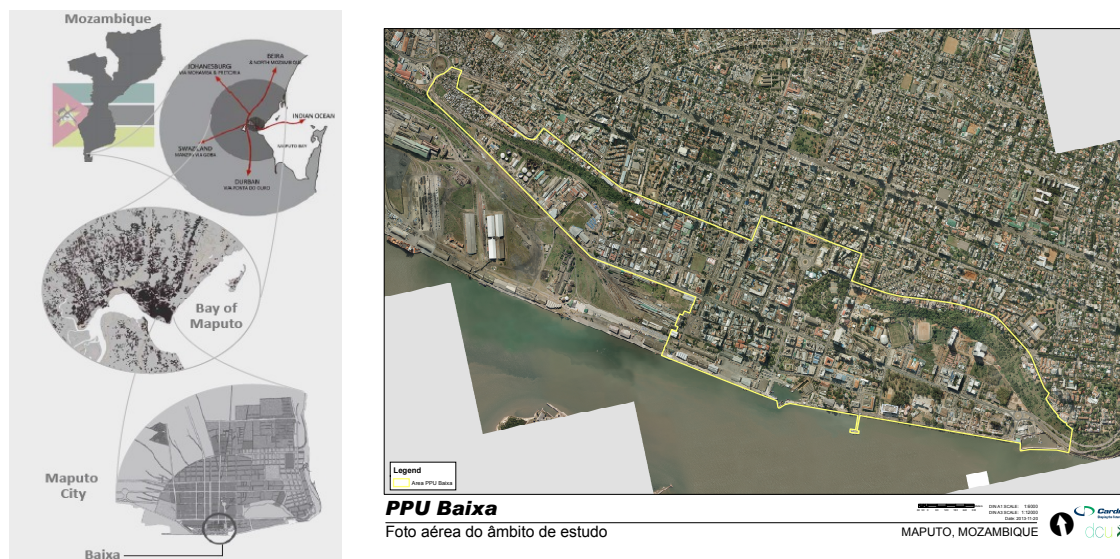
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b

Table 5.1 – Organization of administrative units of the Baixa

Municipal Districts (DMs)	Residential Areas (Bairros)	
	Entirely covered	**Partially covered**
Distrito Municipal KaMpfumo (MD1)	Central C	Central A & B
		Alto-MaéA&B
Distrito Municipal Nlhamankulu (MD2)		Malanga

Source: INE, 2010.

Figure 5.3 – Map of the administrative areas of the Baixa

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b.

But, the long-term sustainability of *Baixa*'s heritage and unique character are under threat due to several factors. On the one hand cultural heritage is exposed to neglect, degradation and despair, with inadequate infrastructure, services and management. On the other, pressures for rapid new

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development increase in a setting of short-term opportunity. As seen in Chapter 4, real estate investments in Maputo are growing and it is estimated that within the area of the *Baixa* alone, there is almost $2.4 billion of current or planned real estate investments (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). Uncoordinated overbuilding could make *Baixa* another non-descript area, impairing its potential. In addition, few mechanisms exist to effectively manage these pressures, which could lead to sub-optimal results, including the demolition of its cultural heritage.

To overcome this situation and capture the *Baixa*'s potential, the Municipal Government of Maputo commissioned the preparation of a Partial Urbanisation Plan (PPU) for the Baixa, in a key moment for Maputo's urban development. This intended to address the critical issues that threaten the *Baixa*'s identity and to provide a collective vision and guidance on the choices and tools necessary to make the most of its favourable socio-cultural, economic, spatial and environmental conditions, with special focus on the protection and valorisation of its cultural heritage (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2012b).

The Urban Development Plan of Maputo historic district (Baixa) has been developed by the Municipality of Maputo (CMM) between 2013 and 2015 as part of ProMaputo II, with the aim to *"establish a dynamic, vibrant, and balanced central business and residential area in the central core of Maputo, while protecting its cultural heritage"* (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2012b). Within CMM, the Directorate for Urban Planning and Environment (Direcção Municipal de Planeamento Urbano e Ambiente – DMPUA) has been leading the process.

The consortium engaged by CMM to provide technical assistance in the preparation of the plan, includes firms from the United States (Cardno) and Spain (Design Convergence Urbanism) and the Faculty of Architecture & Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo. The researcher has been directly involved in the plan development, as coordinator of the plan conceptualization and design process within the Municipality and as interface between authorities, consultants, government and civil society.

5.1.3   Five steps to match investigation and actions

To support the preparation of the plan, an extended participatory and multidisciplinary approach has been adopted, going far beyond the minimum requirements stated in the planning law of Mozambique, and targeting, amongst others, developers, planning and engineering professionals, media, informal associations, representatives of local and national governments, academics, civil society organizations and the citizens. This approach has been chosen as it was considered the most appropriate to understand the Baixa's complex urban reality, to engage with different actors, generate awareness amongst them and ownership towards its heritage, and stimulate coordinated and integrated interventions. Their continued commitment is also needed after the plan approval, in order to carry out its implementation.

A broad group of stakeholders, therefore, has been engaged and different methods and tools have been used to stimulate their participation during the entire plan development process, from the analysis of the Baixa current situation (e.g., field interviews, focus groups, thematic groups); the assessment of its cultural heritage (e.g., mapping, individual interviews, focus groups); a collective articulation of a vision for the Baixa (e.g., Vision *Charrette*); the establishment of development priorities and urban form preferences (e.g., Scenario Planning *Charrette*); and in choosing a preferred urban design option among various alternatives that reflect the vision (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

As seen in section 3.4.2, the plan development process has been divided in five key steps, which are outlined here below and presented in detail in the following sections:

- Establishment of the Plan Supervision Commission (section 5.2);

- Appraisal of the current situation (section 5.3);

- Organization of public hearings (section 5.4);

- Development and implementation of a communications campaign (section 5.5);

- Organization of two *charrettes* with the Plan Supervision Commission (section 5.6);

- Qualitative analysis of risks and opportunities for implementation (section 5.7).

5.2   Establishment of the Plan Supervision Commission

At the start of a plan preparation process a Plan Supervision Commission (PSC) has been created by the Municipal Council, according to the Mozambican Territorial Planning Law (Assembleia da Republica, 2007), in order to promote interdepartmental coordination and ensure that the plan complies with relevant technical, legal and planning aspects, to smooth its further approval. Furthermore, the Commission is conceived as a vehicle to facilitate the participation of key stakeholders in the plan elaboration process (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2013).

The PSC brought together into a space of dialogue and multidisciplinary collaboration various representatives of the local and national government, large landholders, associations of informal vendors, academics, developers and utilities companies. In particular, the members of the PSC included the municipal council aldermen (*vereadores*) for Urban Planning and Environment, Infrastructure, Economic Development, Transport, Markets and Fairs, Education, Culture and Social Affairs; the municipal council aldermen (*vereadores*) of the municipal districts that encompass the area of the plan, namely KaMpfumo and Nhlamankulu; and the secretaries *(secretarios dos bairros)* of the neighbourhoods or *bairros* affected by the plan, namely Central C, Alto Mae B and Malanga. Other entities from the central government included the Ministry of Culture, who is in charge of the safeguard of the built patrimony and the promotion of the conservation agenda; the railways company (*Caminhos de Ferro de Mozambique* – CFM) and the Maputo South Development Company (*Empresa de Desenvolvimento de Maputo Sul*), which both have land and infrastructure asset interests in the area; associations of informal workers such as the *Associação dos Trabalhadores do Sector Informal* (ASSOTSI); services and utilities providers for water (*Fundo de Investimento e Património do Abastecimento de Água* - FIPAG), telecommunications (*Telecomunicações de Moçambique* – TDM), and electricity (*Electricidade de Mozambique-Cidade de Maputo* - EDM); economic agents such as the Confederation of Business Associations (*Confederação das Associações Económicas* - CTA); travel agents such as AVITUR; and the academics, such as the University Eduardo Mondlane of Maputo. The members of the SC participated actively during the plan elaboration process, in particular in the three public hearings, in the two *charettes* and in several thematic groups.

The specific tasks of the Supervision Commission were:

- Validate the working methodology and the output of the consulting team in all phases of plan preparation process.

- Coordinate information flow with the Directorate for Urban Planning and Environment (DMPUA) and CMM management during the plan preparation process.

- Ensure the continuity of the process through all relevant channels during the approval stage by the Municipal Assembly (AM).

- Issue opinion on consultation process and ensuing actions.

- Issue opinion on conformity of the Plan with legal provisions and the existing planning framework (PEUMM) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2013).

5.3   Appraisal of the current situation

This section presents the comprehensive appraisal technique and tools that have been developed and applied to characterize the *Baixa*'s context from different perspectives, going far beyond the Territorial Planning Law requirements for Mozambique and what the Municipality usually does for the development of urban plans. The appraisal has been divided into several steps, hereunder presented, and has addressed several topics, including socio-cultural and economic dynamics, historical and spatial analysis, governance frameworks, and cultural heritage aspects. The political and governance context has been analysed in function of the plan development process, but is not presented in this chapter, as section 4.XXX already provides a detail analysis of Maputo's context, which remains valid for the area of the Baixa.

The results of the appraisal have been presented and discussed in several events during the participatory planning process, in particular in occasion of the First Public Hearing and during the Vision *Charette* held with the Plan Supervision Commission. The information obtained from the appraisal has supported the plan decision-making process and helped to identify and shape the guiding principles and key actions taken for the plan development process.

The main findings of the appraisal are presented respectively in sub-sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3 and 5.3.4.

5.3.1   Socio-cultural and economic dynamics

This analysis aimed to provide a reliable social and economic profile of the residents and other users of the *Baixa*, with the intention to understand the socio-cultural and economic dynamics that determine its unique character; to identify the challenges and opportunities that people experience in this area of the City; and to determine people's attitudes, abilities and willingness to contribute to the conservation and improvement of the area. In fact, the effectiveness of a plan depends to a large extent on how well its policies and measures respond to the needs and expectations of residents and users (Siravo, 2015). Other useful source of information is the business community, particularly regarding the potential for commercial growth and employment opportunities. This information is important as it will help in designing incentives to attract more business and generally create a policy environment conducive to private investments (Siravo, 2015).

Assessment methods and tools

The analysis of the *Baixa* socio-cultural and economic dynamics relied on the design and application of different quantitative and qualitative methods and tools, which are presented here below:

- **Literature review:** Review of a wide range of existing documents, planning studies, reports and primary and secondary data provided by the Municipality of Maputo, the Central Government, donor agencies, international and national organisations, and the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo; data from the national census of 2007; and the satellite cartography of 2011 provided by the Municipality;

- **Individual interviews:** Interviews conducted with the support of ten students from the Faculty of Sociology of the University Eduardo Mondlane of Maputo. The interviews' topics covered demographics, conditions and usage of public services and the environment, communication, civic participation, people's perspective about the *Baixa* present conditions and their opinions about its future development.

  The data were gathered using paper questionnaires, which were later digitalized. They targeted 183 households living in the area of study, 126 formal businesses, 100 informal vendors, 54 enterprises representatives and 25 tourists, with a total of 488 surveys completed. The basis of the survey's design was a statistical sample provided by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), which identified the distribution of the population of the Baixa by quarters (*quarteirões*) based on the census of 2007. Some discrepancies with the data were identified, as a result of property demolitions and changes to the layout of the quarters happened after 2007. Therefore, a reconciled version of the sample of distribution was done, along with a calculation of the population estimates. Additional surveys were conducted with inhabitants living in areas surrounding the Baixa, in order to develop a more robust understanding of the socio-economic situation (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

- **Focus groups:** Group discussions on the social and economic situation within the *Baixa*, its challenges and the potential solutions to improve its state. The discussions were facilitated by the Consultancy Team's Sociology Expert, with the support of undergraduate students from the Sociology Department at the University Eduardo Mondlane. Eleven focus groups were conducted with several stakeholders related to the area of study, including: local authorities (*Secretarios de Bairro*) of the three neighbourhoods of the *Baixa*; local authorities (*Secretarios de Bairro*) of 8 neighbourhoods outside of the *Baixa*; head of the *Baixa* neighbourhoods' blocks (*Chefes de Quarteiroes*); representatives of the *Baixa* residents; professors of the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning; municipal officials and directors; civil society organizations; informal business associations; land developers and investors; real estate and property managers; urban planners and architects. The participants of the focus groups were encouraged to express their opinion about the socio-cultural, economic and urban dynamics of the *Baixa*, highlighting their needs and concerns, and potential solutions to improve its state. The statements were recorded and transcribed in a matrix. A sample of a focus group guideline is in Appendix 3.

Socio-cultural dynamics

As highlighted in Chapter 4, the City of Maputo is part of a rapidly growing metropolitan area extending towards the neighbouring administrative jurisdictions of Matola, Marracuene and Boane. Metropolitan Maputo now counts a population of over 2 million people and is expected to exceed 4 million people by 2025. There are 1,209,993 residents currently (2013) living within the City of Maputo, but the expected population is of 1.5 million people by 2035 (INE, 2010). A considerable part of these people's life depends on activities and services provided in Maputo's city centre and especially in the *Baixa* area.

Table 5.2 – Population of the Baixa by bairros (2007)

Segment	Total Population of Bairros	Population in Baixa	Distribution of Baixa Population
Total (Baixa)	46,707	12,974	100%
Central C	8,352	7,602	91.0%
Malanga	25,894	3,693	14.3%
Alto Mae B	12,461	1,679	13.5%

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo (2014a)

As seen in section 4.1.1, the Municipal Districts with highest populations – in terms of quantity and density – are located to the north of the periphery of the City (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008). The Municipal Districts that encompass the area of the Baixa – Nlhamankulu and KaMpfumo – are those with substantially lower populations (Jenkins, 2013). In 1970, prior to the civil was this segment of the City contained more than a quarter (26.8%) of the total population. Within the following 20 years, this proportion decreased by nearly 10% as the population of the suburbs rose dramatically (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). In particular, in the district of KaMpfumo the population growth was negative (-17%) in 2007, retaining only 9% of Maputo's inhabitants. The population of the neighbourhood Central C, which comprises almost 75% of the population of the *Baixa*, has decreased by 15.5% from 9.885 in 1997 to 8.352 in 2007. The *Baixa*, therefore, with a population of barely 12,000 people and about 70 people per hectare, has a very low density and residential population for a consolidated urban area.

Figure 5.4 – Population distribution across the metropolitan of Maputo
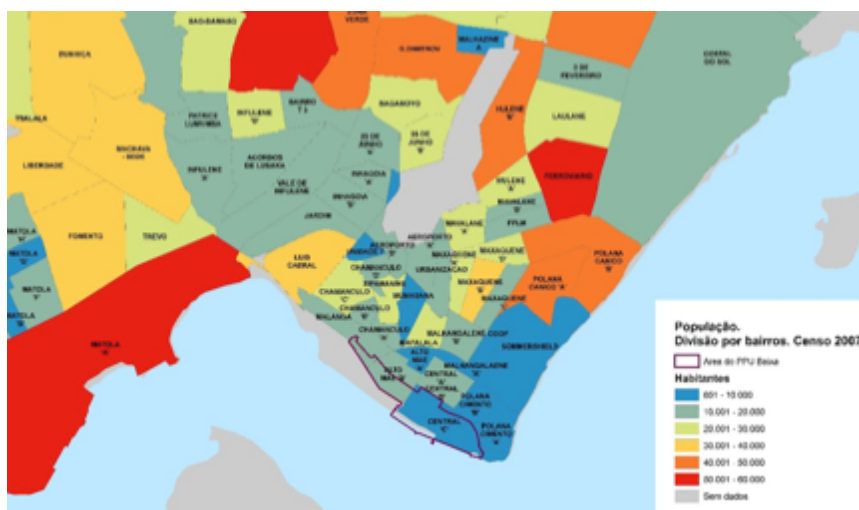
Source: INE, 2010 & Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b

Figure 5.5 – Map of the distribution of population by INE area codes (2007)

Source: INE, 2010 & Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b

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Table 5.3 – Distribution of population by quarters (2007)

Bairros	Quarters	INE Sample Size	Distribution	PPU Survey Sample Size	Distribution	Difference	Estimate Population
Baixa		287	100%	175	100%	0%	12,974
Alto Maé B	Q19	17	6%	9	5%	-1%	778
	Q08 ;10	8	3%	9	5%	2%	389
	Q38 ;37	27	9%	9	5%	-4%	1,168
	Q42 ;43	25	9%	15	9%	0%	1,168
	Q41 ;44	29	10%	12	7%	-3%	1,297
Central C	Q02B; 2C	3	1%	5	3%	2%	130
	Q05B:5A	5	2%	2	1%	-1%	259
	Q10 ;9	6	2%	7	4%	2%	259
	Q08	6	2%	9	5%	3%	259
	Q31D; 1D	9	3%	5	5%	2%	389
	Q03D	9	3%	7	4%	1%	389
	Q25 ;24	12	4%	7	4%	0%	519
	Q17B; 17A	17	6%	8	5%	-1%	778
	Q29B; 28F	21	7%	18	10%	3%	908
Malanga	Q08 ;10	4	1%	6	3%	2%	130
	Q10	10	3%	5	3%	0%	389
	Q36 ;30	13	5%	2	1%	-4%	649
	Q27	16	6%		0%	-6%	778
	Q22 ;23	22	8%	17	10%	2%	1,038
	Q44 ;43	28	10%	20	11%	1%	1,297

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b

There are diversified socio-cultural and economic dynamics through the *Baixa*, as it constitutes a meeting point for many people from different backgrounds, all coming from outside to make a living there. During daytime, the population of the *Baixa* is estimated to be between 200,000 – 400,000 individuals, outnumbering the residential population of the area by almost 3,000% (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014c). They represent 25-30% of the population of the City of Maputo, that on any given day partake different activities in the Baixa, such as work, shop, sell goods, handle administrative affairs or simply enjoy leisure activities within this area.

On average the economic level of the inhabitants of the center of Maputo remains the highest of the entire city. The Municipal District of KaMpfumo, in particular, retains only 9% of Maputo's inhabitants, but its residents represent more than 75% of the wealth and they inhabit the most expensive real estate properties. This area, in fact, as can be seen in table 5.4, displays the city's lowest incidence of poverty. Between 2002-2003 and 2008-2009 this rate decreased from 53.6%

to 36.2%. This is mainly related to the increase of employment in construction and security companies as well as in the informal economy (Tvedten, 2013).

However, in contrast, it is also in this area that the City records the highest levels of economic and social inequality. In fact, there are substantial differences in revenue and expenditure between those who are in a better situation and the poor. The households in the richest quintile spend 37.6% of their income on housing, 23.6% with 'other expenditure' and only 17.8% in food. On the other hand the poorest households spend approximately 50% of their income on food and 32.1% for housing, leaving very little for other expenditure and to invest in the future (Tvedten, 2013).

Table 5.4 – Incidence of poverty and inequality (2011)

Segment	Poverty (%)	Inequality (Index)
Cement City	28	0.61
Maputo	60.1	63.5

Source:JICA, 2011.

As illustrated in Table 5.5, the level of education is higher in the *Baixa* than in the rest of the City of Maputo.

Table 5.5 – Distribution of educational achievements

Segment	Literacy	Primary	Secondary	University (Superior)
Baixa	95.9%	12.8%	46.9%	29.2%
Cement City	96.7%	29.2%	40.4%	26.0%
Maputo	61.2%	28.5%	30.0%	1.7%
Mozambique	49.7%	15.7%	18.2%	2.3%

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2012a

As represented in the figure 5.6, the majority of the residents of the *Baixa* is from Mozambique and originates from other areas of the City of Maputo (63%). Almost 37% of the Mozambican people come from the nearby provinces of the Southern Region.

Figure 5.6 – Origins of the residents of the Baixa by province
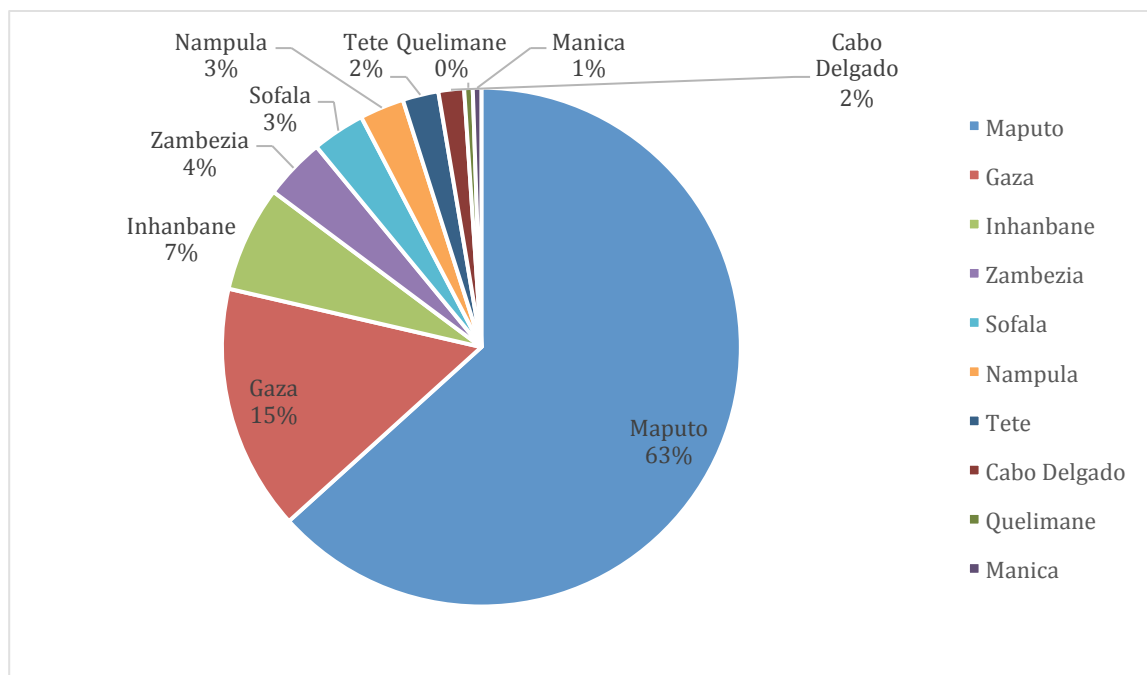
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b.

As presented in Table 5.6, the age distribution of the *Baixa*'s population has remained relatively stable over the past decades and is similar to the City of Maputo. The workforce segment (16-64 years) is the largest (56%), followed by the youth (0-15 years) with 34%. The elderly segment of the population is very low, with only 3% of the population with 65 years or more in 2007 (*Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b)*.

Table 5.6 – Distribution of Ages Brackets

Segment	Baixa(2014b)	City of Maputo(2008)
Youth (0-15 years)	34%	36.1%
Workforce (16-64 years)	56%	61%
Elderly (65 years and above)	3%	2.3%

Source:Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

As presented in Table 5.7, the households' size within the Baixa is smaller than the rest of the City of Maputo, and has remained the most consistent over the past decade. According to INE, on average a household in the district of KaMpfumo has 3.92 inhabitants. This information was confirmed by the socio-economic survey conducted with this study, with household sizes averaging approximately 4.97 inhabitants (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Table 5.7 – Evolution of the number of households

Administrative Units	1997			2007			Variance (Household Size)
	Population	Households	Household Size (Avg)	Population	Households	Household Size (Avg)	
Urban District of KaMpfumo	129,067	32930	3.92	107,530	27066	3.97	+ 0.05
Urban District of Nlhamankulu	161,366	29375	5.49	155,385	31101	5.00	- 0.49
Urban District of Kamaxakeni	209,909	36373	5.77	222756	42293	5.27	- 0.50
Urban District of KaMavota	227,527	42669	5.33	293361	56884	5.16	- 0.17
Urban District of KaMubukwana	210,261	37577	5.60	290,960	58618	4.96	- 0.64
Municipality of Maputo (Including the two rural districts)	958,585	178,924	5.36	1,090,183	221,428	4.92	- 0.44

Source:INE, 1998.

The majority of the residents of Baixa (83%) live in apartments with on average 2-4 bedrooms, in buildings that were built mainly in colonial time. Based on the results of the survey carried out in the Baixa and in the neighbouring districts, it was observed that a significant number of heads of households owns their residences (97%) and that 34% claim that they pay property taxes (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Table 5.8 – Distribution of population by type of dwelling, Maputo City, 2007

Segment	House (Conv)	House (Mixed)	House (Basic)	Apartment	Hut
Baixa	5.62	0.59	7.45	82.94	0.10
Cement City	15.6	0.7	12.6	69.5	0.1
Maputo	8.2	12.3	67.6	10.1	0.8

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2012a.

Economic situation

Historically and until today, *Baixa* serves as Maputo's central economic (formal and informal) and administrative district. Originally, it was established as fishing and trading outpost, which then grew into an important port for the trade of natural resources. The *Baixa*, in fact, has become the historical gateway to the Maputo economic corridor that connects the resource-rich countries of South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland, and has been equipped to support the supply chains including mining, international trade and shipping of goods. In 1895 the national government was relocated to Maputo, and more specifically in the *Baixa*, creating a new local economy and high demand for educated workers. Currently, there are approximately 30,000 labourers employed by the public affairs industry for the Maputo Municipal Council and the central government (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). More recently, the *Baixa* has become an important national and regional center for financial and professional services. It is the location of several banks and financial buildings and is also a shopping destination including both formal and informal businesses (Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA, 2013).

- **Formal Economy**

As seen in Chapter 4 (see section 4.1.2.1), Maputo's local economy has increased by 15.91% over the last 10 years, and more than 50% of its population is economically active. The Municipal District of KaMpfumu, in particular, has the most active commercial and industrial sector in Maputo. *Baixa* generates more than $500 million a year in economic activity and approximately 150,000 to 250,000 individuals work in this area, representing 73% of the City's work force. In 2011, 42% of Maputo enterprises were located there, mostly engaged in financial activities and insurance (19,506), followed by commercial trade and transport (16,854 workers), and hotel and restaurant (11,584 workers). The presence of the port also generates a large number of micro enterprises and traders that act as 'wholesalers', who repackage large bulk shipments into manageable portions, which are then sold locally in the Maputo Central Market (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). The tourism, fishing and agriculture sectors, on the other hand, have big potentials, but still remain small contributors to the local economic productivity of the City of Maputo.

