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ABSTRACT

There is an increasing agreement between academic researchers and heritage practitioners in the field about the need for stakeholders to have much greater involvement in the management of cultural heritage. The concept of inter-institutional relations is important for gaining a full understanding of the changing relationships of stakeholders collaborating in cultural heritage management, in which conflict is thought to be the norm. This study seeks to challenge this notion of conflictual relationships as the norm in heritage conservation management, using Zanzibar Stone Town, a World Heritage Site, as a case study, by exploring the range of inter-institutional relationships involved in managing cultural heritage. Using documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews with key informants, our research shows a diverse range of inter-institutional relationships beyond conflict. Good relationships are seen in collaboration and exchange of expertise, information, and funds that enhance the conservation of heritage, while poor relationships get exemplified through negligence, arguments, and nascent conflict that impede conservation objectives. The study broadens our understanding of the nature of inter-institutional relationships in managing heritage conservation in historic towns with World Heritage status while highlighting research and policy implications.

Introduction

Both academic researchers and cultural heritage management (CHM) practitioners agree on the need to involve individuals and entities that affect and/or are affected by conservation activities (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Chinyele and Lwoga 2019; Sagiya 2019; Wang et al. 2019). The involvement of these heritage stakeholders in making decisions, planning, and implementing conservation policies and plans signifies a shift from a hierarchical to a more horizontal system of governance recognized as key to achieving consensus and compliance with said policies and plans. Traditionally, central governments

were the primary CHM authority. However, this has recently changed, as central governments now rely on and collaborate with a network of stakeholders, defined by their geographical territory and functional remit (Lwoga 2017). The drive toward stakeholder collaboration in CHM started with the Venice Charter in 1964. This was followed by the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the Lausanne Charter of 1990, the Budapest Declaration of 2002, the Intangible Heritage Convention of 2003, and the Faro Convention of 2005 – a trajectory which paved the way for governments to strive toward greater participation and involvement of different stakeholders in planning for and safeguarding heritage. However, with increased stakeholder collaboration comes the possibility of tension, arguments, and open conflict among institutions (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Amin and Adu-Ampong 2016; McKercher and du Cros 2002).

To gain a full understanding of the relationships among stakeholders collaborating in CHM, the concept of inter-institutional relations (IRs) provides an important framework. IRs refer to cooperation between governing institutions (Mohammad and Ammar 2015) and emphasize that conservation institutions strive to strengthen their relations with other institutions to meet sustainable conservation goals (Wang et al. 2019). However, this is not always easy or possible to achieve because CHM's aims often seem incompatible with other uses of heritage and the interests of the corresponding stakeholders (McKercher and du Cros 2002; Wang et al. 2019). Previous research has shown that the relationship between institutions around heritage sites and those managing these sites is often strained because they differ in their views on the value and use of heritage resources (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005; McKercher, Weber, and Du Cros 2008; Wang et al. 2019). This is particularly acute in places where these heritage resources are being used to develop tourism (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005). Despite the relevance of IRs regarding stakeholders' collaboration in CHM, this framework has not been fully utilized in the context of conservation in Global South countries (Boswell and O'Kane 2011; Chirikure et al. 2010). Many of the existing studies on IRs in CHM have tended to focus on heritage sites in Global North countries, where institutional collaboration in different domains has a longer history. What is currently known about IRs in Global South countries is largely from the conflict perspective (Ashley and Bouakaze-Khan 2011; Chinyele and Lwoga 2019; Lwoga and Mabulla 2013), although other dimensions of IRs exist as identified by McKercher and du Cros (2002) and McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros (2005).

Given this lacuna in the literature, this paper explores the management of heritage conservation in the Global South context of Zanzibar, Tanzania, to challenge the accepted notion that conflictual relationships are the norm in heritage conservation management. In doing so, this paper identifies the forms of IRs among stakeholders managing heritage conservation in Zanzibar, thus contributing both conceptual and empirical insights to the extant literature. This study adopts McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros' (2005) continuum model of the relationship between tourism and CHM stakeholders to investigate the various types of IRs. Using Zanzibar Stone Town (ZST), which is a World Heritage Site (WHS), as a case study, we explore how inter-institutional relations vary and their implications for the conservation of built heritage. Unlike past research that focused on the conflict perspective and individual stakeholders, such as residents or visitors, this study presents a broad range of relationships beyond the

conflict perspective, as well as the opportunities and challenges they provide concerning conservation of built heritage.

Heritage-Tourism Management Nexus

The question of heritage is a complex, multi-faceted one, and often difficult to pin down in a single definition. Ongoing debates point to the discursive nature of heritage that is shaped in concrete ways through socio-cultural practices and interactions with different stakeholders (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005). Stakeholder interactions are therefore important for giving meaning to and conserving what has become accepted as heritage. Stakeholder interactions in CHM are often contentious because stakeholders usually have different interests and not all of them can be involved equally in the process (McKercher, Ho, and du Cros 2005). On the one hand, CHM actors, such as conservators and site managers, are mainly interested in preserving and protecting the intrinsic value of heritage sites from any kind of deterioration. On the other hand, local residents, by virtue of living in and around a heritage site, are often interested in using it daily for residential and spiritual purposes (Chirikure et al. 2010; Lwoga 2017), which has both a real and perceived wear-and-tear impact on the heritage site (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008). Thus, policymakers, conservators, and site managers tend to view local residents' interest and actions as detrimental to the historic, scientific, and aesthetic significance of heritage (Lwoga 2018), which is why strict custodial measures have been introduced to limit local people's use of heritage. Such actions often lead to conflicts over heritage use and conservation (Amin and Adu-Ampong 2016; Chirikure et al. 2010), particularly where laws are inconsistent (Mumma 2002; Ndoro, Mumma, and Abungu 2009).

Discontent among stakeholders can become compounded when the heritage to be conserved is used to develop tourism (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Boswell and O'Kane 2011; Giblin 2017). Tourism actors, such as tour operators and hoteliers, are interested in exploiting heritage sites for commercial reasons. Their profit-making goals are achieved by satisfying the needs and wants of tourists (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Rogerson and van der Merwe 2016), which can often hinder attainment of the preservation goals of CHM (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005; Rogerson and van der Merwe 2016). The complex relationship between CHM and tourism – each with opposing goals – has been addressed in the literature (Ashworth 2000; McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005; Timothy and Boyd 2003), where it is seen as: (i) automatically harmonious; (ii) inevitably conflictual, and (iii) potentially sustainable (Ashworth 2000). Notwithstanding these three forms of relationship, the CHM-tourism nexus has largely been characterized as conflictual (Zhang, Fyall, and Zheng 2015).