The real estate sector of the Baixa has become a major business over the past decade, as economic growth and FDI have increased in Maputo, which has led to a significant increase in demand for higher quality real estate in the CBD (Knight Frank, 2013). Since 2011 a wave of new buildings has target in particular the most central areas, comprising both apartments geared to the higher segments of the market as well as office spaces. Statistics regarding the real estate sector are hardly available, however it was estimated that in the *Baixa* there are currently $2.4 billion of current and planned constructions, which represent a dramatic increase over the past two decades (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

The domination of *Baixa* by economic interests, however, has led to a gradual collapse of its residential life. In the last decades, in fact, as the CBD of the city has expanded radially and its development cycle has largely focused on the provision of equipment and urban services that cater to its commercial growth, the residential and leisure offerings and services have been gradually pushed outwards. In addition, the permission for the construction of single function buildings without residential use has forced many people to move to the surrounding areas or to live informally on the streets. This has reduced the number of people living in the Baixa (barely 12,000 people with 70 people per hectare), and has increased distances and segregation of social strata, aggravating transportation costs to reach public services and social equipment that remain strongly centralized.

In that regard, the CBD creates the largest daily migration and movement of people within the City of Maputo as they flow in and out of the CBD by day and night. In fact, the residents of Maputo typically commute long distances to their location of employment, as most of them reside in the periphery of the City, while their centres of employment are generally located in the CBD (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). During the working hours (07:00 – 20:00) the number

of people in the *Baixa* is estimated between 200,000 – 400,000 and then drop to 20,000 – 30,000 during the evening and night time hours (20:00 – 07:00) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). If this trend is allowed to continue, the Baixa could suffer the fate of many other CBDs, namely become a ghost town at night.

These migration patterns can be visualized in Figure 5.7, which shows that the greatest composition of the visitors of the Baixa originates from the periphery of the City. Through the survey conducted in the area, it was observed that the inhabitants of the Baixa primarily work outside this area (41%) and only 25.6% work there (7.2% in Matola, 0.5% within greater Maputo region, and 0.5% outside the region of greater Maputo) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.7 – Origins of visitors to the Baixa by population center
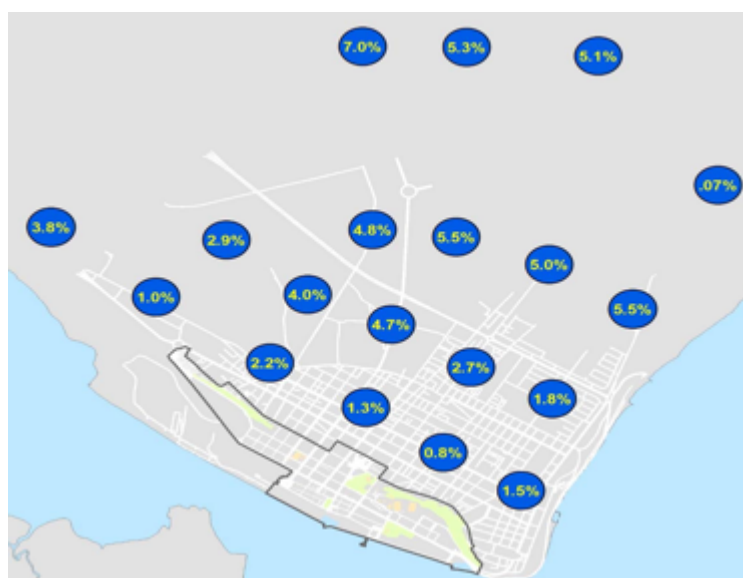
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA, 2013.

- **Informal Economy**

The *Baixa* retains a historic relationship with informal vendors and traders, who conduct their business on the streets and along the sidewalks. As seen in section 4.1.2, the informal sector is a critical element to the livelihoods and security of the lowest income households. Within all of Maputo it is estimated that the informal sector employs 64.4% of the entire population (FAO, 2008). The informal economy in the *Baixa* is estimated to employ between 2,000 to 5,000 street vendors and possibly many more if off-street informal businesses are considered (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

The survey conducted for this study revealed that on average there are approximately 20 vendors per street segment in the *Baixa*. Traders in appliances, food, mobile phone components and souvenirs are concentrated in the areas with the highest concentration of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The typical informal vendor is on average 27.5 years old, male, has not completed secondary school and lives in households of 5.3 individuals with at least three dependents. It was observed that the majority of the informal vendors sells their goods directly on the ground and only 18.6% of respondent claimed to have access to water services while they work. 94.8% of respondents claimed to deposit the garbage they produce in containers available on the street. 43.3% perceived their working area with too much garbage, which, for 22.7% of respondents, can cause health problems. 73.2% of interviewees believe that their working area is noisy and 68% consider that there are problems with crime and violence within the *Baixa*, mainly due to lack of lighting (55.7%) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.8 – Map of location with high concentration of economic activities being conducted on the streets

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014f.

Figure 5.9 – Primary items of sale in informal markets
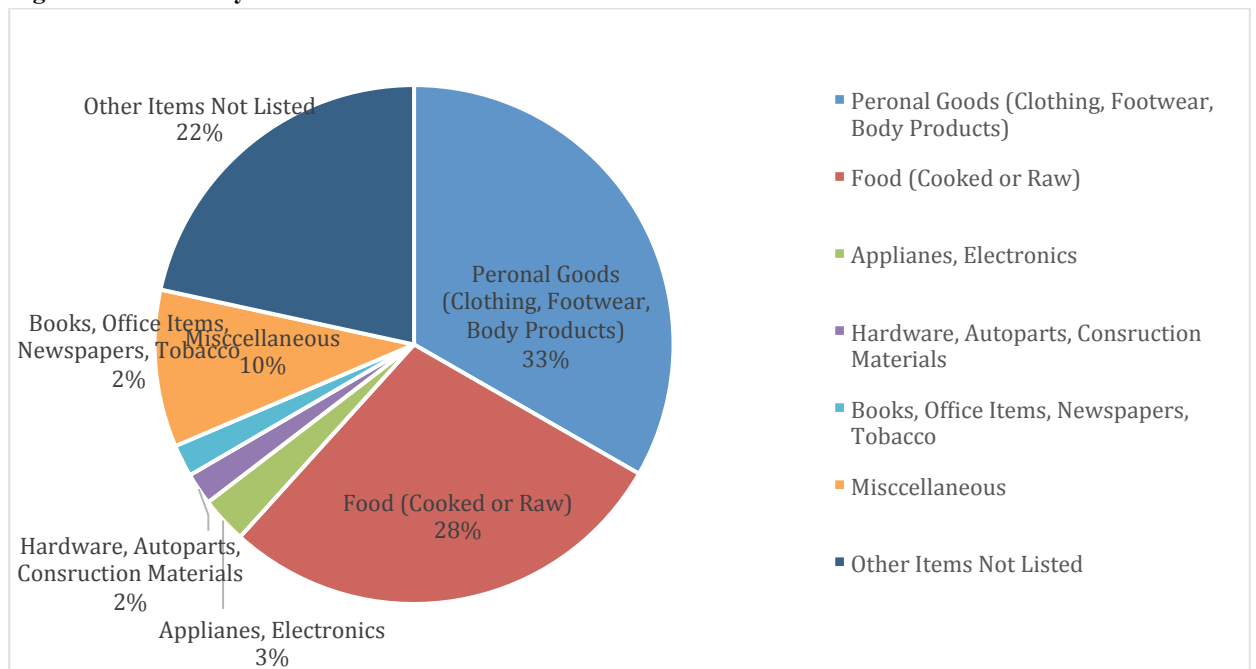
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014b.

The focus groups revealed that, although the informal trade is remarked as important for the economy and the livelihood of many families, informal vendors are not well seen by the population, as they usually occupy the existing sidewalks and part of the streets, creating traffic

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congestion and steeling space from pedestrians. In addition, in areas where they sell food they produce and pile up a lot of organic rubbish, creating health hazards and cluttering storm water drains with litter, which increases the risk of flooding (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014d).

On the other hand, informal vendors are forced to operate in precarious conditions, with no licences and rights, unprotected from the weather and without sanitation facilities. In fact, it was observed during the interviews, that only 28.9% of the respondents claimed to have business documents (e.g., card/licences), which were given by the Municipality (71.4%), by an association linked to their business (17.9%) or by the Ministry of Finance (10.7%) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

In addition, the majority of informal vendors live in the suburban and informal areas of Maputo, and spend up to one third of their monthly income on public transport to commute long distances every day to their location of work. As observed with the survey, only 9.3% of street vendors live within the Baixa, 64.9% live within the City of Maputo and 21.6% live in Matola. Transportation and mobility, therefore, are particularly important for the informal workers. Their primary mode of transportation for the respondents was the *Chapas* or minivan (58.5%) and the commute takes on average 15-30 minutes (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

These informal vendors, and the economy of Maputo, would benefit from regularized conditions and an improved working environment. As seen in section 4.1.2, there are multiple associations that support the informal workers within Maputo and the *Baixa*. The Associations of Operators and Workers in the Informal Sector (ASSOTSI and ASSOCAVA) are two of the largest organizations aimed at improving their working conditions, by defending their rights and interests. As seen in section 4.1.2, while these institutions have helped informal workers to improve their conditions, additional support is needed to increase the access to credit and training opportunities for micro-entrepreneurs; to create new market facilities located closer to public transportation facilities; to increase public transportation options to reduce their daily commuting costs; and to develop a poverty rights system that can be used to access financial tools (Tvedten, Roque, & Bertelsen, 2013).

The municipal government is also trying to organize the informal sector across the city through several interventions that mainly target informal markets located outside the central districts. An important initiative that took place in the *Baixa* is the requalification of the Maputo Central Market. Built in 1901, it is the only built structure in the CBD (as of 2014) that provides an organized location for informal market activities run by micro-enterprises and traders. However, due to the lack of space, many micro-entrepreneurs are excluded from the Central Market facilities and are forced to sell their goods on the streets, where they are often perceived as illegitimate and having minimal rights for conducting their activities. As a result, the market has grown informally into the streets (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

5.3.2   Historical and spatial analysis of Baixa urban landscape

This analysis seeks to understand the physical and historical evolution of the *Baixa* from the colonial area to date and to present its current conditions in terms of urban attributes, environment and cultural heritage, which contribute as a whole to define the Baixa urban character and identity; and with reference to land use, public infrastructure and utilities (i.e. water, electricity, sewage, drainage, paving of streets and roads, street lighting), public services (i.e. garbage collection), transport systems, land use and tenure issues.

Assessment methods and tools

This analysis relied on the design and use of different methods, which are presented here below:

- **Literature review:** Extensive review of a wide range of existing documents, including municipal data and reports; inventories and studies produced by experts, architects, art historians, urbanists, and archaeologists, done to document the Baixa's development and urban structure. Other source material used for this assessment includes secondary data and documents from national and international organizations; historical records, maps and photos from the National Historic Archive; archive photos from the National Center of Photography. Additionally, online research methods were utilized to access data and literature publicly available.

- **Spatial observational surveys:** Three types of spatial surveys have been conducted with the support of 30 students from the Faculty of Architecture and Physical planning of the University Eduardo Mondlane of Maputo. The surveys relied on the use of electronic GPS tablet devices and reviewed more than 50 kilometres of roadway, 788 buildings, and 16 directions of traffic within the Baixa. The data and information gathered have been organized into a detailed database, which has allowed the development of several thematic maps and graphics. A sample of a spatial survey questionnaire is in Appendix 4. The survey covered the following elements:

  - Land use: It focused on the assessment of the typology and use of 788 existing vertical structures, located in more than 50 blocks. A picture of each structure has been taken to create a geo-referenced database containing information on iys location, number of floors, use and general conditions.

  - Infrastructure and public space: It focused on the availability and conditions of existing infrastructure (i.e., roads, parking spaces, sewage, public transport, electricity, drainage and solid waste systems); and of existing pedestrian and public spaces, including how people use them. Approximately 36 km of streets were covered, broken up into several small sections, each of which assigned to a different group of students.

  - Transportation: It focused on the assessment of 8 key road intersections in and around the Baixa, looking to determine the typologies and average number of vehicles going in or coming out of the Baixa at peak hours through the different major avenues. The data gathered complemented the extensive traffic data collection done by the Municipality while developing the "Maputo Metropolitan Mobility and Transport Masterplan", concluded in 2014 with the support of the Japanese Technical Cooperation (JICA).

- **Focus groups:** During the focus groups held to assess the socio-economic dynamics of the Baixa, several points of discussion were related to the spatial and environmental conditions of the area of study, with the aim to understand the perceptions and needs of different stakeholders in relation to the situation of the urban landscape. The focus groups' participants were encouraged to express their priority needs and concerns about the *Baixa*'s current conditions and envisioned future; potential solutions to improve its state; and the role they could play in its development. The statements were recorded and transcribed in a matrix. A sample of a focus group guideline is in Appendix 3.

Historical urban development

The urban development of the *Baixa* is closely linked to the urban history of Maputo, which is presented in detail in Chapter 4 (see section 4.3). The *Baixa*, in fact, is the historical core of Maputo, where the Portuguese first settled when an expedition led by Vasco de Gama arrived in 1498. It is the original location on which the formal western city began and remains the part of the city with the highest density of heritage assets.

As seen in section 4.2.1, the village was established on a small island near the mouth of the river, surrounded by half kilometre of swampy area, cutting the *Baixa* off from the mainland and giving it its defined borders. It served as shelter for ship repairs, and later as a supply base for operations of trading companies. Fortified temporary shelters were built for periods of trade, until when the *Baixa* was eventually formalized as a permanent Portuguese settlement in 1782.

The first organized development, planned in 1851, by Lieutenant António Pedra Baptista Gonçalves, featured six parallel main streets. In 1869, with the increase in traffic resulting from the discovery of ores, the connection with borders and inner lands of the African continent got improved with the completion of the Road of Lidemburgo. In 1876, after the Mac-Mahon sentence, which ended the litigation between Portugal and England and proclaimed the legal and undeniable Portuguese development rights on the bay, the encampment was elevated to the category of village. This sentence also established the boundaries between the Portuguese-Mozambique and South Africa (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 5.10 – Portion of the plan of Baixa overlapped with historical map from 1876

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

Lourenço Marques, as Maputo was called up till 1975, started its expansion for the first time. The swampy marshlands that surrounded the areas of the small island settlement were reclaimed, connecting the city to the mainland and providing fresh land for the city's growing population. In addition, the buildings construction and the layout of avenues and squares began to consolidate the city's urban form.

By 1882, the first collectively funded infrastructure began to exist, including a chapel, cemetery, and public source of water, and the first land register was commission in 1886. In 1887 the Portuguese Crown elevated the town of Lourenço Marques the status of city (Correia et al., 2012).

Figure 5.11 – Pictures of the Baixa before recovering the areas of the swap

Source: (Bruschi & Lage, 2005)

In 1892, during the period of Major Antonio José Araújo, a new development plan was prepared, which defined the city's urban structure for decades, establishing the continuity of the Baixa's orthogonal grid, comprising three major avenues over an area of 57 blocks. This plan also greatly extended the city's urban design characteristics, with the creation of boulevards, squares, gardens, movement spines and public spaces. As the surface area of Lourenço Marques enlarged, the Portuguese Crown took over indigenous lands, whose land rights were removed in 1890 (Correia et al., 2012).

The inauguration of the Railway line to Pretoria in 1895 and the wealth brought by the trade of ores, let to a period of great expansion, with the deployment of infrastructure such as water supply, telegraph, and lighting system. In the same year, the seat of the colony capital was moved from Ilha de Moçambique to Lourenço Marques. Public trams were inaugurated in 1904 and in 1905 the harbour was expanded, thus increasing its operability. These achievements led to the next great period of expansion of the city (Correia et al., 2012). The Praça 25 de Junho, particularly, has been the generator of all the subsequent spatial plans for the city. Its importance, as the main gathering space, was evident as most of the public buildings were located on its edges and major movement spines traversed it.

Figure 5.12 – Life in the Baixa in the first years of the 20th century

Source: Bruschi & Lage, 2005

In the early years of the 20th century, the improvement of the city's wealth conditions brought a mass migration and the booming of the local population, which reached 26,000 inhabitants. This led to an increased demand for local services and to the establishment of the central business district, with important shops, banks, restaurants, cafes, cinemas, and hotels. In addition, the demand for new residences led to the extension of the area of the city from the original core to a

new ring road in the perimeter, and to the construction of vast new residential areas outside the *Baixa*, establishing already a commuter culture in the city. A number of Art Deco buildings were built during this period, replacing gradually the typology of wood and zinc constructions. Predio Pott, the train station, the Library and the Post Office are some of the many key buildings still existing in the Baixa from this period. The construction of the square on top of Avenida Samora Machel (ex Avenida de Aguilar) started, to raise the monument to Mouzinho de Albuquerque and to construct the Municipal Council and the Cathedral (Correia et al., 2012).

The 1952 new Portuguese Plan for the city, drawn up by the Ministry of Urbanization Ultramar and coordinated by the architect J. Aguiar, outlined a radial mesh extension of the city along the coast in a "city-garden" style, with wide avenues, large roundabouts and larger public spaces. It also established a policy of segregation between the *cidade de cemento* (concrete city), occupied mostly by settlers, and its outskirts, called *cidade de caniço* (reed city), where the so-called indigenous population was segregated before independence and forced to live in houses built with precarious material, mostly reed.

Figure 5.13 – The 1952 master plan for the city

Source: Bruschi & Lage, 2005

Between 1950 and 1960 the rate of population growth quadrupled mainly due to the increase of informal settlements in the sprawling peri-urban area. In the *Baixa* there is a peak in the development of buildings, the replacement of old typologies by taller buildings, and the provision of new equipment, increasing the urban density. In 1967, the engineer Mario de Azevedo was hired to prepare the Master Plan of the City, which became, at least for the first decade after the independence from Portugal in 1975, the sole instrument of urban planning.

After the independence of Mozambique the colonial ruler swiftly left the country and the city experienced an intense migration of population from the rest of the country. As seen in section 4.3.1, in 1976, with the establishment of the APIE state-owned company, in charge of the management of Maputo's properties, many Mozambicans who, during the colonial period, were forced to live in the periphery of the city, could now live in the "cement city", changing drastically the social and economic conditions and dynamics of the Baixa.

Soon after independence the country plunged into a long and devastating civil war, which ended only in 1992. During this period, the *Baixa* came to a standstill in development and did not see a lot of maintenance. The little money that was available either were for civil war related causes or for simple infrastructure in the quickly growing city boundary communities. As a consequence, after many years of abandon and a marked lowering of the intensity in the commercial activity, the Baixa entered in a state of deterioration with a low quality urban environment both in terms of infrastructure and in social and cultural terms.

Since the end of the civil war, the country went through a period of rapidly growing economy, though still ranking among the poorest countries in the world. The *Baixa* started developing again over the past decade, with massive – mostly private – investments in the construction and real

estate sectors. These new dynamics, on one side increased the commercial profitability of the CBD and re-initiated a cycle of urban improvements in the area. On the other, they accelerated a process of social stratification and segregation, witnessed in the gradual abandonment of the central municipal districts by lower-income groups. In particular, the construction of modern single function high rise buildings without residential use, reduced the number of residents in the Baixa, who got induced to move towards the city's outskirts, with consequent increasing distances and aggravating transportation costs to reach public services and social equipment that remained strongly centralized. Now, Baixa has a low residential use, with only 12,000 inhabitants performing a density of around 70 inhabitants per hectare (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

The Urban Structure Plan (PEUMM), approved in 2009 with funding from the World Bank, defined the essential elements of the city urban structure, and contributed to improving the management of the urban land. PEUMM considers the *Baixa* as the city's central business and administrative district and Maputo's historic and cultural core. PEUMM, in fact, gives special emphasis on the need to protect and enhance the cultural heritage of Maputo, and of the *Baixa* in particular.

In this respect, in 2007 the University of Architecture and Physical Planning of the University Eduardo Mondlane, with support from the Italian Government and under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and the Municipal Council, conducted an inventory of Maputo built heritage, proposing the classification of thirty buildings, most of them located in the *Baixa*. This co-operation led to the publication in 2010 of the '*Inventário do Património Edificado da Cidade de Maputo*'.

Land use classification

Land issues are a crucial and sensitive aspect of planning and managing historic urban landscapes. Recording and analysing the locations and sizes of existing uses, as well as public facilities – particularly for health, education and recreation – can help planners determine the present and future requirements or a central district. Also understanding of ownership patterns and forms of tenure is important as these are often complex and affect the kinds of policies and initiatives that can be used to implement planning measures (Siravo, 2015). Public facilities, such as green spaces, schools and health centres, are other important elements of the urban structure that need to be considered.

The Urban Structure Plan of the City of Maputo – PEUMM (2008) provides the existing and proposed classification systems of Land Use for the City of Maputo and thus for the Baixa (Figure XXX). The information provided by PEUMM for the area of study has been cross-compared with the analysis of the satellite photograph of the City of Maputo (2010), provided by the Municipal Directorate of Urban Planning and Environment, and the information gather through direct observation during the field visits and surveys conducted for this study in 2013. As a result, the land use map of the area of study was updated, as illustrated in Figure XXX.

Figure 5.14 – Land use proposed by the PEUMM
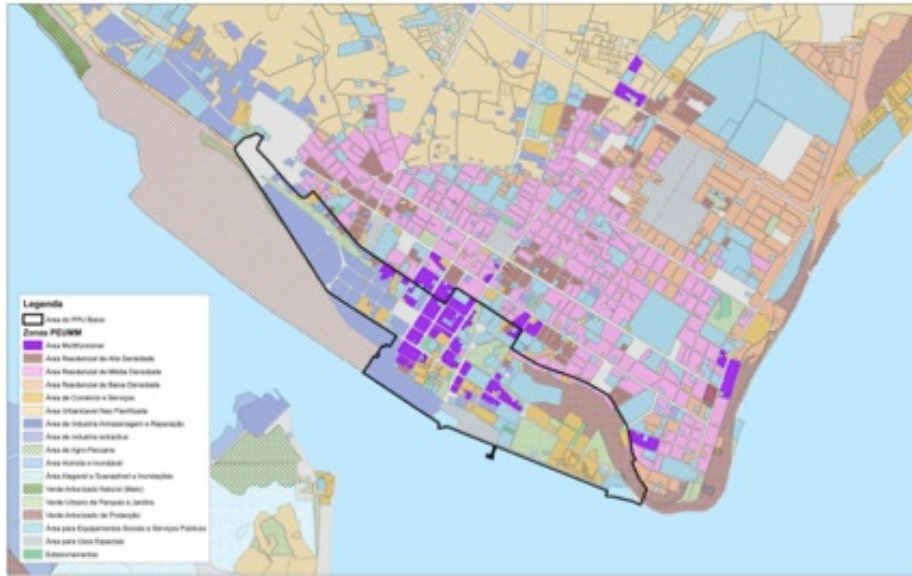
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2008

Based on this analysis, it is possible to divide the *Baixa* in three main areas, each distinct in character. Central Baixa contains the historic core, where most of heritage assets are located. This area is also the centre of commercial and administrative activity. East Baixa, including the area knows as Maxaquene, has been developed in the last decade to be the new central business district, with mostly office space in stand-alone towers. West Baixa has an area of light industrial and warehouse uses, many of them forming an ensemble of historic value. Further to the west, there are larger industrial plots suitable for redevelopment (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

The survey conducted for the plan, found within the Baixa five main land use categories, which are illustrated in Figure XXX, namely: 1) Urbanized; 2) Under urbanization; 3) Industrial; 4) Ecological structure; and 5) Special use. From this data, it is possible to see that land use within the *Baixa* is predominately urbanized (63.77% of the area), and concentrates many functions typically associated with business districts. On the contrary, this area has a low residential use, performing a density of around 70 p/ha. Other relevant conclusions include the notorious presence of industrial activities, mostly warehouses related to the presence of the port (16.93 of the area); the considerable amount of natural green areas and man-made parks, gardens and public spaces (13.51% of the area); and the large amount of municipal and central government buildings (14.83% of the urbanized area) attracting a lot of travellers to the Baixa (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

A detail description of the key characteristics of the five land use categories identified is presented here below.