Past research has shown that the relationship between institutions around heritage sites and those managing these sites is often strained because they differ in their views on the value and use of heritage resources (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005; McKercher, Weber, and Du Cros 2008; Wang et al. 2019). This is more critical in historic cities and towns in sub-Saharan Africa (Lwoga 2016; Lwoga and Mabulla 2013; Said 1999; Taboroff and Cook 1993), which are growing into modern urban areas with ever-increasing tourism-related construction projects that often undermine the preservation of historic structures (Lwoga and Adu-Ampong 2020). With limited funding, post-colonial governments and institutions find it too expensive to invest in

restoring or repairing old buildings, and would rather invest in new modern structures, potentially leaving the old ones to decay. In most cases, tourism in sub-Saharan African countries is based on their wildlife parks and culture. Urban-based tourism has utilized and built a case for the protection of historic structures only to a limited extent (Boswell and O'Kane 2011; Giblin 2017; Lwoga and Mwitondi 2018). These factors pose challenges to CHM institutions that try to defend the protection and conservation of historic structures in cities and towns, because most of these structures are owned by institutions that are uninterested in heritage protection, leading to conflict.

Models of Inter-Institutional Relationships

The concept of IRs, which refers to the cooperation that exists between institutional entities, enables us to move away from over-emphasizing the conflictual perspective in the CHM-tourism nexus (Mohammad and Ammar 2015). It highlights the fact that conservation institutions strive to strengthen their relations with other institutions to meet sustainable conservation goals (Sagiya 2019; Wang et al. 2019). However, this has not been easy because the aims of CHM and other involved parties, such as tourism stakeholders, often seem incompatible (Amin and Adu-Ampong 2016; McKercher and du Cros 2002; Wang et al. 2019). From the stakeholder perspective, conflict often happens when a shift of power takes place, whereby one stakeholder is empowered while the others are disempowered or deprived of power (McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005). Thus, different IRs can exist in differing regional and heritage resource contexts. The dynamism of CHM and conservation efforts often complicates the nature and form of stakeholder relations. Within the CHM-tourism nexus of stakeholder relations, McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros (2005) proposed an IRs framework made up of seven possible relationships. This framework is a continuum model based on a study focused on investigating the relationship between tourism and CHM in Hong Kong. In contrast to the conflict theory approach that states that most stakeholders' relationships begin harmoniously but end up in conflict, this model suggests that relationships can begin at any point along the continuum and may be constant or dynamic for a certain period due to a change in conditions (McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005).

The seven possible relationships identified (see Figure 1) are: denial, unrealistic expectations, conflict, imposed co-management, parallel existence (divided into independent and symbiotic), and partnership. The first six relationships adhere positively to the continuum, whereas the seventh is an exceptional type of relationship (McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005). The assumption in this model is that inter-institutional relationships can have various forms, with each form along the continuum being uniquely characterized.

Denial occurs when tourists start to visit cultural heritage sites but are denied access by the site managers. By its nature, denial is a transitional phase and may result in conflict. *Unrealistic expectations* are mostly experienced in cultural tourism, possibly propagated by either the tourism sector or the site manager. Consequently, these stakeholders, together or in isolation, may claim that it is unrealistic to expect that any benefits would come from tourism. *Conflict* happens when there is a needless and inordinate use of resources, which can destroy both the tangible and intangible heritage. An *imposed co-management relationship* exists when traditional heritage sites are exploited for the development of tourism and used by the public, which can jeopardize their
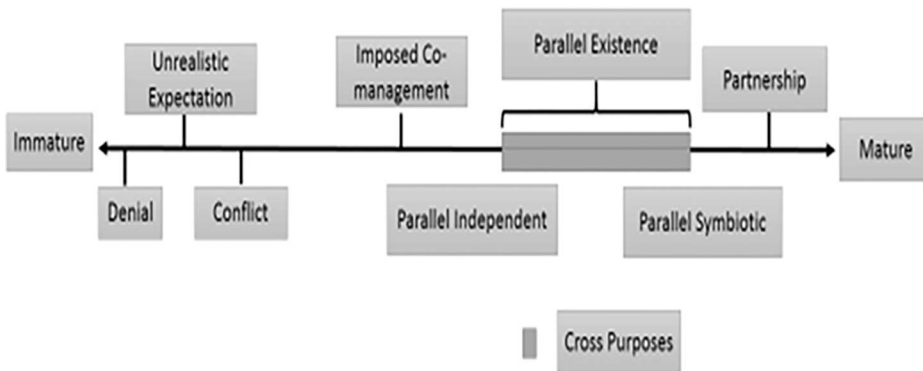
Figure 1. McKercher et al.'s Continuum Model of inter-institutional relationships. Source: McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros (2005, 543).

integrity and authenticity. If a conflict becomes entrenched, a third party will be needed to impose an artificial solution. *Parallel existence* occurs when, for example, the tourism sector pretends to comprehend the role of heritage in cultural tourism. Stakeholders in the tourism sector then begin to use heritage to develop products to market, whereas CHM institutions are fully responsible for managing heritage assets. This leads to a breakdown in communication between these two stakeholders.

In its turn, the *partnership relationship* is rare and is most likely to be formed by purposefully providing visitors to heritage attractions with a quality experience, in which case these attractions may be owned by a private or public entity not seeking to make a profit. Therefore, a partnership between CHM and tourism organizations could bring them both many benefits. Tourism is enriched by the authenticity of heritage attractions, thereby making a profit, and CHM becomes more viable and able to impart an important cultural message from the heritage attractions (McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005). A *cross-purpose relationship* occurs when tourism is used to conserve historic buildings or heritage sites, although this could threaten the intangible heritage and the value attached to it. Examples of this can be drawn from many historic cities, where old churches, buildings, warehouses, mansions, and residential districts have been conserved but converted into restaurants, hotels, and nightclubs (McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros 2005).

Despite the relevance of IRs with regard to stakeholders' collaboration in CHM, it has not been fully utilized in the context of conservation in the developing world, where institutions behave differently based on their understanding of each other, their financial standing and location-specific factors. As stated earlier, what is currently known about IRs in developing countries is largely framed from a conflict perspective. Yet, according to McKercher and du Cros (2002) and McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros (2005), other IR dimensions exist. In addition, past CHM studies on stakeholders' relationships focused on gaining an understanding of their participation from the perspective of an individual agent (Ashley and Bouakaze-Khan 2011; Chinyele and Lwoga 2019; Lwoga 2016; Mawere, Sagiya, and Mubaya 2012). However, stakeholders can be formal or informal, public or private institutions, with different attitudes to the conservation of heritage (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005).