Table 5.9 – Breakdown of the classification of the soil within the Baixa

Nº	Classification of Land Use	Occupied Area	% Coverage
A	**Urbanized**	**138.36**	**63.77%**
	Multi-functional (housing, commerce, and services)	40.57	14.35%
	Mixed Use 1 (Residential and commercial)	22.87	8.09%
	Mixed Use 2 (Commercial and services)	61.94	21.91%
	Residential – High Density	4.4	1.56%
	Residential – Medium Density	8.58	3.03%
	Public Utility Equipment	41.94	14.83%

B	**Under urbanization**	**8.77**	**3.10%**
	Unplanned Residential – Medium Density (>20 <60 dwellings per ha)	8.77	3.10%
C	**Industrial**	**47.87**	**16.93%**
	Manufacturing and Storage	47.87	16.93%
D	**Ecological Structure**	**38.19**	**13.51%**
	Protected Green Zones	13.55	4.79%
	Park & Gardens	24.64	8.71%
E	**Special Use (e.g. Military Installations)**	**7,61**	**2.69%**

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.15 – Classification of land uses within the Baixa
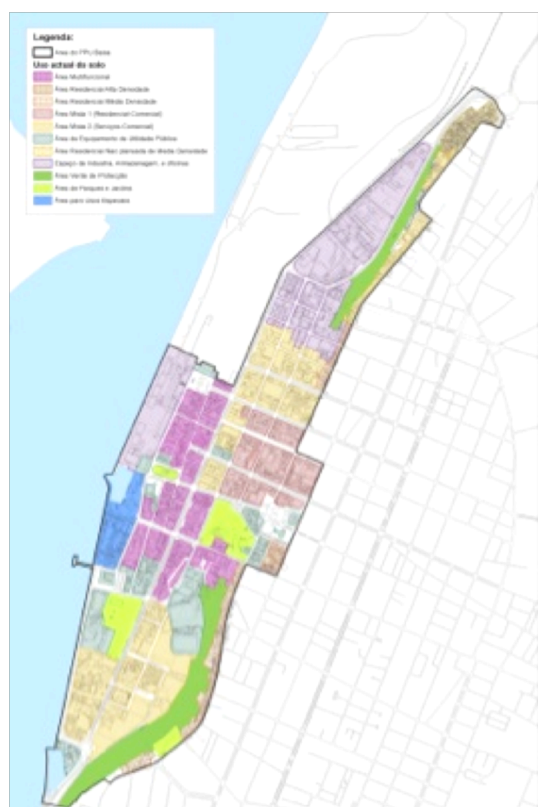
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Urbanized Area (138.36 ha – 63.77% of total)**

The **multi-functional area** covers approximately 40 hectares along the Avenida 25 de Setembro and occupies the core of the *Baixa*, with paved roads and complete infrastructure. It includes significant buildings, such as the headquarters of the main financial institutions (e.g. Standard Bank, Banco de Moçambique), the Thirty-three Floors Building, the Maputo Shopping Mall, the National Library and the Post Office (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.16 – Location of multifunctional area in the area of intervention and its sample of aerial photo

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.17 – The Thirty-three Floors Building

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The designated mixed residential and commercial area occupies approximately 22.87 hectares, corresponding to 8.09% of the area of study. It is located mainly in the intersection between Avenida Karl Marks, Samora Machel, Ho Chi Minh and Josina Machel and is characterized by the presence of multi storeys buildings with predominantly commercial (at ground floor) and housing use (at upper floors) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.18 – Buildings mixed with trade on the ground floor and housing on the upper floors

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.19 – Buildings mixed with commerce at the ground floor and housing on the upper floors level

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The designated **Commercial and Services mixed area** occupies 61.94 hectares corresponding to 21.91% of the area of study, and includes three separate zone: the first zone is located under a green area of protection, between Avenida 25 de Setembro and 10 de Novembro; the second one between Avenida Josina Machel and 25 de Setembro; and the third one along Avenida Organização das Nações Unidas (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.20 – Areas of Mixed Use (Commercial and Services)

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.21 – Location of the area of new construction under the green zone of protection

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Near the multifunctional area, there are two zones occupied by **high-density residential dwellings**, which occupy approximately 4.4 hectares, corresponding to 1.56% of the area of study. The first zone is at the junction of Avenida Vladimir Lenin and Ho Chi Minh; while the other one is located along the Avenida 25 de Setembro, between Albert Luthuli and Mohamed Siad Barre roads. Besides the residential buildings, this area includes as well institutional and commercial services (e.g., Hotel Rovuma) and is served by primary and secondary schools (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.22 – Location of residential area of high density in the area of intervention and its sample

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The **medium density residential area** occupies approximately 8 hectares, corresponding to 3% of the area of the Baixa. With >20 <60 dwellings per hectare, it is located along the street Patrice Lumumba and Martires da Moeda (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.23 – Location of residential area – medium density

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The area intended for **public utility equipment** covers approximately 41.9 hectares, which corresponds to 14.83% of the total area. It includes buildings for ministries, municipal directorates and the national court, as well as equipment for sport and recreation, such as the Maxaquene multi-sports field (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.24 – Location of Areas of Public Utility
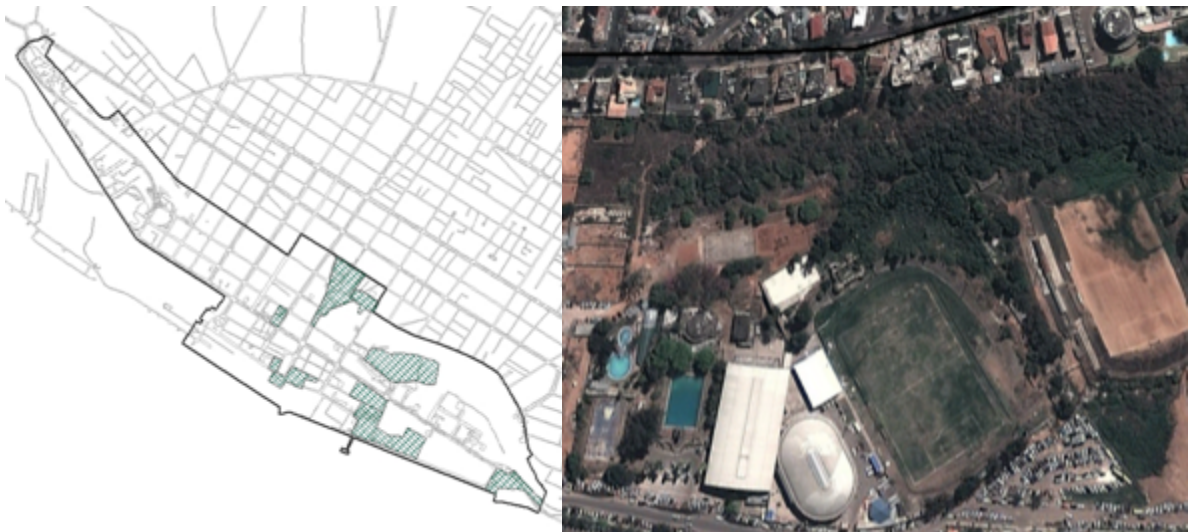
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.25 – Ministry of Foreign Affair

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.26 – Sport Facilities

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Area under urbanization (8.77 ha – 3.10% of total)**

This area covers brown field developments and is mainly for residential use of medium density – between 20 and 60 dwellings per hectare –, with informal single-family houses. It lacks basic infrastructure and equipment for public utility, and has problems of accessibility due to the absence of a regular road network. This settlement typology is located around Avenida Organização das Nações Unidas and 24 de Julho, in the district of Nhalamkulu (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.27 – Location of not planned residential area and respective sample

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Industrial area (47.87 ha – 16.93% of total)**

The area intended for industrial activities and storage occupies a considerable part of the area of study, and includes a vast complex of warehouses and equipment belonging to the Port and Railways authorities. The properties resulting from the port activities occupy almost 7% of the area, and are located mainly along the waterfront. Due to the changing economic activities conducted within the Baixa, these areas are becoming obsolete and underutilized, and represent an opportunity for redevelopment and change of use. In particular, the currently closed waterfront area could provide public access to the sea and alternative uses (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.28 – Location of Industrial Areas

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.29 – Industrial Zone in the street Zedekiah Manghanela

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Ecological Structure (38.19 ha – 13.51% of total)**

The Ecological Structure includes protected green zones and areas for parks and gardens. It does not consider areas for agriculture, which is practiced occasionally for self-subsistence in some points of the slopes located at the extreme east and west of the Baixa.

The **protected green area** is important for both its environmental characteristics (e.g., native vegetation, trees) than for its biophysical function of landscape framework that supports the soils and avoids landslides. It includes the slopes (barriers) of Maxaquene and of Malanga. The first one is located between Avenida Patrice Lumumba on the top, and the new urbanization along Avenida 25 de Setembro at the bottom. The second one is located at the other edge of the area of study along the Avenida Organização das Nações Unidas. Both slopes are open green belt not easily accessible and represent a considerable percentage of the green area of the city. Land erosion represents the major geological threat of this area, despite the strong presence of native vegetation. In the last decade, in particular, after the construction of new buildings at the bottom of the Maxaquene slope, soil erosion has increased, especially during the heavy rainy season (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.30 – Location of protected areas
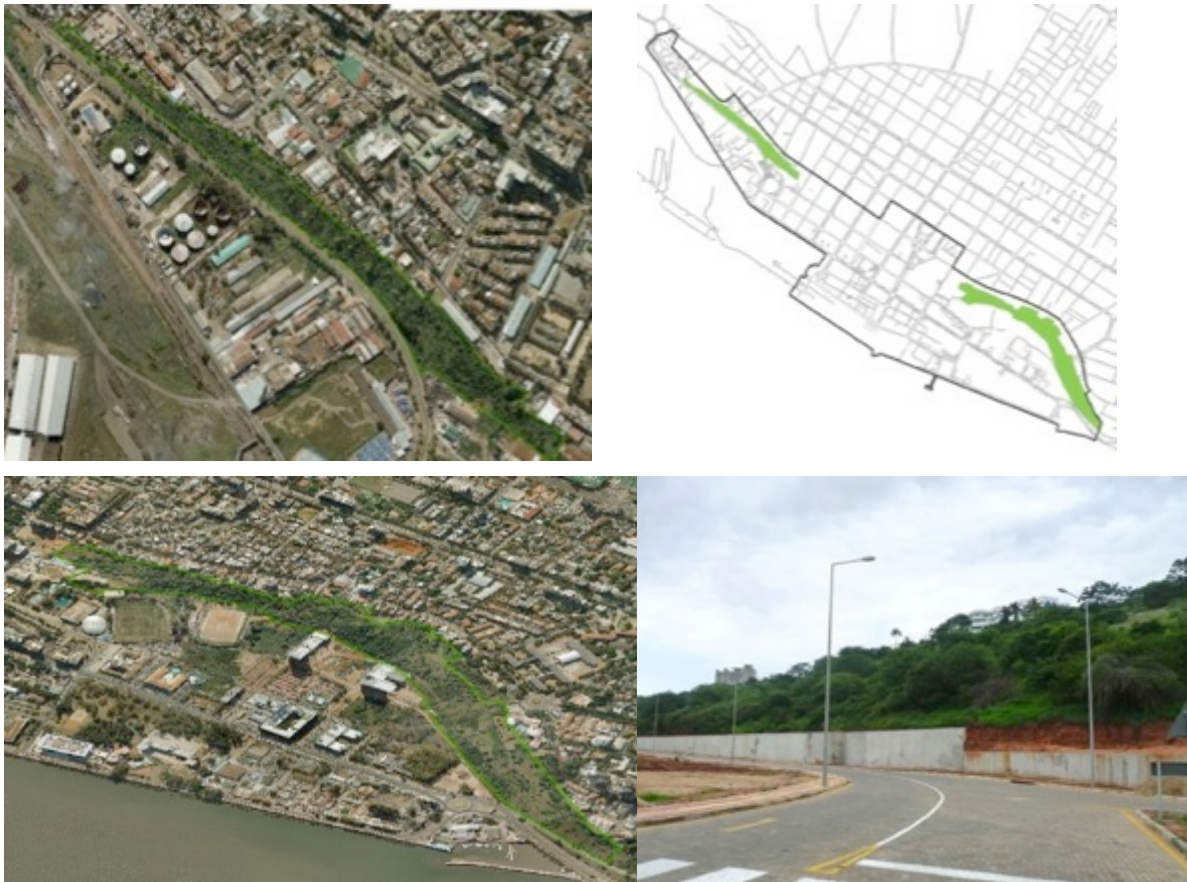
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The ecological structure includes as well public or private **urban parks or gardens** with trees and natural vegetation, used mostly for recreation and leisure activities. There are four main parks in the Baixa, namely the Tunduro Park, the Square 25 de Junho, the Repinga Park and the Jardim dos Professores. They occupy approximately 13.55 hectares, corresponding to 4.79% of the area of study (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.31 – Location of Urban Parks & Gardens

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Special Uses area (7,61 hectares – 2.69% of total area)**

This area includes those structures, spaces or buildings, that for their nature require special care or whose use is ruled by a special legislation. In particular, part of the Baixa waterfront is occupied by the port authority, which includes the harbour, the port captaincy, the dry dock and the port main building. Another building of special use is occupied by the National Police Department. These structures limit the public access to the waterfront (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.32 – Areas of Special Uses

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Infrastructure and basic services

An investigation of the public utilities help determine the capacity and adequacy of existing facilities and ascertain what needs to be done to update and improve the infrastructure. Any changes to existing networks need to be considered carefully because of the possible impact on the surrounding historical structures (Siravo, 2015).

Based on the results of the spatial observational surveys conducted in the area of study, it is possible to affirm that Baixa's existing infrastructure and basic services provision are not capable of responding to the current needs of its inhabitants and users. Almost all infrastructure networks and basic services systems are at a critical level, especially due to the increasing pressure coming from the on-going or completed new development projects. There is a considerable need for funds to maintain and upgrade these old systems, which are in poor condition and obsolete. On the other hand, people interviewed and the focus groups pointed out as their highest priority for public action the improvement of public services delivery.

Properly functioning infrastructure networks and consistent delivery of services may be the most important factors in attracting and sustaining a positive economic climate in an historic area (Siravo, 2015).

- **Water supply:**

The water infrastructure covers nearly 100% of the Baixa's territory, however it was assessed that 56% of the water metric cubic generated daily by FIPAG[24] is physically lost due to poorly managed leaky conveying pipes. Thus the quantity of water production surpasses the quantity supplied. Without this loss, the current production could sufficiently provide Maputo's total population with an average of 95 litres per person (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

There are substantial threats to the future sustainability of the water supply service for Maputo and within the Baixa in particular. About 75% of the current production capacity for water supply for the Greater Maputo Metropolitan Area comes almost exclusively from the Pequenos Libombos Dam on the Umbeluzi River. However, this resource is fully committed and there is a growing water demand and consequent deficit, which will require the development of alternative sources to secure a reliable supply for the city. On a macro-scale, current forecasts expect that the existing sources of water for Maputo will be exhausted by 2015 (World Bank, 2011). In regards to the Baixa, the situation is even more critical as the rate of growth will exceed the water network's distribution capacity within the next 5-10 years. Therefore, new property development projects must consider the capacity of the existing water network and determine the size expansions required for the main conveyance pipes (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.33 – Existing water supply infrastructure within the Baixa

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Energy supply:**

Within the *Baixa* there is almost 100% of electricity coverage, which is a privileged condition when compared to other areas of the city and the country. Still, in order to meet the rapidly growing demand for energy consumption (8% annually), the National Electricity Utility company (Electricidade de Moçambique – EDM) is seeking to source a 1-hectare land within the Baixa to

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[24]FIPAG is responsible for the physical equipment and the expansion of the water supply system in Maputo, while a regional entity named AdeM is in charge of the system management costs.

build a new large power substation, notably to mitigate the risks of blackouts during summer peaks. EDM has implemented variable tariffs by consumer segment, and has achieved high levels of invoicing (77%). The city of Maputo provides almost 33% of the total amount of invoiced electricity nationally (World Bank, 2011).

**Figure 5.34 – Electricity grid in the Baixa**
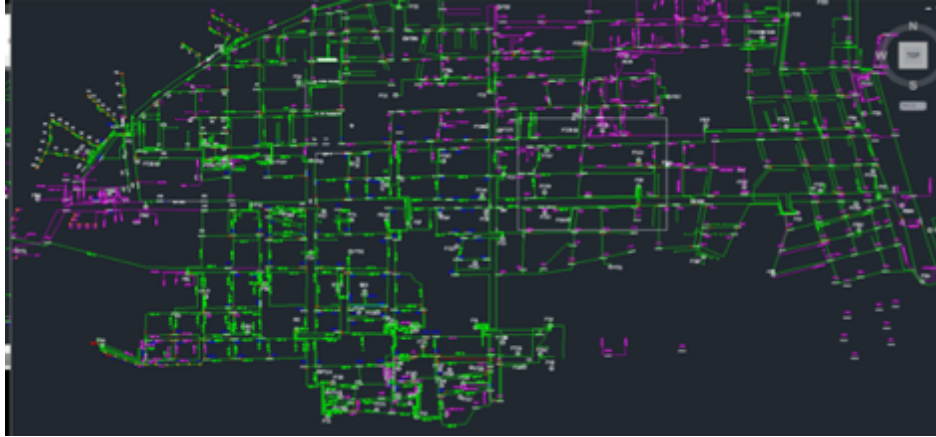
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Drainage and sanitation:**

The sanitation and drainage systems of the Baixa are combined and present many challenges in regards to their poor management, maintenance or cleaning, which significantly affect their operational performance. The low level of environmental education of the population contributes to exacerbate these challenges, as people frequently deposit solid waste in existing drainage infrastructures. As a result, the rainwater entry points (gutters) get blocked by dirt, solid waste, and plastic bags, causing recurrent flooding mostly during the rainy season (Palalane, 2010).

This area is mainly served by a system that was built in the 40s and is managed by the Municipal Directorate of Water and Sanitation (DMAS). It includes storm water drainages, septic tanks and several discharge points that are located all over the area and flow directly into the Bay of Maputo. Considering that less than 50% of the wastewater from Maputo and Matola is treated before entering the drainage system, this has direct consequences on the level of pollution of the coastal waters of the Bay of Maputo (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). These waters, in fact, are polluted mainly by discharges of industrial and agrochemical effluents, by domestic sewage, and by cargo ships of oils that pass by Mozambique Channel. The quality of groundwater is also very poor, it fact Maputo's superficial aquifers are identified as containing human excrement and high level of nitrates.

Figure 5.35 – Flow patterns of existing drainage systemand areas of frequent flooding
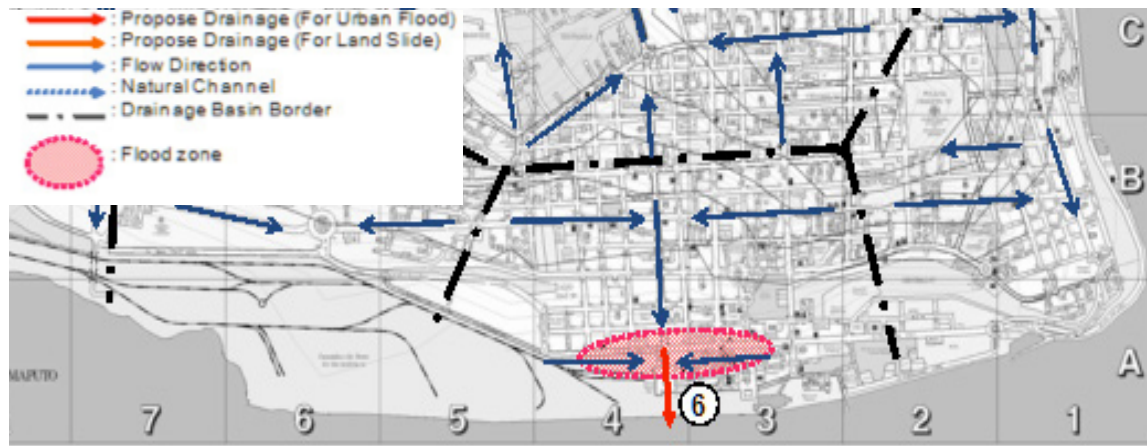
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Solid waste collection, treatment and disposal:**

The Cement City produces on average 2,200 tons of mass of solid waste per week, which represents 90 percent of the total of the city. It should be noted that this concentration is part due to the higher coverage of solid waste removal in the Cement City (Buque & Bartolomeu, 2013). Waste collection in Central Maputo is currently contracted to ECOLIFE, a private company participated by Soma, the largest waste collection company in Portugal. It is responsible for the collection, transportation and disposal of household and commercial waste.

Based on the survey on street cleanliness conducted for this study, it was found that 79% of the streets in Baixa were predominantly free of litter and refuse apart from some small items; 16% presented a widespread distribution of litter and refuse; and 5% were heavily affected by litter and refuse, with significant accumulation. In an interview conducted for this study, ECOLIFE mentioned that they are not in charge of street cleaning, recognizing at the same time that dirty streets create adverse conditions for the use of public space and commercial activity, affecting negatively property value.

The survey also highlighted that in Maputo there is a lack of capacity for disposal. Currently there are no formal processing, recovery and recycling of municipal solid waste, but only some individual initiatives that are trying to create the habit of recycling in Maputo (e.g., Association of Mozambican Recycling – AMOR or the Center of Recovery of Organize Waste – FERTILIZES). Therefore, all types of waste are mixed and deposited at the landfill of Hulene.

Figure 5.36 – Distribution of public waste bins

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Green infrastructure and public spaces:**

Baixa's green infrastructure and public spaces include a particularly high density of parks, green areas, squares, sidewalks, and road network, which cover 41% of the total area of the Baixa. It was observed through the survey that green areas occupy 4.79% of the area of theBaixa, and are primarily limited to the vegetation of the slopes and what was planted by humans in green public and private spaces and squares, and along the streets. Streetscapes and key views are also vital contributors to the character of the place and its environmental sustainability. However, public spaces are not planned as a system, and in general the importance of the public realm is underestimated. To fulfil its potential as an urban destination, public spaces in Baixa need a significant make-over (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Figure 5.37 – Map of protected areas and gardens

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Figure 5.38 – Left: Streets containing high concentration of trees. Right: sidewalks shaded by trees

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

In terms of streetscapes, the trees lining the streets of the Baixa provide a valuable source of shade in public spaces such as sidewalks. Due to the extended periods of warm weather and sun in Maputo, it is critical to have a shade, as it can decrease temperature by as much as 2-5 degrees. Additionally, these trees create conditions that are visually attractive and pleasant for pedestrians. Within the Baixa it is possible to find eucalyptus, acacia and palm strees. Eucayptus were first

planted by the Portuguese for their water absorption properties, which are ideal for swamp areas. However, they are rapidly disappearing due to new constructions and development.

Sidewalks within the Baixa are narrow and 75% of them are crumbling and require maintenance, or are occupied by parked cars or informal vendors. In fact, as previously seen, within the Baixa, there is a high amount of economic and social activities that are conducted along the sidewalks or on the ground of the stores adjacent to the streets. Only few sidewalks offer seating facilities and street lighting is limited.

There are no pedestrian streets in particularly well-situated areas such as the waterfront. The promenade along the *Baixa*'s waterfront, in fact, could be a formidable asset for Maputo, but it is underutilized. The accessible part of the waterfront is located along Avenida 10 de Novembro, in East Baixa. On weekends, parked cars occupy the sidewalks leaving almost no space for pedestrians or cyclists, as well as damaging the surface of the sidewalk. The area is scarcely illuminated at night and there are many informal vendors selling alcohols, which hinder its potential of becoming a preferred citywide amenity.

Transportation system

Movement to and from the Baixa, and thus the relationship between it and the greater urban context cannot be considered in isolation. This relationship needs to be evaluated vis-à-vis the general planning options for the historical area, to harmonise and re-integrate the transportation system into the planned distribution and land uses and activities (Siravo, 2015).

Baixa has a rich and comprehensive network of primary and secondary streets, covering over 40% of the total land area (Figure xxx). Almost all roads are paved, and based on the survey they are in fair to good conditions and with few potholes. Their capacity, however, is compromised by the exceptional flow of people that during daytime converge to the Baixa from the peri-urban areas for business opportunities, shopping or for leisure (e.g. restaurants, "feira popular, gardens, bars/cafes); and at night mostly to visit the waterfront, restaurants and discos. In fact, as previously seen, at daytime, the working population of the Baixa (150,000 to 250,000 individuals) significantly outnumbers the residential population, which is barely 12,000 people. This situation has increased the number of private vehicles entering the area and has spawned disorganized public transport demand, which contributes significantly to congestion (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Figure 5.39 – Map of the Road Network

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Based on the traffic survey, personal and shared vehicles (motorcycles, cars and taxi) comprise the largest segment of the roads users, with 69.2% of all vehicles. Approximately half of the population of the Baixa has access to car (44.6% heads of households directly own cars; 51.8% have access to a friend's vehicle). On average commuting time is between 30-45 minutes. The massive influx of vehicular movement creates bottlenecks at key intersections, points of interest, and loading and unloading zones that are efficiently designed to handle such volumes (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014c).

Figure 5.40 – Physical condition of roads network

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Therefore, traffic congestion is a serious problem in the Baixa, but does not arise from road capacity and conditions, which are fairly good. Poor traffic management, including parking, and sub-optimal public transport provision are the main causes. Besides creating congestion and pollution, private vehicles entering the Baixa during daytime compromise street capacity and greatly exceed the limited parking supply. There are 5,000 designated parking spaces in the Baixa, of which only 1,500 are governed by the formal municipal payment system known as *Rotativo*. Through the survey it was observed that during working hours there are on average 18,500 cars parked and, as a result most of them park illegally, often taking up valuable public spaces and even some of the road space. In fact, 90% of the streets observed during the survey has some type of informal parking activity, and only 10% has an off-street parking open space or a garage. This situation is worsen by the lack of planning regulations specifying car parking requirements and obligations in new buildings, which combined with the high cost of below-grade construction – due that most of Baixa was built on reclaimed land – contribute to limited off-street parking availability. In order to discourage the use of private cars, a series of carefully worked out incentives and controls need to be adopted, including peripheral parking, more public transportation, coordinating public and private transit systems, as well as exploring pedestrian and other non-motorised alternatives.