This study, therefore, adopted McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros' (2005) continuum model to investigate the various types of IRs among stakeholders and their implications for the conservation of built heritage, taking Zanzibar Stone Town (ZST) World Heritage Site (WHS) as a case study. Unlike past research that focused on the conflict perspective and individual stakeholders, such as residents or visitors, this study presents a broad range of relationships and their opportunities and challenges in relation to conservation of the built heritage.

Research Methodology

The case study methodology is utilized in this research (Yin 2009) and is deemed appropriate due to the focus on exploring the IRs in managing the cultural heritage in ZST. In this regard, thirty-seven (37) interviews were conducted with key informants (see Table 1) through purposively sampling key stakeholder institutions. In this study, a stakeholder institution is one that is directly or indirectly concerned with managing and conserving the built heritage in ZST.

The interviews, which took an average of 45 min, were conducted face-to-face by the first author and were recorded with the consent of those interviewed. The interviews focused first on the interviewee's personal and institutional profile and then on the types of IRs existing in ZST. The recorded interviews were transcribed and analysed as the primary data, which was supplemented by secondary data, namely documentary and archival records comprising government policies, legal rulings, and institutional reports, such as: STCDA Act No. 4 of 2010, ZUMC Act No. 3 of 1995, Report of the State of Conservation of Stone Town of Zanzibar (United Republic of Tanzania-URT) C173 submitted on 1st December 2017, Report of the State of Conservation of Stone Town of Zanzibar (URT) C173 Rev. released on 15th March 2016, and Report on the Joint UNESCO/ICOMOS/ICCROM Reactive Monitoring Mission to Stone Town Zanzibar (URT) released on 29th October 2014. Both the primary and secondary data were analysed using the framework approach to qualitative analysis developed by Ritchie and Spencer (1994), which consists of a five-step process of familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation. Through this process, both the primary and secondary data were scrutinized for meaning, salience, and connections in terms of emerging themes. The main focus of data analysis was on establishing broad

Table 1. Composition of the interview sample.

Institution	Public Sector	Private Sector
STCDA	7	
ZUMC	3	
COLA	4	
DMA	6	
ZCT	3	
WTC	3	
ZHC	4	
ZIPA	1	
ZSTHS		2
ACRA		2
AKCSZ		1
ADZ		1

sub-themes of commonalities rather than looking for individual differences. These sub-themes were further analysed for commonalities, which formed the basis for the final broad themes regarding the type of IRs that exist among stakeholders.

The Case Study: Zanzibar Stone Town

Zanzibar Stone Town (ZST) (see *Figure 2*) *Mji Mkongwe* is a triangular peninsula situated along the coast on the western part of the main Island of Unguja, covering 96 hectares with approximately 20,000 inhabitants (Jafferji and Jones 1996; Sheriff 2018). This part of the island was once separated from the main island by a long creek of seawater starting from the southern tip to the northern end, before it was reclaimed from 1935 to the 1960s by the former British Colonial Government (Issa 2009). ZST has played a paramount role in shaping the history of both the Swahili Coast and the Arabian Gulf (Ayany 1970; Power et al. 2020). The archaeological data from the Old Fort that were discovered in 2018 revealed that ZST had been a Swahili settlement of the fishing community since the eleventh century AD, before the Portuguese arrived at the coast of East Africa in the sixteenth century (Power et al. 2020). The town grew enormously during the prosperous trade generated by the monsoon winds blowing across the Indian Ocean from Asia, the Middle East, and the Far East to the coast of East Africa (Hitchcock 2002; Sheriff 2018). It also served as a major slave port and market for East and Central Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries (Pearce 2006; Sheriff 2018). At the end of the sixteenth century, the Swahili local ruler *Mwinyi Mkuu* made ZST his dominion (Sheriff 2018). The Portuguese conquered the Islands in 1503 and established evident structures, such as a factory and a chapel that stood on the present-day site of the Old Fort. In 1699, however, they were chased away from the East African coast by the Omanis, who then took over the town and started building the fort in 1710 after demolishing the Portuguese constructions (Sheriff 2018).

Due to its archaeological, historical, and cultural significance, the town was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List and officially designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2000 (Hitchcock 2002). Since then, there has been consistent growth in both tourist arrivals and the development of hospitality centres for tourists on the island. Prior to its designation as a WHS, ZST had only about 43 hotels and just over 42,000 tourist arrivals, according to records from the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism. By 2017, however, these numbers had risen to about 620 hotels, with the number of tourists hovering over 433,000.

Zanzibar, and ZST in particular, is now being referred to as the most important and fascinating tourist attraction in Tanzania. The key attractions include the long and interesting history portrayed through the built heritage, such as the House of Wonders (Figure 3), Palace Museum (Figure 4), Former Slave Market Site, Peace Memorial Museum, Natural History Museum, Old Fort, Darajani Market, St. Joseph's Cathedral, and Bamnara Mosque, among others. Cultural elements seen in the multi-racial clothing styles (e.g., Indian and Arab dresses infused with African designs) and the socio-cultural interactions among this diverse group of people also draw tourist interest.

In Zanzibar, built heritage assets have officially been managed and protected since the 1940s, when the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1948 was passed by the British colonial system. The Act aimed to protect cultural properties based on isolated

Figure 2. Map of Stone Town of Zanzibar. Source: Lwoga (2016).

Figure 3. House of Wonders. Source: Photographed by author in 2017 before its collapse in 2020.

Figure 4. Palace Museum. Source: Photographed by author.

monuments and sites, which were solely overseen by the Department of Archives, Monuments and Museums (Karume 2009; Meffert 1995). However, the Act did not provide cultural sites like ZST with a definite overseer (Karume 2009). In 1982, responsibility for managing ZST was partially included in the Municipality Land Use Plans and gazetted the same year. However, the management of ZST was unclear since no guidelines had been developed indicating its custodianship (Karume 2009). In 1988, ZST was declared a Conservation Area and advertised in the Government Gazette, but this lacked a clear legal statement. This introduced some contradictions in the Zanzibar law regarding the term "Conservation Area" (Meffert 1995), which the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) inherited. Following the passing of Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority Act No. 3 of 1994, ZST was legally declared a conservation area, to be protected by STCDA as the sole custodian of the site (Karume 2009; Meffert 1995). Currently, STCDA operates alongside other authoritative departments that differ in their laws, roles, and even interest in ZST. Given the multiplicity of stakeholders involved, it is important to ascertain the forms of IRs that exist beyond the conflict perspective. Significantly, a study on IRs can provide insights into the opportunities and challenges that emerge in terms of built heritage conservation.