Figure 5.41 – Distribution of trip origins
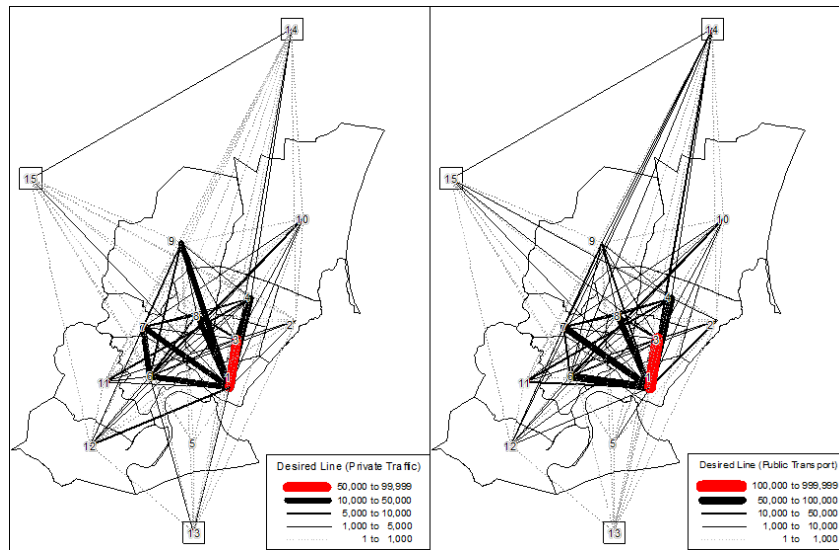
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA, 2013

In terms of passengers' turnover, public transport (*chapas*, minibus and buses) provides mobility for the largest segment of travellers, with 74.6% of all passengers. Sea and Rail transport support a very low distribution (less than 10%) of the passenger trips to and from the Baixa. Besides the high number of people that come and go from the Baixa every day, insufficient attention is paid to public transport service. Levels and quality are limited and there is no interconnectivity between transportation modes, which is key for an efficient public transport system. A mixture of formal and informal operators provides their service in the Baixa. The Public Transport Company of Maputo (TPM) operates on defined routes with a maximum capacity of 70,000 passengers per day, and its service is often characterized by lack of reliability, long waiting and journey times, overcrowding, safety and security issues, and inconvenient routing. A private network of "chapas", minibuses operating both with municipal authorization and without licenses, provide approximately 80 to 90% of the transport, using old, poorly maintained and unsafe vehicles (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014c).

Another major contributor of congestion is the un-controlled pedestrian traffic, which is typical in several areas where many pedestrians cross the streets without using the designated crosswalks, or are forced onto the road by street vendors and irregular bus stops. In particular, the areas around the Central Market, Avenida Karl Marx and 25 de Setembro were observed to have the most significant concentration of economic and social activities conducted on the sidewalks by informal street vendors (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Figure 5.42 – Primary intersections and areas that create traffic bottlenecks

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA, 2013

Figure 5.43 – Transport trends for the metropolitan of Maputo
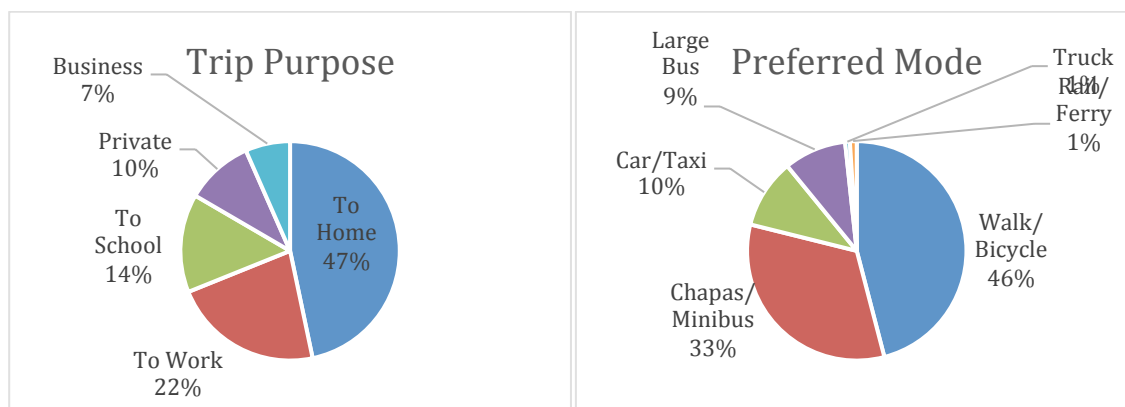
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo & JICA, 2013

Figure 5.44 – Density of pedestrians during working hours

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Baixa has significant unused potential for other forms of transport. The existing surface railways is currently used by only 1,000 persons daily; and the approximately 4km of waterfront offer the possibility of developing a water-based transport network, which would be especially relevant given the future development of KaTembe on the other side of the Maputo Bay. The Municipality of Maputo has recently concluded (2014) the "Maputo Metropolitan Mobility and Transport Masterplan", with the support of the Japanese Technical Cooperation (JICA). It identified different modes of transportation to improve Maputo's and Baixa's mobility system, including the development of a metro system connecting the City with Matola and a Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) system covering the entire city, including the *Baixa*.

Threats to Baixa's urban cultural heritage

Section 4.2.6 presents different key factors that are threatening the conservation of Maputo urban landscape and that explain the general inaction of national and local authorities towards the valorisation and use of its cultural heritage, in particular: (i) Lack of empathy with heritage; (ii) Weak normative framework and land management tools; (iii) Pressure for development and lack of knowledge of heritage value; (iv) Weak institutional framework; (v) Lack of funds and

financial mechanisms. All these factors are also affecting the conservation of Baixa's cultural heritage.

Baixa in fact is strongly characterized by real and objective problems affecting the entire population and the urban fabric, and that are threatening the sustainability of its character and vitality. Historic assets are exposed to deterioration and demolition, poor public space and sidewalk maintenance, disrepair in many buildings, failing drainage infrastructure, unorganized informal trade, and inadequate waste collection practices are signs of sub-optimal management (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014). While some risk factors result from natural environmental causes (e.g., landslides, floods and coastal dynamics), human activities are the main pressures behind the decay and loss of cultural assets.

Another serious issue related to the preservation of Baixa's urban structure include the ability of the existing infrastructure to cope with the demand resulting from high-rise new developments. Baixa is also a low-lying area, which is prone to flooding in heavy rainfall. In addition to climatic and topographic conditions, the causes are very much associated with poor conditions in the drainage and storm water systems (Vicente el at, 2006). In addition, there is very little organized routine maintenance, which causes rainwater gutters to be blocked by dirt, solid waste, and plastic bags. During heavy storms water runs down over roads as it cannot enter the drainage network. In the last decade, the permission for the construction of high buildings within the area has caused the progressive increase of flooding in the area.

Traffic congestion is another critical challenge for the Baixa, despite the amount of space dedicated to the street network is over 40% of the total land area. Public transport is poor, private vehicles number is increasing and because demand for parking greatly exceeds supply, parking in undesignated areas compromises street capacity.

Baixa also needs to increase the number of residents to avoid de-population and intensify density, which is currently very low, to make urban services more viable, yet the majority of the recently approaved projects are high-end office and commercial buildings.

Baixa has a significant attractive for property development, but few mechanisms exist to effectively manage the real estate pressure, which could lead to sub-optimal results. Uncoordinated overbuilding could make Baixa another non-descript area, impairing its potential. The absence of unifying criteria results in an insufficient consideration of the urban form as a whole, which would hamper the area's value in the long term. The lack of zoning guidelines, a cadastre, and sound viability studies obstruct a clear picture from regulators and investors of what is in the pipeline, which may lead to an oversupply. For instance, in the Jardim dos Professores, on the ridge above the eastern part of Baixa, the construction of tall buildings is compromising stunning views of Maputo Bay. There are also concerns of speculation as the future supply of properties could greatly exceed demand. Uncoordinated overbuilding could make Baixa another non-descript area, impairing its potential (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Policy inaction could most likely result in the next decade or so in the demolition of historic assets and their replacement by non-descript buildings of a scale and size that is not considerate with the context. This is currently happening in the eastern part of the Baixa, due to a large-scale property development mostly financed from abroad. This would ruin the value of the Baixa and would also threat the traditional informal trade, which is the main source of income of the poor population and determines the characteristic vitality of the Baixa. This would threaten the city's identity (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Environmental conditions

As previously see (section xxx), most of the Baixa was built on reclaimed marshlands the habitat largely consisted of mangroves in the areas bounded by the sea. At the beginning of the 20ths century the marsh was grounded and over time the development of the city led to a single interlocking landmass (Vicente & Schreiner, 2006).

As a result of this geological formation and associated human land use practices (e.g. inappropriate buildings construction, industrial pollution, groundwater quality, inadequate solid waste management), it is common to experience flooding, geological collapse and land erosion in certain areas of the Baixa on an annual basis, in particular during heavy rainfall. These complex geological conditions increase the engineering requirements of the area in order to maintain its quality and guarantee its sustainability (Vicente & Schreiner, 2006).

An ActionAid study on flooding in Maputo suggests that residents perceive flooding to have become more frequent since 1980. One resident recalled that in the past, flooding was an annual event, but floodwater normally lasted for three days; whereas now if it rains heavily for three days, floodwater rises as much as one meter and it takes up to a month to recede (Mendel, 2006).

Figure 5.45 – Topography of the Baixa with the historical center in orange and the swamp areas reclaimed in the late 19th century and early 20th century in green
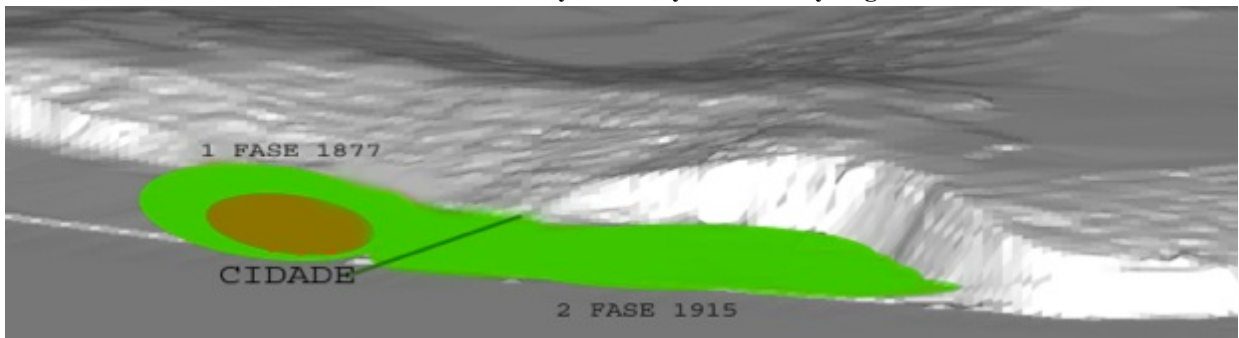
Source: (Bruschi & Lage, 2005)

Figure 5.46 – Major areas of flood or erosion within the Baixa

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Maputo, and the area of the Baixa in particular, is at high risk of climate change impacts, in particular of coastal flooding (Fairhust, Kemp, Rowswell, & Quayle, 2011)**.**

In 2000, heavy rains and cyclones in Mozambique resulted in the worst flooding in 50 years and brought widespread devastation in Maputo, disrupting the water and sanitation services, resulting in outbreaks of dysentery and disrupting activities such as agriculture and fisheries (Mendel, 2006).

A recent assessment on climate change threats in Maputo indicated the following vulnerabilities:

- Increased number of extreme weather events;

- Increased average sea-level rise;

- Coastal erosion;

- Contaminated and decreased water resources;

- Loss of biodiversity, ecosystems, natural and marine resources;

- Damage to residential, key industrial and municipal infrastructure;

- Change in local temperature and precipitation; and

- Increased health problems due to heat stress.

Approved projects

During the survey, it was noted that there are a few large urban scale projects and many single high-rise buildings under construction or approved by the competent authorities (Municipal Directorates of Infrastructure and Urban Planning and Environment), which could have transformative effects to the urban design and patterns of the Baixa. These are sponsored by both public and private institutions separately, and sometimes in partnerships. In fact, as previously noticed, real estate investments in Baixa are growing and it is estimated that the value of current or planned investments is almost $2.4 billion (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

The largest concentration of these projects (21 out of 43) is located within the east area of the Baixa, also known as "Aterro de Maxaquene." The second largest consternation of projects (17 of 43) is in the historic core or central area of the Baixa. 65% of these projects are still under review and have not yet been approved. There are only a few projects being considered in the west area of the Baixa, which is generally characterized as less attractive since the Katembe Bridge will overfly the area, and thus will dramatically impact the real estate opportunities.

It is recognized that some of these projects pose various risks to the sustainable development of the Baixa and to the maintenance of its cultural identity, including the democratic and inclusive nature that currently characterizes this area and that represents its most distinct virtue. Large urban projects could increase stress on the – already precarious – infrastructure networks, exceeding their capacity and thus limiting the availability and performance of critical public services, such as roads, parking, water, electricity, drainage, or garbage collection. Therefore, they should be carefully designed and evaluated based on their impacts on their surroundings. Besides, there is a high concentration of isolated projects aimed at establishing mid to tall-buildings for office and commercial activities. Only 15% of them are aimed for residential purposes. They will be inserted into the existing urban setting through the occupation of natural land or reuse or demolition of existing buildings or ruins. In addition, often they have been conceived in the absence of a coherent framework and clear selection criteria. There is also a concern that many of these projects are not backed up by sound socio-economic, environmental and financial viability studies, and thus may not respond to a real need, and thus being speculative.

Under these circumstance, the risk of market bubble must be carefully monitored, which if realized could result in large amounts of unused floor space, which would have negative impacts on the present vitality and economic opportunities available in the Baixa (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a). In addition, the introduction of new real estate offerings, could have the negative visual impact of a patchwork of tall buildings, and could decrease accessibility to all segments of society, forcing some of them (i.e., informal vendors, low-income groups) to relocate in other parts of the city.

Figure 5.47 – Map of plot scale construction projects that could impact development opportunities in the Baixa

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

5.3.3 Assessment of Baixa's cultural heritage

During the plan development process, different methods and tools have been used to characterize and map Baixa's cultural heritage and associated values; and to identify the threats against its conservation and management, and the most appropriate conservation strategies and options to use conservation to improve the city's development and people's lives.

Considering that this research study focuses on the cultural significance of urban heritage, more emphasis has been given to the evaluation of the heritage socio-cultural values. Still, the evaluation of the economic values is briefly presented in this section.

Methods and tools

The assessment of the Baixa's cultural heritage and associated values relied on different quantitative, qualitative and spatial appraisals methods and tools, which are presented here below:

- **Literature review:** Extensive review of several documents and reports on Baixa's history and heritage, including previous inventories and studies, relevant national laws, policies and regulations. In particular, the heritage inventory produced by the Faculty of Architecture & Physical Planning of the Eduardo Mondlane University of Maputo has been particularly useful to get information about the Baixa's heritage assets.

- **Heritage spatial survey:** Assessment conducted in collaboration with students of the University of Architecture and Physical Planning, in combination with the spatial observation surveys conducted in Step 2.2 of the fieldwork. It allowed to gather key data and pictures about each heritage asset, which have been processed into a detailed geo-referenced database about Baixa's cultural heritage that can be interrogated flexibly. Simplified fiches for each

asset, containing a selection of information from this wider database, have been designed and combined in a Heritage Catalogue.

- **On-site evaluation of the Baixa's urban landscape**: On-site assessment done in co-operation with local and international heritage experts to reinforce the finding of the heritage spatial survey. The heritage assets identified during the spatial survey have been screened, analysed and classified based on their relevant heritage aspects.

- **Interviews and focus groups:** Analysis conducted with different stakeholders, engaged also for the Baixa socio-cultural and economic analysis (Step 2.2). The opinions and information obtained integrated or reinforced the findings of the heritage spatial survey and on site evaluation of Baixa's urban landscape. People interviewed were encouraged to:

  – Express what they value about their urban environment and why;

  – Define the notion of urban cultural heritage;

  – Map different heritage assets and places of cultural significance and associate values;

  – Identify priority needs and concerns about the area selected for the case study and its heritage;

  – Forge a vision of how urban heritage- related actions can positively impact the lives and livelihoods of people;

  – Define their respective role, responsibilities and contribution to heritage conservation and management.

Based on the information obtained through these different survey methods, and the heritage classification system indicated in Articles 19 and 20 of the draft *Regulamento de Protecção do Património Cultural Edificado,* the Baixa's cultural heritage has been classified. Article 20 of the draft Regulation proposes to use the following criteria to assess the value of immovable properties: historical/cultural, archaeological, architectural, landscape/ecological and spiritual. Article 19 proposes a tripartite system of classification, which consider as well the type of future interventions to be allowed:

  – Class A: Cultural property of notable value based on the criteria of history, architecture, archaeology, religion, aesthetics, character, or other; where any intervention should not harm the significance (or heritage value) of the asset;

  – Class B: Cultural property of great value, where interventions that achieves a new use would be permitted internally, but without impacting harmfully on the exterior of the asset;

  – Class C: Cultural property of unexceptional value whose context may be poorly aligned with development needs, where demolition might be considered to improve functionality and harmony in the wider area.

The results of this analysis have been discussed in a **focus group** with representatives from the Ministry of Culture and the National Historic Archive and with Professors of the Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning.

Characterization of Baixa's Cultural Heritage

Literature indicates that in recent years, there has been a growing appreciation of Maputo's cultural heritage. In particular, the 2010 publication of the Maputo's Heritage Inventory (*Inventário do Património Edificado da Cidade de Maputo*) produced by the local Faculty of Architecture & Physical Planning played a key role in growing the government attention to the conservation and management of heritage. It proposed the classification of 30 buildings and memorials of heritage value, mainly located in the Baixa, from an initial inventory of 203 structures and public spaces. The World Bank funded ProMaputo programme, on the other hand, contributed to translate this interest into actions, through the development of the spatial plan for the Baixa historic district, which is the case study for this research.

The plan development process has been able to understand, characterise and map Baixa's heritage in a way that has not been possible before, using a broad participatory approach. From the application of different methods and tools, it was possible to evince that despite its staggered development, Baixa has a valuable tangible and intangible cultural heritage that is captured in the variety and diversity of its historic buildings, landscapes, open spaces, valuable parks, informal and planned streetscapes, and key views, that cover a blend of architectonic styles from the colonial, vernacular decorative and modernist periods; with each asset having its own particular significance, but all coming together to create a compact seaside district (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014). The vitality of the Baixa, on the other hand, comes from the diversified socio-cultural and economic functions and dynamics that have historically characterized its streets and public spaces.

For Maputo's residents, the area of the Baixa is regarded as the physical embodiment and expression of its continuity from the past, with 95% highlighting the importance they attach to the conservation of its heritage assets, as they contribute to both the community's cultural memory and the physical character of the place. The areas that were considered as most valuable and characteristics by the inhabitants of Maputo interviewed were the Fortaleza (43.1%), CFM (25.6%), and the Central Market (11.8%). People interviewed generally consider as appropriate the demolition of Predio Pott and Rua Bagamoio, as they are in a state of abandonment and degradation. They should be replaced with new hotels, commercial buildings and offices. In addition, people generally support the application of penalties in case heritage sites, or others landmarks, such as Tunduro Park and Avenida 10 de Novembro are damaged. However, in contrast, they are marginally interested in paying for the improvement of their properties (36.4%), and are even less interested in supporting the costs for the improvement of historic buildings and public spaces (8.7%). However, they perceive that the benefits of doing so would be mainly to improve the urban aesthetic (39.5%), but also to preserve memories of the past (37.9%) and to attract tourists (19%).

Figure 5.48 – Most characteristic areas of the Baixa as identified by inhabitants
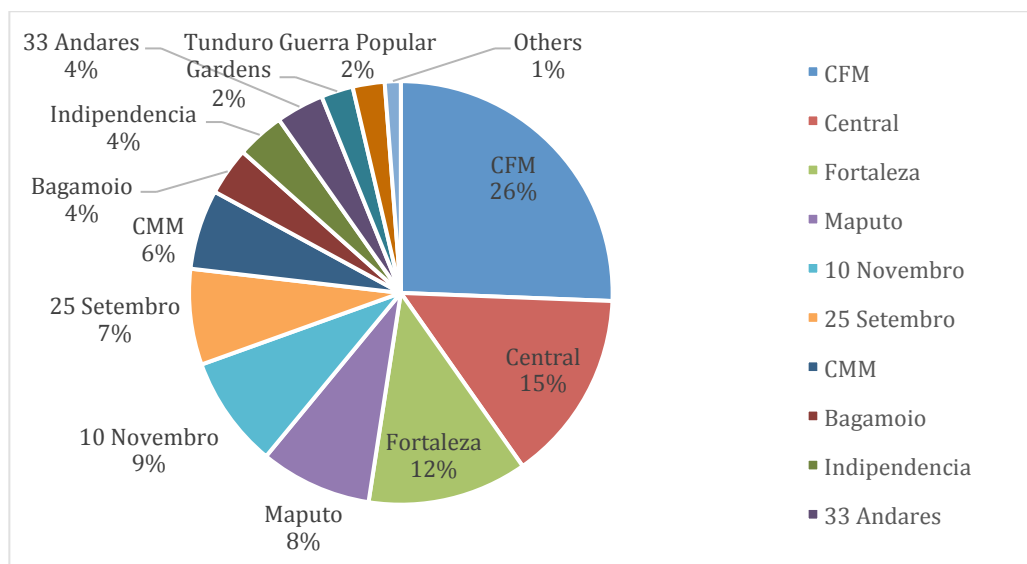
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

Table 5.11 – Inhabitants perceptions of the value of historic preservation

Beliefs of the Value of Restoration or Reuse of Buildings		Suggestions for Reuse of Historic Buildings	
Attraction of the Baixa increased	45%	Transform into museums/cultural spaces/conference centers	34.40%
Important places protected	33.40%	Adapt to commercial centers	22.60%
Increased pride in the city	30.80%	Adapt to public services	20%
No waste of buildings	25.60%	Adapt to large companies (banks/insurances)	8.70%
Jobs created	25.60%	Adapt to luxury residential buildings	3.60%
Value of properties increased	17.40%	Adapt to hotels	3.10%

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The majority of tourists interviewed believe that properties of cultural and historic heritage are important and should be saved (80%). Their prioritized areas for preservation include the areas around Fortaleza (44%), CFM (26%), rua de Bagamoio (26%), CMM (4%) and the Central Market (4%). Only 28% mentioned the waterfront around 10 de Novembro. In the views of the tourists, the primary function of the Baixa is for commercial/trade (84%), public services and administration (12%) or business (36%) purposes. Very few of the tourists considered culture and leisure (8%) as one of the Baixa primary functions. Their ideas for new developments were to enhance the commercial/trade services (64%), business community (52%) public services and administration (36%), residential offerings (36%), and culture/leisure offerings (28%). Their views were that the development of the Baixa should include an equal mix of modern tall buildings (50%) and older buildings (50%).

For the tourists, if heritage properties were restored, it was believed to increase the attraction of the population to the Baixa (76%), to attract tourists (40%), to protect important properties (44%),

to create jobs (28%), to increase the pride in the city (24%), or to increase property values (12%). Recommendations to improve the management and preservation of such buildings were to transform them into museums (76%), luxury residences (24%), hotels (8%), locations for public service (4%), or commercial/trade centers (4%).

Based on the information obtained through the analysis of Baixa's heritage, **ten distinct heritage collections** have been defined, which consider their characteristics and associated values and are presented in detail here below:

- Pre-colonial buildings (1877 – 1887);
- Colonnaded buildings (late 19th– mid 20th century);
- Art deco inspired structures (1930s – 1950s);
- Industrial/warehousing zone (from c1930 onwards);
- Modernist tall buildings (1930s – 1960s);
- Building clusters that establish local neighbourhood character;
- Memorials and statues;
- Individual assets with heritage value;
- Key views;
- Public spaces.

- **Pre-colonial buildings (1877 – 1887)**

This category includes a relatively small number of simple single story structures, which pre-date the arrival and implementation of Joaquim Machado's urbanization strategy (1877-87). This collection of assets, which includes the Museo da Moeda, present simple architectural styles with low heights and flat roofs, but historically are very important. It is possible that further survivals exist within the old historic core of Baixa, concealed by more modern facades or other constructions. That possibility warrants care whenever demolitions or major alterations take place in this sub-area (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.49 – Museo da Moeda and the Fortaleza

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Colonnaded buildings (late 19th - 20th century)**

The presence of colonnaded buildings, dating from the years following the expansion of the town, characterizes many streets and street corners, giving distinctive character to the urban structure of the Baixa. They present different forms, as a simple or multi-story canopy attached to the

principal façade of the building; or by the projection of upper story accommodation over the pavement. Some colonnades incorporate attractive and important cast iron detailing; others are built in concrete. The collection demonstrates the long- running importance of this form within Baixa, with examples ranging from the late 19ths century to perhaps as late as the 1960s (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.50 – Examples of colonnaded buildings

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Art Deco inspired structures (1930s - 1950s)**

Baixa has an excellent collection of individual Art Deco inspired architecture, which characterizes variously commercial, residential and public buildings. This collection dates primarily from the 1930s to perhaps the early 1950s and must be regarded as being of considerable importance to Mozambique (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.51 – Examples of Art Deco structures

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Industrial/warehousing zone (from c1930 onwards)**

Baixa's warehouse zone contains an unrivalled collection of industrial buildings of great character, dating from c1930 onwards. Essentially contemporaneous, with Art Deco inspired structures, this grid zone was carefully planned, with mainly single and two storeys art deco and international style inspired warehousing and industrial buildings (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.52 – Examples of industrial/warehousing buildings

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Modernist tall buildings (1930s - 1960s)**

Baixa has a good collection of important tall modernist architecture dating from the 1930s to the late 1960s, and providing variously commercial, residential and public accommodation and functions. These tall buildings represent another key aspect of the character of Baixa's historic urban landscape. As with its individual Art Deco inspired architecture, this collection offers

considerable potential for important research, as the identity of many contributing architects is currently unknown.

Figure 5.53 – Examples of modernist buildings

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Memorials and statues**

Within the Baixa, there are several memorials and statues that commemorate key national or local events and people in the nation's history. They serve as an everyday reminder to people of their inheritance from the past. They are mainly - but not entirely - associated with key public spaces in Baixa The focus group sessions revealed that the community places strong historical and associational value on this heritage collection (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.54 – Examples of statues

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Individual Assets with Heritage Value**

This category includes different individual, entirely distinct and unconnected assets spread around the Baixa with recognized heritage value.