Overview of Major Stakeholder Institutions Involved in the Management of Zanzibar Stone Town

There are various stakeholder institutions in ZST with different roles. The Ministry of Tourism and Heritage (MTH) is the leading institution involved in the conservation of antiquities and tourism development in Zanzibar. Through its Department of Museum and Antiquities (DMA), the Ministry oversees the management and conservation of all cultural

heritage places in Zanzibar in general. STCDA, which is under the control of MTH, is the main conservation institution of ZST, with its day-to-day operations consisting of mapping and supervising sites, and issuing restoration/construction permits. Zanzibar Urban Municipal Council (ZUMC) is also indirectly involved in the management and development of ZST. ZUMC controls the parking spaces, cleans the sewage system, provides permits for petty businesses, and manages some open spaces in ZST. The Commission for Land (CoLA) is a government entity that deals with the development of urban and rural plans, focusing on the use of land in the whole of Zanzibar, including ZST. The Wakf Trust Commission (WTC) is indirectly responsible for managing ZST because it manages and supervises a large number of houses in ZST, which belong to people who left them for the benefit of the neediest people in the peninsula.

In addition, the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism is a public institution that takes full responsibility for supervising the tourist industry throughout the whole of Zanzibar. It formulates the policy governing tourism, issues permits for tourist businesses (e.g., hotels in ZST), and brands Zanzibar, including ZST, as one of the best tourist destinations in Tanzania. Zanzibar Housing Corporation is a public institution responsible for developing settlements in the whole of Zanzibar that owns some buildings in ZST. Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA) is an important institution dealing with the promotion and branding of Zanzibar, and ZST in particular, as an area to invest in grand development projects. Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS) is a community – based organization whose role is to harmonize and raise awareness among the Zanzibar community, particularly people living in Stone Town, of the importance of conserving and protecting ZST. The Anglican Diocese of Zanzibar (ADZ), a faith-based organization, operates from a religious perspective while managing and preserving the old structures of the former slave market site at Mkunazini, where it is located. The site was first used by the University Mission for Central Africa as its head office in Zanzibar soon after the East African slave market was closed. Aga Khan Cultural Services Zanzibar is a non-governmental organization that supports and provides funding for cultural services in Zanzibar. Another non-governmental organization is the Association for Cooperation in Rural Africa (ACRA), which provides funding for restoration work and builds the capacity of public and private institutions working for the conservation and development of ZST.

Inter-Institutional Relationships Among heritage Stakeholders in Zanzibar Stone Town

This section discusses the main findings that are pertinent to providing insights into the nature and forms of IRs in the management of heritage in ZST, focusing on exploring how stakeholders perceive their relationship with others.

Cooperation and Benign Relationships

The respondents agreed that collaboration takes place between stakeholder institutions in terms of undertaking periodic events relating to the built heritage in ZST. As one informant reported, "when, for example, an institution conducts some activities concerning the built heritage in ZST marking World Heritage Day on April 18th, African World Heritage Day on May 5th or Museums Day on May 18th, it invites other institutions to take

part in them" (Respondent H1). The respondents also commented that the institutions collaborate over how to keep the streets, sewage and drainage systems clean and functioning, as well as on-site planning, mapping, and issuing title deeds and building permits. An informant gave the following example: "ZHC owns house number 239 Hurumzi Street in ZST, which had a fault with the drainage system, and so ZUMC technically assisted ZHC in tackling it, with the result that the wastewater was channeled into the central drainage system" (Respondent D2). These examples show that there is a benign and cooperative relationship between stakeholders.

Exchange and Sharing of Skills, Expertise, and Information on the Conservation of the Built Heritage Environment

A number of interviewees pointed out that the occasional exchange and sharing of technical expertise contribute to conservation efforts. Figure 5 below shows the direction of exchanges and sharing. An interviewee confirmed that "STCDA is responsible for overseeing the site and taking action against any inappropriate deeds taking place on the built heritage, and so it makes sure there is a flow of exchange in skills and expertise" (Respondent F1).

Often the interviewees noted that institutional exchange and knowledge-sharing are accomplished through organized training sessions when necessary. Thus, one respondent mentioned that "ACRA provided training in how to make strong mortar to restore old houses in ZST, by mixing it with urine, eggs, sugar, blood, or sugar cane juice. ACRA has also used experts from abroad to train local masons in conserving old houses in ZST" (Respondent A3). Other interviewees noted that "ADZ has shared expertise with WTC to create a database for making an inventory of ZST buildings as a better way of keeping records" (Respondent L).
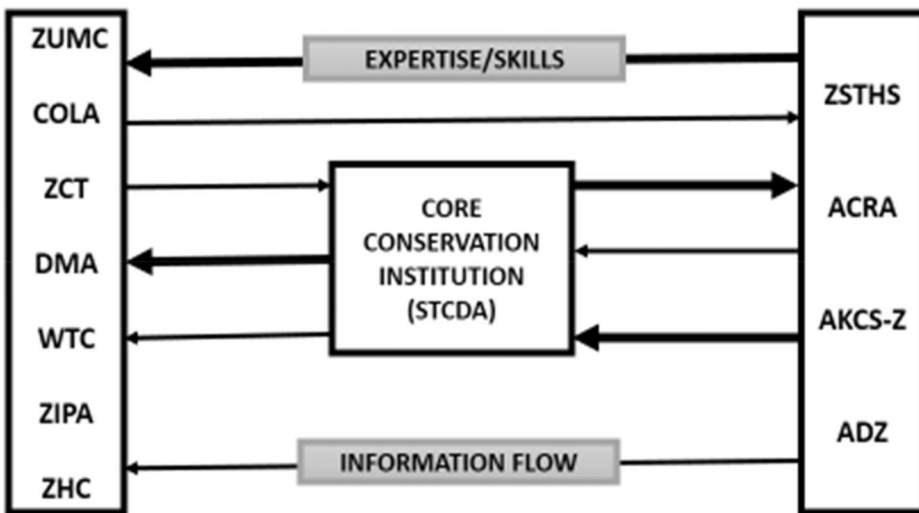

Figure 5. Stakeholders' inter-relationships based on built heritage and conservation expertise/skills and information exchange.

Note: Diagram was developed from built heritage & conservation expertise/skills, and information exchange data. The thick dark arrow shows the flow of expertise/skills, while the thin arrow indicates information flow.

Financial Support and Human Resources Exchange

In the area of financial relationships, it was found that some stakeholder institutions occasionally provide financial support to other institutions to execute conservation work on the built heritage (see Figure 6). One respondent said, "our institution [ZSTHS] sometimes proposes projects seeking conservation funds from international agencies like the European Union, World Monument Fund and/or individual donor countries, with which we finance the conservation work in ZST" (Respondent H1). Another respondent added, "ZSTHS, in collaboration with ACRA, has funded the renovation of Hamamni Baths owned by DMA, and similarly, ADZ, collaborating with ZSTHS, supported by the World Monument Fund, financed the restoration of the Anglican Cathedral and part of the Palace Museum" (Respondent H2). This was also mentioned in the 2019 proceedings of the conference that called together several stakeholder institutions to ensure the establishment of an official Community Stakeholders Forum.

However, other respondents argued that stakeholders do not usually collaborate in terms of funding. Instead, "a particular institution finds its own money for restoration or construction work in ZST from grants provided by the government, local or international NGOs" (Respondent H1). Regarding the exchange of human resources, some respondents confirmed that one institution would lend an expert to another institution to help restore the built heritage. For example, one respondent stated that "STCDA has lent its conservation pundits to DMA to work on buildings at risk of collapsing" (Respondent B1).

Inter-institutional Meetings, Conferences, Workshops, Seminars, and Training

The respondents explained that some inter-institutional meetings, workshops, seminars, or training sessions have been organized in the past. For instance, "in 2014, STCDA, in
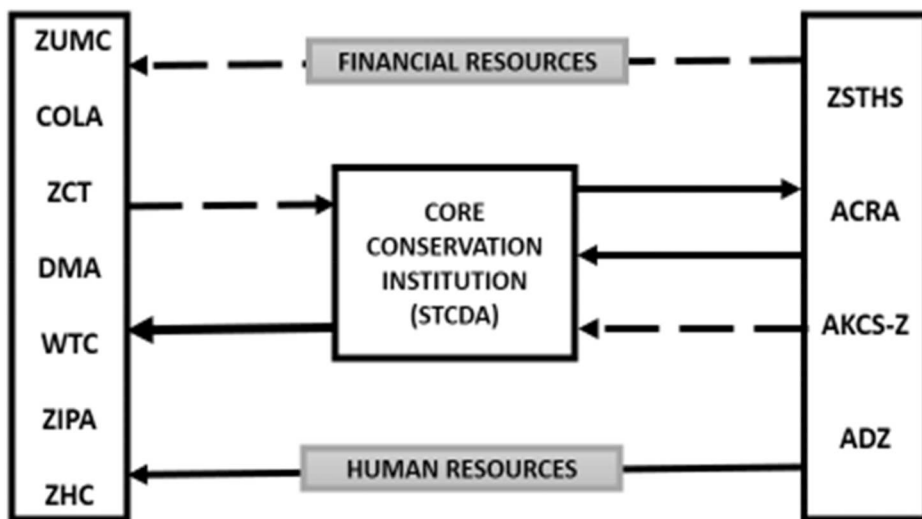

Figure 6. Stakeholders' inter-relationships as regards the sharing of financial and human resources.
Note: This diagram was also developed from the data on the sharing of financial and human resources. The unbroken arrow shows the exchange of human resources, while the dashes indicate the flow of financial resources which is less frequent.

collaboration with ACRA, organized a workshop to train about 40 local *fundis* (masons) from different institutions in masonry and carpentry" (Respondent I2). In order to ensure sustainable cooperation among stakeholder institutions for successful conservation, another respondent stated, "in 2019, ZSTHS organized a seminar which brought together several institutions and members of the Development Control Unit (DCU) at Mason Hotel to talk about conservation in relation to the law concerning development within ZST" (Respondent A4).

Some respondents reported that their institutions had been invited to meetings, workshops, and training sessions on the built heritage and conservation of ZST. One informant confirmed, "I have attended at least three meetings on behalf of the Executive Director [of ZIPA] to talk about how to protect and sustain ZST" (Respondent L). The respondent added, "these meetings focused on having a collaborative solution for conserving ZST through involving the community in its management, the role of women in this respect, and what is required to sustain it" (Respondent L).

Inter-institutional Initiatives, Programmes, Projects, and Actions Taken

In terms of joint initiatives, one respondent revealed, "STCDA, ZCT, DMA, ZIPA, ZUMC, and CoLA formed a Cross-Cutting Taskforce to deal with some issues pertaining to ZST in response to a recommendation made in 2014 by UNESCO for the management of ZST. Since then, there have been regular meetings to discuss the issues of traffic congestion, parking, and the challenge of Park Hyatt hotel in ZST" (Respondent A1). Another respondent added that, "there is the Development Control Unit (DCU), made up of CoLA, STCDA, and ZUMC, which meets each week to process and issue permits for major restoration work, maintenance, new constructions, and extensions" (Respondent A2).

Moreover, "STCDA and DMA are working together to renovate *Bet el Ajaib* [House of Wonders], which had partly collapsed in December 2020, whereby STCDA works as the technical team while DMA acts as the steering committee" (Respondent B4). Thus, there are a number of ongoing joint inter-institutional actions and initiatives by stakeholders.

Negligence, Adversarial Relationships, and Nascent /Immature Conflict

Regarding the adversarial relationship between stakeholders, it was found that STCDA is often blamed for conflictual relationships, as it is seen as not always taking immediate action on buildings reported as needing urgent repairs. For example, a respondent complained that "in 2018, we requested experts from STCDA to repair *Bet el Ajaib*, but we did not get a response until 2019, which led to its partial collapse the following year" (Respondent B5). Another respondent lamented that "in December 2018, we [WTC] sent a letter to STCDA requesting technical advice and a permit to renovate house number 626 Malindi Street, but the response was not given until May 2019" (Respondent F3). This delay in STCDA's responses led to one respondent saying that "some institutions are violating the regulations governing the conservation of ZST, ignoring STCDA's authority, and doing whatever they want" (Respondent A6).

Some respondents also blamed STCDA for their poor supervision in terms of restoring buildings in ZST and failing to use authentic (traditional) materials to renovate them. One

respondent commented that "an example of this was in the Vuga area where an old mansion is attached to a new construction … [and that] many houses are renovated without following the conservation guidelines established by STCDA, whereby some owners have constructed their buildings using modern materials like cement, blocks, and sand, which are then attached to old historic buildings, causing them to crack and eventually collapse" (Respondent I1). The respondents felt that the STCDA does not evenly enforce conservation regulations and ensure that everyone adheres to the rules, but instead "they [STCDA] catch only *small fish* [of offenders] and leave the sharks" (Respondent I1).