Figure 5.55 – Examples of iconic buildings

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Building clusters that establish local neighbourhood character**

This category includes clusters of buildings at road junctions or within streetscapes that have little individual architectural or historical merit, but that together they make an underlying contribution to the distinctiveness and interest of the area where they are located. These groups include both buildings of similar age and style; characterful buildings of different age and style but with similar height and mass; as well as some unified composite streetscape components made up of two or more buildings with repeated design, form or style (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.56 – Examples of minor building clusters

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

- **Key views**

Focus groups and interviews revealed that within the Baixa there are several set piece and more informal snatched views between important public spaces and landmarks and across open spaces, which are vital to the community for orientation, linkages and movement, and for cultural memory. They also provide an understanding of some aspects of the Baixa's historical development and of the underlying original coastal escarpment and topography. Of particular importance within the Baixa are:

- – The panoramic seascapes along the sea front;

- – Views along the original streets between CMF and Fortaleza of Maputo;

- – Views in both directions to and from the Municipal Council;

- – Views into the port area from the historic core of the Baixa;

- – Views of the coastal escarpment of the Baixa from the sea front and the port;

- – Views of the Baixa entering from the sea.

Figure 5.57 – Left: Baixa waterfront. Right: view of Baixa coming from KaTembe

Source: Author, 2014

The promenade in the Maputo Bay waterfront in the Baixa also constitutes an important urban amenity and landmark, which attract many people especially in the weekends. It combines natural and man-made assets that are exceptional in both size and identity. However, only about one third of the waterfront is currently accessible, as warehousing and light industrial uses dominate (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

- **Parks and Public Spaces**

The Baixa retains a unique urban layout and equilibrium of quality parks and public spaces, which the focus groups and interviews revealed to play a major role within its history, planning, and social and cultural life, contributing to the distinctive character of this area. Many of the parks and squares — such as 25 de Junho, Tunduro or Repinga — date from the early years of Maputo's formation and share a significant role in its role. These aspects add an intangible layer to the quality and importance they have as public spaces in improving life quality; guarantee a set of ecological functions in the urban environment; and support recreation and leisure activities of the population. In addition to the parks and square, the waterfront, which is currently only publicly accessible for 55% of its extension, also provides a unique role in the social and economic vitality of the Baixa (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

The **Tunduro Park**, located near the Independence Square between the Avenida Vladimir Lenin and the Avenida Zedequias Manganhela, is one of the most important city gardens and occupies an area of around 6 hectares. After many years of poor maintenance, which had led to remarkable degradation and abandonment, it has been recently rehabilitated through a Public Private Partnership (PPP) initiative between the Municipal Council of Maputo and a private mining company (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.58 – Location and views of the area of Jardin Tunduro

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The **Square 25 de Junho**, knows as Picota Square, occupies an area of almost 1 hectare and is situated in the lower part of the city along the Fortress (*Fortaleza*) and the Museum of the Coin (*Museo da Moeda*). It presents a symmetrical pattern with palm trees and acacias and constitutes a refreshment site for the Baixa. During the weekend, it hosts an artcraft market that attracts many tourists and residents of Maputo (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.59 – Location of Square 25 de Junho

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The **Antonio Repinga park**, situated between Avenida 25 de Setempro and 10 de Novembro, covers an area of 5 hectares. In a reasonable state of conservation, it is generally used to practice physical exercise usually in the early hours of the day or at the end of the afternoon (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.60 – Location of the area of the Circuit Antonio Repinga

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The **Jardim dos Professores**, with an area of 0.5 hectares, it is situated on top of the slope of Maxaquene, near the hotel Cardoso. It offers one of the best views of the Maputo Bay, however the recent construction of tall buildings on the lower part of the slope is compromising this vantage point (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a).

Figure 5.61 – Location of the Jardim dos Professors

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

The researcher agrees with the heritage collections proposed by the plan, as they are comprehensive and representative of the broad spectrum of heritage assets that constitute the Baixa's identity. At the same time, it is necessary to consider another aspect of its heritage that did not come out clearly from the Plan, namely the Baixa's **intangible heritage**. In fact, it contains a worthy and valuable intangible heritage that does not fall into any of these groupings, but that makes this area so important to the rest of the City and to the memory of its inhabitants.

Baixa has always lain at the heart of the city's day-to-day life and cultural activities. As seen in chapter 4, for every person raised in Maputo, Baixa is associated from early childhood with visits

to the seaside, the cinema and other leisure activities; with civic administration, provisioning, vending and warehousing. This still sums up Baixa's principal functions today. The continuity of historical functions is a key aspect of Baixa's heritage and a part of the cultural memory of the community.

In fact, still today a relevant urban characteristic and quality of the Baixa is its multi functionality, the diversity in its users and its vitality. There are a lot of economic formal and informal activities and diversified social dynamics through the Baixa, primarily during daytime, as it constitutes a meeting point for many people from different social background, all trying to make a living there (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014). These people create the vital atmosphere present throughout the Baixa. Take the people away, and this atmosphere disappears, as it usually happens in the evenings and at night.

Classification and Mapping of Baixa's Cultural Heritage

Based on the analysis of Baixa's heritage assets, approximately 323 tangible and intangible assets were identified for classification and protection having sufficient heritage value. Their overall distribution is shown in Figure 5.62. These assets were evaluated based on the heritage value criteria indicated in Article 20 of the draft *Regulamento de Protecção do Património Cultural Edificado* (historical/cultural, archaeological, architectural, landscape/ecological and spiritual). Individual fiches for the classified heritage assets have been designed to create a catalogue (see figure 5.63).

Figure 5.62 – Physical Assets of the Baixa Proposed for Classification as Having Heritage Value

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

Figure 5.63 – Sample of individual fiche for the classified heritage assets

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

The understanding on Baixa's cultural heritage gained through the survey has indicated that two distinct approaches to its classification and protection needed to be adopted:

- Classification of **individual assets**, including buildings or structures; public spaces and square and statuary assets;
- Classification of **heritage landscape** within the area as having distinctive characteristics, including key views and building clusters.

- **Individual Assets:**

The draft *Regulamento de Protecção do Património Cultural Edificado* proposes a tripartite classification system for heritage protection and defines the related permissible interventions. This is in line with the internationally used classification system, which is generally regarded as being a three-stage process. The first step should aim to make an objective assessment of heritage against previously agreed criteria, in order to identify the complete range of assets having some form of heritage interest. Those assets then need to be fitted into a hierarchy of classification to establish the relative level of significance of each asset. Thereafter, legislation and policies need to be devised to safeguard the significance of every heritage asset against ill-considered or unintentional harm resulting from inappropriate future interventions. However, the 2010 draft Regulation, is very generic with respect to the first two stages of the classification process, and only proposes an approach to control the extent of future interventions, according to the asset's classification level (A, B and C).

In order to fill this gap in the heritage legislative framework, the heritage study conducted for the Baixa plan used the internationally accepted classification hierarchy recommended by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), which has been adapted to suit Baixa's circumstances and incorporate the heritage value criteria proposed in the 2010 draft Regulation.

The researcher, in addition, based on the findings of the Maputo's heritage cognitive analysis, suggested to take into account three additional criteria, as considered relevant heritage values for the population, namely: aesthetic, ecological and leisure value.

The classifications system adopted for Baixa's cultural heritage is outlined here below, while table 5.11 shows a more detailed definition that underlines this classification, which was readapted to the Baixa's context:

A+   Heritage and cultural assets of World Heritage Site status, having Outstanding Universal Value.

A   Heritage and cultural assets of high/national value, including those having the potential to contribute significantly to national research objectives.

B   Heritage and cultural assets of medium/regional value, including those having the potential to contribute significantly to regional/provincial research objectives.

C   Heritage and cultural assets of limited/local value, including those that have the potential to contribute to local research objectives.

D   Heritage and cultural assets of limited individual relative value, but which as part of a wider group contribute positively to the character of its local urban setting. This includes those assets that exhibit characteristic use of design, techniques and materials of a particular period or building type.

Table 5.10 – Heritage classification categories

Category	Aspects	Description
Exceptional (Category A+)	Importance	Heritage and cultural assets of World Heritage Site status, having Outstanding Universal Value
High (Category A) CRITERIA: History Culture Archaeology Architecture Landscape Spiritual *Aesthetic Ecological Leisure*	Importance	Heritage and cultural assets of high/national value, including those having the potential to contribute significantly to national research objectives
	Buildings or structures of historical or architectural value	• Individual buildings or structures of recognized national importance, or, • Groups of buildings, parts of streets, or urban landscapes of national importance, or, • Key buildings designed by architects of acknowledged international or national importance, or, • Buildings or structures associated with key historical events, functions or persons of national importance
	Public spaces and squares	• Individual public spaces of recognized national importance, or, • Key public spaces of national importance, or, • Key public spaces designed by architects or other designers of acknowledged international or national importance, or, • Public spaces associated with key historical events or persons of national importance
	Statuary	• Statuary of the highest designed quality having associations with individuals or events of international or national importance
Medium (Category B)	Importance	Heritage and cultural assets of medium/regional value, including those having the potential to contribute significantly to research objectives for the city or province of Maputo
	Buildings or	• Individual buildings or structures of recognized importance to

|		
CRITERIA: History Culture Archaeology Architecture Landscape Spiritual *Aesthetic* *Ecological* *Leisure*	structures of historical or architectural value	Maputo city/province, or, • Individual buildings and structures of historical or architectural value having high qualities in their design, built materials, or historical associations, or, • Groups of buildings, parts of streets or urban landscapes of importance to <u>Maputo city/province</u>, or, • Buildings designed by architects of acknowledged importance within <u>Maputo city/province</u>, or, • Key buildings whose value is reduced from high value by their very poor state of preservation, or, • Buildings or structures associated with historical events, functions or persons of importance to <u>Maputo city/province</u>
	Public spaces or squares	• Public spaces or designed squares of recognized importance to <u>Maputo city/province</u>, or, • Historic urban landscapes that have reasonable surviving integrity and coherence, or, • Public spaces designed by architects or other designers of acknowledged importance to <u>Maputo city/province</u>, or, • Public spaces associated with historical events or persons of importance within <u>Maputo city/province</u>
	Statuary	• Statuary of good designed quality having associations with particular individuals or events of importance within <u>Maputo city/province</u>
Low **(Category C)** CRITERIA: History Culture Archaeology Architecture Landscape Spiritual *Aesthetic* *Ecological* *Leisure*	Importance	Heritage and cultural assets of <u>limited/local</u> value only, including those having the potential to contribute to <u>local</u> research objectives for Baixa
	Buildings or structures of historical or architectural value	• Individual buildings or structures of <u>local interest within Baixa</u>, or, • Individual buildings and structures of historical or architectural value having modest qualities in their design, built materials, or historical associations, or, • Groups of buildings, parts of streets or urban landscapes of local importance or those retaining a moderate proportion of historical buildings that contribute positively to the character of the locality, or, • Buildings or structures associated with historical events, functions or persons of <u>local importance within Baixa</u>
	Public spaces or squares	• Individual public spaces or squares of <u>local importance within Baixa</u>, or, • Public spaces designed by architects or other designers of <u>local importance to Baixa</u>, or, • Public spaces associated with historical events or persons of <u>local importance to Baixa</u>
	Statuary	• Statuary of good designed quality having associations with particular individuals or events of <u>local importance to Baixa</u>
Group **(Category D)** CRITERIA: History Culture Archaeology	Importance	Heritage and cultural assets of limited individual relative value, but which as part of a wider group contribute positively to the character of its local urban setting. This includes those assets that exhibit characteristic use of design, techniques and materials of a particular period or building type
	Groups of buildings or groupings of buildings and	• Groups of two or more buildings, or buildings and spaces, that, although individually being of the most modest heritage value only, contribute to the character of the built environment in the immediate locality

Architecture Landscape Spiritual *Aesthetic* *Ecological* *Leisure*	spaces	

It is acknowledged that there are no assets of A+ value in Baixa or, indeed, Maputo, but it is important that the classification hierarchy covers the widest possible range of values so that the relative importance of assets can be understood.

The analysis of the assets proposed for classification revealed that of the 323 proposed assets, 0 (0%) would be classified as category A+, 19 (6%) at category A, 68 (22%) at category B, 133 (42%) at category C, and 93 (30%) at category D.

Figure 5.64 – Classification of heritage assets by category
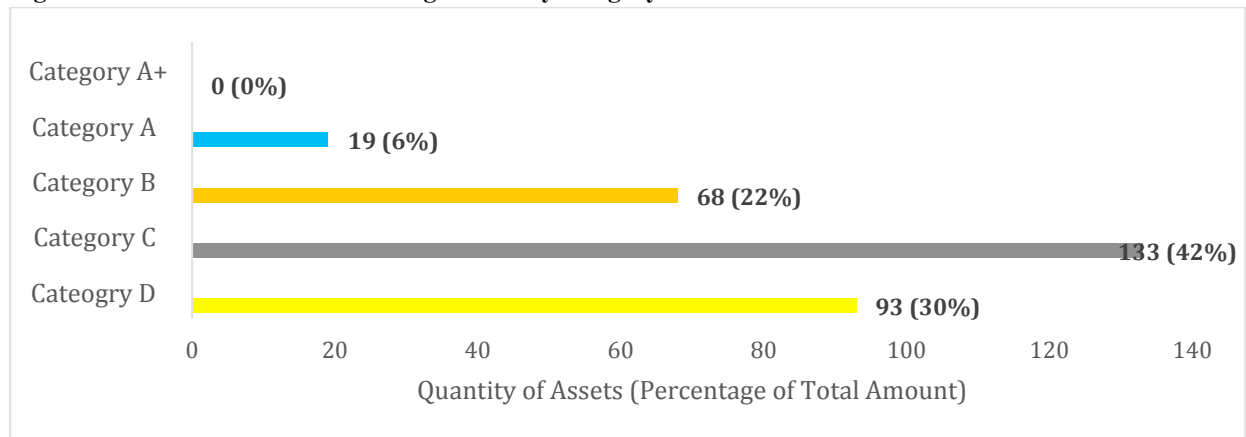
A comprehensive map of all assets classified is presented below in Figure xxx. While location maps for each individual classification category are provided in Figures XXX. In terms of geographical distribution, category A assets (Figure xxx) all lie centrally within the area of the Baixa; category B assets (Figure xxx) are reasonably uniformly spread across the area; category C assets (Figure xxx) mostly lie in the centre and west part of the area; while category D assets (Figure xx) occur mainly in clusters in the industrial/warehousing zone, in the residential district beside and formerly belonging to the port, in the historic core of Baixa and in the residential district lining the escarpment west of Hotel Cardoso and east of Hotel Girasole.

Figure 5.65 – Assets by category across the area of the Baixa

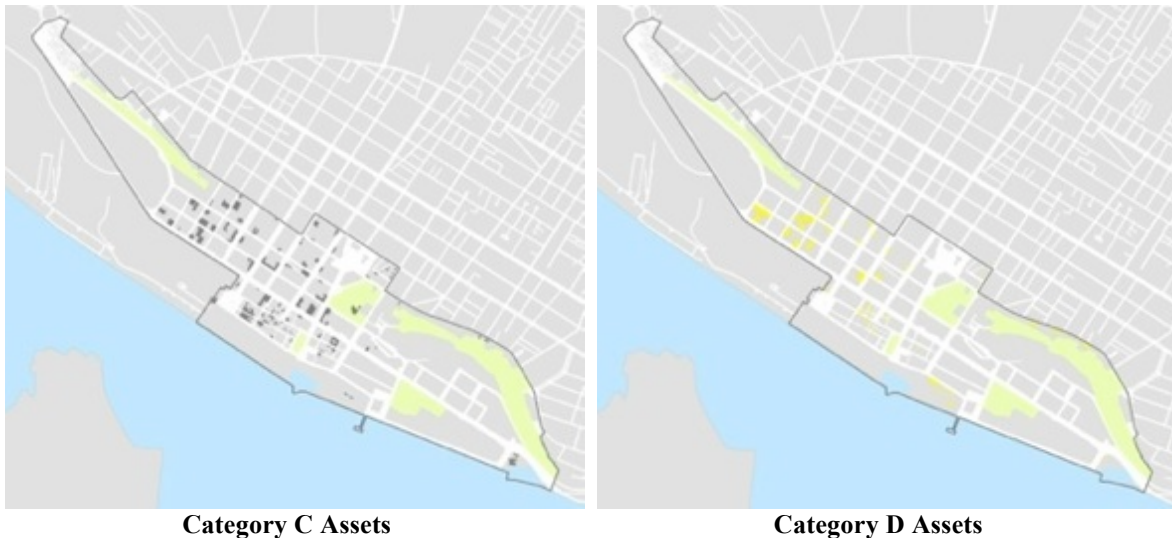*Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015*

Figure 5.66 – Heritage assets by category

Category A Assets

Category B Assets

Category C Assets	**Category D Assets**

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

- **Heritage landscape**

As previously seen, Baixa's heritage is represented not only in the architectural or other values of the buildings, but also in the open spaces, views, clusters of building of certain characteristics and eventually in the urban atmosphere that all those components create as a whole.

Through the heritage survey, the following urban zones and connections were identified as part of the assets to protect and requalify:

- **Zone A1** comprises the surviving original urban core of the city of Lourenço Marques as it was laid out in the XIX century, including views through the zone towards the port and the sea and part of the street pattern of the first settlement. Stand-out elements within this zone are: the original street layout; Praça dos Trabalhadores, Rua da Mesquita, Avenida Karl Marx and Travessa do Varietá.

- **Zone A2** comprises the industrial district of Baixa, built to a regular grid street pattern, using distinctive architectural forms, materials and simple ornament of its period.

Zone A1 and A2 include elements of critical character within the urban grain and need to be protected and, eventually, reused in tourism related services like small hotels, shops and restaurants; or for creative industries, including accessible office space for small enterprises, art galleries and residential use.

In general terms, in these areas new construction should obey to a set of regulations to ensure that its architecture adapts harmoniously to the spatial structures and the ambiance of the historic setting. An analysis of the urban context should precede any new construction, so that the general character of the zone is further defined, and its characteristics emphasized (e.g., harmony of height, colour, materials and forms, ordering of the facades and roofs, relation of the built volumes and spaces, average proportions and building position of the plots).

- **Special interconnections** between and including key public spaces, such as Praça da Independência, Praça 25 de Junho, Praça dos Trabalhadores, Avenida Samora Machel and Rua de Bagamoio. Those connections stand-out as a spatial and built representation of different periods of the city's history, namely its origin, the colonial occupation and the post-independence affirmation. For these interconnections it is important to guarantee the fluidity both spatially and in use. New interventions should not obstruct views towards the sea and panoramic to and from the public spaces. A possible development of the port should be a continuation of the street pattern and guarantee key views towards the sea.

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Figure 5.67 – Maps with protected heritage landscape

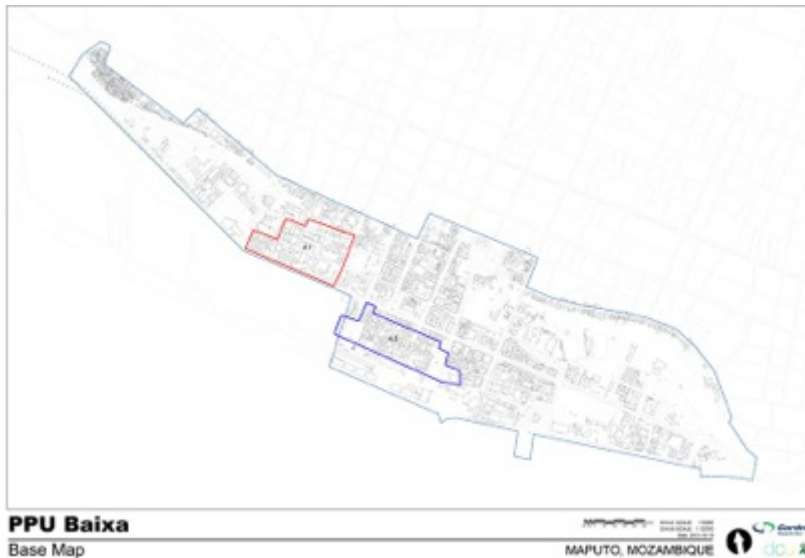**Protected landscape areas (coast and green space with character)**

Protected key views

Protected street network

Protected structural axes

Protected zones

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

Economic evaluation of cultural heritage

As seen in Chapter 2, cultural heritage is a mixed good, framed over a multidimensional, multi-value and multi-attitude environment, which generates private and public/collective benefits for current, potential, and future users and even for nonusers. How resources are allocated and consequently how institutions and services are managed, organized, and provided affect people's well-being, attitudes, and participation toward cultural heritage.

Therefore, besides the evaluation of urban heritage cultural significance, which is the main focus of this research study, as part of the plan development process, an economic evaluation of the Baixa's cultural heritage has been conducted. There are, in fact, two powerful arguments for using economic valuation to inform macro and micro decision in the cultural heritage sector. On the one hand, public institutions are increasingly being required to justify their expenditure decisions or requests for funding in terms of generated "consumer benefits", and those that are unable to do so might find their budgets cut. Furthermore, in a world where potential visitors are

spoiled for choice, cultural destinations have to renew and market themselves to compete and survive (Bond, 2014).

The method used to perform the economic valuation of Baixa's heritage combined different approaches in a multi-criteria analysis. Urban heritage was considered as made of a combination of assets which can be divided into four main categories:

- **Economic capital**, includes the buildings, infrastructure and facilities;

- **Human and social capital**, is composed of competences and vibrancy of the population, and of the variety of existing social links;

- **Natural capital**, includes the quality of air, water, sewage system and the presence of green space;

- **Cultural capital** is composed of immaterial goods, traditions, and know-how accumulated by generations.

The model has developed based on the Integrated Economic Value approach, which covers the use and non-use values. As explained in Chapter 2 (section xxx), "use values" are calculated directly by estimating the revenues generated by the heritage buildings, while the "non-use values" are estimated by applying "adjustment factors", to quantify qualitative characteristics inherent to heritage buildings, but also how the building impacts (and is impacted by) the quality of living in its neighbourhood (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

The economic valuation has shown that the total value of the heritage assets of the Baixa is estimated in excess of 1.6 billion dollars. Direct use value, which represents the revenues generated by the existing buildings, contribute for the major share (57%) of the value. It was estimated that the economic price of the preservation of the existing heritage buildings (compared with new buildings with same functions) are estimated at almost USD 470 million, which represent 28% of the total heritage value. Therefore, Baixa's existing buildings represent a significantly under-utilised economic asset, which can be released and optimised by planned investment in heritage conservation, resulting in a substantial real increase in the value of Baixa's heritage assets once rehabilitation costs are discounted (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

The evaluation model has been used as well to estimate the total value of the Baixa's heritage buildings if they were rehabilitated, in order to provide an order of magnitude of the budget, which could be allocated to this task. The rehabilitation is modelled by changing the condition of the selected heritage buildings from current one to "good". Rehabilitating the heritage buildings would increase their total value of 10.3%, which represents almost USD 200 million. This value provides a useful order of magnitude to prioritise investment towards the preservation of heritage (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Retaining, respecting and reusing heritage responsibly is ultimately an important strategy because it makes the best use of existing resources. Retaining and using an understanding of the value of Baixa's heritage to foster new urbanisation will enable new and old to be integrated, enriching the area and creating a vital and vibrant city community (Bond, 2014).

5.4   Organization of public hearings

The Territorial Planning Law requires as well that the Municipal council holds three public hearings in order to announce to an open audience the beginning of the plan development process

(Public Launching Ceremony); to present the appraisal report with the preliminary ideas of the plan (First Public Hearing); and to present the final version of the plan (Second Public Hearing). These public meetings provided a valuable opportunity for CMM to create awareness and involvement on the plan development process and, when relevant, to adjust and improve it according to the inputs provided by the citizens during the hearings.

The **First Public Hearing** was held at the City Hall with an attendance of approximately 150 persons, and was chaired by the municipal aldermen (*vereador*) for Urban Planning and Environment and for the Municipal District of KaMpfumo. In addition to interested general public, among the attendees were representatives from the Supervision Commission, various CMM departments, local architects and engineers, World Bank personnel, grassroots organizations, and the media. The purpose of the event was to present findings in the appraisal phase as well as the vision and proposed spatial structure of the plan in order to obtain feedback. After the presentation, three rounds of questions and answers were made, in which fifteen comments from the general public generated a lively discussion. A relevant point made was the connection between the plan and the many projects taking place in Maputo. Further comments touched issues such as public transport and traffic congestion; infrastructure deficits; the accelerated loss of cultural heritage; and the importance of maximize the waterfront connection's potential (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.68 – First public hearing

Source: Author, 2013

The **Second Public Hearing** was held at the City Hall with an attendance of approximately 100 persons, and was chaired by the municipal aldermen (*vereador*) for Urban Planning and Environment and for the Municipal District of KaMpfumo.

Figure 5.69 – Second public hearing

The purpose of the meeting was to present the draft version of the plan and to provide the general public, through an extended discussion session, the opportunity to make comments to it. The feedback received was important to adjusting the plan from its draft to the final version (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

5.5 Development and implementation of a communications campaign

Throughout the plan development process, a communications campaign has been developed and implemented, with the aim to create awareness about the plan and involvement in its elaboration. The campaign included the design of social media tools, such as a website in English and Portuguese (www.minha-baixa.com), a Facebook page (www.Facebook.com/MaputoPPU), articles in local newspapers and videos to announce the public hearings.