In addition, other respondents noted that STCDA's relations with ZUMC, CoLA, DMA, and ZCT were marred by a conflict of interests. It was reported that "some public institutions, and central government in particular, seem to interfere with STCDA's operations" (Respondent A6). Other stakeholders raised the issue of building and land use permits, parking, business licences, title deeds, and the use of open spaces. For example, one respondent revealed, "these sensitive issues attached to ZST are sometimes decided on and even executed without involving STCDA or consulting conservation laws and guidelines" (Respondent A7). Another respondent said, "STCDA and WTC have conflicting interests based on the ownership of house numbers 2801 to 2811 Mtendeni Street" (Respondent F1). Furthermore, another respondent pointed out that "STCDA has recently found itself in disagreement with Zanzibar Water Authority (ZAWA), which had agreed not to build new structures in ZST above ground level for a new water supply for the urban municipality, but ZAWA went ahead and built structures above ground level, and so STCDA decided to demolish them" (Respondent A2).

In addition to findings from the interviews, documentary analysis of the Joint Report of the UNESCO/ICCROM/ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission of 2014 to ZST revealed that "conflict does exist between the Stone Town Authority and Zanzibar Municipal Council, and insufficient human and financial resources have hindered the effective implementation of the plan" (11). On the other hand, another respondent claimed that a conflict between STCDA and ZUMC began when "ZUMC introduced almost 30 unauthorized parking areas in ZST, causing traffic jams" (Respondent A1). The reason for this conflict was that STCDA wanted to protect ZST's intrinsic value as a WHS, whereas ZUMC wanted to increase the revenue that comes from parking areas, shops, and street vendors in ZST. These issues concern STCDA Act, article 4 (b), which states that "it shall be the objectives of the Authority to develop and manage open spaces, gardens and recreational areas within conservation areas". This contradicts ZUMC Act, Article 33 (1), which states that "subject to the provisions of the Town and Country Planning Decree, the Council shall have general control of and care for all squares, all other public open spaces and all gardens, parks and other enclosed spaces within the Municipality". Therefore, these conflicting laws are causing problems for the management and particularly the conservation of ZST.

Furthermore, some respondents mentioned legal and functional contradictions, which involve STCDA, CoLA, and ZUMC concerning the issue of mandatory power over both the conservation area and buffer zone. One respondent thought that "the conservation area is the whole of ZST with its historic buildings contained within Shangani peninsular and the whole of Creek (Darajani) road, while the buffer zone is the area on the other side of Creek Road" (Respondent G2). However, with reference to the STCDA Act of 2010,

the term *conservation area* means any area that, due to its cultural, artistic, historic, aesthetic, or architectural value, has been declared a conservation area, whereas the buffer zone means the area between Creek and Michenzani Road to the east and the Port of Zanzibar. According to one respondent, "STCDA has mandatory power over the conservation area, while CoLA and ZUMC are free to use the buffer zone in accordance with the 2015 master plan, although they still differ in carrying out their responsibilities" (Respondent C1). In these circumstances, the core conservation institution, which is STCDA, experiences a number of hindrances while carrying out its day-to-day duties of conserving and developing the old town since other institutions legally overlap and contradict their work.

Discussion

In this research, the focus has been on exploring the broad range of relationships characteristic of inter-institutional involvement in conserving and managing the built cultural heritage of ZST in Zanzibar, Tanzania. The goal of this paper has therefore been to identify the forms of IRs among stakeholders in order to contribute both conceptual and empirical insights to the extant literature. The findings show that the types of IRs existing in ZST range from fragmented cooperation to nascent conflict.

As can be seen in Table 2 above, fragmented cooperation is characterized by interdependence, tokenism, and basic working relations. This applies most when institutions share the same built heritage. Nascent conflict arises from conflicting legislation, indecision, and bureaucracy, and many institutions claiming management of heritage sites. This often results in a lack of communication and interference in achieving institutional conservation goals. In this section, the findings are placed in the context of extant literature in order to offer three main discussion points that have emerged from the findings of this

Table 2. Summary of inter-institutional relationships.

Type of Relationship	Descriptive Characteristics
Collaboration & benign relationships	Interdependence, working Relations, sharing same BH, tokenism & business as usual.
Exchange of conservation expertise, etc.	When a risk/damage is reported
Sharing information on built heritage.	Reporting risk or damage to BH
Sharing human and financial resources	Resolving problems but seldom
Inter-inst. Meetings, workshops etc.	Masonry & carpentry training, Heritage Day celebrations, & promoting conservation
Inter-inst. initiatives, programmes & actions taken	Introduction of inter-institutional organs (i.e., DCU, CCTT & Board of Directors) & conservation projects (i.e., ZSTHS/ZANSAP)
Negligence	Delayed decision making (simply means *Out of sight out of mind*)
Adversarial relationship	Interference with goals, self-interest
Nascent/immature	Conflict Conflicting legislation, lack of communication, many institutions claiming possession & indecision

research, which are discussed below, namely: (i) legislative overlaps, legal inconsistency, and uneven enforcement of conservation laws; (ii) stakeholders' willingness to collaborate; (iii) opportunities for sustained meaningful conservation efforts through aligning stakeholder roles.

This study postulated that several possible types of stakeholders' IRs exist in ZST, ranging from collaboration/cooperation to nascent conflict along the continuum. Collaboration/cooperation featured benign relationships, jointly organizing occasional events, workshops and training sessions in conservation, exchanging experts, sharing information on the built heritage and conservation, and providing funding. As earlier research had identified, a clear and unambiguous legal framework is foundational to CHM (Ndoro, Mumma, and Abungu 2009) and stakeholders' participatory relations (Lwoga and Mabulla 2013). Indeed, these legal frameworks, including conservation laws, require even enforcement in order to protect the value of heritage. Our findings show that while there are a number of legislative instruments for managing the heritage in ZST, they are not always applied evenly. Large institutions and even individuals who flout conservation rules are often ignored, while small offenders are prosecuted by heritage institutions for failing to adhere to conservation laws. This has bred discontent among stakeholders that can constrain IRs in terms of community participation in conservation efforts (Chirikure et al. 2010; Mumma 2002).

Stakeholders' willingness to collaborate in IRs is often due to the potential benefits (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005), which come in different forms, including being trusted with the responsibility for conserving the heritage. Thus, the level and depth of collaboration can be seen as a reflection of the potential and actual benefits accruing to stakeholders, especially in the context of cultural heritage management and cultural tourism. In corroborating the work of McKercher and du Cros (2002) and McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros (2005), we found that the seven possible relationships between tourism and CHM are the result of the historic association between them, ranging from full partnership to open conflict. A symbiotic relationship can only exist when cultural heritage resources are preserved, protected, and managed using the funds generated from cultural tourism. Ensuring that stakeholders get some benefits from funds generated through cultural tourism is important in terms of affirming their heritage conservation work (Boswell and O'Kane 2011). In the case of ZST, we found that the relationship among stakeholder institutions was based on their interdependence with regard to planning and mapping sites, issuing land and building permits, and tokenism. While there is limited benefit from the sharing of funds generated from cultural tourism for the various stakeholders in ZST, this has yet to result in deep-seated conflicts among stakeholders. This implies that both tourism and CHM have a clearly defined role in cultural tourism, but the roles do not overlap. It might also imply that stakeholders' collaboration in ZST is not always due to the financial benefits they expect to get from cultural tourism. Thus, the IRs based on collaboration in ZST appear to be symbiotic but casual, and therefore likely to enhance the conservation of the built heritage. Indeed, the study found that these types of relationships exist as parallel (existence) relationships, as identified earlier in Hong Kong by McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros (2005). The conservation successes in ZST as outlined in the previous sections are therefore the result of IRs and the modest collaboration between the stakeholder institutions. These findings are consistent with previous research by Lwoga (2017), who identified some successes in Pangani, Tanzania, as a

result of the stakeholders' network, and how UZIKWASA, in collaboration with the District Conservation Unit, has managed to rehabilitate and renovate some historic buildings in India Street.

The research further confirmed that positive IRs provide fertile ground for generating sustainable and meaningful opportunities for CHM. The alignment of stakeholders' roles and their awareness of shared goals of conserving the built heritage encourage stakeholders' collective planning, the sharing of funds, the exchange of experts, and frequent consultations relating to the built heritage and conservation. To some extent, this concurs with the study by Lwoga and Mabulla (2013) and Lwoga (2017), who found that the co-management of Dar es Salaam City Centre has resulted in a certain level of awareness of the importance of the built heritage. Regarding the opportunities offered by IRs for enhancing the conservation of the built heritage, the study found some spontaneous conservation successes, namely, the renovation of house number 9091 Kiponda Street and of the inside wall of the Palace Museum and the Hamamni Baths, the shoring up of the back and west walls of the Palace Museum to prevent it from collapsing, the restoration of the old dispensary/Aga Khan building, the renovation of "Upendo House", the recent renovation of "Chawl building" on Darajani along Creek Road, and the rehabilitation of the former German Club, which now accommodates ZHC's head office (see Figures 7 and 8).

The reverse of positive IRs also holds as the study found negative IRs, such as misunderstanding, contradiction, and antagonistic relationships. In particular, challenges such as the isolation of some institutions, especially NGOs, during project implementation, poor institutional supervision, and inadequate enforcement of conservation laws and guidelines have constrained heritage conservation efforts. Negative IRs and the resulting challenges in ZST relate to specific conservation problems, such as the disintegration of the upper storey at the back of *Beit el Ajaib*, the deterioration of the minaret of Bamnara mosque, the construction of modern buildings like the Park Hyatt hotel at Shangani and the Tasakhtaa (Global) hospital, the use of modern materials for renovation

Figure 7. Collaborative restoration works of: (a) ZHC Head Office (left) done by both ZHC and STCDA; and (b) Old Dispensary building (right) was restored in collaboration of AKCSZ & WTC. Source: Author, 2019.

Figure 8. Restoration work of inner walls and other structures in: (a) Hamamni Baths (left); and (b) Palace Museum (right) which was collaboratively done by ACRA, DMA, and ZSTHS and ADZ. Source: Author, 2019.

or construction, and the abandonment of some old buildings like Caravan Sarai on Malindi street, house number 2020 situated in Mkunazini, and house numbers 1572 and 972 on Malindi street, belonging to ZHC. All of these are referred to as drawbacks of negative IRs, preventing better conservation of the built heritage in ZST. These findings are similar to those of McKercher and du Cros (2002) and Lwoga and Mabulla (2013), which argued for the existence of a conflict of interests among stakeholders.

Finally, given the nature of stakeholder relations, it is often inevitable that IRs become strained through conflicts (Amin and Adu-Ampong 2016; Li, Lau, and Su 2020). Our findings suggest that, although ZST contains many government and non-government institutions with different roles and jurisdictions, conflicts are rare. We did identify a few conflicts that emerged when STCDA, a responsible conservation institution in ZST, had a misunderstanding with ZUMC over parking and open spaces in both the conservation area and buffer zone, and when WTC and STCDA disputed the ownership of some houses. These incidences of stakeholder conflicts in ZST are consistent with research findings coming from studies conducted on heritage conservation processes in China (Li, Lau, and Su 2020), in Kurdistan, Iraq (Amin and Adu-Ampong 2016), in Zimbabwe (Sagiya 2019), and across Africa (Chirikure 2013; Ndoro, Mumma, and Abungu 2009). One of the main points from these studies that is also confirmed by this research is that, while conflicts might be an inevitable aspect of IRs as regards CHM, it is important that key stakeholders ensure that issues are quickly addressed instead of allowing them to fester. Such conflicts tend to emerge over differing attachment to the value and use of heritage resources by different stakeholders. For instance,, in the case of ZST, we found that there were also delays in issuing restoration and construction permits for conservation. Moreover, STCDA and Zanzibar Water Authority (ZAWA) recently came into conflict over infrastructure for a new water supply in a conservation area, as ZAWA violated conservation guidelines laid down by STCDA (see Figures 9 and 10). As Chirikure (2013, 2) argued, "heritage competes with other equally important needs

Figure 9. Construction of water supply infrastructures in ZST: (a) a demolished Chamber (left); & (b) an unauthorized pit (right); both caused some sort of misunderstanding (conflict) between STCDA and ZAWA. Source: Author, 2019.

Figure 10. Collapse of two ZST buildings: (a) at Malindi (left); and (b) at Kiponda as a result of the delay and bureaucracy. Source: Author, 2019.

and it is important to balance heritage conservation with development." This calls for the effective alignment of stakeholders' roles, collaboration, and good communication in order to safeguard present and future CHM efforts through positive IRs.

Conclusion

This study investigated the various types of IRs among stakeholder institutions and their implications for the conservation of heritage, taking Zanzibar Stone Town (ZST) as a case

study. It employed McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros' (2005) continuum model to gain a broad understanding of IRs beyond the conventional conflict concept.