Figure 5.70 – One of the flyers used to promote the plan of the Baixa

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

On the other hand, with the aim to gain the involvement of the citizens of Maputo and receive their inputs for the development of the plan, in particular on the challenges and opportunities for the economic and social improvement of the selected area, three public contests were organized. The contest targeted three separate audiences, namely: children (ages 10-12), architecture and engineering students (age 16-22) and entrepreneurs (ages 16 +). The award ceremony was held at the end of the second public hearing. Some ideas and concept from the candidates were taken into consideration when preparing the final Plan.

Figure 5.71 – Flyers to promote the design contests

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

**Figure 5.72 - Some drawings made by children for the contest**

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

5.6 Organization of two charettes with the Plan Supervision Commission

In addition to the two Public Hearings required by the Mozambican legal framework for plans formulation, aimed at creating awareness and involvement in the plan development process, the Baixa's conservation process included the organization of two intensive planning sessions (*charrette*) with the Supervision Commission, with the scope of supporting the preparation of a demand-based conservation plan that matches investigation, vision and actions. The two *charrette* allowed to define an outcome that was shared by all, or at least a majority of the group members, and this provided a common direction and a shared understanding of priorities for the plan (UN-Habitat, 2013).

During the *charrette*, different approaches and tools related to participatory planning have been used, including scenario planning, visual and inter-active polling charts, consensus building and feedback loops. The *charrette*, the methods and tools used and the information obtained are presented in the following sections.

Figure 5.73 – Guiding principles towards the Plan
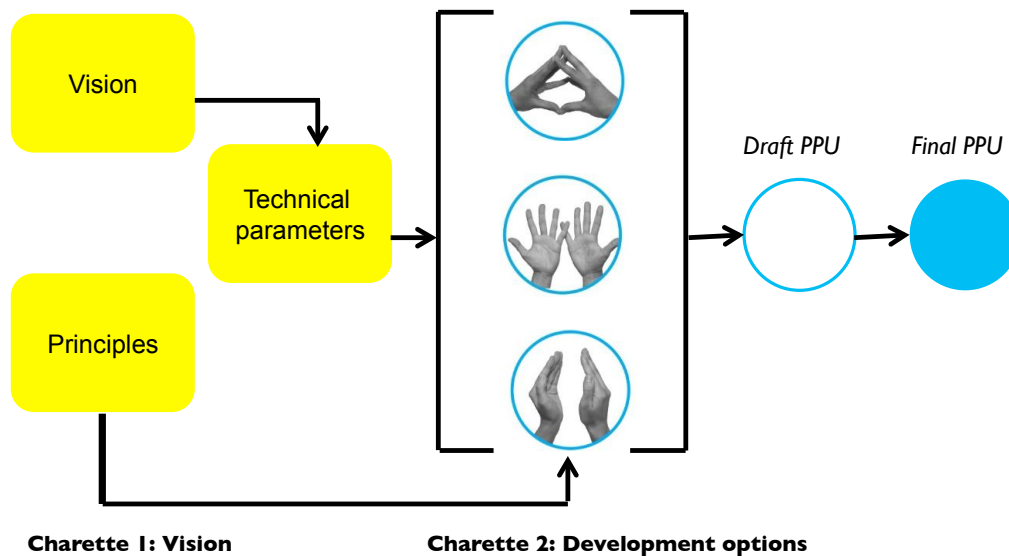
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a

5.6.1 Vision charrette

The objective of the first session (Vision *charrette*) was to present to the members of the Plan Supervision Commission the essential aspects of the appraisal report and to engage them in the establishment and adoption of a vision and principles to guide the plan preparation.

The successful re-qualification of Baixa, in fact, needs to be driven by an inspirational vision collectively held, which is a clear and simple message of how Baixa should be and the values it stands for. This vision must be the result of an inclusive process and shall forms the basis for defining policies and strategies to achieve a long-term aspirational goal (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

To this end, the Municipal Directorate of Urban Planning and Environment (DMPUA) convened a two days Vision *charette*, which was attended by 34 representatives of the Supervision Commission. Its objectives were:

- To share the preliminary findings of the data collection and surveys with members of the Supervision Commission in as easy to remember manner;

- To engage the members of the supervision commission in different approached to participatory planning;

- To jointly produce and adopt a vision statement to guide the PPU preparations; and

- Based on the vision statement, to engage in a reflection on "who needs to do what" to begin to translate the vision statement into short and longer-term objectives (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

The working methodology of the Vision *charrette* consisted of a mix of participatory planning tools and methods, including plenary presentations and discussions; a visual preference survey; team building exercises; scenario planning; visual and inter-active polling charts; small working groups; consensus building and feedback loops (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015). Each of the working groups was composed of a mix of different actors and stakeholders.

The Vision *charrette* included 5 different steps, presented here below, and concluded with an outcome that was shared by all, or at least a majority of the Commissions members. The *charrette* placed particular emphasis on the demand side, and provided a common sense of priorities and a shared direction towards the plan development. In other cities, this approach has paved the way for a more effective, faster and risk-controlled implementation (Vaggione, 2014).

- **SWOT analysis of the appraisal findings:**

At the beginning of the session, a summary of the SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) qualitative analysis of the preliminary findings of the appraisal – resulting from data collection and on-site surveys – has been presented, using visual means of communication (GIS and image mapping) to facilitate understanding and discussions. The aim was to identify existing opportunities and constraints characterizing the area of study, which have been useful to define the operational guidelines driving the plan development.

Rather than introduce an extensive technical report, the SWOT analysis was presented by using nine key subject-matter components, which are presented in Table xxx (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Table 5.11 - Key aspects and finding of the appraisal presented to the Supervision Commission

Aspects	Key findings
1. Socio-cultural and economic	The population is very low and there is a high-income inequality.
	There is a high concentration of informal commerce in principal arteries and transport nodes.
2. Management and governance analysis	Institutional coordination is essential and without it the plan will be compromised.
	Several state and state-related entities at supra-municipal level control key land assets for the implementation of the plan.

3. Historical development	Baixa represents Maputo's origin, and was the trading center and a gateway to the surrounding region.
4. Land use	Today Baixa has significant concentration of government and private office buildings, many commences but few residential areas.
5. Transport	Congestion is not caused by road capacity, but by the absence of traffic management, including parking, and poor public transport.
6. Infrastructure	Failing drainage infrastructure, and sub-optimal street cleaning.
	Challenged to cope with expected growth.
7. Public space	Valuable public spaces in potential, but amount and integration of components is sub-optimal.
8. Approaved projects	A significant number of real estate projects and infrastructure investment were approved or placed in the pipeline before the start of the preparation of the PPU. This had to be taken as a "given".
9. Cultural heritage	Important critical mass of historic assets, under threat.

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

- **Scenario planning:**

During this session four possible scenarios for the future of Baixa (i.e., speculative, vibrant, neglected and underused) and their related benefits and risks have been presented to Supervision Commission. They have been developed on the basis of physical form and economic activity.

Figure 5.74 – Guiding technical parameters based on the best international practices, chosen to guide the vision

Land Use
Current situation:
- Residencial: 24,85%
- Commercial: 13,02%
- Offices: 34,32%
- Industrial use: 15,98%
- Public services (education, health, etc): 11,83%

Objective
- Residencial: 50-60%
- Commercial: 15-20%
- Offices : 15-20%
- Public services (education, health, etc): 5-10%

Population density
Current situation:
- 40p/ha aprox

Objective
- 150p/ha minimum
- 200p/ha best

Resident population
Current situation:
- 12,000 hab (aprox)

Objective
- 60,000-70,000 hab (aprox)

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

An analytical tool such as a "2 by 2" matrix has been used to project possible trends and conditions into the future, and the *charrette* participants have been helped to understand the strong interrelation between a city physical structure and economic activity, and what would be the end- results of various policy options (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.75 – Analytical matrix to project trends and conditions into the future
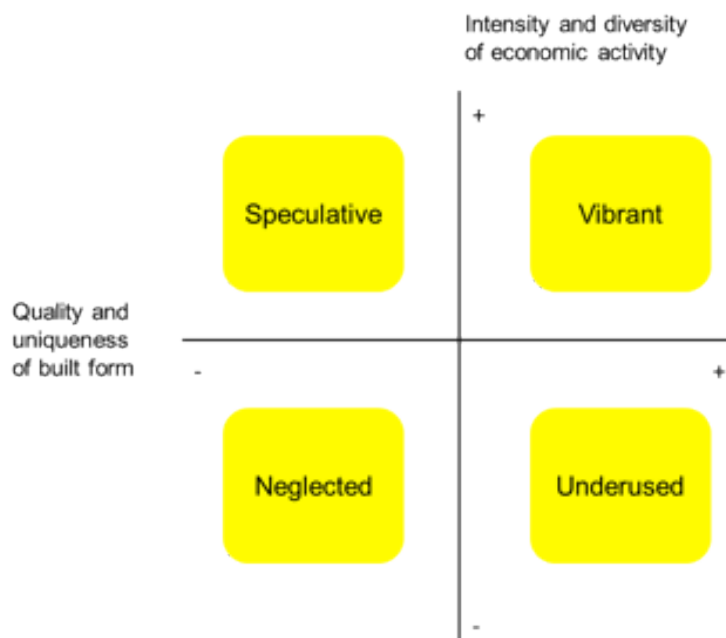
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015

The horizontal axis of the matrix was defined by the city's physical structure, such as the quality and uniqueness of its built form. A low value would be defined by a lack of architectural identity and sense of place and an unstructured use of land; and a high value would be defined by a unique combination of old and new buildings, and a rational use of land. The vertical axis would indicate the intensity and diversity of the area's economic activity, with a low value indicating sub-optimal economic activity and few sectors of activities; and the vertical axis would indicate an intense and diversified economic activity. Each quadrant of the matrix defined a particular scenario. Several cities around the world were used as a reference to illustrate the scenarios.

The results of this exercise are presented in Table 5.13, which illustrates the characteristics, including the benefits and risks, which were identified for each of the four possible development scenarios for the Baixa.

Table 5.12 – Characteristics of possible development scenarios for the Baixa

Segment	Speculative	Neglected	Underused	Vibrant
Physical form	Radical transformation Tall buildings in superblocks Architectural shapes and design styles that could be anywhere	Progressive cycle of decay Poorly maintained infrastructure and buildings leading to abandonment	A historic area that no strategy for contemporary economic activity No new construction allowed	Blends reused historic buildings that retain character and new buildings that add contemporary opportunities
Economic	Primarily based on	Dominant single-use	Single use: subsidies	Diversified: tourism,

model	property development and construction	Uses may do not generate enough revenues	from government to maintain assets Tax breaks Small amount of tourism	tertiary, property development and local businesses
Benefits	Short-term, rapid economic gain for a few land holders and investors	None	Retention of cultural assets Safeguarding small businesses	Retention and reuse of historic assets contributes to economic diversity Long term economic gain for residents, small business, land holders and investors
Risks	Risk of single use Property bubble Easily replicable elsewhere Volatile to macro conditions Destruction of historic and natural assets	Dilapidation of land and historic assets Lack of tax revenue Congestion Under-use at night Marginalization	Model that will probably collapse if subsidies are discontinued	Needs private investment for which clear rules and transparency of approval process is essential Depends on incentives for re-use

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **Visual preference survey:**

The *charrette* continued with a "mock polling" using an image display where members of the Supervision Commission "voted" for options for the "Baixa we want" and "must not dos". Using a "traffic light" grading system, participants identified urban spaces and situations as desired, undesired or to be considered with caution.

Figure 5.76 – *Charrette* participants while doing the "mock polling" exercise

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

From this exercise it was conclude that:

- Images showing an organized concentration of people scored high;

- Empty space, even if well-designed, got less favourable scores;

- Public spaces in the waterfront are very much appreciated;

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- Well maintained heritage buildings scored high, but not for every participant;

- Cars are almost never good in the scoring – and the more cars the worse;

- Images with unorganized informal vendors occupying sidewalks and streets scored low, but if vendors were organized, in a clean, well-lit place, the scores were higher;

- Specially designed paving (other than grey concrete) seems to improve scoring;

- "Green" seems to boost the scoring of an image (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

- **Formulating and adopting a vision statement:**

The members of the Supervision Commission have then participated in the collective articulation of a vision for the Baixa, and the establishment of development priorities.

Three facilitated working groups, each comprised of a mix of actors and stakeholders, did the drafting of the vision. The groups presented their respective statements (Table 5.14) in plenary with discussions centered on common key words and principles. The final vision statement was put together by the facilitators, again presented in plenum and adopted by acclamation (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Table 5.13 – Preferred vision statements by working groups

Segment	Group A	Group B	Group C
Vision	Baixa will be a multifunctional destination, where visitors and residents enjoy the historic and cultural heritage and the public spaces in tranquillity	The Baixa of the future will value its character through the preservation of the public space and the historic and cultural heritage, to become a vibrant space 24 hours a day.	The Baia will be a destination of reference for culture, tourism, residences, services, vibrant, clean, green and inclusive
Principles	1 Inspiring 2 Attractive 3 Unique 4 Clean 5 Cultural/creative 6 Organized/efficient	1 Organize space and services 2 Information, divulgation and knowledge of heritage 3 Diversification of activities 4 Accessibility and opportunities for all 5 Leisure and entertainment 6 More commercial activities 7 Liveable space	1 Participation 2 Inclusive 3 Sustainable 4 Security 5 Preservation of heritage 6 Accessible 7 Waterfront

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

The final vision statement approved by the Supervision Commission reads as:

"Baixa is a multifunctional destination, inclusive and vibrant, clean and green, where visitors and residents enjoy the historic and cultural heritage, the sea and the public space".

The vision is also supported by a set of six guiding principles, defined by the Commission, which guide every decision to be taken throughout the plan preparation. The principles are:

- Inspiring;

- Organized;

- Liveable;

- Accessible;

- Safe;

- Attractive.

- **Translating the vision into goals:**

The vision statement has then been translated into short and long-term objectives. This exercise was carried out in working groups, using a simplified log frame. Each working group was asked to formulate up to three objectives representing "must dos" for the plan, and for each of them, participants were asked to identify up to five actors/stakeholders whose actions would be needed to implement those objectives, and thus help translate the vision into reality. At least one of the objectives was to be attained within 12 to 18 months from the adoption of the plan. The groups shared their log frames in plenary and the ensuing discussion focused on the roles and responsibilities of key actors.

In summary, the Supervision Commission identified the following goals to achieve the plan vision in the short, medium and long term:

- In the short term (1-3 years):
  o Create pedestrian areas;
  o Enact the classification of cultural heritage;
  o Make the Baixa clean and green.
- In the medium term (3-5 years):
  o Re-linked the Baixa with the sea;
  o Implement a mobility system with priority to public transport, cycling and walking;
  o Improve accessibility and solve parking issues;
- In the long term (5-10 years):
  o Increase the resident population;
  o Restore historic buildings and parks;
  o Organize the infrastructure.

The stakeholders identified by the groups were:

- CMM;

- Central government;

- Private sector;

- Users (residents and visitors);

- Civil society (represented by associations);

- Informal sector associations.

5.6.1 Spatial options *charrette*

During the first *charrette*, it was agreed that the plan seeks to provide a collective vision and guidance on the choices necessary to make the *Baixa* a multifunctional destination, inclusive and vibrant, where the urban heritage is valorized and opportunities for economic development are provided to a broad spectrum of the population.

To fulfil this commonly agreed vision and plan principles, the supervision commission was invited to a second planning session (Spatial Options *charrette*) whereby different plan concept alternatives that illustrated various development options of the area have been presented. The aim was to collect inputs; choose a preferred spatial option to drive the plan development; further develop the conceptual plan; prioritize and validate the proposed improvements; and identify several strategies and actions for its implementation (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

To this end, different approaches and tools related to participatory planning have been used, which are presented in the following sections.
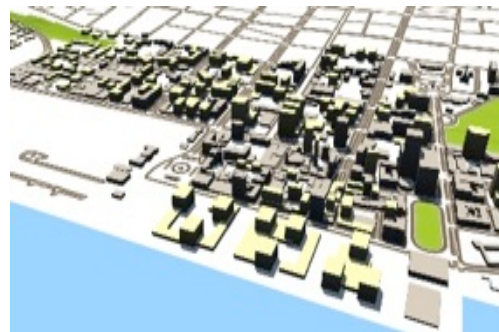
- **Spatial options:**

Three different plan concept alternatives have been presented to the Supervision Commission to illustrate various development options of the area, according to the collective vision and recommendations defined during the first *charrette*. Each option has been prepared using variants of urban structure composition such as nodal points, population density, buildable areas, and mix of land uses, among others; and have been presented using a hand gesture metaphor to help communicate visually the approach behind it (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Each concept was looked at through technical criteria pertaining to topics including Land use, Heritage, Public Space, Mobility, Infrastructure and Real Estate. In breakout groups, participants discussed in detail the opportunities and constraints brought by each option. At the conclusion of these discussions, participants scored the options based on the principles that support the vision, and choosed the preferred option (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Based on the technical parameters and the vision, three different options were developed and discussed with the Supervision commission:

- **First spatial option**: It favoured a **concentration of development in the central part of the Baixa**, leaving areas to the west and east with lower densities. This option was believed to be the most similar to current trends, and received about 10% votes.
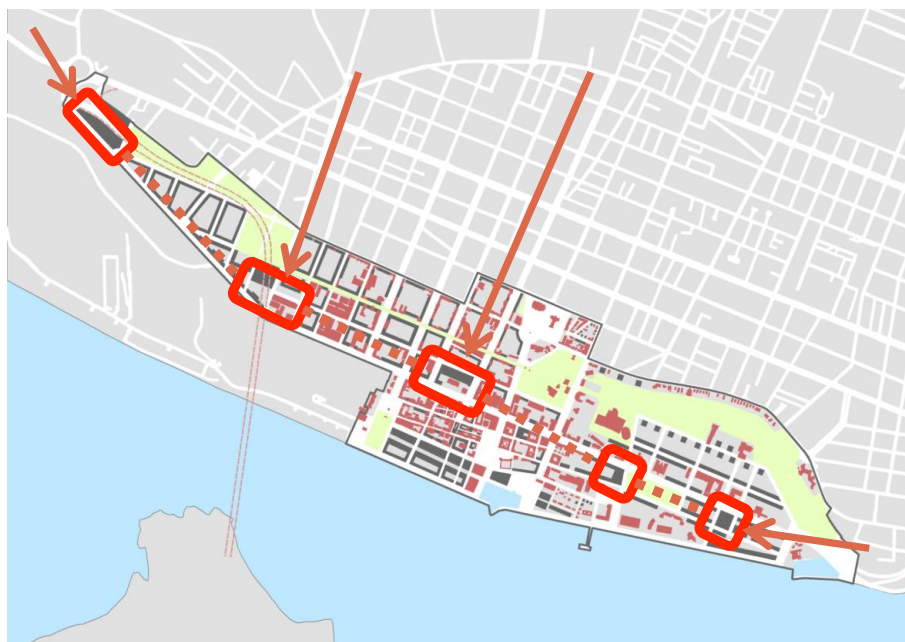
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **<u>Second spatial option</u>**: It favoured the **reconnection of the city with the waterfront** through perpendicular corridors and public spaces, allowing higher densities on streets parallel to the sea. This was the second most preferred option, principally because the opening up of the waterfront for public use was highly regarded. This option received 35% of the votes.

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

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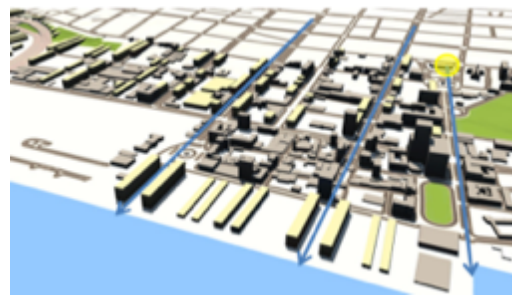
- **Third spatial option**: It proposed **new areas of development to the east and west of central Baixa**, creating new gateways and reducing pressure to the historic area. This option was favoured by 55% of the participants. It was agreed that the third option could incorporate the idea of reconnecting city with waterfront which was featured in option 2.

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

Figure 5.77 – Example of comparative analysis of development options

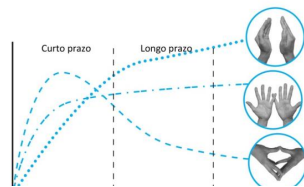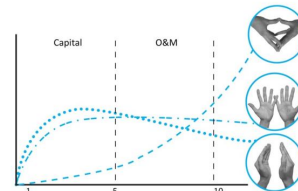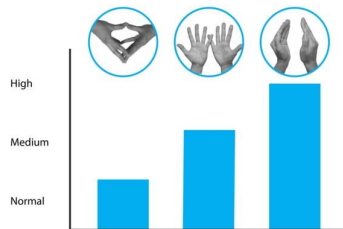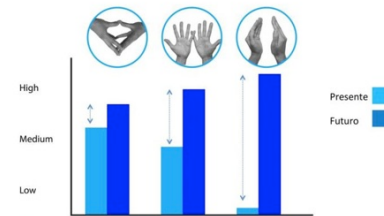*Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.*

Based on the analysis, the Supervision Commission has chosen the spatial option three, which proposes to create a new node of development on the East and West sides of the historic center. New investment opportunities are also proposed in these new nodes of development, protecting the historic center and the cultural heritage from the pressure of urbanization
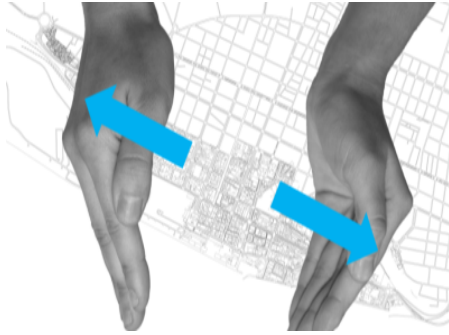
Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **The Plan's key strategies:**

Based on the six guiding principles set during the Vision *Charrette* (i.e., Inspiring; Organized; Liveable; Accessible; Safe; Attractive) and the preferred spatial option chosen during the second *Charrette*, the plan for the Baixa has been developed following seven key strategies with the intention to deliver the general public vision on the future of the Baixa and achieve the agreed goals.

Figure 5.78 – The Baixa of Maputo in 2025

Figure 5.79 – Plan of the Baixa for 2025

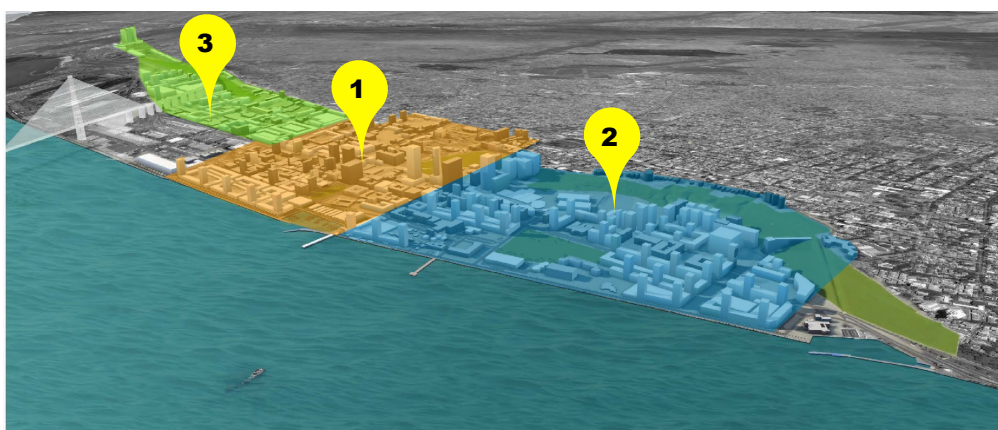*Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.*

- **Build on the strengths of the character of the area**:

The Baixa is an attractive location for the real estate industry, as it combines a unique historic character with a waterfront setting. There are few cities in Africa with these qualities.

Implementing the vision means creating an inspiring location that can be home of creative industries and entrepreneurial start-ups.

The plan proposes specific urban development strategies for three identified sub-areas: West, Central and East Baixa. In West Baixa, currently an industrial area, the plan creates significant property development opportunities for mixed-use. The industrial and warehouse area can be reused by adapting buildings into spaces for new and creative industries. An intermodal station will serve as a catalyst for development and help relieve congestion of the central area. For Central Baixa, the consolidated area where most historic assets are, the intent is to preserve these assets, transforming them into hotels, shops, restaurants, cafés and studios for creative industries; while making new infill development as compatible as possible in terms of form and function. Opening the waterfront for public use and creating walkable, clean and safe pedestrian space would provide the vibrancy that these businesses need to thrive, which in turn will create revenues for the municipality to maintain them in good conditions. In East Baixa, an area with mainly office and commercial uses, the plan adds residential uses, and promotes the connection between the lower and upper part of the ridge. It also limits building heights in the area next to Jardim dos Professores so that views to the Maputo Bay are not disrupted. The Plan also proposes a logic grid and an organizing principle for approved but not yet built projects (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.80 – Baixa sub-areas: (1) Central; (2) East; (3) West

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **Creat a mixed-use, compact Baixa**:

The plan proposed to make the Baixa become a multifunctional destination, as it would prevent the use of property in Baixa from being limited to business hours, as it would be the case if it becomes predominantly a space for offices. A mixed-use Baixa is one of the best recipes for a healthy and diversified source of income both for developers and for the municipality. It enables also to increase the residential population that would bring livability and social inclusion and would create sustained advantages for a broader part of the society (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.81 – Baixa proposed land-use plan
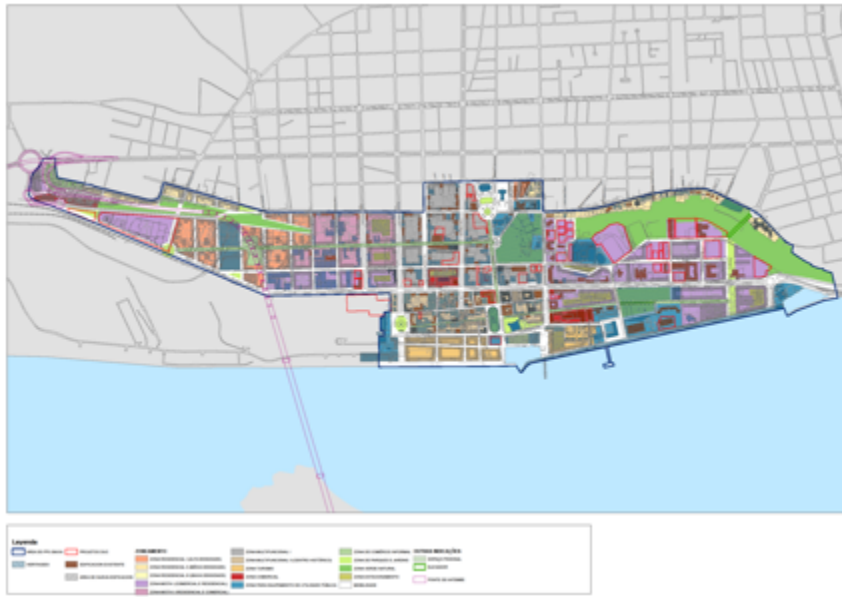
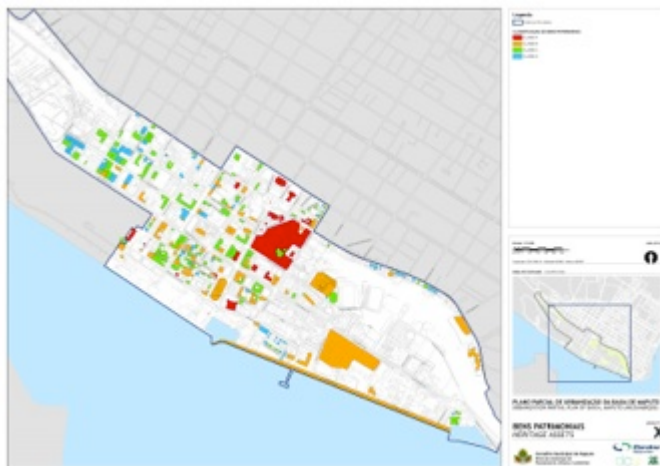*Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.*

- **Protect and reuse heritage assets**:

Through protection and adaptive reuse policies, the Plan seeks to create a singular and vibrant district that takes full advantages of its heritage and the waterfront location. Baixa contains a critical mass of heritage assets, however by themselves many of the 332 assets identified in the heritage inventory may not seem exceptional and able to create a recognizable urban patter, and their value might not be evident to those in charge of controlling development and even to the general public. Even if they would be preserved and reused for tourism-related services such as hotels, shops, and restaurants, if they become surrounded by larger buildings with significantly different proportions, they will look isolated souvenirs and the character of the *Baixa* will be lost. To protect Baixa's singularity, it is therefore critical to value its "everyday" heritage to its fullest extent, as a comprehensive set of assets instead on individual buildings. To this end, planning standards are defined to integrate new development in a considerate manner to the existing historic fabric, with heights, FAR, setbacks and other measures that intend to induce a cohesive urban form (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.82 - Map with cultural heritage assets

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Figure 5.83 - Sample of Cultural Heritage Catalogue Fiche

Figure 5.84 - Render of proposed intervention for Rua do Bagamoio

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **Reconnect Maputo with the sea**

Considering that historic waterfront areas can be a key resource for urban transportation (e.g. London's docklands or planned New York City shoreline), that can bring major improvements in terms of quality of life, the Plan recommendsto open to the public the waterfront areas currently inaccessible as occupied by industrial uses. Once relocated, the waterfront can become walkable over a continuous part of 3 kilometres. Key to the revitalization of the waterfront is creating a "necklace" of amenities and activities, such as parks, recreaation and natural habitats, and also housing and waterways for tranportation (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).
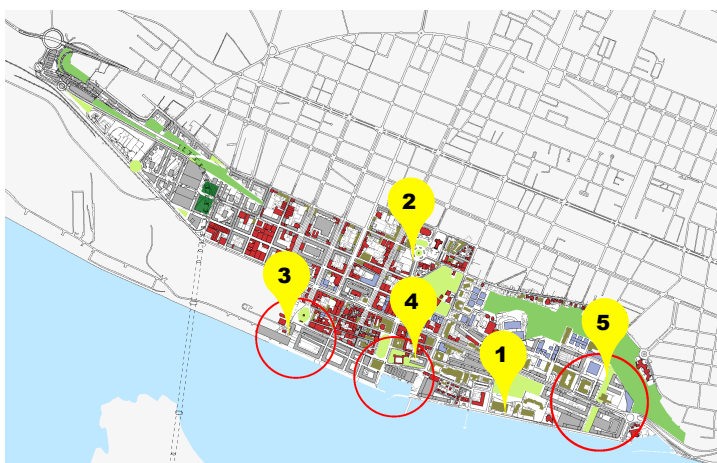

Figure 5.85 – Proposed interventions of reconnection

1. 3 KM of promenade facing the sea with space for commercial sites

2. Pedestrianize Avenida Samora Machel

3. Gift and souvenir market adjacent to the cruise port

4. Waterfront market and restaurant area

5. Linear park from the Polana Cimento to the waterfront
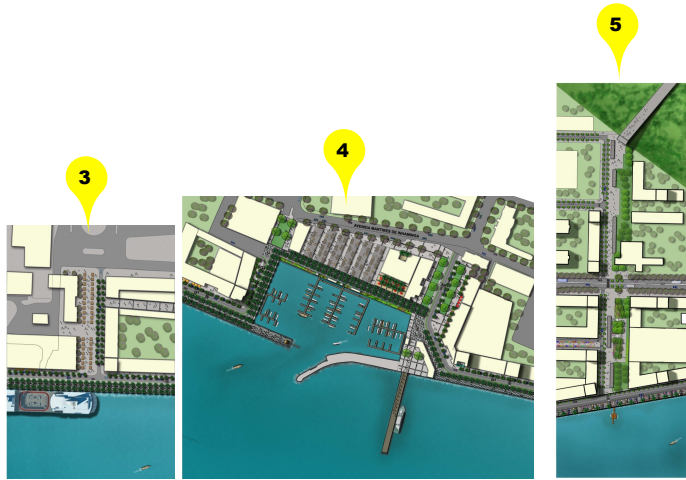
	Figure 5.86 – Details of waterfront improvements
	Figure 5.86 – Details of waterfront improvements
	Figure 5.87 – Render of waterfront improvement

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **Create a system of green parks and open space**:

The Plan also creates pedestrian paths and proposes new street sections with enhanced sidewalk space, which will allow to residents of Baixa a maximum walking distance of 15 minutes between public spaces. In addition, a number of public transport modes will be available in close proximity, including ferry, and an elevator that will connect Baixa with the north part of Maputo. (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

	Figure 5.88 – Guarantee a network of green corridors and public spaces

Figure 5.89 – Create parks within buildings

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **Organize street markets and trade:**

Baixa's vision places emphasis on creating an urban area that can be used by all. A key point in delivering this is organizing informal trade in a way that it becomes another source for a vibrant Baixa rather than a disturbance to pedestrian and vehicular traffic. The Plan creates street trade clusters for registered vendors, which provide more trading space than what exists now. Clusters are paired to products to maximize market pull and minimize incompatibilities and externalities. They are located next to areas of high footfall, such as transport nodes, car parks, pedestrian axes and waterfront public spaces(Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.90 – Create a network of places for street market

Figure 5.91 – Organized informal trade near the waterfront

Figure 5.92 – Fish-market at the waterfront

Figure 5.93 – Market area under the bridge Maputo-KaTembe

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

- **Create condition for better mobility:**

In line with the 2014 Comprehensive Urban Transport Master Plan for the Greater Maputo, a committed policy to prioritize public transport is also proposed in the plan, where public transport has the priority of dedicated rights of way. The plan proposes in East Baixa a public transport system to connect the high and the low part of the ridge to allow better access to services, workspace and waterfront amenities for those living to the north of Baixa. This need would be met by introducing a public elevator that connects the bus hub on the high part of the ridge and the business district which is below. The plan's parking strategy is based on deploying car parks to allow covering most of Baixa within a 15 minutes walk (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

Figure 5.94 – Proposed diversified and intermodal public transport system
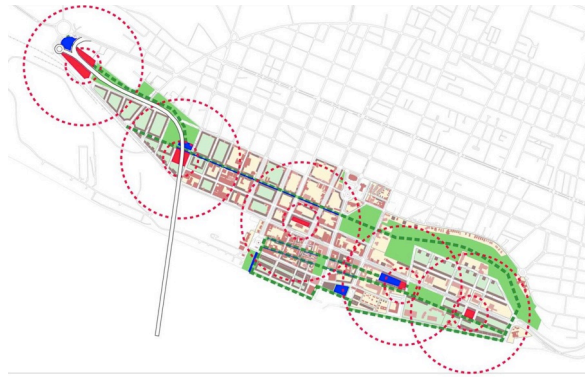
Figure 5.95 – Proposed parking system

Source: Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2014a.

5.7 Analysis of risk and opportunities for implementation

In addition to the analysis of the existing normative framework for urban planning, land management and heritage conservation, and the considerations presented in section 4.2, a SWOT qualitative strengths-risk analysis has been conducted to identify the existing barriers and opportunities to facilitate an effective implementation and management of the plan of the Baixa. This includes the analysis of financing and institutional structures, legal and regulatory frameworks, human resources availability and capacities, and the identification of possible implementation options. This knowledge is relevant in order to better identify the existing problems and to enhance the existing positive resources to overcome them (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

There are several barriers or risks that have been identified and seem to be particularly relevant to the case of the *Baixa*.

- **Capacity at the local government level**

The structure and working methods of the Municipality of Maputo are aligned by sectors, each with its own programme priorities and budgetary prerogatives. In addition, the skills and experience are not readily available and those that are available are thinly spread across the institutional landscape.

- **Fragmented budgetary allocation process**

The Municipality of Maputo allocates its development budget based on an annual activity plan and according to what is perceived as an equitable share for each municipal district. This results in the fragmentation of capital expenditures into numerous small allocations with little to show in terms of actual social, economic or environmental impact This process is exacerbated by the annual cycle of the municipal budget, which tends to further reduce tangible impact over time. Ideally, municipal allocation should be leveraged with resources from central government and the private and civil society sectors. (You, 2012)

- **Limited co-ordination**

There is limited cooperation and coordination between national and local entities/jurisdictions involved in urban development and heritage conservation. Central and local governments, independent authorities (port, roads and bridges, infrastructure, transport), service providers (utilities) typically work at different planning scales and with different budget cycles. Integrated programming, budgeting and implementation processes seem to happen only in a limited degree at present. They need to coordinate their actions so that public initiatives are mutually reinforced

and can add value to each other. At present, there is no entity that fulfils the role or has the convening power to bring all concerned public parties together. (You, 2012)

- **Regulatory implementation**

Mozambique has a land governance system that allows for strong protection of community-based land rights, community consultation with respect to partnerships with investors, and also secures rights to land for investors. However, the implementation of legislation has been slow and the capacity among state actors is weak.

- **Weak heritage conservation policy and practices**

Mozambican policymakers and general development actors have been little concerned with urban cultural heritage conservation policy and practices; and usually prioritize market-driven real estate development opportunities and foreign investments that condemn older buildings, local traditions, traditional materials and non-formal places.

This lack of attention expresses itself in various ways:

- There are no mechanisms for the classification or safeguarding of urban heritage, and thus a proper inventory of the patrimony;

- The historical center (Baixa) is becoming a zone of neglect, degradation and despair, with inadequate infrastructure and services;

- Many cultural sites and buildings are demolished or altered due to the rising value of urban land, often resulting in property and land speculation, high rise buildings, loss of public space and amenities or in a gentrification process (CRATerre-ENSAG, 2006).

- The private sector is playing an increasing role in the reconstruction and conservation of buildings and the urban environment, but without adequate knowledge and understanding of, or care for, local significance and values, and thus without much attention to the overall impact of the intervention. Thus the quality of these interventions in terms of scale, context, sustainability, maintenance and regard for the cultural heritage of the city, is often not a priority. Moreover, these interventions have deep impacts on the history of the place and on community values, and usually benefit only the wealthy groups who have been able to move in at the expense of the urban poor.

- **Risk for investors**

The Government of Mozambique is receptive to foreign investment, which it views as a means to drive economic growth and promote job creation. At the same time, it is a challenging place to do business and offers high risks for investors, who must factor in pervasive corruption, an under developed financial system, poor infrastructure and high on-the-ground costs. In addition, lengthy registration procedures can be problematic for any investor.

- **Absence of adequate financing options for development**

A major obstacle for the development of urban re-qualification projects is the difficulty in accessing adequate financing options. The inexistence of financial instruments (such as fluid/structured capital markets or dedicated investment funds) determines that most funding relies on debt from commercial banks which, given the low level of own capital by promoters and relatively high interest rates, seriously limit the financial capability to develop urban regeneration projects (Nhabinde, Marrengula, & Ubisse, 2012).

- **Many projects approved with no coordination**

Another challenge is the **many projects that had been initiated or approved** without much coordination with the Department of Urban Planning and Environment of the Municipal Council (CMM). This highlights a sub-optimal communication between central and local governments and also between departments within the local level. An example of this is the bridge to KaTembe, linking both sides of Maputo Bay. The bridge, a decision taken at central government level without much coordination with CMM, is a large structure that cuts across the west part of

the site and must be dealt as a given, as construction is about to start. At least 43 property development projects, totalling around 1.5 million square meters of built area, had been approved by the Department of Infrastructure in East Baixa before the start of the PPU. The approval process and the quantity of documentation submitted vary from case to case. The lack of coordination in the approval process with the Department of Urban Planning results in the absence of unifying criteria yielding an insufficient consideration of the urban form as a whole. The majority of the approved projects are high-end office and commercial buildings.

5.7.1 Proposed solutions for operationalizing ideas

Based on the results of the plan development process, it has been possible to conclude that a balanced and successful future for Baixa is not only a function of guiding construction and infrastructure investments. It is about creating a space that can be used by all, protecting and valuing its cultural heritage, enhancing accessibility and liveability, and providing the conditions for economic development for a broad spectrum of the population, including those making a living out of informal trade.

Making the most of Baixa favourable conditions is a once-in-a lifetime opportunity for Maputo. If properly valorized and managed, Baixa's cultural heritage is a resource that can generate socio and cultural benefits for the city and the entire population, improving the quality of the built environment; generating positive benefits on identity cultivation and social inclusion; and diminishing the risk of homogenization and uniformity that comes in the wake of the process of rapid urbanization and globalization. At the same time, the conservation of its cultural heritage can be an asset for economic development, creating new employment opportunities, stimulating heritage tourism, developing small and medium sized business, and increasing real estate values (Vaggione & Candiracci, 2014).

Baixa's heritage, therefore, represents a major opportunity for sustainable change, not an impediment to it. Heritage is vital to the well-being of healthy mixed cities and their communities, because it speaks to people of their cultural roots and memories; it provides a sense of security; it makes a major contribution to the distinctive character of a place like Baixa, as it represents a heaven of human scale and tradition within an urban cityscape dominated by tall modern architecture. Heritage, finally, is fundamental to generating and sustaining a sense of place (Bond, 2014).

Adopting a landscape-based and values-informed plan to Baixa conservation is a fundamental step towards achieving a lasting, community-enhancing change that will benefit not just the local area, but Maputo as a whole (Vaggione, 2014). Unlocking this potential, however, requires political will, institutional commitment, good planning, incentives and partnerships. The right balance of policies and actions could make Baixa one of Africa's most singular districts; overbuilding could make it another non-descript area.

Institutions around the world that had been able to lead successful renewal projects have reconciled short-term agendas and long-term objectives. They have also created the conditions for a rational organization of public and private resources to implement a collective vision. This means the ability to align objectives and planning instruments between local and national level of governments and public or public-private entities, that usually hold land such as the port authority and railway company, such as in the case of the Baixa (You, 2014).

In the case of the Baixa, as seen in section 5.xxx, there are several barriers or risks to effective urban governance and management that seem to be particularly relevant, such as lack of capacity and experience at the local government level; lack of cooperation and coordination between local and national government and other entities; slow and difficult implementation of the regulatory

framework; fragmented allocation of the municipal budget; weak heritage conservation policy and practices; absence of adequate financing options for development and high risks for investors.

A plan by itself does not guarantee execution, and without strong political will and a well-coordinated institutional approach, the Baixa is at risk of taking a sub-optimal development path. The plan, therefore, proposes several solutions to overcome the risks identified during the development process and support its implementation:

- A key challenge in preparing the plan for the Baixa was dealing with the **large number of actors** who have different kind of interests and say on the future of this area and whose activities, directly or directly related to Baixa, are not coordinated. These include people from the central and local governments, private sector, services providers, associations of formal and informal business, and community representatives. The Plan recommends the **creation of a "Baixa Implementation Agency"**, in order to facilitate co-ordination and cooperation between and within national and local entities, independent authorities and utilities providers, and the civil society; and to offer an accountable and identified entity to the public and the private sector in an effort of transparency (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

- As identified in section xxx, there are **numerous land and property development projects** in the area of the Baixa in the planning, licensing or construction stages. However, due to the lack of regulations set forth in a detailed plan, most of these projects have been conceived in the absence of a coherent framework and without clear criterion of approval. The plan proposes **clear guidelines, in the form of a cadastre, building codes and project licensing** specifying what can be done and where, as they are a pre-condition to sustainable partnerships and investments. Developing a cadastre, however, is not a technical or financial question, but a demonstration of leadership and commitment in decision-making. The open and transparent availability of information is a critical first step towards a model based on recurrent and diversified revenues for the municipality (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

- The plan puts particular emphasis on the need to **actively engage the community** in order to make the vision a reality. Significant efforts have being placed during the plan development process to actively involve different actors, going beyond the participatory requirements stated by law. This effort should be supplemented with an **innovative awareness campaign** based on the vision principles, aimed at creating awareness on the relevance of the Baixa, and a change of behaviours amongst citizens, residents, users and visitors with regards to caring and maintaining public space, streets and buildings. The Supervision Commission should play a major role to bring this effort forward, through the development and dissemination of different materials (e.g., t-shirts, stickers, videos) to convey the message that the requalification of the Baixa is a shared opportunity and responsibility (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

- The plan puts particular emphasis on the need to establish innovative financial and partnership tools to **generate additional resources** from the non-government sector. Increasing taxes and levying additional fees is one way of doing it, but communities will often resist, especially when the public institutions have little to show for the increased financial burden. A better approach is to explore ways of raising external or private funds, and tapping people's capabilities to contribute directly (Siravo, 2015). All public entities that have a stake in the Baixa have an important leadership role to play, but they need to be aligned under the leadership of a single entity, in order to engage in public-private and public-community partnerships. Different approaches to partnerships can be deployed in support of the plan implementation, such as: (i) "Public-Public Partnerships", with the aim to leverage their respective investment budgets to realize together what neither party can achieve alone (e.g., the Municipal Council with the Maputo Port Authority to develop the sea front area); (ii) "Public-Community Partnerships", with the aim to deliver a wide range of social services (e.g., urban safety, organize informal markets and environmental health); (iii) "Joint Ventures" between public and private partners, whereby the risks and benefits are shared

according to a specific agreement (e.g., for energy and water supply); (iv) "Special Purpose Vehicles" which are legal entities that aim to minimise the risks to the public and private partners and serve a particular function, such as the creation of a financial instrument to finance large scale development projects (e.g., water and sewage treatment plants, waste management) (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015). Besides these innovative partnerships solutions, the plan also outlined the need to develop, regulate and use a wide array of financing options to encourage or facilitate investment of non-public capital into urban conservation. These include grants, property tax reductions, micro loans and transferable development rights amongst others. Their effective implementation requires political will and commitment, a local enabling legislation, and an institutional framework that guarantees their management.

- The **ability of the Municipality of Maputo to implement** the plan and engage in partnerships with different public and private entities and the community depends to a large extent on its internal capacity and external credibility to undertake multi-year action planning and investment programming. This entails the **improvement of the capacity of the team** in charge of the plan implementation and the streamlining of internal rules and procedures, ensuring transparency and accountability in contracts and procurement and project approval processes; a robust management, monitoring and reporting system for multi-year, multi-source project funding and financial operations; and legal frameworks (Conselho Municipal de Maputo, 2015).

6.Conclusions

{The problem is an essentially human one. Put your plans back in your pocket, go out to the street and listen to the people breathe; you have to be in touch with them, steep yourself in the raw material, and walk in the same mud and the same dust}

(UNESCO, 2008a)

Photo © Sukun/Maputo, 2014

Chapter six presents the research results and their contribution for the advance of the historic urban landscape fields of study and its application in cities in sub-Saharan Africa. Section 6.1 summarizes the research scope and questions. The findings of this research study are summarized in section 6.2. Next, section 6.3 discusses the contribution of this dissertation's findings for theory and practice. Section 6.4 presents the proposed methodology developed through this research study, which can be used to study other similar contexts. Section 6.5 describes the limitations of this research study and identifies viable directions in which future research might go.

6.1 Dissertation process: research scope, question and fieldwork

The research contained in this dissertation engages the debate regarding the relevance of a systemic *historic urban landscape approach* (HUL) to urban heritage conservation, management and planning in sub-Saharan Africa, as a means to develop and implement urban plans capable of fostering city identity and improving urban quality. This debate centres on two key questions. The first question is the relevance of the HUL theory to an urban context where different heritage values coexist, but urban heritage is conceived legally as a colonial creation and its concept is monumental or building specific. The second question pertains how the HUL operational framework can be effectively applied on the ground and lead to methods and tools that are effective – in such a context – in promoting and facilitating broad participation and multidisciplinary collaboration, and help integrate values assessment and use in the context of decision-making and planning.

In order to provide deeper insights on the research topic, the literature review addressed the following three research themes:

- The interconnections between urban heritage conservation and urban development and planning;
- Methods and tools for assessing urban heritage values and subsequent integration in decision-making and conservation planning;
- The relevance of urban heritage conservation for cities in sub-Saharan Africa.

The linkages between the identified areas and their relevance for the research topic are the main reasons for determining the following research question:

"How the HUL approach can help to assess the heritage values in cities in sub-Saharan Africa, inform decision-making and the development of a sustainable landscape-based plan, contributing to sustain the qualitative conservation and transformation of an urban area?"

The literature review depicts that there is a general silence in academic literature and studies on the role of urban cultural heritage in sustainable urban development and planning in sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, this research is of a predominantly exploratory and descriptive nature, and only inner contextual factors have been assessed. The researcher adopted a critical perspective while doing the literature review and carrying out the fieldwork and the analysis of the case study, which provided the researcher with sufficient data to expand the existing theories and to bring them to a more operational level of analysis.

From a methodological point of view, in order to investigate this topic and ground the research in the literature it has been necessary to consider contributions from a number of different fields (i.e. practitioners' reports, newspapers, journals, publications by historians and anthropologists, amongst others) and to use several methods of investigation and analysis (i.e. quantitative, qualitative and spatial tools).

With the intention of bringing the theoretical debate around the topic of landscape-based urban conservation to a more operational perspective and levels of analysis, the researcher carried out between 2011 and 2015 a fieldwork study in a city in sub-Saharan Africa, namely Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. The researcher has chosen this city for three main reasons. Firstly, it is representative of many rapidly growing cities in sub-Saharan Africa, that have to deal with stringent problems such as urban poverty, lack of basic infrastructure and services, weak local and national authorities and limited financial resources; while protecting endangered urban cultural heritage, the value of which is often not recognized. Secondly, the local government is paying an increasing attention to urban planning and heritage conservation and management, in particular thanks to the World Bank 'ProMaputo' Municipal Development Programme (2007-2016), which, amongst other things, supported the Municipal Government in strengthening its urban space management capacity. Thirdly, the researcher has been based in Maputo between 2011 and 2015 working as Senior Urban Advisor for this programme. The researcher therefore was in a privileged and unique position to understand Maputo's urban, socio-economic and governance dynamics; while engaging and collaborating with a diversity of actors involved in the development of a modern African city (i.e. national and local government, urban and heritage specialist, decision-makers, academics, civil society, international and national organizations, private sector).

The fieldwork aimed to provide an understanding of the ecological system that forms the city's diversity, vitality and identity; and to come up with a contextually relevant understanding of the notion of urban cultural heritage in a city that is undergoing rapid urbanisation and transformation. To this end, the study focused its attention towards all those aspects that compose Maputo's urban landscape, including the socio-economic and spatial characteristics of the city, its governance situation, and the cultural significance of urban heritage. Two driving principles, advocated by the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) approach, helped the researcher to decrypt Maputo's complex urban landscape. These are broad participation and multi-disciplinary collaboration, which are necessary premises to take into account the multi-dimensional character of urban heritage; to guarantee its appreciation and successful protection; and thus to enhance the liveability and economic vibrancy of cities (Rojas, 2012).

Given the richness of the evidence required for this study, the researcher has selected the Urban Development Plan of the Historic District (*Baixa*) of Maputo as case study, with the aim to test and validate to what extent the methodology used for developing the plan ensured that the assessment of the area under investigation actually informed decision-making and actions. The researcher has chosen this case-study for three reasons. Firstly, it has been conducted by the Municipality of Maputo – as part of the ProMaputo Programme – with the support of a multidisciplinary team of international and local consultants, a practice that is common in most African countries, the merit of which is not assessed in this work. Secondly, the methodology used for the plan development process has been highly participative and multidisciplinary, and focussing on strategies for the plan implementation from the onset. It is therefore in line with the HUL methodological premises mentioned above. Thirdly, the area of the *Baixa* represents – as the fieldwork interviews have demonstrated – the core of the City's urban heritage and the main contributor to its identity and character.

6.2 Summary of research findings

Literature review indicates that the HUL approach provides a systemic, inclusive and democratic vision to urban conservation for all cities with heritage, and this gives it a universal claim. At the same time, the operational framework proposed by HUL is considered the premise to support effective decision-making processes and help structure policies and practices aimed at improving urban quality and fostering socio-economic development (Jokilehto, 2010).

On the other hand, literature points out that the HUL conceptual framework is considered a broad and generic concept, whose use calls for an additional intellectual effort, to 'de-construct' its theoretical concepts and principles and to properly refine and codify them to become more contextually relevant (Jokilehto, 2010). The HUL operational approach is considered, at the same time, too limited in number, time and depth to sustain reliable conclusions on its use (Veldpaus et al., 2013).

As a way forward, the literature indicates the need to ensure a systematic, integrated and broad use of the methods and operational tools proposed by HUL in the management of urban heritage (Bandarin& Van Oers, 2012); and to develop per geo-cultural region, or even per country, specific frameworks for the application of this approach, each defined by particular questions and issues that relate to the local context (Van Oers, 2015).

With the above as premises, and building on the findings of the fieldwork in Maputo, the researcher proposes two key conclusions. Firstly, the research defends that the HUL theoretical approach to urban cultural heritage understanding is applicable in sub-Saharan Africa cities. Secondly, the research affirms that the HUL operational framework is an effective tool to help these cities to value their heritage and use it in the context of decision-making and planning, but the application of which requires some enabling factors.

Hereunder, the two research findings are presented in detail, and the researcher believes that they can foster a fruitful debate on how a systemic landscape approach to urban conservation, that marries conservation and development, can be carried out in cities in sub-Saharan Africa.

First conclusion: HUL theoretical approach is valuable for reading and understanding urban cultural heritage in SSA cities

Phase one of the fieldwork investigated the notion of urban cultural heritage in the African context, and interrogated the *genius loci*, a notion that is as intangible as it is important to gauge cultural relevance to a city context. To this end, the researcher resorted to a participatory and multidisciplinary approach. Qualitative and spatial appraisal research methods have been used for unveiling and documenting the variety of people's perceptions, attitudes, motivations and sense of belonging to the physical, social and spiritual nature of their environment; in ways that are difficult with formal quantitative survey instruments.

As a result, this approach allowed to read Maputo through the voices of different stakeholders, and thus to qualify what contributes to form the city's cultural diversity. Unsurprisingly, value-systems varied with social-economic extraction and education, but did converge on defining a number of places, activities and assets, which we located in a map (Appendix 5).

The study showed that the when people are asked to define the concept of urban cultural heritage, the answers received describe it as monumental or building specific. This is in line with the existing legislation (Law 10/88, Assembleia Popular, 1988), including the 2010 draft Regulation, which targets only the protection of "all structures built before 1920 and all movable cultural property made or imported prior to 1900".

But, as soon as the question towards the definition of heritage broadens and focuses on the values that people attach to their environment, then the concept of heritage grows and diversifies. Importantly, alongside the iconic landmarks and monumental heritage (mainly from the Portuguese colonial period) and mostly concentrated in the city historic center (*Baixa*), people interviewed showed that the *genius loci* of Maputo is also made up of 'simpler and minor' heritage, the value of which is not broadly recognized, but nonetheless reflects cultural diversity

of people. This 'minor heritage' is more vulnerable to changes and destruction caused by lack of understanding of its role for the history and identity of a city. Still, communities and citizen do attach value to this minor heritage, although often irrationally and rarely until asked to reflect about this issue.

This 'minor' heritage is found in the city's urban structure, parks, views and public spaces; in the variety and diversity of buildings and architecture disseminated around the city, each referring to a different period in time and carrying different characteristics and values. The vitality and dynamic of the social, economic and cultural activities that happen daily in the streets, markets and public spaces are also considered prime producers of Maputo's cultural heritage.

Notable examples of 'minor heritage', to which most of communities attach ay value, – are the informal neighbourhoods of Mafalala, Chamanculo and Xipamanine. These sites carry historical, artistic and cultural values, as they represent the cradle of the Mozambican independence struggle and the seat of the intellectual and cultural powerhouse of the past 70-80 years of the country. It is possibly not unlike Soweto in South Africa, where so much of the anti-Apartheid struggle took place. It also recalls the tagline '*they call it slum, we call it home of talents*' referring to the informal neighbourhood of Kibera in Nairobi, which is a telling example of cultural values in the African urban settings.

Other areas are objectively – in that they made consensus amongst all socio-economic segments of the interviews – of cultural significance to everyone. It is the case of the Maputo coastline, identified as a '*real wealth of the city*', because it has relevant cultural significance for indigenous religious and ritualistic observance; it is a place of meeting and recreation for the majority of the population, and especially for those living in informal settlements. It is a gateway place, a place of fun to enjoy the fresh air, and in end one area where the rich and the poor may naturally encounter.

Based on the work conducted in Maputo, we conclude that the HUL approach has proven to be relevant to work in a city where different sets of heritage values coexist, but urban heritage is conceived by law as a colonial creation and its concept is described as monumental or building specific (Law 10/88, Assembleia Popular, 1988). Because its conceptual framework is more people oriented and recognizes that dissimilar social groups attach different sets of values to their heritage, the HUL integrated landscape perspective allowed the stakeholders involved to move beyond the commemorative and aesthetic interests towards heritage and to consider heritage from a comprehensive, more inclusive and democratic perspective. HUL was thus flexible enough to be adapted to very complex social, political and ecological values and memories that people attach to the different places that form a sub-Saharan Africa city. We affirm that in order to respond to the diversified social needs and aspirations of its population, it is necessary to avoid the use of simplified, ready-made and pre-packed definitions of what constitutes heritage and heritage values; but to wear different 'lenses' of interpretation to read the city's multidimensional aspects and identities. This approach requires an amplification of heritage categories and the broadening of the very concept of heritage.

The HUL theoretical framework is therefore suitable to expand the concept of urban cultural heritage, but its application in cities in sub-Saharan Africa depends on the contextual willingness and ability to identify, appreciate and value this 'minor and additional heritage', charged with political, historical and recreational significance, amongst other values. In Maputo, this was more than evident as many places were linked to the recent history, to the struggle for independence, to the economics of survival or to recreational activities.

Unless there is the will and capacity to recognise these values and put them on par with values linked with, for example, tourism, we run the risk of having parallel perceptions of urban heritage and parallel, if not conflicting perceptions of identity, and thus a dichotomy between what to preserve and what constitutes heritage. Nor is this situation uniquely African; it applies in many situations in rapidly urbanising cities in Asia.

Second conclusion: HUL operational framework needs enabling factors to be used in SSA cities

The analysis of the *Baixa* urban development plan (Phase Two of the fieldwork study) aimed at verifying if and how the plan, which adopted the HUL driving principles of participation and multi-disciplinary collaboration, has integrated heritage conservation in the context of decision-making and planning, bridging investigation with action.

From the analysis of this plan, it emerged clearly that in order to translate heritage values into informed policies, strategies and practices, it is necessary to go beyond the experts' opinion. What is needed is a process capable of ensuring long-term participation and engagement of a broad constituency of stakeholders and inter-disciplinary collaboration with and among different public jurisdictions. In the case of Maputo and the Baixa, these stakeholders include local and national authorities, residents, youth, private sector, urban planners and managers, academics, artists and the media, among others. This approach is the premise to forging a collaborative vision for the plan; reduce conflicts; increase collaboration; optimise the use of human, technical and financial resources; and define creative use of urban cultural heritage. The identification of stakeholders is a key step that must be pursued throughout the entire planning cycle.

As seen in section 4.2.6, in Maputo several factors limit the interest in and concern for urban cultural heritage conservation, amongst which lack of empathy with heritage, pressure of urbanization, weak institutional frameworks, lack of funds and financial mechanisms and a restrictive normative framework. Given the need to manage scarcity of resources and consider opportunity costs at the country level, the evaluation of heritage socio-cultural and economic values is fundamental to identifying the role that cultural heritage can play within the urban development process (for instance, by improving the quality of life of local inhabitants through increasing their livelihood opportunities and addressing their basic needs), and to activate the attention and collaboration of policymakers, development actors and civil society towards its sustainable conservation and use.

On the other hand, the fieldwork showed that it is necessary to use and adapt a landscape approach while reading the city's broader context and the area covered by the plan. Thus, the acknowledgement of heritage value needs to be integrated with a comprehensive survey and mapping, done with the intention to appreciate how all the elements that make up the city (socio-economic, cultural, historical, spatial and environmental) are correlated; and how the area covered by a plan fits within the city dynamics, and can respond to the broader needs of the population. In particular, it is very important to analyse and understand the city governance system, that includes all the laws, regulations, frameworks, processes, political factors and systems that affect the capacity of people, institutions and organization to govern and manage the city. This understanding is key to defining which mechanisms can limit or boost a plan's implementation and which policies and actions can support the city's sustainable development.

The analysis of the plan of the Baixa also demonstrated that the large application of qualitative and participatory planning methods and tools have been effective in translating the 'reading' and understanding of the area of the plan into strategies for its implementation from the onset. They have been very helpful in engaging different stakeholders in the definition of a common vision for the Baixa and of key guiding principles and strategic actions to kick-start its implementation. A big effort was also put in the identification of a possible institutional framework and of different financial mechanisms to support its implementation and management.

Based on the analysis of the plan of the Baixa, we conclude that the HUL operational framework can be adapted to work on heritage conservation and urban development and planning in SSA. The challenge, however, lies in practice, as the application of a HUL inspired approach to urban development requires some enabling factors, such as an effective legislative framework, adequate land management systems, and the technical capacity to design, apply and manage its methods and tools. The plan of the Baixa is a fortunate case study, as the consultancy firm hired by the Municipality was particularly visionary, the municipal team was opened to new approaches, and the researcher has been deeply involved in the plan development process, which stimulated

discussions on theoretical concepts and methodological tools. But these ingredients are too fortuitous to be taken for granted.

The conclusions of this dissertation and further research might be of interest to public sector organisations, urban planners, heritage professionals, development practitioners and civil society organizations operating in heritage conservation and urban development and planning in other countries in which similar issues are present.

In the next section, the researcher proposes an empirical methodological process to frame heritage conservation and urban development and planning in the city management process.

6.2.1 Proposed methodology

In light of the above conclusions, the researcher proposes an empirical step-by-step methodological process, considered as a good starting point to implement and contextualize the HUL approach in fast developing countries with co-existing multiple heritage values. Other sub-Saharan Africa countries can present similar characteristics, but Asia as well may present interesting similarities for future applications and research.

This proposed methodology aims at matching the assessment of heritage cultural significance with policies formulation and urban conservation practices that foster and maintain city identity, liveability and urban quality. This has been done with the intention to contribute on the contextualization of the Historic Urban Landscape approach and expand academic knowledge and operational capacities for its implementation.

The proposed methodology is a process that is divided in five main phases. It begins with the understanding of the scope of the plan and the identification of the stakeholders to be involved; continues with the analysis of the city urban landscape and of the area covered by the plan; then moves to the definition of the plan vision, guiding principles and proposed interventions; and concludes with the actions to be taken to guarantee the plan implementation and long-term management.

The methodology is guided by two key principles:

- **Adopt a participatory approach** as no single person or institution is in position to guarantee a systemic urban plan development process or its execution.

- **Facilitate inter-disciplinary cooperation** and **a dialogue of collaboration** between "theorists" and "practitioners" of heritage conservation and urban planning and management: theory can contribute to the achievement of better practices and, at the same time, the understanding gained from the experience of practice can contribute to the advancement of theory.

The proposed methodological process is presented at a glass here below, but a broader description can be found in Annex 6.

PHASE I – SETTING THE SCENE

Step 1.1: Understand the scope of the plan

Step 1.2: Identify stakeholders to be involved with roles and responsibilities

Step 1.3: Establish the Plan Supervision Commission

Step 1.4: Define a communications strategy and campaign

PHASE II – READING THE CITY

Step 2.1: Socio-cultural and economic analysis

Step 2.2: Governance and management analysis

Step 2.3: Historical and spatial analysis of the urban landscape

Step 2.4: Cognitive analysis of the city cultural landscape

PHASE III – UNDERSTAND THE AREA OF THE PLAN

Step 3.1: Socio-cultural and economic analysis

Step 3.2: Historical and spatial analysis of the area

Step 3.3: Assessment of the area cultural landscape

PHASE IV – TAKE DECISIONS

Step 4.1: SWOT analysis of the appraisal

Step 4.2: Define a guiding vision

Step 4.3: Deliver key strategies for implementation

PHASE V – MAKE POLICIES AND TAKE ACTION

Step 5.1: SWOT analysis of risks and opportunities for implementation

Step 5.2: Develop the normative framework to rule the implementation

Step 5.3: Define the institutional and financial frameworks to facilitate implementation

6.3   Recommendations for policy and practice

As previously seen, the HUL theoretical framework is suitable to work in cities in SSA to expand the concept of urban cultural heritage. Its application, however, depends on the contextual political willingness and technical ability to identify, appreciate and value the 'minor heritage' that along with the more traditional monumental heritage, make up the city's *genius loci*. On the other hand, the effective use of the HUL operational framework, aimed at framing heritage conservation and urban development and planning in the city management process, requires some enabling factors, which in most SSA cities are weak or rather do not exist (effective legislative framework, adequate land management systems, technical capacity to design, apply and manage HUL methods and tools). An additional limiting factor, as seen in Maputo, is that the separate paths or 'silos' of urban planning and heritage conservation have not yet been reconciled, and urban planning is still applied as a mono-dimensional top-down approach. In addition, urban plans are normally commissioned to national and international consultants and thus the quality of the final product depends on the characteristics of the consultant and their methods of work.

In order to promote the adoption of the HUL approach in SSA cities, the researcher recommends to work on various levels, in the short and long term.

In the short term, the HUL operational framework could be transformed into a handy tool-kit to be used by urban planners, national and international consultants (in collaboration with a multidisciplinary team) commissioned to develop urban plans in SSA. They usually have restrictive time frames to deliver their products and the final plans and do not have the time to

carry out long-lasting appraisals or to guarantee participatory and multidisciplinary approaches, which are time consuming. This tool-kit could allow a rapid, but still effective, implementation of the HUL methodology. To this end, this dissertation proposes a landscape-based methodological approach (section 6.4 and appendix 6) and some operational tools (appendix 2, 3, 4 and 5) that can be used in different contexts similar to Maputo.

In the long term, the researcher concludes that it is necessary to support local authorities (LAs) in different ways, in order to create the basis for developing and implementing long-lasting urban development interventions aimed at enhancing urban quality and liveability. LAs, in fact, play a key role in the fields of heritage conservation and urban development and planning, but they often lack the adequate (human, financial and technical) resources necessary to respond to the city's complex and growing needs and to properly manage and enhance the heritage potential benefits. The lack of adequate land management tools and information systems, the stigma of corruption and a lack of political will make their work even more difficult.

Land management is of primary importance to sustainable heritage conservation and urban development. A prerequisite is thus the creation or improvement of a municipal geographic information system, that includes the establishment or updating of information in the municipal cadastre. This information is necessary to clear up long-standing and conflicting claims to ownership, update property valuation within the municipal or metropolitan jurisdiction, hold property owners accountable, increase municipal revenues and promote the participation of the private sector. The creation of an integrated multi-purpose municipal geographic information system needs to be supported by an enabling legal and institutional framework, matched with appropriate capacity building.

On the other hand, local authorities often lack the educational training and technical capacities, the spatial operational tools and the normative and institutional framework that are needed to guarantee a broader systemic approach to planning and urban conservation. In a city like Maputo, where local authorities still use a top-down traditional land use planning system, the effective development and implementation of a systemic approach to urban conservation and planning should be combined with measures promoting academic education and training at different levels, on sustainable urban development and strategic spatial planning for instance. In addition, this approach needs to be integrated with a robust advocacy campaign to create amongst citizens' awareness and consciousness towards the importance of valuing and respecting, through concrete actions, the city's cultural heritage. Other activities are also needed to enhance economic development, social inclusion, environmental protection and cultural heritage conservation.

Considering the massive investment needed to meet the city's different demands, local authorities need support also to generate and manage their own resources and to leverage additional non-public funds coming from other sources, such as the private sector, that can be invested in urban and territorial development and heritage conservation. Therefore, it is necessary to help LAs improve their capacity for revenue collection and for the rationalisation and management of expenditures. On the other side, LAs need support to establish/reinforce and implement appropriate and innovative financial and partnership tools to support innovative income-generating opportunities. These include partnerships solutions with multiple stakeholders (public private, public-public, public-community), transferable development rights, grants, and property tax reductions, amongst others. Their effective implementation requires political will and commitment, a local enabling legislation, and an institutional framework that guarantees their management.

6.4   Limitations and suggestions for further research

The limitations of this research are determined by the nature of the topic under investigation, by the choices made on theoretical and methodological levels and by the personal and professional characteristics of the researcher.

Heritage conservation and urban development and planning are related to and concerned with a broad spectrum of disciplines and professional practices. The researcher is aware that it is unrealistic to cover all the technical and analytical expertise involved in these fields into the same individual. Therefore, this research does not cover the entire spectrum of disciplines and practices concerned with urban conservation and management. Other important tools and practices can be put to the fore. In addition, the researcher acknowledges the diversities of culture, ways of life and urban dynamics of African and particularly sub-Saharan African countries and cities. As such, this research is a contribution that needs to be expanded and continued by other researchers or groups of professionals covering different disciplines and geographical areas.

The researcher decided to focus on the HUL approach to assess and use heritage cultural values within the context of decision-making and urban development and planning, considering a city in sub-Saharan Africa as a case study. Special emphasis was thus put on qualitative and spatial methods and tools of analysis, and less on quantitative and economic methods. Aware of the need to include the assessment and use of urban heritage economic values in the urban conservation planning process, the researcher considers that it would be necessary to investigate similar contexts in sub-Saharan Africa or in other rapidly urbanising contexts such as Asia with more emphasis on quantitative and econometric approaches to urban conservation.

Moreover, it would be interesting to have other research projects compare the applicability and relevance of the HUL methodology and the theories underpinning it, between cities in the north and cities in the global south. This would contribute to a deeper comprehension of the issues at hand and, in particular, of the universality of the HUL approach.

Another aspect that would merit investigation is the relationship between urban design and heritage conservation in the creation of a liveable and creative city in sub-Saharan Africa. Urban design is about making connections between people and places, movement and urban forms, nature and the built environment. A creative urban design may result in a lack of continuity and identity if the city's cultural heritage is not properly taken into consideration. To meet this challenge a new design-centered approach to heritage conservation should be considered to better integrate the need for heritage conservation and the need for urban change.

Lastly, considering the growing importance of urban ecology in the development agenda, an additional area that should be taken into consideration for further research is the relationship between urban ecology and heritage conservation in sub-Saharan Africa, in particular on how the existing synergies and the mitigating potential of trade-offs could be utilized for a more holistic approach to urban landscape conservation and management, aimed at the minimization of negative environmental impact.

This research has been for the author an extremely enriching learning process as a professional, a scholar and a person. The process of unveiling socio-cultural values and the *genius loci* of a fast-growing sub-Saharan African city has been as enlightening as humbling. Living in Maputo for four years gave the researcher the opportunity to discover the beauty of its people and the hidden gems of its urban landscape. In particular, the people from Mafalala, Xipamanine and Chamanculo, despite their stringent problems, have taught the researcher how to gauge the value of less formal cultural heritage assets. This research has been enriched by the collaboration of different professional, fully committed to the improvement of Maputo's urban life and the valorisation of its heritage. We hope our work will contribute to systematically recognize and value the importance of the multidimensional aspects of urban cultural heritage, and its contribution to foster sustainable urban development in the city management process of fast-developing cities in Africa, and possibly Asia.

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ANNEXES

1. List of Interviewees for Cognitive Analysis of Maputo Urban Landscape (Phase One Fieldwork Study)

Sixteen individual interviews and 3 focus groups with 7 people have been conducted.

	Institution	Type of interview	Date interview
National Government			
1	National Directorate for Culture of Mozambique, Ministry of Education and Culture	Individual interview	05-2013
Local Government			
2	Maputo Municipal Council, Councilor for Urban Planning and Environment	Individual interview	08-2013
3	Maputo Municipal Council, Directorate for Urban Planning and Environment	Individual interview	08-2013
International Organizations			
4	Spanish International Cooperation (AECID), Governance Programme	Individual interview	12-2013
5	World Bank Group, ProMaputo Programme	Individual interview	05-2013
National Organizations			
6	IVERCA NGO for "Mafalala Cultural Tour Initiative"	Individual interview	06-2013
7	Mozambique Photographic Training Centre (CDFF)	Individual interview	06-2013
8	Maputo Architecture and Art Tours	Focus group 1	06-2013
Academics			
9	Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning, University Eduardo Mondlane Maputo (UEM)	Focus group 2	07-2013
10	Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning, University Eduardo Mondlane Maputo (UEM	Focus group 2	07-2013
11	Faculty of Civil Engineer, Department of Infrastructure, University Eduardo Mondlane Maputo (UEM)	Individual interview	08-2013
12	Faculty of Literature and Social Sciences, Department of Arqueology & Anthropology, University Eduardo Mondlane Maputo	Individual interview	12-2013
13	Faculty of Literature and Social Sciences, Department of History, University Eduardo Mondlane Maputo	Individual interview	06-2013
14	Faculty of Sociology, University Eduardo Mondlane Maputo	Individual interview	09-2013
Professionals			
15	Historian at Mozambique National Archive (AHM)	Individual interview	11-2013
16	Architecture and urban planning firm "José Forjaz Arquitectos"	Individual interview	11-2013
17	Renowned Local artist renowned for sculptures that give anthropomorphic forms to arms	Individual interview	09-2013

18	Landscape architect	Focus group 1	06-2013
19	Expert on urban planning and development in Africa and governance advisor to the Baixa Urban Development Plan	Focus group 3	09-2014
20	Cultural heritage expert of the Baixa Urban Development Plan	Focus group 3	09-2014
21	Urban planner and team leader of the	Focus group 3	09-2014
Private sector			
22	AVITUM – Association of Travel Agents & Tour Operators in Mozambique	Individual interview	12-2013
23	PYLOS Unseen Spaces (Real Estate Investors)	Individual interview	12-2013

2. Interview guide for Cognitive Analysis of Maputo Urban Landscape (Phase One Fieldwork Study)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="1" align="center">Profile data sheet</td></tr>
</table>

Date _____
Interviewee _____
Nationality _____
How long living in Maputo _____
Date of birth _____
Occupation _____
How long in the business _____
Level of education _____
Telephone _____
Email _____
Duration of interview: from _____ to _____

<table>
<tr><td align="center">Introduction to the interview objectives</td></tr>
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- PhD research about Maputo cultural heritage understanding and conservation;

- The interview seeks to: (a) Understand the perception/view of the interviewee about the socio-economic and urban changes that Maputo is living, collecting opinions, concerns, ideas and visions for the future of the city; (b) Explore the cultural meaning of Maputo heritage from the interviewee's personal perspective and based on her/his perception of the socio-cultural interest and preferences of the wider population; (b) Identify Maputo's most significant heritage landmarks and associated values;

- The interview will be audio recorded;

- Some of the later writing will be shared with the interviewees.

<table>
<tr><td align="center">Topics</td></tr>
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A. Understand the perception / view about the changes that Maputo is living

Initiate the discussion with a l topic to understand the general context under investigation to give the interview a rich start so that the interviewee can respond expansively rather than with a short answer

A.1 What are in your view the most important social, economic and urban changes that took place in Maputo over the last 30 years?

A.2 Do you feels that life conditions in Maputo improved or worsened over the last 10/20 years? How? Why?

A.3 If they worsened, what are the biggest problems for you? What would you propose to resolve these problems and improve the life conditions in Maputo?

A.3 How do you see Maputo in the next 15 years?

B. Understand the perception / view about the concept of urban cultural heritage

Define dimensions of urban heritage in Maputo and understand what people value about their urban environment

B.1 How would you define the concept of urban cultural heritage?

B.2 In the context of Maputo, such a definition is valid?

B.3 What defines Maputo for you? What is unique and you love about Maputo? Why?

C. Understand and identify what people value about the urban environment
Identify the assets/places that people value and their associated values

C.1 Where in Maputo are your favourite places/ buildings? Would you say they give Maputo its character/identity? Why do you like them? When do you normally find yourself using these assets and/or places?

C.2 Based on your perception, which are the assets or places that people of Maputo give more value? Would you say that they give Maputo its character/identity? Why? When do people normally go there or/and use them?

D.   Identify priority needs and concerns
Give voice to their concerns and perspectives in relation to urban heritage

D.1 If you could pick 5 places and/or assets in Maputo to be preserved what would you pick to hand over for safe keeping to the next generation? Why?

D.2. What would you do to preserve and valorize them?

D.3 What do you think should be done to make the city more vital?

D.4 The government policies aimed at the conservation of urban heritage are enough? Such policies are applied? If not, why? What do you think should be done to improve them?

E.   Understand how urban heritage conservation can positively impact the lives and livelihoods of people
Understand if people are aware of how heritage conservation can impact their socioeconomic lives

E.1 Why do you think it is important to conserve urban heritage?

E.2 How the conservation of urban heritage can impact the city of Maputo and people lives? Which benefits do you see?

F.   Define roles, responsibilities and contribution of different actors in relation to heritage conservation and management
Understand roles, responsibilities and possible contribution of different actors to the heritage eventual conservation and management

F.1 Who is responsible for the conservation and management of urban heritage in Maputo?

F.2 Which other actors shall be responsible for the conservation of urban heritage?

F.3 Which role do you have or think you should have to conserve urban heritage? Which contribution could you make?

F.4. Does society has or should have any responsibility in heritage conservation and management?