The study found that there are diverse dimensions of IRs in CHM, ranging from positive relationships, such as collaboration and benign relationships, exchange of expertise, information and funds, inter-institutional meetings, and joint actions, to negative relationships, such as negligence, arguments, and nascent conflict. Fragmented cooperation is characterized by interdependency, tokenism, working relations, and sharing. Nascent conflict is characterized by conflicting legislation, indecision, bureaucracy, many institutions possessing the same heritage, lack of communication and shared goals, and interference. In ZST in particular, stakeholder institutions interrelate at the level of tokenism or business as usual and moderately promote conservation. Stakeholder institutions are more likely to enhance conservation if they engage in benign relationships, collaborate, and exchange expertise, information and funds so as to protect and preserve the site for current and future generations. Positive IRs, including fragmented cooperation, are essential for developing collaborative behaviour to ensure the sustainable conservation of the built heritage in historic towns, because negative IRs, such as nascent conflict, result in the lack of conservation.

A few studies have applied McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros' (2005) continuum model to the study of stakeholders' inter-relationships, and some have applied the model to study the exploration of types. The findings of this study theoretically address the importance of IRs between institutions responsible for conservation. This study also provides insights into those institutions that are directly or indirectly concerned with the built heritage in ZST and shows the significance of McKercher, Ho, and Du Cros' continuum model in gaining an understanding of the IRs in the CHM context. Thus, this study makes a useful theoretical contribution to the literature on the conservation and management of protected World Heritage Sites. The results imply that an integrated conceptual framework merging stakeholder, conflict, and continuum theories could be useful for establishing a stakeholders' collaborative planning scheme in a protected WHS like ZST.

The study recommends that STCDA enforces adherence by all actors to the ZST Conservation and Development Authority Act No. 3 of 1994 and its successor Act No. 4 of 2010 as well as Conservation Guidelines and Designs. Although it was found that communication between stakeholder institutions in ZST exists to some extent, it is hoped that this study will give them the incentive to strengthen this in terms of conserving the built heritage. Indeed, the central government and its allied authorities should abide by the laws ruling ZST, as a number of development projects financed by the government through its institutions are not complying with the laws and conservation guidelines. This situation needs to be reviewed, as adherence to conservation laws and good communication between stakeholders will then escalate the sustainable protection and conservation of the built heritage for current and future generations.

The study also recommends that future research should focus on the use of the continuum model rather than the static conflict theory in investigating stakeholder IRs. This will ensure a focus on the complexities in relation to stakeholder institutions' roles, the legal system, and the interests of public institutions in CHM. Moreover, the continuum model helps to make evident the various influences of each stakeholder in the conservation of the built heritage in historic towns, focusing on the challenges they face and the opportunities they have in contributing to conservation goals.

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Appendix

Respondents' Particulars

Code	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Institution Name
Respondent A1	F	42	Advance Diploma in Building Engineering	Research & Coordination	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent A2	M	56	MA. Conservation Architecture	Director General	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent A3	F	43	MA. Tourism & Marketing	Conservation Officer	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent A4	F	55	Dipl. Heritage Management	Head of Conservation unit	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent A5	M	58	BA. Architecture	Head of Conservation Division	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent A6	M	43	MSc. Civil Engineering	Engineer	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent A7	F	40	LL. B	Lawyer	Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA)
Respondent B1	M	33	MA. Heritage Management	Antiquity Officer	Department of Museums and Antiquities (DMA)
Respondent B2	F	49	MSc. Environmental Science	Curator of Natural History Museum	Department of Museums and Antiquities (DMA)
Respondent B3	M	49	MA. Social Work	Museum Conservator	Department of Museums and Antiquities (DMA)
Respondent B4	M	52	MA. History	Museum Education Officer	Department of Museums and Antiquities (DMA)
Respondent B5	M	57	Dipl. Heritage Management	Documentation Officer	Department of Museums and Antiquities (DMA)
Respondent B6	M	58	MA. Museum Studies	Head of Museums Division	Department of Museums and Antiquities (DMA)
Respondent C1	M	52	Ph.D. in Urban Planning	Director of Urban Planning	Commission for Land (COLA)
Respondent C2	M	53	PGD. Urban Planning	Head of Research Unit	Commission for Land (COLA)
Respondent C3	F	30	BA. Architecture	Urban Planner	Commission for Land (COLA)
Respondent C4	M	51	MSc. Urban Planning	Urban Planning Officer	Commission for Land (COLA)
Respondent D1	M	38	BA. Civil Engineering	Director of Property Mgmt.	Zanzibar Housing Corporation (ZHC)
Respondent D2	F	33	BSc. Building Economics	Quality Survey Officer	Zanzibar Housing Corporation (ZHC)
Respondent D3	M	32	BSc. Civil Engineering	Engineer	Zanzibar Housing Corporation (ZHC)
Respondent D4	M	30	BSc. Civil Engineering	Engineer	Zanzibar Housing Corporation (ZHC)
Respondent E1	M	41	BA. Business & Marketing	Investment Officer	Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT)
Respondent E2	M	42	MA. Business Accounting	License Officer	Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT)
Respondent E3	M	38	BA. Anthropology & Tourism	Projects & Investment Officer	Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT)
Respondent F1	M	25	BSc. Computer Science	Property Officer	Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC)

(Continued)

Continued.

Code	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Institution Name
Respondent F2	M	59	Dipl. Human Resources	Renters & Beneficiaries Officer	Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC)
Respondent F3	M	53	Dipl. Engineering	Engineer	Wakf and Trust Commission (WTC)
Respondent G1	M	58	Adv. Dipl. Sanitary Engineering	Ass. Director & Engineer	Zanzibar Urban Municipal Council (ZUMC)
Respondent G2	M	58	Adv. Dipl. Transport Mgmt.	City Parking Supervisor	Zanzibar Urban Municipal Council (ZUMC)
Respondent G3	M	46	BSc. Botany	City Gardens Supervisor	Zanzibar Urban Municipal Council (ZUMC)
Respondent H1	M	35	BA. Tourism & Heritage Mgmt.	Chief Executive Officer (CEO)	Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS)
Respondent H2	F	26	BA. Heritage Management	Cultural Heritage Officer	Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS)
Respondent I1	F	39	MA. Inter. Corporation Mgmt.	Italy Representative in Tanzania and Chairperson	Africa Cooperation for Rural Area (ACRA)
Respondent I2	M	33	Dipl. Logistics	Mobilization Officer	Africa Cooperation for Rural Area (ACRA)
Respondent J	M	44	Form IV	Technician	Aga Khan Cultural Service, Zanzibar (AKCS-Z)
Respondent K	M	53	BA. Sociology	Director of Heritage Centre	
Respondent L	M	54	MA. Human Resource	Director of Human Resources	Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA)