Life in a World Heritage City
A case study of discussions and contested values in
Angra do Heroísmo, the Azores

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At the Faculty of Arts and Science at Linköping University, research and doctoral studies are carried out within broad problem areas. Research is organized in interdisciplinary research environments and doctoral studies mainly in graduate schools. Jointly, they publish the series Linköping Studies in Arts and Science. This thesis comes from the Department of Culture Studies (Tema kultur och samhälle, Tema Q). At Tema Q, culture is studied as a dynamic field of practices, including agency as well as structure, and cultural products as well as the way they are produced, consumed, communicated and used. Tema Q is part of the larger Department for Studies of Social Change and Culture (ISAK).

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Cover: The World Heritage Symbol in the cobblestones in Angra do Heroísmo, the Azores

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ABSTRACT

The objectives of this study are to critically map and analyse past and current discussions, negotiations and social processes that take place and relate to conditions created by living in- or monitoring the World Heritage City Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores, Portugal. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and qualitative interviews with the stakeholders in the city, the purpose has been to study how, and with what result and consequences, contested values, interests, rhetoric and powers are mobilized and made into dynamic forces for these stakeholders. Hence, this thesis gives a chronological presentation of selected issues and discussions, which have been taking place in the city from 1980 to 2012. The first subjects attended to are the 1980 earthquake and the nomination process which led to the inscription of Angra to the World Heritage List in 1983.

However, some of the core objectives relate to the implications of living in a World Heritage City, given the preservation provisions which follow such a classified area. The aim has further been to assess the point of departure for the official monitors and their views on monitoring a vibrant historical area. The discussions analysed relate to the predicaments occurring when modern development is set up against preservation. However, the analyses show how policies and preservation ideals change, as well as how powers and authorities are challenged and affected by forces within and outside “the Authorized Heritage Discourse”. The cases studied further reveal the political and dissonant aspect of heritage management, caused by diverging interests and values. The latter is based on ideological, political, economic, practical and aesthetical judgements relying on the profession and/or the role taken in discussions. Moreover, the study shows how the political field has a strong impact in several cases.

World Heritage and tourism are closely linked, and this investigation explores how the stakeholders in Angra relate to the possibilities and threats which tourism holds. Angra represents a site where there is a limited influx of tourist, and we can see how most stakeholders speak for a quality-based tourism. In this respect, one could say there is a prevailing consensus among the stakeholders. Finally, this study has assessed the notions of pride, local attachment and identity among the inhabitants in Angra. These sensations are related to the historical cityscape, an environment which also frames personal experiences and processes. The World Heritage Status can trigger a double sense of feelings; on the one side it holds emotions related to pride and recognition, on the other it represents obstacles for living- and developing the city in accordance with the present needs. Angra do Heroísmo is studied for its particularities, yet comparisons made with other studies reveal that the matters and aspects addressed in this thesis can be universal rather than particular.

FOREWORD

My interest for local communities in- or close to heritage sites started long before I became familiar with the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores, as it was a summer spent excavating in the small village Staraja Ladoga, Russia, which was a triggering factor. The interest was further explored in the research undertaken for the master thesis at the former Viking settlement of Kaupang in Norway, in which I investigated how the local community experienced their historical home environments, as well as seeking to study their sentiments and views on the preservation guidelines, which were to regulate the area strongly. However, the predicaments and conflicts observed when preserving the historical landscape at Kaupang were only glimpses of what I would be much more familiar with while working as an archaeologist for the county council in Norway. The opposition between development and preservation is hardly as evident as when landowners and developers are observing you while revealing one prehistoric grave after the other within the planning area (Johansson, 2012).

The interest discovered in Russia, and investigated and experienced in Norway, has now been studied further south, in Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores, which I first became familiar with during a six-month internship at the regional Azorean authorities in 2008. In 2010, I returned to the city with a research assignment, after being given a PhD scholarship at Telemark University College and admitted to the PhD programme at Tema Q, Linköping University. Thus, three places have been central during this research – Angra do Heroísmo, Bø in Telemark and Norrköping. I owe a debt of gratitude to the people who have assisted me in different ways in all these places. Firstly, I must thank my supervisors, Peter Aronsson and Geir Vestheim, who have helped me throughout this work despite any distance. Thank you for your inspirational thoughts, valuable feedback, and much needed advice. Per Mangset was first my co-supervisor, but who needed to resign, though he has always been available for advice and assistance. Furthermore, I want to thank Owe Ronström and Åsa Nilsson Dahlström, who gave important suggestions at the 90% and 50% seminars respectively.

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Bø, 18th of April, 2015

PART I INTRODUCING THE CASE, THE AIMS AND THE MEANS

1 Introduction

It is a rainy morning in Angra do Heroísmo in the autumn of 2010, and one of the inhabitants is walking down one of the steeper streets in the city – Rua de Miragaia. She is hurrying to work, and as she steps into the pedestrian crossing, a car approaches. The car tries to stop so the woman can cross safely, but it slides on the slippery cobblestones and an accident is inevitable. The woman survives with only minor injuries, but she is in a generally severe state. According to her, it was the quality of the pavement that was to blame for the accident, and some weeks later she initiated a petition to make the officials in Angra do Heroísmo aware of the poor quality of the cobblestones covering the streets in the city. The petition obtained vast support by the other residents, and she finally managed to obtain more than 300 signatures. According to the regional cultural heritage laws (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A), all streets and sidewalks in Angra do Heroísmo shall be paved with this specific basalt and chalkstone, and a great part of the City Centre holds the typical Portuguese pavement – Calçada Portuguesa, being a decorative pavement in which the white chalkstone makes fine shapes and pictures in the black volcanic cobblestones. Even though many inhabitants find the cobblestones nice and coherent with the historical cityscape of Angra, it is a general opinion among the citizens that the pavement is presently in a poor state and slippery, especially upon precipitation. Taking into account that the Azores has a humid climate, it is obviously a true problem for the citizens, and some consider it as dangerous. Furthermore, the initiator of the campaign questioned the very reason for the pavement to be protected by law, as she believes the cobblestones are only there to enhance the historical outlook of the city. During the summer of 2011, the petition also caught the attention of the media, in which the initiator had several polemics with the local authorities. The municipality responded to the campaign and admitted that the pavement needed restoration, so they launched the plans for the renovation that was to take place within the city centre. Finally, the case was addressed at the Regional Assembly of the Azores.

The case above is one of several discussions taking place concerning the present state of the cityscape of the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores archipelago, Portugal, which obtained its status in 1983. This discussion touches upon one of the overarching interests in this study: the tension between the past and the present framed in the context of heritage preservation, as it shows the dilemma between a sufficient conservation and the maintenance of the

Cobblestone streets, Angra do Heroísmo, 2013. Photo: David Torell

well-being for the contemporary citizens living in a classified area. An interesting place to study this predicament is a World Heritage City, in which both national and regional legislations, as well as international commitments and the World Heritage Convention, set premises for the preservation of this classified area.

The special interest for Angra do Heroísmo is based on the personal knowledge I obtained while living and working in the city in 2008. During my time in Angra do Heroísmo, I became familiar with its citizens and the social structure of the city, as well as being introduced to some of the ongoing discussions in the city. Moreover, while having an internship as an archaeologist for the Regional Directorate for Culture of the Azores (Direção Regional da Cultura), I was introduced to the heritage management sector and some of their dilemmas and predicaments upon managing and preserving the city. Maintaining and preserving a living historical urban space is challenging, since it is a heritage site that is densely populated and exposed to pressures engendered by contemporary needs, such as better mobility, improved housing facilities and the demands of the service society (Schicker 2009). Thus, the challenges of preserving living historical cities, and World Heritage cities in specific, have been widely discussed by both managers and researchers (e.g. Evans, 2002, Ronström, 2007, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011, Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011, Schicker 2009, Haslie, 2009, Leitão, 2011, Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, Roswell, 2014).

However, World Heritage is often seen as a status that can generate transformative synergies and positive benefits for the local community, such as increased attractiveness, tourism and development (Saltzman, 2001, Turtinen,

2006, Fyall and Rakic, 2008: 161 (in reference to Bonnette, 2005), Kaltenborn et al., 2013). Tourism is indeed looked upon as one means that may provide employment and economic growth (Ronström, 2007:98, Shackley, 1998). Though, as known, tourism may also have negative effects, considering the fact that mass tourism can deteriorate a heritage site. Another assumed positive effect of being included to the World Heritage List is the possible enhanced value it gives a place or a city. To be included in this list, which holds both national and international prestige (Omland, 1998:31), is often regarded as a recognition and thus seen as an asset to the place, the region or even the nation (van der Aa et al., 2005:12, Turtinen, 2006, Leask, 2008, Ronström, 2007:95).

These assumptions of what a World Heritage Status may be or involves are correct in some cases, but what are the realities of being enlisted in the World Heritage List? What does it entail to live and maintain a house within a World Heritage City? What are the implications of being a business holder or a restaurant owner in a World Heritage City? On the other hand: What are the consequences of managing a World Heritage City? These were some of the questions I became increasingly attentive to while- and after living and working in the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo in 2008.¹

1.1 Research questions

The focal point in this study is the local community of Angra do Heroísmo, as I have sought to make a broad case study by plunging into a concrete World Heritage City. This is not a meta-study on World Heritage, nor does it concern an analysis of the World Heritage system or the negotiations taking place at an international level. Instead, I wanted to study one specific World Heritage Site and the discussions, negotiations, processes and relations taking place in a World Heritage City. Hence, it is the particular that is of primary interest in this study, rather than the universal. However, I will compare my findings with other studies of World Heritage Sites in order to detect or emphasize possible common trends or differences in relation to the generalities of what consequences a World Heritage designation might have for a local community. Furthermore, I will relate some of the findings or tendencies in Angra do Heroísmo with policies outlined by UNESCO in terms of World Heritage, as well as discuss certain developments within these policies.

One point of departure for this study is how heritage triggers discussions and demands negotiations in the present. The introductory case was an example of one such discussion caused by heritage preservation, though heritage may further be processual, in which values and ideas are constantly contested. In other words, heritage may be a much more dissonant notion and concept as defined by Tunbridge and Ashworth: “Dissonance in heritage involves a discordance or a lack

¹ The framework for this thesis was published in an anthology which contained conference papers from conferences in Falun (Sweden) 2010 and in Vasa (Finland) 2011 (Johansson, 2013)

of agreement and consistency” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:20), and the dissonance in heritage has later been addressed by other scholars (e.g. Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 2007, Smith, 2006, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2007, Graham and Howard, 2008, McDonald, 2009, Harrison, 2013):

Heritage is dissonant – it is a constitutive social process that on the one hand is about regulating and legitimizing, and on the other hand is about working out, contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future. (Smith, 2006: 82)

A World Heritage City is indeed a place where different values, ideas and meanings are contested, along with the collective memories and the senses of place and identities that are constantly disputed and discussed; contestations which are triggered by the fact that this is a heritage site relived in the present.

Hence, I have sought to study the discussions and negotiations taking place in this World Heritage City, as well as the stakeholders and the parties involved. What are their values, opinions and point of departure? Which rhetoric is used, and what purpose do they serve? The stakeholders have different meanings and values as they serve specific interests. Interests that reflect the field or group they represent. Moreover, the stakeholders hold different resources that ascribe certain powers and positions, depending on the discussion and process.

The objectives of this study are to:

Critically map and analyse past and current discussions, negotiations and social processes that take place and relate to conditions created by living in- or monitoring the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo. The purpose is to study how, and with what result and consequences, contested values, interests, rhetoric and powers are mobilized and made into dynamic forces for stakeholders in the city.

In order to reach these aims and to shed light on the processes in a World Heritage City, the following overarching questions have been essential to give answers to:

- 1) What are the essence and nature of the discourses and processes transpiring in a World Heritage City?
- 2) Which stakeholders are involved in the discussions and negotiations, and what are their relative powers and resources?
- 3) What are the staked values and interests in a World Heritage city?

- 4) How is heritage understood and valued among the stakeholders?
- 5) In which sense does the World Heritage Status effect and influence the rhetoric used and the nature of the discourses and social processes?

In both Angra do Heroísmo and within the discussions, there are hierarchies in which stakeholders have stronger or weaker positions, in which their capitals are decisive for their positions. Examples of such capitals may be social capital, economic capital or cultural capital. As the reader may know, these terms are part of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, and some of his terms will help to define groups and the stakeholders' resources. Heritage scholars engaged in the notion of power structure within the heritage sector, such as Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006), in which she launched the notion of an Authorized Heritage Discourse, will be of further relevance when analysing the discourses in the World Heritage City. Some of Smith's theories will be used in order to understand the dynamic forces of the stakeholders, as well as their authorities, values and power relations. However, other works in regard to the uses of heritage are applicable, such as the works of Peter Aronsson (2004), Geir Vestheim (2008, 2012), Rodney Harrison (2013) and David Lowenthal (1994, 1996, 1998). However, these will further be elaborated, in addition to more relevant theories and theorists in Chapter 2, in which the current state of World Heritage research and the most relevant works in regards to this study will be presented and discussed.

There are certain stakeholders who have been of special interest in this study as I aimed to obtain the views of the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo, present and former officials within the heritage management sector, business holders and contractors within the classified zone. Additionally, it was of interest to interview representatives from the tourism sector and the regional chamber of commerce. Furthermore, I have conducted interviews with representatives from some of the cultural institutions in the city, as well as tourists. It must be stressed that it is their perspectives that I have sought to map, understand and analyse. Some events, cases and discussions are analysed retrospectively. These cases and discussions are also vital in order to comprehend why Angra do Heroísmo made it onto the World Heritage List, as well as to understand the present Angra do Heroísmo. These events are: The earthquake hitting the city in 1980 and the following reconstruction process, as well as the nomination process of Angra do Heroísmo for the World Heritage List. However, I have also studied cases that date 10-20 years back in time, but which are still debated or that somehow have relevance in the present. Hence, the study spans from 1980 up until the present (2012).

The study is based on both qualitative interviews, ethnographical fieldwork and observation studies, during which I have gathered opinions, attitudes and sentiments expressed by stakeholders in the community of Angra do Heroísmo. Additional data used and analysed are newspaper articles and official documents, as well as internet sites.

Because this investigation is based on one case study, it allows for a deeper analysis, and the aim has been to cover a great number of aspects of the World Heritage City. In the following, I will give an outline of the chosen themed chapters, which will frame the work in order to answer the broad research aim and the overall research questions listed above. The events and processes leading to the enlistment to the World Heritage List

The first part addresses the 1980 earthquake, the reconstruction process, and the nomination process, events and processes that are essential in order to understand the circumstances for Angra do Heroísmo's enlistment to the World Heritage List, the current society of Angra and the discussions taking place in the present. Firstly, I have aimed to study how the inhabitants and the officials experienced the earthquake and its aftermaths, in which an emphasis has been given to their personal stories and memories. What is the nature of the memories, and how can they be understood? Furthermore, the reconstruction process, post the earthquake and the stakeholders' valuation of the reconstructed cityscape, have been studied. The reconstruction of the city actualizes the subject of authenticity, considering that almost 80% of the buildings collapsed in the 1980 earthquake. Hence, how can authenticity be understood in light of the data from Angra do Heroísmo? In addition, the character and process of the individual and public commemoration of the earthquake will be analysed. Moreover, this part of the thesis aims to highlight the turn that the earthquake was for the community of Angra do Heroísmo – both from a societal and personal perspective. What were the social consequences of the earthquake for the city of Angra do Heroísmo and its inhabitants? Finally, the aim is to provide a backdrop in order to understand the city and the events that succeeded the earthquake, as it is seen as a triggering factor for the nomination of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List.

Hence, another process studied retrospectively is the nomination process, in which I have aimed to study the circumstances for the initiative taken to nominate Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List and the nature of the nomination process. How and by which means did Angra do Heroísmo make it to the World Heritage List? Thus, I will show how this small and relatively unknown city in a remote archipelago managed to be the first city in Portugal to be nominated to the World Heritage List. Which interests, capitals, powers and logic contributed to the classification of this city? Secondly, I will study the reasoning for the nomination and the possible instrumentality in which lies within such a political act. The aim in this regard is also to shed light on the historicity of World Heritage, as Angra do Heroísmo offers an example of an early enlistment, and can therefore highlight differences between the present and former practices of World Heritage nominations processes.

Managing, living and conducting business in a World Heritage City

The introductory example provides evidence of some of the challenges when managing a vibrant historical city within specific preservation guidelines. In this study, I have sought to understand, among other actors, the views of the heritage management and the officials on the matter of managing a World Heritage City. Hence, what are the implications of managing a World Heritage City? What are the interests and values of these stakeholders? How do they ensure the present needs, while preserving the historic aspects of the city? The latter dilemma touches upon the possible dissonance that heritage holds, and the past-present dilemmas which occur upon managing a living urban World Heritage, some of which have been studied by other scholars (Evans, 2002, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011, Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011, Ronström, 2007, Leask and Fyall, 2008, Haslie, 2009, Leitão, 2011, Bandarin and van Oers, 2012). The case of the cobblestones offers a glimpse of some of the predicaments involved. Not only does it concern the safeguarding of a historical landscape, but it also raises questions concerning accessibility and safety for the public within historic cities, as well as showing that initially well-meant preservation guidelines could cause difficulties for the public.

The management apparatus and its structure have been an object of controversies, and in 2004 a reorganization was undertaken that led to the closure of the Conservation Office (Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo), a special entity responsible for the preservation of the city (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A). As a consequence, the competence of the Conservation Office was transferred to the Regional Directorate for Culture, and the municipality became involved in the heritage management of the city. This reorganization gave new conditions and policies for the preservation of Angra do Heroísmo, and it was therefore of interest to assess the process that led to this reorganization, and to study the stakeholders' views, interests and values in regard to the reorganization, especially in terms of the Conservation Office or the "Gabinete", by which it is more popularly known. I have also aimed to understand how the stakeholders' describe the consequences of the reorganization and the closure of the Conservation Office.

Moreover, the introductory example addresses the possible challenges of living in a World Heritage City, and another focal point of this study is to investigate the consequences of the cultural heritage management policies for the inhabitants. What are the implications of living within a classified zone? The homeowners are important stakeholders in this regard, and I have sought to understand in what way the cultural heritage management strategies and the legal provisions concerning the protection and preservation of Angra do Heroísmo affect the private homeowners. What are the implications of maintaining a house according to the present conservation laws and guidelines for the housing facilities within the classified zone? Are the laws in line with modern standards of living? What are their opinions about both the heritage management policies and the

cultural heritage management apparatus? How do they respond to the guidelines given? Thus, I will portray how the inhabitants described the realities of maintaining a house within the classified zone of Angra, and give examples of discussions and negotiations concerning the regulation policies and practices. I have also attempted to map the stakeholders' legitimate and illegitimate powers and their room to manoeuvre (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007).

During the last decade, homeowners in Angra do Heroísmo have been confronted with an additional challenge, as a great part of the historical city centre is infested by termites, thereby deteriorating the wooden structures of the houses. How do the homeowners approach the new problem, and in what way are the monitors responding to the infestation? In this aspect, I have aimed to study the discussions that have emerged due to the infestation problem, and to understand the logic, powers and values of the stakeholders involved.

Another party that needs to adhere to the present conservation guidelines are the business owners in Angra. The conservation guidelines restrict the use of publicity, and the outlook of businesses within the city centre is regulated. Moreover, the historic urban space gives certain restrictions for logistics and transportation. Thus, this poses questions in terms of the premises for marketing or branding within a World Heritage City, as well as the general conditions for the business owners in Angra do Heroísmo. Equal processes and effects have been studied in other World Heritage Cities (Evans, 2002, Ronström, 2007, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011), and I will compare the situation in Angra do Heroísmo to these studies.

Modern development causing debate

Despite legal provisions for the preservation of the classified area of Angra, contemporary development projects have been- and are being conducted within the city, some of which have caused public debate. Accordingly, I have aimed to investigate the discussions concerning these contemporary development projects within the classified zone of Angra. What is the essence of the debates? Which arguments are put forth, and what are the interests and values of the concerned parties? How do the various stakeholders value modern development and contemporary architecture within this World Heritage City? Moreover, the support which the petition referred to above obtained demonstrates how the local people take interest- and engage in the discussions concerning the present state of their city, and in this interview study I have sought to understand how the inhabitants of Angra do Heroísmo evaluate the contemporary projects undertaken in the classified area. Additionally, I will explore the dynamic forces among the stakeholders, and the interests and values at stake.

One of the discussions I will attend to is the debate regarding the building of a new marina in the bay of Angra do Heroísmo, which took place at the end of the 1990s. The marina project brought about the concern of UNESCO due to the

“negative impact it would have on the World Heritage values of the site” (UNESCO, 29.01.1999). However, the construction of the marina was completed, but is still under dispute. Another significant project taking place in the city of Angra do Heroísmo is the construction of a new public library. The library aroused discussion among the citizens of Angra do Heroísmo due to its modern architecture, and the debate was further augmented when due to a bankruptcy caused by the financial crises from which the whole of Portugal is still suffering, the building project ceased. At the present moment, the marina is once again calling for modernization, and the local discourse became vast after the former President of the Azores Carlos César made it known that a cruise ship terminal was to be constructed in the bay area of Angra do Heroísmo (Azoresdigital 2009). Hence, I have aimed to analyse these debates, in terms of their nature, the rhetoric used and the relative power of the fields and stakeholders’ capitals. What values, principles and interests are at stake?

Tourism and mediation of World Heritage Status in Angra do Heroísmo

Managing a World Heritage Site also includes tourism management and mediation in larger or smaller scales (Evans, 2002, van der Aa, Groote and Huigen, 2005, van der Aa, 2005, Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005, Leask and Fyall, 2008, Haslie, 2009, Poria et al., 2011, Harrison, 2013, Hølleland, 2013), and World Heritage and tourism are closely associated. However, tourism in Angra do Heroísmo has been moderate, even if the Azores in general has been an object for an increased influx of tourists over the past three decades (Silveira and Santos, 2013). Moreover, the use of the World Heritage Status in terms of attracting tourists can be said to have been limited. Consequently, this was one of the reasons, along with the fact that I attained an increasing amount of data on this topic during my field trips to Angra do Heroísmo, for investigating the state of tourism in the city. Hence, how do local actors and stakeholders respond to- and act on the possibilities and threats that tourism hold? What is the state of tourism at this World Heritage Site? For this reason, I wanted to obtain the view of the tourist sector in regard to this subject, as well as seeking to attain the tourist’s point of views and acquire a better insight into their awareness in relation to Angra’s World Heritage Status.

The branding of World Heritage has been addressed by several scholars (e.g. Hall and Piggin, 2002, Williams, 2005, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011, Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012, Harrison, 2013, Hølleland, 2013), and in this study I will elaborate on how the actors involved relate to- and respond to the branding and the use of Angra do Heroísmo’s World Heritage Status. Moreover, I have sought to address the issue of branding World Heritage at large on the basis of my findings in Angra do Heroísmo.

The value of World Heritage – local identity and sense of attachment

Finally, this investigation addresses the matter of local identity and a sense of belonging, as human experiences of a place are indeed relevant in a study concerning a physical place. Being a World Heritage City is the basic component for the citizens in Angra do Heroísmo, and its monuments and architectural expression of high visibility and significance can be aspects that are influential in terms of the identity of Angra's inhabitants and their sense of attachment (Tuan, 1989). It is also of interest to explore and assess how the local stakeholders value the World Heritage Classification, considering the prestige and tribute that often lies in such a status (Omeland, 1998:31, van der Aa, Groote and Huigen, 2005:12, Turtinen, 2006, Ronström, 2007:95, Leask, 2008). Heritage and identity have strong connotations, even though such linkages have been disputed. Indeed, identity processes are challenging to address, but in what sense can the local identity be affected by the past and the historical city landscape, which is also their home and an object for personal experiences? Therefore, this part critically studies the processes involving local identity, the sense of belonging and their relationship to their home as a heritage site.

Again, it must be stressed that the focal point of this study is the local community of Angra do Heroísmo, and through the qualitative interviews and observation studies conducted with the stakeholders, in which I have addressed subjects such as the polemics of cultural heritage management, modern development projects, sentiments toward the current preservation guidelines and the matter of identity and attachment, I have desired to give a voice to the local community living in a World Heritage City. Hence, the themes outlined above, which will be addressed and analysed in this thesis, are intended to shed light on the discussions, negotiations and processes occurring in a World Heritage City.

1.2 Structure of thesis

Part I (Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4), "Introducing the case, the aims and the means," is an overall introduction of the case Angra do Heroísmo, the aims and purposes of this study, as well as the methods used. Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the principles aims and the research questions for this thesis. In Chapter 2, an emphasis is given to introduce the city of Angra do Heroísmo, along with the Azores and Portugal, in order to explain the local, regional and national socio-historical context of Angra do Heroísmo. Moreover, this chapter also draws on the main aspects of the World Heritage Convention and some of the present dilemmas of the World Heritage List. Lastly, an introduction to the legal and administrative apparatus for the preservation of the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo is given, as these legislations are the starting point for the discussions taking place in the city. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the heritage discourse at large, in which I will attend to the notion of heritage and the increased interest for heritage during the last decades. The strong link between heritage and identity will also be discussed, as well as the political aspects of heritage. In the last part of Chapter 3, I draw on

what I regard to be one field within heritage research; namely research on World Heritage. The methods used and the reasoning for the approach and considerations made in terms of methods will be described and explained in Chapter 4.

Part II (Chapters 5 and 6), “The processes leading to the World Heritage enlistment,” involves the processes which were of importance in order for Angra do Heroísmo to be included in the World Heritage List. The 1980 earthquake is the point of the departure in this World Heritage story, and the responses given on the topic by my informants are addressed in Chapter 5. In the following chapter (6), the nomination process leading to the very inscription of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List will be described and analysed.

Part III (Chapters 7, 8, 9 and 10), “Residing in and managing a World Heritage City – Living in, with and by heritage,” draws in sum on the implications of monitoring a living urban World Heritage, in addition to the discussions and negotiations that derive from management predicaments. It is also the aim of this part to detect some of the past and present dichotomies in this World Heritage City. The first chapter (7) discusses the issues of managing- and living in a World Heritage City, as well as addressing the infestation of the termites and the predicaments of having a business within the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo. In Chapter 8, I will delve more deeply into one specific discussion, namely that concerning the cobblestone streets of Angra do Heroísmo. Chapter 9 is dedicated to the issues of modern development within historic urban areas, in which I analyse certain development projects that have caused debate in the local community of Angra do Heroísmo. In the last chapter (10), the state of tourism in Angra do Heroísmo and the issue of World Heritage branding are dealt with.

Part IV (Chapter 11), “Relation to a place”, aims to shed light on the subject of identity, attachment and pride in Angra do Heroísmo. The value of a World Heritage Status under the headings of pride, recognition and esteem are addressed in the first part, while the last part pays attention to the Angrenses’ sense of belonging or sense of place.

Part V is the conclusive part, in which I will attend to the main findings of this research. Firstly, I draw on the particular and universal shown by the data before discussing the dissonance occurring in the data from Angra do Heroísmo. Lastly, I will discuss the political aspects of heritage management on the basis of the findings.

2 Portugal, Azores, Angra do Heroísmo, UNESCO and World Heritage – how does it all come together?

This chapter aims to explain the geographical, historical and socio-political context of the case of Angra do Heroísmo. These facts are significant in order to understand the overall societal frame and point of departure for the discussions that will be analysed in the following. What is more, it will give an informed base for understanding the statements and opinions given by the informants. This chapter will also give a historical outline of the events and processes that led to founding of UNESCO and the adoption of the World Heritage Convention, in which the basic principles of the World Heritage Convention will be explained along with UNESCO's bureaucracy and apparatus on World Heritage. These latter facts will inform about the frameworks and central processes of UNESCO in regard to World Heritage, some of which can explain some of the international commitments of Angra do Heroísmo. These commitments can also be said to be the international working frame for the case of Angra do Heroísmo. Lastly, I will draw on the most significant aspects of the regional and local legal and administrative apparatus that set the premises for the management of the city, and thus the discussions, which will be analysed in this thesis.

View of Angra do Heroísmo towards the bay and Monte Brazil, 2013. Photo: Marit Johansson

2.1 Portugal and the Azores – a general background

The Azores – The Mid-Atlantic archipelago

The Azores archipelago is situated in the Mid-Atlantic region, 1500 km from the European- and 3900 km from the American coastline, consisting of nine volcanic islands divided into three geographical groups: the Eastern group comprising San Miguel and Santa Maria, the Central group, which includes the island of Terceira, São Jorge, Faial, Graciosa and Pico, and finally the Western group, consisting of the two islands of Flores and Corvo. Flores marks the westernmost point of Europe (ATA, 2013).

Map of the Azores archipelago (Stromboli Online, 2006).

The exact year for the discovery of the Azores is disputed, but it is known that the archipelago was inhabited during the first half of the 15th century (Garcia and Monteiro, 2001). Hence, the Azores have been an object to a great number of myths and there is constant speculation about whether the archipelago has had any previous settlements, but up until the present there has been no firm proof to indicate that the archipelago was settled before the Portuguese colonialization in the second half the 15th century (Carita, 2008:49, Garcia and Monteiro, 2001). However, it is believed that the archipelago was discovered by a fleet sent by Henry the Navigator of Portugal in search for new land, which first arrived the easternmost situated island of Santa Maria. San Miguel was the second island to be discovered, before they reached the island of Terceira. Thus, the first settlements in the archipelago were established in Santa Maria and San Miguel in

the 1440s, and Terceira is believed to have been settled in around 1450-1460 (Coelho da Silva, 2012:28, Dias Gregório, 2012:46).

The Azores was ascribed as an autonomous region in the Portuguese constitution in 1976, which gave the Azores its own parliament and legal framework. Both the Azores and Madeira are autonomous regions which means that they “have a political/administrative regime of their own. This is justified by their geographic particularities and based on their populations' wish for self-government” (Governo de Portugal 2015). Hence, “Portugal has three levels of administration: Central Government, Local Government and the Autonomous Regions of the Azores and Madeira” (Council of Europe, 2010).

The Azores was previously considered to be one of the poorest regions in Europe; nevertheless, after the inclusion of Portugal to the European Union in 1986, the region has obtained considerable economical transferences from regional EU programmes (e.g. The European Commission, 2008).

There are currently close to 250 000 inhabitants in the archipelago², though being most unevenly dispersed (Silveira and Santos, 2013:267). San Miguel is the largest and most densely populated island, and is the location of the capital of Ponta Delgada, where the Azorean Regional Government is situated and the President of the Azores has his official residency. Even though the Government of the Azores has tried to distribute some of its administrative branches to the other islands (e.g. the Regional Assembly is located in the city of Horta in Faial), San Miguel is considered as the centre of power of the region, with the strongest economy due to the most developed tourist industry in the archipelago. San Miguel also receives the greatest part of tourists arriving in the Azores. Almost 70% of the tourists choose San Miguel as their preferred destination in the archipelago. The island of Terceira receives 12% of the total number of tourists; the island of Faial receives 8%, whereas the other islands receive less than 5% (Barros, Gil-Alana and Santos 2008:6). There is also a great variety in natural resources and socioeconomic infrastructure within the archipelago, some of which give an uneven distribution of economic possessions between the islands, and the concentration of power and money that San Miguel holds is disputed. There is undoubtedly a certain type of rivalry between the islands, some of which has also been discussed by island researchers (see Baldacchino and Ferreira, 2013).

Even so, the Azores was one of the last regions in Portugal to invest in tourism, although tourism has gained an increasing importance over the last decades. Tourism was appointed as a priority area in 1996, and during the following years tourism grew steadily along with governmental investments. Politically, these investments culminated with the first plan for tourism in the region in 2008 (Silveira and Santos, 2013:261), with tourism in the Azores primarily based on

² Distribution of inhabitants: São Miguel (55.9%), Terceira (22.9 %), Pico (5.7%), São Jorge (3.7 %), Santa Maria (2.2%), Graciosa (1.8 %), Flores (1.5 %) and Corvo (0.2 %) (Silveira and Santos, 2013:267).

nature, wildlife, rural areas and culture. A study made in 2009 also revealed that it is mostly nature seekers who visit the Azores, as scenery/landscape, fauna, flora and its volcanic nature thought to be the main attractions (Moniz, Hill and Silva, 2009: 66). As for the tourists visiting the Azores, the greatest number of tourists coming to the Azores are generally Portuguese (56%). In 2008, Swedish tourists comprised the greatest group of non-Portuguese – 31 %, followed by Germany, Denmark and Norway (Barros, Gil-Alana and Santos 2008: 6-7), though the share of Nordic tourists has declined in the past few years. The great number of Portuguese is due to cultural proximity, with genealogical tourism also playing an important role, as continental Portuguese have friends and family in the Azores (Silveira and Santos, 2013: 281). However, tourism has generally regressed during recent years due to the financial crisis in Europe and Portugal (Silveira and Santos, 2013: 260-261). I will return to the matter of tourism in the Azores in Chapter 10, in which the subject is addressed in greater depth. Besides the fact that tourism has become a significant industry, sectors such as food industry, livestock, forestry and fishing are important for the regions' economy (Governo de Portugal, 2010).

Indeed it is possible to talk about a common Azorean culture, though the different islands have distinct cultural expressions that can be said to be a result of their vast geographical dispersal (600 km) and lack of communication because of the rough sea that has always separated them. Moreover, fluxes of immigration have influenced both the language and culture of the islands where the immigrants settled. The Azores has been an object of various waves of immigration from different European countries such as France and Holland, and religious refugees have found a safe haven in the islands during the centuries. For instance, there was a massive Jewish immigration in the 15th century (Dias, 2012:253).

Angra do Heroísmo and Terceira

The foundation of the city

Angra do Heroísmo is situated on the south coast of the Island of Terceira, an island which is approximately 29 km long and 17 km wide. The name Terceira refers to the fact that it was the third island to be discovered. As I will show in a further description below, Angra do Heroísmo previously held a strong and significant position in the archipelago. Despite the diminished importance of the city, Angra do Heroísmo is still ascribed several governmental functions. The juridical branch of the Azorean Government and the Regional Directorate for Culture are found in the city, as well as the representative of The Portuguese Government in the Azores, the Minister of the Republic, who maintains his residency in Angra do Heroísmo. Furthermore, the Roman Catholic diocese is located in Angra do Heroísmo.

The first settlement in Terceira took place in the northern part of the island, but since Angra do Heroísmo could offer a safer port due to its deep basin protected by the Monte Brazil volcano (see picture on page 21), the navigator Álvaro Martins

Homens established the main city of Terceira at this location in the second part of the 15th century. Another important reason for choosing Angra do Heroísmo was the fact that there was free access to fresh water from the rivers running from the hills north of the city to the bay, some of which facilitated the supply of water for both the ships and inhabitants (Coelho da Silva, 2012:29).

As the safest port in the archipelago, and along with the increased transatlantic voyages of the Portuguese state, Angra do Heroísmo was appointed as an obligatory port-of-call by Vasco da Gama in 1499. Vasco da Gama came to Angra on two occasions – one in 1499 and one in 1503 (de Matos, 2012:63). Upon his first visit, he arrived in the city with his brother Paulo da Gama, who had taken ill on the return from the first voyage to India. Paulo da Gama died the day after they arrived, and was buried in the church of the convent of San Francisco (Ravenstein, 2010: 94). Angra do Heroísmo provided shelter and a means of defence, as well as supplies and necessary repairs for the ships coming from America, Africa and the Orient on their voyages to and from Europe.

Angra do Heroísmo depicted in 1671. "Angra na terceira (in sec xix)" by Jacob van Meurs - De nieuwe en onbekende Wereld. (Wikipedia, 2015).

Angra do Heroísmo was also established as the official "Provedoria das Armadas e Naus da India" (the supply establishment for the fleet and ships of the Indies),

and subsequent to this appointment, the forts of São Sebastião and São João Baptista were built on each side of the bay in order to give the port and the bay area its necessary protection. São João Baptista was constructed on the order of the Spanish king Phillip II, who ruled both Portugal and Spain from 1580-1598³ during the latter part of the 16th century. The forts worked against attacks from pirates, who were a constant threat to the city and the ships docking in Angra do Heroísmo (UNESCO, 08.06.1983, Coelho da Silva, 2012:32). The forts are still well preserved, and São João Baptista is currently used as a base for the Portuguese Army. The significance of Angra do Heroísmo as a port-of-call, and the role it had during the maritime explorations in the 15th and the 16th centuries, was indeed the key reason for nominating the city, not to mention being the justification given for enlisting the city onto the World Heritage List (ICOMOS, 06.1983).

Due to Angra's status as an obligatory port, the city grew rapidly in both size and population during the 16th century, and it became one of the most important cities in the Azores at the time (Monjardino, 2012). In 1534, it was elevated to the status of a city, in addition to becoming the seat of the archbishop in the Azores – as mentioned above, the latter is a position that the city still holds. Subsequent to this appointment, there were several cathedrals and religious buildings built in the city. The main cathedral in Angra do Heroísmo – Santíssimo Salvador de Sé – was completed in 1568, and the convent named São Gonçalo, which later became the largest convent in the Azores, was established in 1545. A great number of convents was also built in the city, but a large part was distinguished during the liberal reforms of the 19th century. The convent of São Gonçalo is one of the convents that are still preserved, and it has recently been completely restored to serve as a nursing home. The convent of San Francisco, built in a baroque style in the 17th century, in which the first chapel was built in the latter part of the 15th century, is another religious building still standing, and which currently hosts the City Museum. The Jesuits built a convent and college in the 18th century (currently called the Captains General Palace), which holds a significant position in the contemporary cityscape of Angra do Heroísmo because of its architecture and church, and due to the fact that it serves both governmental functions and works as the presidential residence. Later on, the church of Misericórdia, which was situated close to the harbour, was built in the 18th century. Hence, the construction of these buildings contributed to a monumental outlook for the city, which is still preserved (Coelho da Silva, 2012:33).

As stated, Angra do Heroísmo was classified due to its role during the Maritime explorations of the 15th and the 16th centuries. However, another unique aspect stressed in the justification inscribing Angra to the World Heritage List was the city urban plan, which was laid out in the 15th and 16th centuries:

³ Portugal was under Spanish rule from 1580-1640 (Britannica, 2015).

[I]t was decided to set out the city, based on an original layout: the characteristic checkerboard plan of new cities was altered to take into account the prevailing winds. Angra do Heroísmo thus offers a perhaps unique adaption of an urban model to particular climatic conditions. It has been conjectured, and not without reason, that the choice was imposed by the navigators and their cartographers. (ICOMOS, 06.1983)

The natural harbour of Angra do Heroísmo provided perfect conditions for a safe port, but the terrain surrounding the bay was difficult to inhabit due to the hilly landscape. Therefore, it is looked upon as an additional achievement by the responsible cartographers at the time to adapt the city plan to this challenging landscape. The justification above was one of the characteristics of the city that was emphasized as important to preserve by the UNESCO delegates visiting Angra do Heroísmo subsequent to the earthquake in 1980. Thus, this matter was emphasized in the nomination for the World Heritage List (UNESCO 08.06.1983).

Angra do Heroísmo worked as a port-of-call, and was one of the most important harbours in the archipelago for approximately three centuries, but as sailing ship navigation came to an end, the new marina in Praia da Vitória and Ponta Delgada in San Miguel took over its functions. Below is an inhabitant's view of the lost port, who writes accordingly about the present state of the harbour of Angra:

In the last hundred years or so, Angra's harbour suffered more changes such as the opening of marginal roads in both cliffs, along with the decrease of its sea traffic. With the construction of the new island's harbour in Praia da Vitória, the old Customs' pier lost all of its dock's functions, until it was reduce[d] to now-a-days being a complement area of the present recreation port. (Monjardino, 2005:14)

Indeed, Angra do Heroísmo played an important role in what is considered to be one of the most significant eras in the history of Portugal: the Maritime explorations of the 15th and 16th centuries. During this period, Portugal was a leading maritime and colonial power that on the command of Bartolommeo Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, in addition to Vasco da Gama discovering the sea route from Europe to Asia. With these naval discoveries and the consequent establishment of trade routes with the East, the Portuguese introduced Asian goods to the European trade houses, created a community at Nagasaki in Japan, established a city at Goa in India and built an entrepot in China (Birmingham, 2009:29), as well as it took on colonies in Africa and the Americas that profited from the slave trade and the minerals extracted in Brazil. Despite the loss of trade routes, the independence of Brazil in 1822 and the general decolonization, which primarily took place in the 1970s, the traces of this Portuguese imperialism and international trade are still evident (Birmingham, 2009). There are currently

approximately 200 million native Portuguese speakers outside of Portugal (Council of Europe, 2010), and the Portuguese cultural impact can be found from Japan to Brazil.

Present Angra do Heroísmo

To make a long leap from maritime explorations and the era of colonization, I will now attend to the current society of Angra do Heroísmo and introduce the reader to the local government, the city's demography, the current city structure and the state of tourism. Terceira Island is the second most populated island in the Azores, with approximately 60,000 inhabitants living in the small villages along the coastline or in the two cities of Praia da Vitória and Angra do Heroísmo. The cities have also lent their name to two municipalities on the island, Angra do Heroísmo and Praia da Vitória, which again are divided in several parishes or *freguesias* as they are called. *Freguesias* are the local administrative subdivisions of the municipalities. There are 19 *freguesias* within the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo⁴, and the city of Angra do Heroísmo contains four of these *freguesias*: Sé, Santa Luzia, São Pedro and Nossa Senhora da Conceição (SERA, 2011, CMAH, 2014a). The *freguesias* have both a directly elected assembly (*Assembleia de Freguesia*) and a parish board (*Junta de Freguesia*), which is appointed by the assembly.

Map of Terceira Island with municipalities and parishes (CMAH, 2014a).

⁴ Portugal has approximately 303 municipalities and 4,259 *freguesias* (CEMR, 2014).

The municipality of Angra do Heroísmo has a municipal assembly (Assembleia municipal) that consists of the presidents of the parishes, as well as directly elected representatives, which must be of the same number as the presidents. There is also a municipal chamber (Câmara Municipal), of which all members are directly elected. This is the executive organ of the municipality, which is considered as a stronger body than the assembly. The president of the municipal chamber is also the mayor in Angra do Heroísmo, with the former and current presidents represented by- and representing the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista), a social democratic party that is one of the biggest parties in Portugal. There are also different councils in the municipality that are consultative organs to the municipal chamber. For example, there is both a council for culture, education and youth in Angra do Heroísmo and an Island Council (Britannica, 2014, CMAH, 2014c).

The administration of the municipality is located in the city centre of Angra do Heroísmo, and Angra do Heroísmo is considered to be the most important city on the island. It is a commercial centre for the island of Terceira, in addition to serving several administrative functions for the region of Azores. Moreover, it is a residential area currently holding 10 887⁵ inhabitants (SERA (Serviço Regional Estatística dos Açores), 2011). However, the number of residents living within the classified zone is lower, as some of the parishes that are part of the city of Angra do Heroísmo stretch beyond the classified area.

Still, it is a fact that the number of residents in the city has decreased over the past 30 years. Demographical data from one of the parishes, Sé, which is located in the very centre of the classified zone, may serve as an example of this tendency:

Year	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1981	1991	2001	2011
Residents	2,550	3,260	3,168	2,914	2,600	1,198	1,276	1,200	955

Number of residents in the Sé parish in Angra do Heroísmo, based on data from Serviço Regional Estatística dos Açores 2011.

As can be seen from the table above, the number of residents was at its peak in 1940, before it gradually decreased during the 1950s and the 1960s. The reason for this reduction of inhabitants was caused by a wave of emigration to the US and Canada from the Azores during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s (Rocha, 2008: 298-303), and the city of Angra do Heroísmo was no exception to this phenomenon. The data also shows how the number of residents was reduced by half from 1970 to 1981 due to the 1980 earthquake, which caused a significant flux to the outskirts of Angra do Heroísmo. However, there is a slight increase in residents in 1991, but

⁵ The number is based on the population census from 2011, in which the parishes in the city of Angra do Heroísmo are counted accordingly: Angra do Heroísmo (Nossa Senhora da Conceição) 3,717, Angra do Heroísmo (Santa Luzia) Angra do Heroísmo (São Pedro) 3,460 and Angra do Heroísmo (Sé) 955. The number of residents for all the parishes is 10,887. The residential areas of the parishes of Santa Luzia and Nossa Senhora da Conceição reach beyond the classified zone (SERA, 2011) (see map on page 39).

the numbers are yet again decreasing towards 2011. Symptomatically, the data from the parishes surrounding the city centre of Angra do Heroísmo shows a clear increase of residents (SREA (Serviço Regional Estatística dos Açores), 2011).

In terms of the social structure in the city, one may find a vast representation of different social classes within the city centre of Angra, but all the same it is a class-divided society. It is difficult to overlook the fact that an elite holds many of the important positions within the city. Another aspect I find interesting within the community of Angra is the group that consists of well-educated people coming from mainland Portugal to work in the Azores. Even though the educational level in the Azores has increased during the past few decades, many of the higher positions within the governmental administration are held by continental Portuguese. At my former workplace, the Regional Directorate for Culture of the Azores, it is evident that the lower posts, such as conservation technicians and secretaries, are dominated by Azoreans, while there are more continental Portuguese among the superior technicians and chief executives.

So as to give the social space the proper characteristics, Angra do Heroísmo may as well be compared to other communities within the archipelago. In comparison to other towns in the archipelago, the inhabitants of Angra do Heroísmo give the impression of having a higher standard of living. On my first visit, when arriving from the capital of Ponta Delgada, I instantly got the sensation of being in an affluent city, which was mainly due to a seemingly well-preserved city centre, with its relatively high concentration of fine boutiques. The fashionable dressed inhabitants also struck me, which to me was far more prominent than in the other Azorean towns and in the other villages on Terceira Island. Indeed, there is a social distinction between the elegant women enjoying their espressos on the terraces in the pedestrian streets of Angra, and the old widows dressed in their black mourning clothing, living in the small villages on the east coast of the island.

A great part of the city consists of privately owned buildings from the 19th century, as quite a few of the houses in the historic part of the city were replaced during that century. However, a number of buildings also date back to the 18th century, and even the 17th century, some of which are old palaces classified within the national heritage law (UNESCO, 08.06.1983). Several of these antique palaces are still privately owned, while others are public buildings housing the governmental administration. The Regional Directorate for Culture's (Direção Regional da Cultura) main administration is located in the Palacete Silveira and Paulo. Another example is the Palácio Bettencourt from the late 17th to early 18th centuries which is currently the city library and a regional archive. Due to the earthquake, a topic I will return to in Chapter 5, a great part of the buildings within the city have been reconstructed, some partially and others completely. As a result, a great part (or parts) of the buildings date from the early 1980s.

As far as the present outlook of Angra, the city still holds the original city plan from the 15th and 16th centuries, which is due to the fact that the city ceased to develop when Angra do Heroísmo lost its role in intercontinental navigation

(UNESCO 08.06.1983). Though some of the buildings were altered in the restoration and reconstruction taking place after the earthquake, the streets and city plan are still the same as they were during Angra's peak of importance from the 15th until the 17th centuries. The Old Square (Praça Velha) makes up the heart of the city, which is where the city hall is located. The main street in Angra do Heroísmo is Rua de Sé going from the Old Square to the west up the hill, passes by the Sé Cathedral, before ending at another square named Altas das Covas. However, most of the streets lead from north to south down to the bay of Angra do Heroísmo where you can find the city beach – Prahina (meaning small beach), as well as the new marina with sail boats docked in this area, which also contains service facilities.

As with all the other islands, Terceira has its specific traditions and cultural expressions. For example, the island is famous for its numerous religious feasts taking place during the summer season, feasts which often include traditional bullfights. Even though this might be rather controversial, it is a treasured social hub that brings the villages together. One religious feast that is significant for the inhabitants in Terceira is the Espírito Santo Cult. The feast is a popular celebration of the Holy Spirit, which takes place every year in the different parishes in Angra do Heroísmo and in the whole of Terceira during the month of May. Another important feast in the City of Angra do Heroísmo is the Sanjoaninas, which is a celebration of Saint John at the end of June. This celebration is perhaps the most important feast during the year that the citizens of Angra do Heroísmo engage- and take pride in.

As the second most visited island in the Azores, Terceira received approximately 60,000 tourists in 2012, according to the regional statistical bureau of the Azores known as SREA (Serviço Regional Estatística dos Açores, 2012). As with the other islands, Portuguese comprise the greatest group of visitors, although Terceira is also dominated by tourists from the US and Spain. There are no statistical data about the influx of tourists to the city of Angra do Heroísmo, but the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo received approximately 40,000 hotel guests in 2012. Angra do Heroísmo is considered to be the most important city in the Terceira, as it possesses most of the accommodations, and one must assume that most of the tourists coming to the island visit the city (cf. Direcção Regional do Turismo, 2014, personal communication).

Modern Portugal – at a glance

Portugal has undoubtedly gone through an immense change during the last four decades – from the dictatorship of Salazar, who was overthrown in a revolution, to a democratic republic and finally to the inclusion of the European Union. As António Costa Pinto states, “Economic and social change has taken place, with Portugal changing from a backward, socially underdeveloped country into a modern nation” (1998: v). There is little doubt that Portugal has increased its

socioeconomic standards over the last 40 years, though the financial crisis has hit Portugal severely. In the following, I will give a further outline of these events in the recent history of Portugal, in order to provide an overview of the current national-historic context of the research case.

The fascists gained power in Portugal in a military coup in 1926, although it was not until 1932 that a professor in economics and finance by the name of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar became their leader and the official head of state. Salazar soon outlined his new ideas for the regime and formed a constitution that was to work as a framework for the new state – *Estado Novo*. The *Estado Novo* did not hold a fundamentally fascist ideology, but it became evident what kind of regime Salazar announced. A secret police was established and an efficient censorship was introduced, in addition to political parties and unions being banned. Several paramilitary youth organizations were established, and Salazar also supported the establishment of a militia – The Portuguese Legion. Salazar therefor reintroduced a number of elements that created the very basis for a fascistic dictatorship – a regime that was to be the longest living fascist regime in Europe (Fuglestad, 2004:189). The Azores needed to equally obey the politics and regime of Salazar, with fort São João Baptista in Angra do Heroísmo used during Salazar's rule as a prison for political prisoners (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010:155).

One important element in Salazar's regime that I want to bring to the fore is his use of- and emphasis on the era of discoveries in his nationalistic propaganda to help strengthen the Portuguese identity. Several medieval monuments were restored in order to commemorate this period, as he believed this emphasis on Portugal's former heroes and the era of discoveries to be educational and good role models for a Portuguese people he found difficult to lead (Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010:11, 85). He wrote accordingly about the matter in one of his political volumes called *Inéditos e dispersos*:

No! Portugal must not die! It must live on for the worlds it discovered, for the nations it amazed with the splendour of its greatness and its heroism. There are no more new worlds to discover, nor strange nations to fight: but there is a grandiose peaceful work to accomplish, there is the need to shape citizens who will be as good Portuguese as the Portuguese of the Seventeenth Century were. (Salazar in Ribeiro de Meneses, 2010:11)

However, it can be reasonable to state, like one of my informants made me aware of, that due to Salazar's use of this era, there might be a lot of people linking the name and regime of Salazar with this period in Portugal's history. Thus, the era of the maritime discoveries could also have a negative connotation to many Portuguese.

After an ever-increasing discontent with the fascist regime, the dictatorship of Salazar was finally thrown out in what came to be known as the Carnation

Revolution. The revolt started on the 25th of April in 1974 at the initiative of a group of young Marxist-oriented officers who were encouraged by the people though from 1974 to 1976 there followed a turbulent political phase, until the socialist Mário Soares was elected as the first democratically elected prime minister in 50 years (Fuglestad, 2004: 212, 213). This was the beginning of a new era, and 18 constitutional governments have succeeded Soares, of which a number have been social democratic governments (1985-1995) (Council of Europe, 2010). Portugal is presently governed by a right-wing coalition led by Prime Minister Paulo Passos Coelho.

Portugal's inclusion into the European Union (the then EEC) in 1986 has been important for the opening up of the Portuguese economy to the external world (Lains, 2011:55). Nonetheless, the present membership is discussed, even though the country has been receiving much needed financial aid from the union in this time of crisis. As mentioned above, Portugal is suffering from the current financial crisis, which has been hitting the southern European countries in particular, with an unemployment rate reaching 18% (May, 2013) (Statistics Portugal, 2015) and a national debt creeping up to 221.11 billion Euros in 2014 (Statista, 2015). The crisis has been an evident factor during my fieldwork undertaken in Portugal, and it is also manifested in Angra do Heroísmo by the unfinished building projects, the unsellable houses and shops and restaurants that have been forced to close their businesses. Moreover, I have friends and acquaintances who have lost their jobs or are otherwise victims of the crisis.

2.2 Angra do Heroísmo – entering the World Heritage community

At the 7th ordinary session of the World Heritage Committee in 1983, it was decided to inscribe the central zone of Angra do Heroísmo as the 206th site on the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 01.1984). The justification given for the inscription was primarily based on the city's importance during the maritime explorations of the 15th and the 16th centuries, and the following justification was given for the inscription of the site:

-Criterion IV: Set in the Mid-Atlantic, the port of Angra, an obligatory port-of-call for fleets from Africa and the Indies, is the eminent example of a creation linked to the maritime world within the framework of the great explorations.

-Criterion VI: like the Tower of Belem, the Convent of the Hieronymites of Lisbon and like Goa, Angra do Heroísmo is directly and tangibly associated with an event of a universal historic significance: the maritime exploration which permitted exchanges between the great civilizations of the world (ICOMOS, 06.1983).

This inscription was completed after a local nomination process that was initiated by a governmental official and resident in Angra do Heroísmo, which gave the city the World Heritage Status only three years after the 1980 earthquake. However, I

will further elaborate on the nomination process in Chapter 6, though before going any further I will give an outline of the history of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention and its main principles.

Events leading up to the World Heritage Convention

The idea of creating an international movement for the protection of the universal heritage emerged after World War I. The League of Nations, which was founded in 1919, arranged several conferences during the 1920s and 1930s, and worked to establish international legal instruments in order to conserve cultural heritage (Leitão, 2011:33). One of these conferences arranged by the League of Nations, which was to be important for the later World Heritage Convention, was the Athens Conference in 1931, as “it laid down the bases for the concept of World Heritage” (Pressouyre, 1993:20).

After World War II, the League of Nations was replaced by The United Nations, which soon established UNESCO. A United Nations Conference was held in London in 1945, which gathered 44 countries for the purpose of establishing a United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization. The aim was to establish an organization that would prevent another world war from taking place by promoting peace through culture, education and science and thus “building peace in the minds of men” (Valderrama, 1995:21-25) (UNESCO, 2010a). The latter is still UNESCO's primary slogan, though it has been corrected to a more politically correct version, namely “Building peace in the minds of men and women”. UNESCO's constitution was signed in London on the 16th of November 1945 by 37 countries, and came into force with its 20 ratifications on the 4th of November 1946. Portugal joined UNESCO for the first time in 1965, although its membership was discussed somewhat due to Portugal's colonial policies. In 1972, Portugal withdrew from UNESCO, but re-entered in 1974 (Kapteyn et al., 1982: I.B.I.4, 3), while Portugal's own national commission was created in 1979 (UNESCO, Portugal, 2015).

One of UNESCO's first projects in relation to cultural heritage was the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which was adopted in Hague in 1954. The Convention, which would later be known as the Hague Convention, also refers to the idea of a universal heritage or “cultural heritage of mankind”. Though the idea of a universal heritage had already been proposed in the Athens Charter from 1931, which was an outcome of the Athens Conference arranged by the League of Nations, but this was the first time it was “used in an international legal instrument” (Leitão, 2011: 34-35).

Though, the road to the World Heritage Convention is the result of several conferences and conventions, as well as international safeguarding campaigns. The action taken by UNESCO in regard to the building of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt is one of the latter. The construction caused international concern, as the dam would have flooded the 3,000-year-old Abu Simbel temples. Thus, UNESCO

launched an international safeguarding campaign to rescue the temples from destruction in 1959, after an appeal from Egypt and Sudan in 1959. This safeguarding involved an archaeological research project of the threatened area, and in 1964 the Abu Simbel and Philae temples were dismantled and erected on dry and safe ground. The campaign was considered to be a great success, and led to other safeguarding campaigns of cultural heritage sites such as Venice, Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan and the Borobudur Temple in Indonesia (Ronström, 2007:67-68, UNESCO, 2010b). The building of the Aswan Dam and its safeguarding campaign were important for the later elaboration of the World Heritage Convention, although UNESCO's campaign must be seen against the backdrop of the foregoing conventions and conferences that laid down the premises for the idea of a common and universal responsibility for heritage preservation (Ronström, 2007:74).

Yet another important conference that should be mentioned is the International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings, which was held in Venice in 1964. The ideas and principles outlined in the Venice Charter set the premise for the international conservation and restoration movement (Ronström, 2007: 75, Smith, 2006:88-94). UNESCO was involved in the organization of this conference, which also recommended the establishment of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and which was officially founded when the ratification of the Venice Charter took place in 1965. Hence, ICOMOS was to play an important part in the making of the World Heritage Convention, as the Convention established ICOMOS as an advisory body to the World Heritage Committee (Titchen, 1995:51-52).

What should not be forgotten is how the convention is also a product of ideas in relation to nature conservation. The Convention is also strongly influenced by the ideas outlined at the Brunnen Conference in 1947 that resulted in the establishment of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which set the premise for the protection of natural heritage (Pressouyre, 1993:1993). The idea of an actual document for the protection of cultural and natural heritage was launched by two Americans (Joseph Fisher and Russell Train) involved with nature conservation, and as Leitão states: "The responsibility of safeguarding this common heritage for future generations is deeply linked with one of the most important present-day concepts related to environmental issues, that of the sustainable development" (Leitão, 2011: 35). At the end of the 1960s, both natural and cultural organizations elaborated drafts for an international convention for the protection of natural and cultural heritage, which were finally presented at the UN's environmental conference in Stockholm in 1972 (Ronström, 2007: 67, 68).

The World Heritage Convention

On the 16th of November 1972, the Convention of the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, rather known as the World Heritage Convention, was adopted by UNESCO's General Conference in Paris. Some of the introductory considerations in the convention may be descriptive for its reasoning and objective: "the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions", and "that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole" (UNESCO, 1972:1). "Outstanding universal value" is one of the main concepts of the Convention, and it is a significant criterion when selecting nominated sites for the World Heritage List. However, the concept was not given a definition in the Convention, and the idea of what it actually holds has led to much ambiguity (Leitão 2011: 40, Labadi 2013). Moreover, the notion of universal heritage or world heritage of mankind has been an object for debate. The problem in regard to the heritage of universal value was addressed by ICOMOS as early as in 1977, which expressed concern about creating criteria that could be universally applied and perceived (Omland, 1998:9). The concept of a universal heritage has later been widely discussed by scholars until present (e.g. Lowenthal, 1994, Cleere, 1996 and 2001, Smith, 2006, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2007, Ronström, 2007). The former ICOMOS advisor Henry Cleere states accordingly:

It has been argued that the concept of "universality" in relation to the cultural heritage is paradoxical, and logically applicable only to the earliest phases of human cultural evolution, and perhaps also to the global culture of the late twentieth century. Cultural evolution is by nature one of diversification. (2001:24)

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett poses a similar question: "How does heritage come to belong to all of humanity?" Like Cleere, she reasons that UNESCO's World Heritage List "produces a paradoxical asymmetry between the diversity of those who produce cultural assets in the first place and the humanity to which those assets come to belong as world heritage" (2007: 161-162). It has therefore been further argued that the notion of a universal heritage or heritage of humanity, being most undefinable and diverse, must be given a multiplicity of meanings – meanings that will depend on the context (Omland, 1998: 9, 10). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett claims that "humanity does not hold world heritage in common in the way that each 'cultural masterpiece' is held in common by the community that sustains it" (2007:185). The statement undermines the possibility of a commonly felt world heritage, as individuals will always feel a stronger ownership to the heritage of objects belonging to the immediate community.

The World Heritage Convention has been both celebrated and discussed; however, it has been widely accepted as it currently is 191 countries that have

adhered to the World Heritage Convention. Portugal ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1980. The ratification gives the country or the State Party, as the countries that ratified the Convention are called, an obligation to take the necessary action in order to preserve the heritage, but the Convention also emphasizes that the sovereignty of the State Party should be respected (UNESCO, 1972: Article 6).

One of the most famous aspects of the World Convention is its founding of the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 1972: Article 11). The first sites were enlisted at the first World Heritage Committee meeting in 1978, and from its very beginnings there has been a discussion as to whether to create a numerical limit. The discussion derives from a concern that the World Heritage would lose its exclusiveness by including an increasing number of sites (Pressouyre, 1993: 46). At present no limit has been set, and as of 2014 the World Heritage List consists of 1,007 heritage sites, of which 779 are cultural, 197 are natural and 31 are enlisted because of both their cultural and natural values insofar as being mixed sites. Portugal currently has 15 sites as part of the World Heritage List.

Behind the World Heritage List and the Convention lies a bureaucratic apparatus that will be described briefly in the following. Firstly, it is the World Heritage Committee that is composed of representatives from 21 countries, whose main task is to evaluate which sites are to be included on the World Heritage List. The World Heritage Committee meets annually, and it is at these meetings that proposed cultural or natural sites are either included on the list or declined. The World Heritage Committee elects the World Heritage Committee Bureau, which consists of seven States Parties. The Bureau's main task is to coordinate the work of the World Heritage Committee and attend to the order of business of these Committee meetings (UNESCO, 2015e).

Before reaching the World Heritage Committee, the proposed World Heritage Sites go through a nomination process which starts at the national level. It is only a country that may nominate a site. A country first needs to compose a tentative list for the selection of their natural or cultural sites that may be nominated within five to 10 years. Sites are officially nominated when the nomination document is handed in to the World Heritage Centre in Paris. The World Heritage Centre is the coordinating body at UNESCO on World Heritage matters, e.g. coordinating the World Heritage Committee Meetings, dealing with the day-to-day management of the World Heritage Convention, assisting countries in the nomination process (UNESCO, 2015c) and checking if all the information needed in the nomination documents is included. The nomination document should give a description of the site and the reasons for inscribing it, as well as how it is currently- and will be managed in the future. The nomination document is then evaluated by the advisory bodies of ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites), IUCN (The International Union for Conservation of Nature) or ICCROM (The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property), all of which put forth their evaluations to the World Heritage Committee (van der Aa, 2005:19).

In order to be included, a site needs to meet one or several of the following criteria:

- (i) represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- (ii) exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- (iii) bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- (iv) be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- (v) be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
- (vii) contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- (viii) be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- (ix) be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- (x) contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation.

(UNESCO 07.2013)

As one example, Angra do Heroísmo is inscribed based on criteria (iv) and (vi). These criteria are outlined in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. This is an essential document that aims to facilitate the implementation of the Convention and explain the procedures for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List to the State Parties, as well as giving information about the granting of International Assistance and funding from the World Heritage Fund. The Operational Guidelines have been revised and extended several times since the first version in 1977 up until the last and current version of 2013 (Titchen, 1995:104-105, UNESCO, 07.2013, UNESCO, 2015a). Thus, it will probably be an object of further revisions in the years to come.

The World Heritage Convention also established the List of World Heritage in Danger. It is stated that “the World Heritage Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, whenever circumstances shall require, under the title of ‘List of World Heritage in Danger’. [...] The list may include only such property forming part of the cultural and natural heritage as is threatened by serious and specific dangers” (UNESCO, 1972: Article 11,4). Hence, the List of World Heritage in Danger works as a means to sanction a State Party in case of the mistreatment of a World Heritage Site. As the World Heritage List is a list of honour, the World Heritage List in Danger is rather seen as being one of dishonour. Consequently, such enlistments may be involved in much dispute, as was the case for the World Heritage Site of Dresden Elben Valley in Germany, which was included on the World Heritage List in Danger in 2006 due to the building of a four-lane bridge crossing the Elbe River. The construction of the bridge was thought to have caused irreversible damage to a World Heritage Site. However, the building of the bridge took place despite the inclusion in the World Heritage List in Danger, and the site was finally delisted in 2009 (UNESCO, 2006b, UNESCO, 2009, see also Gaillard, 2014).

World Heritage and Eurocentrism – the critique

The overrepresentation of European sites on the World Heritage List has long gained vast criticism (see e.g. Omland, 1998, Cleere, 2001, van der Aa, 2005, Leask, 2008, Rao, 2010, Smith 2006, Hølleland, 2013). The critique derives from how the World Heritage Convention is based on Western ideals and the way the Western world classifies heritage. As van der Aa writes, “Europe’s overrepresentation on the World Heritage List is often attributed to the convention being written from a white, middle-class male’s perspective which favours Western ideas and thoughts” (2005:31).

Europe currently holds almost half of the enlisted sites, and Italy and Spain have the largest number of enlisted sites, with 50 and 40 sites, respectively, on the List. One of the reasons for the overrepresentation of European sites is clearly also related to resources. Nomination processes require resources, in addition to

depending on stable national conditions, which is one of the reasons why more wealthy and democratic countries possess more listed sites.

The critique and problem of the imbalanced list have been well perceived by the UNESCO, and several initiatives have been made so as to provide a more balanced and representative list. The implementation of “the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List” in 1994, as well as the establishment of the World Heritage Centre and the introduction of the concept cultural landscape approved by the World Heritage Committee in 1992, are both examples of such initiatives (van der Aa, 2005: 37). The inclusion of cultural landscape in the Convention was a means to include more sites from non-Western countries, and as Cleere states: “The relevance of this category of cultural heritage to non-monumental cultures is obvious” (2001:27). The Global Strategy is an action programme that aims to obtain a more credible list, as it was noted at a 1994 meeting that the list was over represented by Europeans sites, historic towns and religious buildings, not to mention historical periods and elitist architecture. As a consequence of these observations, there was an effort to include more vernacular architecture, prehistoric sites, sites from the 20th century and living cultures and non-Christian religions and beliefs. The action programme also aimed to encourage countries to nominate sites, and for those countries that had not done so to ratify the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 31.01.1994, UNESCO, 2015d). The World Heritage Centre was also to take an active part in the latter.

Measures have been taken and some of the imbalances have been adjusted for the better, yet an obvious Eurocentrism persists as Europe still holds the largest number of sites. It may also be pointed out that UNESCO and its advisory bodies are located in Europe: the UNESCO headquarters and the World Heritage Centre are placed in Paris, and ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM are located, respectively, in Paris, Gland in Switzerland and Rome. Additionally, one has to bear in mind that the very symbol of UNESCO is the Parthenon in Athens (van der Aa, 2005:31). These facts have a significant symbolic impact. It is also claimed that European countries make the most use of the new categories put forth in the Global Strategy, such as industrial heritage, prehistoric heritage and cultural landscape. For example, 29 out of the 44 cultural landscapes nominated between 1995 and 2003 are located in Europe. However, 31 countries have in fact ratified the Convention since 1994, but it is mostly new European countries that have nominated sites. Furthermore, historic towns and religious buildings still dominate the World Heritage List (van der Aa, 2005:37-38). Hence, the effects of the Global Strategy can be questioned, but it still accentuates the present importance of representativeness, in comparison to the perhaps previous emphasis on preservation (Omeland, 1998:22). Nonetheless, one may also claim that the World Heritage List reflects the current world order, though with a certain lag. Indeed, China is climbing the ladder, with its current 47 enlisted sites, which goes hand-in-hand with it increasingly becoming an important economic power.

Lastly, it should be noted how the case of this study Angra do Heroísmo, being a European town from a historical period, holding both religious (Christian) and elitist buildings, coincides with the most represented sites on the World Heritage List. I will now return to Angra do Heroísmo in the following, explaining the measures taken to preserve and protect this specific World Heritage Site.

2.3 The legal and administrative apparatus for the safeguarding of the Classified Zone of Angra do Heroísmo

Along with the classification of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List in 1983 came the need to officially manage the historical city centre. With reference to the World Heritage Convention, there is indeed an obligation “to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage” (UNESCO, 1972, Article 5).

The first legal framework to protect and preserve the classified area of Angra do Heroísmo came into force on the 13th of April 1984: the Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/84/A. However, specific buildings of architectonic importance and public interest had already been classified. The Fort of São Sebastião, São Gonçalo Convent and the Colégio Church were classified during the 1960s and 70s, and the church and fortress of São João were classified as early as in 1943. There were also several vernacular buildings classified in 1977, as well as some edifices such as Palácio Bettencourt and Palácio Capitães Gerais, which were classified shortly after the earthquake in 1980 (Declaração de Rectificação No. 11/2004 de 7 de Outubro de 2004). The façades of Angra do Heroísmo were protected by a regional legislation on cultural heritage in 1979. Moreover, the nomination document confirmed that a “regional legislation which will declare the town of Angra do Heroísmo a zone of historical, cultural and artistic interest” was at “an advanced state” (UNESCO, 08.06.1983). Thus, parts of the city had been subject to preservation laws prior to the classification, though the legal framework coming from the classification sought to give a more holistic protection of the city centre. Even so, the legal framework that was adopted in 1984 has been revised several times, firstly in 1999 through the Legislative Regional Decree No. 29/99A. The revision was made after recommendations and policies made by UNESCO in regard to historic cities were taken into consideration. Moreover, the peninsula of Monte Brazil, which had already been classified as a protected area in the Legislative Regional Decree No. 3/80/A, was included in the classified area in this revision. Another revision of the legal framework was made in 2001 when a new national heritage law (Lei No. 107/2001) also gave significant changes to the protection of the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A). Finally, the last revision of the legal framework was undertaken in 2004 through the Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A. This is the current legal document for the safeguarding and management of the

classified city centre of Angra do Heroísmo (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A).

***The legal framework for the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo –
Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A***

Because this thesis sets out to study the discussions in Angra do Heroísmo that stem from the predicaments of living in and managing a World Heritage classified zone, this chapter will give an outline of the basic principles in the legal framework that often set the premise for these discussions. Special significance will therefore be given to juridical provisions of importance in the discussions addressed later in this thesis.

The first articles in the legal framework from 2004 establish the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo as a “conjunct of public interest”, and define the area of protection (Chapter III, Articles 1-3). The map below depicts these boundaries of the classified zone, as well as its protection zone or buffer zone (marked in blue). The blue dots in the map also indicate the classified buildings within the classified area of Angra. Some of these buildings were referred to above, and as described, a great part were classified before the World Heritage enlistment of Angra do Heroísmo (Declaração de Rectificação No. 11/2004). Additionally, one may see from the map below how the peninsula of Monte Brazil is integrated into the classified area.

The classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo with its buffer zone and classified houses; Source: Câmara Municipal Angra do Heroísmo (CMAH, 2015)

The legislative regional decree from 2004 specifies the characteristic aspects of Angra do Heroísmo, and states that “the city of Angra do Heroísmo ought to preserve its characteristic aspect, thus interdicting any works of construction, reconstruction, modification or demolition which could change significantly the referred aspect or any fundamental element of its built patrimony” (Chapter I, Article 5, 1). It further addresses what kind of interventions may take place on the built heritage within the classified zone (Chapter III, Article 9). Article 10 addresses the regulations for the outlook of the city. The provisions for the streets in Angra do Heroísmo are addressed in this article, stating that the pavement shall be paved in basalt with a decoration of limestone (b). This article also addresses the regulation for the facades and the kinds of materials that are forbidden. Metal, glass, synthetic materials and plastics are given as examples of such prohibited materials. Furthermore, this article states that: “[A]ny sort of external window shades is forbidden in the classified zone” (Chapter III, Article 10t). Detailed directories in terms of the type of roof cover and shape are also given: “The slope and orientation of the roof plans, and the configuration, texture and colour of the roofs shall be maintained” (Chapter III, Article 10w). The roof cover should be of “argyle ceramic tiles, in “canudo” shape, with a brownish aged colour,[...]” (Chapter 3, Article 10x).

Article 11 addresses maintenance and repair, and states that “the maintenance of the buildings shall be constant and systematic, in order to prevent the need for a deeper interventions” (1). It is also stated how the repair shall be done in “materials similar to the originals” (3), and that “the frames on the doors and windows shall always be built in painted wood” (4).

The matter of new constructions within the classified zone is addressed in Article 16, which stresses the importance of this architecture to “become harmoniously adapted” (paragraph 1a), “unless that becomes justifiable by the function of a specific building” (1d). Chapter IV, Article 23 gives restrictions in terms of publicity, and restricts and forbids inscriptions, paintings and “the fixing of posters or any other advertising elements” (1). Special attention is given to commercial establishments, which “can only have, in each façade confronting to the street, one closing sun blind with canvas screen, one advertisement sign fixed parallel to the façade...” (2c). It is further stated that “advertisements shaped in plastic or aluminium boxes are not allowed” (2g), instead being in materials with a “good aesthetic quality” (2f). In case the legal framework is not obeyed, several articles address means of sanctions, such as fines.

The last revision also entailed alterations in terms of the official administration and management of the city. The law transferred the competence of the Conservation Office for the Classified Zone of Angra do Heroísmo (Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo) to the Directorate of Culture (Direção de Serviços de Bens Patrimoniais e de Acção Cultural) and the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo. In cooperation with the municipality, the Regional Directorate of Culture (whose administration is based in the city centre of Angra)

has the administrative responsibilities of safeguarding the World Heritage City. However, the Governmental Institution responsible for the World Heritage Site Angra do Heroísmo is the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage (Direção-Geral do Património Cultural) (UNESCO 2014e).

The Regional Directorate for Culture is the competent authority to give an evaluation before authorizing any public work within the classified zone, as well as to “verify and overview the works in progress” (Chapter III, Article 21). The Regional Directorate for Culture and the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo may both grant the necessary financial funding and prosecute any irregularities.

The Angra do Heroísmo municipality is responsible for working out a management plan for the historical city centre (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A), but the plan may only be adopted after approval by the regional authorities. An urban protection plan for the classified zone has been elaborated for several years, and has now finally been concluded. Currently, the urban protection plan has been publicly discussed in Angra do Heroísmo (CMAH, 2014b).

Another new law that concerns the city centre of Angra do Heroísmo is the Legislative Regional Decree No. 22/2010/A. This legal document addresses the infestation of termites in the Azores, and as Angra do Heroísmo is the inferior area, it is relevant for both the managers of the city and homeowners. The purpose of the new law is to establish means to control the infestation, and to give financial aid for disinfection and for the necessary reparations of the damaged buildings (Decreto Legislativo Regional No. 22/2010/A, Cap. 1, Art. 1).

2.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to give the reader the necessary information to help fully understand the case being studied, Angra do Heroísmo, and its regional and national context. An outline of the historical, socio-political and geographical framework has been given in order to understand the overall point of departure for the informants and the discussions, which will be analysed in parts II and III. Similarly, it is necessary to know the legal formalities concerning the preservation of the classified area in Angra do Heroísmo as they set the premises and even trigger the discussions. This chapter has also given an introduction to the concept of World Heritage, in which it has been sought to provide a historical outline of the events and actions leading up the World Heritage Convention. I have also explained some of the main principles of the Convention and the bureaucratic apparatus of the UNESCO in terms of World Heritage. The aim was to further give a brief insight into some of the dilemmas that the World Heritage List holds so the reader can become familiar with the current discussions concerning a complex and manifold issue (for further reading, see e.g. Titchen, 1995, van der Aa, 2005, Hølleland, 2013, Labadi, 2013). The next chapter will theorize the notion of

heritage and its discourses, and I will delve more deeply into the academic field of World Heritage.

3 Heritage – the critical research discourse

In the 1950s, there was a local public upraise fighting for the demolition of the old Hanseatic pier in Bergen, Norway. There was even a demonstration in which the participators carried banners such as: “Get rid of the rats and the old pier. We will build new and modern houses!” Twenty years later, in 1979, the Hanseatic pier was enlisted to the World Heritage List, and it is currently one of the most treasured heritage sites in Norway. It is a site which the local Bergen residents now take much pride in, and hordes of both national and international tourists flock to see the pier every year (Holme, 2001:17). As this example bears witness to, there has been a great rise in the public interest and awareness of heritage (Hewison, 1987, Walsh, 1992, Aronsson, 2004, Harrison, 2013). So what happened during these years? What caused the change and the present “craze for heritage”? The archaeologist Rodney Harrison poses a similar question:

One major question that remains to be answered is why these ideas about heritage and its management, which had to a larger extent been developed in isolation from broader public interests, subsequently gathered pace and were embraced so wholeheartedly by the public that it has become possible for us to speak of a late twentieth century heritage “boom”. (Harrison, 2013:68)

I will further elaborate on the increased interest in heritage, and give some explanations for the reasons as to why heritage has attained such a vast amount of attention, and how it became a primary tourist attraction. However, I will first explore the definition of heritage and draw on the theories on the uses of heritage that will be used in order to study the discussions and negotiations, as well as the staked values and hierarchies in the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo. Moreover, the link between heritage and identity will be discussed, and I will draw on- and define the notion of heritage politics before giving attention to a heritage site as a physical, emotive and dialectical place. Indeed, the thesis is research on World Heritage, and I conclude the chapter by assessing the research conducted in relation to World Heritage, and discuss the character of this academic field. Thus, this chapter aims to present the literature, theories and theorists being relevant in this thesis, as well as an overall aim is to contextualise the thesis’ theme in a broader heritage research discourse.

3.1 What is heritage?

The question above has been repeatedly posed in the heritage literature (Howard, 2003), as it is indeed a “broad and slippery term”, as Rodney Harrison writes (2013:5). Thus, in order to draw on the very definition of the word, it is a word that relates to the concept of inheritance (Howard, 2003:6). Inheritance is

something passed on from the past, though the past is a relative notion. It simply defines an event that took place or an object that was made sometime previous to the present – in principle being yesterday or 1,000 years ago.

Heritage is often described as something that is either tangible or intangible, though as the following literature and theorists will show: “[...] heritage is less about tangible material artefacts or other intangible forms of the past than about the meanings placed upon them and the representations which are created from them (Graham and Howard, 2008:2). Nevertheless, a tangible heritage is defined as the solid remains from the past, i.e. monuments, objects and buildings, while the intangible refers to for example traditions, languages and trades (Harrison, 2013:5). Though, tangible and intangible heritage can hardly be firmly separated, as intangible heritage is imbued in the tangible and vice versa (ibid: 14). Moreover, the term heritage encompasses larger entities such as cultural landscapes and historical cities, as well as smaller debris from the past. Being an archaeologist, I have seen the importance of minor artefacts, bone fragments or charcoal in order to understand a prehistoric site. Heritage is not always something grand, spectacular or ancient, it is also something close and more recent. The first “archaeological site” I explored was the old garbage deposit at my family’s farm. My sister and I dug out dozens of small and finely decorated medicine bottles which we washed, sorted and analysed. The latter comprised part of the material heritage passed on from the previous owners. Similarly, pieces of “old” pottery found in the garden were just as an intriguing relic from the past to us children as the historical monuments we were visiting during our summer holiday. For this reason, heritage embraces a strong local and personal facet, but it also holds a national and global aspect. Heritage has been, and still is related to the national history, as it is institutionalized by national museums, and protected and managed by national law and bureaucracies. Lastly, as this World Heritage themed thesis proves, heritage is a much globalized concept (Harrison, 2013:5).

The definition of heritage is manifold and can hardly be pinned down to one clear definition, and has been criticized for its overuse and the fact that it “defies definition”, to paraphrase David Lowenthal (1994:42). Lowenthal also states that:

The term celebrates every conceivable thing and theme: anchorites and anoraks, Berlin and Bengal, conkers and castles, dog breeds and dental fillings, finials and fax machines, gorgonzola and goalposts are topics typical of a thousand recent books entitled *Heritage of*__ (1994: 42)

With such a broad definition, the term might be at risk of being diluted. Furthermore, critics have denigrated “heritage” for its emptiness, chauvinism and how it deploys nostalgia. Even though Lowenthal sees the force in the charges made by the critics, as he points out a similar concern, he believes heritage is the term that “best denotes our inescapable dependence on the past” (1994:43).

The concept of heritage has been further problematized and questioned by other scholars. Laurajane Smith opens her book, *Uses of Heritage*, by stating that “there is really no such thing as heritage” (2006:11). She further argues that there “is a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts us to constitute the way we think, talk and write about heritage” (2006:11), and in this regard she establishes the term, the Authorized Heritage Discourse, which relies on the power or knowledge of the experts that “is institutionalised by state cultural agencies and amenity societies” (ibid). Thus, it is an “‘official’ way of understanding heritage” (Grahn and Mydland, 2011: 566). Moreover, the discourse is also related to the national and certain classes, as well as technical expertise and the aesthetic judgements (Smith 2006:11):

[...], whose authority rests in part of its ability to ‘speak to’ and make sense of the aesthetic experiences of its practitioners and policy makers, and by the fact of its institutionalization within a range of national and international organizations and codes of practice. The when of heritage stretches back to the nineteenth-century values and cultural concerns, the where of this discourse may be found not only in the Western Europe, but also more specifically in the authorial voices of the upper middle class and ruling classes of European educated professionals and elites. (Smith 2006:28)

In Smith’s opinion, the heritage discourse is dominated by a certain elite, whose taste, values and ideas control the meaning and valuation of heritage, in addition to deciding who may speak about heritage and in what way. Furthermore, Smith argues that well rooted within the discourse is the thought that the proper preservation of heritage may only be provided by the true experts such as architects, historians and archaeologists. They are the ones who “[...] act as stewards for the past, so that present and future publics may be properly educated and informed about its significance” (Smith, 2006:30). Smith argues further that the Authorized Heritage Discourse also holds “the idea that ‘heritage’ is innately valuable” (2006:29). Consequently, she questions the taken for granted consensus about heritage being a valuable measure per se.

Smith claims that there exist authorizing institutions of heritage, and defines the recommendations and polices passed by UNESCO and ICOMOS as such authorizing institutions of heritage since they are believed to “define what heritage is, how and why it is significant, and how it should be managed and used” (2006:87). Further, it is argued how this authority “comes in part from the influence these organizations have within the policy process at both national and international levels” (ibid).

Thus, if one acknowledges Smith’s theories, they can help to understand the power relations and dynamic forces of the stakeholders in Angra do Heroísmo. Moreover, the discourse is relevant in this case by the ways in which there are

official heritage institutions with policies and apparatus which frames the preservation of the city, as well as we find representatives of the cultural heritage management and stakeholders who the discourse outlines as the heritage experts, so to speak. Though, the context of the case is atypical as it is a city in an autonomous region, with its autonomous laws, parliament and administration yet being part of the Portuguese state.

Smith also gives a critical revision of the World Heritage Convention. One of her main critical points is how the Convention is generally dominated by a certain consensus and authority. She also highlights the problem with the general vagueness of the Convention text, and the fact that some of the most central words such as “universal value”⁶ and “heritage” are not given any further explanation or definition. In this sense it works: “to create a sense that the reader assumes that they know what is meant” (2006:97). Though, Smith acknowledges the work being done in order to balance the World Heritage List, she as well, criticizes the Eurocentrism that is embedded in the World Heritage Convention, and which still dominates the World Heritage List. She also addresses the idea of the Convention’s universality, which for one is deeply rooted in the processes of colonization and imperial expansion. Secondly, she believes the European Authorized Heritage Discourse, which dominates the basic values and ideas in the World Heritage Convention, portrays an authority which assumes that it is universally applicable and “that there is, or must be, universal cultural values and expressions” (2006:99). She also questions how the World Heritage Convention makes heritage something that is universally significant and hence “authorizes and legitimizes the Western AHD within an international context, [...]” (ibid).

In Smith’s arguing lays a general thought that the concept and meaning of heritage are relative. Thus, it depends on the prevailing ideas of the Authorized Heritage Discourse. Harrison similarly claims that the definition and value of heritage holds a subjective aspect: “Heritage [...] refers to a set of attitudes to, and relationships with, the past” (2013:14). He further argues that heritage entails a subjective relationship with the past because the ways we judge heritage depend on the cultural, geographical and socio-economic context. The relationship with the past is also “formed as a result of the relationship between people and other human and non-human actors. Perhaps most importantly, heritage is formed in the present” (ibid). The turn in people’s relationship towards the Hanseatic pier in Bergen, which went from being regarded as a nuisance to a treasured heritage, may be an example of how the present societal situation decides our relationship to our heritage and the ways in which we value that heritage. Of equal importance is that a World Heritage List would have had a different profile had it been drawn up in a different time, or only 100 or 50 years ago (van der Aa, 2005:7).

⁶A definition of outstanding universal value was included in the Operational Guidelines (paragraph 48) in 2005.

Peter Aronsson is similarly engaged in the uses of history and the ways in which our uses of the past affect the society. As with previous scholars, he draws on how history is actively used in the present (Aronsson, 2004). Because of this, the past is negotiated in the present, e.g. giving emphasis to certain parts of history, an emphasis that is strongly dependent on the discourses and political agendas taking place in the present. Aronsson poses questions such as: What may the effect be when certain parts of history are forgotten and others become “evident facts”? In Aronsson’s opinion, the fact that certain parts of history dominate clearly affect the legitimacy of institutions and our identity (Aronsson, 2004: 14-15). He further states that by an increased interest for history and heritage, professionals are no longer the only ones engaged in writing history, but rather that “history is written, portrayed and transformed in more environments, with more agendas and by a greater diversity of people, than previously” (Aronsson, 2004:13, author’s translation). He believes this diverse and manifold use of history is one of the reasons why it becomes all the more important to study how history is used in a broader sense (Aronsson, 2004: 13).

Aronsson puts forth three main terms in terms of our uses of the past: culture of history, uses of history and historical consciousness. Culture of history entails written sources, artefacts, rituals and practices that enable us to connect the past, the present and the future (Aronsson, 2004:17). Uses of history are “the processes in which parts of the Culture of History are generated so to shape complete meanings and actions” (Aronsson, 2004:17 author’s translation). He also claims that the uses of history provide meaning and legitimacy, and allows us to be better able to handle changes. In his opinion, these are the basic aims behind most uses of history, whether for commercial, political, individual or scientific purposes (Aronsson, 2004: 57). Historical Consciousness is the ideas or notions of the relationship between the past, the present and the future, which in turn is being established and reproduced in our uses of the past (Aronsson, 2004: 17, 18).

Aronsson poses the question: Who has the right to tell the stories? In contrast to Laurajane Smith, Aronsson believes that private uses of heritage have gained importance and legitimacy, and that the uses of history have been spread more evenly among the public and the private spheres. Aronsson points out that there are different spheres in the field of cultures of history, being the private, the public and the formal institutions (Aronsson, 2012:294). These formal institutions may be similar to Smith’s authorizing institutions of heritage. However, Aronsson believes that the impact of specific uses of the past is relying on the reciprocal relationship between the different spheres, and it is possible to enhance the importance of one historical epoch more than another “because it speaks through all these channels” (2012: 295). These theories will be further elaborated on in Chapter 11, in which I draw on the dominant history discourse in *Angra do Heroísmo*. Generally speaking, the latter theorists all draw upon the ways in which heritage is used or the way we relate to- and value the past. Hence, these theories can frame the analysis of power relations, interests, contested values as well as

uses of rhetoric among the stakeholders in the World Heritage City Angra do Heroísmo. What is more, it can work to judge the impact of the mobilized forces.

3.2 “The heritage boom” – what triggered the people’s interest for heritage?

Returning to the initial question, why has there been a new and increased interest in heritage? Harrison draws on the increased official management of heritage and the public interest seen in the late 20th century, and especially on the changes that came about in the wake of the World Heritage Convention (2013:68-94). The 1972 World Heritage Convention can be said to be an important factor for the increased interest and awareness of heritage and heritage management. UNESCO’s international campaigns and World Heritage Convention contributed to a greater national concern and obligation to protect its heritage, and as such there has been an increase in the official control of heritage due to the state’s increased legalization and bureaucratization (Harrison, 2013:68).

Even so, Harrison points out other explanations for the renewed interest in heritage in the late 20th century. He argues that this interest may be seen in regard to a series of phenomena that marked the latter part of the 20th century, such as an increased migration, the growth of new electronic media and communicative technologies, the rise in the transnational flow of capital, technology, labour and businesses, as well as increased amount of time being available for leisure activities. It may generally be argued that the sudden modern changes and vast progress caused a sense of uncertainty and risk that have been a motivating factor for the interest in preserving, conserving and managing heritage (Harrison, 2013:76-77). Similarly, David Lowenthal states that: “[h]eritage growth thus reflects traumas of loss and change and fears of a menacing future” (1996:11), and states how “massive migration also sharpens nostalgia”, and that “heritage is invoked to requite displacement” (1996:9). As far as the impact of new communication technologies, Lowenthal explains how the “modern media magnify the past’s remoteness” (1996:8), in addition to facilitating information and knowledge about the past, including locally, nationally and globally. In my opinion, the idea of a universal concern and interest in World Heritage would have been even more difficult to understand had it not been for new information technologies, as the information flow runs faster and enables us to relate to- and obtain knowledge about people and places in a faraway country. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett states how, “World Heritage is actually made possible by globalization, in both political and economic terms” (2007:163).

Concerning the third point, Harrison reasons that the flexible forms of capital accumulation and an increased flexible labour market, as well as fast changes in the patterns of consumption and spatial mobility, have changed “how people experience time and space”. Moreover, this may have stimulated an interest in the past, “whilst simultaneously making people feel more distant from it”, and in consequence enabled new heritage markets and exhibitions to develop (Harrison, 2013:78).

The last point that Harrison emphasizes, namely an increased amount of leisure time, is an important aspect in order to explain the augmented interest and time spent on heritage. With the post-modern work life in developed countries, we simply have more time to engage in- and to explore heritage. Furthermore, the middle class has become stronger and larger in the developed countries during the last part of the 20th- and the early part of the 21st centuries – being a new middle class that is enjoying an improved economy and a higher educational level. As a result, a greater part of this class has the necessary resources in order to conduct ancestry research or appreciate heritage tourism.

Harrison further argues that certain social and economic changes in the last part of the 20th- and the early part of 21st centuries have increased the awareness and use of heritage:

[...] various conceptual shifts in the experience of time and pace were accompanied by other social and economic shifts, which have reconfigured heritage in the late-modern period, including processes of deindustrialization, reconfigurations of the tourist “gaze”, and the emergence of heritage as an element of a new “experience” economy. (2013:79)

The deindustrialization is one of the factors mentioned in order to explain the heritage boom. The processes of deindustrialization led to “a redundancy of former industrial sites, towns and infrastructure” (Harrison, 2013:80), and the focus on heritage is seen as a social response to this decline. In this regard, it is valuable to introduce the word being launched by Kevin Walsh: namely *heritagization* (1992). The process that Walsh wanted to describe by using the word *heritagization* was the transformation of ordinary things and places into objects and sites of conservation and exhibition (Harrison, 2013:69). The previous industrial communities of Rjukan and Notodden in Norway, which are currently nominating their former cornerstone industries for the World Heritage List, might be examples of places that undergo a *heritagization* process by making the former industrial places into heritage sites in order to attract tourists and create growth. One may say that there has been a widespread *heritagization* of such former industrial sites, which can be a response to the question: “What to do with these massive industrial ruins encompassing vast areas?” The solution to the problem has been to give them a “second life as heritage”, so as to paraphrase Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) (Harrison, 2013:81). In Norway, there are several examples of former industrial sites that have been given a “second life” or rather “a totally different life”, even though some are more thought of as being shopping centres rather than heritage sites. One example is Aker Brygge in Oslo, the former shipyard of the Aker Mechanical Workshop, which was shut down in 1982, but underwent a total revitalization in the 1980s and 1990s. Currently, there is little left that may remind

the visitor of the former industrial site, as it is a place that includes shopping, restaurants, companies and luxury apartments (Bodahl, 2008:50-60).

In order to explain the “boom”, Harrison points to the new “experience” economy to which heritage has become an important element. The shifts in leisure and tourism that occurred in the latter part of the 20th century led to an increasing importance to make and promote heritage as important destinations and places to experience by the growing travelling Western middle class (2013:84, 85). Thus, an increased commodification and commercialization of heritage has come into existence, during which time one saw places undergo a beautification and heritagization process in order to attract tourists (Walsh, 1992:136). The historian Robert Hewison called the augmented commercialization of heritage “the heritage industry”:

I call it the “heritage industry” not only because it absorbs considerable public and private resources, but also because it is expected more and more to replace the real industry upon which this country’s economy depends. Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing *heritage*, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell[...] (1987: 9).

As the quotation bears witness to, Hewison was most critical of the heritage industry, as he believed it produced more fantasies than facts about the past, and he emphasized that “heritage is not history”. However, the latter may be one of the reasons why heritage obtained a vaster popularity than the more professionalized and authoritarian subject of history. Heritage has made history more tangible for commoners since heritage is closely linked to the local-, the ordinary- and the everyday aspect of history. More importantly, along with the “heritage industry”, there has undoubtedly been an increased mediation of the past.

Still, the heritage industry has developed even further since Hewison’s publication in 1987. Clearly, it has become a true industry for many countries that experienced great economic and demographic changes due to the deindustrialization. As stated by Harrison: “Heritage was no longer simply a symbol of civic society and a part of the educative apparatus of the nation-state, but it became an important ‘industry’ in its own right” (2013:87). Returning to The Hanseatic pier in Bergen, statistics show that the World Heritage Site received almost a million visitors in 2012 (Stiftelsen Bryggen, 2013), and it may be claimed that the site has become an industry or significant for the economy of Bergen.

3.3 Heritage, Identity and Politics

What we inherit is integral to our being. Without memory and tradition we could neither function nor plan ahead. For all but amnesiacs, heritage distils the past into icons of identity, bonding us with precursors and progenitors with our own earlier selves and with our promised successor. (Lowenthal, 1994:43)

Heritage is often linked with identity or rather its ability to create local, regional and national identities. It has been argued that one of the reasons why identity is so strongly linked with heritage is the way it may nurture a sense of belonging and continuity, “while its physicality gives these feelings an added sense of material reality” (Smith, 2006: 48). Heritage has long been of primary importance in the creation of a national identity. The practice stems from the 19th century nationalism in which period heritage emerged as an important tool in the creation of the nation state (Smith, 2006: 30). A significant feature in national identity is how it depends on highlighting the uniqueness in its history and heritage, something that can separate “us” from “them” or “our” heritage from “theirs” (Lowenthal, 1994). The mediation of this uniqueness is therefore significant, as a nation “becomes represented through a set of more or less coherent images and memories which deal with the crucial questions of the origins, difference and distinctiveness of a people” (Featherstone, 2005: 346).

Lowenthal claims, however, that the national identity is so demanding that little is left for a local or regional identity (1994: 50). Despite the strong notion of a national identity, I would argue that that both a regional and local identity may be strongly deployed and even felt. A regional identity is often constructed in the same way and by the same means as a national identity. Though a regional identity may often be developed along with a national identity in such a way that it highlights regional differences within a national context, Aronsson argues, however, that the regional has become even more important during the last decades, a change that may stem from the fact that the national identity is not as relevant as previously thought (2004: 137).

The local identity differs in the way that it is more related to a certain place, and is often regarded as less abstract than the regional and the national. Hence, it is looked upon as the most genuine identity. Local identity may not be as systematically constructed as the national and regional, but the local narratives also depend on mediation and distribution so as to become valid and accepted by the people (Aronsson, 2004: 133). Despite certain differences in the local, regional and nation identity, I would claim that they all hold a strongly inclusive and exclusive aspect. Hence, in Chapter 11, I will return to the linkage between identity and heritage, when attending to the ways in which the Angrenses define their local identity in relation to the World Heritage Site.

Along with the concept of World Heritage put forth by UNESCO, it must hence be possible to talk of a universal identity constructed on- and by a universally valued heritage. Though the framing differs, it contains some of the same mechanisms as the construction of a national or regional identity, as the main purpose is to make an *imagined community*, to paraphrase Benedict Anderson (1991), on the basis of a commonly felt past. However, the universal identity does not hold the same exclusive/inclusive aspect as the national, regional and local identities, as it is supposed to include all mankind. Yet, Lowenthal argues that: “Too much is asked of heritage. In the same breath we commend national patrimony, regional and ethnic legacies, and a global heritage shared and sheltered in common. We forget that these aims are usually incompatible” (Lowenthal in van der Aa, 2005:3).

A need for a pluralistic view on heritage and identity

Most heritage reflects personal or communal self-interest. Things are valued as my heritage or our heritage; we may be modest about what we are, but rarely about what we were. (Lowenthal, 1994: 46)

However, the traditional relationship between heritage and identity has been challenged by several heritage scholars. One of these is the Norwegian archaeologist Brit Solli, who argues for a more pluralistic view in regard to the heritage-identity discourse (1997:175-179). Still, her writing must be seen within a Norwegian context, as it is argued that the practice of archaeology in Norway in particular has been legitimized through the young nation’s need to protect and mediate its history (Østigård, 2001:43), although this does not only count for the Norwegian setting, as Smith states how the nationalizing discourses “underlie the discipline of archaeology and history” (2006:30). Firstly, Solli puts forth a new focus: “the paradigm of the otherness”, rather than “the paradigm of identity”, as well as wanting to see a stronger interest for- and belief in amazement and wonder so as to trigger an interest for heritage. This should also be a fundamental idea within the profession of history, rather than arguing for “the need of attachment and anchoring” so as to legitimize the professions of history and archaeology. She believes it is long past time to leave the taken-for-granted notion that it is important to understand our roots so as to be better equipped for the present and future society. Moreover, she wants a stronger emphasis on routes rather than roots (Solli, 1997: 175-179, author’s translations).

Similarly to Solli, Smith draws on the categorical relationship between heritage and identity, as she states that: “Heritage literature maintains that heritage is a symbolic representation of identity”, and due to the “emergence of the heritage discourse within the context of nineteenth-century nationalism”, the primary form of identity in relation to heritage is the national (2006:30). She believes, as said,

that the latter has been reinforced by “the nationalizing discourses that underlie the discipline of archaeology and history” (2006:30), as well as the prominence of the universal value of heritage put forth by the World Heritage Convention reinforcing this. She argues that this emphasis means that other forms of identity are devalued and disguised. It is also a problem that heritage is often related to the elite social classes, something that has led to the fact that the heritage or the history of marginal groups in society has been left out, including women’s history, immigrants and working class heritage (Smith, 2006:30). On the other hand, Lowenthal argues that heritage is not an elitist practice: “Heritage is no longer confined to the rich and the powerful, it belongs to everyone.” He further argues that, “[...], populism has not made us all equal: some inherit much, and others little or nothing, some rule, some submit. But more do inherit. And heritage also does embraces things and ideas that give us a collective identity” (1994:43).

Towards a democratic heritage?

However, the critique of the nationalistic discourses within heritage has been recognized, leading to more of an emphasis on the democratic aspects of heritage (Alzén, 2006:139-141). A general observation made is the increased emphasis on both the democratization of heritage and heritage becoming a means to mediate democratic values and principles. One recent example of the latter is the importance given to democratic values and multicultural participation throughout the official celebration of Norway’s constitution from 1814 taking place in 2014.

The increased interest for heritage by the people, the media, science and politicians is one of the explanations given for the increased democratization of heritage. It is believed that there has been a change from the representation and mediation of heritage to participation and dialog, as “it is no longer sufficient to identify and present the past for the people, they want or are expected to participate and influence the cultural heritage processes” (Alzén, 2006: 139, author’s translation). Annika Alzén further points out how the democratic ambition is outlined in the cultural and scientific discourse, not to mention also being found in several policy documents.

Aronsson highlights five democratic aspects that are- or have been objectives or effects of the last decade’s cultural heritage politics. The first aspect concerns a strengthening of the feeling and respect for the democratic group, meaning both with respect to nationalism and multiculturalism, in which the latter has become more important. The second aspect relates to a democratic upbringing such as the values of equality and tolerance. Democratic dissemination and mediation for the neglected and marginalized groups are given as the third aspect. The neglect of marginal groups in heritage practice was criticized by Smith above, but I would argue that these groups have been increasingly included by heritage institutions and researchers. The fourth aspect concerns democratic collection, management, research and preservation so as to ensure a common access and experience of

heritage, which has long prevailed as a basic idea in the Norwegian heritage jurisdiction. The fifth and last aspect Aronsson highlights is an increased participation in the uses of history, a notion that gives the citizens an increased control and participation, and one that may even complement the professional heritage processes (Aronsson, 2006: 6). Thus, what is yet to be studied are how these democratization processes and their urge for dialog and participation work in real life (Alzén, 2006).

Despite the awareness of the nationalizing discourses that underlie heritage, as well as the increase in the democratization of heritage, the Danish historian Eric Bernard Jensen argues that the heritage discourse still holds vicarious motives, because the term heritage makes it possible to refer to the national community without actually using the terms “nation” or “the national”. These words are commonly acknowledged as being politically incorrect, and heritage may therefore be more of a neutral and accepted term. Jensen believes this to be one of the reasons why the term heritage has gained popularity in recent times (Jensen, 2006: 54). He also points out how the word heritage is often used in a singular definite tense, thus referring to a one and common heritage (Jensen, 2006: 42-44).

Cultural Heritage politics

The term *cultural heritage politics* was introduced by Aronsson above. The foregoing has given a general insight into how laden the concept of heritage is. Heritage is an object of controversy and politics, and as will be drawn upon later in this thesis, heritage preservation and management may be highly political. The Swedish ethnologist Owe Ronström gives his definition of cultural heritage politics insofar as thinking of these three words as a productive combination that will always affect one another. Firstly, he raises the question: What is the connection between culture and heritage? In Ronström’s opinion, culture adds value to heritage, and lifts heritage out of the individual perspective and the place determined, and finally creates something we can jointly appreciate. Secondly, he is looking at it from another perspective: What is the connection between heritage and culture? To this question, he responds that culture is therefore given a historical and material content. Furthermore, it adds a biological and legal dimension to culture in which the present generation has a right and a responsibility to manage the legacy from their ancestors, plus creating a connection between nationalism, ethnicity, tourism, global understanding and regional development. The third question raised by Ronström is: How is cultural heritage connected with politics? It certainly adds a time perspective to the present political discourse and causes us to preserve the material remains of the past. Then finally: What is the connection between politics and cultural heritage? Politics is thus questioning the obvious and the commonly accepted protection of the past, focusing instead on the present. This makes cultural heritage into an object of controversy that is being debated “here and now” (2007:24, 25).

The state has traditionally been the premier entity responsible for the protection and preservation of heritage. National heritage acts seek to protect and preserve the heritage, though as we have seen above, these policies change in line with current socio-political agendas, whereas Geir Vestheim's claim that "*all cultural policies are instrumental*" (Vestheim, 2008:56) may be equally used in terms of *cultural heritage policies and politics*. Vestheim believes cultural policies serve as instruments to help achieve other effects that go beyond the explicit. As will be pointed out later in this thesis we can see how World Heritage nominations serve other aims than just the enlistment to a much celebrated list, such as for instance growth and community building (Saltzman, 2001, Turtinen, 2006). These are side effects or even political goals outlined by local or regional authorities, and a World Heritage enlistment may be an instrument to help obtain these effects. Yet again, the nomination of the industrial sites of Rjukan and Notodden can be used as an example of such an instrumental use of an enlistment, as one of the aims is to create positive synergies in deprived communities (e.g. Kulturmag, 2014). Another example is the *Transnational serial nomination – Viking monuments and sites*, in which Vestfold County in Norway is taking part, an initiative that corresponds to the county's long-time strategy to build a Viking identity (UNESCO, 2014b). Both nominations will be evaluated for inscriptions at the World Heritage Committee meeting in 2015.

Vestheim gives four arguments that he believes are used in order to support art and culture, arguments I will use later in this thesis to frame the analysis related to the instrumentality regarding Angra do Heroísmo's nomination to the World Heritage List (2008:56-63). The first reason applies to what is looked upon as "good" art and its intrinsic value, which may correspond to the idea of heritage as something good and positive, per se (Smith 2006). This reasoning aims at the individual for the purpose of an aesthetic and mannerly instrumentality. Vestheim argues that the reasoning is based on "the good taste" that adheres to the taste of the elite, which gives emphasis to the fine culture. In terms of cultural heritage, this theory may be equivalent to the Authorized Heritage Discourse that can be found "in the ruling classes" or among the elite, some of which set premise for the valorisation of heritage (Smith 2006: 28, 29). The second reason supports culture so as to create economic development – being an economic instrumentality. The "heritage industry" may be seen as a more direct form, but this argument also seeks to create innovation and synergies. According to Vestheim, a third reason to support art and culture is to create social development and integration, a social instrumentality directed towards the individual as a social person. This kind of social instrumentality is in use when heritage is used, e.g. in order to create or strengthen a place's identity, and for people to identify with the place and feel a part of a society. Cultural heritage is thus used in order to evoke social integration. The fourth reason to support culture is to enlighten and create civic engagement, focusing on the individual as a citizen. Vestheim also describes it as the democratic argument, because it basically aims at making citizens loyal to the democracy

(Vestheim, 2008:57-62). The latter corresponds to some of Aronsson's democratic aspects, being objectives or effects of the last decade's cultural heritage policies.

The reasons and instruments outlined by Vestheim in terms of cultural policies are highly coherent to cultural heritage politics and the reasoning for mediating, managing or "using" heritage. Svante Beckman (2009) has studied the different turns that the Swedish cultural heritage policies have taken during the last centuries. He points out how the last heritage policy documents have given democracy an importance, in which one of the governmental programmes bluntly states that "cultural heritage is the very base for democracy" (Beckman, 2009:28). Hence, heritage policies can work as a legitimizing instrument for the overarching socio-political goals, agendas and power structure. Vestheim declines that culture has an absolute intrinsic value, as it always will be related to- or mediated in a given social context: "A democratic political system is upheld by certain hegemonic values and ideas, and these values and ideas will necessarily also influence cultural politics" (2008: 57, author's translation).

Cultural heritage may further be intertwined in greater political conflicts. The bombing of Mostar Bridge, as well as the destruction of the Buddha status in Afghanistan, are unforgettable examples of such a use of heritage in conflicts. It may be noted that the two sites were not enlisted to the World Heritage List at the time of demolition, but both in fact were enlisted to the World Heritage List *after* their destruction. Thus, the enlistments are seen as a response and disapproval from UNESCO in regard to these destructions (Turtinen, 2006:45). Heritage can be highly conflictual and used as a weapon in difficult conflicts, although heritage is more often an object of controversy on a smaller scale and with less detrimental outcomes. Nevertheless, it can be most problematic for the parties involved. The preservation of sites and places may for instance cause great controversy, as it often effects or restrains people's actions and possibilities. In some cases, it may also give serious and even life-changing alterations, as was the case at the Viking settlement at Kaupang in Norway, where agricultural land was set under protection. As a consequence, several of the local farmers lost their economic base (Johansson, 2006). In this thesis, I will turn to the Portuguese and Azorean cultural heritage policies and politics, and give examples of how these preservation policies are discussed and debated in the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo.

3.4 A heritage site – the notion of space and place

This study is dedicated to a physical place – a heritage site, and the classified cityscape of Angra do Heroísmo serves as a frame for its citizens, business keepers and managers. It is as Laurajane Smith claims: Heritage landscapes may structure or frame personal relationships and social encounters (2006:78). Angra do Heroísmo is indeed a structuring place that is both framing and shaping the citizens' social relationships and encounters. In addition, it serves as a space for the shared memories. Indeed memories related to Angra will be attended to in this thesis as several topics are studied retrospectively. Inspired by the French historian

Pierre Nora's differentiation between memory and history (2007), memories, the subjective and the emotional will be given more significance than the historical, the objective and the rational. Nora points out the processual and intimacy of memory, being the opposite of history, which is intellectual and prosaic, and which "claims universal authority" (2007:291) (Smith, 2006:60). Moreover, Angra is a place for memories, which are "open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting" (Nora 2007:291). The Norwegian folklorist Anne Eriksen draws similarly on the notions of collective memories and remembering in relation to a historical place, in which she stresses the dialogical between history and memory. Moreover, she draws on the ways in which remembering rites and monuments are central in the commemoration processes, as well as she gives emphasis to how these serve to give or maintain a collective memory. Thus, a heritage site offers continuity between the past and the present (1999: 92-100). Accordingly, these theories in relation to the social act of remembrance can be used to shed light on the commemoration processes taking place in Angra do Heroísmo.

Moreover, an overall essential point in this case study is how a heritage site is a place where meanings, values and ideas are negotiated and contested (Smith, 2006:79). A living historic urban structure being managed and controlled by an official heritage apparatus is undoubtedly a heritage site where meanings are negotiated and even disputed. An historical urban landscape differs from other heritage sites since it is densely populated, holding a large number of stakeholders who live and work within the classified area. These are facts, which may demand negotiations and trigger further discussions.

A Heritage Site as a Social Space

Places are socially constructed, politicized and culturally relative (Smith, 2006: 76), and a heritage site or a classified city, as in this case, is no exception. The negotiations, relationships and processes taking place within such a site are carried out by stakeholders with diverging values, interests, strategies and aims, some of which can be said to depend on their capital, to use a term associated with Pierre Bourdieu's theories. In the following, two terms or concepts, field and capital, which was elaborated on by Bourdieu, will be explained, as these terms will be used in order to define some of the groupings found in the city and the resources of the stakeholders.

As will be shown in this thesis, Angra do Heroísmo holds several of what Bourdieu calls social fields, which in this case are groups directly or indirectly involved in the preservation of the city or people taking an active part in the present development of the city space. Though some stakeholders might belong to several fields, since they hold many positions within the community, and in certain cases they serve different roles, both privately and professionally. The notion of field (champ), is one of the central concepts of Bourdieu, a theoretical model which proclaimed that all social formations are structured by a hierarchy of fields like,

for instance, the economic field, the cultural field or the political field. According to Bourdieu, social fields function as structured spaces with their own laws and logic. They are “relatively autonomous, but structurally homologous with the others” (Johnson, 1993:6). Hence, fields have a tendency to overlap one another and larger social fields might as well consist of smaller partial fields (Broady, 1991:269). However, a Bourdieuan field is not given a lexical definition, and can be said to be an open term that is meaningful in a given context and investigation (ibid: 267). Moreover, belonging to a field can be a psychological notion, as well as being educationally, professionally and institutionally determined (Vestheim, 1994: 122, Johansson, 2006: 25). Hence, an individual might belong to more than one field, and as said, this will be exemplified in this thesis. A further definition of a social field is given as a system of relationships between positions that are taken by agents and institutions, who fight for something which is considered to be common for all the participants (Broady, 1991:266). In every field, there are certain interests and benefits which are characteristic for just that field (Bourdieu, 1991:131).

Another essential term that will be used in this thesis in order to define the resources of the stakeholders is capital. In Bourdieu’s view, capital can be both material and symbolic values, such as cultural capital, social capital and economic capital (Scott Sørensen et al., 2008: 209). A specific capital has value in relation to a field, and is given power within a specific field (Bourdieu, 1991:132). Bourdieu defines *cultural capital* as a form of knowledge being “institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications” (Bourdieu, 2011:82). Cultural capital is an embodied state in the form of cultivation and Bildung, as it gives a set of competences or dispositions that equip the social agent to appreciate and to know cultural relationships and cultural artefacts (Johnson, 1993, Bourdieu, 2011:83). The *social capital* is based on social obligations or connections, more specifically being the ties that bind a group, be it family, friends or a collegial network (Broady, 1991:177). However, Bourdieu emphasizes how these are not naturally given, but are the product of investments which aim to establish or reproduce social relationships (Bourdieu, 2011:87). This kind of capital can be convertible “into economic capital and institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu, 2011:82). Furthermore, economic capital can be related to what we normally think of as material and economic resources (Scott Sørensen et al., 2008: 209). As Bourdieu stated, it is “immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 2011:82). Still, economic capital does not necessarily give cultural or symbolic capital (Johnson, 1993:7), although cultural capital may be convertible into economic capital (Bourdieu, 2011:82).

Bourdieu was also engaged in defining the symbolic capital of the social world, which he explained as: “Any form of capital when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception which cause them to know it and to recognize it, to give it value” (Bourdieu, 1998:47). In other words, the very

definition of symbolic capital depends on the relationship “between a group, individual or institution which possess certain resources and properties”, and a group of people who are recognizing the same kind of properties. For example, in order for an institution to have symbolic capital, one needs a group who acknowledges its intrinsic values. They need to give it value (Broadly, 1991|:296, author’s translation).

In my view, Angra do Heroísmo holds a web of different fields, in which there are certain capitals, interests or values which are dominant. The fields also relates to one another, and the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo can be said to be the arena or space where the various fields promote and negotiate their diverging interests and believes. Bourdieu also wrote about the meaning of a physical place, though from a more class-related perspective, which in his opinion serves as both a physical- and social room. In relation to such a physical space, he claimed that by being corporal individuals, humans will occupy physical places just as any other object does (Bourdieu, 1996:150). And as humans, we occupy and move within the room, depending on our capitals, and there can even be said to be “a fight for the room”, a process for which Bourdieu stresses the influence of the state (ibid: 157). As the discussions concerning the development projects in the city will show, there can certainly be said to be a fight for the room in Angra, and in this, the terminology of Bourdieu can help to identify groups and resources within Angra do Heroísmo, in order to understand the forces, arguments and actions, together with the outcome of processes and negotiations.

Sense of a place

According to Smith: “Heritage is about a sense of place” (2006:75). She further states that: “Heritage, particularly in its material representations, provides not only a physical anchor or geographical sense of belonging, but also allows us to negotiate a sense of social ‘place’ or class/community identity, and a cultural place or sense of belonging” (ibid). The idea that place is part of a lived experience is vital for understanding the concept of heritage, according to Smith. Specific heritage sites may not only be seen as places where past human experiences took place, they also trigger current feelings and experiences. In this way, heritage sites give meaning to the present people, as well as possibly going into a dialectical relationship with the contemporary interactions made at these physical heritage places: “...with each new encounter with place, with each new experience of place, meaning and memories may subtly, be rewritten or remade” (Smith, 2006: 77).

Place [...] is a unique entity, a special ensemble; it has history and meaning. Place incarnates the experiences and aspirations of people. Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from perspectives of the people who have given it meaning. (Tuan, 1979: 387)

The definition of place is given by the American geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, whose research is mostly dedicated to the ways in which people feel and think about space and place (Tuan, 1979, 1989). As he says in the introduction to the book, *Space and Place. The perspectives of Experience*: “[S]pace and place are basic components of the lived world; we take them for granted” (1989:5). These basic components are perceived through our senses: vision, hearing, senses of smell and touch, and its possibilities and limitations. We further experience space through a past, present and future perspective. Present experiences of space will always be imbedded with memories and experiences from the past, while future actions and activities will hold part of how the present experience of space is perceived (1979: 399-400).

However, *how* we experience our surroundings and give it meaning has varied and still varies between cultures, people and individuals (Tuan, 1979:389). As known, “Mental maps differ from person to person, and from culture to culture” (ibid). Furthermore, some objects can be of great significance to some people while being ignored by others (Tuan, 1989:162).

Tuan points to the fact that there are certain experiences of space which are universal, such as our sentiments towards our homeland:

This profound attachment to the homeland appears to be a worldwide phenomenon. It is not limited to any particular culture and economy. (...) The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes: a place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievement that inspire the present: place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere (Tuan, 1989:154).

The homeland often has its special landmarks, some with a high visibility, public- and even historical significance, such as monuments or memorials. Tuan believes such visible symbols may serve to enhance the people’s sense of identity, as: “They encourage awareness and loyalty to place” (Tuan, 1989: 159). However, he also stresses how an attachment to homeland can emerge regardless of any landmarks, since it comes with familiarity, comfort, memories and experiences of a place over time (Tuan, 1989: 159).

Tuan further explains these notions as he divides the experience of a place into two categories: Places which give an immediate feeling based on the visual is something he calls *public symbols*. Examples of such public symbols may be historical monuments, monumental architecture, ideal cities or sacred places. On the other hand, he also believes there are the *fields of care* which is a sense of a place that goes beyond the visual, and which is instead based on personal experience. As pointed out above, a home place can give such a deeply felt sentiment towards a physical space, an emotion which by far is deeper than what any public symbol might trigger. Even so, places may be both a public symbol and a field of care (Tuan, 1979: 410-419, Johansson, 2006: 28, 29):

Public symbols tend to have high imageability because they often cater to the eye. Fields of care do not seek to project an image to outsiders; they are inconspicuous visually. Public symbols command attention and even awe; fields of care evoke affection. It is relatively easy to identify spaces that are public symbols; it is difficult to identify fields of care for they are not easily identifiable by external criteria, such as formal structure, physical appearance, and articulate opinion. (Tuan, 1979:412)

Historical sites and architectural monuments are given as examples of public symbols that may trigger such awe and immediate feelings. However, citizens living in, e.g. historical cities or communities close to a historical place, may enhance deeper and more personal feelings to these heritage places, sentiments which may not be perceived by a brief visit made by tourists or visitors. Hence, such historical sites may be both public symbols and fields of care (Johansson, 2006). I will elaborate further on these theories when addressing and analysing the Angrenses' senses of place and belonging in Chapter 11.

3.5 World Heritage – the becoming of an academic field

Within the academic area of heritage, it is now possible to see a new field arising – the field of World Heritage. As the World Heritage List has increased, so has the academic interest for this area. Academics worldwide are now engaged in exploring the notion of World Heritage by investigating its uses, effects and impacts, and there has been published a number of articles, anthologies, master's and PhD theses on the subject during the last two decades (e.g. Pressouyre, 1993, Titchen, 1995, Omland, 1998, Shackley, 1998, Cleere, 2001, Saltzman, 2001, Evans, 2002, Nilsson Dahlström, 2003, Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005, van der Aa, Groote and Huigen, 2005, van der Aa, 2005, Turtinen, 2006, Leask and Fyall, 2008, Ronström, 2007, Yan and Morrison, 2008, du Cros, 2008, Hasli, 2009, Landorf, 2009, Rao, 2010, Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011, Leitão, 2011, Jukilhto, 2006, 2010, 2011, Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012, Labadi, 2013, Hølleland, 2013, Fageraas, 2013, Gustafsson and Karlsson, 2014, Hølleland and Solheim, 2014, Ågotnes et al., 2014). A great part of the literature are in-depth master's or PhD theses (Hølleland, 2013:26), some of which can indicate how this is still a young area of research. However, as seen above, there are heritage scholars who critically discuss the aspects of World Heritage in chapters of greater volumes (e.g. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, 2007, Smith, 2006, Harrison, 2013). In the succeeding, an overview will be given of selected works on World Heritage that are of special interest to this study.

The master's thesis written by the Norwegian archaeologist Atle Omland was the first study to introduce me to World Heritage research. The objective of his research was to analyse the understanding and meaning of World Heritage at the local and national level, in the sense of this heritage having a worldwide ownership and value. The study was based on questionnaires answered by heritage managers worldwide as well as the research questions were studied in-depth by the cases

Norway and Zimbabwe. Some of Omland's conclusions are that the strongest interest for the World Heritage still lays on the national and local levels (1998: 96, 97). The thesis was handed in in 1998, and at that point there had been little research conducted in this field (Turtinen, 2006: 26). Omland's investigation is based on case studies, as well as it is a policy/meta study on World Heritage. As was pointed out by Hølleland (2013), there are different kinds of World Heritage studies; some concern in-depth case studies of specific World Heritage Sites (e.g. Saltzman, 2001, Fageraas and Guttormsen, 2007, 2011, Ronström, 2007, Hasli, 2009, Fageraas, 2013), whereas others investigate the World Heritage system (World Heritage Committee and Advisory Bodies) and study policies, negotiations and rhetoric (e.g. Titchen, 1995, Labadi, 2013) (Hølleland, 2013:26), while I would argue that a third group seeks to combine case studies, or rather multi-sited studies with system/policy studies on World Heritage (e.g. Omland, 1998, van der Aa, 2005, Turtinen, 2006, Leitão, 2011, Hølleland, 2013).

One of the early works on World Heritage was written by the historian and a long-time advisor for the ICOMOS, Léon Pressouyre, who published *La convention du Patrimoine mondial, vingt ans après*, which is a critical revision of the political and juridical implications of the World Heritage Convention, and which might be said to be one of such studies of World Heritage policies (1993). Though not long after this, the Australian archaeologist Sarah Titchen concluded her thesis: *On the construction of outstanding universal value. UNESCO's World Heritage Convention (Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972) and the identification and assessment of cultural places for inclusion in the World Heritage List* (1995). Titchen's thesis was one of the first PhD studies to treat and discuss the World Heritage Convention. The study can be said to be a policy study, in which she discusses background for- as well as developments and changes in UNESCO policies and concepts in regard to World Heritage.

Another study on World Heritage was conducted by the Swedish ethnologist Jan Turtinen, which can be said to be a study which investigates the UNESCO's bureaucratic apparatus on World Heritage, and the negotiations and procedures which take place between the actors involved. Through observation studies at World Heritage Committee- and Bureau meetings as well as fieldwork undertaken at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, he found how it is essential to know both the formal and informal rules in order for the actors to engage in the Convention. However, the study also entails a case study: the Agricultural Landscape of Southern Öland in Sweden in which he assessed the negotiations and reasoning taking place at the local level (Turtinen 2006).

A study by the Dutch Bart J.M. van der Aa, *Preserving the heritage of humanity? Obtaining World Heritage Status and the impacts of listing*, which was concluded in 2005, investigated the effectiveness of the World Heritage Convention in terms of preservation. The study was done on the basis of selected case countries, in which he makes a comparative study of the different countries'

nomination processes, the character of their lists and their management apparatus and state of tourism. His research aimed to investigate if it really is the best heritage sites that are enlisted, and if the inscription provides a better protection. Thirdly, he investigates whether tourism may be a threat to a site after World Heritage enlistment (2005:15). One of his conclusions is that the quality of the site is not the primary reasons for the nomination of sites. Other important reasons are for instance cultural and political circumstances, the nation's organisation of the heritage apparatus and possible benefits/obstructions of an enlistment. Moreover, he states that the World Heritage List consists of national and local heritage sites, rather than sites of universal value. He further states that enlistment does not lead to improved preservation for a site, and that enlisted sites face threats due to tourism, but do not lose their qualities as a consequence of an increased tourism (2005:127-130).

One of the last PhD-thesis on World Heritage was concluded in 2013 by the Norwegian archaeologist Herdis Hølleland. The aim of her study was to combine case studies with a study of the World Heritage apparatus, so as to “shed light on the processes that connect the World Heritage Sites and the international communities of practice”. The latter being the central apparatus of UNESCO on World Heritage, such as the World Heritage Committee, The World Heritage Centre and the Advisory Bodies (Hølleland, 2013:27). The case studies of the World Heritage Sites of Tongariro National Park in New Zealand and the Greater Blue Mountains in Australia were used to give examples of nomination processes, enlistments and World Heritage impact on management and visitation (ibid:17). Thus, by studying these processes Hølleland also sought to gain insights into international relationships and the web of World Heritage actors.

The studies by Hølleland, Turtinen and van der Aa bear a resemblance in the ways of being multi-case studies based on ethnographical fieldwork, which also approach and assess the World Heritage system, the bureaucracy, UNESCO's policies on World Heritage. However, a great part of World Heritage research are *case studies of specific World Heritage Sites*. These studies are thematically focused on the processes and negotiations, as well as the effects of World Heritage enlistments, triggered by management issues and/or implications of tourism, in which the views and perspectives of the local are given significance. As such, these studies are close to my own focal point, and some of these studies will be used to compare and contrast aspects and findings in Angra do Heroísmo. There are three studies in particular undertaken at urban World Heritage Sites that I will use and thus present in the following, namely the study by the ethnologist Owe Ronström of Visby, Sweden (2007), the research project conducted by the archaeologist Torggrim Guttormsen and ethnologist Knut Fageraas at Røros, Norway (2007, 2011) and the investigation undertaken by the Norwegian anthropologist Nina Alnes Haslie (2009). Furthermore, the study by the architect Letizia Leitão (2011) and Graeme Evans (2002) are relevant in terms of my study of Angra do Heroísmo.

The ethnographical study by Ronström (2007), which is presented in the monograph, *Cultural Heritage Politics: From a Worn Down Village to a Medieval Icon* (author's translation), gives an analysis of the transformation that the World Heritage City of Visby on the island of Gotland, Sweden underwent in the process of enlistment to the World Heritage List. Moreover, he discusses and analyses how Visby became a World Heritage Site and the local consequences of the transformation, in which he draws on the aspects of cultural heritage politics, heritage production and authenticity. The study of Røros, Norway by Guttormsen and Fageraas (2007, 2011) mainly attends to the local discussions derived from management processes and assesses the diverging views on the heritage management of Røros. The analysis is undertaken using the framework of Bourdieu, in which they map and assess the different capitals, powers, stakeholders and fields involved in the management of Røros. One part of the study sought to assess certain local discussions that have derived from specific management issues.

The study conducted by Nina Alnes Haslie (2009) is an anthropological study undertaken in the World Heritage City of Trinidad de Cuba, which was presented in the master's thesis: *Living with Heritage – Negotiating the Past, the Present and the Future at the World Heritage Site of Trinidad de Cuba* (author's translation). Through participant observation studies, she investigated the local discussions and negotiations triggered by conservation guidelines and tourism, even though the focus of her study is primarily the inhabitants and their predicaments upon living within a classified area. Hence, being an anthropological study undertaken through an extensive fieldwork at a site that seeks to study the negotiations and processes of a World Heritage City, this study has obvious similarities to my study.

In 2011, the Portuguese architect Letizia Leitão concluded her PhD thesis, *The protection of World Heritage Settlements and their surroundings – Factors affecting management policy and practice*, in which she makes four case studies of World Heritage Cities. One of the cases was Angra do Heroísmo, with the main objective of her research to investigate “how effectively does the existing protection and management policies under the World Heritage Convention contribute to the protection of historic urban settlements, especially their surroundings?” (Leitão, 2011). Leitão worked at the Conservation Office in Angra do Heroísmo from 2000-2002, and her thesis is both used as a source and as research literature. Leitão was also a co-worker for the advisory bodies ICCROM and IUCN, and she gives a critical analysis of the development of UNESCO policies for the monitoring of urban settlements on the World Heritage List. The thesis and its rhetoric and language, and the ways in which consultative conclusions are made, gives evidence of the fact that it was written by somebody working within the UNESCO system.

Graeme Evans (2002) did an interview study and survey in the World Heritage City Old Quebec in Canada, which was first published as an article in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies: Living in a World Heritage City*:

Stakeholders in the dialectic of the universal and particular. The study focuses on the predicaments and benefits of living in a World Heritage City/historic urban space, and the conflicts that come with the increased gentrification and touristification of the historic district. Moreover, Evans highlights how the inhabitants' relationship with the tourists and the historic area is ambiguous, as the pride in the heritage does not make up for the negative impact of tourists.

Yet, another relevant World Heritage study that does however not involve an urban site is the study of the World Heritage Site The Vega Archipelago in Norway conducted by Knut Fageraas, in which he studies the local impact of the World Heritage designation and the social cultural processes that derive from such international recognition and its added attraction value (2013:289). Consequently, equal to my study, Fageraas studies the local discourses and values framed in the context of World Heritage.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning the PhD thesis written by the Swedish ethnologist Katarina Saltzman, who studied the World Heritage landscape of Southern Öland in Sweden (2001). Thus she offers another case study of a World Heritage Site. The focal point in this study is the dialectical aspect of landscape, in which the human plays an active part, and one part of the thesis presents an interview study conducted among the farmers in Öland and the ways in which they relate to the World Heritage enlistment. Moreover, Saltzman addresses the importance of the farmers in the classification of the Öland landscape, and how the local government saw the necessity of including them in the nomination process. She claims that the farmers were given such significance in the nomination process, as the World Heritage application emphasized "the living landscape" of Öland, some of which also included the farmers. However, even though the farmers took an active part in the discussions prior to the enlistment, the initial initiative to nominate Öland was a top-down decision (2001:232).

There has also been two anthologies published dedicated to World Heritage: *Managing World Heritage Sites* (2006) and the *Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation* (2005), in which managers and researchers engaged in tourism and heritage management have contributed with different articles. *Managing World Heritage Sites* is a practical hands-on publication that explains and discusses the process of policies and decisions on the implementation of the World Heritage Convention. *Politics of World Heritage: Negotiating Tourism and Conservation* holds several case studies which for the most part address the predicaments of tourism management at World Heritage Sites. Some of the authors in these publications also hold positions at the advisory bodies of ICOMOS and IUCN.

As mentioned above, there are also several working for- and within the UNESCO system who are publishing scientific articles on the issue of World Heritage. Henry Cleere, who is currently an honorary professor at the Institute of Archaeology at University College in London, might be an example of such scholars who worked for ICOMOS from 1992-2002. Two of his more critical

works in relation to the concept of universal heritage and the outstanding universal value are the articles: *The uneasy bedfellows: Universality and cultural heritage* (2001) and *The concept of “outstanding universal value” in the World Heritage Convention* (1996).

Additionally, the architect/urban planner and ICOMOS advisor Jukka Jokilehto and Kishore Rao, who is currently working as Deputy Director of the World Heritage Centre, are other examples of this type of scholar. Jokilehto has several publications related to World Heritage (2006a, 2006b, 2011, 2014). In 2011, he published an article in which he examines the World Heritage nomination process, and in his conclusion he urges the need to “look critically on the whole process, and see how it can be made more user friendly and more effective” (2011:73). Rao is equally taking a critical view on the current procedure for identifying and listing sites in the article: *A new paradigm for the identification, nomination and inscription of properties on the World Heritage List*, in which he states that there is a need for a better international cooperation, so as to assist less developed countries to nominate their sites (2010).

The different works described above are only a small selection of research being carried out in regard to World Heritage. Though it is a fairly new area of research interest, I would argue that it is becoming an academic field of research. Academic conferences on World Heritage are organized,⁷ and universities offer World Heritage study programmes at the master’s and PhD level, as well as World Heritage research being widely published. However, World Heritage is certainly an interdisciplinary genre. As pointed out above, the research on World Heritage is being undertaken by scholars such as archaeologists, ethnologists, architects and anthropologists. Therefore, the research cannot be said to have *one* disciplinary point of departure nor a common methodological framework, even though most of the studies outlined above use anthropological or ethnographical methods. Hence, this study is similarly using these methods. However, the aim of my investigation has also been to use a sociological approach, as the empirical data of this thesis primarily consists of in-depth qualitative interviews. This approach has been chosen in order to shed light on the World Heritage processes by obtaining the personal views of the stakeholders living in- and monitoring a World Heritage City. Moreover, this approach has enabled to provide a World Heritage study that investigates the social processes and discussions, as well as the power relations between stakeholders involved at a World Heritage Site. I will explain further about the methodological approaches, also in comparison to other World Heritage studies, in Chapter 4.

⁷ For example, “The Significance of World Heritage: Origins, Management, Consequences” organized by Dalarne University College in 2010 and “Between dream and reality. Debating the impact of World Heritage” organized by The University of Oslo in 2012.

A last point in regard to World Heritage research is how some of the research is not only conducted by co-workers at UNESCO and ICOMOS, but also scholars working as consultants for these bodies (e.g. Cleere, 1996, 2001, Jokilehto, 2006a, 2006b, 2011, 2014, Rao, 2010, Leitão, 2011). The academic area of World Heritage thus consists of independent researchers, as well as managers and researchers/consultants within the UNESCO system (see Omland, 2006: 244-245 for further categories of World Heritage literature). One can also divide the various works on World Heritage into those who make investigations within the existing system and frames, and others who analyse and question the very frame and its values. The research on World Heritage conducted by ICOMOS or UNESCO co-workers is often more engaged with the first, thus in a sense being more “consultative”. Though broadly speaking they offer a critical analysis of policies, procedures and the system, the studies are instead engaged in the possibilities of improving the system, rather than questioning the overall ideas and values.

3.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss and contextualize the notions of heritage and recent trends and discourses on heritage. These aspects have been given importance due to the fact that this study relates to the present discussions, processes, valorisation and even uses of heritage. As shown, there has consequently been an increase in the interest in heritage during the past few decades, and both this thesis and my own interest for the subject reflect this trend. Another purpose of this chapter was to present the main theories and theorists within heritage research that will be used in the following in order to map and assess the heritage discussions taking place in the case studied: the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo.

A special emphasis has been given to scholars who critically address the use of the past (Smith, 2006, Aronsson, 2004, Harrison, 2013), the political aspects of heritage (Aronsson, 2006, Ronström, 2007, Vestheim, 2008) and theories regarding the notions of space and place, as well as identity (e.g. Smith, 2006, Tuan, 1979, Bourdieu 1989, 1991, 2011). Hence, these are some of the theorists that will be used in the analysis given in the themed chapters, which aims to shed light on- and answer the overall research question.

As I have argued above, there is an academic field engaged in World Heritage research, and during the last decade there has been an increased amount of research literature produced on World Heritage. This thesis can also be said to adhere to such a research field, and I will use several of the studies presented above in order to compare the findings and aspects of the case of Angra do Heroísmo. The point of departure is particular for the case of Angra do Heroísmo, but I will use studies of other World Heritage Sites in order to point to comparable findings or even common or universal trends.

4 Methods

This thesis is a case study of the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores, Portugal, in which the overall aim has been to analyse past and current discussions, negotiations and processes that occur in the city, in addition to contested values, interests, rhetoric, resources and power relations. In order to study these aspects and processes, I have collected empirical data through qualitative interviews and ethnographical fieldwork undertaken in Angra do Heroísmo. These methods have given the possibility to get close to the subjects involved and the processes in question. Hence, the analysis is primarily based on empirical data from qualitative interviews, as well as participating observation studies undertaken during the fieldwork. Additional sources used are newspaper articles, websites, policy- and case documents and official correspondences. These sources were to give a broader picture, plus attaining the necessary information about the specific cases studied.

Though I define this study as an ethnographical study, in which qualitative interviews are regarded as the main method and data, I would argue that the study lies in the intersection between an anthropological-, ethnographical-, sociological- and even a historical study. Anthropological in the sense of being a classical one-sided study undertaken in a foreign culture and society, and ethnographic in the sense of studying general or universal predicaments and questions related to heritage management, rather than just the specific cultural-societal or anthropological aspects of the case. Moreover, the empirical data primarily derives from in-depth qualitative interviews in contrast to anthropologists, who more commonly use participatory observation as their main method and source of data. This study's focus on social structures, hierarchies and the stakeholders' capitals can be said to be more of a sociological focal point (Fangen, 2010: 29-31). Indeed, the qualitative interviews are the primary empirical data used in the analysis. However, it can be said to be anthropological in terms of taking on a more holistic focus, as this investigation studies the relationships between "culture, economy, politics and the social life", as Katrine Fangen says to define the focal point of the anthropologists (2010:31, author's translation). Though, this study has less of a focus on social structures affected by gender, class and ethnicity, some of which could have been a more sociological focal point (*ibid*). What is more, this investigation also holds a historical perspective for the study span between 1980 up until the present.⁸ Moreover, being an archaeologist, this study can be said to coincide with the research conducted in the academic context with which I am affiliated, at Tema Q, Linköping University and Telemark University College,

⁸ The study mainly spans the time period between 1980 and 2012, as I concluded my last fieldwork in July 2012. However, I have been receiving updates and data through e-mail correspondences with informants after I concluded the fieldwork, which I could hardly disregard.

where there is a strong tradition for interdisciplinary cultural studies (e.g. Aronsson, 2004, 2006, Vestheim, 2008, 2012, 2015 in press, Kverndokk, 2007, Fredriksson, 2009, Mangset and Røyseng, 2009, Gruber, 2010, Dahlin, 2012, Beckman, 2012, Axelsson, 2013, Stavrum, 2014).

This chapter aims to describe the methods used and the reasoning for the choices made. Firstly, it will attend to the notions of a one-sided ethnographical fieldwork, before going into the aspects of conducting a qualitative interview and the observation studies made, as well as describing the other sources used in this analysis. Thirdly, I will attend to the objectives upon handling a vast data material before explaining the analysis process. Lastly, there will be a discussion of the aspects of self-reflexivity during the fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo, plus the ethical issues that derive from a qualitative study undertaken in a small community, as this aspect stresses the importance of discretion and the predicaments upon anonymizing the informants.

4.1 The case and the ethnographical fieldwork

The case of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores was selected due to my former experiences with the city, as I worked and lived in the city for six months in 2008. Because of this, it was a familiar place, though being a city geographically located in a Mid-Atlantic archipelago, and being situated in a Portuguese/Azorean societal-cultural context, it clearly holds unfamiliar aspects and dimensions for a Norwegian. Familiarity with a place, and the fact that one knows the people and language are often given as reasons when choosing specific cases studies (Nielsen, 1996: 71), and such practical factors were equally relevant for me when choosing Angra do Heroísmo as a case rather than a Norwegian World Heritage Site. Additionally, the case was chosen in accordance with the research question to help: *critically map and analyse past and current discussions, negotiations and social processes that take place and relate to conditions created by living in or monitoring the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo. The purpose is to study how, and with what result and consequences, contested values, interests, rhetoric and powers are mobilized and made into dynamic forces for stakeholders in the city.*

Ulf Hannerz draws on the ways in which ethnographic work has been concerned with studying down, up, sideways, through, backward and forward. “Sideways” studies can be related to studying people “with practices not so unlike their own”, while “studying through” involves studying the web of actors and relationships between agents, discourses and institutions. Studying backwards concerns “ethnographical excavations of the past”, while studying forward is the ethnographical interest in “people’s ideas about the future” (Hannerz, 2010:60). This research can thus be said to be an ethnographical study that seeks to study *sideways* in the sense that I am studying people representing the heritage sector, a sector which I have also represented and can say to be a part of as an archaeologist who has worked in the heritage management area, and despite certain cultural

differences and cultural and social practices in Angra do Heroísmo, they are not totally remote from my own. In line with the research question, it is a study that studies *through* as I have attempted to map and analyse the discourses, processes and (power) relationships between stakeholders and institutions within the field of study. It is also a study that goes both *backward* in the sense of stretching back to 1980, and even *forward* in terms of touching on the future ideas that stakeholders have for the city.

Another choice made was to undertake a case study rather than a comparative study or a multi-sited study (Fangen, 2010, Hannerz, 2010). Indeed, multi-sited ethnographical studies have been used within the field of World Heritage research, some of which include the study of several locations or World Heritage Sites, as well as fieldwork undertaken at for instance organizations, meetings and/or conferences within the framework of UNESCO (Hølleland, 2013:39). The studies of Herdis Hølleland (2013) and Jan Turtinen (2006) can be examples of such multi-sited studies, and even van der Aa (2005) uses this method though he does not give this as the explicit methodological framework (Hølleland, 2013:39). However, in line with other case studies of World Heritage Sites, such as the ones conducted by Ronström (2007), Haslie (2009), Saltzman (2001) and Fageraas and Guttormsen (2007, 2011), I instead wanted to make an in-depth analysis of one site as such an analysis allowed me to address a great part of the relevant aspects that a World Heritage Status implies. Case studies have been seen as a research that “focuses on the inquiry around an instance in action” (Spencer 2011:51). The “action” can be said to be essential in this study, as it is the lived reality that is a focal point, some of which a case study can provide as it takes the more abstract discussions down to the real world, though I acknowledge the controversy of case study and its limitations of being “indicative of more general trends” (Spencer, 2011:50-51).

Yet another reason for studying just Angra do Heroísmo was that little research had been undertaken in regard to the implications of its World Heritage Status. However, a comparative study of World Heritage Sites, of which Angra do Heroísmo was one of the sites studied, was concluded in 2011 (Leitão, 2011), and an undergraduate thesis studying the conservation of Angra do Heroísmo was also conducted by João Braga (2013). However, these studies do not take on a holistic perspective in which social, political, economic and cultural processes are investigated.

As said, it is the qualitative interviews that are the main empirical data; however, these qualitative interviews are derived from an extensive ethnographical fieldwork, which primarily consisted of three stays in Angra do Heroísmo in 2010, 2011 and 2012. I even returned in 2013, only to discover that I could not take in more data, and that it was time to conclude the investigation. Thus, the main fieldwork was undertaken in 2011, and I spent almost six months in total in “the field”. During the fieldwork undertaken in Angra do Heroísmo, I lived in the classified city centre, interacted with the inhabitants and participated in their

activities. Through the help of acquaintances, friends, roommates and neighbours, I became integrated into the society and took part in many of their daily routines, even though I never escaped the fact that I was a Norwegian undertaking a study of Angra do Heroísmo. The latter was received with interest and curiosity, but also astonishment and bewilderment.

The initial fieldwork was undertaken in October 2010, exactly two years after I left the Azores. I was wondering how the return would be and how the research project would be received, and upon arriving I had both the sensation of never having left, and yet everything was different. Firstly, both my professional and social role within the community was altered, and secondly, my experience of the city was different due to my now applied “research eyes”. The main purpose of the first field trip, which only lasted about two weeks, was to introduce the project for some that I considered to be important gatekeepers and informants, and to further re-establish my former social and professional network, many of who have relevant knowledge about Angra do Heroísmo and the heritage management issues in the city. Moreover, I realized the value of my former network in order to acquire further contacts. Informal and occasional meetings were to be informative, through which I obtained general information concerning current heritage management matters and concerns, as well as giving me the first impressions about the ways in which the community relates to its World Heritage Status. On this first field trip, I also conducted an interview with one of the key informants, who I conducted a second interview with in 2011. However, another purpose for my first field trip to Angra do Heroísmo was to collect the necessary information and documentation in order to prepare the main fieldwork that was to take place in 2011.

Thus, I returned once again to Angra do Heroísmo at the beginning of May 2011, and throughout the months of May, June and July in 2011, I conducted what I considered to be the primary fieldwork. Shortly after my arrival I contacted some of my former contacts and informants. However, I also sought to expand my social network due to the need to find informants among the citizens. Consequently, I attempted to seek for new arenas where I could find possible interviewees, in addition to attaining information in regard to the research questions. Examples of such arenas were nature walks arranged by the local trekking associating, cultural events and religious feasts. For instance, the Espírito Santo Feast was an occasion where I was acquainted with several inhabitants who later became informants.

Nevertheless, the investigation commenced gradually, and after spending some weeks preparing the interviews and collecting texts and documents at the city library, it was time to get the interviews started. However, the first interview was obtained by more of a coincidence. I had been overlooking the restoration of one of the older houses in the city for some time, and when the owner was outside cleaning up after the construction workers I seized the opportunity to approach her. She instantly talked about the history of her house and the implications of the restoration she had undertaken, and shortly afterwards we met in her home to conduct an interview. This interview proved valuable, as I saw which questions

were relevant and which were rather irrelevant. Furthermore, a mental barrier was broken, as I was finally underway with the interview investigation.

In contrast to the rather slow start, I found myself to be physically running from one interview to the next in the last weeks of July 2011. Friends, acquaintances and interview objects were giving suggestions about important interviewees and forwarded contact information, and eventually I needed to postpone the departure in order to conclude all the necessary interviews. In the end, it was even necessary to reject several suggested interviewees, as I realized I was obtaining a vast data material.

4.2 Qualitative Interviews

The main empirical data for the analysis in this thesis is qualitative interviews, as this method enables in-depth conversations, in which I can access personal opinions and views on the themes and processes relevant for this study. Moreover, this method gives the possibility to understand and map the values at stake, the logic used and the hierarchy between the stakeholders.

As I experienced through the interview process, the interview context and the knowledge and information obtained, relies on- and is affected by the relational and inter-subjectivity that this method implies. Hence, there are obvious strengths and weaknesses in such a method. Inspired by, e.g. hermeneutical views, phenomenology and postmodern thought, Kvale and Brinkman draw attention to the ways in which knowledge gained through interviews “is produced, relational, conversational, contextual, linguistic, narrative, and pragmatic”. They further state how these aspects also characterize the objects that the interview gives information or knowledge about as “the lived social and historical world of human interaction is itself something constantly produced by humans”, which holds the same features given in terms of the interview knowledge (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009: 53-56). For this reason, the features are important to understand in order to be aware of the inter-subjective, contextual and relative in the interview, and the ways in which the interview gives information about a social world that holds the same features. These features have also been proven in the study, as it is important to be aware of the produced, relational, conversational, linguistic aspects of an interview and the data that derives from such a method when the interviews and the analysis are presented.

Interview study in Angra do Heroísmo

The interviewees in Angra do Heroísmo were strategically selected on the basis of the main research question, and were chosen in order to give a representative selection of the various stakeholders in Angra do Heroísmo. I will give a further description of the reasons for the selections made below. First, it must be emphasized that the interview study was based on 50 interviews, which could be divided into eight categories of informants: (1) the inhabitants of Angra do

Heroísmo, (2) present and former officials within the cultural heritage management sector, who were public employees from the regional government and the municipality, (3) business owners and (4) contractors within the classified zone. Additionally, it was of interest to interview representatives from the tourism sector (5) and the regional chamber of commerce (6). I also conducted interviews with representatives from several cultural institutions (7) in the city, as well as tourists (8). However, these categories must be understood as being relatively fixed, as I soon realized that many of my interviewees hold several positions in the city. For example, some of the officials from the heritage management sector also live within the classified zone, in addition to having positions at some of the cultural institutions in the city. Consequently, several interviewees gave answers and opinions on the basis of their different positions, and a complete list of interviews is attached (see Appendix).

The reason for the large number of informants was due to the fact that I considered it to be important to have several informants from each category in order to ensure a representation of the prevailing opinions within the various informant groups. However, the number of informants from each category differed, which was controlled by accessibility and the degree of relevant informants within the groups. Hence, the largest informant groups are the inhabitants and the heritage management sector. Another reason for the high number of informants was due to the fact that I address several issues and themes in this thesis.

Occasionally, especially when conducting interviews among the inhabitants, there were several interviewees present at the interview, as other family members sometimes joined as well. The true number of informants participating in the investigation was therefore close to 70.⁹ However, most of the time, there was one who was more dominant in the interview, so the interview material used in the analysis was mostly derived from one person per interview. As a result of this, the interviews conducted with groups of people presented me with certain challenges upon facilitating the interview, yet it also gave me the possibility of obtaining further information and perceiving more opinions.

Most of the interviews conducted with officials were carried out at their workplace. However, because some were finding it difficult to meet me during working hours, I also undertook some of these interviews at cafés or in their home at night or on weekends. I found it essential to interview the inhabitants in their home environment in order to obtain a complete picture of the interviewee. Parts of these interviews were carried out while the homeowners gave me a tour around their house, telling for instance about its history, the effects from the 1980 earthquake and different restoration works undertaken through the years. The

⁹ It might be difficult to give an exact number of participating informants, as neighbours or other family members sometimes joined in and left during some of the interviews.

interviews with business owners were mostly carried out in their shop or restaurant during opening hours, where we found a quiet place to talk.

Except for two occasions, when the interviews were carried out in English, I conducted all the interviews in Portuguese. However, I acknowledge that language difficulties may have caused certain limitations, as misunderstandings occurred and the language barrier affected my ability to follow-up replies and be more critical in the interview situation. Despite these imperatives, it was essential to carry out the interviews in Angra do Heroísmo in Portuguese in order to create a closer relationship between myself as a researcher and the interviewees. Another essential aspect of doing this was that the interviewee could articulate a better response. Nonetheless, due to language problems that were undoubtedly occurring, I was recording all the interviews in order to have unlimited access to the interview material.

I regard the interviews as being semi-structured (Thagaard, 2002:85, Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:130), as the questions and themes were set in beforehand but addressed in a different order. Indeed, all the interviews had a different character. The degree of structure depended to a great extent on the person I was interviewing, and upon several occasions I preferred the interview to be more of a conversation in order to obtain a more fluent interview. Nevertheless, tailored interview guides were prepared for all the interviews in order to have an interview guide which was suitable for each group of informants, though most of the main themes were addressed in all the interviews. Two examples of the interview guides are attached, though, these can rather be seen as a point of departure for the interviews, in which the overall themes were addressed and discussed rather than the specific questions. The duration of the interviews varied between 30 to 90 minutes, but there were occasions when the interview lasted several hours. However, most of the interviews lasted about an hour. The interviews carried out in private homes were more extensive, as these interviews often had a more informal and social form, and as said, I was often invited during these interviews to take a guided tour of the house in order to see the restoration work, the termite infestations or antiquarian aspects of the house. The interviews conducted with tourists had another character than the other interviews, as these were shorter – lasting about 10-15 minutes, and most of them were conducted in the streets or squares in the city. Generally, I found most of the interviewees to be well-articulated, engaged and talkative, and I rarely saw the necessity in assisting the interviewee to talk. Looking back on the interviews, it could in fact have been profitable to have taken more control over the interview situation.

On the informants

Initially, I sought to obtain a vast representation in regard to age, gender and social status among my informants. However, this idea proved to be more difficult to achieve than presumed. As for the distribution of gender, there was a slight

majority of men. A higher number of men participating in this investigation may be explained by the fact that there are more men who possess public positions, although I interviewed several female executives. The age of the interviewees ranged from approximately 28 to 85, though most of the interviewees were between 30 and 60 years old. The relatively high age among the informants was also the result of the large number of public employees who participated, and in order to respond to my research questions I preferred the interviewee to be of a certain age. Additionally, the large amount of public employees participating in this investigation yielded a generally high education level among the informants. Although there was a variation in occupation and social status between the inhabitants, I also regarded the social level to be generally high among this group of informants. It was difficult obtaining interviews with people with a lower social background among the inhabitants, which could have been the result of my middle class-based social network in Angra do Heroísmo.

On the selection of interviewees in terms of research questions

After my first field trip in 2010, I prepared a list of possible informants and interviewees in Angra. The list consisted of people who had come to my knowledge through some of my key informants. However, this list was neither final nor complete, but proved to be significant when I selected the first interviewees. During my 2011 fieldwork, I used the “the snowball method” to a great extent (Thagaard, 2002:54), meaning that informants were coming to my awareness as the research project evolved. It was mostly informants who guided me to the next interviewee. As such, the selection of interviewees became both random and strategic. Interviews with “gatekeepers”, who held important positions within the interview groups mentioned above, were essential in order to obtain admission to institutions and social circles of importance for my study. During my fieldwork in 2011, I came to understand the true meaning of networking, and fortunately this was easier to accomplish in a small community, and through the help of an open Portuguese mentality.

Despite the fact that interviewees were selected with the help of informants and gatekeepers, the selection was primarily based on the research question and chosen themes in order to answer the broader research aim. However, certain themes became more relevant to study due to the data I gained during the fieldwork and the relevance on these themes stressed by the informants. One of these themes is the earthquake, as the informants provided a vast amount of data on the subject, in which I became aware of the fact that this was considered to be a milestone for the society, as well as being significant in order to understand the present management issues. Moreover, it is a pivotal event in order to comprehend the present society and the current discussions. Lastly, it was a triggering factor for the later nomination process for the World Heritage List. Another interesting fact is that this topic became an icebreaker in the interviews, as most of the informants spoke willingly and openly about the incident. Consequently, I introduced many

of the interviews (no matter the interview group or position) by asking if they could talk about their personal experience of the earthquake and the subsequent reconstruction of the city at the beginning of the 1980s. However, this topic was not relevant upon interviewing new inhabitants and young people, who were too young to have any recollections of the earthquake.

As with all World Heritage Sites, Angra do Heroísmo has a history concerning the nomination process prior to its inclusion to the World Heritage List, and it was vital to understand how and why Angra do Heroísmo managed to be enlisted, in which I wanted to seize the personal stories being told by the people who participated in the nomination process in the early 1980s. As a consequence, I selected interviewees who had been directly or indirectly involved in the process, or who had knowledge about the process due to their current official position. However, I was mostly forwarded to the persons who had been involved in the process when I asked about the present official's opinions about the story. The nomination process is a theme which has been studied retrospectively, and as such it is the memories and recollections from this process undertaken more than 30 years ago that comprises the empirical data on this topic. In other words, this is one of the themes or processes which has been studied *backward*, in reference to Hannerz (2010:60).

However, in order to address the themes concerning the aspects of living in a classified area and the management of the city, as well as the modern development cases studied, I sought to interview inhabitants living within the classified city centre as well as stakeholders representing the official management apparatus, such as the Regional Directorate for Culture of the Azores (Direção Regional da Cultura) and the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo (Câmara Municipal de Angra do Heroísmo). Accordingly, I interviewed a selection of the bureaucrats working at these institutions, including the heritage managers responsible for the preservation and management of Angra. Additionally, some of my interview objects represented the executive level at these institutions, as it was important to understand the prevailing opinions at this level of the organizations. Moreover, some of the respondents in this group of informants were people who are part of the cultural sector, thereby representing several of the cultural institutions, as well as others were former officials in the heritage management sector. Hence, these informants were not directly responsible for the present heritage management of Angra do Heroísmo. Nevertheless, I found it valuable to understand their perspectives with regard to the current conservation, as they were involved in several of the prevailing discussions in the city. As well, as some were former employees in the heritage management sector, such interviews were essential in regard to the cases studied, which date back to the 1980s and 1990s.

The second research topic I addressed is the consequences of the heritage management policies for the local community. However, as mentioned, some of the representatives of the heritage management sector also resided in the classified city centre. Thus, these issues were equally attended to in these interviews. In terms

of interviews made among the inhabitants, I interviewed residents who were born and raised in the city, not to mention people who had recently moved to Angra. As also mentioned, parts of the investigation aimed to study local attachment and identity, and this topic was addressed in the interviews with the inhabitants. However, as officials have also been or lived in the classified area, this subject was equally addressed upon interviews with official, representatives from the cultural sector, as well as politicians and inhabitants. Furthermore, I undertook five interviews with selected business owners within the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo – these being owners of renowned and traditional stores, as well as relatively new business owners. Hence, the aim was to understand the consequences of maintaining a business within the classified zone. Additionally, in order to understand how these worked within the legal framework and preservation policies, I conducted interviews among some of the entrepreneurs responsible for some of the current construction projects in Angra do Heroísmo.

In order to respond to the questions concerning the present state of tourism in Angra, interviews were conducted with both official representatives from the tourism sector and with officials from the municipality and the Regional Directorate for Culture. After obtaining data from these informants, it was of interest to attain the views from tourists visiting the city. Thus, eight tourists were randomly selected within the historical zone of Angra do Heroísmo. The topic concerning tourism was another theme that became more essential to address than assumed before the fieldwork.

4.3 Observation studies – getting close

The fieldwork undertaken in Angra do Heroísmo involved participant observation, as I participated in the daily life of the city while living in the classified zone, developed relationships with the inhabitants and observed all the while what was going on (cf. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011:1). Such ethnographic participation involves “getting close”, in which “physical and social proximity” to the people and groups being studied is important. However, getting close has another significant component: to be able to understand and write about what the people being studied found to be meaningful and important (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011: 2, 3, 16).

The observation studies undertaken during the course of this fieldwork were not planned or given a specific strategy; instead, through living and interacting with the inhabitants and various stakeholders, I was naturally conducting ethnographical participation. Some of what I was to discover was how such participation entails some degree of re-socialization, which means that as a field researcher I had to become intertwined in their social matrix and meanings (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011:3). In other words, it entailed to “go native” (Fangen, 2010:79, 80). Having a large social network in the city, in which many were friends, I became integrated into the social world in Angra do Heroísmo while living there. Indeed, I strived to be as integrated as possible, taking up their

customs and ways of being and participating in their activities. This was also done in order to show respect, e.g. by greeting people in a Portuguese manner, in addition to dressing according to the local standard, although I was constantly discussing with myself how integrated I should become in order to maintain a necessary distance to the people and objects under study.

Importantly, the daily participatory observations undertaken during the course of fieldwork generated more than 100 pages of descriptive field notes (cf. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011:5), being written as I perceived and interpreted the observation, but with the intention of writing about what the observed found meaningful – “what the experiences and activities *mean to them*” (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011:16). The field notes are considered to be the secondary empirical data used in the analysis. In the field notes, I described and reflected on the observations made, as well as including notes taken after interviews, personal reflections and the first analyses. For instance, I obtained information and opinions about the implications of managing a World Heritage City, while interacting with representatives from the Directorate for Culture and the municipality, and also including representatives from some of the cultural institutions in Angra. Equally, heritage management and the consequences for the local community were naturally attended to while interacting with the inhabitants of Angra. Furthermore, I perceived some of the general prevailing sentiments and opinions in the community with regard to the research question involving identity and local attachment during my daily interaction with the people of Angra. However, I am aware of the fact that my presence could have triggered discussions concerning the themes addressed in this thesis, some of which accentuates the dialectical and intersubjective between the researcher and the object of research.

Despite the fact that the experiences during my first stay in Angra do Heroísmo in 2008 were not related to this research in the first place or written down as field notes, they can be considered as supplementary data, as the experiences provided me with general impressions in terms of the sentiments and views of the inhabitants and the stakeholders representing the heritage management field. Moreover, the first stay gave me insight into the social structures and processes in the city, as well as relevant discussions.

4.4 Other sources

Texts and documents is a third group of empirical data used in the analysis in this thesis, and as such this study involves a triangulating of methods by combining qualitative interviews, observation studies and document analysis (Repstad, 2007: 29, Fangen, 2010:171). However, the texts and documents have different functions, as some are used to supplement the data collected through interviews and observation studies, whereas others are policy documents that both provide information and act as objects for analysis, yet there are case documents or reports that have sought to shed further light on the processes analysed.

One important source of data used in the analysis was newspaper articles from the local newspapers, *Diário Insular* and *A União*, and the regional *O Açoriano Oriental*. Articles used are both debate articles and articles that address the analysed cases; as such, they were used to give another perspective and even inform about the discussion, in addition to supplementing the data provided in the interviews or the data provided through observation studies. The articles were accessed through the newspapers' internet sites, as well as being collected during the course of the fieldwork, as several cases were discussed in the media during the time I was in Angra do Heroísmo. The newspaper articles from the early 1980s and the 1990s were collected at the public library and archives in Angra do Heroísmo.

Data from internet sites have also been used in order to supplement the interviews. An example of this is one of the Portuguese petition sites called *Petição Pública Online*, in which local cultural heritage management cases are addressed and discussed by the inhabitants. Hence, on these sites I obtained additional opinions given by the inhabitants and the reasoning for the petitions initiated. Moreover, the UNESCO websites have been used in order to obtain statements and information concerning policies given by UNESCO and their apparatus concerning World Heritage. Still, I must stress that websites are fluctuating sources that can undergo changes during a research project undertaken over several years. For this reason, I experienced that some of the webpages were closed during the course of this research.

The latter brings us further to some essential documents, such as reports, documents and policies and recommendations given by UNESCO, which are used throughout this thesis. Some of these documents were collected at UNESCO's archive in Paris. The archive at UNESCO provided, e.g. the nomination file and other case documents or reports concerning Angra do Heroísmo. However, UNESCO maintains an online archive that provides a great part of the documents concerning Angra do Heroísmo, as well as reports from World Heritage Committee meetings, while World Heritage Bureau meetings were also accessed through UNESCO's online service.

Case documents and reports concerning Angra do Heroísmo were also collected at the ICOMOS archives, and at the archives at the Azorean Regional Directorate for Culture. The access given to the archives of the Regional Directorate for Culture gave me the possibility to access correspondence with UNESCO and reports concerning missions undertaken by UNESCO written by the Azorean authorities. Further, it should be noted that documents and newspaper articles were also provided by some of the informants.

Moreover, UNESCO policies, Azorean policies and legal documents have all been important sources, as these can be said to be the working frames for the processes and cases studied. One important document introduced in Chapter 2 is the *Decreto Legislativo Regional No.15/2004/A – Regime de protecção e valorização do património cultural da zona classificada da cidade de Angra do*

Heroísmo, which is the legal document for the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo. This legal framework contains restrictions for activities and conduct within the classified zone, some of which are essential in order to understand the discussions regarding the preservation of Angra. However, in this thesis, I will use the English version of this legal document (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A).

Additionally, one of my research topics concerns the 1980 earthquake, and as stated above, I have attended to this matter by interviewing people who experienced the earthquake and who took part in the reconstruction process. Nevertheless, I also needed to accumulate information on this topic by studying documents, reports and literature describing the earthquake and the subsequent reconstruction work.

4.5 Handling the Data

Returning from the fieldwork, I had more than 50 interviews waiting to be transcribed and analysed, not to mention several field diaries that needed to be written up. Furthermore, the data material also included documents that required organization and analysis. I must confess it was a rather bewildering situation. Hence, the following part gives a description of the choices made and the methods used in order to manage and analyse the material.

Transcriptions and field notes

The transcription of interviews is a stage in which the oral interviews are made into written texts. I preferred to transcribe most of the interviews, and the transcriptions can be said to be the very empirical material in this interview study. However, as Kvale points out, these must be considered as rather artificial constructions of the oral communication that took place during the interview, as the transcription processes entailed subjective judgements and considerations (Kvale, 2009:102). What is more, the transcription processes entailed obstacles in terms of interpretation problems, poor sound quality due to noise and the oral ways of articulating an opinion, which can consist of pauses, modifications, repetitions, stuttering and gesticulation, thereby making it difficult to turn this into a meaningful text. Kvale and Brinkman stress how the difficulties of transcribing are much related to the fact that this involves translating something from a verbal language to a written language, in which both have a different set of rules (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:178).

As the latter part points out, there are obstacles upon transcribing, and in my case, there was an additional dilemma due to the fact that I transcribed interviews conducted in a third language. All the interviews in Portuguese were also transcribed in Portuguese, some of which was most time consuming, as I repeatedly needed to revise the scripts in order to get them correct. Another aspect is that the quotes used in the text in this thesis have been translated from Portuguese

to English, some of which can yield an additional margin of error. However, I have revised the quotes several times and listened to the recorded interview again in order to ensure that these were correct. In order for the quotes to be better to read, I deleted repetition, incomplete sentences and other more oral expressions.

Due to the vast amount of data material I acquired, I needed to make certain choices and selections. Firstly, it became essential to be assisted in the transcription process, as it became too time consuming to undertake all the transcriptions myself. However, the transcriptions were made, as far as possible, anonymously, and the people who assisted me in the processes did not know any of the interviewees personally. Moreover, these transcriptions have been revised by me, and I have listened to the recordings in order to be certain about the correctness of the transcriptions. Secondly, some interviews have only been partially transcribed and others also only partially listened to in order to save time. Even so, the majority of the interviews have been transcribed, and I personally conducted half the transcriptions. Some interviews have not been used due to the fact that they were not providing new information or important empirical data, plus due to the fact that the data became too vast. Thus, 50 interviews comprise the final empirical data. However, all the interviews that I have conducted can be said to form the basis for the analysis given. The obstacles upon handling a vast amount of data material is one of the most important lessons learned during this study.

The field diary was of great importance throughout my fieldwork. It was a necessary private space in which I could truly reflect upon what I experienced as a researcher in Angra do Heroísmo, and it was also the place where my thoughts and first analysis were completed. The process of writing up the hand written diary into a thicker, and all the more meaningful text, was an interesting process subsequent to my first field trip. In this process, I noticed how much more information I was adding, as revising the diary again made me remember other important observations, conversations and events I had witnessed.

During my fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo, I was writing the field notes in Norwegian in order to have more liberty in the writing process, although experiencing that even my native language turned rather poor after focusing on Portuguese for months. However, when writing up the diary, the Norwegian notes were translated into English, and in this process some of the carefully chosen Norwegian formulations and descriptions were lost.

The Analysis Process – Seeing the Whole

The analysis process already started when I was conducting the fieldwork and undertaking the interviews, and continued when I was transcribing the interviews, writing up the field diary or organizing the documents. Moreover, the analysis process was undertaken in phases or cycles, as I have been going back and forth between the empirical data, theories and comparative literature. Thus, I can hardly say that I did the analysis in a specific order. Instead, the data and literature were

revised several times in order to see the empirical data and the theories with “fresh eyes”, and to obtain new analytic points and meanings. As explained above, the repeated revisions were also necessary in order to avoid any misunderstandings.

The analysis and the way in which it is presented focus on themes in which the replies given by the informants on the specific theme are compared. Hence, the analysis is firstly “issue focused” and secondly a “cross-case analysis”, as Tove Thagaard writes in reference to Robert Weiss and Jennifer Mason (2003: 153). Furthermore, opinions and views given in newspaper articles, on internet sites or in reports are similarly compared to the replies given by the informants. These sources are used to supplement and broaden the data. However, an essential point is that the themes are addressed in order to shed light on the overall research question. The holistic in this study is vital to stress as an “issue focused” analysis, in which loose quotes from informants are compared and have been criticized (Thagaard, 2002:153). Thus, themes are set up against or analysed in a greater context – in order to see the whole. However, the analysis is also person- or group focused, as it is emphasized how the different informants or groups of informants relate to the themes (cf. Thagaard, 2002:131-133). I would say that the analysis combines a person/group focus and theme focus.

The themes were both fixed beforehand, as well as themes/categories and other sub-categories or sub-themes occurring during the analysis process. The themed chapters are a result of this themed-centred analysis, in which sub-chapters often represent the sub-categories that occurred while analysing the theme. The empirical material can further be said to have been thematically analysed in order to find the meaning. Such a meaning interpretation aims to go beyond the actual statements of the interviewees in order to obtain a deeper meaning of what was being said (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009: 207). A relevant question to ask at this point was: What does a certain statement really mean or what does this view represent? Is this representative of a group or field? However, the next step was to see tendencies or patterns in the empirical data. This was important in order to understand power structures or the tendencies of specific values, rhetoric or politics. Thus, from patterns or tendencies detected, derived interpretations were seen in connection with theories or compared with other studies, such as other World Heritage case studies (Thagaard, 2002).

Kvale and Brinkman addresses the importance of reliability in a research project (2009). Throughout the process, I have sought to ensure a reliable presentation and analysis, and the revisions of data have been one of the means to ensure reliability, not to mention that I have chosen to use quotations from the interviews extensively in the thesis in order for the reader to have access to the “raw” empirical data. The quotes are also given references in terms of an interview number, and a complete list of interviews is enclosed (see Appendix).

Field notes derived from observation studies undertaken during the fieldwork and the texts/documents are equally thematically analysed in order to supplement the interview data. The data can be said to have been analysed in the same manner

as the interview data, as the field notes, plus views given on internet sites or in articles, reports or documents, basically represent or describe views given by an official or a group. However, these analyses have less of a focus on the persons, but can be analysed in terms of groups. Another type of data is policy documents that are normative documents, and can thus be analysed in terms of finding the meaning in the policies, therefore being a meaning interpretation. Relevant questions in the analysis of these documents have been: What do these policies entail? What are their aims and effects? Yet, such policy documents have been used to analyse changes in politics or developments, and UNESCO policies or recommendations are also used to contrast the data from Angra do Heroísmo in order to see the case in a broader context.

4.6 On self-reflexivity and ethics during the fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo

Swedish ethnographers Billy Ehn and Barbro Klein address the importance of self-reflexivity during an ethnographical fieldwork and upon the encounters with the research objects and informants. The authors claim that when studying people, you also study yourself, and upon investigating other people's lives you systematically justify your own existence (Ehn and Klein, 2007:10). Indeed, the experiences during my fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo were an intense emotional process, in which I was constantly confronted with my own cultural and social perceptions and personhood. One of the notions that was constantly negotiated, both personally and with the informants or the people in Angra do Heroísmo, were the aspects of being an outsider or an insider during the research. An insider research is defined as research conducted in a group of which the researcher is a member, in which the "researcher shares an identity, language, and experiential base with the study participants" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009:58).

Considering the latter definition of an insider, my basic point of departure in this study is that I am an outsider in the sense of being a Norwegian, holding both a different cultural and linguistic background. The psychologists Dwyer and Buckle further address notions of being an insider, and state that the complete membership role gives researchers a certain amount of legitimacy and/or stigma (2009:58). However, I did not have the feeling of being given less legitimacy by being an outsider, rather I experienced that as an outsider I was given a neutral position, which I believe may have enabled informants to talk more openly and freely. At times, I was almost of the impression that people were confiding in me, and some also pointed out how it was considered valuable to obtain an outsider's perspectives.

Another aspect of being a foreigner in an island community, which takes great interest in new people arriving is the goodwill you encounter. Help and support, which have been provided by the community throughout this investigation, have been valuable. All the informants were eager to assist and forward contact information, as well as helping me out with practical problems. Several times I was escorted to the interviews – at times even assisted in the interview situation.

However, it has been pointed out how Portuguese in general take an interest in foreigners, as Portugal is a small country on the outskirts of Europe, as some informants pointed out, the Portuguese are generally open towards people and aspects from abroad.

On the other hand, there are certain disadvantages in being an “outsider”, since I also experienced the challenges of conducting research in another culture and upon using a third language to communicate. Due to my former stays, I was familiar with aspects of the Azorean culture and the mentality of the people living on the island of Terceira. In this sense, I was a kind of an “insider”. Nevertheless, in the daily life in Angra do Heroísmo, I was constantly confronted with the cultural differences existing between a Norwegian and the Azoreans, and there were misunderstandings occurring due to my unfamiliarity with certain cultural and social codes, some of which were augmented due to language barriers. The Azorean society is said to be less informal than continental Portugal. However, for a Norwegian who was used to an informal Nordic interaction, being addressed as Doctora Johansson can be a very unfamiliar situation. I was therefore conscious about the ways in which I addressed my informants when contacting them and while interviewing. Still, mistakes did occur. The latter was simply one example of cultural differences between the Portuguese and Norwegian societies; even so, I recognize that cultural and linguistic barriers may have influenced the collected empirical data and affected my ways of interpretation and the very analysis, though due to the risk of misunderstandings, I reviewed the transcriptions and listened to the recorded interviews repeatedly in order to avoid any possible misunderstandings.

These latter aspects can be seen in relation to the debate concerning the involvement of the researcher in the field of study, and Ehn and Klein claim that the researcher is not just a spectator at a distance, but instead somebody who is in a constant and dialectic process with whom and what he or she is studying, thus also affecting the field itself (2007:10). The latter was indeed acknowledged during the course of my fieldwork, as my research topics were often discussed due to my presence. Another point that could have affected some situations is my profession as an archaeologist, and the fact that I am a former employee at the Directorate for Culture. There were occasions when I sensed an anticipated confirmation from me when certain heritage management cases were discussed, both in interviews and while participating in social gatherings. However, I acknowledge that my profession might have been opening some doors, yet closing others. Nevertheless, it was always my intention to be as neutral as possible in all the debates being discussed in my presence, and I have no intention of taking a stand in the present debates concerning cultural heritage management issues in Angra or being normative in any way. It is the informant’s point of view and perceptions that are the focal point of this study.

My features as an outsider were both discussed and pointed out; more importantly, this was something I felt and was confronted by. Yet having been

living and working in the city, as well as being affiliated professionally with several of the inhabitants, I was also an “insider” in a certain sense. Moreover, the study was undertaken in a European country, some of which gives a common frame for interaction. The benefit of an insider is acceptance, writes Dwyer and Buckle (2009:58), and as I did not feel that I was in any way unaccepted during the fieldwork may have been related to my former familiarity with the city and its inhabitants, as well as to the fact that we share a somewhat similar cultural frame. Another aspect is that by living with and participating in the daily life of the city, making friends and sharing experiences, you somehow become an insider during the fieldwork. Consequently, I saw the necessity in conducting the analysis far from Angra do Heroísmo, with which I could regain my “neutral” position. Ultimately, I can state that this fieldwork had the sense of both being an outsider and an insider; as it has been stated: “[h]olding membership in a group does not denote complete sameness within that group. Likewise, not being a member of a group does not denote complete difference” (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009:60).

Ethical Aspects

A qualitative study that includes personal in-depth interviews implies moral and ethical dimensions, as the whole process is relying on private information, personal relationships and trust (Kvale, 2009: 65). Indeed, ethics have been a main concern during the course of this study, especially due to the fact that the study was undertaken in a small community, some of which augments the importance or difficulties of discretion and predicaments upon anonymizing the informants. Moreover, doing research in an already familiar site means that I have friends within the field of study, and upon spending several months in the field, friendships occur, some of whom are entangled in this research project. As noted above, doing fieldwork entails “going native”, in which people under study become close acquaintances and even friends. However, it has been important to me to balance the friendship and the study of research, though some of the information and informants would not have been provided had it not been for my close relationship with the people in Angra do Heroísmo. Furthermore, I acknowledge the ethical predicament that such relationships imply.

The importance of privacy, confidentiality, informed consent and anonymity are aspects often stressed in terms of ethics when conducting quality research (Miles and Huberman, 1994, Thagaard, 2002, Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Indeed, these aspects have been important due to the predicaments outlined above. *Privacy* implies the “preservation of boundaries against giving the protected information or receiving unwanted information” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 293). Throughout the fieldwork I was always careful about not revealing any of my respondents or information I obtained through the interviews. However, this can be challenging in a small community, and some found me to be excessively

discrete at times, with one commenting: “I do think you have been a little bit too top secret at times.”

Additionally, the importance of *informed consent* entails a voluntary participation and that the researcher provides information about the investigation (Thagaard, 2002:23-24, Kvale and Brinkman, 2009, Miles and Huberman, 1994). Hence, all the interviewees in this study have voluntarily participated after having been informed about the project.

Moreover, both the data and information given in the interviews have been regarded and treated confidentially (Thagaard, 2002, Miles and Huberman, 1994). In terms of confidentiality, it is stressed how the data should not be presented in ways which could harm the informant. Thus, I have not included any data that could in any way be seen as being compromising for the informant. The principle of treating the data confidentially is further linked to the principle of anonymity (Thagaard, 2002: 24). Miles and Huberman give an emphasis on *anonymity*, which is a “lack of identifiers, information that would indicate which individuals or organization provided which data” (1994: 293). There are obvious challenges in keeping the information completely anonymous in a small community such as Angra do Heroísmo, where there are risks of identifying the informants portrayed. As a consequence, I have strived to present the data in such a way that the informants remain anonymous, though acknowledging that there may be certain views or characteristics which may reveal the informant. Moreover, some quotations are not given an interview number, in order to maintain the anonymity of the interviewee.

However, there are some informants in this thesis who will be identified. Due to the position they have or had, it became difficult to both hide their identity as well as I see it as important for the analysis to give their identity, all the time they are or have been official or publicly known people who have often presented their views and opinions in the public debate and in the media. Moreover, I find it important to give the main institutions names, which the informants represent, as this fact is vital in the analysis, though the informants representing these institutions are anonymous. It must be stressed that I have obtained either written or oral consent by all interviewees to use their proper name or title. However, most of the informants did not have any concerns about giving their identity, even when told that they would be anonymized.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to describe the methods used in order to collect the empirical data for the analysis and the reasoning for the choices made in terms of methods. Moreover, the purpose of this chapter has been to draw on some of the experiences made throughout the fieldwork, as well as to describe the nature of the qualitative interviews and the fieldwork. However, methodological concerns will be attended to throughout the thesis.

This thesis concerns a case study of the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores, and the analysis is based on empirical data collected through in-depth qualitative interviews and observation studies undertaken during my ethnographical fieldwork, as well as it is based on a document study. As such, the methods used can be said to be a triangulating of methods, in which the qualitative interviews has provided the principle data. Both field notes and text/documents are considered as supplementary data. The data was primarily collected and generated through the course of ethnographical fieldwork undertaken in Angra do Heroísmo in 2010, 2011 and 2012, though the main fieldwork was undertaken during three months in 2011, during which most of the interviews were undertaken. The interviewees were strategically selected on the basis of the overall research question and themes, as well as informants being chosen by means of “the snow ball method” and by contacts provided by gatekeepers.

The analysis process can be said to be both theme focused and person focused, as the analysis is conducted thematically, in which replies given by the informants or statements and views given in other sources on specific subjects are compared. However, the analysis and the presentation of the analysis also focus on persons and groups.

Lastly, it is important to stress that the flow of information did not end at the time I concluded the fieldwork. Due to updates on the internet, Facebook and e-mail correspondences with some of the informants, I have been informed about new discussions, change in politics, opinions and events that have been difficult to disregard. Thus, as will be shown in the analysis, I have used some of this data in the analysis. As such, the study of Angra do Heroísmo lasts up until the present, but the main focal point of this study span was between 1980 and 2012. As a result, I have aimed to limit these supplementary data due to the already vast amount of data material.

PART II ANGRA DO HEROÍSMO – RETROSPEKTIVE

5 The Earthquake

I usually say that my life is divided into two parts: Before the earthquake and after the earthquake (Interview 38).

At 3:42 pm on the 1st of January 1980, the inhabitants of Angra do Heroísmo could feel a strong earthquake tremble beneath the ground of the city. It was a clear and sunny day, and most people were outside enjoying the first day of the new decade. Several of my interviewees pointed out the importance that the earthquake hit the city on a holiday, as the streets are often the most dangerous places to be due to the falling bricks and tiles from the buildings, and this might have reduced the amount of human loss. Like one of the interviewees said: “Fortunately, it was a holiday, and we were lucky it happened in the afternoon – not at night, and the weather was good. The day was lovely. It might have rained” (Interviewee 34). Nevertheless, the destruction of the earthquake was inevitable: “At the first day of this year the earth shook the Azores, affecting in particular the islands of Terceira, São Jorge and Graciosa.” It is further described how more than 50 people were killed, almost 100 were injured, more than 21,000 became homeless and about 6,000 houses were destroyed. “Not to mention all the palaces, churches, old convents, monuments and a great part of the architectural heritage, historical and artistic, that was suddenly put into ruins” (Mendonça, 1983:133, author’s translation).

Rua de Miragaia, Angra do Heroísmo after the earthquake, 1980. Foto: Mário Silva (Público, 2015)

The island of Terceira suffered more than the two other islands affected by the earthquake, and documents tell about the demolition of 4,909 houses, 44 killed and many more injured (Forjaz, 2005:159). However, the earthquake hit the island differently – some parts were hardly touched by the earthquake, while other villages suffered almost complete destruction (Cabral et al., 1983:221). Angra do Heroísmo was one of the *inferior* areas, where the earthquake measured 7.5 on the Richter scale (Forjaz, 2005: 161), while only 20% of the buildings within the city were left standing after the 11-second earthquake (UNESCO, 2006a). There were also variations as to the degree of destruction within the city. For instance, the central part of Angra do Heroísmo and the quarters on the east top hill suffered more demolition than the west side of the city.

Because the Azores are situated in a volcanic area, the inhabitants are always highly aware of the possibility of earthquakes. Three of the Earth's tectonic plates interlock in the area of the Azores, and the islands frequently experience disturbances. Earthquakes have been logged up to two to three times every century (Cabral et al., 1983: 216). This reality is very much integrated into the mentality of the people in the Azores as one of my informants explained: "Any person who is about 40 or 50 years old has experienced several earthquakes during the last years – it is a part of our life. We are not afraid of it." There are also descriptions of several severe earthquakes in the island of Terceira since the first settlement in the 15th century, but the magnitude of the 1980 earthquake was greater than any of the previous earthquakes in the archipelago. In fact, it was the most severe earthquake in Portugal in 200 years (Oliveira, Lucas and Guedes, 1992).

When commencing this study, I did not expect the subject of the 1980 earthquake to be significant for my research. Even though the interviewees were asked questions concerning the earthquake, it became a more essential matter when realizing that I was obtaining a vast and rich amount of data material in regard to this subject by my interviewees. In fact, before interviewing the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo I thought it would be a difficult matter to address in the interviews, but I was only to discover the contrary: it worked as an ice breaker in a great part of the interviews, as it made people start talking.

Secondly, the earthquake is significant, as I consider it to be an important factor for initiating the nomination process to the World Heritage List. Like the Angrense Álvaro Monjardino, a lawyer and a former president of the Azorean government, who played an important part in the nomination process, writes:

The earthquake of that day acted as an alarm clock for its inhabitants and politicians, giving them a sharp conscience over the meaning and value of this city as a unique urban whole from a historical point of view, as well as from the urban solutions and the community life's point of view. Visiting Angra do Heroísmo two weeks after that earthquake, the UNESCO's experts suggested the possibility of inscribing its historical city centre in the World Heritage List. (Monjardino, 2005:14)

Thus, as this quote states, Monjardino believed the earthquake awoke the citizens' awareness of Angra do Heroísmo as a historical city, and in Chapter 11 I will elaborate further on the citizens' historical pride and awareness, as well as their sense of belonging.

In the following, I will portray and assess some of the personal accounts obtained about the earthquake and its aftermaths. What is the value and nature of these accounts or memories, and how can they be understood? In addition, the character and process of the individual and public commemoration of the earthquake will be analysed. I will also present and analyse the responses attained, both by the inhabitants and the officials, with regard to the reconstruction process and the reconstructed city. How is the reconstructed cityscape of Angra do Heroísmo valued among the stakeholders? In what way can authenticity be understood? Moreover, this chapter focuses on the formative moment that the earthquake was for the community of Angra do Heroísmo – both societally and personally.

Lastly, the aim of the chapter is to give a backdrop in order to understand the city and the events that succeeded the earthquake, including events that were in fact generated by the earthquake such as the nomination, the enlistment to the World Heritage List and the daily predicaments that the classification holds.

5.1 The 1st of January – the Inhabitants' Accounts

Regardless of position, age or type of interviewee, I asked all the informants who were present in Angra do Heroísmo or on the island of Terceira on the 1st of January 1980, if they could tell how they experienced the moment when the earthquake hit the city. Those in Angra do Heroísmo at the time of this fieldwork gave the following account:

I was five years old at the time and I only remember a little bit from that day. I was in the Public Gardens, by the pond on the upper patio with my two brothers, and the memory that I have is a feeling that it stopped raining, [...] and the waves of the ground that were almost possible to see. (Interview 17)

Several informants have early childhood memories of the earthquake in Angra, and another informant who lived and still lives on the east top hill of the city told a similar story about how she experienced this moment as a young child:

I was in the house. [...] I was here in my room upstairs with my mum sleeping, and my father was outside cleaning the car [...]. Then the closet fell over the bed and we went out. The memory I have is from the corner of my room, and I see the house falling and this image has been with me. I was just two and a half years old at the time, but still this image of stones has followed me forever – a lifetime. (Interview 20)

As the latter interviews show, the interviewees could sometimes give detailed descriptions, even though they experienced the earthquake as children. The magnitude of the experience can have made it unforgettable, as another inhabitant stated when I asked if she remembered anything from that day: “I remember it perfectly. It is like a dream. After that I am not afraid of anything” (Interview 30). She further emphasized how she grew up with the city in ruins. Such statements give evidence of the trauma which the earthquake has been. The interviewee above similarly stresses how the experiences from the earthquake has followed her for life. However, another reason for the interviewees' clear recollection can be due

to the fact that the experiences of that day have been accounted, retold and spoken of for many years – as both their memories and others' have been discussed and processed. Memory has also been defined as “an active cultural process of remembering and forgetting” that is constantly negotiated and reinterpreted in the context of the present (Smith, 2006:58). Or as Pierre Nora has also stated:

Memory is life, born by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformation, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. (2007:291)

Thus, the latter accounts, as well as the following, can be seen as contextual and personal accounts and memories that have been negotiated, modified and reinterpreted during the 35 years since the earthquake and in the present.

Another interviewee, who was an adult at the time of the earthquake, explained how he was trapped in one of the churches outside of Angra do Heroísmo on the 1st of January. He spoke about this incident with calmness and without any drama:

Interviewee: Yes, I was 15 km outside of Angra do Heroísmo when the earthquake hit.

M: Sim. How was this for you?

Interviewee: I was in a place where I got parts of the church on top of me. I was under the church.

M: Really?

Interviewee: With some others. Fortunately, there were no big problems, a machine removed the stones and we got out. (Interview 4)

This example demonstrates how the interviewees spoke calmly and with great rationality about their experiences, which makes it somehow clear that they speak of an incident that occurred more than 30 years ago. Nevertheless, they were open about the fact that it had been a trauma for them personally and for the city as a community.

I also asked if the interviewees could describe how they reacted when they first saw the complete destruction of the city, and one of the inhabitants gave the following account:

That day... Look. We were at the house of my brother-in-law, a modern house a little bit outside of the city centre. [...] They shook a lot, but no problem. Importantly, there was no problem over there. [...] ... we thought about how it would be in the city centre and I saw it instantly. I was with my wife and my children, who were still small kids at the time. We wanted to go back to Rua de Sé (their home), and when we came to Praça Velha (the main square of the city) – the Praça Velha was a disaster. The buildings and the hotel had all collapsed. All the front parts had collapsed. The municipality was a disaster as well. We could not pass by the streets: We needed to pass by the square. Finally, we arrived in front of our house and we looked at the front part – there was nothing in the front part of the house. We arrived at the door and walked up the stairs, and everything there was ok, but when we came upstairs it was all a disaster. The kitchen – it is a big and old one with this kind of tall pipe –

and it had fallen into the kitchen and destroyed everything, everything. And the dining room... the roof had fallen into the dining room. [...] we could not sleep there that night. Our bed, my youngest daughter who was two years old or so, she normally slept next to our bed. Our bed and her bed were full of stones. If it had happened at night, we would have been covered in stones. (Interview 34)

This passage gives a description of the state of the city after the earthquake, in addition to showing how one citizen experienced the moment when he found his house completely destroyed. The beds covered with stones tell about a possible grave outcome for his family.

One interviewee recalled the sensation of seeing all the clocks in the city that had stopped at the time of the earthquake: “The clocks stopped, the clocks at the churches stopped at 3:40” (Interview 30). Another interviewee described how he had been at another part of the island that was not hit as severely, but upon arriving Angra he became frightened:

When I wanted to go back, I could not see the street we normally use, I could not pass. I saw a lot of houses falling, and then I got scared. Now, the fact was scary, you could not drive in the streets by car, there were fallen walls, fallen houses, there were even 60 dead... (Interview 9)

This quotation similarly describes the trauma of seeing the city in ruins – his usual and homely environment had collapsed.

One of the reasons why Angra do Heroísmo suffered an almost complete destruction was for the most part due to the poor building material of the houses. As was reported at the seminar arranged by the Azorean Institute of Culture, which was given one and a half years after the earthquake: “Most of the ruins were houses constructed of traditional loose stone and rubble, covered with a light coat of plaster whose walls and roofs collapsed under the impact of the earthquake” (Cabral et al., 1983: 212). As one of my informants explained equally:

Interviewee: It was all horrible, but luckily the house that I lived in with my family was constructed more recently, so we did not suffer a lot from the earthquake.

M: They [the new houses] are stronger, aren't they? The modern houses are stronger?

Interviewee: Yes, they are stronger. They are more prepared to resist earthquakes. The ones that suffered more were the old houses. They are just made of stones and rocks, and they did not resist.

As this interviewee describes, most of the modern buildings built in reinforced concrete resisted the earthquake.

The shops and businesses in Angra do Heroísmo suffered similarly from the earthquake, and one of the business owners told accordingly about the destruction of her shop in the main street of the city. “In the 1980 earthquake – the house (the shop) fell completely apart. [...] The church [...] fell on top of the shop.” Due to the destruction of business facilities in Angra, three temporary commercial centres were established so the businesses could operate while waiting for their shops and businesses to be reconstructed. The reconstruction office GAR provided economic

aid programmes and loans to help stimulate the local businesses that had suffered from the earthquake (Cabral et al., 1983:268).

During the days following the earthquake, several interviewees and informants explained how they needed to sleep in their cars or stay with friends and family outside of Angra do Heroísmo, as their houses were completely destroyed or insecure:

During the first night, we stayed in the car [...]. After that, we spent some days at the house of some friends, some colleagues of my mum – but there were already a lot of people there so we just stayed there a little bit, then we went to the house of some other friends and after that at the house of some other friends... (Interview 20)

As the quote shows many in the city became homeless due to the destructions of the earthquake. Consequently, a great part of the inhabitants resided for several years in prefabricated houses temporarily erected on the football fields on the outskirts of the city, while their houses were reconstructed. One inhabitant also made me aware of the fact that some also lived at the old fort of São Sebastião during this time.

5.2 The effects on Angra do Heroísmo as a local community

Even though most of my informants and interviewees showed little emotion while telling about the earthquake, the statements above show how the disaster had affected their lives forever. Álvaro Monjardino, who was quoted in the beginning of this chapter, uttered:

M: Were you here when the earthquake hit the city?

Interviewee: I was here in the house, filha. Here!

M: How was this for you?

Interviewee: It was a very... It is still affecting me today. I say that my life is divided into two parts, before and after the earthquake. (Interview 38)

The quote shows how the earthquake has been a personal life changing moment. There is a time before the earthquake and after the earthquake. Moreover, the interviewee tells how he is still affected by the earthquake today. Another interviewee similarly told about the trauma which the earthquake had been and how it was life changing for people in Angra do Heroísmo: “I was 13 at the time of the earthquake. I can’t tell you much because I was 13 at the time... how can I say this... it was a difficult time and people started living in a different way” (Interviewee 28). Even though many interviewees and informants emphasized that they came together and helped each other in that time of crisis, and “that the disaster revealed the cohesiveness of the Azorean society and a spirit of sacrifice and generosity” (Cabral et al., 1983: 269), there were also some who spoke about how the earthquake had severe social consequences, as there was an increase in divorces and suicides after the earthquake.

The Director at the Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs at the time of the earthquake also told how the earthquake was a turning point: “This is the key! [...] Before and after” (Interview 34). One of the reasons for describing it as such is

that the earthquake did not only have personal impacts, but it also brought about several alterations for the community of Angra do Heroísmo. Another interviewee, being a former executive in the cultural heritage management sector made me aware of one significant change: “The people living in the city, in many, many cases, are not the same people that lived (in the city) before the earthquake, so this social landscape is... and cultural. More than 50% of the people are different [...]” (Interview 27).

Hence, Angra do Heroísmo experienced a considerable demographical transformation after the earthquake, as a large part of Angra’s inhabitants moved to the suburban areas on the outskirts of the city where they could improve their standard of living. As well, many of the inhabitants moved within the city as the earthquake and the reconstruction triggered people to sell their old houses and buy new ones, some of which was explained by this informant:

M: So many people moved within the city, as well?

Interviewee: Yes, many people moved in town and many people [...] also ran away. [...] For example I was born there, up there in town, in Altas das Covas, in another house, my father’s house and I sold that house and I came here. Okay, it was also because I didn’t like the house very much. (Interview 27)

Furthermore, many saw the chance to rebuild or enlarge their housing facilities after the earthquake, something which altered the cityscape, and as one interviewee stated, “In many situations, people lost the views they had, and when you lose those during reconstruction, you go...” (Interview 27). The interviewee gives this as one of the reasons why people also moved within the city or emigrated.

However, this interviewee also emphasized that the earthquake hit an already fragile community that had undergone great changes during the 1970s:

The earthquake happened in a very, in the end of a very complicated decade for the Azores’ life. In 1974, the revolution. In 1975, immigrants from Mozambique, Angola and so on came back. 1976, the beginning of the regional government. Then the independence of the colonies. And in 1980, the earthquake. [...] So the end of the administrative districts. [...] after all those changes, we suffered from the earthquake. So the political frame changed, the economical frame changed, the physical frame changed. (Interview 27)

As the interviewee states, a great part of the citizens’ vital frames changed, politically, economically and finally physically within a decade. Moreover, the preceding accounts show how the earthquake changed the city demographically as well as it altered the physical urban landscape of Angra do Heroísmo, even though the city was rebuilt according to its former outlook. This brings us to the next part of this chapter, namely the reconstruction of the city that took place after the earthquake.

5.3 The Reconstruction of the City of Angra do Heroísmo

The Azores obtained their autonomy in 1976, and its government was still young and undeveloped when the earthquake hit the city in 1980, but despite limited resources the first initiatives to reconstruct the city started shortly after the earthquake. Moreover, the Directorate of Cultural Affairs, being the responsible entity for the reconstruction, had only existed for four years at the time when the earthquake hit Angra do Heroísmo. The then Director at the Directorate of Cultural Affairs, Jorge Forjaz, gave the following description of the conditions at the Directorate at the time of the earthquake in 1980:

At the Directorate, we were only four people. Two typewriters, one engineer and me – we did everything. [...] We took photos of the city centre, all of it, all the houses and churches. Everything, everything was photographed during three days after the earthquake. These photos were very useful. (Interview 34)

A great number of the interviewees commented upon the effort made by this director; accounts which were told with great admiration. I was further told how he had literally walked from house to house so as to assist in the reconstruction work – many believed his personal effort had been vital for the reconstruction of the city. The quote above also gives evidence of the limited capacity that the Directorate had at the time of the earthquake. This interviewee points out the importance of the photographs upon reconstructing the city after the earthquake, also explaining that the primary reason for taking the photos was a preoccupation with a second earthquake, which would have completely destroyed everything.

However, as I will give a further description of in the next chapter, UNESCO and ICOMOS were called upon in order to assist with the reconstruction of the city. Consequently, a mission was undertaken by delegates from UNESCO and ICOMOS just weeks after the earthquake, during which it was proposed that Angra do Heroísmo might be of interest to the World Heritage List¹⁰ (DRaC, 01.02.1980).

¹⁰ UNESCO gave its support in terms of expertise and some funding to assist Angra do Heroísmo in reconstructing the city after the earthquake. However, the aid they obtained might be considered as limited. A comparison can be made with the aid given by UNESCO after the earthquake in Haiti 2010. In July 2010, I attended a meeting given by the International Coordination Committee for the protection of the Haitian cultural heritage (ICC) that was appointed by UNESCO to provide support for the Haitian authorities in restoring the country's cultural heritage, which was seriously damaged by the earthquake on the 12th of January in 2010. The meeting was chaired by the Haitian Minister of Culture and Communication, and the session was attended by some 130 observers from international technical and professional organizations and partners of UNESCO. During the conference, recommendations were agreed upon for an efficient reconstruction of the devastated Haitian cultural heritage, as well informing about the funding given for the restoration of historic buildings, the technical mission and the strengthening of the UNESCO office in Port-au-Prince (UNESCO, 23.08.2010). Though acknowledging the fact that the damage in Haiti was more severe and involved a larger amount of people than in the Azores, it is worth noting that such a conference was not facilitated to respond to the damage after the earthquake that struck Angra do Heroísmo in 1980. Hence, the conference and the aid given is possible evidence of a stronger apparatus in order to assist State Parties upon destructions caused by natural disasters.

During the interview with Forjaz, I remarked upon the fast response and the speed of the reconstruction, to which comment he replied:

Two days after the earthquake, the GAR was created. [...] The day after the earthquake, the president of the republic was here in Terceira to see what had happened. We walked with him to show everything. [...] We had meetings every day. Every day! Meetings in the morning, in the afternoon and at night, do you understand? The first month, there were no hours. [...] The first month was a month that seemed like the Wild Wild West (laughing). (Interview 34)

The quote illustrates the chaos which prevailed after the earthquake and the official response to the catastrophe. Moreover, it is stressed how measures were taken immediately to reconstruct the city. The GAR that he refers to, is an abbreviation for Gabinete de Apoio e Reconstrução (Office of Assistance and Reconstruction), which was the official office organizing the reconstruction of the city and the villages on the island of Terceira. Forjaz explained how the office worked in order to assist and respond to the reconstruction:

The cabinet was to organize everything with many engineers, architects and I don't know what for the whole island, not just the city. Everything! They organized financial aid with almost no interest [...] for the first reconstructions. The people needed to do something. The whole island was a horror, you know. For the initial work, the government gave the people cement, sand, iron. These things... paint, to help starting the first work. (Interview 34)

We also talked about how all the material was imported from the continent, and in this regard I remembered one inhabitant's recollections of the material arriving to Angra. He was only 10 years old at the time, and came with his family from the US shortly after the earthquake hit Terceira. He remembered how the city was completely in ruins, and told how there were boats docked in the bay of Angra with the materials needed to reconstruct the city. "The marina was full of boats with cement", he said (field notes, 18.06.2011). The memories of this man give an image of the city undergoing a reconstruction.

The final result of the reconstruction

Prior to the reconstruction, there was a discussion concerning how to actually reconstruct the city, upon which it was proposed to rebuild the city in a modern style, and as one told me it was even suggested to build new and modern housing facilities within the ruins of the city. Finally, it was decided to reconstruct the city according to its former architectonic outlook. I have limited data which explains the reasons for reconstructing the city to its former outlook instead of building a new city. However, as one interviewee told it was no time for lengthy discussions at time of crisis.

The reconstruction of Angra's cultural heritage was also a responsibility delegated to the Office of Assistance and Reconstruction (GAR). Though, as the following quote gives witness of the importance of reconstructing the housing facilities were given priority.

Although GAR placed its first priority on housing, it never ignored the loss of historic buildings, churches, homes and other "artistic patrimony" of intangible architectural and cultural significance. In particular, the churches and Impérios play active parts in the everyday social and religious life in the Azores. Their restoration varies out of both a psychological and historical importance (Cabral et al., 1983: 265).

To help fund the restoration of the cultural heritage in Angra do Heroísmo and other enlisted monuments and buildings in the islands, both private and international assistance was given. One of the private institutions was the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation,¹¹ and a number of commercial banks also funded some of the restoration. The aid given by UNESCO after the Azorean government called upon their assistance included an expert in restoration from Brazil, who had experience "with similar rich material", as it is stated in the report from the reconstruction (Cabral et al., 1983: 266).

However, I asked the interviewees about how they found the final result of the reconstruction, and many informants replied that the city became too proper and too clean. Even the former director for the Directorate of Cultural Affairs admitted that the city was more beautiful and authentic before the earthquake.

Interviewee 1: It was nicer.

M: How?

Interviewee: More original. More original. Today there is a lot of cement here, before there were a lot of stones, clay and old paint. Today there is a lot of nice paint. It looks like a new city. It lost... it reminds me of these old women who are doing facelifts.

M: The city has gone through a facelift, is that it?

Interviewee: Exactamente! It seems very straight, very new and very painted. (Interview 34)

The destruction of the historical buildings was vast, and the reconstruction work of some of the most important historical buildings in Angra do Heroísmo were lengthy and technically complex. The main Cathedral in the city, Igreja de Sé, The Palace of Captains-General and the city hall, were all of special importance and equally difficult to reconstruct (Cabral et al., 1983:266). One informant from the cultural sector gave this response in regard to what she thought of the results of two of these reconstructions:

[...] the former Jesuit College church (The Palace of Captains-General), that reconstruction was beautiful. [...] they went on respecting the origins, you know.

¹¹ The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is a private body that has supported the arts and culture in Portugal since it was established in 1956 (Council of Europe, 2010).

And that is for me the most ethical work that has been done. [...] they tried to be most faithful to the original. Then you have the main church, the matrix church that is the cathedral (The main cathedral – Igreja de Sé). The cathedral for me is a collage because it suffered very much from the earthquake more than the church I have just pointed out, and two years after that it suffered a massive fire. When I entered there, I had this feeling that it is fake. I got this fake feeling, you know. (Interview 3)

According to this interviewee, the quality of the reconstruction work varies. She defines one reconstructed building as more fake than another that she thought was closer to its original architecture and form.

Similarly, I asked a journalist in one of the local newspapers about his opinion in relation to the reconstruction of Angra do Heroísmo:

I don't like the final result. I don't like it because I think it was a bad option to reconstruct the city. [...] I don't like the fact that an attempt was made to reconstruct because a reconstruction is a little bit kitsch. (Interview 4)

The quote gives evidence of the fact that the choice made to reconstruct the city is disputed. He argued further that it would have been better if it was reconstructed in a contemporary style while respecting the history of the city. As can be summed up from the preceding statements, as well as from my general observation studies, the result of the construction is controversial and several interviewees questioned the present "originality" of Angra do Heroísmo, using words like fake and kitsch to describe the present outlook. However, some interviewees highlighted that there are certain reconstructions considered to be of good quality, and thus better than others. Yet, other interviewees emphasized how they believed the city was improved after the reconstruction. According to these interviewees, the city is currently more colourful than before the earthquake when it was more monotonous. Other inhabitants were similarly pleased with the reconstruction, though some said that there are "positive things and negative things", or that there are buildings that are "well done and badly done". An American who was a former resident in Terceira, and who left the island at the beginning of the 1980s, said this about the present state of Angra do Heroísmo: "I think it is just beautiful. Yeah, I am very impressed with it and I know that it has come with great costs and time, I am sure. But it looks as quaint as it did back then, less rubble and more quaintness..." (Interview 42).

The opinions above trigger questions concerning heritage and authenticity. The authenticity discourse involves two main lines: objective authenticity and subjective authenticity. According to the Norwegian heritage researchers Guttormsen and Fageraas: "Objective authenticity is recognized as a perspective put forward by the experts within" (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011:442). This view coincides with Laurajane Smith's Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) (2006) – as "objective" authenticity is the view of the experts within the cultural heritage management, or being part of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, who hold the necessary knowledge and expertise, and therefore authority, to define what is authentic and what is not. Moreover, the "objective authenticity

distinguishes between ‘real-fake’ dichotomies on the basis of a universal concept of reality” and stresses the original and the historically true. In contrast, subjective authenticity are the “unauthorized discourses expressed in personal, emotional and various forms of perceived or interpreted approaches to reality and authentic past” (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011:442, 443). The foregoing responses, given by both professionals and citizens and visitors, may be said to be based on both objective and subjective authenticity. The professionals (adhering to an objective authenticity) judge the ways in which the reconstruction is fake or original, while inhabitants (representing a subjective authenticity) stress the aesthetical aspects of the city, and express how they experience that the city has maintained its charm or become even more beautiful.

Authenticity has also been addressed in terms of World Heritage. The case of Visby in Sweden has been studied by Owe Ronström, who claims that the city has gone through a process following its enlistment that made the city even more medieval than was previously the case: “In a short span of time, parts of the inner city of Visby were refurbished, similarly as they became older” (2007:123, author’s translation). Thus, he questions the authenticity or the originality of the present “medievalness” or “oldness” of the city. The concept of authenticity has also been investigated and addressed in regard to the World Heritage City of Røros in Norway, in which it has been argued that the production of an ideal and nostalgic Røros has given an “attractive authenticity” (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011). Moreover, Røros has been accused of becoming “too clean”, as one of the stakeholders stated during a World Heritage Conference at Røros in 2012 in the framework of the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention. The current Røros shows a well-preserved city centre with its nicely painted houses and design shops – an urban space with little resemblance of the mining community that was the reason that it was appointed as a World Heritage Site. Angra do Heroísmo has equally been accused of having a museum-like look due to the rigorous conservation laws and politics of the 1980s and 1990s (Gonçalves and Leitão, 2002).

In sum, all three cities have been objects of conservation regulations that have given the cityscape the proper “historical” look, for which they have also gained criticism. However, we can also see these cities in terms of subjective authenticity, and consider the ways in which these cities are *experienced* by the public or the visitor which does not relate to the aspects of originality and historical correctness (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011: 449). Moreover, these can be seen in the light of constructionistic authenticity (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011, Wang, 1999), which regards authenticity as a social production, being discursive and negotiable, and dependent of the context and individual interpretations. As such, the notion of authenticity becomes relative, standing in stark contrast to objective authenticity. Hence, sociologist Ning Wang goes further by introducing the term *existential authenticity*, which stresses the importance of the interpersonal and intrapersonal in the experiences of the reality (Wang 1999, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011), and concludes that: “what tourists seek are their own authentic selves and intersubjective authenticity, and the issue of whether the toured object are authentic is irrelevant or less relevant” (Wang 1999:366). Based on these terms,

Angra do Heroísmo's authenticity can be seen as a social process, defined and interpreted by the individual in a given context, even experienced in terms of interpersonal and intrapersonal experiences.

5.4 The Missing Memorials

Monuments are created to mark events and places of outmost importance and to state that it concerns all in our closest circle, now and at all times. (Aronsson, 2007: 275, author's translation)

In present day Angra do Heroísmo there are hardly any memorials depicting the trauma that struck the city on the 1st of January 1980. To the best of my knowledge, there is only a small plaque underneath a tree by the city museum that is dedicated to the ones who lost their lives in the earthquake, with the inscribed words: "The people we lost, we are grateful for the time they spent in this world with us" (author's translation).

A plaque in memory of the ones lost in the earthquake, Angra do Heroísmo. Photo: Marit Johansson

As the description shows, it is difficult to see all the words, as the plaque has been degraded. The initiative to erect this plaque was a private one – not governmental. Even so, there has been another small attempt to commemorate the earthquake, a group of houses that have intentionally not been restored after the earthquake. Instead, within the ruins of these houses, you find a parking lot. The ruins are painted and look somewhat arty. Like one inhabitant said: "It is supposed to be some kind of a memorial" (field notes 25.08.2011)

Unfinished reconstructed houses, Angra do Heroísmo. Photo: Marit Johansson

Equal types of such partial preservation have been seen elsewhere. The most famous example of such a memorial ruin is the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gedächtniskirche in Berlin. Other examples are the memorial monument of Stalin in Szobor Park in Hungary, where most of the statue is removed except for Stalin's feet, and the preservation of the Berlin Wall, of which only certain sections have been preserved. Similar to the idea of preserving the ruins after the earthquake in Angra do Heroísmo, it was proposed to protect the entire Berlin Wall (Harrison, 2013:178). Indeed, and as was highlighted by the informant above, the preservation of ruins can be seen as a form of memorial or commemoration (Viejo-Rose 2011: 467).

Hence, why are there not any monuments in the city centre of Angra do Heroísmo explicitly commemorating the 1980 earthquake that put the city in ruins? Many scholars draw upon the practice, intent and impact of memorials and commemorations (e.g. Eriksen, 1999, Ehn and Frykman, 2007, Kverndokk, 2007, 2012, Viejo-Rose, 2011, Dahlin 2012). The archaeologist Dacia Viejo-Rose claims that "Marking moments of trauma has become widespread today, with some observers claiming that it is on the rise, leading to a memorial mania" (2011:447). Knowing that this is far from the reality in Angra do Heroísmo triggers questions such as: What are the consequences if there are certain parts of history that are not being commemorated? How does the absence of memorials affect the commemoration process?

The earthquake was addressed on my first field trip in 2010, and I was told by an official that he did not believe people wanted to be reminded of this catastrophe. During my second fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo in 2011, I was still interested

in further inquiring about its commemoration and the reasons for the lack of memorials of the earthquake, and attended to the matter on several occasions during the course of this fieldwork. On one occasion, I asked whether there had been a commemoration on its 30th anniversary (in 2010), but nobody who was present could remember any such remembrance or tribute. One informant tried to explain that the lack of commemoration may be due to the fact that they are living under a constant threat of earthquake in the Azores (field notes 21.07.2011).

I posed similar questions to the interviewees, and one argued that it is certainly *not* true to state that the lack of memorials is related to the fact that people want to forget, or that the earthquake is thought of as some kind of a taboo. The latter confirms the impression I obtained through the interviews, as they seem to have a resolved relationship to the earthquake, even though it is still regarded as a trauma. Contrary to being taboo, I found that most of them were quite willing to talk about the subject. One of the inhabitants in the city said that, "It really is a shame that there is nothing in Angra do Heroísmo enabling the young generations and tourists to know about the event that was so important for the city and the island" (Personal communication 15.02.2012). A teacher in the city did think that her students knew too little about the 1980 earthquake. She believed this to be regrettable, as according to her it is an important part of the city's history.

In an article by Viejo-Rose, she refers to the statement made by both Zygmunt Bauman and Jay Winter, "[T]hat memorials and commemorations do not heal." Then what is their function? However, Viejo-Rose states that the vital function given to memorials is "the intent of preserving the memory of a particular subject or object" (Viejo-Rose, 2011:445, 446). According to Anne Eriksen, monuments have a double meaning: "They shall remind us of what has happened, and likewise remind the observer of the importance which this had and still has" (1999:95, author's translation). Eriksen further claims that a memorial is an expression of the will of the people to remember (ibid). As stated above, inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo rejected the idea that the earthquake has been- and remains taboo, but all the same, there has clearly been a lack of governmental *will* to commemorate the earthquake.

It can also be said that memorials aim to strengthen the collective memory, and that historical rites such as anniversaries and ceremonies communicate knowledge, in addition to giving the new generation the possibility of being part of- or taking part in this collective memory. For this reason, these rituals give experiences and participation in the collective memory, even though they did not experience the actual historical event (Eriksen, 1999:97-99). As the interviewees above bear witness to, there have been few chances for the new generation to take part in this collective memory through rituals and public commemoration, and the teacher above expresses how the young generation lacks knowledge about the earthquake as a result. The other interviewee above also pointed out the importance of memorials in order to inform the younger generation and the visitors about the earthquake.

One explanation for the lack of memorials in Angra do Heroísmo may be that the community has not been ready for such public commemoration since the trauma has not been healed. Aronsson draws on the focus and increase in public

commemoration of the Second World War during the last few years, and claims that the distance in time makes it possible to move from the individual to the collective trauma, and thus discuss the meaning of these in the public (Aronsson, 2004:30). Similar ideas are presented by Tunbridge and Ashworth, as they address “deliberate amnesia” due to the problems of commemorating a traumatic past, although they claim that such deliberate amnesia “becomes less likely in second and subsequent generations who have less personal reasons for concealment and more potential curiosity” (1996:109). As to the best of my knowledge, up until the present day, the earthquake has been absent in both the public debate and public space in Angra. However, time has started to heal and the new generation’s curiosity has emerged, as there has been several public measures or initiatives to commemorate the earthquake over the past years. Firstly, the earthquake was addressed in a new permanent exhibition depicting the history of the city at the Museum of Angra do Heroísmo, which was inaugurated in 2011. Secondly, after I concluded the 2011 fieldwork, an historian at the Museum of Angra do Heroísmo published the article “May the 1980 earthquake be touristic?” in the local newspaper, *Diário Insular*. The article aspired to address the issues of commemoration of the 1980 earthquake after the historian had been confronted by a visitor who wanted to know more about the earthquake. The article was introduced accordingly:

“There is much talk here about the 1980 earthquake. Where can I see this?” The question took me by surprise. The man, [...], asks me the question naturally, after some small-talk about Angra do Heroísmo, Nemésio and the earthquake. “This cannot be seen, but felt”, I replied between a laugh and a serious face. (Maduro-Dias, 2012, author’s translation)

The author admits how he was surprised by this visitor’s curiosity, and he also emphasized the emotional remembrance that can still be sensed in the community. As a consequence of tourists wishing to know more about the earthquake, the author of the article, who is also the former Director at the Conservation Office, suggested an earthquake-themed circuit that could mediate the history of the earthquake and its aftermath.

When we finished this epic, we had the central zone of Angra do Heroísmo as World Heritage, many recovered houses and many new, all of them with improved sanitation and housing facilities, we had supply networks renewed or ongoing, and we had a huge amount of testimonies of life, experiences and stories to tell. Creating this circuit which links the local, memories and experiences, needs some work, but it will be beautiful. (Maduro-Dias, 2012, author’s translation)

The article is significant in that this is a step to publicly discuss and commemorate the earthquake, as well as proving that the city is starting to have a more resolved relationship to the incident, as he even highlights some of the positive outcomes of the tragedy. The author of this article also gives emphasis to the importance and value of the private memories and experiences from the earthquake.

The most recent initiative to commemorate the 1980 earthquake has been made through a project undertaken by four university students, originally from Angra do Heroísmo and Praia da Vitória, who have collected information, photographs and testimonies from the incident and the survivors, and launched an internet site where this collected documentation may be accessed (Sismo d'Oitenta, 2015). It is of interest to see that an initiative in order to bring the earthquake into the public debate has been taken by the younger generation. Thus, this proves Aronsson's point about the necessity of a certain time distance, and a new and untraumatized generation to appear, for the trauma to be discussed publicly and given a more collective meaning (2004:30).

Another commemorative event has just come to my knowledge. At the beginning of this year, I was informed that the church bells in Angra do Heroísmo tolled at 4:42 pm on the 1st of January in order to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the earthquake, some of which can be said to be a kind of ritual that allows the younger generation to take part in the history, as well as it serving as a re-enactment (Eriksen, 1999:99). Hence, the recent initiatives to publicly address and commemorate the earthquake can provide evidence of the fact that it is a memory or part of history that is becoming a collective memory. Still, it is not a collective memory in the sense of being related to power relations or a kind of memory production, as we see how there are several private and individual initiatives and less official initiatives made in order to commemorate the earthquake. The data above further shows how the individuals personally remember the earthquake and relate to the memories from the earthquake. Moreover, we can see a change in the ways in which the inhabitants relate to the earthquake. Hence, the collective memory can be said to have more of a dialogical and processual character, in addition to being an ongoing meaning making process (Schwartz, 2010:622). Moreover, it can be true to state that the earthquake is becoming a *cultural memory*, in the ways that the earthquake is increasingly commemorated through symbolic rituals, texts and objects (Assmann, 2008:110-111).

5.5 Conclusion

Firstly, it is of interest to see how a natural phenomenon such as the earthquake caused a multiplicity of changes for both the private life of the citizens and the city as a community, and that it also brought about new international relations. In many senses, it illustrates the dialectical relationship between nature and human society, which Latour claims to be inseparable (1993). Rather, in his opinion, nature and culture are constantly affected by each other, and the impact of nature on human society can hardly be as obvious as in this case.

The 1980 earthquake is clearly a milestone for the city of Angra do Heroísmo and its citizens. As the interviewees pointed out above, it brought about vast changes for both the social and private life of Angra. The earthquake caused personal traumas, even though several interviewees highlighted the fact that the community experienced a greater cohesion and unity during this time of crisis. Moreover, it brought about a vast demographical change, as people moved within the city and a great number immigrated to the suburban area. Despite the fact that

the city was reconstructed according to its former architecture, the urban landscape and its outlook changed. This was not only by the inevitable alterations that lie in a reconstruction, the inhabitants also seized this opportunity to make the necessary modifications of their housing facilities. Consequently, previous views and sight lines were altered, as one of the interviewees highlighted, some of which also caused a migration within the city.

The reconstruction itself gave the city a new outlook, some of which also altered the surroundings of the inhabitants. My data gives examples of how inhabitants and officials in Angra do Heroísmo found the result of the reconstruction, and some of the interviewees believed the city was more original and beautiful before the earthquake, using words like *fake* or *kitsch* in order to describe the result of the reconstruction. Even one of those responsible for the reconstruction says that the city was more beautiful before the earthquake than at present, as there is now too much cement and paint. However, several inhabitants approved of the result of the reconstruction, even though some admitted that the quality differs. Above, I have also given an example of one inhabitant who thought the city had become nicer *after* the reconstruction. The city is currently more colourful, she claimed.

The authenticity of the present cityscape of Angra is disputed, similar to other World Heritage Cities (Ronström, 2007, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011). Indeed, the ways of defining authenticity, as original, genuine or the ways in which materials are “true witness of the past or not”, have been challenged. The Nara Conference on Authenticity, arranged by UNESCO, can have been influential as the conference emphasised a relativization of the notion of authenticity, and stressed how “authenticity should be regarded as a cultural product”. Moreover, it was emphasised that authenticity can be interpreted differently in different cultural contexts (Gustafsson and Karlsson 2014: 23, 26). Thus, being policies outlined by an authority with much authority, such new views can affect the discourse.

Guttormsen and Fageraas draw up two main lines in terms of authenticity: the objective and the subjective (2011:442,443). In the data from Angra, both lines can be found. Generally speaking, one can say that the objective is represented by the authorized views (AHD), being the views of the experts who adhere to “originality” and the real, and disfavour the fake. The subjective can be said to be the unauthorized views and the views of the amateurs, which adhere to aesthetics, quaintness and prettiness. In contrast to the objective authenticity, I presented above the terms constructionistic authenticity and existential authenticity, which stresses the personal, relative and the contextual in the experience of the real. As such, Angra do Heroísmo’s authenticity can rather be seen as processual.

However, the data shows that the decision to reconstruct the city was not an evident option, as it was also suggested to rebuild the city in a new style. Indeed, reconstructions are controversial, and some are criticized as being falsifications, or described as gentrification or even Disneyfication (Meurs, 2007:54). The architect Paul Meurs writes how he was taught the reconstructions were wrong, though he points out how there have been several reconstructions that have been conducted for good reasons, such as in the case of destruction caused by war or natural disasters. The reconstruction of the Mostar Bridge bombed during the war in the

Balkans in the 1990s is one such famous example. Thus, Meurs stresses how such reconstructions can be important due to their symbolic meaning or as a way of repairing the mental landscape. These values overrule the importance of authenticity (Meurs, 2007:55). The points made by this architect show the discursive and changeable in the experts' view or approach to heritage preservation, some of which can shed light on the changeable in the Authorized Heritage Discourse. The discursive in heritage preservation can also be seen in the case of Angra; all the time, it was debated as whether to reconstruct it or not. However, I would venture to suggest that one of the reasons for the decision to completely reconstruct Angra do Heroísmo after the earthquake can be related to the symbolic value and importance of repairing both the urban and mental landscape, some of which overruled the concern for (objective) authenticity.

Another effect of the earthquake is how it brought about the attention of the international community, and as I will show in the next chapter, this incident was highly important in Angra do Heroísmo to become a World Heritage Site. However, not only is the earthquake significant for the enlistment of the city to the World Heritage List, but just as importantly it comprises part of Angra do Heroísmo's heritage. Though, being a traumatic heritage. This kind of heritage has been known as a difficult, negative or dissonant heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, McDonald, 2009). Sharon McDonald defines a "difficult heritage" as "a past that is recognized as meaningful in the present, but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity" (2009:1). The enlistment of the Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration camp to the World Heritage List can be seen as one of the first initiatives to conserve and present such a difficult heritage (Harrison, 2013:193). There is currently a vast amount of literature problematizing a difficult or negative heritage (e.g. Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 2007, McDonald, 2009, Logan and Reeves, 2009, Viejo-Rose, 2011, Harrison, 2013).

However, a great part of this literature deals with a heritage linked to wars, conflicts, totalistic regimes, injustices or other man-made tragedies. However, I will argue that this earthquake, as a natural catastrophe, is a kind of "difficult heritage" for the community of Angra do Heroísmo. I would primarily define it as such because it makes up part of the city's *heritage*, some of which was explicitly highlighted by one of the interviewees. As outlined above, the importance of this incident can further be seen from its impact. The willingness of the informants to talk about the subject shows the significance that this holds in both their subjective and collective remembrance, an incident which proved to be life changing, as several pointed out. Secondly, it is a *difficult heritage* and dissonant heritage in the sense of being a traumatic and troublesome heritage that can indeed be meaningful for its citizens, but which cannot be celebrated and comfortably recognized as part of the city's history (McDonald, 2009:1).

A great part of what has been accounted for by the interviewees in this chapter is indeed memories. Nora highlights the character of memories accordingly: "[M]emory is by nature multiple and yet specific; collective, and plural and yet individual" (2007: 291). Furthermore, he argues how: "Memory take root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects [...]" (ibid). The data shows how

memories in relation to the 1980 earthquake are rooted in the concrete space of Angra do Heroísmo, as well as in objects, images and places. The memories are also both collective and individual, as some are shared memories or experienced by several, whereas others are exclusive or experienced by only a few. Nora compares memory to history, which he regards to be more impersonal – belonging to everybody and nobody, while memories belong to specific groups and people (ibid). Based on the vast amount of data obtained on this topic along with my observation studies, I would argue that the memories from the earthquake and its aftermaths belong to the Angrenses as a group, and as a shared memory, it also works to bind this community (Smith, 2006:63). Even though there have been few official initiatives to commemorate the earthquake and in such way *create* a collective memory, I have seen how the memories from the earthquake are not forgotten, but retold, remembered and relived by the people in the present. Therefore, one may say that there is an opposition between the people's active remembrance and the official passive commemoration of the earthquake.

However, memory is seen as something more subjective and less historic, something which is the opposite of the authorized accounts or the historical facts (Smith, 2006:58). As elaborated on in Chapter 2, heritage is continually negotiated and reinterpreted (Aronsson, 2004, Smith, 2006, Harrison, 2013), and in equal measure memories, which can be defined as a kind of personal and subjective heritage, are also affected by the time that has passed since the incident and the ways of which it is seen or felt in the light of the present. It is as Smith argues: "The past can never be understood solely within its own terms; the present continually rewrites the meaning of the past and the memories and histories we construct about it within the context of the present" (2006:58). Thus, the memories from the earthquake will not be static, but must instead be seen as dialogical and as a "cultural process of meaning making" (Smith, 2006: 64, Schwartz, 2010:622).

As stated above, few initiatives have been made during the last 30 years to publicly commemorate the earthquake. In the city space of Angra do Heroísmo, there are only two barely noticeable memorials commemorating the earthquake. However, the last years' initiatives, such as the suggested earthquake-themed touristic circuit and the launch of the "Sismo d'Oitenta" website, provide evidence of a new era and a possible growing need to commemorate the earthquake. The touristic circuit can also coincide with the increase of displaying more negative heritage sites and an increase in "dark tourism" (Harrison, 2013:193). However, more importantly, these initiatives show that there is an interest in publicly discussing the earthquake and bringing the individual memories to the public. The younger generation's initiative can be interpreted as a wish to be included in the collective memory of the earthquake (Eriksen, 1999:97-99). It may indeed be a reaction to a missing governmental initiative to create a collective memory, and to include the younger generation in this. Indeed the last initiative to commemorate the earthquake, by the church bells tolling this year, can be seen as one first commemorating ritual which serves to link the present with the past. Thus, by observing these last commemorating processes being symbolically manifested and even institutionalised in objects, museum exhibitions, text and rituals, such as the launch of the 1980 website, the newspaper article, the church bells and ruins, it can

be true to state that the earthquake is becoming a cultural memory (Assmann 2008:110-111).

As previously stated, the earthquake generated the nomination process of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List, and the next part aims to study and analyse this process, which finally succeeded in obtaining World Heritage Status for Angra.

6 The Nomination Process – on the process of nominating Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List

On the 22nd of January 1980, the Foreign Ministry informed the Azorean Government by telex that a UNESCO mission will arrive in the Azores on the 24th of January [...] (DRaC 01.02.1980, author's translation)

The introductory quotation is a passage from the report written subsequent to the UNESCO visit undertaken three weeks after the 1st of January earthquake. As described in the previous chapter, Jorge Forjaz was the Director at the Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs in Azores at the time, a position he had held for only three years when the earthquake hit Angra do Heroísmo. Accordingly, he tells about the days succeeding the earthquake:

I have to tell you that I did not sleep or eat for two days after the earthquake, I could not eat – nada, nada. I was the director of cultural affairs and I looked at the monuments. All the monuments were... We had only had the regional government since 1976. [...] We had no money and no legislation, and more importantly: We did not have the experience! (Interview 34)

The quote above shows his personal reactions to the devastation of the monuments in the city, as well as it gives evidence of the limited resources and experience, as well as apparatus to handle the situation. Thus, after comprehending the magnitude of the destruction and the lack of local expertise, he called upon UNESCO to inspect the damages, as Forjaz states further in the report from the UNESCO mission:

Following the violent earthquake of 1 January 1980, and after realizing the extent of the damages in regard to the housing facilities and monuments, it was suggested, [...], for UNESCO to be solicited, which allocated a team of experts to the Azores who could analyse the situation and possibly give us the support that our reduced infrastructure needs. (DRaC, 01.02.1980:1, author's translation)

This report is the first document describing the initial contact between the Regional Authorities of the Azores and UNESCO. The report described the visit made by UNESCO, which took place from the 22nd until the 29th of January 1980: "Shortly after the arrival, we proceeded with a meeting with the Mission, in which they were given a presentation of the current situation, after an introduction about the

history of the city and its “environment” (DRaC, 01.02.1983: 1, 2, author’s translation).

It is described how the UNESCO delegates were given a tour around the city in which they visited the most important monuments in Angra do Heroísmo, and Forjaz wrote this about their response: “The Mission was especially impressed with the beauty of the buildings they saw and the unity of their style, which was integrated so well with the spirit of the city” (DRaC, 01.02.1983, author’s translation).

By the end of the visit, the delegation from UNESCO promised to give their evaluation, and also to give their assistance, as: “[T]here would be elaborated a report by the General Secretary of the UNESCO [...], not just an analysis of the situation, but a series of recommendations to the Member State” (DRaC, 01.02.1983:2, author’s translation). Thus, UNESCO stated in a report following the visit in Angra do Heroísmo, that the city was “an interesting ensemble in the urban history of Portugal and Europe” (UNESCO, 08.03.1982, author’s translation), and during the visit it was suggested to nominate Angra to the World Heritage List (Monjardino, 2005: 15). Despite the positive response given by UNESCO, a nomination process was not initiated at this point, but it was a triggering factor in order to initiate a nomination process and finally to include Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List.

As with all World Heritage Sites, Angra do Heroísmo has its history concerning the nomination process prior to its inclusion to the World Heritage List, and in my interview study I wanted to understand how and why Angra do Heroísmo managed to be enlisted, in which I sought to seize the personal stories told by the people who participated in the nomination process in the early 1980s. Throughout this thesis, the focal point is the community of Angra do Heroísmo and how they respond to- and still relate to the World Heritage Status, and it is of equal importance in this matter. Yet, this chapter mostly concerns the local group that initiated the process.

Equally as in the former chapter, it is the subjective description of the nomination process, rather than the historical facts, that is the most important aspect, as the personal interviews gave me the opportunity to go behind the historical and formal sources. Thus, these personal accounts must also be considered as memories of a past event that is told in light of the present context and from a subjective point of view (Smith, 2006, Nora, 2007). The subjective is essential, as the individual actions, being accounted for in the following, are the result of a specific and subjective perception of heritage, which finally were to be formative for the future of this city.

A key person in the nomination process was the Angrense Álvaro Monjardino, a lawyer and former president of the Azorean Parliament as well as a previous

Adjunct Prime Minister of Portugal¹², and as I will show in the following, he was a person with the necessary means and the right contacts, locally, regionally and internationally, to go through with such a process. However, in order to obtain a more complete picture of the nomination process, I also selected interviewees from among former officials who participated in the process and/or other people who played an important part in the cultural heritage management sector at the time.

In 1983, Angra do Heroísmo succeeded in obtaining the status they had worked for, and in the following I will commence by showing by what means and methods this small and relatively unknown city in a remote archipelago managed to be the first city in Portugal to be nominated to the World Heritage List. What was the nature of the nomination process? Which interests, capitals, powers and logic contributed to the classification of this World Heritage City? Secondly, I will study the reasoning for the nomination and the possible instrumentality that lies in such a political act. Another point which is important to bear in mind throughout this chapter is the formative aspect that such a nomination and enlistment entails, as it was to form and give a new framework for the inhabitants and the managers in Angra do Heroísmo. Lastly, I wish to discuss possible differences between current nomination processes and the nomination processes of the early enlistments in the 1980s, in addition to drawing on certain differences in UNESCO policies then and now.

6.1 The “Key Person” and his Story

In a great part of my interviews with the present and former officials, I asked the interviewees if they participated in the nomination process, or if they had any information about this matter, upon which I was often forwarded to other people: “who might know more about the process”. It was a handful of men who were suggested in this regard. Like one of my interviewees said: “Doctor Álvaro Monjardino is the key person, you cannot leave without talking to him.” Finally, I managed to conduct an interview with Monjardino. The interview was undertaken in his private study, in which he had also kept the documents and letters from UNESCO in the early 1980s: “Here I got it all, from the very beginning”, he said (field notes, 27.08. 2011). In the following, I will site a passage from the interview, in which he explains how he initiated and carried out the nomination process:

In July 1981, 18 months after the earthquake, and while I was still the President of the Assembly, I was invited to the Isle of Man. [...] and I took advantage of this trip. On my way back, I passed by the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris. Because I knew they had been here [...] and I wanted to know what they had seen and what they thought about it all. Nothing more! Because I was an official, I was assisted by our

¹² Álvaro Monjardino was the first- (1976-1978) and third minister in the Azorean Regional Assembly (1979-1984). From 1978 to 1980, he was the Adjunct Prime Minister during the Fourth Constitutional Government in Portugal.

Portuguese ambassador at UNESCO. And I arrived there, at Place de Fontenoy.¹³ [...], and the ambassador asked why the representatives from UNESCO had been here, and one of the ladies said: “Do you know something. We never understood why Portugal, after ratifying the World Heritage Convention, never presented anything for the World Heritage List”. [...] They gave me the Convention and the forms in order to present, and I immediately thought about Angra. Immediately, immediately! And they gave me all the documents. Pronto! I ended my visit and came here. I was a member of the Historical Institute of Terceira Island, and I asked for a meeting at the Institute, and I said: “Amigos, we have this, we are at this state. This city has a special history. I believe that we should at least take some initiative in order to launch the candidacy of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List.” This was the first time that this was done in Portugal. (Interview 38)

Firstly, the passage tells about a person with a significant national and international network, who is in a position of obtaining meetings at UNESCO with much simplicity. Secondly, it illustrates his position in the local community of Angra do Heroísmo – being an influential member at the Historical Institute. The accounts also provide evidence of the fact that this nomination process is undertaken at an early point in the World Heritage List, as no other sites in Portugal have been suggested for the List.¹⁴ It is further of interest to see how this fact is highlighted by the interviewee: It is obviously significant that Angra do Heroísmo is the first site to be nominated to the World Heritage List. I also find it of interest how the World Heritage Convention “and the forms to present” were presented at the meeting, as it can illustrate how the World Heritage concept and the Convention were little known at that time. Thus, I would argue that Monjardino’s accounts generally show how the meeting takes place at an early stage of the history of World Heritage.

As mentioned above, another person who was central in the cultural heritage management sector in the early 1980s in the Azores in general, and in Angra do Heroísmo in particular, was the former director of the Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs, Jorge Forjaz. A great number of my interviewees and other people in town urged me to talk to him since he is clearly still admired among the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo due to the personal effort he made in order to restore the city after the earthquake. After a while, I managed to get his contact information, and he agreed to meet for an interview one early morning in one of the coffee shops in Angra. Clearly, I also wanted to get his views in regard to the nomination process, and we commenced by talking about the UNESCO visit depicted in the beginning of this chapter.

¹³ Place de Fontenoy is the location of the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris, France.

¹⁴ As of 2014, Portugal has 15 sites included on the World Heritage List.

M: Why did UNESCO come here?

Forjaz: They came here to give us some help. We invited them to come here – we invited them. *We* invited them! [...] They came here to undertake a study and to give their suggestions and ideas... And *they* started talking about a World Heritage classification.

M: For the first time?

Forjaz: Yes, for the first time. And we started thinking: How can we do it? We understood that the city in itself might not have the necessary quality to be enlisted as a World Heritage Site because we compared it to other places in Europe – having buildings and other things fantastico! If you compare (Angra) to this: They got sites that are 1,000 times superior to Angra. But what we highlighted was that the city of Angra do Heroísmo was the warehouse for the first crossings between Europe and America. This is an important historical aspect, not the architecture of the city itself. The city of Angra do Heroísmo was the link between Europe and America – this aspect is good. Later, the Historical Institute... The president was a lawyer who was very interested in history. And finally, the Institute and the Directorate for Culture wrote a proposal for UNESCO. (Interview 34)

Firstly, the interviewee gives much emphasis to the fact that *they* invited UNESCO – clearly he wants to stress that this initiative was not undertaken by UNESCO. Secondly, Forjaz underscores how it was the UNESCO delegates who suggested a possible World Heritage Classification. However, Forjaz tells how this proposal was not commenced before Monjardino (here referred to as the President at the Historical Institute) initiated the process. Therefore, it was needed for a person who took both a personal interest in the case and who had the necessary network and contacts.

A general observation made throughout the interviews is the fact that the group which worked for the nomination of the city still holds a vast respect for the effort they made and for the quality of it. Something which an interview conducted with a representative of the cultural heritage management sector in Angra do Heroísmo confirms. Below is a passage from the interview, in which she urged me to talk to the people who actually took part in the process:

These were involved in the process and they were close to it all, they were the thinkers in the 80s: They were the thinkers and they knew the history and the importance of the city. Unfortunately, we don't have this nucleus today. [...] [Monjardino] was a politician, but with a lot of interest in history. It was not just an interest, he did research. One thing is when a politician says "I like", but another is when he says: "I like it and I know how to do it". [...] this is very different. The majority of the politicians today, they don't know anything. But *they* had specific knowledge – it gives another basis. (Interview 19)

The statements above illustrate the credibility that these politicians and bureaucrats hold, and the mistrust in the contemporary politicians. However, I will draw upon the present political conditions in Angra do Heroísmo at another point in this thesis.

6.2 The Nomination and the Enlistment

According to the 1980 version of The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: “Each nomination should be submitted on the appropriate form [...] and should provide all the relevant information, and be supported by all the necessary documentation to demonstrate that the property nominated is of outstanding universal value” (UNESCO, 10.1980). Consequently, the initiators in Angra do Heroísmo needed to elaborate a nomination document in order to complete Angra’s candidacy for the World Heritage List, and to argue for its *outstanding universal value*. In this regard, I will return to the interview with Monjardino, who further explains about this part of the work:

We created a working group and started to complete the application. Here, I got the one we wrote and a copy of the one we sent. The Region did not have the capacity to talk directly to UNESCO, so these documents were handed to the Minister of the Republic and the minister passed it further to the Government. The Government then sent it to our ambassador at UNESCO for him to present our candidacy. (Interview 38)

As for the nomination document itself, it may be said to be a historical document – written on a typing machine and with photographs depicting Angra do Heroísmo during the reconstruction process. The document is brief, compared to the present, which may consist of 100s of pages in different volumes (van der Aa, 2005: 84, Jokilehto, 2011). A great part of the nomination document is clearly dedicated to the earthquake, and they are being generous in their ability to reconstruct everything. The following passage is evidence of this:

There is a complete photographic documentation for all the façades; thus even though collapsed, they can be fully reconstructed: aerial photos also exist. The public buildings (which includes the majority of the most beautiful examples of civil architecture) and the principal religious monuments are being completely restored by the Government of the Azores. Financial aid has been provided to encourage the reconstruction of facades of private houses. At the present rate, it will take an estimated 10 years to restore this area. (UNESCO, 08.06.1983)

The passage shows the importance of reconstructing the city according to its “original” outlook and that it can be “fully reconstructed”, and it is stressed how

they have the means to accomplish this. However, the nomination document further informs about the cost of the reconstruction of the city:

The estimated cost of the restoration of Angra, as regards the areas which are the subject of this nomination, is approximately 2,700,000 contos (USD 41m). Until now, this cost has been met by the State and by individuals, with the latter contributing 10% of the total. The renewal of the State's contribution is not guaranteed. (UNESCO, 08.06.1983)

By including the latter aspect, thereby emphasising the uncertainties in the state's further financial contribution, there might have been a certain aspiration to obtain financial assistance from UNESCO. However, Angra do Heroísmo only received assistance from UNESCO in terms of an expert post to the enlistment, though upon establishing the Conservation Office in the late 1980s, it was given a financial contribution of 20,000 USD (UNESCO, 2014a). It is often assumed or hoped that an enlistment may generate increased funding, and in many cases national and regional transferences for management and mediation are obtained (Omeland, 1998:30), but the resources from the World Heritage Fund are scarce, and the aspirations as to what the classification may bring in terms of increased funding are rarely refuted. Like Forjaz also pointed out: "UNESCO did not pay anything – the classification does not give you anything" (Interview 34).

As for the part concerning the justification for its outstanding universal value and thus inclusion to the World Heritage list, emphasis is given to Angra's historical importance as an obligatory port-of-call appointed by Vasco da Gama in 1499:

[...] and this practice continued for nearly three centuries for fleets from Equatorial Africa and the East and the West Indies on their voyages to and from Europe, since the town of Angra do Heroísmo provided a natural harbour in the Mid-Atlantic, offering the best shelter, a necessary means of defence and adequate supplies (UNESCO, 08.06.1983).

However, it is also argued for an enlistment on the basis of how the urban plan is adapted to a difficult terrain, as well as this urban plan from the 15th and 16th century is a "unique example" of European town planning. Regarding the latter, it is referred to the UNESCO visit which pointed out this aspect. Hence, Angra is "warranting its recognition as being of outstanding universal value" (UNESCO, 08.06.1983).

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the city's state of authenticity was also argued for in the nomination document:

As regards authenticity, the 15th and 16th century streets in the centre of Angra do Heroísmo have been preserved intact. The buildings appearing in the inventory still remain and the town is being restored following the damage caused by the earthquake, the original materials being re-used and the town being repainted in the traditional colours that have always given it a characteristic and exceptional brilliance. (UNESCO, 08.06.1983)

An observation made when reading the nomination is how the presentation of Angra do Heroísmo is generally positive, and prosperous in terms of the state of the city and its ability to reconstruct the city according to its former original architectural outlook. Moreover, I would argue that the nomination document present an objective authenticity, by emphasising the “intact”, the traditional and the original. Judgements, which are based on the experts’ and the authorized views on authenticity (Wang, 1999, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011). However, some of the facts in the quote contradict the stakeholders’ statements outlined in the previous chapter with regard to the result of the reconstruction, who accused the reconstruction of being kitsch or giving a fake feeling. Forjaz also believed the city to be more original before the earthquake and disapproved of the vast use of cement and paint in the city. However, as pointed out in the previous chapter, these stakeholders also have an objective approach when judging the authenticity of the city, by giving value to the original and disapproving the fake.

According to Monjardino, when the nomination document was finally handed in to UNESCO they asked: “Is this the only thing Portugal has to propose?” Because they knew that there were other things that were of great interest – “Just this unknown city?” (Interview 38). UNESCO was obviously surprised or even disappointed about the fact that Angra do Heroísmo was the only nomination received from Portugal, although many of the interviewees were proud just because it was the first to nominate a site for the World Heritage List: “It was the first city in Portugal!”, one said. The main Azorean newspaper, *O Açoriano Oriental*, also emphasized this aspect in the article *Angra do Heroísmo as World Heritage*, written shortly after it was known that Angra do Heroísmo had submitted its nomination:

The Regional Government of the Azores is the only entity up until now that has proposed a candidacy for the World Heritage List. Since the 30th of September 1980 when Portugal ratified the World Heritage Convention, it has been possible to nominate national monuments and sites for the World Heritage List. Nevertheless, it is only The Government of the Azores that has responded to the advice from the Foreign Ministry, having proposed the candidacy of the city of Angra do Heroísmo to UNESCO. (*O Açoriano Oriental*, 1982, author’s translation)

Several interviewees believed that the candidacy of Angra do Heroísmo triggered other sites in continental Portugal to nominate their sites and monuments for the World Heritage List. Some told that there might have been an attitude like: “If they can do it, so can we!” Unquestionably, the latter may at least give evidence of the existing power relations within Portugal and the fact that the Azores is considered as being on the periphery and a less significant region in comparison to continental Portugal. Therefore, it is of interest how continental Portugal managed to prepare the nomination of three sites to the World Heritage List by the end of 1982.

Even so, Monjardino had a view in relation to the intention of the World Heritage List, and during the interview, he told about a meeting at the advisory body for UNESCO on World Heritage, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), in which he expressed his opinions in regard to what the World Heritage List should include. While searching the archives at the Directorate for Culture in Angra, I also found the invitation from ICOMOS, in which they summoned delegates from Spain, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, The Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland for the object of “l’harmonisation des listes indicatives de monuments de sites historiques présentées par certains pays européens” (ICOMOS, 21.02.1983). The succeeding is a passage in which Monjardino tells about this meeting:

There was a meeting at ICOMOS in April 1983, and in April the Portuguese proposals had already been handed in and they arranged a meeting with ICOMOS, [...] in order to harmonize the List. Because they already had some worries about the vast quantity of the proposals, at the time there was only 90 or so. They arranged this meeting, and I went to the meeting. My concern was Angra. [...] I went to this meeting at ICOMOS and they asked: “You Portuguese, what is this?”, and I had to improvise a justification. [...] I said: “Your problem is that you cannot include all the national monuments of all the countries as World Heritage. You have to include certain sites that correspond with the grand themes in history.” [...] Listen, the Portuguese proposals correspond with the great themes in European history and I went there. They liked it a lot, not just because of the proposals, but I solved their problem as well. (Interview 38)

Later, he showed drawings he had made in order to visualize how Angra do Heroísmo was closely linked to the rest of the world in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. In his opinion, heritage sites acceptable for the World Heritage List need to correspond with the greater themes in history, and thus Angra do Heroísmo fulfils this criterion. The quote above shows the rhetoric and logic used in order to promote Angra’s candidacy for enlistment. Moreover, it gives an example of a kind of negotiation between the actors involved in a nomination process. Another interesting aspect is that it also bears witness to how the amount of enlisted sites was discussed at an early point of the history of World Heritage.

The Inclusion of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List

As described in Chapter 2, the case of Angra do Heroísmo was finally addressed at the 7th World Heritage Committee meeting taking place in Florence on the 5th to 9th of December 1983, and included to the World Heritage list as the 206th cultural site on the basis of criteria iv) and vi) (UNESCO, 01.1984). The wording of criteria iv) was at the time addressing “a type of structure which illustrates a significant state in history” and the recommendation by ICOMOS was indeed based on the Portuguese “maritime explorations of the 15th and the 16th centuries” (Leitão, 2011:206). Thus, the justification for its inscription stressed the historical role, some of which coincides with Monjardino’s views and his argumentation. Moreover, it is a justification which corresponds with one of the most significant national narratives. Portugal had four representatives present at the meeting: Álvaro Monjardino, the current President of the Azorean Assembly, embassy counsellor in Rome Mr. Manuel Lopes Cardaso, Mr. Luis Antonio Guizado, an architect from the cultural affairs of the Azores, and the current Minister of Culture in Portugal M. Luiz dos Santos Castro Lobo (UNESCO, 01.1984). Forjaz could not be present, however, but remembers the Committee meeting accordingly:

I could not be present at the meeting in Florence because I had a surgery and I was in a hospital in Lisbon. But after the surgery, I got a phone call from a friend of mine, an architect who was present in Florence, telling that: “it was approved, it was approved!” (Interview 34)

The latter gives a personal glimpse of how one of the concerned experienced and remembers the news of Angra do Heroísmo being enlisted to the list.

However, there is no comment noted from the World Heritage Committee in the Report of the Rapporteur in regard to Angra’s enlistment, nor is there anything in the report telling about a discussion concerning the site (UNESCO, 01.1984). Monjardino also described an agreeable meeting, in which he tells how he dined in a typical Italian setting with his daughter and the Norwegian Director General for the Directorate for Cultural Management Stephan Tschudi-Madsen who was a World Heritage Committee member at the time. Hence, a part of the story which was added due to my presence.

Knowing that the present nomination processes might be long-lasting and problematic (Leask, 2008), I often commented upon the speed of the nomination process concerning Angra do Heroísmo. Forjaz explained accordingly:

Interviewee: Yes, today this is very difficult. It took us at last two years, two years! Clearly, the impact of the earthquake helped a lot as well. It helped.

M: And contacts too?

Interviewee: Yes, a lot of contacts as well. We got a lot of help from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Government, etc., etc. Look, it worked very well and it all went very quickly, and the ICOMOS team worked in our favour, the team that was here. (Interview 34)

Obviously the visit conducted by UNESCO¹⁵ shortly after the earthquake was of immense importance for the classification – something the statement above underscores. Furthermore, there is little doubt that Monjardino had a vast power apparatus due to his previous position as a minister in the Portuguese Government and his present position as the President of the Azorean Assembly. While another interviewee, holding a significant position in the cultural sector, told how Angra do Heroísmo had friends within the UNESCO system (Interviewee 27).

Finally, Portugal managed to get four sites included to the World Heritage List at the World Heritage Committee meeting in Florence in 1983. Angra do Heroísmo was accompanied by the Monastery of Hieronymites and the Tower of Belem in Lisbon, and The Monastery of Batalha and the Convent of Christ in Tomar. It might also be worth noting that at this World Heritage Committee meeting the more famous World Heritage Sites, Machu Picchu and Taj Mahal, were also enlisted (UNESCO, 01.1984).

Why was Angra do Heroísmo nominated for the World Heritage List?

Above, I have suggested that there may have been a certain aspiration to obtain financial aid for the construction of the city, but I was unaware of other possible reasons for the nomination. For this reason, I asked Monjardino about why he believed it was important to enlist Angra, to which he responded accordingly:

Because this city is so historical, not just in a Portuguese aspect, but in a European perspective. This city was a place where they all passed – all the voyages to America and all the voyages to the Orient, and when they returned as well. The forts are the most grand the Spanish ever constructed outside of Spain. (Interview 38)

As I posed this question, I thought I would obtain information concerning their aims and goals in regard to a possible status, but rather than explaining to me about their aspirations for what they wanted to achieve by nominating the city, he focused on Angra's historical significance. I raised this question equally to a great part of my interviewees, from which I often received a full explanation about the historical facts of the city and the importance of Angra do Heroísmo as a strategic point during the maritime explorations of the 15th and 16th centuries.

¹⁵ Referred to as “a UNESCO mission” in reports (DRaC, 01.02.1983, Assembleia Regional, 27.07.1981).

However, in another context of the interview, Monjardino did stress that the intention of the classification was to ensure the protection of the city: “para proteger”, he said. An historian in the city and the former director of the Conservation Office answered accordingly when asking more specifically about the reasons for the nominating Angra to the World Heritage List:

M: Did you want to ensure that the city was reconstructed?

Interviewee 1: Yes. [...] Because we love the place. (Interview 27)

There can be no doubt that the classification of Angra do Heroísmo would ensure the reconstruction of the city, and this is also believed to be one of the reasons why UNESCO wanted to enlist the city. Like an interviewee at the municipality said: “It was classified as World Heritage in order to respect how it used to be” (Interviewee 7). In 2011, the mayor in Angra also said how “the classification ensured that the rehabilitation of the city was done within certain parameters, while respecting the past” (Interviewee 17). As mentioned in the previous chapter, it was suggested to rebuild the city in a modern style and Forjaz stressed how there were strong forces who wanted to build a completely new city.

The instrumentality of the nomination to the World Heritage List

As previously outlined, it has been claimed that “all cultural policies are instrumental” (Vestheim, 2008:56), and I will argue that the World Heritage nomination of Angra do Heroísmo may equally have been an instrumental political act. However, I would claim that the instrumentality of this nomination is not outspoken, as well as being moderate compared to more recent nominations in which World Heritage enlistments are explicitly used as a means for growth and community building (Saltzman, 2001, Turtinen, 2006, Fyall and Rakic, 2008: 161 in reference to Bonnette, 2005, Kaltenborn et al., 2013, Kultmag, 2014).

As stressed by many interviewees, the aims behind the nomination of Angra do Heroísmo was to highlight the history of the city and to attain recognition for it, not to mention ensuring the protection and reconstruction of Angra do Heroísmo as a heritage site. This may coincide with what is defined as a “qualitative argument”, thus supporting culture for the sake of the “good culture”, or in this case, for the sake of the good heritage, which is often looked upon as intrinsically valuable and positive (Vestheim, 2008:57). This is also defined as crucial in the Authorized Heritage Discourse, which regards heritage as valuable per se (Smith, 2006:29). According to Vestheim, the reasoning for this argument aims at the individual for the purpose of an aesthetic and mannerly instrumentality. Equivalently:

The Authorized Heritage Discourse focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generation “must” care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their education and to forge a sense of identity based on the past (Smith, 2006:29).

As can be drawn from the nomination document, the importance of this part of Angra’s history is unquestionable, and therefore claimed to be of “outstanding universal value”; as well, the city’s “wealth of monuments”, beauty, unique characteristics and *aesthetics*” are emphasized (UNESCO, 08.06.1983). Vestheim argues further that the rationale behind the argument for the sake of the good culture is “the good taste” that adheres to the preferences of the elite (2008:58). Similarly, the Authorized Heritage Discourse outlines heritage protection as being based on the aesthetic values and preferences of the elite or knowledge of the experts (Smith, 2006:28). In the case of Angra do Heroísmo, it was indeed some within the elite and the experts who initiated and carried out the nomination process on the grounds of their authorities, beliefs, expertise and judgements. Moreover, these can be said to be experts taking part in the Authorized Heritage Discourse.

The second argument Vestheim puts forth is how culture is used to create economic development (2008:59). To the best of my knowledge, this has been of less importance upon nominating the city. At least my data does not give any evidence of such, and there may be several reasons that explain the lack of economic instrumentality. Firstly, Angra do Heroísmo was classified at an early point in the history of the World Heritage List, as the first sites were included in 1978 – only five years prior to Angra. Moreover, Portugal ratified the Convention three years before Angra’s inclusion to the List. Hence, the World Heritage Convention and the List was not yet as an acclaimed brand and notion as it has become over later years, some of which Monjardino’s meeting at the UNESCO may bear witness to. Secondly, the nomination took place at the time (1983) when the heritage industry had only started to increase, and the tourism industry has most definitely grown immensely since the early 1980s (Harrison, 2013). Thus, the relationship between tourism and World Heritage was not as strong as we have seen over the last two decades. However, I will address the linkage between tourism and World Heritage and the effectiveness of the World Heritage brand more in-depth in Chapter 10.

Social development and integration may be a third effect for supporting culture (Vestheim, 2008: 60-61). The social effect aims to improve the well-being of the citizens and for them to identify with their hometown or region (ibid: 60). A possible expected affect from a World Heritage Status and the emphasis given to Angra’s past glory could indeed be a way to strengthen the identity of the city and its inhabitants. Hence, as was pointed out by an interviewee, the World Heritage Status was significant for a community which had just experienced a trauma (Interview 25).

6.3 Early and present nominations

As of 2015, the World Heritage List has amounted to more than 1,000 sites, and the competition to be enlisted has become increasingly firmer during the last few decades, as the status and value of the enlistment has been perceived worldwide. However, due to its overrepresentation of European and Western sites, there is a well-known and vast discussion concerning the credibility and representation of The World Heritage List (see e.g. Cleere, 2001, van der Aa, 2005, Smith 2006, Leask, 2008, Rao, 2010, Hølleland, 2013,). Hence, the adoption of the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* in 1994 was one of several initiatives to amend gaps and imbalances detected (van der Aa. 2005: 37), such as the overrepresentation of European sites, historic towns and religious buildings, Christian sites and monuments, as well as historical periods over prehistoric sites and sites from the 20th century and “elitist” architecture over vernacular architecture (Titchen, 1995:202-204, UNESCO, 31.01. 1994, UNESCO, 2015d).

I will not go further into the debate concerning the aspects of the Eurocentric character of the Convention that has given a European favoured World Heritage List (see Chapter 2.2.2 and the literature above for further reading on this). Still, I must point out how Angra do Heroísmo does indeed coincide with all the features of the over-represented sites on the List. Taking into account the latter acknowledgements and the problem of the overrepresentation of typical European sites, it is all the more interesting to obtain information on how UNESCO encouraged Portugal to enlist more sites back in the beginning of the 1980s. This gives evidence of the then prevailing ideas and concerns upon the time when Angra do Heroísmo was enlisted, as it shows how it took place before the current discussion concerning the vast amount of European sites on the List.

There have been- and still are debates about the concern for the amount of enlistments and the risk of devaluating the World Heritage List as the number of enlisted sites increases (van der Aa, 2005:12, Rao, 2010:162). The description of the ICOMOS meeting in 1983 attended by Monjardino due “to worries about the vast quantity of proposals”, at a point when The World Heritage List counted about 200 sites, proves how there have been debates about the limitations of the List from its very beginning (see also Pressouyre, 1993: 46). The aspects highlighted above are of interest, as my data from Angra do Heroísmo reflects the change in ideas and conduct within the UNESCO system in relation to World Heritage. In the following, I will briefly highlight the differences between the present and early nomination processes, general UNESCO policies and views on World Heritage, both in the past and presently.

First and foremost, the bureaucratic formalities of the nomination process have also augmented the demands for the nomination document itself. Just to show a general tendency, *The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* has increased from the original version that consisted of 13

pages¹⁶ to the present, holding no less than 165 pages (UNESCO, 07.2013). As for the part of the Operational Guidelines addressing the nomination process, this has increased accordingly. The 1980 version¹⁷ dedicated less than four pages to this matter (UNESCO, 10.1980: B, F, G), while the current version addresses the nomination process over 15 pages (III), not to mention containing annexes dedicated to the procedures of the nomination process (UNESCO, 07.2013).

Considering the nomination document of Angra do Heroísmo in comparison to the present, there are typological, technical and substantial differences. The volume of the nomination document has increased since Angra do Heroísmo conducted its nomination for the World Heritage List at the beginning of the 1980s. Angra's nomination document only consisted of 11 pages, excluding appendixes with pictures and maps. In comparison, the newly submitted nomination of the industrial sites of Rjukan and Notodden in Norway, which will be evaluated at the upcoming World Heritage Committee meeting in June 2015, contain a total of 496 pages (Taugbøl et al., 2014). Jukka Jokilehto also states how the first nominations could be limited to 10 to 12 pages, and further points out how the bureaucracy of each nomination has increased as the nomination files have increased by more than 40 times since the first enlistments (2011:64).

Though the present effectiveness and awareness of the World Heritage brand has been debated (Hall and Piggin, 2002, van der Aa, 2005, Williams, 2005, Ronström, 2007, Yan and Morrison, 2008, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011, Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012, Hølleland, 2013), I would argue that the general notion and concept of World Heritage has become more familiar in general since the beginning of the 1980s. The meeting at the UNESCO accounted for by Monjardino may give evidence of an unfamiliarity with the World Heritage Convention and the nomination process. Furthermore, I would argue that due to more than 40 years of experiences with World Heritage designations, there is a greater awareness as to what a World Heritage Status might involve for a State Party and the local community – both for good and for worse (van der Aa, Groote and Huigen, 2005, Fyall and Rakic, 2008: 161 in reference to Bonnette, 2005, Kaltenborn et al., 2013, Kultmag, 2014, Ågotnes et al., 2014). For instance, there is a prevailing expectation that a status might attract increased tourism, which in turn may give the local community economic benefit and general growth (Ronström, 2007:98, Shackley, 1998), even though this does not always turn out to be the case (e.g. Williams, 2005:132-136, van der Aa, Groote and Huigen, 2005, Ronström, 2007, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011, Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012, Hølleland, 2013:242). The possible negative side effects of a World Heritage Status are also recognized, such as for instance the possible pressures of tourism and the fear of increased regulations for the World Heritage Site subsequent to an enlistment, which may hinder modern development (Bandarin, 2005:v, Bårtned, 2005:10).

¹⁶ The first version was adopted at the World Heritage Committee Meeting in 1977 (Titchen 1995:104).

¹⁷ The prevailing version at the time when Angra do Heroísmo was nominated.

2014:98). The local opposition against the nomination of the Dutch Wadden Sea Conservation Area shows some of the possible predicaments of a World Heritage nomination. In this case, the local stakeholders in fact opposed to a World Heritage nomination due to the “perceived imbalance of costs over the apparent advantages of listing” (van der Aa et al., 2005:13). The reasoning for the stakeholders’ opposition was based on a concern “of losing autonomy over “their” area”, as well as uncertainties “about the potential impact of World Heritage Listing” (ibid: 15-16). In the article, titled: *World Heritage as NIMBY (Not in my backyard)? The case of the Dutch Part of the Wadden Sea*, the authors argue that the lack of local support seen in this case may be a more general trend (ibid: 13). They suggest that the World Heritage Listings have become more problematic for three reasons:

First, there is increasingly general opposition to handing over local or national heritage to all mankind, as represented by UNESCO. Secondly, few benefits seem to accrue to local populations, and thirdly, there are many avenues through which local stakeholders can resist attempts to impose World Heritage Status upon them. (van der Aa et al., 2005: 18)

The latter problem mentioned above is related to the increased demand for local participation in the nomination process, a criterion that was not included in the Operational Guidelines until 1994 (UNESCO, 02.1994). As the latter shows, another important difference between the nominations made in the early 1980s and currently is the increased claim for local participation in the nomination process (UNESCO, 07.2013:3). A demand for local participation was not included in the 1980 version of the Operational Guidelines, and the quotation made by one of the inhabitants might be evidence of the lack of local engagement in Angra do Heroísmo as far as the nomination process: “There were a group of people with a certain influence in society from Terceira who made the proposal” (Interviewee 9). As can be seen from the description of the process outlined above, it is clear that the initiative was taken by some within the elite of the city. Haslie also underscores how the inhabitants in Trinidad de Cuba were excluded from the nomination process: “The inhabitants were never consulted before one day in December in 1988 when they woke up in protected houses” (2009:29, author’s translation). Though, it was not until 1994 that the demand for local participation in the nomination process was included in the Operational Guidelines; however, it was still recommended that the nominations should be made without vast publicity in order to “avoid public embarrassment” (UNESCO, 27.03.1992:4). In the 1996 version of the Guidelines, this part was removed and it now became only essential to include the local population in order “to make them feel a shared responsibility”

in the preservation of the site¹⁸ (UNESCO, 02.1996:6, van der Aa, 2005:85). Saltzman also describes how it was undertaken a referendum in the case of the nomination of the Agricultural Landscape of Southern Öland in 1999 in Sweden (2001: 231).

The move from exclusion to inclusion in terms of local participation derives from two new perceptions. Firstly, there have been examples of nominations that have led to great controversies due to the fact that the local population was excluded from the process. Secondly, World Heritage Sites are better preserved when the designation attains local support (van der Aa, 2005: 85). Fageraas' study of the World Heritage Site of Vega in northern Norway shows that the local optimism and positivism towards the World Heritage Status, even before the designation was believed among the local coordinators, to be due to the effort made to inform and involve the local community (2013:312). Van der Aa argues, however, that an actual inclusion of the local population has led to obstacles, which was the case of the Wadden Sea mentioned above. Another example of such was seen in the case of the prosed cultural landscape of Markim-Orkesta in Sweden that was stopped by local proprietors, as they did not want to be controlled by UNESCO (2005:86). A similar argument, along with the fact that a World Heritage Status could hinder development, was used by the politicians and owners at the industrial town Odda in Norway which ultimately withdrew their candidacy after a local referendum (Bårtvedt, 2014). Despite the positivism at the World Heritage Site of Vega (Norway), Fageraas found as well that the local proprietors did not want to lose their ownership of the cultural heritage or the control of the cultural practice (2013: 329). However, it has been claimed that local consultation is still mostly absent in most nominations (van der Aa, 2005: 85-86).

As seen from the accounts made by the ones initiating the nomination of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List, they argue first and foremost that the city was nominated due to the importance of its history, whereas some also express an emotional rationale, though the purpose was as well to preserve and reconstruct the city. It has been argued that the nominations have gone from an emotional to a rational nature, and the findings from Angra coincide with this argument (van der Aa et al., 2005:18-19). Other authors have similarly claimed that: "more recent trends suggest that the entire process is becoming more political with motivations for nation building, identity, and an eagerness to tap into the economic benefits to be derived from tourism [...]" (Fyall and Rakic, 2008:161). Further it has been stated that a "socio-economic motive is a relatively recent trend in WHS history" (Kaltenborn et al. 2013:101). Again, one may turn to the Norwegian site presently proposed for enlistment: the Rjukan/Notodden Industrial Heritage Sites (Taugbøl et al., 2014), in which a World Heritage Status is expected to generate development

¹⁸ In the 1994 version of the Operational Guidelines, it was still recommended to avoid vast publicity due to a possible embarrassment, yet emphasized the importance of local participation (UNESCO, 02.1994).

for the two towns (e.g. Kultmag, 2014). As a result, it can be fair to state that the first enlistments have been nominated with less socio-economic calculation and with more emotional rationale than current nominations.

Even when knowing that Angra do Heroísmo did have “friends within UNESCO”, as one interviewee stated, the nomination process progressed rapidly, despite some minor obstacles. It is also worth noting that it was approved on its first attempt without any comments or objections by the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO, 01.1984). It may therefore be assumed that it was “easier” to be enlisted in the first era. Some authors have explored this idea, such as for instance Kishore Rao, who claims that there are properties enlisted that “might not measure up to the test of Outstanding Universal Value if they were to be evaluated today” (2010:168). Equally, van der Aa has remarked that there are nominated sites that claim that their site is more qualified than sites that are already classified as World Heritage (2005:72-23, *ibid*). The procedures were indeed less complex in the early 1980s, since there were no corresponding thematic studies undertaken, in which proposed sites were to be compared to other sites within the same category or theme. Furthermore, Jokilehto points out that in the period of Léon Pressouyre, who was responsible for evaluating nominations at ICOMOS in the 1980s, nominated sites were only visited in special cases. The regular practice of an expert mission to each nominated site was first introduced when Henry Cleere became head of evaluation in 1992 (Jokilehto, 2011: 64).

There seems to be one tendency being as equally relevant today as it was more than 30 years ago, and that is the fact that behind a World Heritage nomination there is often a key person (e.g. van der Aa, 2005, Ronström, 2007, Fageraas, 2012, Hølleland, 2013, Gjelsvik, 2014a:17, Gjelsvik, 2014b: 99-108). Van der Aa gives the following description of the key person in the Polish nomination, which managed to nominate five sites at the first World Heritage Committee meeting in 1978:

The leading person behind the Polish World heritage nominations was Kryzstof Pawlowski, the acting conservator of monuments at the Polish Ministry of Culture in Warszawa (Warsaw), the vice-president of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and member of the World Heritage Committee in 1978. Pawlowski’s personal background influenced the selection of Polish sites. His wartime experience while growing up in Warszawa during the Second World War made a lasting impact and may have affected his choice of Warszawa and Auschwitz (Interview 78) (van der Aa 2005:44).

According to Ronström, a key person in such processes is often a person who has the means and the contacts on a local, regional, national and international level (2007:47, 53). Ronström has studied the nomination process of Visby in Sweden, which was undertaken in the beginning of the 1990s, and his description and

findings holds several parallels to the process of Angra do Heroísmo (2007:120-153). Similarly to Angra's nomination process, there was one main character taking a leading role: a person holding several of the same competences as Monjardino, having the means and the network on the local as well as the international level. Ronström describes her as "the typical driving force, entrepreneur and lobbyist" (2007:140, author's translation), and from the story she tells "it shows how personal interest, family life, work life, politics and coincidences merge" (2007:140, author's translation). The equivalent descriptions may have also been given Monjardino and the story he told.

As a native Angrense, Monjardino had the necessary local knowledge, and maybe even more importantly, he belonged to an influential social circle in the city. Moreover, he could benefit from a broad network in the Azores because of his position as the President of the Azorean Assembly, and he also had contacts on a national level due to his former position as an Adjunct Minister for the Portuguese Government from 1978-80. Consequently, he enjoyed a vast international network, some of which was shown by his ability to arrange a meeting at the UNESCO headquarters in 1980 "while passing by". It may hence be concluded that he had the perfect tools in order to succeed to nominate a site for the World Heritage List.

Lastly, van der Aa makes another statement, based on his case countries, that there seems to be a decentralization of nominations some years after the countries have ratified the convention. The first year's nominations are more often conducted by national heritage institutions, who are nominating their national icons. Thus, after some time, local and regional governments become aware of the World Heritage Convention and initiate nominations for their sites. He further argues that: "Decentralized nominations lead to a shift in location of World Heritage Sites away from the country's centre towards its periphery" (van der Aa, 2005:62). It is worth pointing out that the nomination process of Angra do Heroísmo contradicts the findings of van der Aa. Different from the countries he studied, Angra do Heroísmo is a peripheral site nominated by local and regional authorities, and which was the *first* Portuguese nomination to the World Heritage List. Though, it is a site which corresponds with the national narrative and identity of Portugal. Van der Aa also claims that local initiatives are made in order to attract tourists and ensure preservation of a site (2005:62). Though, I have no data which confirms that tourism was one of the reasons for nominating Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to describe and assess how and by which means Angra do Heroísmo was enlisted to the World Heritage List, in which it has been of importance to present the experiences, memories and opinions of the ones who took part in the process. The UNESCO mission after the earthquake was a triggering factor for the nomination of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage

List, as it planted the first seed, which helped to bring about UNESCO's attention and concern. However, secondly, it was the personal interest, position and network of the key person in this case that finally made it possible to initiate the process and to succeed. So to use one of Bourdieu's terms, he had the necessary cultural capital and the social capital (2011:81-93), plus being able to easily navigate in both the political and cultural fields. As mentioned, cultural capital is an embodied form of capital in the sense of personal education, knowledge and *Bildung* (2011:87). In terms of his social capital, being described as "resources which are linked to possession of durable network" (2011:86), this is made up of his local, regional and national network and position. As Bourdieu states:

The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected. (Bourdieu, 2011:86)

The key person's network was linked to the regional and national government, and according to Bourdieu, the state holds symbolic and material resources that give the power to regulate different fields through financial and juridical interventions (1998:33). In this case, one can say that the governmental connections held juridical, economic and symbolic possessions which enabled the nomination process. The symbolic capital of the state may have been of special importance in the initial phase as it gave this agent the power to be accepted at the international political level (UNESCO). Furthermore, he possessed a local network with, e.g. the members of the local historical institute. These connections possessed cultural capital with sufficient academic qualifications to undertake the theoretical matters of the nomination process. I would argue that these factors were crucial for the outcome of the process. Thus, Angra do Heroísmo offers yet another example of the fact that World Heritage nominations are often triggered and carried out by one resourceful person.

One may also say that the interviewees portrayed in this chapter are representatives of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, in the sense of being the experts and therefore the "right stewards of the past" (Smith, 2006), who were in the position to evaluate which heritage to preserve and present for future generations. Further, the reasons for nominating Angra do Heroísmo confers to the grand national narrative and identity. Moreover, it shows how this was a top-down decision. As stated above, one can say that the reasoning for nominating the city adheres to the "quality argument" proposed by Vestheim, when culture (in this case cultural heritage) is supported or given priority for the sake of the "good heritage" and because of its intrinsic value (Vestheim, 2008:57). The instrumentality also holds an aesthetic and educative purpose. However, my data from Angra does not show that there was an economic argument for nominating

the city, other than a possible expectation to obtain financial aid from the UNESCO.

If we go further into the rhetoric used by the interviewees and how they explain about the reasons for the nomination, I would say that this rhetoric is intellectual, idealistic and emotional. A great part of the interviewees portrayed, both in this chapter and in general, emphasized the historical aspects of Angra do Heroísmo when I asked why the city was nominated for the World Heritage List, in which there was given a full historical account of its importance. However, they also communicate an emotional relationship to the city as one stated: “because we love the place”, or in the sense of pride of being the first city in Portugal to be nominated. It might be true to state that it was a genuine interest and caring for the history of the city that inspired Monjardino and his co-workers to classify the city – at least I am led to believe that it was first and foremost an idealistic project and an initiative made out of the love of their home city. Even though it does not contradict the latter, the interviewees also make it clear that they had hoped the nomination would preserve the city and ensure the reconstruction. Despite reasons or possible instrumentality, we see how the values, interests and actions of a group of people were to be formative for the city as a whole, as well as its meaning, its preservation and its international relationships.

Hence, it is important to point out how the initiative and decision to nominate Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List was to be formative for the city, as the World Heritage gave the city a new symbolic value and new sociocultural and even international context (Fageraas, 2013:290). The formative aspects of the enlistment to the World Heritage List will be reflected in the analyses throughout this thesis, as we see how the discussions, processes and negotiations are affected by the fact that it is a World Heritage Status.

Lastly, this chapter has aimed to show the historicity of World Heritage and World Heritage nominations. As I have demonstrated above, Angra do Heroísmo represents a World Heritage nomination made at an early point in the history of World Heritage. The example of Angra do Heroísmo and the accounts of the interviewees also show the differences between the current and early nomination processes, in addition to general UNESCO policies and views on World Heritage, both in the past and currently. Hence, as shown above, it is possible to argue that the complexity of the nomination process has increased, there is a greater awareness of the notion of World Heritage, the costs and benefits of enlistments have increasingly been perceived, the instrumentality of the nominations have increased and the importance of local participation has been better acknowledged and adopted in UNESCO policies. Furthermore, the awareness and actions made in terms of the eurocentrism of the World Heritage List have developed since the early 1980s. However, my data shows how the discussion concerning the limitations of the list were just as relevant then as now, with later nominations having also shown the importance of a “key person” with the right competence and

network (van der Aa, 2005, Ronström, 2007, Fageraas 2012, Hølleland, 2013, Gjelsvik, 2014a: 17, Gjelsvik, 2014b: 99-108).

Part II has for the most part been dedicated to past discussions and processes, and as such it is also creating a background and context so as to understand the present processes and discussions. Thus in the following chapters I will for the most part elaborate on the *current* Angra do Heroísmo and the *present* state of the World Heritage City.

PART III RESIDING IN- AND MANAGING A WORLD HERITAGE CITY – LIVING IN, WITH AND BY HERITAGE

Angra do Heroísmo has always been, throughout its history, a City of the World. In December 1983, it became the first Portuguese city inscribed in the UNESCO's World Heritage List. As all historical cities, Angra do Heroísmo had its ups and downs. In the past century's last decade it even became part of the cities group in risk of being cast out of the UNESCO's World Heritage List. Territory resource management's conservative politics, discretionary rules, and attempts of museum like treatment of the city, moved away the inhabitants. The definition of a coherent urban policy allowed the city's maritime front recuperation. The investment carried out, sustained by Angra do Heroísmo Integrated Plan and supervised by the ICOMOS, allowed the repossession of the city's Atlantic vocation. (Luís Mendes former vice-president of Angra do Heroísmo municipality 2005:7)

The quotation above gives a hint of this politicians' stand in terms of heritage management policies, though it also touches upon the manifoldness that a World Heritage Status might hold for a local community. Firstly, the former vice-president at the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo emphasizes his pride in respect to the historic importance of Angra do Heroísmo and the fact that it was the first city in Portugal to obtain a World Heritage Status. I will return to notions of pride and recognition in Chapter 11. However, secondly, he addresses the matter of cultural heritage management and the challenging task of ensuring the evolvement of a historic city while safeguarding the cultural heritage. The issue has been widely discussed, as it is of specific relevance within a *living* historic city that is constantly exposed to pressures engendered by the needs of upgrading infrastructure, service- and housing facilities to current standards (e.g. Herzfeld, 1991, Evans, 2002, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011, Ronström, 2007, 2014, van Oers, 2007, Schicker, 2009, Haslie, 2009, Pendlebury, Short and While, 2009, Leitão, 2011, Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011, Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, , Roswell, 2014). In the citation above, there is also a reference to a specific development project – the recuperation of the maritime front in Angra do Heroísmo that brought about a vast discussion due to its impact on the historical features of the city. This project was addressed at a World Heritage Committee

meeting that expressed its concern and called upon the State Party of Portugal to collaborate closely with ICOMOS experts on the matter (UNESCO, 02.03.2000). Despite the distress given by ICOMOS and the Committee, the project was carried out. However, the “new” marina is still under dispute, and the case will be addressed and analysed in this part. Another aspect which the former vice-president of the municipality highlights above is the implications of living in a World Heritage City, and how the inhabitants need to adhere to heritage policies outlined by the politicians and managers: policies that have been and are still constantly being discussed in the city of Angra. This subject will be attended to throughout Part III.

Part III refers to the principal research question, namely to *critically map and analyse past and current discussions, negotiations and social processes that take place and relate to conditions created by living in- and monitoring the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo. The purpose is to study how, and with what result and consequences, contested values, interests, rhetoric and powers are mobilized and made into dynamic forces for stakeholders in the city.* The discussions and processes studied mainly touch upon the predicaments of living in a classified area and the implications of monitoring a living urban World Heritage. Both conflicts and consensus will be given significance; however, conflicts in particular accentuate the diverging values and interests, as well as the kind of social relations and means of communication between the actors involved (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:57). What is more, this part seeks to disclose and analyse the dissonance that heritage holds, and the past and present discourses that exist within the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo. The Norwegian researchers Guttormsen and Fageraas found this discourse to be equally present in the World Heritage City of Røros in Norway, which “holds an ideological and political dimension which relates to preservation and management, as well as from a research perspective being related to how different social groups relate to the past” (2007: 23, author’s translation).

Part III consists of four chapters (7, 8, 9 and 10), with the first (7) addressing the processes and discussions that derive from the implications of managing, living and conducting business in a World Heritage classified zone within heritage laws and bureaucratic procedures. The second chapter (8) involves a study of the public discussion concerning the present conditions of the streets of Angra, a case which raises questions concerning local participation in regard to World Heritage. In the third chapter (9), discussions concerning some of the modern development projects within the classified zone are analysed, while in the last chapter (10) I address the subject of tourism and mediation in the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo.

7 Sufficient preservation, good living conditions and flourishing commerce – how to balance it all?

As described in Chapter 2, the World Heritage Convention states that enlisted sites shall “take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage” (UNESCO, 1972, Article 5). The preservation of Angra do Heroísmo is monitored by the Regional Directorate for Culture in cooperation with the municipality, while the legislation, Legislative Regional Decree 15/2004/A, ensures the legal restrictions of the World Heritage City¹⁹. In the following, several cases concerning the preservation of Angra do Heroísmo will be presented and analysed. Firstly, the discussion concerning the reorganization of the management apparatus in 2004, which led to the closure of the Conservation Office, will be addressed before I give examples of discussions and negotiations that have been taking place between the homeowners and the management apparatus. Thirdly, the infestation of the termites in the city of Angra is addressed. Here, an emphasis is put on mapping and studying the discussions that have emerged due to the infestation problem, and to understand the logic and powers of the stakeholders involved. Lastly, the regulation of commerce in Angra do Heroísmo, as well as its possible effects, are analysed. In all four chapters, it has been essential to study the nature of the discourses and the hierarchies which have transpired. What are the interests, powers and capitals of the stakeholders? How are these mobilized, and what is the relative power of the stakeholders and the groups?

7.1 The “Gabinete” – the closure of the Conservation Office

Even though there is a well-defined management apparatus for the City of Angra, its structure, together with its ways and methods, have been debated. In 2004, there were some considerate alterations of the cultural heritage administration in the city, as a decision was made to close the official Conservation Office, Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo, which belonged to the Regional Secretary of Education and Culture (Legislative Regional 15/2004/A, Leitão, 2003:137). The Conservation Office, or the “Gabinete”, which is its more popular name, had been in operation since the late 1980s, even though it was already established in the first legal framework for the city in 1984 (Legislative Regional Decree Nr15/84/A, 13th April). This special Conservation Office consisted of a team of approximately eight technicians and administrators that was a special entity, separate from the

¹⁹ The Governmental Institution responsible for the World Heritage Site Angra do Heroísmo is the Directorate General for Cultural Heritage (Direção-Geral do Património Cultural) UNESCO (2014e).

municipality, which was only responsible for Angra's preservation (Leitão, 2003: 137). As described above, the former competencies of the Conservation Office have currently been assigned to the Directorate for Culture and the municipality. The closure of the Conservation Office (The Gabinete da Zona Classificada de Angra do Heroísmo) soon caught my attention, as it gave the impression of a somehow abrupt action that may cause comprehensive changes in the preservation of this World Heritage City. Because of this, it was of interest to acquire a better understanding of the circumstances for its closure and to study the stakeholders' views, interests and values in regard to the Conservation Office or the "Gabinete". For which purpose did this act serve, and what were the consequences?

The first explanations obtained while asking about the reasons for its closure was that the Conservation Office's rigorous policies had led to a general dissatisfaction among the citizens, and as the discontent grew larger in the city it became difficult for the politicians to sustain the entity. The introductory passage may bear witness to a politician's stand in this regard: "Territory resource management's conservative politics, discretionary rules and attempts at a museum-like treatment of the city forced the inhabitants to move away" (Mendes, 2005:7). However, a former employee at the Conservation Office architect Leticia Leitão has emphasized that it was a unique and important situation to have a separate entity, as all the other World Heritage Cities in Portugal are managed by the municipality (2003:137), but as she stated, "The mayor does not agree with this situation" (ibid).

Having obtained just bits and pieces of information about the process leading to the closure of the Conservation Office, I raised the issue in the interviews conducted with informants who had been involved in the process, or due to their present position in the cultural heritage management sector, knew more about the reasons leading to the closure of the office. The former Director of the Conservation Office gave the following response when I asked if he could tell why the Conservation Office had closed:

Interviewee: Politically speaking, I think you should ask the authorities. I can just tell you what I feel. [...] It was a very strong structure. It was a strong structure that could actually block the decisions of the government or the decisions of the municipality.

M: Too strong, according to them or...?

Interviewee: Yep, when you have something that can actually block you and when you are blocking the government or blocking the municipality.... mm... let's take it out of the way. And I believe that is why, that is why they did so. (Interview 27)

Another answer given by an interviewee from the public cultural heritage management sector (Interview 19) supported the response of the former Director of the Conservation Office, and gave a similar answer when I asked why the

reorganization had taken place: “For political reasons. [...] Because they were putting limits and they were creating problems. They created problems, and as a consequence it was closed” (Interview 19). The latter statements suggest that it was a political process that led to the closure of the office, while both interviewees believe it was closed because the Conservation Office was limiting or restricting development in the city – at least it had a strong means to stop or limit development projects, and as the latter interviewee pointed out: the Conservation Office became a problem. I raised the closure of the Conservation Office while interviewing an executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture. In his opinion, it was not essential to have this Conservation Office, as he believed the municipality should be involved in the heritage management of the city. Additionally, he believed the Conservation Office had not taken into consideration the financial and practical challenges of the “users”²⁰:

[There was a] lack of respect for the users who did not have the answers in time to solve their life. Often these people had a bank loan and were paying interest, and the office in town could not give them the answers they wanted [/assumed]. Therefore, you cannot have an arbitrariness in the heritage management of a classified city, as it was in the case of the office. (Interview 25)

As for the consequences of the closure of the Conservation Office, this executive further thought that: “the City of Angra do Heroísmo has not lost something fundamental by the fact that the Gabinete has been closed” (Interview 25). However, being a representative from the public cultural heritage management sector, the informant, portrayed above disagreed with this view and believed there had indeed been a change in the interest and engagement for the conservation of the city. In her opinion, there was more involvement in- and knowledge about the preservation of the city during the years that the Conservation Office functioned: “[...] Involvement and knowledge. Technically as well the people... [...] but of course for a lot of people this was inconvenient, unpleasant, they didn’t like it” (Interview 19). Moreover, this informant pointed out how she believed the city had generally been better monitored during the time that the Conservation Office had been operational, as it was comprised of a strong and specialized team, as well as every building project obtaining a closer accompaniment during the time of the Conservation Office. In her opinion, the city currently lacks a holistic strategy for a sufficient preservation. A journalist also drew attention to how the city lacked a global vision, and described the city as being uncontrolled (Interview 4). The advantage of having a specialized team, which was only responsible for the preservation of the classified zone of Angra, was stressed by an employee at the

²⁰ The term “user” may be interpreted as homeowners, business owners and entrepreneurs or someone being engaged in construction or the maintenance of housing facilities within the classified zone.

Regional Directorate for Culture. The employee compared it to the present situation, in which they are responsible for heritage preservation in the entire archipelago, in addition to Angra (field notes, 30.06.2011).

Debated interests, values and consequences of the closure of the Conservation Office

Several sources above point to the fact that the closure of the Conservation Office was political, as its policies became “inconvenient” because they could halt initiatives made by the municipality and the government. Moreover, there had been a growing discontent with these policies among the public. Having such an autonomous Conservation Office is disputed, as shown from the sources above. The former employee at the Conservation Office highlighted the uniqueness and importance in this situation. The executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture also emphasized how Angra had been a unique case since the municipalities are involved in the preservation of other World Heritage Cities in Portugal. However, he argued that the municipality *should* lead the heritage politics that actually affect their terrain. Consequently, this informant believed that this office was hindering development, as it was an entity which could defy initiatives made by the government and the municipality. He also thought that the Conservation Office did not consider the current citizens or the users, as was the word he used and their economic realities. This informant put an emphasis on the importance of initiatives made by the municipality and the government, and the significance of having procedures that benefitted the current citizens, and which took their economic situation into account.

The views of two groupings have been portrayed above, with stakeholders being in favour of the Conservation Office and the stakeholders opposing such an entity. Representatives for the stakeholders who speak *for* a Conservation Office are representatives from the heritage sector, having professions such as historians, heritage managers or architects. This grouping highlights how there used to be more engagement in and for the preservation of the city when the Conservation Office was operative. These interviewees or sources used words like interest, involvement and knowledge in order to describe the former situation, and said how there is presently a lack of a holistic strategy for the preservation. The other party outlined above, which is represented by politicians and an executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture, used phrases, such as a lack of respect for the users, museum-like treatment, arbitrariness and citizens moving away, in order to explain the situation during the time of the Conservation Office.

The two parties take also different stands in terms of the consequences of the closure of the Conservation Office. The ones in favour of the Office believed that the city was better preserved while the Conservation Office was operative – both from a general perspective and in relation to every building or restoration project undertaken. One informant stresses the values of knowledge and engagement. As

for the ones disapproving of a more autonomous Conservation Office, they did not believe that Angra had lost something essential, because the preservation is all the time under the auspices of the government and the municipality. This interviewee argues on the basis of the economy of the “users” of the city and the contemporary needs.

Furthermore, the stakeholders involved in this discussion can be said to represent two fields: the *antiquarian field* and the *practical field*. This subdivision was made by Guttormsen and Fageraas while studying the World Heritage town of Røros (Norway) using the framework of Bourdieu, in which stakeholders were claimed to belong to different fields (2007:30-55). Guttormsen and Fageraas describe the antiquarian field as a field in which academic knowledge is held high in relation to heritage, traditions and history. It is further argued how this knowledge defines the value creation, which in turn strengthens the common cultural values. The main value for the stakeholders within this field is preservation. Economic values are not a priority within this field, though heritage values may create economic effects (2007:33-34, 40).

In the *practical field*, functional knowledge about the needs of the public, in terms of everyday tasks, housing conditions and work, is significant, as well as enabling modern development was more important²¹ (ibid: 34-38, 40). This subdivision, made on the basis of research conducted at Røros, may have transfer value to the discussion involving the Conservation Office, where we also find that stakeholders who belong to the antiquarian field are the ones in favour of the Conservation Office, in which knowledge and preservation is treasured, as was highlighted by an interviewee, and where conservation is also of great value. The other party above, the stakeholders opposed to the Conservation Office or the “museum-like” treatment of the city, can be said to adhere to what was defined as the practical field, in which the needs of the public are significant and which values development and economic aspects. However, one can argue that the practical field cannot be compared to a professionalized field such as the antiquarian field. Nonetheless, this can be said to be a field that has certain values and interests important for the agents adhering to the field. Moreover, it is the stakeholders’ resources and relationships, as well as the ways in which they relate to other fields, such as the antiquarian field in this case, which are of interest. The antiquarian field is a more professionalized field in the sense of being constituted by “specialized agents and institutions” (Broady, 1991: 266).

As Guttormsen and Fageraas also emphasize, this is a simplified model and the stakeholders may adhere to both the values and interests of the antiquarian field and vice versa, but there are stronger tendencies to adhere to certain values and interests than others within the various fields (2007:40). This division or definition

²¹ Guttormsen and Fageraas described a third field: the field of consumption, which pertained to commercial knowledge (business, tourism and consumption). The value in this field is consumption (2007:38-40).

does not mean that the stakeholders who I have defined as belonging to the antiquarian field does not consider the public's need or see the importance of functionality, not to mention that I would argue that the stakeholders of the practical field do acknowledge the importance of preservation. Nevertheless, the stakeholders disagree about the heritage policies, the organization of the heritage apparatus and how the policies should be executed.

However, the executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture can also be said to be a representative for the antiquarian field, while also being affiliated with this field through the institution he represents. Yet, in comparison to the other representatives, he opposes the former and dominant values of the field. What is more, the antiquarian field may be said to be aligned with the Authorized Heritage Discourse, whereas all the time these stakeholders are what this discourse outlines as the heritage experts who represent or represented an official heritage institution (Smith, 2006: 11) and who speak for the preservation of heritage due to its unquestioned intrinsic value, which needs to be safeguarded for future generations. In this sense, the executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture may represent a new approach within the prevailing attitudes of the Authorized Heritage Discourse in the ways of speaking for values other than preservation, such as development and economic values.

It is of interest to see how the Norwegian anthropologist Nina Alnes Haslie (2009) similarly attends to the implications of having a strong Conservation Office in her study of the Cuban World Heritage City Trinidad de Cuba, in which she draws attention to the dissonance between the heritage managers at this office and the inhabitants. Haslie describes how the officials disapproved of the inhabitants' illegal interventions, and how they wanted to strengthen the control and increase the restrictions. Even so, the inhabitants believed the Conservation Office's policies are threatening the possibility of living in the classified city (Haslie, 2009:32). In Trinidad de Cuba, it was more of a conflict between the citizens and the managers at the Conservation Office, as in Angra do Heroísmo, where the Conservation Office was additionally questioned by a governmental executive and politicians of the municipality. Moreover, in Angra do Heroísmo, there was a discussion about whether or not the municipality should be involved in the preservation of the city. Even though, there are some differences between the two cases, this example shows how the policies of a specialized Conservation Office are equally disputed in other World Heritage Cities.

The closure of the Conservation Office – a democratic decision?

The discussion concerning the Conservation Office in Angra do Heroísmo may adhere to the discourse concerning democratic principles in cultural heritage politics, and Vestheim's ideas can be used to explore this further:

By principle agents who are elected by popular vote in democratic elections – politicians – represent public interests in the classical liberal sense as spokesmen of the “common will”. They have a specific formal position in the political system and their legitimacy comes from the citizens who have voted them in. Their mandate is rooted in democratic processes, and they may be replaced if their constituency dislikes their public behaviour in parliamentary bodies and political parties. (Vestheim, 2012: 499)

Taking into account Vestheim’s description above, it can be said that the politicians in Angra do Heroísmo acted according to democratic procedures: they acted on behalf of the public they represented – or on behalf of the common will and the public’s interest. As explained by informants in Angra, the politicians feared not being elected due to the public’s growing discontent with the policies of the Conservation Office. As one stated: “It was to gain popular sympathy because the Conservation Office was not well regarded. It was a nuisance” (Interview 38). Hence, by adhering to the will of the people, the politicians ensured being elected.

I would further claim that it also became a problem that the local politicians in Angra do Heroísmo found themselves in “the hands of the experts” (Vestheim, 2012), who operated the Conservation Office and performed the cultural heritage policies outside their control. This may be an explanation as to why they wanted the management to be transferred to the municipality. Vestheim explains about the expert’s role in relation to the politicians:

Politicians may be in the hands of experts, partly inside, partly outside the political system. These agents – be they civil servants or other bureaucrats, [...], do not act from a neutral position. They are spokesmen of interests. In cultural policy analysis, it is important to ask which these interests are, how strong they are and which social groups or individuals they speak for. (Vestheim, 2012:499)

As stated, the experts at the Conservation Office can be said to have been spokesmen for the preservation of Angra, also being part of the antiquarian field and representatives of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, who were officially empowered to preserve the heritage due to its innate value (Smith, 1996:12, 29). Haslie similarly claims that one of the rationales for the Conservation Office’s heritage policies was the intrinsic value of heritage, which *should* be protected and preserved (2009:34).

However, the preservation of heritage may also hold a democratic aspect, as preservation ensures that the current and future public will take part in- and appreciate heritage. Aronsson points out how collecting, preserving and protecting heritage are one of several democratic aims of heritage politics that have gained importance during recent decades (2006:6). The rationale for this lies in the fact

that it may be both excluding and undemocratic to destroy, mistreat or neglect heritage, which is a common good and for everybody to enjoy. The Portuguese constitution also stresses the democratic aspect of culture by stating how: “Everyone has the right to cultural enjoyment and creativity, and the duty to preserve, protect and extend the cultural heritage” (Council of Europe, 2010). Vestheim explains similarly: “As taxpayers and common citizens, everybody has the right to appreciate culture as a social good. In democratic welfare states, culture is not an exception” (2012: 500). Further, Haslie points out how the Conservation Office in Trinidad de Cuba presented the city’s heritage as a common good, a good or a value being set out by the experts (2009:34-36).

The foregoing is also meant to be a backdrop so as to better understand the current management of Angra do Heroísmo. The next part will address the legal framework in regard to the homeowners and the business owners, and the discourses that derive from this tension.

7.2 “The goal is... is for Angra do Heroísmo to be inhabited”

The title above is a citation from an interview conducted with the mayor in Angra do Heroísmo, in which she brought attention to the responsibility that lies in having to ensure a sufficient protection while not forgetting the current citizens. This is how she explained what she regards as the greatest challenge deriving from the classification:

It is a great responsibility, because we know there were certain criterions that gave us the classification, which implies to be careful about the preservation of the built heritage, in other words, a great respect for what our ancestors built and left us. And then also a big challenge [...] because we should never forget that the city is to be inhabited by- and for the people living today. (Interview 17)

She also talked about the importance of respecting the past while not forgetting the current citizens of Angra, and stressed that the city ought to be a place where the citizens can continue to live and where they are able to live. The city of Angra do Heroísmo should not be a museum of dead objects, she said. Further, she stated how it is important to preserve: “[B]ut continue to ensure that the city is attractive to live in. [...] I think we managed to do that: respect the past and to keep the conjunction with both the present and the future” (Interview 17). Thus, as the quote shows, the mayor was confident as far as the city’s ability to keep a sufficient preservation and the way they are enabling the citizens to live in the city centre – according to her: They are able to maintain the equilibrium between the past and the present. However, she admits that there was previously some opposition among the citizens towards the preservation guidelines. According to the mayor, the opposition has diminished:

The fact is that over time some resistance was created because of the restrictions concerning construction in the historic centre. And this created some reluctance to build or rebuild in the historical city centre. That has diminished little by little, but that was a reality a few years ago. (Interview 17)

Though the statement was moderated: “There are still some, but nevertheless, it has been demystified.” After obtaining the mayor’s version, I went to the inhabitants themselves to get their views on the preservation guidelines and the ways in which they related to the management of Angra do Heroísmo. With reference to the article, *World Heritage as NIMBY?* (van der Aa et al., 2005), of which the abbreviation NIMBY means Not In My Back Yard, these are the people who actually ended up with World Heritage in their backyard. The following will portray how the inhabitants described the realities upon maintaining a house within the classified zone of Angra. This exemplifies some of the discussions concerning the regulation policies, in which the dissonance between the inhabitants and the official cultural heritage management apparatus appears. The stakeholders’ understanding of heritage, diverging interests and logic will be further studied.

Window bars – to paint or not to paint? When details cause polemics

During the fieldwork undertaken in 2011, I was living in one of the hillsides in the city and on my daily walks down the steep streets to the city centre I soon noticed a house which caught my interest. The house appeared to be well maintained and preserved: neatly painted in a bright white colour with the typical stone window frames perfectly preserved (field notes, 15.07.2011). I finally managed to conduct an interview with the homeowners. After some introductory information about the house, we started talking about the preservation guidelines and the homeowners explained how they thought the regulations they were obliged to follow depended to a great extent on who was in charge. So to give an example of the latter, the woman told how the stone frames had brought about certain polemics. She explained that after the earthquake, the officials wanted all the stone frames of the windows to be kept unpainted:

Interviewee: ...everybody was obliged to leave the stone window bars to show, but this house had always had yellow bars and there were few homes in Angra do Heroísmo with yellow window bars and I was very sensitive to these cultural things. I wanted to keep the yellow bars, but they didn’t authorize it and they said that they would only give me the subsidies if I removed the yellow paint so as to let the stone be visible.

M: So they wanted the windows to be similar to the other windows in the city?

Interviewee: Exactamente. (Interview 24)

She further explained how she was most bewildered by these instructions, as her mother had been living in the same house since she was a child and the stone bars had always been painted yellow during her time. Nevertheless, they scraped the paint off as instructed in order to get the subsidies they were entitled to.

Window in Angra do Heroísmo, 2013 Photo: David Torell

Some years later the interviewee explained how they needed to restore the house once again, so they made the application to help obtain the subsidies for the restoration of the façade. However, when the application was treated, the officials had a new opinion with regard to the stone bars. As it turned out, the ones who processed the case had found a photograph of the house that was taken shortly after the earthquake of 1980. The photograph depicted the window bars *painted*, just as the owner had previously attempted to make the officials aware of. The informant explained it accordingly:

So the senhor said: “We will only give you the subsidies if you paint the bars yellow.” I wanted yellow, but they wouldn’t let me and I had a lot of work to take off the yellow [...] and then “after all these years with the grey (stone) you finally want me to put what I wanted in the beginning”... “não, I don’t want any subsidies”, and I have not received any more subsidies. (Interview 24)

Firstly, this informant gives evidence of a disbelief in the procedures of the cultural heritage management. However, this kind of mistrust is something I have heard

about- and observed on several occasions in Angra. The informant expresses how she was unsatisfied with the ambiguity shown by the cultural heritage management. Secondly, the inconsistency shown by the officials in the preservation guidelines for the stone bars may question the authenticity of the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo, and the historical correctness in the guidelines and preservation of the city. As Fageraas and Guttormsen write in relations to Røros in Norway, “The authenticity can reflect the history of conservation as much as the specific period that is valued”, and as I have equally stressed above, they claim that “Røros’ conservation history reflects ideological choices in the construction of a historical place, rather than being the result of objective reconstructions”. Thus, this can be seen from a constructivist perspective, giving relevance to the ways in which a heritage site is constructed as “authentic” based on certain views, ideals and powers (2011:447).

The example of the window bars explicitly shows how the built heritage of Angra is an “official heritage” defined as “a set of professional practices that are authorized by the state and motivated by some form of legislation and written charter” (Harrison, 2013:14). The juridical and financial interventions, and thus the powers of the state in terms of heritage preservation, are also demonstrated in this case (Bourdieu, 1998:33). Still, this inhabitant opposed these powers of the directorate by disregarding their commands and declining the subsidies, thereby showing the abilities or powers of the public, though these powers are less formal and legitimate. Lastly, this example shows the clash between the informal knowledge attained by experience and traditions, and the formal knowledge (the cultural capital) academically attained, represented by the official heritage management apparatus. In the end, the informal knowledge was defeated.

The claim made that our relationship to the past is subjective and formed in the present may hardly be as relevant as in the case of the window bars (Harrison, 2013, Smith, 2006). Furthermore, the case above proves how the ways we judge heritage depend on the cultural and socio-economic context (2013:14); in other words: It depends on contemporary aesthetic ideas and fashions. This case shows even how the subjective judgement of the professionals working within the cultural heritage management sector might be a determinant for the directories in cultural heritage management. It therefore proves the authority of the experts, and how they set the premises for how heritage is preserved and valued.

The case above can exemplify the institutionalized power of the technical and aesthetic expertise that the Authorized Heritage Discourse is said to rely on (Smith, 2006), who can also be said to be the rightful “stewards of the past” due to their knowledge and competence. As Smith has outlined, the heritage discourse is dominated by a certain elite within the heritage sector, being architects, historians or archaeologists, who control the meaning and valuation of heritage sites (Smith, 2006:29, 30). The experts or the cultural heritage managers at the Directorate for Culture and the local heritage divisions in Angra do Heroísmo may be regarded as such an elite, whose taste and ideas influence the outlook of Angra. Smith also

draws on the ways in which the Authorized Heritage Discourse is institutionalized, and UNESCO and ICOMOS with their policies are used as examples of authorizing institutions of heritage which “define what heritage is, how and why it is significant, and how it should be managed and used” (Smith, 2006:87). These institutions can also be said to frame the management of Angra do Heroísmo through conventions and guidelines. However, I will argue that the heritage division responsible for the preservation of Angra do Heroísmo, such as the Regional Directorate for Culture²², can be an example of an authorizing institution of heritage, by its official and institutional means and policies which set premises for the heritage preservation in the Azores and Angra do Heroísmo.

The aluminium windows

At the end of the interview with the woman who experienced polemics with the window bars, I was given a tour of the house and shown the backyard. In the back of the house, I took notice of the aluminium windows that had replaced the former wooden windows. The aluminium windows in the city have been the subject of much controversy, as they are not allowed within the classified centre. Article 11, 4 of the legal framework states that: “On the existing buildings, the frames on doors and windows shall always be built in painted *wood*” (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A, my emphasis). The substitution of wooden windows for aluminium windows in Angra do Heroísmo is derived from the practical difficulties in maintaining the wooden windows. The wooden windows easily deteriorate due to the damp climate and salty winds from the Atlantic, and it is seen as time consuming and costly to preserve the wooden windows in the city. One way of going around the law is to keep the wooden windows in the front part of the house, while changing to aluminium windows in the back. I have seen this upon many occasions within the city, as it is a violation which has proved to be difficult to control. Thus, we can see how there becomes a front stage and a back stage, some of which have been some of the consequences of regulations concerned with facades, which was also seen in Visby (Ronström, 2007:186-188).

However, the aluminium windows of the informant in this case were observed and remarked on by the officials upon a visit to the house conducted so as to evaluate whether she was entitled to certain subsidies, but due to her use of aluminium she did not obtain any subsidies: “Look you don’t have any rights. You put aluminium here”, they said according to this interviewee. The informant further told how she was very disappointed about this fact, especially when she discovered that her house was used as an example of a well- preserved house in Angra. She felt this to be unfair, and she told about how the official explained it:

²² I would like to point out how Angra do Heroísmo is an atypical case, being an autonomous region with its autonomous parliament, administration and legal framework, yet being part of Portugal. Thus, it cannot be compared to the regional authorities in for example Norway or Sweden.

“I think it was very bad that you have done this, because we usually use your house when we have to make documents for UNESCO as an example of a house that is particularly well conserved” and I said: “So you are obtaining subsidies from UNESCO by using my house, but you will not help me to preserve my house.” (Interview 24)

However, the city of Angra do Heroísmo did not obtain substantial funding by using this house, as Angra do Heroísmo has attained little funding from UNESCO (UNESCO, 2014a). The house has most likely been used to report about the state of preservation. The preoccupation with what the city of Angra do Heroísmo has obtained from UNESCO by using her house is not the important element in this case. I have only given it relevance, as it is an example of the discrepancy or dissonance between official cultural heritage management and the citizens. Moreover, it is also proving what many of the inhabitants have pointed out, that they feel there is a certain unfairness in the legal framework, and that the citizens are “paying the price” in order to preserve Angra do Heroísmo according to the preferences of the officials.

Furthermore, the use of aluminium windows instead of wooden windows gives evidence of differences in practice and policies, or divergences between the illegitimate conduct of maintaining a house and legitimate conducts, as well as showing how aesthetics overrule practicalities. The inconvenience of the wooden windows is used as an argument for the use of aluminium. Illegitimate ways of maintaining the housing facilities were equally addressed in a study of the World Heritage City of Cuba de Trinidad, in which there was observed, “a serious dissonance between ideals in regards to the conservation of the city and the practical problems which comes from living with this heritage” (Hasli, 2009:93, author’s translation).

After both obtaining the views of the informants and observing several conversations among the citizens about the aluminium/wood window dilemma, I raised the issue upon interviewing a lawyer at the municipality, who admitted that certain aspects of the legal framework were ready for revision. In regards to the wooden windows, he knew that there were certain PVC materials that might resemble a wooden window. However, he said that the regulations for the material of roof covers had brought about a larger discussion than simply the windows (Interview 41). In the legal framework, it is stated that: “The roofs shall be covered with argyle ceramic tiles, in ‘canudo’ shape with a brownish aged colour, with their eaves finished either with single or double layer of the same kind of tiles, mounted with mortars” (Legislative Regional Decree 15/2004/A, article 10). The inhabitants have equally addressed the problems of using “regional tiles” or “old tiles”, as they are referred to, since they are fragile and due to the constant problem with humidity and winds they cause leakages. One informant stressed this aspect, and how they use new tiles underneath the old:

[...], but the thing is with the huge winds and the velocity of the winds that come every year to this island, of course that this is not the best architectonical solution, so sometimes it rains inside of the people's homes like in my home. (Interview 3)

I further addressed the issue of living and maintaining a house within the classified zone with representatives from the heritage sector, and the former director of the Conservation Office was most aware of the predicaments of the inhabitants in Angra. He also emphasized that it is important to solve the practical problems of the citizens so as to facilitate their living situation in the classified zone:

If you solve the problems of comfort, living in a historic home, people will not care if this is an historic house, they accept, but if they are living in an historic house too windy, too cold without warm water and so on. (Interview 27)

This informant has first-hand knowledge about the challenges of maintaining a house within the classified zone, as he is a citizen himself. The time he spent as the director for the Conservation Office was complex, as he processed the cases of friends and relatives applying for subsidies or permission to undertake restoration or rebuilding work. He admitted that he tried to be a good example. Several of the interviewees from the heritage management sector and cultural sector live within the classified zone. Upon visits made to their homes, it is obvious that they belong to these sectors, as their houses are often restored according to the guidelines. This may be due to professional interest and ideals, but it may also be due to the fact that they have the necessary resources. However, their houses show a typical middle-class taste – light and pleasant colours, designer sofas, bookshelves and a mix of family photos and antiquities and contemporary art and design. Thus, it may be true to say that they have also transformed the historical houses to the current style and fashion.

Even though many of the citizens oppose the regulations and regard them as causing practical difficulties, when I ask the interviewees if they appreciate the present outlook of the city, most of the inhabitants admit that they prefer that Angra do Heroísmo maintains its current characteristics – its historical outlook. Additionally, some of the inhabitants emphasize that the restrictions are less rigorous today. I have observed inhabitants making comparisons with the capital of Ponta Delgada,²³ where there are less restrictions in terms of conservation and contemporary development, emphasizing how they do not want the same outlook in Angra. Indeed, one of the respondents from the cultural sector believes the

²³ Ponta Delgada is the capital of the Azores, situated on the island San Miguel.

protection gives the people a security and predictability for the future (Interview 27).

The data shows how there is a consensus in regard to the importance of preserving Angra, but there is also a dissonance between the public and the cultural heritage management apparatus due to the inconsistency shown by the management apparatus, in addition to the impractical provisions in the guidelines. Haslie made a similar finding; the inhabitants of Trinidad de Cuba desired to preserve and take care of their houses, but they wanted as well to make the necessary modernizations and extensions. Though in this case, the inhabitants also wanted to rearrange their houses in order to receive tourists (Haslie, 2009:93-94). In the study at Røros, several of the stakeholders from the practical field similarly stressed how there was an ambiguity in the management apparatus (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:62). However, I would argue that the public's conduct and discontent in terms of the guidelines can also affect the policies and the bureaucrats, and the statement made by the lawyer who believed the regulations were due for revision confirms this. What is more, the latter and the statement of the former director at the Conservation Office show that the predicaments of the inhabitants, in terms of maintaining their housing facilities, are perceived by the official cultural heritage management apparatus or the experts set to manage Angra. In other words they are perceived by representatives of the Authorized Heritage Discourse. Hence, we see how the public can change the ideas and concepts within the discourse. As previously shown, I argue that the AHD is dynamic and affected by current socio-economic conditions.

7.3 “The second earthquake” – the Problem of the Termites

The top floor of the City Hall is full of termites, it is terrible, it is a plague. Many people say that it is the second earthquake. (Interview 7)

As this quote gives witness of, the citizens in Angra do Heroísmo are presently confronted with an additional challenge because a great part of the classified zone is infested by termites. The termites are a plague throughout the archipelago, but the inferior areas are the city centres of Angra do Heroísmo and the capital of Ponta Delgada in San Miguel. After several years of research, four types of termites have been detected, but it is the termite *Cryptotermes brevis* (Walker), a dry wood termite originally from Chile, which is causing the greatest threat to the existing building stock in the Azores. The Azorean climate conditions along with the Azorean civil architecture, which usually have roof cover, ceilings and floors made of wood, creates favourable conditions for the infestation to expand (Legislative Regional Decree No. 22/2010/A).

Like the interviewee states above, many in Angra do Heroísmo call the termite infestation in the city “The Second Earthquake”, as some of the houses are being

severely attacked and in danger of collapsing. The city hall is no exception, as the interviewee working for the municipality confirms above. The somewhat sad irony in this case is the fact that it is believed that the termites were brought to the island with the materials imported to reconstruct the city after the earthquake in 1980. Thus, the first earthquake may have caused a second earthquake. Even so, this has not been fully verified, and there are several theories about how the termites arrived circulating among the citizens. In the following, I will address how the stakeholders involved relate to and deal with the termite infestation, and analyse their logic, values and interests.

One of the interviewees living within the classified zone was one of the first to alert the city about the termites after detecting a vast infestation in his house. Several homeowners had most likely noticed the termites as well, but nobody dared talking about it, as it may have been considered to be taboo. Though by the time the interviewee discovered it, his house was already completely infested. The interviewee gave a tour around the house and showed me the attic, which had been severely attacked.

Interviewee: Here on the top, this is where the biggest problem with the termites was, everything here on the top was in wood and everything, everything was eaten by termites, so I started making a big [new] roof.

M: What kind of material is this?

Interviewee: This is metal. (Interview 9)

Due to the complete infestation of the roof and the supporting structures on the top floor, the owner made a new roof in metal, in addition to substituting all the supporting pillars with metal. However, metal is an unauthorized material for reconstruction within the classified zone. Several of my interviewees gave me these tours around their houses and showed me the parts being infested, but this was the only time I saw such a complete restoration of a roof due to a termite's destruction.

I also addressed the termite infestation with the officials in the city, and mentioned how the homeowners replaced the infested wooden structures with metal with one of the monitors. During a brief conversation, I was informed how the inhabitants were allowed to substitute the wooden constructions with metal, but if they did so they would not receive any financial help from the government, as this act deviated from the conservation guidelines. According to the regulations, only the use of wooden material would provide subsidies. However, the monitor regarded the replacement with the use of aluminium to be a problem because it is not suited in case of earthquakes. It was further explained how the aluminium would not be as flexible as wood in the case of an earthquake, and I was told how there should be more information about this predicament (field notes, 30.06.2011).

Nonetheless, the former director of the Conservation Office defended the actions made by the citizens, as he believed they were not getting the proper help to solve the problem:

They are let alone in the middle of the desert, and they start solving their own problems. How can you solve it? Change! The heritage is a bad guy, the heritage office, the heritage cabinet, DRAC, the municipality, they are the bad guys because they are obliging us, pushing us to keep on using wood, and termites will eat wood. Instead of discussing how can I...? No. Change! (Interview 27)

As the citation above bears witness to, this informant believed that many of the citizens are substituting the wood with metal because they do not know any other solution to the problem. Moreover, the quote stresses the lack of dialog and cooperation between the heritage management and the inhabitants in regards to the problem of the termite infestation.

May the problem of the termites be resolved?

A research group at the University of the Azores is presently engaged in investigating how to exterminate the termites, and they control a great part of the houses with technical surveyors and counters, but they have still not made any firm conclusions in this regard²⁴. However, one important aspect has simply been to inform the citizens about the termites. During the fieldwork in 2011, there was an information campaign which for instance involved a door-to-door campaign that sought to inform the citizens about the present infestation, as many were still unaware of what the termites really were and how to avoid or diminish the infestation. Nevertheless, when talking to the people participating in the campaign, they made me aware of the problem of communicating the information to the public. One of the reasons for these problems was due to the fact that there are illiterates in the city, as well as some who were not able to understand the information being handed out (field notes 02.07.2011).

Several stakeholders uttered their discontent about the lack of action and initiatives made by the municipality and the regional government so as to address and amend the problem of the termites. The former director at the Conservation Office stated firmly that: “You don’t have the government acting on it as they should” (Interview 27). He continued: “They are discussing the problem of the termites. [...] Yesterday I discovered another spot of termites in my house” (ibid). Though the government and the municipality are considering what to do, he believes there should be more action made, as the problem is growing. He

²⁴ In April 2015 it was presented a treatment for the infestation (Thermo Lignum Azores, 2015).

acknowledged the investigation undertaken by the university, but to him there was no time to await any lengthy research:

Poster used in the information campaign about the termites, Angra do Heroísmo 2011. It reads: “You can fit a thousand in a pocket, but they will destroy the house completely” Photo: Marit Johansson

They are studying it. They are friends of mine, and sometimes I am saying that: “You are studying it very scientifically.” How can I tell the people how to resolve their own problems? [...] In 20 years you will have no houses at all. You will know how to solve the problem that does not exist anymore because the houses have disappeared (laughing). (Interview 27)

The attack of the termites is also putting the prevailing conservation regulations to the test. The general legal framework for the classified zone does not take into account the infestation and its effect on the heritage, as well as not giving any suggested amendments in this regard. However, a new law, which addresses the problem of the termites, was approved by the regional government: Decreto Legislativo Regional No. 22/2010/A. The aim of this law is to give financial assistance to the homeowners in the infested areas in the Azores, in addition to finding solutions to the problem.

One informant in Angra do Heroísmo, who brought to my attention these new legal provisions, was not too generous as to the true effect of these provisions in one of our later correspondences, he stated accordingly:

As you see, the document is big and complicated for most people. This is a problem with the laws and bureaucracy in Portugal. It seems like it is only made for a few

people who understand and who know how to use it to their advantage. (Personal communication 09.08.2012)

This informant gives voice to a universal challenge, namely the problem of making laws and regulations understandable to the common person. During several interviews with the inhabitants, I noticed that there were a certain confusion in regard to the legal framework and what the laws really entailed. The informant above clearly believes that it is important that bureaucratic procedures are made simple and understandable, so that everybody may profit from governmental funding and assistance. Furthermore, he believes the legal framework should not just be comprehensible to the ones who know how the system works. Hence, this informant stresses the democratic aspect of making policies and procedures available for all levels of society.

Again, we can see the contradicting interests and values of the antiquarian field and the practical field (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:33-38). In this case, the practical field is represented by the inhabitants who are valuing practical functionality and a durable solution for the interest of their housing facilities and modern needs. The inhabitants have the practical knowledge of living in a historic house and the day-to-day experience of handling the problem of the termites. The antiquarian field is represented by the heritage managers who are set to execute and manage the preservation guidelines. This field holds the academic knowledge about the termites and the construction materials, but may not possess the daily experience with the termites and the insight into the practical problems which the termites are causing for the homeowners. As described earlier, some of the heritage managers do, however, live within the infested areas. The value of the antiquarian field can be said to be a preservation of the traditional materials and the heritage of Angra. Their overall interest is to ensure the compliance of the preservation guidelines, guarantee the preservation of Angra and warrant secure buildings. Yet, we can also see how there are diverging views within the antiquarian field, as the former director at the Conservation Office stressed how it is understandable that the inhabitants started resolving the matters in their own way all the time, while the researchers and managers do not offer a solution to the problem. He thought as well that too much value was being given to investigation instead of action.

Thus, one may say that there is a discrepancy or dissonance between the two fields which is caused by diverging types of knowledge, values and interests. In regard to the power relations in this case, we can say that the antiquarian field holds the legitimate power in terms of their competence in managing the guidelines. Even so, the homeowners hold an illegitimate power in the sense that they have the possibility to oppose the legal framework by continuing the substitution of wood by metal (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:77).

Finally, in the case of the termites the nature culture duality appears, and we can see nature's impact on the human world (Latour, 1993). This proves how we

can never be separated from nature. It is not even escapable in a city which is the ultimate expression of a modern society: a place where nature has almost been removed. Despite this fact, nature forces its way through and affects the habitation of the citizens as well as their actions. The infestation is threatening the built heritage in Angra, and even the very existence of the World Heritage Site, as the interviewee pointed out: there is hardly a problem to be resolved anymore as the problem is about to disappear as the termites slowly destroy the built heritage of the city. Furthermore, and as I was told, the problem will continue as long as some houses within the city still remain infested since the termites spread rapidly from an infested house. There needs to be a complete and common extermination of the termites if the city is going to be free of the problem.

7.4 Doing business in a World Heritage City – limits and possibilities

Another party needing to adhere to the regulations for the classified zone are the business owners in the city, some of whom can also be said to belong to the commercial field. The outlook of stores within historical city centres is commonly regulated so as to have modern commerce to coincide with the historical outlook (Ronström, 2007, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011). The shops and other businesses within the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo are similarly controlled for the same purpose. I undertook five interviews with selected business owners within the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo – being owners of renowned and traditional stores, as well as new business owners having recently opened their business in the city. These shopkeepers were in the business of groceries, shoes, clothes or food. In addition to these interviewees, I attained general information about this topic during the course of my fieldwork. The regulations which they need to adhere to concern, e.g. the outlook of facades and advertisements as described in Chapter 2.3 (Legislative Regional Decree No.15/2004/A, Chapter IV). Examples of such regulations are how:

The advertisements shall be executed in durable materials, resistant and with good aesthetic quality, such as varnished or painted wood, polished or brushed stainless steel, cast iron, copper or brass. [...] plastic and aluminium is not allowed. [...] dimensions of advertisement signs shall be adjusted to the specific building and the advertisement [...] and shall not have their own illumination. (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A, chapter IV, article 23rd, 2f, g, h, i)

From a first glance, it seems like most of the shopkeepers are respecting the regulations. There are hardly any gloomy signs or advertisements in Angra, and most of the stores have a clean facade with little other than the name of the store. Therefore, this poses questions in terms of the premises for marketing or branding within a World Heritage City, and I aimed to study the conditions for the business

owners in Angra do Heroísmo. Firstly, I raised the issue with the mayor, who gave the following response:

Interviewee: There are specific rules for advertising. For example, you cannot put aluminous advertisement. There are serious constraints.

M: Has there been conflicts?

Interviewee: People have gotten used to the rules. But for some time, yes, the people didn't like this interference and rules that were this limited. (Interview 19)

This response coincides with the answer she gave on the matter of the regulations for the private houses in Angra. In sum, I can state that the level of conflict towards the regulations has diminished over the years. One of the shopkeepers also stated that the restrictions were previously more rigorous – at the time of “the Gabinete” (Conservation Office). She explained that when she opened the store about 10 years ago, she asked for permission to exchange the front door for a modern glass door. The permission from the then Conservation Office was declined, but “now I see a lot of others who do this”, she said (Interviewee 26). Another interviewee explained how the regulations which came from the classification had caused some problem for the stores:

With the regulations, with the regulatory body which was created after the classification, one of the consequences was the restrictions for the structure and outlook of the shops. It had consequences for the organization of the shop, the public display, the way the windows were arranged to expose the products, the ads themselves, the size and internal arrangement et cetera. Now, this created a problem. (Interview 16)

This interviewee believed the regulations drew away some of the business owners in the city, while in return it increased the possibilities for commerce outside of Angra do Heroísmo, such as supermarkets. “Due to that, the commerce in the city entered a crisis, which still exists. Just look at the main street, Rua de Sé, with shops closed, others of very poor quality and houses in ruins” (Interview 16). He believed further that the other city in Terceira, Praia da Vitória, benefitted from the crisis in Angra. However, he did stress that the regulations have changed, but he believed it would take some time before the commerce recovered. Similarly, Ronström points out how certain businesses such as grocery stores, hardware stores and health services have moved out of the inner city of Visby, and that the density of design shops and cafés have increased (2014:11), some of which can also be seen in the case of Røros (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:67).

I asked further about how they regarded their possibilities of marketing within the restrictions they needed to adhere to. One of the other business owners stated

accordingly: “We have been doing some marketing during the [...] years, but we have done little. What I use [...] is to treat to the customers well. [...] I think that is the best marketing” (Interview 36). Several of the interviewees did not think there was a great concern with the restrictions in regard to the advertisement, and as the interviewee above pointed out, they thought it was more important to have other and more informal channels of advertisement. Another business owner similarly stated that word-of-mouth was more important (Interview 37). Hence, being a small city, rumours travel easily and many have regular customers. All the interviewees accepted the regulations for the facades and nobody stated that the shops were suffering from a restricted ability to advertise, though one of the owners said they were given a fine for the acrylic plaque they put on the facade. She explained that: “Acrylic is not acceptable. This is a historical city. It has to be [wood].”²⁵ Despite the fine she received, the plaque is still there. Some of which gives evidence of the limitations of the cultural heritage management apparatus to control the classified area, as well as it shows the illegitimate power of the public.

Before taking on this study I thought the issue of signage and marketing was more disputed, as restrictions for the facades have caused polemics in other World Heritage Cities (Ronström, 2007, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007). Like in the Norwegian World Heritage City of Røros, the question about signage has been one of the main conflicts. The conflict augmented when the Shell gas station erected a large sign with the Shell logo. The council did not approve of the sign, which they thought was displeasing for a World Heritage Site, and finally the signs were required to be removed. Fageraas and Guttormsen argued that this was “a conflict between the ideal picture of Røros as an antiquarian wooden house city and the need for modern marketing for the business owners” (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:62, author’s translation).

Owe Ronström gave the following reflection on the outlook of the World Heritage City of Visby in Sweden: “The signs, the facades, the alleys show an impressive front stage presentation of the city with an important message: Visby is old and valuable! Visby is Medieval!” (2007:44, author’s translation). According to Ronström, Visby is trying to live up to the ideal of a medieval town, similar to the antiquarian ideal pointed out at Røros. Ronström states further that the project to enhance the visual impression of Visby as medieval became all the more important to pursue after the enlistment of the city. In fact, it was made clear in the beginning of the nomination process that Visby should be more of what it used to be, and consequently Visby needs to be “changed and refined, renewed and antiquated” (2007:126). And as a result, the historical inner city of Visby was restored prior to the classification or in order to be classified (ibid). Ronström also argues that Visby’s central zone underwent an aesthetization in the framework of UNESCO’s World Heritage (2007:201). From the preservation guidelines for

²⁵ “Acrylic materials may be exceptionally accepted, when strongly justified and having proved its high aesthetic value” (Legislative Regional Decree Nr. 15/2004/A, chapter IV, article 23rd, 2, g).

Angra do Heroísmo given as an example above, we can see how aesthetic values are emphasized and that modern materials are excluded or limited.

Though interviewees emphasize that the restrictions are currently less rigorous, and that there are examples of houses within the city that are suffering from decay, it can be argued that Angra do Heroísmo has gone through an equal aesthetization, and is pursuing the same historic and antiquarian ideal pointed out in both Visby and Røros through the regulations concerning the facades of the stores. Ronström calls this a “World Heritage production” in which aesthetization is both a mean and an aim (2007:202). Indeed, it was highlighted by one of the informants how the city had gone through an overall facelift after the earthquake.

Yet again, the case of Angra do Heroísmo touches upon the subject of authenticity or how preservation can give a pseudo-historical outlook, as the guidelines for these cities are instead based on present ideals and fashions which aim to give a sense of nostalgia (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011:455). Previously, I have related this to a constructionistic authenticity (cf. Wang 1999 and Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011). However, Lowenthal draws on the fabrication of heritage and its modes (1998). Even if he addresses historical accounts more than a tangible heritage, his work can be used to explain how restoration guidelines of historical cities fabricate its object and give a semi-historical outlook.

Lowenthal gives several suggestions of “common ways in which heritage alters the past” or improves the past. Firstly, it *upgrades* in order to improve how it used to be. All three cities mentioned above can be said to have attained an aesthetically upgrade in reference to what the informants in Angra have described (Chapter 5.3.1), along with the aesthetization process in the case of Visby. Secondly, he believes it *updates* as we restore the objects according to “modern preferences” (Lowenthal, 1998:12). The fluctuations in trends in the guidelines for Angra were for instance shown by the case of the glass doors, which were not allowed 20 years ago, but which are accepted today. This is, however another example of how the ideas of the experts or the representatives of the AHD set the premises for the “historical” outlook of the city (Smith, 2006). Thirdly, it selectively *forgets* the inappropriate (Lowenthal, 1998:12). In the case of Angra, one can say that generally speaking, decay, the unpainted or the indecorous are forgotten, though there are buildings which are unsupervised or still not reconstructed after the 1980 earthquake, just as the poverty and pollution in the previous mining society is “forgotten” in the present clean Røros. Another point made by Lowenthal is how the reshaping of heritage, while forgetting some parts and highlighting others, makes it easier to be embraced and consumed by the public (1998:13), and he sums up by stating that “to reshape is as vital as to preserve” (1998:19).

“The Gym” – Maintaining a business within the classified area

It was of interest to see how the business owners rather drew attention to other concerns which derived from having a store in a classified area. One of these concerns was the limited ability to adapt the interiors to their business: “As for the outside part I agree, but for the inside you should have more liberty do to as you like” (Interview 36). The owner of a restaurant in the city stated similarly that it is challenging to have a restaurant in a classified house due to the restrictions concerning the interiors. The owner of this restaurant was not given permission to make the house more accessible and practical, and she told how the men delivering groceries call her restaurant “The Gym” because the kitchen is on the first floor, and they need to carry all the deliveries through the front entrance and up the stairs.

Furthermore, she explained how they have to take the garbage out the same way. Due to the inconvenience of the housing structure, she needs in fact more people working. The garbage is a general problem in the city, as there is little space for the bins on the sidewalks due to the limited historical city centre, and most of the garbage bags are simply placed outside the houses and the stores. The owner of this restaurant complained about the fact that the garbage is picked up at eight – one hour after she opens her restaurant, and sometimes she needs to pour perfume on the litter cans so to remove some of the smell, as the only place to store the garbage is in the street just outside the restaurant.

Another aspect which she finds demanding is the limited possibilities to adapt the restaurant to the needs of disabled people – a person in a wheelchair cannot access the restaurant on the first floor. As I will show in the next part of this chapter, when addressing the regulations for the streets within Angra do Heroísmo, preservation regulations might have a democratic predicament, as the regulations could exclude certain groups of society, such as in this case where the restrictions are excluding the disabled from the restaurant because the regulations do not allow for alterations of the building.

Though the restrictions in regard to the interior trigger discussions and practical problems, I would venture to suggest, like the mayor stated, that the controversies with the regulations have diminished over the years. The new regulations which derived from the enlistment brought about discussions, as it gave the citizens new restrictions and put limits on their previous actions, but as several pointed out, the regulations are less rigorous today. Several also point to the fact that there are other and more informal types of marketing which are more important. As well, it can be argued that the business owners have adapted their business to the new laws.

However, the business owners are also concerned about the lack of parking space in the city. One of the shopkeepers gave the following comment: “Our city is about to die in terms of people because of the lack of parking” (Interview 36). He believed people would prefer to be shopping at the supermarket outside of the city centre due to better parking facilities found there. The problems concerning

parking and the limited space for cars and traffic in general within Angra have been commented on by a great deal of the interviewees. The lack of space for traffic and parking facilities derives from the fact that the urban plan from the 15th and 16th century does not give space for such modern concerns. This is, however, a known problem in historical cities, as their urban plan might not be apt for modern traffic.

In a survey carried out among the inhabitants in the World Heritage City of Quebec in Canada, a lack of parking facilities was given as the greatest disadvantage of living within the classified area (Evans, 2002:133). A similar concern was addressed at Røros, in which the problem of parking in the historic area had increased the commerce at the shopping malls (Fageraas and Guttormsen, 2007:67). Ronström also points out how “the medieval alleys and backyards” are not “easily combined with cars and parking lots” (Ronström, 2014:11), though the problem in Angra do Heroísmo has been amended by constructing two parking lots outside of the city centre with shuttles going frequently to and from these two parking lots.

Lastly, one can argue that most of the interviewees portrayed in this chapter represent the practical field in the sense that they address the practical challenges when running a business or a restaurant within a historical city. They drew attention to matters such as accessibility, the inconvenience of the historical buildings and the restoration laws which do not allow for alterations that give modern and more practical standards.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to highlight some of the discussions arising upon living- and conducting business in a classified area, as well as the predicaments of monitoring a living World Heritage. The discussion concerning the Conservation Office shows how cultural heritage is political and an object of political controversy. One can also claim that the case illustrates what Ronström thought to be the very essence of heritage politics, being something which moves the perspective “from the past to the present; making heritage into something which people fight with and about, here and now” (2007:24, 25, author’s translation). Moreover, it demonstrates that heritage preservation may cause democratic predicaments. In this case, the voice of the people forced the politicians to moderate the regulations, as well as the politicians and the municipality wanting a better control over the heritage management within their territory. On the basis of Vestheim’s argumentation that “in democratic elections – politicians – represent public interests in the classical liberal sense as spokesmen of the ‘common will’” and may be thrown out if the public disapproves of their actions and policies (Vestheim, 2012: 499), we can say that the closure of the Conservation Office adhered to some of the main principles of a liberal democracy. In the controversy of the Conservation Office, we also saw how the stakeholders represent two different fields: the antiquarian field and the practical field (Guttormsen and

Fageraas, 2007:30-38). The stakeholders who are in favour of the Conservation Office can be said to belong to the antiquarian field, where knowledge is treasured and conservation is of great intrinsic value. The stakeholders opposed to the Conservation Office represent the practical field being concerned about the practicalities of the homeowners and the obstacles of the preservation restriction. This field values development and economic aspects. Though, institutionally, one of the representatives of this field can also be said to belong to the antiquarian field.

The case of the window bars was given as an example of one discussion between an inhabitant and the official cultural heritage management apparatus, and it demonstrates the definition power of the experts or the official heritage management and thus the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006), as well as the financial and juridical means of the official heritage expertise or institutions, in terms of setting the premises for the preservation and presentation of heritage. However, the case of the window bars and the aluminium windows illustrate how the Authorized Heritage Discourse is dynamic and discursive, both in terms of internal changes and external pressures (the public), which can change its notions and ideas. What is more it draws attention to the subject of authenticity, and Angra's authenticity can be seen from a constructionistic perspective which emphasis the ways in which the "authentic" is based on authorized views, ideals and powers. Hence, it is a social construction. (Wang, 1999, Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011).

The infestation of the termites puts the conservation of Angra do Heroísmo, the legal framework and the management apparatus to additional tests, as the termites infest the valid materials, though being an invalid material, metal structures are not appropriate in the case of an earthquake, as one representative from the heritage management apparatus stressed. The infestation is a grave problem that the inhabitants are confronted with daily, and it may rightfully be called the second earthquake, as it slowly deteriorates the housing facilities in the city. This case similarly heightened the divergent interests and values of the practical field and the antiquarian field. The homeowners represent the practical field in this case.

What is more, the latter cases accentuate the differences between policies and practices, a tendency which has been detected in other World Heritage Cities (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, Haslie, 2009). Hence, on the one hand there are the ideals and valid preservation guidelines, but on the other we can see from these examples that practicalities make the legitimate preservation guidelines difficult, unpractical or inconvenient for the inhabitants (the practical field), thus the invalid methods or materials are chosen because it is easier, more practical or uncomplicated. The use of aluminium windows instead of the obligatory wooden windows, and the substitution of wood for metal structures due to the termite infestation, show that practice sometimes contradicts the ideal preservation and the legitimate preservation guidelines. Guttormsen and Fageraas explain how a large

room to manoeuvre gives a mismatch between preservation ideals and practice at Røros (2007:76). In the case of Røros, these researchers give an emphasis to how certain actors or interest groups influence the development processes. There are obvious differences between the two cases of Røros and Angra do Heroísmo; nevertheless, the model made by Guttormsen and Fageraas can be used in the case of Angra.

Figure shows the room to manoeuvre; based on Guttormsen and Fageraas 2007:77

The model shows the room to manoeuvre for heritage preservation in Angra do Heroísmo. The legitimate power are the managers, who hold the preservation ideals and who are the legitimate managers of this World Heritage City. The grey shaded area represents preservation, which is in accordance with the ideals of the managers and the legal preservation guidelines. The darker shaded area is the practice and the conduct that does not coincide with the principles, the legal guidelines and the demands of the legitimate power. The illegitimate power is represented by for instance the inhabitants who have power in the sense that they can choose whether to follow the guidelines or not. The example of the interviewee, who disclaimed the subsidies because she refused to follow the recommendations of the managers, offers an example of the illegitimate power of the inhabitants in terms of preservation. Moreover, the power of the inhabitants and the limitations of the heritage management sector were equally pointed out in the World Heritage City of Trinidad de Cuba (Haslie, 2009:95).

The last part in this chapter addressed the regulations of stores and advertisements in Angra do Heroísmo. As emphasized by the interviewees, the regulations first brought about certain problems, and one interviewee explained how the commerce in the city entered a crisis due to the restrictions. However, the regulations as well as the opposition towards them have been moderated, as both business owners and the mayor accentuated. Some of the interviewees portrayed

above were not concerned about the restricted means of marketing; rather, they emphasized the importance of having a good reputation and the use of more informal channels of marketing. They were instead concerned about the practical challenges which come from running a business within a historical city centre, such as limited parking space due to the narrow urban plan and the limitations of the regulations in terms of adjusting the facilities to the needs of the business.

The regulations in terms of facades have undoubtedly given Angra an overall aesthetically pleasing outlook which coincides with what other historical cities experiences, namely an aesthetization of the cityscape that may be more of a fabrication of heritage than a correct reproduction. Lowenthal has coined this as “fabricated heritage”, in which aspects of heritage are upgraded, updated and/or forgotten (1998:12). Thus, you get a cityscape where the design, signs and modern shops appear as old and antique, in order to enhance nostalgia and give a pleasing environment to consume.

Lastly, one can return to the mayor, who stressed the need and ability to maintain an equilibrium between the past and the present. The examples given in the foregoing are all touching upon the past-present-dichotomy, as they accentuate the dilemmas that rise upon preserving heritage while ensuring the needs of the current inhabitants and the commercial life of the city. Based on the response given by the interviewees, it can be said that the restrictions are minor today and that the opposition has diminished over the years, though they are still preoccupied with the practical challenges, the inconvenience in the guidelines and the limitations they hold. However, there are others who would argue that the softening of the conservation regulations and the closure of the Conservation Office have given an uncontrolled and less preserved city, as shown by the interviewees from the antiquarian field in the chapter concerning the Conservation Office (7.1). Similar attitudes have occurred during the fieldwork, such as “they used to take care of the city” or “it [the classification] was to preserve the city, but it is not preserving it.” Therefore, I would argue that the city’s ability to maintain a balance between the past and the present depends on the interviewees asked and the field or interest they represent.

The next chapter involves the streets in Angra do Heroísmo. The discussion concerning the cobblestone streets was introduced in the introductory part of this thesis, and this discussion will be further presented and analysed in the next chapter.

8 When the Cobblestones Cause Debate

In the introduction to this thesis, it was described how one of the inhabitants suffered from an accident when hurrying for work one rainy morning in Angra do Heroísmo. As explained, the car which approached her slid on the wet and slippery cobblestones as she stepped into the pedestrian crossing, and an accident could not be avoided. The woman survived with only minor injuries, yet she was traumatized by the incident. Teresa Mendes, who was the victim of the accident, told about how it happened:

Unfortunately, I suffered a run over in a pedestrian crossing, in just this street very near to my home. I pass by it and walk it every day when going to work. And it is part of-, and it is included in the protection area of the classification. [...] [The pavement] is very, very slippery – hugely slippery. It is a danger, constantly. It was a rainy day and the man who was driving lost control of his car. He was driving very slowly. He was already being careful and he took me in the crossing and it was a horrible situation. Due to that specific situation that occurred, I could have died. I am still convinced of that, but it was sheer luck that nothing happened. [...] and I have been witnessing, since then and previous to my accident, many situations because of the pavement.

Rua de Miragaia, Angra do Heroísmo, 2013. Photo: David Torell

The interviewee believed the poor quality of the pavement was to blame for the accident, and she stresses above how this is a general problem in the city. According to the preservation guidelines for the classified zone, all streets and sidewalks in Angra do Heroísmo shall be paved with basalt stone and chalkstone (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A, chapter III, article 10). Hence, most of the historical city centre is paved with cobblestones, and some parts hold the typical Portuguese pavement – *Calçada Portuguesa*, a technique which originates from the 19th century (Matos, 2006: 7), being a decorative pavement where the white chalkstone makes shapes and pictures in the black volcanic cobblestones.²⁶ However, as it is stated in the quote above, the pavement is now causing daily problems for the pedestrians as well as the cars, as it is slippery and in a poor state. Taking into account that the Azores has a humid climate which gives an even more slippery surface, it is a true problem for the citizens.

As a consequence of her accident the woman initiated a campaign and petition in order to make the municipality aware of the constant problems and dangers this pavement is causing. The campaign was carried out while I was conducting fieldwork in 2011, and it attained the attention of the local media in addition to being discussed among the citizens. Consequently, the issue was addressed, either by me or the interviewee, in some of the interviews with public servants and the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo. I also conducted an interview with the initiator of the campaign as well as attaining general information about the subject as she is a friend and I also lived in her apartment during my 2011 fieldwork. On the basis of the data obtained through interviews, observation studies and the petition's website, the aim of this chapter is to study the nature of the discussion concerning the cobblestones, plus to study the resources, arguments and values put forth by the stakeholders, not to mention their relative powers and forces. What are seen as the consequences of the preservation policies for the streets of Angra do Heroísmo? In which sense is the World Heritage Status affecting the discussion?

8.1 A petition triggered by an accident in the streets of Angra

Upon interviewing Mendes, she underscored that it had been important for her before launching this campaign to obtain more information about the legal situation in Angra do Heroísmo. She explained how she contacted the Portuguese national commission for UNESCO in Lisbon, only to be forwarded to the local monitors:

Working in the area, [...] the first thing I would like to know is if [the pavement] is classified and [...] if it is part of the criteria. And of course, I approached the national

²⁶ This is the opposite of what you find in for example Lisbon, where the black stones make shapes and pictures in the white chalkstone. The reason for this is that the volcanic stone is a natural resource in the Azores, but the chalkstone needs to be imported. Moreover, the chalkstone has a more slippery surface than the black volcanic stone.

office of UNESCO. They did not answer me, so they forwarded my questions, my specific questions, to DRaC – the Cultural Directorate of the Azores.

As I will show another example of in the next chapter, the inhabitants have approached UNESCO to address or complain about the preservation of the city. However, UNESCO has not taken any stand in these queries: Instead, they want the cases to be resolved locally, an approach which is in accordance with The World Heritage Convention, Article 4:

Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage referred to in Articles 1 and 2 and situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State. (UNESCO, 1972, author's emphasis)

As this article states the preservation of World Heritage Sites belongs first of foremost to the State Party, and the sovereignty of the nation is an important aspect of the World Heritage Convention though it has been disputed. There have been suggestions to renounce the sovereign position of the state in order for UNESCO to be able to intervene, and for the World Heritage Committee to have the authority over actions carried out by the nations to the Convention (Leitão, 2011:54-56). However, these suggestions have not been implemented. As a result, Mendes obtained a response from the regional monitor:

[...] an architect of the area answered me and from what I understood [...] the streets are not classified, it is not part of the criteria, but it is in the protection area. And in the 90s, specific regional legislations were made to harmonize and decree what would be used or not in a World Classified City.

Hence, this is an important element stressed by Mendes: the fact that it is not related to the classification. Rather, the purpose for current provisions for the pavement is to ensure a cityscape in accordance with the standards and image of a World Heritage City. Another informant, who is a former executive in the heritage management sector, informed that the pavement was laid out in the 1940s. He further explained how the streets had been previous to that: "The streets of the 19th century were soil! Era terra" (Interview 34). Thus, it was pointed out how there were not cobblestone streets in the 15th and 16th centuries – the era which Angra do Heroísmo has been classified for. However, some of the cobblestone streets were laid out after the earthquake, though the quality was poor (Interview 34).

On the petition's official website, Mendes equally stressed how the pavement had not been one of the reasons for classifying the city as World Heritage (Petição

Publica, 2015a), and she therefore questions the value of this heritage and the reasons for protecting it. One might say that the present legal framework is to ensure that all the elements in the cityscape harmonize with the concept of a historic city – a World Heritage City. For this reason, it is possible to see how this discussion corresponds with the discussion concerning the regulation for the outlook of shops and restaurants in Angra do Heroísmo pointed out in the previous chapter. Similarly as with these examples, the case of the pavement accentuates the predicaments regarding aesthetics and authenticity, and as pointed out in Chapter 7, similar harmonization agendas or antiquarian ideals are known from other World Heritage towns (Ronström, 2007, 2014, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007, 2011, Haslie, 2009). Ronström defines the process which Visby underwent, due to the World Heritage classification, as a heritage production, in which it was decided to pave the streets with cobblestones as this would harmonize with a World Heritage City or the medieval expression that Visby wanted to strengthen:

Central to the production of “World Heritage Visby” was taking control of the visual front stage: surfaces, facades, paving stones, street signs, posters and advertisements; cars and asphalt were replaced by pedestrians and *cobble stones*; big company logos and neon lights were abandoned in favour of oldish-looking signs made of painted metal, swaying from specially-made holders, (Ronström, 2014:10, author’s emphasis)

However, in the case of Angra, there were cobblestone streets before the classification, *but it was made obligatory by law due to the classification*. Equally as in the case of Visby, the cobblestones were found to harmonize with what to expect from a World Heritage City. Consequently, the preservation guidelines for Angra give the city an equal aesthetical front stage as that in Visby, so in this sense I would argue that Angra do Heroísmo has undergone a similar heritage production. Ronström’s term *heritage production* is inspired by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, who sees heritage as “a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past”, which means that such a front-staged heritage produces something new rather than claiming that something “is not “authentic” or that it is wholly invented” (1998: 150). Though, this statement is seen in connection with the heritage industry, it can be used in this context, by the ways in which it stresses how the authenticity discourse goes beyond the real-fake dichotomy or the objective authenticity. Moreover, it relates to the constructionistic authenticity, some of which stresses the relative in the ways in which heritage is perceived and interpreted (Wang 1999, Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011).

Indeed, in this case it is also stressed how the aesthetization project or “the heritage production” actually harms the citizens. In one of the conversations with the initiator of the campaign, she posed the question: “Are the inhabitants to suffer

in order to maintain the heritage when the only purpose of this stone is to strengthen the historical look of the city?” (field notes, 05.05.2011). On the petition’s website, there was a reference to other historic cities in Europe which “have shown that the use of regular pavement and non-slippery surfaces, suitable for traffic and pedestrians, is not incompatible with a sufficient preservation and evaluation of the built heritage” (Petição Publica, 2015a). In one of the interviews Mendes gave in the local newspaper, she informed about the World Heritage City of Ávila in Spain and their work on accessibility, which to her is an “extraordinary example of the equilibrium between heritage and accessibility” (Diário Insular, 11.05.2011, author’s translation). Ávila was also awarded for being the most accessible city in Europe. The city is described accordingly on the Access City Award’s website, in which local participation and accessibility for the disabled was stressed:

Accessibility has become a core issue running through all municipal policies and is applied to all spheres of society, including town planning, building, communication and transport. Local society has been involved in the design of a city for all, and the mainstreaming of persons with disabilities through access to employment, culture and leisure has been encouraged. (The European Commission, 2012)

The initiator further stated that: “If Ávila made it, with a medieval urban plan and narrow stone paved streets, I don’t see what kind of impediments are stopping us from making some alterations there” (Diário Insular, 11.05. 2011, author’s translation). Ávila is similarly promoted by UNESCO for its successful management strategies (UNESCO, 2012a).

Another point made by Mendes on the website is how “human value should always go before the value of heritage”, and she argues how the cultural heritage laws of Angra do Heroísmo (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A) guarantee to take measures in order to ensure the quality of life in the city (Petição Publica, 2015a, author’s translation). However, in the interview with the local newspaper Diário Insular, she explained how heritage and inhabitants can coexist. She abstained from giving any suggestions as to the kind of alterations needed to be undertaken, but substitution could be one alternative (Diário Insular, 11.05.2011).

On the website, the inhabitants were urged to sign and share their experiences and views regarding the current pavement, and one of the statements drew similarly of the importance of the security for the present inhabitants: “Out with the pavement, save the human lives” (Petição Publica, 2015a). Furthermore, several wrote about incidents where they had either lost control of their car or been victims of collisions and falls. Some were also uttering their opinions in regard to how they feel about living in a World Heritage City. One stated that: “Angra do Heroísmo is a beautiful city, and it deserves a pavement that is safe and

comfortable. Another type of pavement will not diminish the value of heritage of the historical centre” (ibid). Yet another wrote a slightly more provocative statement: “The streets in Angra do Heroísmo are a shame. Don’t try that World Heritage thing” (ibid). It is of interest to detect these types of statements, as it shows how the World Heritage Status is used explicitly in the argumentation against the pavement. The initiator equally refers to the classification, and uses it in her reasoning above.

I conducted an interview with a young couple living in the city centre of Angra. They had only been living in the city for 18 months, and it was of interest to attain the views of new residents. As it turned out, they did tell me something that none of the previous interviewees had made me aware of: the problem with baby prams in the city centre. The woman responded accordingly when I asked about her opinion regarding the pavement in the city centre: “I like the pavement, but it is difficult. It is a fact that it is difficult. It is difficult with baby prams. I asked, “Why are there not more baby prams in the city centre?” But with time we realized why”(Interview 31).

This interviewee emphasized how the narrow sidewalks and cobblestones make it almost impossible to walk in the city centre with a baby pram, and she and her husband told that in fact they needed to carry their babies when taking them to the historical city centre. It made me also realize why I had hardly seen any baby prams in the city centre of Angra. Up until this interview, I believed it to be a result of the general decline in birth rate in Portugal due to the crisis and lack of parental leave. While this is also the case, the quality of the cobblestones is clearly inconvenient for families with small children or babies in the city. This also raises questions in regard to the accessibility for the disabled or people in a wheelchair, and accessibility was indeed one of Mendes’ main arguments. Ronström claims that “in Visby’s old town, access is often overruled by heritage values” (Ronström, 2014:11). In Mendes’ opinion, World Heritage Classification has a special responsibility to assure accessibility for everybody: “World Heritage is also about [...] fulfilling accessibility”. By the latter, she argues within the World Heritage discourse. Considering the universal aspect of the World Heritage Convention and its overarching moral imperative (UNESCO, 1972, Ronström, 2007:88), a World Heritage designation can be said to hold a democratic and inclusive aspect, per se, all the time a World Heritage classification entails giving a site universal value which “is part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole” (UNESCO, 1972, Millar, 2008). A last point made by Mendes is how she believed a well-planned and secure site would ensure a better experience of World Heritage. “If people feel safe and people feel good in a place that they go to visit a world classified...”, she said without finishing her argument.

With the help of friends and acquaintances, the campaign finally got more than 300 people to sign the petition, some of whom work in the heritage sector, and even though the petition obtained vast support, there are others who are opposed to a possible substitution of the cobblestone streets. One of my interviewees is a

young man who calls himself a “conservador”. Previous to the interview, I was witnessing several occasions in which he was uttering strong opinions in relation to the preservation of Angra do Heroísmo. During a night at a friend’s place, he and Mendes discussed the matter of the pavement, in which he would not even hear of the idea of changing the cobblestones for a more “modern” type of pavement (field notes, 30.06.2011).

Another inhabitant raised the issue of the poor quality of the pavement when I asked about the future perspectives of the city:

There is no respect to maintain the things as they were and I am very critical to that. I have been many times to the municipality to complain. Mostly due to this street, I have gone many times to complain about the things that need to be done in the street, but I have always been badly received [...]. (Interview 24)

This interviewee equally utters a concern for the quality of the cobblestones, though she stresses the need for preservation, due to its value and tradition, rather than the risks it is causing. Others who signed also expressed how they preferred a restoration of the cobblestones, and disapproved of asphalt pavement (Petição Publica, 2015a). Yet another interviewee gave a more balanced reply when I asked for their opinion about the pavement: “There is good cobblestone within the city centre, and there is bad. There were once very good craftsmen who laid out the cobblestones” (Interview 34). Hence, this interviewee also accentuates the value of the cobblestones and the tradition it holds.

I further addressed the problem of the pavement when interviewing the former director at the Conservation Office, who is presently working at the city museum. He stated accordingly:

I keep on saying that the problem is not the stones. It is the technique they use [...]. You can make bad asphalt and good asphalt, you can make bad stone paved streets and you can make good stone paved streets. Instead of being against the stones, I said, “how can I make the stones better?” (Interview 27)

In his opinion, it is possible to resolve the problem without removing the cobblestones completely. He further explained about their way of thinking at the Conservation Office: “See the work I did when working for the Gabinete. We have this, we have to protect it. If it is part of the problem, let us see how we can solve the problem without taking it out.” Again, he was underscoring that: “The problem is not the stones, the problem is not in the wood, it is not in the termite, it is the way you look at it” (Interview 27).

Streets of Angra do Heroísmo. Articles from Diário Insular (Diário Insular 12.07.2011, Maduro-Dias, 2011)
Photos: Marit Johansson

Upon interviewing the mayor, she mentioned the restoration of the pavement as one of the current preservation projects in the city: “In terms of preservation, we are going to initiate a rehabilitation of the entire pavement within the historic centre, the streets and the sidewalks, as they show some signs of degradation which need to be corrected” (Interviewee 17). The public was finally informed about the restoration of the streets in an article that launched the restoration plans for the pavement in the city. The headline on the front page read: “Calçada com vida nova – the municipality will rehabilitate the pavement of the streets and the sidewalks within the historical centre”, in which it was stated that: “The work consists of resurfacing streets and sidewalks [...]. The work will cost 746 million euros, take 450 days to carry out and will be delivered by a Terceiran company” (Diário Insular, 12.07.2011, author’s translation).

However, these plans mostly concern the main streets in the city centre, and the street where the accident occurred was not included. In line with the guidelines, the restoration involves an improvement of the cobblestones, not a substitution to a more modern pavement. The response was given after the former director at the Conservation Office published an article in which he acknowledged the problem, but also stressed how the cobblestones are recognized by law as important for “the heritage image of the city”. He further emphasized the value of this Portuguese tradition, and how the pictures and images in the pavement also add a value to the city. Still, he concluded the article by giving several suggestions for improving it – to get “better pavement and more safety” (Maduro-Dias, 10.07.2011).

After a long campaign, the petition was finally handed in to the municipality in Angra do Heroísmo, and the case was addressed at the Regional Assembly of the Azores on the 3rd of February 2012, in which Mendes was heard (Diário Insular, 07.02.2012). Finally, at the end of March 2012 she was informed by the municipality that Rua de Miragaia, the street where the accident occurred, would be restored in 2013.

Restoration of the cobblestone streets in 2013, Angra do Heroísmo. Photo: Marit Johansson

8.2 The stakeholders involved – interests, values and capitals

In the discussion concerning the pavement, we can see different stakeholders at play who represent certain values, interest and capitals, and use different strategies and rhetoric in order to promote their interests and reach their aims. Moreover, we can say that the stakeholders involved represents the practical field and the antiquarian field.

The inhabitants as stakeholders and representatives for the practical field

As the discussion shows, an important stakeholder in Angra do Heroísmo are the inhabitants living in the classified zone. In this discussion, this is an essential party. The debate was commenced upon one inhabitant's private initiative, and she can also be said to represent the inhabitants who opposed to the present quality of the pavement. Several inhabitants signed the petition and uttered their opinions on the

website. However, most of the inhabitants do not take an active part in the discussion; nevertheless, they are a party affected by the current conditions of the pavement. Examples of the inhabitants' views on the pavement are demonstrated by the statements made on the website of the petition, which shows how the World Heritage Status is explicitly used in the argumentation. Due to the city's status, it is for instance argued that the city "deserves" a better pavement, and one threatens the officials not to try "that World Heritage thing" so as to preserve the pavement, or as Mendes states: "World heritage is about fulfilling accessibility", as she believes a World Heritage designation holds an inclusive responsibility, per se, as it classifies a heritage which belongs to all the people in the world.

Moreover, the initiator and her followers argue for a pavement that is of good quality, is safe, ensures accessibility and which does not only aim to enhance a historical outlook. Practical aspects, safety and the well-being of the inhabitants are more relevant matters than the aesthetical aspect of the pavement. Again, we can see how the inhabitants represent the *practical field*, as they are concerned about the practical implications of the preservation guidelines (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007). The main interest of this group of stakeholders is to obtain adequate standards of living in order to lead a comfortable and secure life within the classified zone. Hence, the practical is of great value. Mendes and others stress the importance of preserving the city, but not at any cost, and as was stated: The safety and the value of the present people are more important than the safeguarding of heritage. However, the data shows that the inhabitants are not a homogeneous group, as there are divergent interests and values among the inhabitants in regard to the pavement. The inhabitant calling himself a "conservador", who was opposed to any alteration or modernization of the pavement, is an example of a contradictory view. Furthermore, there are those who primarily accentuate the value of the pavement due to its tradition and intrinsic value.

The aim of the petition was to make the officials aware of the problem, and thus resolve the predicament with the cobblestones. What is more, the inhabitants are opposed to the preservation guidelines and its intentions, which are believed to enhance an aesthetically pleasing image of the World Heritage City. The importance of the cobblestones in order to create the proper "heritage image" was also accentuated by the former director of the Conservation Office. Hence, by opposing to the aim of the preservation guidelines we can also say that they oppose the hegemony of the Authorized Heritage Discourse and its representatives' authority to value heritage, as well as its emphasis on aesthetically pleasing objects (Smith, 2006:29). Moreover, the petition can be said to be a demonstration against this top-down decision to legally oblige cobblestones within the historical city centre.

In terms of the inhabitants' capital and means, I would say that *social capital* is the most important resource due to their social network within the city centre. Pierre Bourdieu states how the volume of the social capital "depends on the size of the network" (2011:86), and by observing the work of Mendes in her effort to

obtain signatures and followers I would argue that she achieved a vast support due to networking and through the assistance of friends and acquaintances. Though as previously stressed in this thesis, Bourdieu argues further that the volume of the social capital relies on the economic, cultural or symbolic capital of the agents in the network (Bourdieu, 2011:86). I would argue that the size was the most important for the outcome of this case, although it could have been essential that there were some signatories who hold symbolic and cultural capital. However, being part of the cultural heritage sector, the cultural capital she possessed may have enabled her ability to communicate her cause.

The petition and its impact demonstrate the powers of the public in a liberal democracy. Vestheim argues how politicians represent the public's interests, all the time being given legitimacy by the votes of citizens. However, the public can have the means to replace them if the politics and actions diverge from the public's opinion (Vestheim, 2012:499). This argument was proven in the case of the Conservation Office, and these mechanisms are similarly illustrated in this example as we see how the petition and the "will of the people" forced the municipality to respond to the problem, which finally launched a restoration plan for the pavement in Angra and the very street where Mendes suffered the auto accident.

Finally, I would argue that the stakeholders opposing the pavement use a moral rhetoric, as they believe the present pavement holds a moral predicament as it causes dangers for the public, as well as excluding certain groups of people. The rhetoric used is also effective since they are using arguments that are triggering emotions. "Out with the pavement, save the human lives" can be an example of an emotional statement which states that the pavement is a matter of life and death, and as a consequence the municipality has a moral obligation to alter the pavement to ensure the safety of the citizens. Evidently, the discussion is also related to the past and present dichotomy, some of which is explicitly used in the argumentation made by the inhabitants. Inhabitants accentuate the importance of the present over the past.

The heritage managers as stakeholders and representatives for the antiquarian field

The other party in this discussion are the stakeholders who are part of the antiquarian field, affiliated to this field by profession or by the ways in which they represent the heritage divisions at the municipality and Regional Directorate for Culture. The Authorized Heritage Discourse defines these stakeholders as experts who are "stewards" of Angra's past, and who hold the correct knowledge and are thus given definition powers and codes of practice (Smith 2006). Additionally, they have the legal authority ascribed through Azorean legal provisions, which derives from commitments made through the World Heritage Convention. The experts and their codes and practices in terms of the pavement can also be said to

have been given legitimacy due to its World Heritage Status, a legitimacy which some of the inhabitants explicitly opposed to. Their authority to define which aspects to legally include in a World Heritage City was shown in Mendes' correspondence with an architect at the Regional Directorate for Culture, who informed about the legal provisions and the fact that there had been certain "decisions" in the 1990s as to the features needing to be harmonised with the World Heritage City. Hence, one can say that the antiquarian field makes selective judgements in order to preserve Angra do Heroísmo, and that the legal framework for the city ensures a practical implementation of the decisions made (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:33). UNESCO is another stakeholder in the antiquarian field, all the time with Angra do Heroísmo enlisted to UNESCO's World Heritage List, and the legal framework for the classified zone of Angra adapted due to- and in coherence with the World Heritage Convention and UNESCO recommendations on World Heritage.

In terms of this field's capitals, the official cultural heritage management have a legitimate responsibility to preserve the city and possess cultural capital and economic capital, as well as juridical control. Though these capitals give an official power, I would argue that there are other representatives of the antiquarian field who have less formal power, but more of an informal influence due to their status and former position within the heritage sector. An example of this was portrayed above. This interviewee has the means to express his opinions in the local media, and such more informal powers and advocacy can be influential for the outcome of a case.

The legal framework gives the heritage management a mandate to control and monitor the World Heritage City. However, the officials also hold a responsibility for the present inhabitants and to ensure that the city evolves according to the needs of a modern society. The quality of life is guaranteed in the provisions, as Mendes drew attention to. Due to the formal resources that these stakeholders possess, the cultural heritage management sector is certainly a powerful stakeholder, which in the end might make the final decisions regarding interventions and preservation in Angra. Though, as this case has shown, they cannot disclaim the "will of the people".

As mentioned above, the symbolic power of the antiquarian field appears, as it can be reasoned that it was of value that representatives from the antiquarian field signed the petition. Thus, as Bourdieu stresses, symbolic capital needs to be recognized by a group which gives it value, and its powers can only be put into play with the involvement by the ones having it and the ones acknowledging it (Bourdieu, 1998:47, Bourdieu, 1996:38). Bourdieu emphasizes that symbolic power is an invisible power that is unintentionally empowered and recognized (Bourdieu, 1996:38). The adherence to the petition from this field shows how there is no consensus within the antiquarian field.

8.3 “Inhabitants are the most important stakeholder” – a discussion

The discussion in relation to the pavement in Angra shows the impact of local involvement and how the initiative of one inhabitant can trigger a vast local debate, as well as affect city planning. The significance of local communities is- and has been emphasized by UNESCO. In 2012, UNESCO celebrated the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention with a focus dedicated to this very topic: *World Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local Communities*. The UNESCO conference “Living with World Heritage”, which took place at the World Heritage town of Røros, Norway, in 2012 was organized in the framework of this anniversary, a conference which I attended. The then Norwegian minister of the environment gave the following description of its purpose:

Our ambition was to give local communities from different parts of the world the opportunity – through cooperation – to identify common concerns and needs, and to provide a forum for local communities, government authorities and international representatives to meet and discuss directly and explore solutions together. (Solhjell, 2012)

Tough, the success of fulfilling the conference’s aim has been questioned as the participants, varying from site managers, representatives from the World Heritage Centre, Advisory Bodies and on-site communities, showed different notions of heritage, practices and ways of communicating, some of which obstructed the intended dialog and cooperation (Hølleland, 2013:269-272). Thus, it gave a hint of the complexity that participation and local involvement hold.

The anniversary was only one of UNESCO’s initiatives and political acts in terms of stressing local community participation. Because the urban context is of relevance in this case, I will briefly look at how local residents in urban contexts are addressed in UNESCO policy texts. Indeed, UNESCO charters and recommendations on the matter of preserving historic cities have been seen as an increasing importance due to the population and modernization pressures of these sites (van Oers, 2010:7-17). The number of enlisted historic cities to the World Heritage List has grown dramatically (Bandarin, 2010), and the discussions at World Heritage Committee sessions on the predicament of contemporary development have increased accordingly (van Oers, 2010:7). At the time of the first enlistment in 1978, there were only two cities included to the World Heritage List, whereas today this has become the largest category (Bandarin, 2010). As the former director of the World Heritage Centre, Francesco Bandarin, further states in the rather glossy magazine “World Heritage”, which is published monthly by UNESCO: “[C]ities represent over a quarter of all the listed sites [...], and even as their numbers have grown, the relevance of the World Heritage status to urban matters has become increasingly apparent” (Bandarin, 2010). He also stresses how “dialogue and cooperation are essential” due to the pressures that the historic cities

are facing, such as modernization, tourism and a need for infrastructure due to increased vehicular traffic.

The problem and need for a well-functioning infrastructure within an historic city centre are indeed illustrated by the case discussed above, whereas the predicament with the cobblestones can also be seen in connection with the increase in traffic. Angra do Heroísmo is no exception to this worldwide phenomenon. The vehicle traffic fills up the already narrow cityscape in the city, and as the accident bears witness to, cars slide on the cobblestones, thereby putting pedestrians in danger. However, it is difficult to characterize the debate concerning the pavement as a case of “dialog and cooperation”, and if such “dialogue and cooperation” took place, it came about after the inhabitants put pressure on the local monitors.

The issue of historic urban safeguarding and the present inhabitants were acknowledged in the Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas adopted by UNESCO in 1976, which stated that: “Safeguarding activities should couple the public authorities’ contribution with the contribution made by the individual or the collective owners and the inhabitants [...] who should be encouraged to put forward suggestions and generally play an active part” (UNESCO, 1976, IV, 35). Later, the *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter)*, approved in 1987 by the General Assembly of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 10.1987), further stressed the significance of the inhabitants as one of the important stakeholders in historic cities: “The participation and the involvement of the residents are essential for the success of the conservation programme and should be encouraged”, (...) “the conservation of historic towns and urban areas *concerns their residents first of all*” (3). The document also claimed that: “The conservation plan should be supported by the residents of the historic area” (5) (ICOMOS, 10.1987). Hence, both policies explicitly emphasize the importance of an active involvement by the inhabitants in historic sites, as we have seen take place in Angra do Heroísmo. The policies even stress how the inhabitants should be encouraged to forward suggestions, which is seen as essential in terms of successful preservation. As such, the campaign and the suggestion from the inhabitants in Angra can be seen as a way for preservation to succeed. The latter recommendation also claims that the conservation of historic cities primarily concerns the residents.

More recently, we can point to two other policy documents, such as the Vienna Memorandum which is seen as a significant document regarding the current dilemmas in terms of urban heritage preservation. In this document, it was stressed how “the future of our historic urban landscape calls for mutual understanding between policy makers, urban planners, city developers, architects, conservationists, property owners, investors and *concerned citizens*, working together to preserve the urban heritage [...]” (UNESCO, 2005:C,15, author’s emphasis). According to Ron van Oers, who is a programme specialist at the World

Heritage Centre: “Dialog is considered to be the main value of the Vienna Memorandum” (2010:9).

The second is the most recent recommendation on a historic urban context: the *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (HUL)²⁷, which was adopted in 2011. “The HUL approach interprets the city as a continuum in time and space, where countless population groups have left their mark and continue to do so today”, as stated on its website (HUL, 2015). This recommendation equally states how the “[p]ublic and private stakeholders should cooperate, inter alia, through partnerships to ensure the successful application of the historic urban landscape approach” (UNESCO 10.11. 2011, III, 22b). Moreover, the “urban landscape approach supports the communities in their quest for development and adaption, while retaining the characteristics and values linked to their history and collective memory, and to the environment” (UNESCO 10.11. 2011, II, 16).

The latter recommendation addresses the importance of maintaining the equilibrium of the past and the present, which can be said to be the very core of the discussion in regard to the pavement. A general observation made from these policies and views is how they communicate a somewhat idealistic view in terms of the dialog and cooperation between the local community and official monitors upon preserving historic cities. Thus, if we compare the statements outlined above to the discussion concerning the pavement in Angra, we see how the preservation of urban sites may be much more complex and controversial. Thus, the controversy in Angra showed that “mutual understandings” and solutions may be sought, though after a proactive campaign made by a citizen and a lengthy polemic between the monitors and the inhabitants.

A returning problem of the recommendations of UNESCO is firstly that they are “soft laws”. Secondly, they address World Heritage Sites worldwide, with both private and public stakeholders holding different resources, and working within varied bureaucratic and socio-political systems. The reality and means of developing countries in comparison to undeveloped countries can be vast. The challenges of preservation in the less-developed world has been addressed by other scholars (e.g. Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011, see even Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009), and was exemplified by the case of the World Heritage Site of Ilha de Mozambique, in which it was shown how a site may have more pressing humanitarian needs than heritage conservation (Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011). However, we can also see how there are economic and political differences even within a European context, some of which my experiences with both the Portuguese and Norwegian system have shown. Not only is the present economic situation different due to the crisis that has severely hit Portugal, the two countries differ in terms of recent political history. The dictatorship in Portugal did indeed cease in 1974, and one of the things I was repeatedly made aware of during the

²⁷ The recommendation was elaborated in the framework of UNESCO’s World Heritage Cities Programme (UNESCO 2015f).

course of my fieldwork is how Portugal is still considered to be a young democracy, in which some of the democratic principles are still not properly manifested (field notes, 06.07.2011).

Regardless of differences in political or bureaucratic systems, I will point out certain general quandaries in regard to local participation and the power of residents as stakeholders. Graeme Evans claimed in his study of Old Quebec how the “[t]he residents group has an increasingly vocal presence in the politics of place”, however, he further states how the group lack an official status and “has no consultative place in the management of the WHS” (2002: 133-143). Evans thus points to a fact that may be a general problem. The residents in Angra have neither such an official status nor a consultative position. Another problem of this group of stakeholders is its fragility due to the fact that it often relies on individual initiatives and dedication, all the time not being an officially organized group. The campaign in relation to the cobblestones in Angra do Heroísmo is an example of such reliance on a private initiative. Another factor to take into account is the difficulty with stability and continuity in this group, especially within cities that are often an object subject to great flux and migration. Hence, I might add that the woman who was running the campaign in Angra has now moved back to continental Portugal. A final dilemma for these stakeholders is that they represent a diverse group – some of which my data shows.

In contrast to the UNESCO documents presented above, which emphasise the importance of local communities, and the consensus I experienced on this matter at the UNESCO conference in Røros, Norway, the official visits made by UNESCO delegates in Angra do Heroísmo have been characterized as political and official events, and when I asked directly if these delegates visited any of the private houses or conversed with the citizens, I received a firm “No”. Even though there may be various reasons for the choices made during these visits, I would claim that the lack of interaction with the local inhabitants contradicts the official policies, emphasizing the importance of the inhabitants as stakeholders and stressing the need of a dialog between concerned stakeholders. It certainly opposes one of the main statements made at the Norwegian UNESCO conference at Røros in 2012, in which it was stated that: “The local community is the *most* important stakeholder.” Indeed, the conference also reflected the difficulties upon cooperating and communicating across different bureaucratic and societal levels.

8.4 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to describe and study the nature of a discussion generated by the conservation policies for a World Heritage City, in which it has been of importance to study the arguments and values enhanced by the different stakeholders in regard to the cobblestones. The discussion sprung from an accident caused by the cobblestones, which triggered the injured inhabitant to act. Thus, she initiated a petition, and we can see how she advocated for the improvement of the pavement at different societal and official levels by using both formal and informal

channels. She worked actively in the local community to obtain support by other citizens, expressing her views in the media, on the petition's website and through correspondence with the national commission for UNESCO as well as with regional and local managers, and finally she was heard by the Azorean assembly. I would argue that the impact of the campaign was due to the initiators' solicitations on these diverse levels. Hence, she had the necessary social and cultural capital to use and benefit from these mechanisms.

In the foregoing, the arguments of the initiator of this campaign are prominent, which is due to the fact that her views were easily accessed and official. In terms of argumentation, her main argument is that the well-being and safety of the citizens should go before heritage preservation, particularly when the heritage policies are adopted to enhance an aesthetical cityscape in harmony with the image of a World Heritage City. Secondly, she emphasizes the importance of accessibility, which she believes is a special obligation for World Heritage Sites.

If we look to the general argumentation of the inhabitants who adhere to the petition, an emphasis is given to the importance of practicalities, and as such these inhabitants represent the values of *the practical field*. The conditions of the obligatory cobblestones are inconvenient and an object for possible danger due to its uneven and slippery surface, and as a consequence it causes falls and collisions, not to mention being inaccessible for baby prams and the disabled. In sum, it is unpractical. *The antiquarian field* acknowledges the need for restoring the cobblestone streets, but none within this field suggest substituting the cobblestones for a modern pavement. The solution given by the monitor was *to restore* the cobblestones in order to preserve the tradition and the heritage image. Hence, the main value in this field is preservation, and the legal framework ensures its implementation.

So what are seen as the consequences of these preservation policies for the streets of Angra do Heroísmo? For the ones opposed to the present conditions, the consequences are believed to be risks to human life, less accessibility and the preservation of an object that is not part of the classification, but rather enhances an ideal. To the stakeholders adhering to the current guidelines, the consequence is that Angra do Heroísmo maintains its outlook, which is in harmony with the image of a World Heritage City, as well as the guidelines respecting a Portuguese tradition and a tradition that has been accustomed to in the city. As it is argued, it also adds value to the city. Thus, this matter demonstrates the dissonance in heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, Smith, 2006, Graham and Howard, 2008.), as it is the very meaning and value of the cobblestones that is being disputed and negotiated. Though the data shows how a consensus prevails on the matter of the quality of the cobblestones, most stakeholders do agree that parts of the pavement are of poor quality in need of restoration, they being representatives from the antiquarian field and the practical field.

This case also accentuates the impact and powers of the inhabitants in terms of affecting city planning and preservation (Vestheim, 2012). As a citizen in a

democratic society, the politicians who are given legitimacy through the citizens' votes "needed" to take the petition into account, and her case was accordingly treated by the Azorean assembly. Nevertheless, in the end it is the official monitors who have the ultimate power and authority in the sense that they have the juridical, economic and professional means or capitals to actually act upon the problem.

Another way to demonstrate the parties involved in the discussion is through the use of Vestheim's model, in which heritage policy making is seen through processes between three parties: the political system, the producers and constructors of cultural heritage and the public (Vestheim, 2015). Although, the model is based on the Nordic political system, it can be applied to this case in order to illustrate the stakeholders involved and their relationships in negotiating the preservation of this World Heritage City.

Figure based on the Triangle of Cultural Policy in Vestheim 2015

(A) represents *the political system*, which in our case is the regional government of the Azores and the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo, which is given legitimacy by the votes of the public. Both bodies hold divisions that have the practical and administrative responsibilities in terms of heritage preservation, which Vestheim describes to be the realities in the Nordic model. On the top of the triangle (C), we find *the producers of cultural heritage*, which for instance are museums, archives and universities, in addition to as private organizations and professional experts. In the discussion concerning the pavement the city museum is represented, whose legitimacy is based on such expert and academic knowledge. Nonetheless, I would suggest that the public servants set under (A) are also given legitimacy due to their expert knowledge, in terms of being architects, archaeologists or historians. Finally, there is the third party (B) – *the public*. This party holds a prominent position in the discussion outlined above. Though some of the public also represent (C), such as the inhabitant who initiated the campaign

who works within the cultural heritage sector, as she herself emphasized. Moreover, representatives of (A) are also residents in Angra. According to Vestheim, the relationship between (A) and (C) is dialogical, political, economic and organizational. In regard to the discussion in Angra, I have little data to show this relationship in this discussion, although the producers of cultural heritage (C) are present in the debate, and as stated above these can hold symbolic power and influence in terms of their expert knowledge. As far as the relationship between the political system (A) and the public (B), Vestheim argues how this is characterized as ideological, cultural, political and economic. Indeed, the discussion and negotiation concerning the pavement shows how this relationship is political and ideological, as we see the public's powers and dialog in terms of the political system, in which different ideologies and values with regard to heritage preservation are being negotiated. Lastly, the relationship is economic, while the restoration of the streets continues to hold an economic aspect. Vestheim further argues how the relationship between (B) and (C) is "intellectual, emotional, psychological, existential and even economic" (2015). The relationship between (B) and (C) is less noticeable in this case, though as said there are certain stakeholders who represent both (B) and (C), and as a result they interact, so the relationship can be said to be dialogical. Vestheim claims power to be inherent in all relationships, some of which become apparent in this case where we see the different powers and capitals at play between the parties. I would argue that all the parties have significant powers and capitals. Thus, as Vestheim also states, this is an ideal model that only intends to illustrate certain structures. For instance, my data shows how the different parties hold several positions, and can be representing all three parties (A, B and C).

In sum, I would argue that the case of the pavement triggers several issues: 1) human value versus heritage preservation, 2) accessibility and heritage preservation, 3) authenticity and heritage production, and 4) it accentuates the inhabitants as significant stakeholders.

That human value should always go before the preservation of heritage was one Mendes' main arguments, the cobblestones were seen as unsafe and a risk for both pedestrians and drivers. In other words, it is seen as more important to ensure a safe cityscape, where all users can access and "feel safe", than preserving the image of a historical city. This predicament has been accentuated in the case of the World Heritage Site of Mozambique Island, where humanitarian needs were stressed over heritage restoration (Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011:9-10). The cases differ, as the case of Mozambique Island is not about an unsafe cityscape, but about the pressing challenges of poverty and unemployment, which is an obstacle to preservation and seen as a more important matter than heritage preservation. However, both cases set human values and the quality of life against heritage preservation.

In terms of the second issue: accessibility and heritage preservation, this was a theme accentuated by the stakeholders, some of which was also picked up by the

media. One interviewee experienced the problem herself when trying to walk the city with a baby pram, not to mention the initiator, who stressed the problem of accessibility by looking to other World Heritage Cities where this had been one of the core issues in city planning. The World Heritage City of Ávila, Spain was used as an example in this regard. Ronström is also highlighting the predicament of the cobblestones in Visby, Sweden, which has made the city centre “less attractive to the disabled, the elderly, and families with children, while at the same time becoming more attractive to the well-to-do” (2014:11). Hence, the inclusive and exclusive aspect in these preservation guidelines is demonstrated, and as such, it becomes a democratic dilemma when a common good, which both heritage and a city are regarded to be, excludes certain groups.

The third issue concerns heritage production and authenticity. Since the regulations are questioned because they do not make part of the classification, they are instead preserved to enhance a specific image. These arguments can be said to take an objective approach to authenticity, by defying the falseness in the cobblestones and arguing for the historically true cityscape. This aspect was accentuated by stakeholders from both the antiquarian field and the inhabitants, although some of the inhabitants were more critical of this aspect. Ronström (2007, 2014) and Guttormsen and Fageraas (2007, 2011) found equal antiquarian ideals to be pertinent in the preservation policies for Visby, Sweden and Røros, Norway. Ronström claims that Visby has been an object of heritage production. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett steps out of the authenticity debate, as she believes heritage produces something new that is not inauthentic or invented; rather, it gives a totally new product made in the present with a relationship to the past (1998). In this respect, I argue that this can be seen as a constructionistic authenticity, all the time it is constructed on the basis of certain prevailing ideas and views. However, several interviewees accentuated the value of the cobblestones, and I would argue that to most people in Angra the cobblestoned streets are authentic, coherent with the image of Angra, and an important part of the cityscape and a tradition to respect. The latter coincides on the other hand with subjective authenticity, which relies on emotional and personal judgements made by the unauthorized or non-expert on authenticity (Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011).

Lastly, the case of the pavement demonstrates the role of inhabitants as stakeholders and their means to influence heritage processes, as well as it can be true to state that it challenges the judgments made by the experts in the cultural heritage management or the Authorized Heritage Discourse itself. However, the inhabitants as a stakeholder group has some limitations, Evans described the means of the stakeholders in Quebec City, and claimed how this group often lacks an official role, even though it can be influential (2002). In the last part of this chapter, it was demonstrated how local communities as stakeholders have been underscored in UNESCO policies from the Nairobi recommendation in 1976 (UNESCO, 1976) until the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) adopted in 2011 (UNESCO, 10.11. 2011), as well as how one could witness how the role of

local communities was celebrated in the framework of the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention in 2012. The dialog between local communities and other stakeholders was a key issue running through all the UNESCO documents and statements, though this example from Angra shows how heritage policies in World Heritage Cities can be an object of lengthy and complex negotiations between several partners that involve different political and bureaucratic levels, due to diverging values, experiences and needs. In short, it demonstrates the very essence of cultural heritage politics.

In the next chapter I will study other preservation cases, which instead illustrate the predicament of modern development within World Heritage Cities, but which are similar to the case of the pavement, as the role of local involvement and the power relations between the stakeholders will be given an emphasis, as well as the use of the World Heritage Status as a bargaining chip being further proved in the next chapter.

9 Contemporary Development in a World Heritage City – possibilities and limitations

The view from the apartment allows me to have a complete outlook of the city, the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo and the Atlantic Ocean. Below, I can look at the red-tiled roofs of the white painted houses within the classified zone, which are only interrupted by some of the cathedrals in the city. Right in front of me is the Sé Cathedral – which was completely destroyed in the 1980 earthquake, yet restored and newly painted today (and brightly lit up at night). Behind the cathedral there is the volcanic crater of Monte Brazil,²⁸ which ensures the protection of the Bay of Angra. While I am writing my diary, several fishing boats are entering the port, while private sail boats are leaving as the ocean is calm, and invites for a daily fishing trip or an attempt to leave for one of the other islands. However, in this harmonious picture, which from a distance is close to perfection, there are several objects revealing a city in transformation. In the bay area, I can get a glimpse of the new marina with its monumental mole. On the east top hill, there is the skeleton of a new library rising, and when moving my eyes further to the east side of the bay, there are several cranes and caterpillars dominating the horizon – revealing the construction of a hotel in the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo (field notes, 05.05.2011, Johansson, 2011).

As described in the foregoing, there is a legal framework for the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo that gives detailed restrictions in order to maintain and preserve the city's original architectural expression. Nevertheless, there are- and have been several contemporary development projects conducted within the city. As an example, a new marina was constructed in the bay of Angra do Heroísmo at the end of the 1990s, which was finally completed after discussions and negotiations with UNESCO. The building of a new public library and archive, using a highly contemporary design, has recently been commenced within the classified zone, in addition to a five star hotel being completed in the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo in 2012. Lastly, there has also been a project plan launched for the construction of a new cruise ship terminal in the outer part of the bay area. Contemporary development within World Heritage Sites, or within historic areas at large, has been discussed and is often an object for vast and complex discussions (e.g. Fageraas and Guttormsen, 2007, Meurs, 2007, Pendlebury, Short and While, 2009, Gruber, 2010, Leitão, 2011, Bandarin and van Oers, 2012, Rodwell, 2014, Gaillard, 2014). On the other hand, none of the contemporary projects in Angra do Heroísmo have been constructed without discussions and negotiations, and the aim of this chapter is to map and analyse the debates concerning these contemporary

²⁸ Monte Brazil was included in the classified zone in the Legislative Regional Decree No. 29/99/A.

development projects in Angra do Heroísmo. What is the essence in the discourses? In what sense does the World Heritage Status effect and influence the discourses and processes? How do the different stakeholders in the city value modern development and contemporary architecture within this World Heritage City? How are their interests expressed? Moreover, I will explore the dynamic forces among the stakeholders that take part in the discussions concerning the development projects.

9.1 The marina

Two technicians from UNESCO are in Angra do Heroísmo to evaluate the impact which the marina may have on the historical classified city centre. UNESCO wants to allow the project to proceed, but recommends some alterations. The regional Secretary of Economy, Duarte Ponte, assures that the work of the marina may proceed shortly. (Diário Insular, 10.01.1999)

As the citation from the local newspaper reveals, the construction of a new marina in the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo, initiated by the regional administration of the Azores in 1995, brought about polemics. This project implied the construction of a massive mole in order to break the waves and protect a new marina, which was to give space for about 80 leisure boats. The mole was constructed as an extension from the city's waterfront in a south east direction towards the east side of the marina called Porto das Pipas, a name that derives from the period it served as the harbour where the wine barrels were loaded. The project also involved the recuperation of the general maritime front, where a patio and service facilities were built (ICOMOS, 16.11.1998, UNESCO, 08.03.1999, UNESCO, 29.01.1999).

However, the construction of the marina came to a halt in 1998 in order to conduct an urgent archaeological excavation of two ships being discovered in the course of the construction work. During the excavations, which took place during the summer season of 1998 and 1999, several shipwrecks from the 16th century were discovered and investigated within the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo (Garcia and Monteiro, 2001). What is more, the construction of the marina was paused due to consultations with UNESCO.

In 1998, the World Heritage Centre was notified about the new marina in Angra do Heroísmo, which became concerned about its impact and “requested the State Party to provide more information about the project. The Centre has also requested ICOMOS’ advice on this matter” (UNESCO, 30.09.1998), as the report from the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee session stated.²⁹

²⁹ As the World Heritage Convention established, the conservation and management of a site enlisted to the World Heritage List primarily belongs to the State Party, and it is their responsibility to provide information to the World Heritage Committee about the state of conservation (UNESCO, 1972, article 4, UNESCO, 2015b); however, UNESCO can respond to possible mistreatment or threats to World Heritage

The marina with the mole and the new hotel. Photo: Marit Johansson

As a consequence, a mission was undertaken by an expert from ICOMOS in October 1998 to evaluate the state of conservation (ICOMOS, 16.11.1998). The evaluation report on the construction of the marina was presented at the World Heritage Committee meeting that took place in Kyoto, Japan from 30 November–5 December 1998. Hence, on the basis of the observations made by the expert, the Committee:

[...] expressed concerns and preoccupation about the location and the impact of the marina on the World Heritage values of the site. While recognizing the economic need for a marina, it was of the opinion that this should be considered in the context of an overall conservation plan for the site. It encouraged the State Party to continue the dialogue with the ICOMOS and the World Heritage Committee in order to find the best solution. It requested that the Committee be kept informed periodically on further developments. (UNESCO, 29.01.1999:23)

As such, the World Heritage Committee recommended that an alternative location should be sought for the marina, as it would have a negative impact on Angra's

Sites by “reactive monitoring”, which “is the reporting by the World Heritage Centre, other sectors of UNESCO and the advisory bodies to the Bureau and the Committee on the state of conservation of specific World Heritage properties that are under threat. To this end, the States Parties shall submit to the Committee through the World Heritage Centre, specific reports and impact studies each time exceptional circumstances occur or work is undertaken that may have an effect on the state of conservation of the property. Reactive monitoring is foreseen in the procedures for the eventual deletion of properties from the World Heritage List as set out in paras. 48-56. It is also foreseen in reference to properties inscribed, or to be inscribed, on the List of World Heritage in Danger as set out in paras. 86-93” (UNESCO, 02.1998, #68 (the then prevailing version of the Operational Guidelines)).

World Heritage values. However, the Observer of Portugal being present at the World Heritage Committee meeting emphasized the need for this new marina and ensured that it would “not affect the values of the site”. He further argued that there had been carried out archaeological excavations in the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo. The ICOMOS expert was positive towards these archaeological interventions (UNESCO, 08.03.1999), and acknowledged the economic need for a new marina, yet “it opposed this particular project for the negative impact it would have” (UNESCO, 29.01.1999:23). Portugal was further urged to continue the cooperation with ICOMOS and to report about more developments (UNESCO, 29.01.1999:23).

At the request of the Portuguese authorities, a second mission was undertaken by an ICOMOS expert and a representative from the World Heritage Centre in January 1999, during which several meetings with regional and local authorities were held. Based on the observations made during the mission, the experts gave options for a new location and modifications, though the Secretary of Economy in the Azores made it clear that no alternative existed and that they could not await further discussions at the next Bureau session: “The decision has been taken to continue the works at the marina as planned”, though minor modifications could be made (UNESCO, 08.03.1999). Nonetheless, the mission requested a report submitted by Portugal that included proposals for improvement and a “justification for the proposed location of the marina” (ibid). Reports on the matter was therefore handed in 1999 (UNESCO, 27.10.1999) and 2000. The 1999 report included new information about the development. In addition to the marina, it included new constructions in near proximity to the waterfront (Leitão, 2011:210), some of which the World Heritage Committee urged the Portuguese authorities to reconsider (UNESCO, 27.10.1999).

The 2000 report gave further updates and provided information of a new urban plan. Hence, at the 24th session of the Bureau, it was reported that: “The ICOMOS expert, who had been involved for several years in the examination of this project, advised that the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee and the involvement of ICOMOS have given positive results”, but suggested that certain aspects needed further follow-up and a progress report was requested by 2001 (UNESCO, 10.08.2000). However, this report was never handed in, some of which Leitão stresses in her thesis. She is further critical to the lack of follow-up made by the World Heritage Committee in this case (Leitão, 2011:216). Indeed, some of the suggested alterations made by the ICOMOS expert and the representative from the World Heritage centre (UNESCO, 08.03.1999) were not taken into consideration, although some proved to be infeasible (ICOMOS, 27.02.1999).

After describing the formal process of the case and the action taken by UNESCO in this case, I will now turn to the public discussion and assess the citizen’s opinions in regard to the new marina, as well as how the heritage sector experienced the process, some of whom took an official role in the case. For the most part, the views given concern the development of the marina.

The local response to the new marina

In the report written by the representative from the World Heritage Centre, it is stated that the marina is “supported by all the sectors of society, all political parties and all levels of administration. A few citizens expressed themselves to be against the marina” (UNESCO, 08.03.1999). Similarly, the report written by the ICOMOS expert concluded that the marina is “well accepted” by the local authorities, and that there had “only been some opposition from a few people and minority social groups” (ICOMOS, 27.02.1999).

The latter statements are of interest, especially after conducting an interview with a current official at the municipality, who told how most of the citizens had been *against* the new marina: “a great part was contra” (Interviewee 7). Personally, this informant did not approve of the marina’s outlook: “Aesthetically, it is ugly. Have you seen the photos before [this new] marina? I think it was very beautiful”. Furthermore, he questioned the money spent on the marina in comparison to what the city had gained from it. He also drew attention to the archaeological remains that had suffered from the construction.

I also addressed the marina in the interviews with the inhabitants in order to obtain the general views of the new marina, and one gave the following reply when I raised the issue and commented upon the fact that UNESCO had responded to the construction:

[UNESCO] shouldn’t have let them construct it, because it took away the image of the Bay of Angra. It took away the image of Angra that we once had. It is a small island [...] and there are several other places where they could have constructed the marina, [...] with a modern design like they wanted it. (Interview 24)

This interviewee opposes the building of the marina, as well as suggesting that the marina should have been built outside of the city centre of Angra. As I will show in further examples in the following, such comments give evidence of the fact that there is a front stage and a back stage, in which modern architecture and developments are seen as more suitable *outside* of the historical city centre, hence in the back stage, and not in the classified area which comprises the front stage (cf. Ronström, 2007, Haslie, 2009).

Another inhabitant similarly told how many in Angra do Heroísmo did not approve of this marina, but she also highlighted several of its positive aspects:

Interviewee: When the marina was constructed there was a huge discussion. A great part of the people still think that it destroyed the bay. [...] but it has something positive, and we even gained something with this.

Marit: For example? What did you gain?

Interviewee: All the boats that are coming from abroad. Angra has always been a city turned to the world. We can see this in our gastronomy, culture and language. We always received a lot of people from abroad and the marina brings more people and that is good. [...] It allows us to have a vision of the city which we did not have before. This is a positive aspect. And that walk is very nice, very beautiful. That is one of the positive sides, but clearly for the ones who liked the bay as it was, this one is a shock. (Interview 20)

The new beach walk on the mole is one of the positive aspects she accentuated. Indeed, during the time I spent in Angra, I observed and experienced how the beach walk is a popular place for daily exercise and an evening stroll. I would claim that this walk on the mole is widely used and cherished by the inhabitants, and several of the inhabitants confirmed their appreciation of these facilities. One couple told how they enjoyed living in the city and did their walks by the marina: “We like walking there... going to the marina” (Interview 31). Actually, they believed the marina should have been made larger in order to make room for more bars, something that would bring more life to the city. However, these interviewees are newcomers in Angra, and I have seen how this fact may give less attention to “how it used to be”.

The marina and “the beach walk” on the mole, Angra do Heroísmo 2013. Photo: David Torell

It is also of interest how the informant quoted above (Interview 20) gives a proud reference to Angra’s importance in the past, and how it has been a city of the world. In this sense, the new marina is seen as a continuation of the bay’s historical role,

as the new marina could bring the world once again to Angra. Other interviewees also stressed this point, such as a journalist: “We have to keep the cultural [...] connection with the sea” (Interview 4). The historical aspect was also an argument stressed in the justification for the construction of the marina, as the ICOMOS expert noted: “It responds to the historical structure of the city and would revitalize and restore the one connection the city historically had with the bay [...]”. It is in fact referred to how the director at the Conservation Office favoured the plan for the marina on these “historical and cultural grounds” (UNESCO, 08.03.1999). According to these arguments, the new and modern marina can uphold or pursue the authentic function of the city. Thus, the marina can be said to hold a *functional authenticity*, all the time it is seen as a way of maintaining an original function (Lengkeek, 2008: 7). Upon interviewing this former executive, he explained about his views in regard to the marina:

Interviewee: I fought for the marina because I thought it was important to have something like that here.

M: So you were actually fighting for the marina?

Interviewee: Not that marina. A place for small yachts, for small ships connected with the archaeological site. [...]...a sea entrance. [...] They closed it – they put sand on it, but the idea was to create a protection so that they could have this archaeological area connected with a café and with the office of the marina [...]. (Interview 27)

Hence, the interviewee argued for a marina which would be like a sea entrance, in addition to fighting for a marina that would be connected with the archaeological remains in the bay. As such, the marina would have a mediating function in the sense of mediating and informing about the bay’s previous function and its archaeological remains.

Even so, a journalist claimed that the marina failed to revive the bay of Angra. Stating that, as of today, the marina is just a parking lot for leisure boats: “They spent a lot of public money in order to build a garage for the people owning a boat here and not to create business around the big ships” (Interview 4), he replied. The informant highlighted several times how he believed the city lacks vision, and that the marina should rather have been built in order to develop the maritime business in Angra. Thus, an economic rationale is given for the building of the marina. Indeed, it was argued by the State Party at a World Heritage Committee meeting how there was an economic need for the marina (UNESCO, 29.01.1999:23). As one interviewee from the heritage sector explained, the idea was that “the marina would bring progress to the city, a circulation of people and augment the number of visitors” (Interview 19). She also drew attention to how there had been a lot of private interests involved, in terms of obtaining a place for their boats, as well as interests in the construction and in terms of exploiting the terrain (Interview 19).

Leitão similarly states how the marina was one of the initiatives made in order “to promote and develop the city in terms of tourism” (2011: 209). I have no data which confirms the economic impact of the marina. Based on my observations I can only say that it currently serves as a local marina for the residents, with tourist whale watching services located in the marina, as well as the marina receiving private sailors (small sailboats) crossing the Atlantic. However, it is a fact that Angra do Heroísmo only attracts a minor number of these sailors, as most instead make their stopover in the more famous port of Horta in Faial Island or the capital of Ponta Delgada in São Miguel.

I also raised the case of the marina with one of the executives at the Directorate for Culture, who equally disapproved the final outlook of the marina and the masses of stones: “There should have been a mole that gave a sufficient protection, but which did not imply all the mass of stone which was poured [within the bay]” (Interview 43). The importance of the preservation of the bay area was a point stressed by several informants, particularly the ones representing the heritage sector or the antiquarian field, which the Authorized Heritage Discourse outlines as the experts with the authority to speak of heritage and give it meaning (Smith, 2006). These stakeholders argued that the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo needs special protection, as this area contains important archaeological artefact that are still preserved in situ, and the construction of the marina was impeding on the safeguarding of this archaeological site. The rationale in this argumentation can be said to be based on the intrinsic values of heritage, a rationale being at the core of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006). Moreover, these arguments can coincide with an objective authenticity, who judge the authenticity of this area based on expert knowledge on the historically real, original and the importance of the objects’ primary context (Wang 1999, Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011, Gustafsson and Karlsson 2014: 23)

The official at the Directorate for Culture drew further attention to the character of the public debate concerning the marina:

It was a much politicized debate, and [from my point of view] it was not a discussion that was well managed at the level of society, because the people discussed the marina, yes or no, but things are never like that. [...] there is no such thing as black and white in life, it normally goes in grey, and it would have been preferable if the necessity of the marina was understood, as well as possible solutions for the marina, right? (Interview 43)

This informant believed the debate had been too influenced by politics, and thought the discussion should have been more nuanced, not to mention that several solutions should have been discussed. As described above, a representative from the heritage sector believed there had been a lot of private interests in this case that had influenced the process. Yet an inhabitant remembered how there had been a

vast debate in the media and among citizens, in which many were critical towards the marina. However, he finally stated that the “the rehabilitation of that zone brought people back to the bay of Angra. Before, there were no other motives to go there, except for looking at the sea” (Personal communication, 11.02.2015). These statements describe the debate as being influenced by politics and private interests, and the debate was believed to have given few nuances. Nonetheless, the last statement provides an emphasis to how the city has gained a new area for recreation due to the building of the marina, which brought the citizens back to the bay area. Therefore, this latter statement coincides with the functional authenticity of the marina, as was stressed by other stakeholders above.

Arguments in sum

In terms of the arguments given by the informants, it can be said that they argue from an economic rationale, a historical and cultural rationale, social rationale and a preservation- and aesthetical rationale. The *economic* need for this marina was already brought up in the discourse with the UNESCO, and informants also stressed some of the economic rationales for the building of the marina, in the sense that the idea was to bring progress and tourism development. One informant also stressed how there had been economic interests which had worked in favour of the building of the marina. Thus in sum it can be argued that the forces of the economic field had a great impact on the outcome of this case. However several pointed out how there was too much money spent on this construction in comparison to what the city had gained from it. One stated that they should have developed the maritime business instead of making a “garage for small boats”. Hence, some stakeholders claim that the economic rationale for the marina has failed.

Another argument given for the construction of the marina was “historical and cultural”, as it “responded to the structure of the city” and could connect Angra to the bay area (UNESCO, 08.03.1999). In this sense it is argued from an *historical and cultural rationale*. One inhabitant stressed how the revival of its former and historical function, when it served as an international port, was a positive aspect coming from the construction of the marina, while another informant told how the marina is a hub that attracted citizens to the bay area once again. In these senses, the marina holds a *functional authenticity* (Lengkeek, 2008: 7). However, another claimed that it had failed in its intention to connect the city once again to the sea, as some emphasized how it had closed the bay instead of opening the city towards the sea. Moreover, some stakeholders (representatives of the heritage sector) opposed the construction of the marina because of the bay’s historical significance, in which there are archaeological remains still preserved in situ. Thus, it should remain as it was “originally”. For this reason, they give *preservation* as a rationale and take an objective approach on authenticity (Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011, Gustafsson and Karlsson 2014). Thus, the authenticity of the marina after the

building of the new marina can also be seen as culture in processes. Wang brings attention to how “the original” is not absolute and static. The original was as well once invented. This last point has been outlined in terms of the constructivist perspective. Thus stressing the processual in culture and living heritage sites (Wang 1999:355).

Yet, other interviewees comment on the *aesthetical* aspects of the marina, and some disapprove of its appearance due to “the amount of stone which was poured within the bay” or the fact that it is too modern, which is not seen as being in harmony with Angra’s general outlook. Indeed, UNESCO objected to the construction because it would have an unwanted visual impact on the World Heritage City. In terms of the *social rationale*, several informants highlighted that the marina offers a place to walk, dine and socialize. The citizens now have a motive for using this area, as one emphasized, and I have certainly observed how the marina works as a social hub for the citizens.

Additionally, the replies given by the informants can be said to contradict the consensus described in the reports from the UNESCO missions. In fact, a great part of the informants disapproved of the new marina, though they give different replies as to *why* they disapproved. Many also spoke on behalf of other citizens, and told how “most were against the marina”. However, I must stress that I have only data from a minor part of the citizens and officials, and I can therefore not give any conclusions in this regard. Clearly, there are also positive aspects of the marina, as the informants also highlight.

A final observation made is how none of my informants conveyed any indifference in relation to the new marina; instead, they talk about how it affected the city, the bay area and how they use it. The new marina clearly has affected the inhabitant’s actions and movements in Angra, and also their use of the city space. The walks on the mole described by several of the informants prove this fact, and the wide use that I have observed – as well as the new perspective which they obtained on the city, as one of the informants highlighted above, equally confirms the influence that the new marina received.

Factors that determined the final construction of the marina

Finally, I will point to some factors which can help explain the outcome of this case. Firstly, it is of interest to see how even the director at the Conservation Office could not influence the construction process, as he fought for a marina, but the final result diverged from his ideas and intentions. Thus, it can be argued that the official cultural heritage management or the expertise did not have the sufficient power to decide the outcome of the case. In her case study of Angra, the former worker at the Conservation Office, Letizia Leitão, concludes that: “[t]he lack of appropriate management system, and in particular planning ones, facilitated the political decision to carry out significant transformations on the waterfront of the bay” (Leitão, 2011:293), thereby claiming that the political powers overruled the

decisions made by the heritage management. As one of the informants highlighted, the debate was politicized. If we take it that the stakeholders representing the cultural heritage management apparatus are the heritage experts outlined in the Authorized Heritage Discourse, we can say that the views of these experts were challenged by the political field, and their powers and will to undertake modern progress in the city of Angra do Heroísmo.

As described above, some of the suggestions made at the expert visit, as well as reconsiderations stressed by the World Heritage Committee meeting, were not taken into account (UNESCO, 08.03.1999, UNESCO, 27.10.1999), and the case was not followed up any further by UNESCO. Hence, it can be reasoned that UNESCO did not have the necessary means and powers to influence the outcome of the case. Indeed, The World Heritage Convention is regarded as a “hard” international law³⁰ that imposes obligations on the countries ratifying it (Hall, 2008:21); UNESCO also contains a strong bureaucratic apparatus, and its symbolic powers should not be underestimated. But despite these capabilities and capitals, they proved insufficient in this matter. However, it is a fact that the sovereignty of the State Party is one of the strongholds of the World Heritage Convention, and that UNESCO cannot overrule the national law and decisions made by a State Party (Hall, 2008:22). The local newspaper *Diário Insular* also emphasized this aspect: “Clearly, UNESCO, which classified the historical centre of Angra as a heritage of humanity, has a decisive importance in this matter, but these decisions are not binding as it is the Portuguese state that has sovereignty” (*Diário Insular*, 06.01.1999). Still, UNESCO has means of intervening in terms of providing assistance and responding to mistreatments through reactive monitoring, and they can also use sanctions such as enlistment to the List of World Heritage in Danger and the delistment of sites from the World Heritage List. However, the latter means were not used in this case. Thus, another point that can be made in relation to this case is how UNESCO, which the Authorized Heritage Discourse sets out to be a prominent authorizing institution, is challenged if not overruled by local authorities and economic values and the need for progress at a heritage site are set before the value of preservation.

Another problem in this case was the fact that UNESCO was notified at a point when the construction had already commenced. The Operational Guidelines emphasize how the States Parties are to inform about constructions that can affect the World Heritage Site:

The World Heritage Committee invites the States Parties to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage to inform the Committee, through the UNESCO Secretariat, of their intention to undertake or to

³⁰ World Heritage Sites are also objects for «soft» laws such as recommendations and declarations (Hall, 2008:22).

authorize in an area protected under the Convention major restorations or new constructions which may affect the World Heritage value of the property. Notice should be given as soon as possible (for instance, before drafting basic documents for specific projects) and before making any decisions that would be difficult to reverse, so that the Committee may assist in seeking appropriate solutions to ensure that the world heritage value of the site is fully preserved. (UNESCO, 02.1999: 56)

This was an aspect that the World Heritage Centre stressed in one of the correspondences with the State Party (UNESCO, 16.04.1998). The expert mission also took note of this problem: “[p]art of the works have been undertaken and all heavy equipment for the construction of the dam is in place” (UNESCO, 08.03.1999). An entrepreneur had also been contracted for the job, and the Azorean authorities paid fines during the time the construction could not proceed. Thus, there were several practical difficulties for reversing the construction of the marina – and as stated, “the Committee was confronted with a *fait-accompli*” (UNESCO, 08.03.1999).

Indeed, suggested alterations were tested, in which some were found infeasible. The ICOMOS expert also expressed how he was pleased with the cooperation and the dialog with the State Party and the local authorities after the reports provided in 2000 (UNESCO, 10.08.2000). Though as stated, it was emphasized at this last Bureau session that certain aspects needed to be followed-up (*ibid*), but a report was never handed in and there is no record showing that the marina in Angra was addressed by UNESCO after 2000. Leitão compares the case in Angra do Heroísmo to the construction of the bridge with the World Heritage Site of the Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany which she believed attained more attention and a stronger follow-up by UNESCO. In her opinion, the monitoring of World Heritage Sites has improved during the 10 years that separate the two cases (Leitão, 2011:214-216). The decision to construct the four-lane bridge crossing the Elbe River led to the delistment of the Dresden Elbe Valley from the World Heritage List without the consent of the State Party, which was a delistment that took place only five years after its enlistment to the World Heritage List (Gaillard, 2014).

In terms of the public, it is of interest to see how many informants opposed the new marina as well as several stressing that a great part of the inhabitants were against the marina. I have no data that can verify whether most of the inhabitants in Angra were against the construction of the marina, but *if* it was a fact, the public’s opinion was not taken into consideration. However, one informant stressed how there were several private interests that worked for the construction of the marina, though as I understood this informant, they can hardly be said to be the general voice. In comparison, in the case of the Dresden Elbe Valley a referendum took place in order to obtain the public’s opinion. The referendum showed how the majority were in favour of the bridge, a result which was finally implemented (Gaillard, 2014:41).

On the basis of the foregoing, it can be said that the powers of the local heritage management were weak, the means of UNESCO proved to be insufficient, and the will of the public had limited influence; thus it can be argued that it was finally the political and economic powers that were decisive for the outcome of this case. These aspects were definitely stressed by several informants, with the economic need being one of the main arguments for its construction.

As I am writing this part of the thesis, one inhabitant in Angra do Heroísmo informed me that the bay area is once again being reconstructed, as the sidewalk along the marina is being improved and extended. Thus, it shows how this area of the city will undergo more interventions and be an object for further discussions. However, the case of the marina that I have described and analysed in the foregoing took place almost 20 years ago, and I want to highlight the difficulties which lie in obtaining all the details and facts due to this time gap. In the following, I will discuss a contemporary construction in Angra do Heroísmo: the building of a new public library.

9.2 The New Public Library – “É horrível”

As I am walking in the city centre, I decide to go up to the site of the new library to take a look at the present state of the construction – I have heard from several of the inhabitants that the construction process stopped this February. Taking a look through the gates, I can confirm that there is no work being carried out. The site looks evacuated and there is no one there. (field notes, 25.08.2012)

The construction of a new public library and regional archive in Angra do Heroísmo was initiated by the Regional Directorate for Culture in 2009 as the former library (Diário Insular, 2009), located in the Palácio Bettencourt and constructed in the late 17th century/early 18th century, was considered to be insufficient. This new library was constructed next to the main administration of the Regional Directorate for Culture located in the Palacete Silveira and Paulo from the beginning of the 20th century. However, the new public library has been disputed ever since the first caterpillars arrived at the construction site. The library is first and foremost disputed because of its contemporary architecture. Secondly, the library caused debate, as several of its neighbours and other inhabitants found the process prior to the construction to be too closed, and that the information about the construction of the new library had been insufficient. However, the debate was further augmented when the building project ceased in February 2012, as the company hired by the Regional Government of the Azores to conduct the construction went bankrupt (Diário Insular, 2012).

Hence, the construction of the new library has triggered several questions. It raises questions concerning modern development within a World Heritage City, plus highlighting the importance of local participation in planning processes and

in the management of World Heritage Sites. As the building is primarily disputed for its architecture, I will attend to the issue of modern architecture in the classified area before attending to the character of the process. As in the foregoing chapter, the aim is to analyse the discussion concerning the library in order to detect its essence and the different values and interests at stake. Essential questions in this chapter are: How is contemporary architecture in Angra valued among the stakeholders, and in which sense is this discourse affected by the fact that the library is constructed in a World Heritage City?

The Palacete Silveira and Paulo and the new public library, Angra do Heroísmo 2013. Photo: Marit Johansson

Contemporary architecture in the midst of a World Heritage City – on the polemics

During the course of my fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo, I witnessed numerous discussions about the new public library, many of which expressed a clear negative attitude. The most common reason for this view was due to its contemporary architecture, which they found not to correspond with the traditional architecture in Angra, as well as disputing the selected site for the construction. One of the neighbours to the library gave the following response when asked how she felt about the new library:

Oi! It is horrible. It is. It does not bother me to have a library next to my house, but not that building. This building is horrible: It doesn't have anything to do with the

city, in this environment. They should have made it in a more traditional style [...] it would have been much better. [...] Because that building is horrible – it looks like a greenhouse. Let's put salad and tomatoes or something in it, but not books! (Interviewee 20)

The respondent gave a firm disapproval of the building of the library: first and foremost due to its modern architecture, which to her looked more like a greenhouse, and she claims that it is not in accordance with the traditional style of Angra do Heroísmo. Another inhabitant expressed her feelings towards the library in an article entitled: "Sorrow and indignation", in which she gives the following description of the construction she had observed for some months:

For a few months, there have been the complex works of the archive and public library in an area where it would be difficult to imagine that this could happen, in one of the oldest neighbourhoods of Angra between narrow winding streets and old low houses, and in a classified area. (Monjardino H., 20.05.2010, author's translation)

As the title gives evidence of, she found it both sad and indignant that the library is being constructed, and similarly stressed how the construction does not harmonize with its surroundings, especially not within a classified zone.

I further asked for the views of the present officials in regard to the library who gave more diplomatic replies, such as this informant from the municipality:

Clearly, everybody can say that: "Look, it is ugly, it is terrible". [...] It is a matter of taste, a matter of aesthetics. It is very complicated. For me this may be nice while for you... do you understand? It is complicated – it is a matter of taste. (Interview 7)

In the view of this informant, the library's architecture is related to subjective perceptions of aesthetics. However, this is not just a matter of taste, as there are legislations that attends to new constructions within the city. One legal article states that:

Special attention shall be paid to the construction of new buildings in order to guarantee that their architecture become harmoniously adapted to the built environment and also guarantee their integration, namely in what concerns to height patterns, colours, materials, shapes, rhythm of the facades and roof shapes, as well as proportions and site locations. (Legislative Regional Decree No. 15/2004/A: 16,1a)

As we can see by this article, the legal framework *gives* restrictions concerning new construction within the city, and states that they should indeed harmonize with the architectural expression of the city, in terms of height, proportions and materials. Though it can also be a matter of taste as well as there are many ways of interpreting what “harmonize” means, it is a fact that the construction stands out and differs from the scale and materials of the general architecture of Angra. Yet, several informants from the municipality and the Directorate for Culture, who are the official monitors of the city and the ones to execute the legal framework, believe it is important that buildings being presently constructed in Angra hold a contemporary expression. Like this executive from the Regional Directorate for Culture stated: “What is important, and what I have always defended, is that every generation should leave a mark from its time” (Interview 25). One of the arguments given for this view is the need for progress and the importance of ensuring the future:

If we don’t construct in the present, we are not securing the future. We have to construct while respecting the heritage. We should not demolish to construct new houses, but in places where there is nothing old., and if we need to construct we have to do it according to rules and according to contemporary architectural expressions. And not as they did it a century or two ago. (Interview 25)

As he states, he does not approve of replicas, some of which I have heard several express, including officials and inhabitants in the area of architecture. The mayor of Angra do Heroísmo gives an equal consent to the contemporary architecture in Angra:

Both the municipality and the Regional Government have some building projects that will have a more contemporary outlook. One of the most contemporary buildings is the Public Library, which was designed by an architect with a national name and I think the looks...perspective of that project might be very beneficial for Angra. (Interview 17)

Hence, officials along with the mayor prefer contemporary architecture and regard it to be beneficial for the city. However, she did not expand on what the benefits were, but I would assume, similar to the interviewee expressed above, that it is related to progress and visions for the future of the city.

The new public library, Angra do Heroísmo 2013. Photo: David Torell

Even so, the views of the officials can be said to be a turn from previous ideas and the more conservative preservation regulations of the Conservation Office, which was accused of making the city look as a museum. As several inhabitants and informants have stressed during the fieldwork in Angra, there has been a softening up in relation to the preservation guidelines, and it is possible to detect a change in the preservation politics in Angra. Indeed, it is a change, considering the *reconstruction* of the city which was undertaken in a traditional style following the earthquake, which entailed *replicas*.

The responses I obtained in regard to the library show how there is a different attitude at the current moment: the officials are rather opposed to replicas and prefer contemporary architecture. One interviewee from the Regional Directorate for Culture accentuated how there had been an idea for a long time to not allow contemporary architecture, because the legislations were- and still are not very “permissive in this aspect”. The more positive attitude towards contemporary architecture within the city has been much more recent, according to this informant:

This is a recent change, and when I say recent, I am talking about two or three years, because for a long time the political option was: It is better to imitate how it used to be and to avoid doing something new, because from a legal point of view, no mechanism evaluate the new. (Interview 43)

This interviewee accentuates how the legal framework does not set standards for new or contemporary buildings. Further, I would argue that the quote further reveals a view which gives value to progress. What is more, he stresses the ways in which policies in regards to contemporary buildings within the classified zone have changed, and it can be argued that former view on heritage management or discourse on heritage (or the Authorized Heritage Discourse), is presently challenged by these new policies and conducts.

However, it is of interest to see how the inhabitants are more conservative in terms of contemporary architecture than the officials. This can be said to be contradictory to their opinions regarding the preservation regulations for the private housing facilities, in which the traditional material was looked upon as unpractical and inconvenient. As seen in Chapter 7, some instead prefer contemporary materials, and oppose to the conservation regulations by only using contemporary materials such as metal and aluminium. The negative attitudes toward the library and its contemporary architecture can be said to be related to these obligatory rules for the preservation of houses in the classified zone, as it is the same authorities who manage these regulations for the classified zone and are in charge of constructing a building in cement, aluminium and acrylic – materials which are otherwise banned within the classified city centre. The feeling of injustice was described by one of the inhabitants:

One lady who lives here in the street told me this: “Look, the other day I needed to [make a substitution], shortly after there was somebody from the government telling that: “You cannot put that. This material!” And she said: “So, I cannot put that, but they can build that monster right in front of me”. It is indecent, [...]. (Interview 30)

In other words, the inhabitants believe it is simply unfair that the same government obliging them to keep everything in wood and stone is building a library in aluminium, steel and acrylic- and plexi glass. However, one government official did indeed understand that this might be the reason for the opposition towards the library among the inhabitants:

I think many of “the enemies” of this building do not understand the government’s change in attitude [...]. That is, the same government which forced them to use an inclined roof with [traditional] tiles, small wooden windows, and I don’t know what. When making a building which is theirs, a new library and archive, they do it in a contemporary architecture. [...] So, the big problem of this building, regardless of the final product, is that people feel betrayed because they have been forced, without understanding, to arrange a home that sometimes was not quite what they wanted, but because it was in Angra. (Interview 43)

The informant articulates the sentiments of the inhabitants, and acknowledges the fact that people think it to be unfair that the government is constructing a new public library with materials that are otherwise forbidden within Angra. Moreover, he recognizes that they feel somewhat forced to obey these obligatory rules because they happen to own a house in a classified area. What is more, he articulates what I would argue many inhabitants feel, which was well expressed in the former chapter, that there might be a feeling of injustice, as some inhabitants feel they pay the price in order to preserve Angra do Heroísmo in accordance with the standards put forth by the government.

Furthermore, the selected site of the library is criticized for blocking the view of one of the most impressive palaces in the city, namely the Palace of Silveira and Paulo constructed at the beginning of the 20th century. However, one of the managers and a representative from the responsible entity emphasized that the building was to improve a site that had been neglected for a long while. In his opinion this site was deprived, in ruins and was consequently a place of “garbage, drugs and prostitution”, characterizing this area as having been like “a cancer in the middle of the city”. The manager further argues that the new library might be most beneficial for this quarter of the city since it can stimulate business in the area:

The cafés, the restaurants will get more clients, and the houses will get another value, being on foot from the library, right? Because of this, I think the area, Corpo Santo, which has been a very humble zone, will only gain from [the new public library]. (Interview 43)

However, most of the respondents acknowledge that the city is in need of a new library, as the former library has been shown to be insufficient for current needs and in order to maintain an adequate archive. Yet, there are others who suggested that the library should have been located on the outskirts of the city, where there are sufficient parking facilities. Several suggested that this building would be more appropriate on the outskirts of the city, and in this sense we can see how a line has been drawn between the central parts of Angra and its periphery, which allows for more contemporary architecture.

Ronström gives an emphasis to the centre-periphery dichotomy of Visby, which became all the more pertinent after the classification (Ronström, 2007:190). Similarly, there are differences between *the centre* of Angra, which is classified according to conservation regulations, aesthetically homogenized and where the “past” dominates, and its *periphery* or its surroundings, which is less regulated and dominated by modern housing facilities and commercial activities (ibid:190-193).

Leitão also commented on how contemporary constructions in the early 2000s, were built on the outskirts of Angra do Heroísmo because of the weaker restrictions in these areas: “Within the property, the approach was to limit change as much as

possible. Most development projects therefore moved to the fringes of the property, where the legal protection was weaker (2011:216). This statement also proves the change in management policies for the inner city of Angra, in which changes and contemporary projects were limited and thus moved to the outskirts. The construction of the new library, which commenced in 2010, gives evidence of opposite politics.

Angra do Heroísmo – a part of a general trend?

I would suggest in the following that the change in policies in Angra is part of a general trend, as well as other World Heritage Cities having experienced similar debates. One example is Vienna, which has undergone vast restoration and revitalization projects over the last, few decades, in which contemporary architecture and design have been given importance. Having visited Vienna on several occasions, the city's politics on contemporary architecture is obvious. The President of the Austrian Commission for UNESCO, Eva Nowotny, gave her views in this regard:

The historic centre of Vienna is a cultural heritage of worldwide significance, whose preservation entails great responsibilities. Yet being a UNESCO World Heritage Site does not mean being a museum. Current developments and contemporary architecture have their role to play, but must comply with stringent quality and quantity standards. (2009:11)

The Vienna Memorandum that followed the conference, “World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture – Managing the Historic Urban Landscape”, arranged by the World Heritage centre in cooperation with the City of Vienna, is seen as significant in terms of new policies that “promoted an integrated and harmonious relationship between conservation and new urban developments” (van Oers, 2010:8). In fact, the conference was held as a request to address the matter of modern development within historic cities after a discussion concerning a high-rise project in Vienna. Consequently, The Vienna Memorandum³¹ was seen as “a key statement for an integrated approach linking contemporary architecture, sustainable urban development and landscape integrity based on existing historic patterns, building stock and context” (UNESCO, 23.09.2005: A5), in which one article addresses the problem with replicas:

³¹ As it is stated in the Vienna Memorandum, this document is a continuum of the 1964 “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and sites” (Venice Charter), the 1968 “UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property endangered by Public or Private works”, the 1976 “UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas”, the 1982 ICOMOS-IFLA “International Charter for Historic Gardens” (Florence Charter), the 1987 ICOMOS “Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas” (Washington Charter), the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity, as well as the “HABITAT II Conference and Agenda 21” (UNESCO, 23.09.2005, A4).

Taking into account the basic definition (according to Article 7 of this Memorandum), urban planning, contemporary architecture and preservation of the historic urban landscape should avoid all forms of pseudo-historical design, as they constitute a denial of both the historical and the contemporary alike (UNESCO, 23.09.2005).

Thus, we can see how these guidelines coincide with the views given by the officials in Angra, who equally disapproved of replicating architectural expression made “a century or two ago”, as importance was given to leaving a contemporary mark. Similarly, we can see from one of UNESCO’s webpages how this organization views contemporary buildings within classified zones:

UNESCO welcomes and promotes contemporary cultural expressions, including modern architecture, as they constitute a continuation of culture and cultural traditions. However, there are obviously limits to what to plan, design and build when working in valuable historic environments, which were voluntarily nominated by the countries concerned to be placed on the WH List. A World Heritage Site is not just any other site, and it requires special treatment. Therefore, high-rise constructions should be positioned sufficiently away from historic areas where they cannot disturb sensitive balances in the built environment, or obstruct views to historic landmarks and landscapes. (UNESCO, 2013b)

The passage expresses a positive attitude towards contemporary architecture, but stresses the problem of high-rise construction in historic areas. UNESCO does, however, not give any definition of a high-rise building – nor does the Vienna Memorandum (UNESCO, 23.09.2005). As seen above, the inhabitants drew attention to the library’s visual impact and the fact that there was a difference in scale between the new library and the surrounding architecture. One of its neighbours expressed a negative view in regard to the new library just because of these aspects, some of which the following statement bears witness to: “This is a scandal, this is devaluating the house completely because the view of the house was really something beautiful” (Interview 30).

The problem of high-rise buildings have been debated in other World Heritage Sites, such as the case of the construction of several high-rise buildings close to the World Heritage Site Cathedral of Cologne, which resulted in the inclusion of the cathedral on the List of World Heritage in Danger, as these plans were believed to degrade its surroundings (UNESCO, 2013a). Despite the economic rationale for the high-rise construction, the project was cancelled due to the threat of delisting, and the Cathedral was included on the World Heritage List once again in 2006 (Bandarin and van Oers, 2012:32). Other examples of high-rise buildings close to historic cities are, e.g. the building of Gazprom in Saint Petersburg, the high-rise

buildings in the vicinity of the Tower of London and the Taj Mahal in Agra (Meurs, 2007:54, Bandarin and van Oers, 2012:167). Additionally, the development project “Liverpool Waters”, at the core of the World Heritage Site in Liverpool, brought about debate and finally led to its inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2012 (Rodwell, 2014). However, a current example are the plans for the proposed skyscrapers in Paris, to which the Assistant Director-General for Culture of UNESCO, Francesco Bandarin, gave a firm disapproval. He argued accordingly: “It is not just the banks of the Seine, which put Paris on the list as a World Heritage Centre, but it is the idea of the scale of the whole city” (Making Cities Liveable, 2013). Thus, as these examples give evidence of, the debate in Angra concerning the visual impact of library on this World Heritage City, is a common predicament in living World Heritage Cities. As one executive at the Directorate for Culture stated: “The preservation of cities is a pertinent material, very pertinent, because the city is a living organism. Well, thank goodness!” (Interview 25)

As emphasised in Chapter 8, the last UNESCO policy that addresses the conservation of historic cities is the New Recommendations for Historic Urban Landscape (HUL), which was approved in 2011. The recognition of “the dynamic nature of living cities” is one of the premises for outlining these policies, and the preamble also considers that “in order to support the protection of natural and cultural heritage, emphasis needs to be put on the integration of historic urban area conservation, management and planning strategies, such as *contemporary architecture* and infrastructure development [...] (UNESCO, 10.11. 2011, author’s emphasis). One significant point made in these recommendations is how “historic urban areas are losing their functionality, traditional roles and population” (ibid, II, 17). Indeed, this is seen as one of the reasons why it has become important to allow contemporary development to ensure the evolvement of historic cities. This aspect was also pointed out by one official in Angra, as he believed contemporary development is significant in order to ensure the future of the city. Again, it is of interest to see how the discourse on heritage preservation changes, as there is now a greater emphasis on functionality, integration and process, some of which can stand in contrast to what is said to be at the base of the Authorized Heritage Discourse, in which preservation and aesthetic values in relation to heritage is emphasized (2006:28). Aesthetics can also be said to be one of the basic values in the legal preservation provisions for Angra do Heroísmo, some of which have been challenged by the citizens who have spoken for more practically based provisions. This was stressed in the case of the cobblestones, by the ways in which the house owners have stressed the unpractical in the present provisions.

On the process of the New Public Library

We were not consulted, nor informed. Nobody asked us anything, nobody wanted to know our opinion. [...] Normally these big projects need to have a public discussion, but there wasn't. [...] They did like they wanted and that was very problematic. A lot of people wrote in the newspapers because of this, but it was of no use because it was the Government that decided. (Interview 20)

Like this informant stresses, many neighbours and inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo were disappointed about the fact that they were not given the opportunity to participate in the planning process. Another informant equally believed that the information had been scarce, and complained about the lack of a public hearing prior to the construction: "The public discussion was not open..." (Interview 30). In her opinion, there was no open hearing, and they had barely obtained any information about the building project until the caterpillars arrived.

These statements made by the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo show a sentiment of exclusion and a feeling that the governmental administration is not giving their opinions and thoughts any importance, as the government is looked upon as autonomous in their decision making. In many cases, I have seen the mistrust the inhabitants have in the official government, and in this regard I recall one reminding me that Portugal is still a young democracy, and this might be one of the reasons why there is a general mistrust in both the bureaucratic procedures and the politicians. One response given by a journalist in the city, one of whom criticized that the library was constructed in the city centre, also expressed a mistrust in the politicians: "[The library] is a gigantic political blunder. [...] the city is a victim of their politics. There is a generation of very ignorant politicians" (Interview 4).

As mentioned in previous chapters, the role of local communities and World Heritage Sites has been stressed by UNESCO in several of their activities and programmes over the last decades (e.g. UNESCO, 1976, UNESCO, 1987, UNESCO, 2005, see also Hølleland, 2013). The New Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO, 10.11. 2011) makes special recommendations on local participation in planning processes: "to reach consensus using participatory planning and stakeholder consultations on what values to protect for transmission to future generations and to determine the attributes that carry these values" (UNESCO, 2011).

Moreover, there is a wide academic acceptance for involving the public in heritage management (e.g. Smith, 2006:35, Millar, 2008, Hølleland, 2013:269), even though such participation can be tested "at all levels because it challenges power relations and structures" as Hølleland states (2013:269). Indeed, true implementation of community participation can be challenging. Sue Millar, Chair of ICOMOS-UK, addresses local participation in the management of World

Heritage Sites, in which she offers the famous Stonehenge as an example. The development plans to improve the visitor facilities at Stonehenge brought about a conflict among the stakeholders, and some of the problem was related to how the government gave little thought to “the needs of the local people who were not involved in the planning process”, and that money used on consultants were not efficient due to a lack of an “overall vision”. As a consequence, the plans failed to be implemented, and some of the problems which the plans were to amend remains unsolved (Millar, 2008:44-47).

The data from Angra shows how there is an engagement concerning the management of the city. Moreover, the statements made by the informants prove that the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo want to be included in the decision making processes concerning the management of the city. Some informants told how they usually take action if there is something they do not approve of: “We are like that – in our house if there is something we do not agree with – we call and complain” (Interview 20). This attitude was further confirmed when interviewing another neighbour of the new library who had been much more proactive in ways of addressing the negative impacts of the library. She had even forwarded her complaint about the construction of the new library to UNESCO and its national office, as well as the Azorean authorities:

I wrote to Portugal’s ambassador at UNESCO in Paris and to the UNESCO ambassador in Lisbon. The one from Paris responded and said that I should send it further to the entity that is responsible – to the ones that were patrons of the construction. So that was of no use. The other ones, none responded. I wrote to the president of the Regional Government, Carlos César. He did not reply. But I know he forwarded my letter [to the Regional Directorate for Culture] – so that was also of no use. (Interview 30)

This informant expresses the limitations of acting on the problem since the actions she took did not lead to anything. Most of the authorities did not respond to her complaint or instead forwarded her complaint to the authority in charge of the construction. However, this act resembles the action taken by the inhabitant commencing the petition concerning the cobblestones, who also addressed her query about the present state of preservation to UNESCO. Indeed, I have heard on several occasions how the inhabitants want or expect a better supervision to be made by UNESCO, and they also think that the organization should be more present and involved in Angra do Heroísmo – and regard UNESCO as being too distant. Like one interviewee said:

I think there is no monitoring of the World Heritage organization ... UNESCO. See the works that are done here. That hotel and [the new library]. Please enforce or send somebody to see these houses, but nobody is coming [...]. (Interview 30)

She further explained that when she wrote to UNESCO she wanted them to send an “inspector or an investigator” to see the construction. However, similar sentiments were seen in the case study of the World Heritage Site of Mozambique Island, in which the most addressed theme in the interviews was the role of UNESCO. At this site, a great part of the community leaders believed that UNESCO should take a more active role in the preservation of the site (Dantas É Sá and Mather, 2011:10).

After obtaining responses from the inhabitants on the matter, I turned to the ones responsible for building the library in order to obtain their views on the process. One replied that they made a survey on how the library would affect the neighbouring houses, meaning a survey which was to evaluate whether the construction would cause any harm to the neighbouring houses. However, he did not give any further views on how he found the process or in what sense the local community had been involved. Instead, he emphasized that the construction of this new library would be the best thing that could happen to the area because it would improve the state of the site – which created “an uncomfortable environment”, and repeated that the library would add value to this neighbourhood. Further on in the interview he commented on how the Portuguese prefer to discuss the cases outside of their proper fora: “The Portuguese are specialists at discussing issues outside of the appropriate forum. If it is in the café, everybody has an opinion, but if there is an open public discussion in which decisions are taken, nobody shows up” (Interview 43).

As the data shows, there is a discrepancy and dissonance between how the inhabitants and the officials term the character of the process. The inhabitants felt excluded from the process and the decisions made in regard to the new public library. The dissonance also derives from the fact that inhabitants and officials have different views on contemporary architecture within the classified zone. Thus, the contemporary buildings can be said to be obstructing the felt (subjective) authenticity of the city. To the officials, progress is important in order to therefore ensure the future of the city, and they do not approve of replicas or imitations of former architectural expressions. The library is also seen as a way of improving a former deprived area of the city. It is further argued that the library will add value to the area. On the other hand, the inhabitants believe that this architecture does not correspond with the architecture of Angra, and prefer traditional architecture. As well, some want to maintain previous views and sightlines. To some of the neighbours, the library will devalue the area. A third factor which disrupts the relationship between the inhabitants and the officials in this case is the fact that the library was built with materials that are not legal for the inhabitants to use. The inhabitants use the World Heritage Status as an important argument in this discussion, and call upon UNESCO to address the case.

In 2013, I received an e-mail from one of my informants, who confirmed that there had been no further developments in regard to the construction of the library. The construction site was then just as evacuated as I once observed it to be in 2012,

and to the best of my knowledge the government is presently trying to resolve the matter in a juridical process with the responsible company. Considering the vast debate it caused, it is a somewhat sad irony that the unfinished library is suffering from a considerable decay, which lies as an open wound in the midst of the classified zone of Angra do Heroísmo. Hence, the case of the unfinished library first drew my attention to the possible predicament concerning the management of heritage during the current financial crisis which has struck Portugal severely, and has been a topic very much talked about among informants, former colleagues and acquaintances in Angra, as well as having been constantly addressed by the Portuguese media. Indeed the case was also about the impact of the crises in terms of managing World Heritage Sites. However, I will not attend to this matter here, but instead stress the need for further research and attention on this topic.

9.3 The hotel

“No we can’t!” was the title of an article in the local newspaper *Diário Insular* on the 16th of November 2010 – an obvious reference to Barack Obama’s famous and more positive words: “Yes we can!” The main objective of the author was to address the construction of the hotel that was about to be built in the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo at the time, a construction which the author found inappropriate due to its contemporary architecture. The construction in question was a five star hotel of 10 floors that was to cover a steep and unexploited hillside on the east side of the bay. The construction progressed slowly due to financial problems and several contractors were involved, which caused continuous alterations of the original plans. Consequently, the hotel became taller (two floors were added) than expected, and thus more dominant in the cityscape of Angra.

One informant from the municipality gave this comment when asked about the process of the hotel:

Interviewee: This one here? In the marina? It was not easy. It was very complicated because the project was altered. In the initial structure the base was easy, but the problems started when they started to add more floors. The idea was to stop at the same level as the [hilltop], but as you can see it is taller. [...] I don’t agree with that.

M: But how was this possible?

Interviewee: I think it was a matter of politics. Certainly. That is my opinion. (Interview 7)

The new hotel in the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo, 2013. Photo: David Torell

This informant confirmed the complications concerning the construction. As well, the statement gives a glimpse of the polemics which the construction of the hotel had caused, some of which was much ado about its height, and he did not agree with the scale it finally obtained. It is further of interest to see how he stresses how the construction was a matter of politics. As shown above, informants have on several occasions characterized the management processes as political or discussions as being politicized. However, this informant does not elaborate further on the political aspects of the process, but one can assume that political forces overruled the initial idea to integrate the building to the landscape. In other words, the politics overruled the preservation ideals.

The first sentences of the article in *Diário Insular* mentioned above stated accordingly: “Shutting your mouth, closing your eyes and pretending nothing happens, in this beautiful World Heritage City of UNESCO, chosen with much honour to the Azores and the country, seems to be the trend” (Silva, 2010). The author gives a general criticism of what she finds is an unfortunate tendency in Angra do Heroísmo – namely neglect and undesirable development projects. Another article, written by the former director the Conservation Office, similarly stressed how the hotel affects some of the World Heritage values of the city (Maduro-Dias, 2010). These examples show how the World Heritage Status is used in yet another case in order to strengthen the argumentation. The fact that the World Heritage Status is used as an argument in discussions concerning the preservation of the city was commented on by an inhabitant: “[T]he ones who like

to conserve the city, at least, not to change a lot, use the world heritage matters like an argument to say that it cannot be disturbed, and I agree with that” (Interview 9).

Furthermore, the same informant drew upon the building of the hotel: “A hotel has been constructed that has nothing to do with the traditions”, and also stressed that this area has buildings from the first settlement period of Angra. A great number of the interviewees believed the contemporary architecture of the hotel to be unfortunate, in addition to many criticizing its dimension.

A common remark made by the informants who opposed to modern architecture was similar to what the author of the article, Maria Silva, articulated in *Diário Insular*: “Not that I have anything against young architects nor modern architecture [...]. In a historic centre, no!” She also added how there are peripheries for such constructions. (Silva, 2010). A similar view was given by an official from the heritage sector: “I think, in the case of the hotel, telling my opinion, I don’t like it. I think it is too large... including a hotel in a cliff, in a landscape... and these characteristics that Angra have” (Interview 19).

This informant also emphasized how the building does not coincide with the architectonical characteristics of Angra, as well as disapproving of its scale and the fact that it is built along a hillside. Yet other inhabitants have pointed out how they like that the hotel is covering the previously unused hillside. Several were negative to the hotel because it was constructed in the Bay of Angra, as this interviewee expresses: “The hotel, I think that it’s a bad example because it is constructed within the bay area of Angra, and that bay also has many archaeological remains from other periods” (Interview 3). Equally as in the case of the new marina, attention has been drawn to the importance of preserving the bay area due to its history and its preserved marine heritage, and as such we can see this as an objective approach to the evaluation of the authenticity of this area. Furthermore, there are others who had “doubts” about the fact that it was a five star hotel and the need for a five star hotel. Contrarily, an executive from the governmental tourism sector stated that “[the city] needs to have a five star hotel!” (Interview 12).

Despite the opposition which the hotel obtained, the debate finally ceased and *The Marina Angra do Heroísmo Hotel* was completed. The first guests are already enjoying their spa and wellness while gazing at the view of the Atlantic. The hotel is now being marketed as “*An oceanfront retreat in the historic capital*”:

Angra do Heroísmo has been recognized as a **World Heritage Site** for its great architectural beauty. The streets are lined with Renaissance-era churches, palaces and brightly-coloured chapels called *impérios*, while the central location of the hotel offers a wide selection of quaint shops, restaurants and a small beach within walking distance. Historically, Terceira was an important port frequented by ships travelling between the continents. The imposing fortifications of São João Baptista and Castelo

de São Sebastião flank the natural bay and were originally designed to protect the harbour from pirates. (Angra do Heroísmo Marina Hotel, 2013, author's emphasis)

Indeed it is of interest to see how The World Heritage Status is now used explicitly in the advertisement of the hotel, as well as the historical importance of the bay and its characteristics being described to attract visitors, which are the same arguments used by the stakeholders opposing to the hotel. Thus, this proves how the World Heritage Status can serve different purposes – both pro and con. I will describe another example of how the World Heritage Status is used differently between the various stakeholders in the next chapter. Moreover, we can see how the arguments and interests presented in this discussion resemble the ones in the discussion concerning the library. It is the contemporary architecture which the hotel holds that is equally causing debate, as it does not harmonize with the traditional architecture of the city. As in the case of the marina and the library it is stressed how it affects the visual values of the World Heritage City, and that the peripheries may be a more appropriate place for such buildings.

9.4 The cruise ship terminal

In the last chapter, I will return to the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo, as it has been the object of yet another debate after the former President of the Azores Carlos César made known the plans for a cruise ship terminal within the Bay of Angra do Heroísmo in 2009. The plans involve the building of a 450-meter-long terminal in the outer part of the bay area that will be equipped to simultaneously receive two cruise ships. The local newspaper emphasized the latter, which gives an idea about its dimension (Diário Insular, 2010).

Cruise ship terminal versus marine heritage

Several stakeholders have opposed the plans for a cruise ship terminal. According to archaeologist Paolo Monteiro, who participated in the archaeological investigations in the bay area in the 1990s, the construction of such a terminal would severely damage the underwater shipwreck park (Rocha, 2009, Johansson, 2010). Consequently, he initiated a petition on the Portuguese discussion site Petição Publica, in which he gave the following statement:

Yet again – even after the case of the paradigmatic construction of the Angra marina and the negative impact it had – [there are plans] to alter, dredge, fill and cement the maritime front of a city which is World Heritage. This decision shows that the Regional Government does not promote the safeguarding and valorization of cultural heritage [...]. (Petição Publica, 2015b, author's translation)

Monteiro's main concern is the archaeological remains within the bay, as well as pointing out that the projected terminal would disturb the characteristics of the World Heritage City. Moreover, he criticized the government for valuing the protection of heritage. At the site, he refers to both national and regional laws, not to mention international conventions, which he believes the government disrespected. In addition, he draws attention to how the government did not ensure public participation in the environmental assessment before the approval of the plans (Petição Pública, 2015b). Another informant from the heritage management sector replied with the following when I asked about her opinion on the matter of the cruise ship terminal: "I think it is very bad, I think it is very bad! My personal opinion is that it is very bad, in terms of how this will damage the submarine archaeological heritage" (Interview 19).

Hence, the latter informant shares the same preoccupation as the archaeologist who initiated the petition. These stakeholders may be just be what the Authorized Heritage Discourse defines as "legitimate spokespersons for the past" in the sense of being experts or holding expert knowledge and see the innately or unquestioned value of the heritage (Smith, 2006:29). Indeed, their legitimacy lies in the expert knowledge they have in terms of the archaeology in the Bay of Angra, some of which also gave Monteiro the right or authority to start this campaign. In other words, these stakeholders hold the necessary cultural capital. At present (2015), the petition has attained 1,563 signatures. However, despite the legitimacy given by the expertise they hold, their final powers, or whether these stakeholders feel empowered due to these competencies, can be questioned. Moreover, one can say that these stakeholders adhere to "an object oriented conservation strategy", based on the belief in the artefacts as authentic relics that should be preserved for future generations and for scientific purposes (Aronsson, 2004:175). Smith also states that the Authorized Heritage Discourse has traditionally conceived of heritage as sites or objects "with identifiable boundaries that can be mapped, surveyed and recorded", some of which she believes reduces the social conflicts about the value of heritage (Smith, 2006: 31). However, I will argue that despite the fact that it is an archaeological site that has boundaries and can be recorded, it still is an object for conflict in which its basic values are contested. And as Smith also states, "It rather entails specific conflicts over individual sites and/or technical issues of site management" (ibid), although I would still argue that this site concerns conflicting values more than technical matters, in which the values of preservation are set against the values of progress.

As emphasized by one of the inhabitants in the case of the marina, developing the bay area may be a continuation of its previous function and history. In this sense, a revival of the bay, with a cruise ship terminal, may be seen as a possible safeguarding of its immaterial history. This is defined as another conservation strategy in which the cultural process or the immaterial heritage is seen as significant. In other words, and which was also the case of the new marina, this strategy/belief seeks to maintain a functional authenticity (2004:175).

In this debate, the past-present dichotomy becomes explicit in the sense that the case entails a choice between safeguarding the heritage or permitting contemporary development, maybe even for the sake of the heritage. In the case of the library or the hotel, the risk of destroying heritage was not as evident, even though it had a visual impact on its surrounding heritage. Upon interviewing an executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture about his views on the cruise ship terminal, he replied accordingly:

Clearly, it is necessary to combine two things: preservation and the valorization of heritage. [...] but also to create and push forward progress! And development! It is important to unite these two. We cannot only live in the past! We have to invest in the future, we have to invest while respecting the past, valuing it and preserving it so to pass it on to the future generations, but we also need to understand that we today need to act now. We today have to build! We have to leave a mark that will be important in terms of producing wealth. The heritage cannot also be a factor of producing wealth, it can actually hinder progress. (Interview 25)

Even though this informant points out the importance of valuing heritage and sees it as vital to combine both preservation and development, it is clear that he regards it as even more important that the present society evolve and progress so as to ensure future investments. Indeed, he is the only informant who has given such a clear statement in regard to how heritage might hinder modern development. However, being an executive of one of the governmental directorates, it can be difficult to oppose a presidential initiative.

The possible impact of the cruise ship terminal

It became clear that a great part of the informants were rather negative when asked about their views on the plans for a cruise ship terminal in Angra do Heroísmo. However, many believe the plans are simply unrealistic and will hardly go through due to the financial crisis in Portugal. Like this informant states:

I don't believe that the cruise ship terminal will be completed. It will be one of those things that every year they say that it will happen, now it will happen, in three years, in two years, but then this government is thrown out and the ones entering will start once again. (Interview 9)

Other than just being an example of one informant who is opposing to the project, it also shows the mistrust in the government, some of which that has been stressed on many occasions.

An informant representing the executive level in the tourist sector was positive to the new cruise ship terminal. "It will be important" (Interview 12), she replied

when asked about the matter. She believed it would bring more tourists to the city, some of which would be beneficial for the commercial life of the city. She also underscored the uniqueness in a cruise ship terminal with such proximity to a World Heritage City. “So they can arrive just in the very centre of a World Heritage City?” I followed up. “Exactly, exactly, and you can sell it as such” (Interview 12). She believed this fact could be valuable when marketing Angra. I took notice of the latter statement, as this was one of the few times I have heard an official talking about branding the city as a World Heritage City for the purpose of attracting more tourists. In this case, the World Heritage Status is used to both argue for increased development and a greater flux of tourists, as well as to argue for protection and preservation.

I asked the representative from the cultural heritage management sector referred to above if *she* thought a new cruise ship terminal would increase the flux of tourists in Angra, to which she gave me a firm answer: “Cultural heritage is attractive for tourists when it is well taken care of and promoted, not when it is destroyed” (Interview 19). The answer leaves little doubt about her sentiments toward the cruise ship terminal, as she believes a terminal of such a dimension would destroy a great part of the cultural heritage of Angra or involve a mistreatment of this World Heritage Site. Furthermore, it is also a statement that holds a criticism in regard to how she believes the city is being preserved.

Some officials found it more difficult to be as firm as the latter interviewee, as they often had diverging views on the matter: a personal and a professional opinion. As one informant answered: “It is very complicated, very complicated. I think (stops and laughs)... it is very complicated. I have two positions: I have a professional option and I have an option as (an historian) and a *patrimonialist*” (Interview 7).

The dualistic view which the informant expresses is common for many of the officials in Angra. A great number are loyal to the preservation of the city and see the importance of preserving heritage, yet they want the city to evolve at the pace of a modern society. Moreover, the interviewee above gives voice to the general dilemma that lies between the preservation of historic cities and the urge for them to evolve. He also believed the cruise tourists would leave little money: “People will have everything included in the ships. Of course they will buy something. A souvenir or something, but it does not compensate for all the millions they will spend to build the cruise ship port” (Interview 7). Even though the interviewee does not believe that the commerce in Angra do Heroísmo would benefit from the cruise ships, he admits that the construction process might generate work and stimulate the economy. He also pointed out during the interview that the construction work would be financed by the European Union. Indeed, a great deal of the development projects in the Azores are sponsored partly or fully by the European Union – the EU logo can be found outside of almost every construction site in the Azores. I assume a great part of the projects are financed through the European Commission Operational Programme for the Azores (2007-2013), which

aimed to increase the standards of living in the archipelago, some of which also included improving the infrastructure (European Commission, 2008).

However, most of the interviewees regard the possible economic impact of the cruise ship terminal to be limited, as they point out that cruises are usually all-inclusive vacations. One of the respondents representing the cultural sector emphasized the importance of conducting a study of its possible impact before completing the project, as he is uncertain of what this might entail in terms of socio-economic benefits for Angra. Others suggested that the cruise ship terminal would be better integrated in the other city in Terceira, Praia da Vitória. As this inhabitant and representative of the cultural heritage sector said: “Praia da Vitoria is not classified, and it has a much more industrial character” (Interview 3). Nevertheless, there were some citizens who welcomed the governmental initiative for a cruise ship terminal, and considered it to be valuable for both tourism and commerce. One interviewee also stressed that all the cruise ships must pay port dues upon anchoring in the city, some of which could be a valuable income for the city.

The representative from the municipality also drew attention to the fact that a massive flux of tourists might cause negative effects, and pointed out that there are several examples of World Heritage Sites that have been ruined due to a vast influx of tourists:

Clearly it will bring about *uma vida nova*. More people and more movement, and more new faces, more people, but I don't know if that is the thing the city wants. We have a lot of examples of World Heritage Cities. Not only cities, but sites where tourism has destroyed things. (Interview 7)

The interviewee touches upon one of the main predicaments related to tourism and World Heritage, or tourism and the preservation of heritage in general. The linkage between tourism and World Heritage will be discussed in further detail in the next chapter. However, at present, the plans for this cruise ship terminal are still being processed and at the current moment there has not been made a decision on the matter.

9.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has aimed to map and analyse the discussions triggered by some of the contemporary projects that have been taking place over the last decade in Angra do Heroísmo. Most of the discussions introduced above broadly touch upon the conflict between preservation and development, and the tensions between the past and the present. However, these discussions also reveal minor tensions between different interests, values and stakeholders, such as political ambitions and visions, preservation values, economic aims, professional knowledge, personal driving forces, bureaucratic procedures, as well as democratic values and local

participation. Thus, we see how the different projects become conflictual due to the stakeholders' diverging interests and values. Moreover, the powers of certain fields and stakeholders becomes apparent in the study of these cases.

Additionally, the cases show the dissonance that occurs upon managing a World Heritage Site. As mentioned, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, 2007) have elaborated on the aspects of “dissonant heritage”; however, little attention has been given to the dissonant dimensions of heritage that occur in the intersection between heritage preservation and progress in a World Heritage City when a myriad of stakeholders are involved. Even though more attention is given to an abandoned and dislocated heritage or how heritage is used for state building purposes, it is acknowledged that “differences in economic interests, social composition, types of use and ownership can all interact on a particular site, creating legal management problems” (2007:232). Indeed, the cases above show diverging interests and ideas about how Angra should be used, plus demonstrating different claims of ownership that obstruct the debates concerning the management of the site.

In this concluding section, I will emphasize certain aspects that are common for the four cases addressed above. Firstly, as said, all cases touch upon the dilemma that occurs in the intersection between contemporary development and preservation. The discussions are mainly related to a diverging valorization of- and views on heritage preservation and contemporary architecture in a classified zone. The opposition towards the contemporary projects mostly stem from the fact that some stakeholders do not believe these contemporary projects coincide with the traditional architecture of Angra or that they disrupt the visual image of this World Heritage City. The visual impact was commented on by UNESCO in the case of the new marina, by the neighbours in the case of the library and by the archaeologist opposing the cruise ship terminal, which was further expressed by interviewees and in articles with relation to the hotel. Hence, the cases give examples of the dilemmas which modern progress faces within the historic city. Several officials stressed the need for the city to evolve in order to ensure the future and in order to “create wealth”, and some pointed out how the contemporary projects are instead about taste and the subjective perception of aesthetics. What is more, several officials refused the idea of replicas – as it was more important for the present to leave a mark. However, the more liberal politics regarding the contemporary architecture in the city centre of Angra is recent, and as demonstrated above I would argue that this change in politics is in accordance with a more universal trend: an increased acceptance of contemporary architecture within historical cities. Therefore, we can see how the heritage discourse, or rather the Authorized Heritage Discourse, is dynamic and an object for change. Changes being brought about after the dominant conservation values are challenged by new ideas on ways of understanding how heritage should be used and managed. The case of the library, which exemplifies the new views on the room for contemporary

architecture, is an example of this new way of understanding how Angra do Heroísmo should be managed.

Secondly, all cases raise the issue of local participation, and the need to involve the inhabitants at an early stage in the planning process is stressed. We saw how this was particularly emphasized in the debate concerning the new public library and the cruise ship terminal. In the latter case, the inhabitants were upset about the fact that little information had been provided before the construction commenced. This claim for local participation in cultural heritage management can also be seen as a way of opposing the dominant heritage discourse, in which heritage management lies in the hands of the experts or the stately heritage apparatus. Smith also stresses how local communities have challenged the dominant heritage discourse by for instance advocating for more local participation (Smith, 2006:28). However, as we saw in Chapter 8, local participation has been increasingly stressed by UNESCO, some of which demonstrates how the discourse is an object for changes that occur “within the discourse”, so to speak. As the cases above show, there is indeed a local engagement and concern for the management of Angra, some of which was proven by the initiatives taken by some of the residents in order to affect the processes and the possible outcomes, by notifying UNESCO or writing newspaper articles or otherwise engaging in discussions. I would argue that this engagement derives from the fact that the ways in which Angra is managed have strong effects on the citizens and their material surroundings.

Another observation made in the study of these cases is how informants describe some of the processes as political or politicized. These comments show how the processes are perceived by the stakeholders, but can also give evidence of the political power or the domination of the political field in the development cases. The economic need or rationale is also pointed out by several informants – for instance, the cruise ship terminal is seen as a development that could give wanted economic benefits and synergies. The building of the marina was also argued on the basis of an *economic need*, as well one of the officials stressing the need for progress in order to create wealth, thereby defending some of the contemporary projects. In the plans for the cruise ship terminal there also lays an economic rationale. However, it can be argued that the political interests or the economic rationale overrules preservation values in several development cases. This was commented on in the cases of the construction of the hotel and the new marina, as well the political will being seen in the plans for the cruise ship terminal. As for the hotel, it finally became less integrated in the landscape due to economic and political matters. Hence, I would argue that these circumstances question or challenge or even put aside the authority of the experts defined by the Authorized Heritage Discourse in these cases. Rather, the power or the authority of the Authorized Heritage Discourse is found to be weak if not overruled.

In the case of the marina, we saw how the primary authorizing institution, UNESCO was overruled by local authorities and economic values. Similarly, the

stately heritage management entity was overruled in the case of the marina. Thus, despite UNESCO's influence on international national- and in this case regional policies for conservation, the authority of their expert view or the true power (even symbolic power) of this authorizing institution of heritage in the daily management of a World Heritage Site can be questioned. Instead, we see how politics, economics and the need to progress can overrule the representatives of the AHD or the ones being "the right stewards of the past" (Smith 2006). However, these ways of challenging the AHD can also be made by representatives of the discourse, as we saw how some of the stakeholders from the Regional Directorate for Culture represent or speak for new ideas on heritage management, some of which coincide with the policies outlined by UNESCO. Thus, it can also be argued that there is a new Authorized Heritage Discourse being shaped, in which more of an emphasis is given on current needs and economic and practical rationales in the conservation of heritage sites.

The opposition between the centre-periphery is also shown in these cases by the ways in which the stakeholders often suggest these contemporary buildings be constructed in the periphery, rather than in the historic city centre of Angra. For example, it was suggested in the case of the marina that there are other parts of Terceira that were more suitable, with the library suggested to be situated on the outskirts of the city. The cruise ship terminal was also suggested to be located in Praia da Vitória, as this city has a more "industrial character". As a consequence, we see how a line has been drawn between the city centre of Angra and the periphery which is more suitable for contemporary projects, having similar construction projects, being more industrial or commercial, having less restrictions and being a more diverse area. In contrast, contemporary buildings are not in accordance with the classified centre, as it would disrupt the homogeneous and traditional cityscape where the "past" is significant. Thus, we see how there is a front stage and a back stage made, which was equally detected in the studies undertaken in Trinidad de Cuba (Haslie, 2009) and Visby (Ronström, 2007).

One of the reasons for the modern development projects to be built on the outskirts is also related to the fact that these projects obstruct the authentic cityscape of the classified area of Angra do Heroísmo. In all the cases shown in this chapter we can say that there is both objective and subjective approaches to judging the ways in which the projects obstruct the original or the felt authenticity or aesthetics. However, if we see these projects from a constructivist perspective, a heritage site's authenticity or "originality" can be seen as a process rather than being a static measure. Moreover, this view does not claim for something to be more authentic than the other (Wang, 1999: 355). Hence, based on these views, I would argue that the development cases in Angra do Heroísmo shows how a living heritage site can be said to hold a processual authenticity.

When considering the rhetoric used in the cases, we see how the World Heritage Status is used repeatedly as an important argument with both pros and cons. The fact that it is a World Heritage City further augments the discussions. A

similar tendency was found in the World Heritage City of Røros, Norway, where the World Heritage Status was observed to be a vital point of pressure so as to hinder unwanted development projects from proceeding (2007:25). For example, the World Heritage Status was used in order to oppose the rebuilding of a hotel in Røros.

Lastly, I would comment upon another observation made throughout the study of these cases, and that is the fact that the inhabitants take a more conservative stand in regard to the contemporary projects than when the preservation guidelines for their housing facilities were addressed. In the discussions concerning the contemporary constructions, they stress the importance of maintaining the traditional style that Angra holds and the characteristics of the World Heritage City. In contrast, many of the inhabitants stress the problem with the traditional materials which they were obliged to use for their houses. However, as pointed out above, another reason for opposing the projects is related to the fact that the materials used in the construction of these buildings is illegal for the inhabitants.

10 World Heritage clearly attracts tourists or ...? The State of Tourism and Mediation of the World Heritage Status in Angra do Heroísmo

A great part of research conducted in relation to World Heritage deals with the objectives and implications of tourism and visitor management (e.g. van der Aa 2005, van der Aa, 2005, Evans, 2002, Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005, Leask and Fyall, 2008, du Cros, 2008, Di Giovine, 2009, Haslie, 2009, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011, Harrison, 2013, Hølleland, 2013, Kaltenborn et al., 2013), and increased tourism is one of the assumed, or at least desired, effects of an enlistment to the World Heritage List (Shackley, 1998, Ronström, 2007:98). The automatic effect has, however, been questioned and criticized as the link might not always be as evident. The picture is often more complex than such causality (Hall and Piggin, 2002, Williams, 2005:132-136, Ronström, 2007, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011, Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012, Hølleland, 2013:242).

Firstly, some World Heritage Sites are popular destinations prior to their inclusion to the World Heritage List, and an enlistment does not necessarily increase or affect the numbers of visitors (van der Aa et al., 2005:18, Bandarin, 2005: v). The World Heritage Sites like the Tower of London or Pompeii in Italy could be examples of such renowned sites. Secondly, the attractive effect of a World Heritage Status might be moderate due to limited mediation and awareness of its World Heritage Status. Concerning the reasons for tourists to visit the World Heritage Site of the Greater Blue Mountains in Australia and the World Heritage Site of Tongariro in New Zealand, Hølleland's investigation showed that 40% of the tourists were not aware of the status and only *one* tourist, out of the 452 tourists asked, gave the World Heritage Status as the main reason for visiting the site (2013:248). Thirdly, some sites might simply not be of tourist interest regardless of the enlistment, as may be true in the case of the Norwegian World Heritage Site, including Struve's Meridian, which is hardly known or visited by tourists (Olsen, 2013). Without doubt, there are cases where the brand, which World Heritage has come to be, has proven to be important for tourist purposes (Shackley, 1998, Bandarin, 2005, Williams, 2005, van der Aa, 2005, Harrison, 2013). For instance, in his study of 50 World Heritage Sites, van der Aa found that the decentralized sites had experienced an increased number of visitors, like the site Tárraco in Spain, which tripled its numbers from 300,000 visitors in the 1990s to one million in 2003 (2005:110). Furthermore, Kevin Williams draws attention to how World Heritage Sites in the US increased the number of foreign visitors by 9.4%, while other national parks only increased their number of foreign visitors by 4.2% (2005:133).

Tourism to World Heritage Sites might therefore be “a double-edge sword” as the former director at the World Heritage Centre put it (Bandarin, 2005: v), as some sites experience the difficulties of managing a sudden and vast flux of tourism. A buoyant influx of tourism could deteriorate a World Heritage Site. Venice is a widely used example where heritage conservation is suffering from a huge flux of tourism (Bandarin, 2005: v). It has even been shown that tourism has been regarded as an environmental and cultural threat to the site’s surroundings and people (du Cros, 2008, Meskell, 2010, Upadhyay, 2013). A most brutal example in this regard is the enlisted Pattadakal Temples in India, where the settlement that surrounded the temples was destroyed and relocated so as to give the World Heritage Site nicer environments, with green lawns, thereby improving the presentation of the temples for the visitors (Upadhyay, 2013). The negative effects of tourism make the link between World Heritage and tourism complex, and maybe even problematic. Even though UNESCO has perceived this aspect and elaborated on the ambiguity that lies in tourism, they have also encouraged such a linkage. The partnership between Trip Advisor, the online traveller’s community and the World Heritage Centre,³² could be an example of such encouragement, though the aim was “to engage travellers widely in favour of sustainable and responsible tourism” (UNESCO, 2013c). The following statement may give an impression of UNESCO’s official view on the matter of tourism to enlisted sites: “World Heritage properties are important travel destinations, which if managed properly have great potential impact for local economic development and long-term sustainability” (UNESCO, 2014c). Furthermore, there is currently a programme called the *UNESCO World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme*,³³ which now has an action plan for 2013–2015 that aims to: “create an international framework for cooperation and coordinated achievement across sectors, from strategic planning to destination management, in order to safeguard heritage and achieve sustainable tourism and economic development” (UNESCO, 2012b).

Acknowledging the close relationship between tourism and World Heritage, it has been of interest to investigate how Angra do Heroísmo fits into this picture. How do local actors and stakeholders respond to- and act on the possibilities and threats that tourism hold? What is the state of tourism at this World Heritage Site? Spending a day in Angra do Heroísmo during the summer months of July or August, you may instantly detect that the influx of tourists to the city is moderate. It is obvious that the mediation and exploitation of their World Heritage Status are limited in general, and in terms of attracting tourists. Hence, how do the actors involved relate to- and address the branding and the uses of the World Heritage Status? Tourism and the mediation of World Heritage were initially not playing an important part in this study, although the latter aspects were the reasons why it

³² The two-year partnership was launched in July 2009, in which Trip Advisor promised to donate up to USD 1.5m of UNESCO’s World Heritage Centre during these two years (UNESCO, 2013c).

³³ The decision to create this programme was made at the World Heritage Committee meeting in Helsinki in 2001 (Labadi, 2013:99).

finally became essential to investigate the state of tourism in the city. Hence, I wanted to obtain a view of the tourist sector in regard to the relationship between tourism and World Heritage, in addition to seeking to attain the tourist's point of view and to acquire a better insight into their awareness in terms of Angra's World Heritage Status: Why did they really choose to visit the city?

The data concerning tourism also grew while conducting the fieldwork, some of which further augmented the importance of attending to the issue, as tourism and the mediation of the World Heritage City were addressed by the interviewees themselves. The issue was brought up when addressing the plans for a new cruise ship terminal, upon asking about the value of the classification, the benefits of the classification or the future perspectives for the city.

In the following I will elaborate on the data obtained through the course of the fieldwork and the responses and statements obtained from the inhabitants, business owners and officials in the city of Angra do Heroísmo, the interviewees from the heritage management sector, the cultural sector and the tourist sector, as well as tourists. However, I will start by presenting the responses given by the tourists, so as to obtain a view of the "outsiders" before returning to the local stakeholders and actors, who are the main focus of this thesis. In the last part of this chapter, I will attend to the issue of branding World Heritage, both in Angra do Heroísmo and in general, before giving a concluding discussion about tourism and sustainable tourism with reference to World Heritage on the basis of my findings in Angra do Heroísmo.

The data presented and discussed is based on qualitative interviews, in addition to observation studies undertaken during the course of fieldwork in 2011 and 2012. It must be stressed that this is not a quantitative study or a survey, but rather a qualitative study, so there may thus be some limitations as to the possibility of generalizing on the basis of the minor sample of informants.

10.1 Tourism in the Azores and Angra do Heroísmo

From being almost unknown at the beginning of the 1990s, tourism in the Azores has gained considerable importance during the last few decades. As explained in the introduction, tourism was appointed as a priority area by the Azorean government in 1996 (Silveira and Santos, 2013:261). Tourism became an alternative for economic growth in the region, which could offer attractions related to nature, wildlife, rural tourism and culture (Moniz, Hill and Silva, 2009:64). During recent years, the Azores have received more than 30 awards as a tourist destination. In 2010, it was awarded as one of the World's Most Unique Travel destinations by Forbes, while National Geographic Travel listed it among the 10 best trips of the summer in 2011. Despite this fact, tourism has regressed during past decades. One of the reasons for this regression is the financial crisis that has been hitting Portugal severely (Silveira and Santos, 2013: 260-261). In knowing the dependence on the domestic market, with Portuguese visitors comprising the

greatest group, the regression can be explained accordingly (Silveira and Santos, 2013: 281). Nordic tourists are a significant group in the Azores, but the Nordic share of the foreign tourists has decreased significantly from 2005 due to alterations of charter and flight promotions (Barros, 2014:2-4). Hence, this segment of tourists reflects the varying promotion of flights.

The main island of San Miguel receives almost 70% of the tourists visiting the Azores (Barros, Gil-Alana and Santos, 2008), whereas Terceira Island, where Angra do Heroísmo is situated, is the second most visited island, receiving 12% of the total number of tourists visiting the archipelago. According to the regional statistical bureau of the Azores SREA (Serviço Regional Estatística dos Açores), Terceira welcomed 61,945³⁴ guests in 2012. The number of visitors is presumably higher, as the visitors with private accommodations are not included. Another group not accounted for here are the tourists arriving by sailboat who make a stop in Terceira when crossing the Atlantic. Next after the Portuguese group, Terceira Island is dominated by tourists from the US and Spain; in fact, Terceira receives a greater amount of tourists from the US than the other islands (Barros, Gil-Alana and Santos, 2008:6-7). There may be two important factors that explain this tendency. Firstly, Terceira receives a great number of tourists who are relatives of the 1000's who immigrated to the US during the last century (Silveira and Santos, 2013). Throughout the summer months, this group of tourists is observable in the city of Angra do Heroísmo, as you can overhear a mix of Portuguese and American in the streets. A second reason may be the US Air Force, which maintains a unit at the Lajes Airbase at Terceira. The US personnel with family also equally receive visits from friends and family from the US.

As mentioned, the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo received 40,114 *hotel guests* in 2012, but there is no statistical data about the influx of tourists to *the city* of Angra do Heroísmo (SREA (Serviço Regional Estatística dos Açores), 2013). The city holds the majority of the accommodations, and is considered to be the most important city on Terceira Island. Therefore, one may assume that a great part or even most of the tourists coming to the island of Terceira visit the city of Angra (cf. Direcção Regional do Turismo, 2014, personal communication). Along with the governmental strategies in terms of tourism, several initiatives were also made by the municipality of Angra do Heroísmo to develop tourism in the city of Angra do Heroísmo in the late 1990s. One of the main projects in this regard was the marina project, which I have described and discussed previously in this thesis. Two larger hotels on the outskirts of the city were also built around 2000. The buildings were not approved by the Conservation Office, but the Directorate for Culture as well as the municipality overruled this decision (Leitão, 2011: 209-214). Currently, both hotels receive a large part of the guests visiting Angra do Heroísmo

³⁴ This is the number of registered guests in hotels (57,187), rural lodgings (1,630), hostels (1,564), camping sites (814), guest houses (113) and private accommodations (637) (SREA, 2012).

However, there are several hotels within the classified city centre, although they do not hold the same capacity in terms of beds as the two larger hotels on the outskirts of the city.

10.2 Tourism – “What is the greatest reason for coming to Angra? Undoubtedly, it is because it is a World Heritage City”

The title above is a quotation from an interview conducted with an executive at the Directorate for Tourism in the Azores. She was most certain about the main reason for visiting Angra; it is because it is a World Heritage City! Consequently, I was curious to ask the tourists coming to Angra do Heroísmo about their reasons for visiting the city. Was the World Heritage Status decisive for this decision?

I conducted five qualitative interviews with a total of eight persons randomly selected tourists within the classified city centre, as well as I obtained information about the subject of tourism upon meetings with tourists throughout the course of the fieldwork. Even though the number of interviewees was limited, the aim was to give examples of the tourists’ reasoning, experiences and awareness.

A young French couple I met one Saturday afternoon at the bay area replied in this way when I asked why they had chosen to visit Angra:

M: So why did you choose to come to Angra?

Interviewee 1: Angra?

Interviewee 2: Ville de UNESCO. Aime bien...

Interviewee 1: We like cities and I studied the urban landscape, and we are always ready to go to different... we love nature but we like cities too. We read that Angra do Heroísmo was very special for the city, the centre, the buildings and maybe it is... more this.

M: What did you know about the city before going here?

Interviewee 1: I knew that it was a ...it was really between the two continents. Between Europe and it was a very important place in the time of discoveries...

M: Muito bem! Good.

Interviewee 1: Reminds me of something more exotic.

M: Did you know that it was a World Heritage City?

Interviewee 1: Yes.

Interviewee 2: Yes.

(Interview 48)

Even though, the more timid Interviewee 2 was not able to finish her reply, since it was her English-speaking boyfriend who did most of the talking, her quick response reveals the fact that they chose the city due to its World Heritage Status. Interviewee 2 also gives an interest in urban architecture as another reason for

visiting the city. A Dutch couple engaged in a concept known as “Couchsurfing”,³⁵ who I got to know through a woman in Angra do Heroísmo, also confirmed that the World Heritage Status was a critical factor for choosing Angra do Heroísmo as a destination during their stay in the Azores.

However, most of the other interviewees gave other reasons for visiting the city when I asked why they had chosen to visit Angra do Heroísmo. A Spanish tourist told how he came to the city because of Angra do Heroísmo’s colonial architecture:

Marit: Why did you choose to visit Angra?

Interviewee: The city of Angra do Heroísmo had a special attraction to me, more than any other in the other islands in the Azores.

Marit: Oh, yeah. Why?

Interviewee: [...] the city is more colonial than in any of the other islands in the Azores. Already 500 years since it was discovered, and also the buildings are colonial, are typical colonial... the houses [...], the facades and the balconies. I am an architect, so...

(Interview 46)

All the interviewees knew they were visiting a World Heritage City when I asked explicitly about their awareness of the status. Yet, only one of the tourists knew exactly why Angra do Heroísmo had obtained its status. The mayor in Angra do Heroísmo thought the tourists knew it was a World Heritage City before arriving. Nonetheless, she was not sure if this was the only reason for coming: “but I think it is important when you are making a decision about where to go for your holidays, to know that it is a World Heritage City, which has a historic centre” (Interview 17).

The promotion of Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage City for the purpose of increasing the influx of tourists was a subject I raised in the interviews with some of the officials in the city, thus representing the cultural and heritage management sector. Some of the interviewees from these sectors criticized the limited promotion of Angra do Heroísmo in terms of tourism. One interviewee from the heritage management sector said how she did not “think there exists a tourism divulgation – it says that Angra do Heroísmo is a World Heritage City, but there is not more information than in terms of the promotion of the Azores” (Interview 19).

Another official at the municipality pointed out how the World Heritage “product” should be sold or marketed more, as well as a journalist in the city who

³⁵ Couchsurfing is a global community where members can find a place to stay or share their home (Couchsurfing International, 2014).

explained how they (the Angrenses) had never understood how the World Heritage could be: “used in order to revive the city [...], for example by taking advantage of tourism” (Interview 4).

As a result of these responses, I asked how the tourists had learned about the fact that it is a World Heritage City. The tourists interviewed and the tourists I met during the fieldwork had been informed about Angra’s World Heritage Status either through their guidebooks, the local tourist information or by the local guides. None of the interviewees said they had chosen the city due to regional or national promotion of the city as a World Heritage City. The executive at the Directorate for Tourism also confirmed that there is no current project which aims to brand the city as World Heritage in order to obtain more tourists, though Legislative Regional Decree No. 38/2008/A, which has defined the strategic offers for the different islands, depicts the main offer for Terceira Island to be Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage City. Other offers mentioned in Terceira were cultural events, the Holy Spirit catholic event, volcanism, vineyards, golf and gastronomy (Silveira and Santos, 2013: 264, Legislative Regional Decree No. 38/2008/A). The mayor in Angra do Heroísmo admitted that the city could gain more from the classification:

I think we can take more profit from it. It is one of the potential areas of development in the Azores, [...] and Angra is privileged for having a historical centre that’s beautiful and classified as World Heritage. And I think that we will still not profit from this fact. (Interview 17)

However, some of the tourists highlighted the positive aspect of *not* being in a tourism-oriented place, as the following American tourist stated:

[H]ere it is all informal. There is not as much here as in Amsterdam, but it is very pleasant. People are not asking me for things or “amigo come and buy this” and nobody is bugging me. I am being relaxed, you know. I feel like I am in this...right in the Azorean society. [...] I feel like I am not just...I just blend right in. That is based on a wide experience of travelling all over, from Mexico to North America, Europe and Australia. I find it very pleasant. (Interview 47)

This tourist may also be a representative of *niche tourism*. Niche tourism can be said to be a counterpart to mass tourism, being defined as “special interests, culture and/or activity based tourism involving a small number of tourists in authentic settings”, while on the other hand mass tourism is defined as “conventional tourism involving a large number of tourists in staged settings” (Robinson and Novelli, 2005:9). Therefore, niche tourism may also be said to be a reaction to mass tourism.

A general impression I have attained from the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo is that the moderate influx of tourists during the summer months is regarded to be a positive contribution to the city. The reasons for the Angrenses' positive sentiments toward tourism may derive from the fact that it is a small community in a fairly isolated Mid-Atlantic island, and as I have experienced myself, a new face and new people are generally most welcomed by the islanders. One interviewee also pointed out how the inhabitants could profit from more tourism, as this would imply more services in the city and more life. Despite positive attitudes toward tourists, many of the inhabitants emphasized that the Azores should keep a quality-based tourism: "Um turismo do qualidade". Madeira's mass tourism was often used as an example of a kind of tourism that they did not want to be developed in the Azores. One example in this regard is the following quote from an inhabitant of Angra do Heroísmo who articulated his concerns accordingly:

There are a lot of people who have this crazy idea about making the Azores into a zone of a lot of tourism [...]. You can call me selfish, but I think it is better with less tourists. I mean, I like people coming. I like that people enjoy staying here, [as long as it does not] change what is customary here. We go to Madeira and everything there is very artificial. It is very beautiful; there is no doubt about that. Madeira is beautiful, but the city is like any other. A lot of buildings, hotels... everything is paid. Even the people... [...] The folklore people there are more professional. (Interview 9)

As he says, there are people who want to develop tourism further, but he does not approve of mass tourism and the artificial industry that may derive from such tourism. He does not want Angra do Heroísmo to be changed into an artificial site or to be just like any other city. Avoiding mass tourism in the Azores is also an important objective for the government. In the official plan for tourism in the Azores (The Spatial Plan of Tourism of the Autonomous Region of the Azores), there was a plan to make the Azores a quality destination, thereby being an opposite destination to mass tourism. For instance, in order to maintain a low influx of tourism, the quantitative limit for hotels is regulated by law (Silveira and Santos, 2013).

Several of the officials similarly mentioned that tourism should be quality based, with the mayor stating: "[...] the important thing for us is to have tourism with quality, a tourism associated with nature and a historic component. I think that is very important" (Interview 17). But she also stressed the limitations that the Azores have in order to receive tourists: "More quality than the enormous quantities, because we have limited capacities in terms, in terms of hotels."

Furthermore, an interviewee from the municipality, who stressed the importance of selling Angra do Heroísmo as World Heritage, stated that it should not be sold without sentiments:

The World Heritage product should be sold more, but not sold without any sentiments. In order to bring lots of people? No. Rather to bring small groups of people with possibilities and with money, this gives this type of tourism that gives protection [...]. (Interview 7)

The quote “sold without sentiments” may refer to tourism development without impeding on the conservation and authenticity of the city, not to mention the well-being of the citizens. The interviewee believes the brand should be sold more, though not at any cost and with quality, but smaller groups are preferred to bigger groups. As described in Chapter 9.5 when addressing the cruise ship terminal, this interviewee also warned about such plans, as it could give an unwanted mass tourism that may well destroy a World Heritage Site. He further considers tourists with economic means to give a sufficient protection to Angra do Heroísmo. There were also other interviewees who drew attention to the importance of receiving tourists with money, and tourists who are “in search of culture”, as one articulated it. This refers to what Ronström defines as the “right” and “wrong” tourists, which he believes is well embedded in the tourism industry in general. In Visby, Sweden, he found that World Heritage was used to attract the cultural tourists or the “right” kind of tourists and to decrease the amount of the party tourists, who were the “wrong” kind of tourists (Ronström, 2007:98-100). Though there are hardly any party tourists arriving in Angra do Heroísmo, my data shows how there is an outspoken desire to attract cultural tourists, preferably with possibilities and economic means.

Another interviewee from the cultural heritage management sector believed in knowledge-based tourism, and made a suggestion on how to attain this: namely by local involvement. She regarded the inhabitants to be the most suitable guides in Angra do Heroísmo, not just for the sake of a better mediation of Angra’s history, but it would also be valuable to the inhabitants, as this might give a confirmation of the importance of Angra’s history and enhance the interest for the city’s heritage. Moreover, she suggested that the private houses within the classified zone be opened for tourists, as this would offer a richer and more profound experience of Angra. All the buildings in Angra do Heroísmo have a story to tell – it is a living proof of the history of the city, she said (Interview 19). An interviewee living in one of the old palaces in the city told in fact how tourists sometimes want to enter the house since they believe it is a museum (Interview 40).

To the best of my knowledge, there are city guides who were born and raised in Angra. However, a great deal of the tourists arrive in chartered groups with a trained foreign guide. This not only causes economic leakage, but also serves to

give the narratives a less local expression. Gemma McGrath discussed the use of professional guides versus local guides at the World Heritage Site of Cusco in Peru. McGrath points out the distinctiveness in the narratives of the local guides, guides who are coming from the area and whose knowledge is derived from legends passed down from the area (McGrath, 2005:150). This new credibility given to the “unprofessional” guides or mediators coincides with the idea put forth by the Swedish historian Peter Aronsson: that the legitimate uses of the past have been spread more evenly among the private-, public- and formal institutions over the last decades, which implies that more legitimacy has been given to the commoners (Aronsson, 2012: 295).

Using the homeowners in Angra do Heroísmo as tourist guides coincides with a goal that has been increasingly emphasized by UNESCO: to raise local engagement and participation at World Heritage Sites, as I have discussed in Chapter 8. In *the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, such local participation is encouraged and outlined:

Legislations, policies and strategies affecting World Heritage properties should ensure the protection of the Outstanding Universal Value, support the wider conservation of natural and cultural heritage and promote and *encourage the active participation of the communities and stakeholders concerned with the property as necessary conditions to its sustainable protection, conservation, management and presentation*. (UNESCO, 07.2013, 119, author’s emphasis)

In order for World Heritage Sites to achieve sustainable tourism, the involvement of local stakeholders is one of the primary aims in UNESCO’s World Heritage and Sustainable Programme (UNESCO, 2012b). The interviewee stressing the importance of local guides corresponds in certain ways with UNESCO’s focus on local participation at World Heritage Sites, as she believes that local involvement may enhance the interest for the conservation of the city. As she said: “I think the inhabitants never understood very well why they have all the restrictions [...]” (Interview 19). One homeowner in Angra articulated a similar view, believing that there was a lack of information about the history of the city which aimed at informing the inhabitants and *not just the tourists*, as she said. Secondly, she believed the classification represented more worries than pride, which could be a problem for the preservation:

When the citizens do not feel any pride, they will not care. Being a heritage city now represents preoccupations, problems and obstacles when restoring the house, more than pride. [...] But if the people understood, if they had a feeling that the heritage is something that is ours, people would do things in a better way. (Interview 24)

Many of the respondents have indeed expressed how they see the importance of conserving the city, but as this informant gives evidence of, there is ambivalence towards the bureaucratic procedures and the meaning of the heritage regulations, which can also affect the motivation and interest for the preservation of the city. In her view, this ambivalence causes less pride, which in turn leads to less care for the preservation. Moreover, the opinions of the official and the inhabitant show how the regulations and general cultural heritage management are top-down controlled, and these statements may be interpreted as a wish for the management to be more grounded at the citizens' level or to have a more bottom-up organization. In other words, these interviewees oppose the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) and the experts, who have the authority and the hegemony in defining heritage, and how it should be preserved, managed and presented (Smith, 2006). Thus, one may also say that these interviewees point out how the experts' views on heritage management have failed, as it does *not* lead to the best preservation, and rather to the contrary, as the restrictions and the preservation guidelines outlined by the experts' have alienated the inhabitants, in effect reducing the interest for the preservation. Laurajane Smith also disapproves of the absence of the action "or the critical engagement on the part of the non-expert users of heritage" in the Authorized Heritage Discourse, as she believes this hinders "memory work, performativity and acts of remembrance" (Smith, 2006:34). As seen above, the interviewee from the cultural heritage management sector calls for the inhabitants' involvement in the presentation of *their* memories and history. Hence, it can be said that she opposes elements of the AHD of which she is a part of. Thus, again we can see how the discourse is challenged from within.

10.3 World Heritage as a brand – the mediation of Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage Site

It is a Sunday afternoon and we have spent the morning in Praia da Vitória. Upon driving back to Angra, I notice the World Heritage Symbol in one of the roundabouts just outside the city. I point at the sculpture and make a remark about how this must be one of the few symbols telling about the fact that Angra do Heroísmo is a World Heritage City. The driver turns around and says that she had never really noticed the symbol before, nor did she actually know what it symbolized. (field notes, 03.07.2011)

The World Heritage Symbol was designed by a Belgian artist (M. Michel Olyff), and became the official World Heritage symbol in 1978 (UNESCO, 07.2013, Harrison, 2013:89). It is currently the global brand used to mark World Heritage Sites, and as it is stated in the Operational Guidelines: "It [...] serves to identify properties inscribed in the World Heritage List. It is associated with public knowledge about the Convention and is the imprimatur of the Convention's credibility and prestige" (2013e). The Operational Guidelines give careful

instructions about how the States Parties and the World Heritage Sites should use the symbol (UNESCO, 07.2013, Harrison, 2013:89). Despite the varieties of uses and types, the Operational Guidelines state that the aim of the signage is to make the visitors aware of the status. However, with reference to the episode from the field diary cited above, it might be questioned as to how renowned this symbol really is. Therefore, in what sense is Angra do Heroísmo's World Heritage Status mediated? How do the actors involved relate to- and respond to the branding and the use of its World Heritage Status? I asked the tourists how they found the information about the fact that they were visiting a World Heritage Site. One of the tourists gave the following remark:

“I haven't seen this information – these inscriptions – I still have not seen it.” Another one tried to recall if he had seen any signs or emblems, and replied accordingly: “I don't remember if they have any UNESCO signs.” To which his wife rapidly responded: “If you don't remember, maybe it is not enough?” (Interview 45)

During the fieldwork, I became attentive to the lack of signage or the somehow random placement of the World Heritage symbol within the classified city centre. After a thorough search, I counted four places in the city where the World Heritage Symbol is depicted. A major World Heritage symbol, being more of a statue, is placed in the middle of a roundabout upon entering the city, while another emblem with the text, “Angra do Heroísmo Cidade Património Mundial”, can be found on a sticker at a taxi stop; a third is portrayed at one location in the pavement, so to get a view of the last one you need to enter the City Hall, where a World Heritage Plaque is hanging on the wall by the main entrance. However, all the road signs directing you to Angra do Heroísmo depict the World Heritage symbol – though many of the signs are in a poor state, and consequently, the brand is rather deprived- than highlighted in a positive manner.

The *State of Conservation Report of World Heritage Properties* in Europe, carried out in Angra do Heroísmo in 2006, also firmly stated that there is: “not enough signs referring to World Heritage Site”, and based on my data from 2011 and 2012 it is reasonable to state that there is a limited branding of Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage City. However, the periodic report from 2014 stated that the World Heritage Emblem is displayed “in many locations and easily visible for visitors” (UNESCO, 2014e). My data does not, however, apply to this statement. Thus, a possible increase in signage must have been taken place after my last visit to the city in 2013. Hølleland found there to be “a sceptical attitude towards the ‘World Heritage branding’” at the site she studied (2013: 244), although I have not found such scepticism in Angra do Heroísmo. Instead, one of the reasons for the lack of information and mediation in Angra do Heroísmo that I

found may stem from inadequate means and resources, as an interviewee from the heritage management sector pointed out.

Road sign with the World Heritage Symbol at the top right. Photo: Marit Johansson

An American tourist had another opinion about the limited use of signage and promotion of Angra's World Heritage Status:

...it doesn't really jump out on you. It's subtle, it is subtle. Which is kind of... It came up a couple of times with the tour guide. The guy was retired and took us half way around the island and so it is subtle that it is.... You know the airport does not have flashy neon signs written World Heritage Site. You have to "Oh, wow, really?" So, I find it refreshing, actually. (Interview 47)

This interviewee highlights the positive aspect of not overusing or over informing about the World Heritage Status. Though knowing the restrictions for the use of the World Heritage emblem in the Operational Guidelines, it would hardly be permissible to use a neon World Heritage sign, but the quote gives evidence of the fact that there might also have some positive aspects of not overstating a World Heritage Status. Minor uses of the World Heritage Symbol also give a certain distinction and trigger curiosity, and as the interviewee pointed out above, may even have the effect of a positive surprise.

After acknowledging the limited use of the World Heritage Symbol in the city, I was all the more attentive when finding a handmade blanket hanging from one

of the private houses in the classified zone during the mid-summer feast,³⁶ with the World Heritage symbol *imprinted*. The family further told how: “You cannot imagine all the people passing and taking photos”. I interviewed the woman so to know her reasoning for making such a homemade World Heritage blanket. She explained how the status should be more “publicized”, and she referred to other World Heritage Cities in Portugal that she believed were doing more in order to promote their status (Interview 32). Even so, it was evident that the interviewee believed that Angra do Heroísmo attained considerate funding due to its status, and gave this as one of the reasons why the city should do more in terms of promoting its World Heritage Status. However, due to its status, the economic transfers to Angra do Heroísmo are limited if not non-existent (UNESCO, 2006a). Nonetheless, it is a common assumption that a World Heritage Status automatically generates money.

The lack of official promotion and signage clearly triggered this private promotion of Angra’s World Heritage Status, in addition to revealing the pride which the inhabitants hold in regard to the classification. Other inhabitants also expressed how they believed there is a limited initiative in terms of the use and mediation of the fact that Angra do Heroísmo is a World Heritage City, as this interviewee does: “[...] we need to use UNESCO as a brand for our city. It is a brand for our “terra”. UNESCO has to be a brand for tourism. [...] and our official identities do not use the UNESCO brand” (Interview 24).

There are some businesses using the World Heritage Status for marketing purposes, like the new hotel in the Bay of Angra mentioned above. The World Heritage Status is also used by some estate agencies selling houses within the classified zone, though the status is actually mentioned in order to inform about the possibilities of obtaining funding for renovation. The owner of one of the finer restaurants in the city regards the World Heritage Status as a brand significant for her business. The restaurant is located in one of the older buildings in the city, offering an antique yet chic environment, and she tells how the restaurant receives a great deal of tourists or regular foreigners. She believes the restaurant’s context, being in a historic environment and classified as World Heritage, makes it attractive. Upon asking if the World Heritage classification has been important for attracting these clients, she replied accordingly:

Yes, I think so. Obviously, it is because of that. Obviously! I think [the restaurant], and the success we got [...] is due to being situated in a World Heritage City, being in a beautiful city, as well as it has a good concept. (Interview 37)

³⁶ It is a custom to hang colourful blankets from balconies and windows during feasts in the city.

The restaurant does not explicitly brand itself, but she believes the success of the restaurant is due to its environment, and the fact that it is situated in a World Heritage City.

Yet there are some shops that use the very World Heritage Symbol, as one of the shoe stores situated in the city centre has carved the World Heritage emblem into its windows, and one of the bakeries depicts the emblem as a part of its window decoration. The Operational Guidelines give detailed information about how private businesses are not allowed to use the brand for commercial purposes:

Permission to use the Emblem should not be granted to travel agencies, airlines, or to any other type of business operating for predominantly commercial purposes, except under exceptional circumstances and when manifest benefit to the World Heritage generally or in particular to World Heritage properties can be demonstrated. Requests for such use should require approval in accordance with these Guidelines and Principles and the concurrence of the national authorities of countries specifically concerned. (UNESCO, 07.2013)

Presumably, these shopkeepers in Angra do Heroísmo have not even considered that the use of the World Heritage Symbol is regulated. Hence, this could be an example of how policies and guidelines outlined by UNESCO are difficult to implement and control on a local level. The uses of the World Heritage Symbol by the shops may instead express a kind of pride and desire to mediate and promote the fact that Angra do Heroísmo is a World Heritage City. The latter is probably more likely the reason for its use than for commercial purposes, though the hotel's use of it is clearly to attract tourists. These initiatives made by business owners in Angra do Heroísmo are interesting to observe, as they are yet other grassroots incentives to promote the city as World Heritage. The locals wish for more promotion of the World Heritage Status is also of interest in relation to statements made by some officials, who believe there is not much engagement among the common citizens in regard to the World Heritage Status. Both the responses obtained and the initiatives made by the citizens to promote the World Heritage Status contradict this assumption.

I have, however, not made a complete survey of the amount of businesses using the World Heritage in Angra do Heroísmo, but from my observations and interviews, I would suggest that the uses are minor. As shown above, I believe there are other reasons for using the World Heritage Status, such as pride. C. Michael Hall and Rachel Piggin made a survey among the businesses operating close to two World Heritage Sites in New Zealand (Tongariro National Park and Southwest), and found that the majority did not use World Heritage to market their business. Despite this fact, the majority (80%) believed World Heritage to be a tool to attract visitors, but it had simply not occurred to them to use the status (2002: 401-411).

Upon visiting another World Heritage City Porto, in continental Portugal, I noticed a much wider use of the World Heritage Symbol within the classified zone. Arriving from Angra do Heroísmo, the difference between the cities in the uses of the emblem and the general information about the World Heritage Status was prominent. Obviously, the use and promotion of the World Heritage Emblem differ from site to site – even within nations. However, a wider use of the emblem may not necessarily lead to better informed visitors or citizens, as I discovered that the local guide showing me the city of Porto had never really noticed the signs. The unawareness of the symbol's meaning was also proved during my fieldwork in Angra. As previously mentioned, Hølleland's study revealed a lack of awareness of the World Heritage Symbol at the sites at the Greater Blue Mountains in Australia and Tongariro New Zealand, where about 40% were not aware that they were visiting a World Heritage Site (2013:242-249). It has also been shown that the majority of visitors to enlisted national parks in the US "have no idea that they are visiting a World Heritage Site" (Williams, 2005: 133). One may therefore question the importance of the World Heritage Brand for the purpose of informing the visitors, and so to promote "the World Heritage idea as a universal, global principle" as Rodney Harrison claims (2013:89). I would be less optimistic about the signal value of the World Heritage Emblem since I would venture to suggest that people's knowledge about the World Heritage Symbol and awareness in regard to World Heritage is limited.

It is also a fact that many countries have competing or even more acclaimed heritage brands than the World Heritage brand, such as in the UK where English Heritage and the National Trust enjoy a stronger brand name than World Heritage. And it has been pointed out how the value of the brand may decrease as the list increases (van der Aa, 2005, Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012). The effectiveness of the World Heritage brand can thus be discussed for several reasons. A study made at the World Heritage Site of Macao confirmed that the awareness of World Heritage symbol was poor (Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012:330), while another survey among the tourists at the World Heritage Site of the Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth in Israel showed that only 6.5% knew its meaning (Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011:487). Nevertheless, I would like to point out some biases that have not been accounted for in this study. Firstly, one might assume that there is a greater chance of finding respondents at a World heritage Site who are familiar with the symbol. Secondly, it has been proven that the level of education is high among heritage tourists compared to the general public (Boyd and Timothy, 2003:66). In a study carried out among 6,500 respondents who were heritage tourists, it was shown that 80% of the heritage tourists had a college or university degree (Richards, 1996:270, Boyd and Timothy, 2003:66). The study made at the World Heritage Site of Macao showed that there was a correlation between educational level and the likeliness of giving a correct identification of the symbol (Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012:332). On the basis of these factors, I would venture to suggest that a similar question posed among randomly selected

individuals in a non-related World Heritage Site would have given a lower percentage in terms of World Heritage knowledge.

10.4 So what is the state of tourism at this World Heritage Site?

I can hardly make any firm conclusions as far as the effectiveness of the World Heritage branding in the case of Angra. My observation is that there can be little doubt that the city's use and mediation of the status are limited, and I wish to highlight some factors that may explain this. Firstly, as one of the interviewees highlighted, one evident reason may simply derive from a lack of resources within the city. Secondly, I would claim that the lack of aspiration to obtain an increased tourism in Angra do Heroísmo from the World Heritage Status, pre-nomination, may have led to a less proactive approach in the use of the World Heritage Status for the purpose of touristic promotion. As to the best of my knowledge, there were no clear aims as to what the city's profit could be from the classification in terms of tourism. Thus, as Hølleland states, in reference to other investigations, a World Heritage Status lead to increased tourism "only if there is a clear motivation for increased visitation to begin with, followed by a strategy for how to fulfil the goal" (2013:242).

Conservation and preservation may have historically been the principal driving force for enlistment, but as stated previously, more recent trends propose that economic benefits from tourism has become one of the vital motivations (Fyall and Rakic, 2008: 161 (in reference to Bonnette, 2005), Kaltenborn et al., 2013). In comparison to Angra do Heroísmo, other nominated sites have an outspoken objective and a strategic plan as to what to gain from a classification, in terms of local development, tourism and economic growth. For example, the nomination of the industrial sites Rjukan and Notodden in Norway, which will be evaluated at the upcoming World Heritage Committee meeting in June 2015 (Taugbøl et al., 2014), is seen as a possibility of generating new development and growth in two small communities that have lost their former primary industry. The mayor in Rjukan explained his expectations accordingly:

We have great expectations for this, it is a cross-party consensus, we have the inhabitants with us, and we are now prepared to get a true economic growth. When seeing what they have managed to do in Røros and other places, I think we, together with Notodden, have what it takes to make a unique attraction beyond the borders of Norway. (Kultmag, 2014, author's translation)

From the beginning of the 1980s, when Angra do Heroísmo was enlisted to the World Heritage List, to the present, tourism has increased considerably, and we have also seen a growing experience economy and a vast development of the heritage industry and heritage tourism (Hewison, 1987, Walsh, 1992, Harrison, 2013). The economic possibilities of these new industries may also have

contributed to an increased strategic planning and expectation of what a World Heritage Status may provide in terms of tourism.

A lack of promotion of Angra's World Heritage Status may be one reason for the limited amount of tourists coming to Angra. Van der Aa mentions promotion to be one vital factor in order to gain increased visitation, though he claims the number of visitors to World Heritage Sites *primarily* depends on a site's accessibility and the way it is integrated into tourist routes and tours (2005:115-116). Boyd and Timothy similarly point out that: "The inability to get to sites will be a strong enough incentive to limit the type of visitor, and the volume of visitation" (2008:60). A Mid-Atlantic peninsula is clearly not easily accessible, as well as it is a fact that tourist routes to the Azores are limited, and especially to Terceira. One of the reasons for the limited access is the restricted policies in terms of air traffic and the restriction of low-cost companies, both to and from the Azores. The airlines governed by the government, SATA (the Azorean airlines) and TAP Air Portugal, are the only companies flying the inter-island routes and between the region and the mainland.³⁷ These routes are unprofitable, but the monopoly that these companies hold also excludes low-cost companies. During the course of my fieldwork in Angra do Heroísmo, I observed several discussions on this topic, in which many were opposed to the restricted air policies, as several believed the exclusion of low-cost companies served to raise the prices. This was highlighted as one of the most important factors for the limited number of tourists arriving. Like one business owner in Angra do Heroísmo said: "Importantly, the primary restriction which exists for tourism in the Azores are the airfares – period." (Interview 37). Furthermore, some thought the high price level limited visits from friends and family. When knowing the importance of genealogical tourism in the Azores, due to the 1000s of Azoreans who emigrated to the US and Canada, as well as the many continental Portuguese having moved to the Azores due to job opportunities and vice-versa, the airfares are clearly a determining factor for the influx of this kind of tourism.

However, after negotiations, there are certain foreign companies that have been allowed to the routes not in use by SATA and TAP (Silveira and Santos, 2013:262). The significance of these routes in order to bring more tourists to the Azores may be exemplified by the case of Solia and STS Solresor. The latter company operated chartered flights from Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland from 2000, which gave an increase in the share of Nordic tourism in the Azores up until 2005. However, after 2005, STS Solresor offered other destinations with more competitive prices, and the Nordic tourists declined accordingly. The total of Nordic overnights in the Azores was 12.0% in 2002, increasing to 47.7% in 2005/2006, but decreasing considerably to only 2.3% in 2010. Recently, in 2013,

³⁷ In July 2014, the Azorean government announced that there have been agreements on liberalizing the air transport between continental Portugal and the islands of San Miguel and Terceira, thereby opening for low-cost companies. As a consequence, the low-cost company Easyjet intends to start flying to the Azores starting from March 2015 (RTP, 2014).

the Nordic charter operator Solia, which had several direct flights to the Azores, suffered bankruptcy, and several flights were cancelled (Barros, 2014:1-4).

Another factor affecting the influx of tourists to Angra do Heroísmo is competition from other destinations, such as the competition from San Miguel Island and the capital of Ponta Delgada, as well as other islands in the Azores such as Pico and Faial. As it is stated: “The competitiveness of a destination must be examined not only according to its own characteristics, but also taking into account its main competitors’ characteristics” (Silva et al., 2014: 88). Terceira is indeed the second most visited island, but it is a fact that almost 70% of the tourists arriving in the Azores choose the main island of San Miguel for their destination (Barros, Gil-Alana and Santos, 2008). The centralization of power, economy and tourism in San Miguel is a disputed theme that has been repeatedly addressed by a great number of my informants.

10.5 Discussion and conclusion – what can be drawn from the data from Angra do Heroísmo?

This chapter has sought to assess how the local actors and stakeholders respond to and act in relation to the possibilities and threats that tourism hold. Another aim was to study the state of tourism in Angra do Heroísmo, as well as to analyse how the actors involved relate to- and address the branding and uses of the World Heritage Status. Moreover, the chapter has aimed to study the informants’ interests in and for tourism, as well as their valorisation of tourism. The data shows how many of the informants and interviewees want the city’s World Heritage Status to be better promoted as a World Heritage City, as both officials and citizens believe too little is being done in order to promote the city as World Heritage. The tourists’ experiences also confirmed that there has been- or still is a limited amount of promotion and mediation of the World Heritage Status, though one of the tourists drew attention to the benefits of being in a non-tourist place where you can instead *discover* that it is a World Heritage City.

The tourists gave different reasons for choosing Angra do Heroísmo as their destination. The World Heritage Status was crucial to some, irrelevant to others and unknown before arriving for a few. The New Zealand geographer Neil Leiper has elaborated on the reasoning for tourists to choose some destinations over others during a trip (1990:367-384). According to Leiper, a site’s attributions or attractions can be classified in a hierarchy of primary, secondary and tertiary categories, which are significant when the traveller decides where to go. The primary category is an attribute crucial for choosing just that destination. It means that the tourist has information about the attribute that makes him or her want to experience just this attribute or attraction. We saw how some tourists were aware of the World Heritage Status before arriving, and that this was the primary reason for visiting Angra do Heroísmo. The secondary category is an attraction that is known to the traveller before the visit, but not vital for his or her decision. A majority of the tourists in this research knew that Angra do Heroísmo was a World

Heritage City pre-visit, but gave other primary reasons for visiting the city. A great part of the tourists in Angra do Heroísmo come to visit friends and family, and these tourists are most likely familiar with the World heritage classification, but the reason for staying in Angra is primarily to visit friends and family. The tertiary category is an attraction unknown to the visitor before arriving, but soon discovered after arriving. The American tourist can be said to be an example of such a tourist, who first discovered that Angra do Heroísmo is a World Heritage City after arriving (Leiper, 1990: 374).

According to Leiper, regional and national tourism organization would aim to create a primary destination, but he also stresses how “experiences may be more pleasurable because they involve a tertiary nucleus, something discovered by the individual” (Leiper, 1990:374). Indeed, the American tourist underscored the pleasure he took in discovering that his destination happened to be a World Heritage Site. Leiper explains the significance of the discovery accordingly: “The pleasure of discovering something can be as much in the discovery as in the subsequent experience. In such cases tourists become, in experiential terms, explorers, mastering what was beyond their knowledge to enrich their cognitive potential” (ibid). Thus, the experience of discovering that it was a World Heritage Site may equally be related to the actual *discovery*, rather than the significance of World Heritage.

The sensation of discoveries can also be linked to niche tourism, which was defined above as “special interests-, culture- and/or activity-based tourism involving a small number of tourists in authentic settings”, being the opposite of- or a reaction to mass tourism defined as “conventional tourism involving a large number of tourists in staged settings” (Robinson and Novelli, 2005:9). Considering these definitions, the data from Angra do Heroísmo shows how niche tourism was preferred to mass tourism, as the informants stressed the importance of cultural-based tourism that preserved the authenticity and ensured a low number of tourists. The more staged and conventional mass tourism was discredited. The Azores in general may rather be said to be a place for niche tourism than mass tourism, as it has been described as “one of the secrets of Europe” because it is a relatively unknown territory, having a natural landscape being little modified, and in which people are perhaps less imbued within the globalization processes (Silveira and Santos, 2013:260). The policies of the region in regard to tourism are also focusing on developing niche tourism.

The plans for a cruise ship terminal in Angra do Heroísmo shows how there are initiatives made in order to develop the tourism industry further, but the plans have also caused great opposition within the city. Some of the opposition is related to the worry of mass tourism. Tourism in Angra do Heroísmo is thought of as something positive as long as it is quality based, and as long as it does not lead to a massive influx of tourists. A new face and new people are welcomed, but the example of Madeira is used as a kind of development that is undesirable to the Angrenses. Many drew attention to the importance of a high quality and

knowledge-based tourism. Hence, even though they want more promotion of the World Heritage Status, the tourism should be sustained on a low scale and without impeding on the authenticity of the place.

The data from Angra do Heroísmo further shows how the views of the officials and the inhabitants in relation to tourism are for the most part rather similar, as well as coinciding with the governmental vision on tourism, namely that tourism in the Azores should be sustainable. Broadly speaking, it can be concluded that there is consensus among the stakeholders in terms of valuing tourism and strategies for future development. Though, several stakeholders criticised the lack of initiative taken in order to promote Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage Site. Sustainable tourism is a widely used term, having a manifold meaning, or maybe even a vague and undefinable meaning. It can be related to economic, environmental and socio-cultural sustainability, and it can be defined “as the process of taking into account the need of current generations, towards the development and quality of life, not comprising the ability of future generations” (Silveira and Santos, 2013: 263). This definition is inspired by the definition given in the Brundtland Commission Report, *Our Common Future*, which was the first to introduce the term and concept “sustainable development”. Sustainable development is defined here as a “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs” (Landorf, 2009:54, WCED, 1987). However, the term *sustainable* was not used by any of my interviewees. In order to explain the kind of tourism they wanted, they instead used words like quality, authenticity, small groups, less tourists, sentiments, culture- or knowledge-based tourism. Hence, in the views of the informants and interviewees, sustainable tourism can be said to be preventing mass tourism and massive tourism development, such as the building of hotels and a cruise ship terminal, the maintenance of authenticity, maintaining a high-quality tourism and asserting knowledge-based tourism, as well as that tourism should be developed with sentiments for a place and the people living there.

On the other hand, the term sustainability is used in the official documents, as in the Spatial Plan of Tourism of the Autonomous Region of the Azores (POTRAA) when defining the overall objective for the plan which sought: “development and affirmation of a *sustainable* tourist sector, guaranteeing economic development, preservation of the natural and human environment (...) (Legislative Regional Decree No. 38/2008/A, Annex II, author’s translation). In regard to air traffic and hotels, policies and regulations have been implemented to assure a sustainable tourism by preventing mass tourism from being developed in the Azores (Silveira and Santos, 2013). Despite the consensus observed among the informants on the type of tourism that should be developed in the Azores, the restrictive policies in regard to air traffic are not as welcomed as other regulations, as these regulations not only prevent mass tourism, but are also seen as something which harms the citizens themselves.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, sustainable tourism is addressed by UNESCO, primarily in the *World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme*, which aims to integrate sustainable tourism “into the mechanism of the World Heritage Convention” (UNESCO, 2014c). The impact of tourism was not sufficiently addressed when the World Heritage Convention was implemented in 1972 (UNESCO, 2014d), as it was not until 1997 that the Operational Guidelines requested State Parties to inform about tourism infrastructures when nominating a site for the World Heritage List (Labadi, 2013:106). Global tourism has indeed escalated over the last 40 years, and this is some of the reasoning for attending to the subject and aiming to implement sustainable tourism in the nomination process requirements, the Operational Guidelines, and in the reporting systems (Periodic Reporting, State of Conservation and Reactive Monitoring). These measures are taken centrally, by UNESCO, but as it is stated in the programme, a key element in realizing this mission is for *national, regional, local* governments to have policies that recognize the importance of sustainable tourism (UNESCO, 2014c).

Acknowledging these aims for implementing sustainable tourism for the benefit of conserving World Heritage Sites, in addition to the relevance of such policies should neither be diminished, as they can be effective in terms of national and regional policies and influential in terms of local stakeholders, but the rhetoric is idealistic and can be somewhat distant from the reality of a World Heritage Site. Indeed, the implementation on national, regional and local level will vary and can be a prolonged process due to different financial means, bureaucratic apparatus as well as natural environment of the State Parties. As known there is often a discrepancy between policies and reality. Hence, Sophia Labadi demonstrated in her study the difficulties in which lies in implementing the policies outlined by UNESCO, in terms on sustainability, on national and local level due to “the multiplicity of actors, either local, national or international, along with their related spheres of influence and power” (2013:107). However, the case of the Azorean policies is an example of a region which have taken sustainable tourism into account and where there is an awareness of sustainable tourism among the local stakeholders, even though the actual term sustainability is not used nor is sustainable tourism, in terms of the World Heritage Site of Angra do Heroísmo, mentioned specifically in the governmental policies.

According to the World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme, another key element for realizing the vision is that: “visitors understand and gain an appreciation of Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage and adopt responsible behaviours” (UNESCO, 2014c). Indeed, it can be said to be an ambitious ambition, and I cannot make any judgements as whether the tourists I met in Angra do Heroísmo had an understanding of its *Outstanding Universal Value* and therefore behaved responsibly, as only one of the interviewees knew why Angra do Heroísmo was included on the list. The periodic report from 2014 states how visitors’ awareness of the justification for the inscription is average, while further stating how “the Outstanding Universal Value of the property is

adequately presented and interpreted, but improvements can be made” (UNESCO, 2014e:7). As previously stated, the notion of outstanding universal value has been much discussed (e.g. Cleere, 1996, Titchen, 1995, Smith, 2006, Labadi, 2013). Indeed, the term and its meaning, are both ambiguous and pretentious. So to paraphrase Laurajane Smith: “It works to create a sense that the reader assumes that they know what is meant” (2006:98). When knowing the limited awareness of World Heritage, as the investigations referred to above have shown, plus the research in Angra do Heroísmo providing evidence of a lack of mediation of World Heritage, it can be a challenging task to ensure the tourist’s understanding of Outstanding Universal Value of World Heritage.

Furthermore, the term sustainable tourism is left without definition in the programme and its adjunct documents (UNESCO, 23.09.2010, UNESCO, 2012b, UNESCO, 2012c, UNESCO, 2014c). Sustainability tourism is another term which assumes an understanding of what it entails. Labadi also draws attention to the lack of general information and standards given in order to obtain sustainable tourism, and states how: “States Parties are left to decide what constitutes ‘sustainable’ tourism facilities” (2013:107). The *World Heritage and Sustainable Tourism Programme* can further be said to be an example of a top-down initiative being laid out by UNESCO, whose “authority comes in part from the influence these organizations have within the policy process at both national and international levels” (Smith, 2006:87). Hence, such programmes may also work to reinforce the notion of World Heritage and the authority of the UNESCO. However, the programme currently has several projects, and the outcome and influence of the action plan has yet to be shown (UNESCO, 2014c).

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, increased tourism is often an assumed effect of a World Heritage designation. As Myra Shackley stated: “The significance of A World Heritage Status is such that it will act as a magnet for visitors [...]” (1998:7). Since then several scholars have given a more pluralistic view in this regard (e.g. Hall and Piggin, 2002, van der Aa, 2005, Williams, 2005, Yan and Morrison, 2007, Ronström, 2007, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011, Hølleland, 2013), and this chapter has also aimed to challenge this view, as Angra do Heroísmo may offer an example of rather limited uses of its status and a limited influx of tourists. Owe Ronström claims how an assumed increased tourism is one of the self-evident facts which has been incorporated in the notion of World Heritage. The logic put forth is that a World Heritage Status increases the awareness of a site and makes it more attractive, some of which leads to more tourists, which in turn gives economic, social and cultural growth. This is communicated as the benefit of a World Heritage Status, which also serves to reinforce the concept. The tourists or increased visitations will also confirm the importance of World Heritage and how the investment or effort is worthwhile. Hence, tourists have significance in order to maintain the World Heritage concept and its status (Ronström, 2007:100). The statement made by the mayor in Rjukan,

Norway may be an example in this regard, as his rhetoric somehow justifies the effort made in order to nominate the town for the World Heritage List.

In order to realize sustainable tourism at World Heritage Sites, a last key element put forth by UNESCO is that “local communities take pride in- and have a sense of responsibility and empowerment toward the World Heritage properties (...)” (UNESCO, 2014c). In the next part, I will focus on the citizens’ relationship to the World Heritage Site of Angra do Heroísmo, and their sense of this place and their attachment and *pride* will be attended to.

PART IV RELATION TO A PLACE

11 World Heritage – on the subject of identity, attachment and pride

It is a Saturday afternoon, 15th of June, 2011, and I am meeting three new acquaintances, a mother and daughter, accompanied by a friend, for lunch at one of the restaurants in the city centre of Angra do Heroísmo. While waiting for the food to arrive, they start explaining to me about the present traces from “the Golden Age” of Angra. They talk vividly about the history of Angra do Heroísmo and the mother proudly tells about how the food is still influenced by the products once introduced to the Angrenses by the ships arriving from the colonies: “We are using more spices than the other islands and we are famous for our sweet cakes”, she says. Furthermore, she is telling about the pirates that constantly attacked the city and how bullfighting was introduced by the Spaniards... Finally, she says: “The Angrenses are very proud of their history, you know.” (field notes, 15.06.2011)

This passage is an example of one of many conversations that I had which illustrates an inhabitant's pride about Angra do Heroísmo's past. I never doubted the Angrenses' pride and awareness in regard to their colonial history, and the importance of the city when Angra worked as a port-of-call for the Portuguese fleet. However, it was of interest to explore and analyse how the local stakeholders value the World Heritage Classification. A World Heritage designation is often seen as an honour due to the recognition and prestige that lies in such an international tribute (Omeland, 1998:31, Leask, 2008), some of which can enhance the intrinsic value of a site and thus reinforce a local and regional identity. Certainly, the latter aspects can be one of the aimed effects of- or the reasons for many World Heritage nominations (van der Aa et al., 2005:12, Ronström, 2007:95, Turtinen, 2006). As the Director-General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova, stated when launching the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention: “Heritage carries high stakes – for the identity and belonging of people” (Rao, 2012:325.). Therefore, how do Angra's heritage, the historical cityscape and the World Heritage Classification affect the local identity and sense of belonging? Identity is a challenging subject to address and to obtain prompt and clear answers to; rather, the issue of pride was in many times brought up by the interviewees themselves, and in the first part the matter of pride and the value of the classification will be addressed. The second part addresses senses of belonging and the ways in which the interviewees relate to Angra. On the basis of the data concerning these subjects, I will discuss the subject of identity, attachment and sense of place.

11.1 The value of a World Heritage Classification – Pride, Esteem, Recognition

During my initial fieldwork in 2010, I was led to believe that I would not find much interest among the inhabitants as far as their World Heritage Status. However, on my next stay in Angra do Heroísmo in 2011, one informant from the heritage sector told how the citizens “are proud, because we told them they should be...”. After obtaining such observations, I was further triggered to find out more about the inhabitants’ interest and pride of their World Heritage Classification.

As drawn upon previously in this thesis, it can be questioned how familiar the inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo were with UNESCO, the World Heritage Convention and the World Heritage List in 1983 – being at an early stage in the history of World Heritage. One article in the local newspaper which addressed the classification also explained in detail what the World Heritage List really was (Diário Insular, 15.01.1984). However, I asked the interviewees how they responded when the city was classified as World Heritage, to which the most typical answer was: “With a lot of pride, with a lot of pride”, some of which can prove that they did know what this classification entailed. One of the interviewees responded accordingly when I wanted to know how she responded when the city was classified in 1983: “It was an enormous pride! – Foi um orgulho enorme!” (Interview 24). Even so, the pride which the local community felt might have been just as much to do with the fact that the historical significance of Angra do Heroísmo was recognized by an international organization, regardless of a possible limited knowledge about UNESCO and the concept of World Heritage.

An official from the municipality gave a similar amount of attention to pride in regard to the World Heritage Classification:

Interviewee: It is a great pride and gusto, like it has always been. Do you know Ponta Delgada?

M: Sim.

Interviewee: It is nothing like Angra. It is nothing like Angra. Beach. Nada. [Angra] has pride: the city with the richest history, since the discoveries and these things. (Interview 7)

The interviewee regarded the World Heritage classification to be a great pride and delight, and compared Angra to the capital Ponta Delgada, which he believed is nothing compared to Angra. I have seen equal comparisons made with the capital of Ponta Delgada, both in terms of preservation and history. Indeed, there is a certain rivalry between the islands and the cities within the archipelago (see Baldacchino and Ferreira, 2013), and particularly with the capital, which consumes a great part of the power and money as described in Chapter 2. However, next to the classification, he stresses the importance of Angra’s history since the discoveries.

However, the subject of pride in regard to the classification came up upon addressing other matters, some of which show how pride is also expressed more indirectly. One of the shop keepers told for instance how her patriotic father had displayed the World Heritage symbols in his shop just after the classification. Described in Chapter 10, the homemade blanket depicting the World Heritage symbol is also an act that reflects a sense of pride. Moreover, I would reason that the rhetoric used in the discussions concerning the contemporary projects, in which the value of the World Heritage classification is stressed, also expresses the value and pride taken in the status.

As I have referred to in previous chapters, in the survey conducted in the World Heritage City of Quebec in Canada, pride was ranked highly among the citizens when asked what it meant to live in a World Heritage City: 44% of the residents who participated in the survey gave this as the most important aspect, but it may be important to add that as much as 25% claimed that they were indifferent to the fact that they were living in a World Heritage City (Evans, 2002:133). In the case of the Wadden Sea, the local stakeholders did indeed give pride as one of the perceived benefits of a World Heritage Classification; yet the perceived cost, such as a loss of autonomy, overruled such a benefit (van der Aa et al., 2005:15).

The inhabitants in Angra do Heroísmo were also asked about what they regarded to be the most important value of the World Heritage Classification, and one interviewee replied accordingly:

I think this recognition from UNESCO is very important, very important. Even more, because I think UNESCO classified [Angra because of] the city's beauty, historical importance, and Angra do Heroísmo is a bit of those things. [...] It is very good to see this recognized. (Interview 20)

The interviewee thinks the greatest value of the World Heritage Status to be the acknowledgment it gives Angra do Heroísmo, and the fact that the city has been recognized by UNESCO for its beauty and history. In the survey of Quebec City, only 3% of those asked said that “recognition of beauty” was important, whereas 11% said “international character” was an important aspect of living in a World Heritage City (Evans, 2002:133). Yet another survey conducted among World Heritage Site managers showed that recognition was the most significant aspect of the classification (Omeland, 1998:31). In reference to a report made by the local and regional authorities, Fageraas similarly writes how one of the reasons for the positive attitude among the inhabitants at Vega in Norway towards a World Heritage Classification stemmed from the international attention that Vega obtained (2013:313). Turtinen writes how pride, the feeling of being unique and selected was significant for the local community at the World Heritage Site of Southern Öland in Sweden (2006:151).

In my opinion, the emphasis given to recognition, both in Angra do Heroísmo and in the other studies above, reflect the importance of acknowledgement. However, in the case of Angra I believe the importance of recognition stems from the fact that it is set in the periphery of Europe and Portugal, and being a city which has lost its former significance. These facts can enhance the importance of being recognized. Indeed, as we have seen in former chapters, some of which was stressed in several interviews, the fact that it was the first city in Portugal to be nominated for the World Heritage List is seen as important. Similarly, one of the guides in Angra told how she: “always say that it is the first city in the entire country of Portugal to receive the World classification by UNESCO. Three years after the earthquake. And I always say that people from Angra should feel very proud because of that” (Interview 3). An article published shortly after the classification in 1983 similarly stated that: “[...] this classification made by UNESCO to nominate Angra do Heroísmo as the first World Heritage City in Portugal cannot be passed unnoticed” (A União, 1983, author’s translation).

In the case of Angra, the World Heritage Status was obtained during a time of crisis, which an executive at the Directorate of Culture believed brought about an esteem that motivated the people in Angra do Heroísmo to continue, to look ahead and to rebuild the city after the earthquake:

The classification brought esteem to the people. In other words, the Azoreans and the Terceirians found themselves in a situation of difficultness, of intense work, of recuperation and rehabilitation, and when the city was inscribed to the World Heritage List, this represented to us people, a stimulus, a force, a push to go ahead! And the people acquired a certain commitment to the idea of heritage, and devoted themselves persistently to the reconstruction and rehabilitation process of the city. (Interview 25)

Thus, not only was the classification an important motivation, this interviewee also claimed that it raised the awareness of heritage. On the basis of observations made throughout the fieldwork in Angra, it can be argued that the classification has brought this sense of esteem to the inhabitants.

The classification as a double-edged sword?

Despite the recognition obtained, the esteem felt or the pride that a great part of the citizens take in the World Heritage classification, may as well be a double-edged sword, like the mayor of Angra do Heroísmo articulated accordingly:

I think there is a double feeling: firstly, of course the Angrenses feel a lot of pride to have a city classified as World Heritage. But then they also feel that there is a set of barriers, because all the things [...] that is new, that is different [...] always bring

some discussion around it. So people here have a double feeling of: “Yes, we take great pride in the classification, but it is also important to note that this brings some set of imperatives.” (Interview 17)

As described in Chapter 7.2, she reminded me once again about the fact that the classification also holds some predicaments. Indeed, this double feeling is expressed in the interviews, as the inhabitants stress the difficulties upon maintaining their housing facilities according to the preservation guidelines, yet talk about the pride they take in living in a classified area, as one interviewee expressed just after addressing the predicament upon preserving the house: “I would like to say that I feel proud of living in a city which is considered as a classified zone” (Interview 9).

The double sentiment towards living within an historic area coincides with my findings from the study of the local residents’ relationship to the classified former Viking town of Kaupang in southern Norway, which is thought to be the first town in Norway established in the 9th century. The local residents did take pride in living on the grounds of the first town in Norway, but the regulations and restrictions of the area, which they felt strongly as farmers and landowners, were difficult to handle. Moreover, an unambiguous pride, interest and enthusiasm for the heritage were regarded as difficult, as long as they also represented a “problem” for the inhabitants (Johansson, 2006:79). Similarly, this was emphasized by an interviewee in Angra, as was shown above, who believed the classification represented more worries than pride: “Being a heritage city now represents preoccupations, problems and obstacles when restoring the house, more than pride” (Interview 24). In her view, this ambivalence could also affect the interest in preservation.

Lastly, I will return to the sensation of pride in terms of Angra do Heroísmo’s *history*, as we have seen how this is stressed by several informants above, such as the official from the municipality who accentuated the “rich history of Angra”, as well as the inhabitant who accentuated that the greatest value of the World Heritage Status is the recognition of Angra’s history. Another example of this is an interview in which we first talked about the pride they took in the classification, although the interviewee added another reason to be proud: “And Angra was also for two years the capital of the reign [...] and the routes from India, all passed by here. We also have a very rich history here on Terceira Island” (Interview 22). Thus as we can see from this interview and the statements above, another aspect which triggers pride is Angra’s significance during the Portuguese discoveries and the colonial period. I have seen how this aspect has been accentuated during the course of the different fieldworks, maybe even more than the classification. However, I would argue that this can be seen as an unproblematic matter to be proud of as it does not represent any kind of restriction or burden, even though the classification and its history goes hand-in-hand, since Angra is classified for its significance during the discoveries. A last point which can be noted is how the

post-colonial critique is rather absent in the replies given by the informants as well as in the nomination of the city. Moreover, I have observed few if hardly any such critique during the fieldworks. A similar absence of post-colonial critique has been remarked upon when analysing national museums in Portugal (Apor 2015).

11.2 Angra do Heroísmo's heritage – is it all about Colonial History and World Heritage?

Indeed, there can be a risk of World Heritage Sites communicating only parts of a site's history – the history which the city is classified for. As previously pointed out, the medieval period has been stressed in the case of Visby (Ronström, 2007). As a consequence of emphasizing one part of history, other histories and heritages can be under-communicated. In the case of Angra, there are other parts of history being mediated and highlighted. Nevertheless, I would claim, that “the grand history” of Angra do Heroísmo is related to the colonial era. One reason for the impact and validity of this period on the local level can be related to the fact that the colonial era is related to the national narrative. During my fieldwork, I experienced how the colonial history is the aspect that is often stressed, as well as this era's significance, and the ways in which it is embedded in the mentality of the people is shown in the interviews above. The grounds for which the city was nominated for also confirm how this is seen as the most important history of Angra. Knut Fageraas makes a similar observation in his study of the World Heritage Site of Vega in Norway, where informants stated how there was a bias in terms of the culture and history being emphasized in relation to World Heritage, and he also found how: “It was strived to bring about other aspects about the past” (Fageraas, 2013:316, author's translation). Hence, in the following, I will elaborate on the reasons which can explain why the colonial history is stressed or has succeeded to become *the* history of Angra and give an example of another and more popular heritage in Angra. The alternative heritages have for long been stressed among scholars (e.g. Aronsson, 2004, Smith, 2006).

In the following, I will use the theoretical framework set out by Peter Aronsson to help further explain the reasons for its validity, locally. According to Aronsson, there are three terms of importance with regard to our uses of the past, namely: *culture of history*, *uses of history* and *historical consciousness*, all of which can hold a great impact and “potential” on the ways in which the past is perceived and constructed. *Culture of history* entails written sources, artefacts, rituals and practices that enable us to connect past, present and future (2004:17). In this case, we can find such components from the colonial era in present day Angra do Heroísmo: artefacts in the sense of the 15th-16th century shipwrecks found in the Bay of Angra, the preserved urban plan from the 15th and 16th century and displayed objects from the colonial time at the Museum of Angra, and as was emphasized by the interviewee above, historical practices are still relived in food traditions. Another component important to stress in this regard is the monument on the top of Monte Brazil, which is dedicated to the Portuguese discoveries and

the importance that Angra had in this era, a monument that can be seen from the city centre, which is also lit up at night. Hence, I would argue that the erection of this monument is a kind of practice which serves to connect the past, the present and the future.

Uses of history are “the processes in which parts of the culture of history are generated so as to shape meanings and actions” (2004: 17, author’s translation). In this sense, I would argue that the World Heritage nomination was a use of the past that sought to give meaning and trigger actions. The intentions of giving Angra recognition for its significant history, and in order to preserve Angra, was indeed highlighted as one of the reasons for nominating Angra. The responses given about the pride taken in both the World Heritage Status and Angra’s colonial history can demonstrate the meaning found in the present relating to these aspects. The value in the World Heritage Classification is also expressed by the way it brought esteem, and gave a vital motivation for the Angrenses following the earthquake.

Aronsson further points out that there are different spheres in the field of cultures of history, in which the use of history is made implicit and explicit: being the private, the public and the formal institutions. The spheres are explained accordingly:

The past in the private life is recollected to bring meaning and coherence into the biography of the individual and is usually thought of as memories rather than history. In the public sphere and politics, references to the past are more often done as statements and judgements of facts in order to justify the present order of things or plans for the future. The formal institutions [...] are assigned with the power of legitimate care, protection and communication of the past to citizens, students and children. (2012: 294)

Hence, Aronsson’s theory is that the impact of certain parts of history rely on the reciprocal relationship between the different spheres, and that it is possible to enhance the importance of one historical epoch more than another “because it speaks through all these channels” (2012: 295). If one acknowledges this theory and applies it to the case of Angra, it can be argued that the colonial era is present in the *private sphere* in the sense of traditions and prevailing lifestyles. This point was indeed stressed by one of the informants above, referring to the special food traditions and the practice of bullfights, practices which can be said to give meaning for the individuals. Moreover, we can see how it “speaks” in the *public sphere* in terms of statements made by politicians and officials about the significance of Angra’s colonial past. We have seen this articulated in the chapter above, as well as by the ones who are responsible for the nomination of Angra to the World Heritage List. The significance of Angra’s past is also given as the reason for justifying the nomination. Thus, it finally *speaks through formal institutions* by UNESCO, which classified the city because of its importance

during the colonial times, and through the policies of the Directorate for Culture and the municipality which are set to manage the World Heritage Site. The latter aspects are indeed “assigned the power of legitimate care and protection” (2012:294). Additionally, there are the local educational institutions, such as museums and schools, which communicate this aspect of Angra’s history. Informants have told how the World Heritage Status and its aspects are emphasized in both schools and guided tours. As a result, it can be argued that the colonial history of Angra speaks through all these spheres, some of which can help to explain the impact and ways in which it has influenced the mentality of the inhabitants. The latter was expressed by the Angrenses in their sense of pride.

However, through the uses of the past, *historical conciseness* is formed in a manner of collective memories and heritage that serve as a link between the past, present and the future (Aronsson, 2004:17, 2012:293). In this sense, it can be argued that the colonial history has become a collective memory and heritage for the citizens of Angra, some of which the World Heritage Status has helped to reinforce.

“This is heritage!” – Traditional feasts as heritage

In contrast to the heritage stressed above, I will draw attention to other heritages in Angra that have a more popular character or can be defined as *community heritage*. Community heritage can also be seen as an alternative to the authorized discourse (Mydland and Grahn, 2012:568, Fageraas 2013:292). During the field trip in 2011, I witnessed the importance of the celebration of Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit) and the Sanjoaninas (mid-summer feast), as well as the frequent bullfights on the island. While participating and talking to the people taking part in these celebrations and events, I realized that this is not just about religion or keeping religious traditions. Some of the informants also emphasized *the historical consciousness or the ways in which it is indeed heritage*, and I therefore want to quote a passage from my field diary written during the Espírito Santo feast, which is a popular celebration of the Holy Spirit that takes place every year in the different parishes in Angra do Heroísmo, as elsewhere in the island of Terceira during the months of May/June in 2011:

I walk up to the Espírito Santo-decorated street at night. Light balms in all kinds of colours are hanging from the light poles, and a number of the Espírito Santo crowns are shining like stars in the dark. It has been quite rainy all day and the street is almost empty due to the bad weather. Nevertheless, I walk all the way down to the império (small temple) at the end of the street, in which I can see lights and a group of people. I take a slow and timid step inside, and some women are greeting me. I tell them that I just want to take a look at the nicely decorated império, but I am instantly invited to join the gathering taking place in the back of the império. The backroom is a joint kitchen and an assembly room, and it reminds me of a bethel I

know from home. Many of the neighbouring women are present. One of them recognizes me and offers some tea and a piece of cake, as well as introducing me to the rest of the people. She is introducing me as the Norwegian who is carrying out a heritage study in Angra. Afterwards, she turns to me and says with a firm voice: “This is heritage! The Espírito Santo celebration is heritage. It is an important part of the history of Angra do Heroísmo and Terceira. (field notes, 08.06.2011)

I responded, “Sim, claro”, without giving it too much thought at the time, but looking back on this occasion the woman pointed out something essential. The Espírito Santo celebration is a deeply felt heritage that is being passed on from generation to generation. It is not an objectified heritage being displayed in museums or historical facts presented in history books. Instead, it is a heritage they are participating in and living out in the present, in addition to passing this to future generations.

Celebrating the Sanjoaninas, Angra do Heroísmo 2011. Photo: Marit Johansson

Thus, it coincides with Aronsson’s definition of a culture of history: “The culture of history can be defined as being constituted of the artefacts, rituals, customs and assertions with references to the past, which allow us to link the relationship between the past, present and future” (2012: 293). Moreover, these popular feasts and celebrations are the people’s heritage rather than an authorized heritage or an official heritage. Moreover, it can stand in contrast to the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006), as it is beyond the control of the heritage expertise, the

legitimate spokespersons of the past and the authorized heritage institutions. Instead, the sense and content in these kinds of heritage are “controlled” by the people, and it is a practice used in the private sphere that gives meaning to their existence, some of which the above quote shows. In other words, it can be an alternative heritage to the colonial era, which is more related to the national and hegemonic narrative set out by the Authorized Heritage Discourse.

11.3 Senses of a place and belonging

Because this study primarily concerns a place, it became important to investigate how the citizens relate to Angra as a physical and geographical place. As the American geographer Tuan stated: “Space and place are basic components of the lived world” (1989:5), and further claims how:

This profound attachment to the homeland appears to be a worldwide phenomenon. It is not limited to any particular culture and economy. [...] The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes: a place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievement that inspire the present: place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere. (Tuan, 1989:154)

Indeed, this study also concerns somebody’s homeland, the Angrenses homeland. However, the city centre of Angra do Heroísmo is not only a homeland, it is also an officially recognized heritage site – even considered to be of “outstanding universal value” and World Heritage. The pride that several expressed above in regard to the city’s history and World Heritage Status provides evidence of feelings of attachment and sentiments toward the city, but how do they relate to the place? In what sense do the citizens articulate their relationship to Angra? Which elements are important?

“I am an Angrense!” – relationship to Angra do Heroísmo

A great part of the respondents, whether being officials or inhabitants, were asked, often in the beginning of the interview, about their relationship to Angra, as the aim was to know what kind of relationship they had with the city, as well as to obtain data about the citizens’ sense of the city. However, the question was responded to differently. One stated shortly that his relationship to Angra was primarily related to work and was mostly preoccupied with the functionalities of the city, yet another stated how she liked her city, but wanted more life and people, while still others drew upon how this was their place of birth and home place. The mayor replied accordingly when I asked about her relationship to Angra:

Interviewee: I was born in Angra in 1975.

M: In the classified centre?

Interviewee: Sim, here in the city centre, in the freguesia da Conceição, which is close, right here in the classified zone. The relationship to the city? Well, I think for us Angrenses, [...] the classified zone is something we all take a lot of pride in ... to have a historical city centre classified as being World Heritage. (Interview 17)

Firstly, she stresses how Angra do Heroísmo is her place of birth, and thereafter the pride she takes in terms of the World Heritage Classification. Thus, it can be an additional pride to be born and raised in a classified city centre. While an executive at the Directorate for Culture articulated his connection to Angra do Heroísmo in this way:

My connection? I am an Angrense! I was born in the heart of Angra, in the Sé parish, the most central parish in the city. Aaaa, born and raised. I passed my whole youth close to the São Gonçalo convent, close to Monte Brazil, close to Cais da Figueirinha, the Praínha (the city beach). Importantly, places of historical memory in relation to the city. I feel fully identified with this city: I know it very well. (Interview 25)

The reply is somehow comparable to the one given by the mayor, the interviewee emphasizes equally how he is an Angrense – being born and raised in the city centre. Similar to the interviewee above, this is the first aspect stressed. Furthermore, this interviewee gives a description of his personal relationship to some of the historical sites in the city that were part of his upbringing, and says how these are some of the city's historical memories. Such descriptions are similar to the data from Kaupang, Norway in which several interviewees told about their childhood memories and personal experiences from the heritage site (Johansson, 2006), some of which can be related to what Tuan defines as *fields of care* and *public symbols*. Public symbols are places that give an immediate feeling based on the visual, such as monuments, sacred places or cities (Tuan, 1979: 412-415). In this case, Angra with its monumental and historical architecture can awake such feelings to visitors and tourists spending only a few days of their holiday in the city. By contrast, Tuan believes there are the *fields of care*, which is a sense of a place that goes beyond the visual and which is instead based on personal experience. One's home place can give such a deeply felt sentiment towards a physical space, an emotion which is by far deeper than what any "public symbol" might trigger. However, in some cases, a place can be both "a field of care" and "a public symbol" (Tuan, 1979: 412-419), and I would argue that both Kaupang in Norway and Angra do Heroísmo in the Azores can hold these two components, as they can generate an aesthetic experience, yet being a home environment, the inhabitants will have personal feelings and experiences related to these heritage sites (Johansson, 2006).

Another responded accordingly when I asked about his connection or relationship to Angra:

[...] normally, at least Azoreans, stay in the place where we were born, that is our place, the place where we are. That is our primary point. After that, I think, for the ones wanting to live with a good quality of life and calmness, they go to Angra. [...] Therefore, as a Terceirense and as an Angrense, I like very much to stay in Angra. (Interview 9)

Firstly, he accentuates the significance of a home place. To him, this is the primary point in life. Such a statement concurs with the theories of Tuan in terms of the significance of the homeland or the basic component of a physical place (1989). Secondly, this informant draws attention to one aspect often accentuated as the benefit of living in Angra, namely: a better quality of life and the fact that it is a calm place.³⁸ This has been stressed in both interviews and in conversations with friends and acquaintances throughout the fieldwork. A comparison to the life in continental Portugal is often made in this regard, some of which involves traffic, rush hours, longer hours at work and less spare time. The quality of life in Angra or Terceira involves more leisure time, a proximity to work and the beach, shorter working days and no rush hours. However, the interviewee does not draw attention to the historical aspects of the city.

The preceding interviewees are born and raised in the city of Angra, but what about the newly arrived inhabitants? Hence, upon asking a newcomer in the city if she could describe her identity and relationship to Angra do Heroísmo, I received the following reply:

Well, I identify with certain aspects of the city, but I know that I am not from here and I don't identify with certain aspects of ways of living, but I try to have a sense of belonging and I try to know people from here, I try to enter a little bit on their social rituals, but I know that I want to go back to the mainland. (Interview 3)

This quote illustrates a “newcomer’s” sentiments toward the city, who tries to be accustomed to the ways of life in the Azores, and identifies with certain aspects of the city. Even so, she stresses how she comes from another way of life. Some of the residents from the mainland of Portugal often stressed the differences in ways of life there compared to the Azores, although the interviewee spoke further about her relationship towards Angra do Heroísmo in comparison to the other cities or places in Terceira.

[...] I think I live in the best place in the island, in Terceira, which is in fact in Angra. I would not imagine myself in any other place. I think Angra do Heroísmo is the

³⁸ Angra do Heroísmo was designated as the best city to live in in Portugal in 2011.

most beautiful place and every time I go to another place, when I leave Angra, I always feel like I am coming home when I see Monte Brazil. So, when I see just a little bit of Monte Brazil, I have this feeling that I am home, which is very interesting because when I am here at my home, I don't think I am home, you know. (Interview 3)

Although it was evident that even though the interviewee did not feel to be a true Angrense, Angra do Heroísmo was her home on the island. Monte Brazil was seen as a point of safety and a reassurance of the fact that she had returned to Angra. The interviewee shows how she has a double feeling towards Angra, though she felt different and finding some of the social customs strange to her, she has an attachment and loyalty towards the city in an Azorean context.

Nonetheless, I would argue that the relationship and sentiment towards Angra do Heroísmo is also expressed indirectly by the inhabitants, e.g. in the ways in which they dispute the contemporary constructions and engage in these discussions, as pointed out in Chapter 9. In this sense, they show that they are attentive to any modifications or alterations of their homely and familiar surroundings. Moreover, this shows a caring for the city of Angra do Heroísmo, which has come about with time and experience, and as Tuan points out: "Time is needed to accumulate experience and build up care" (Tuan, 1979: 421). The executive from the directorate similarly expresses how he knows the city through a lifetime of experiences.

The sensation of an island

I can hardly discuss the significance of physical space without drawing attention to the particular concept of an island. Angra do Heroísmo, which is on the southern tip of Terceira, is approximately 29 km long and 17 km wide. It is evidently a fairly small island, and it never escapes your mind that you are on an island in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. Even though Terceira is surrounded by eight of the other Azorean islands, you are separated from them by the rough sea, and due to the distance and the mist there are rarely any visual lines between the islands. Throughout the time I spent on the island of Terceira, I witnessed countless discussions among the newcomers on the subject of adjusting to island life. The settlers from the continent managed the adaption in various ways, having to flee once and a while in order to maintain their equilibrium. "Living on an island is an everyday challenge", as an interviewee coming from mainland Portugal once said. Among the outsiders, there was thus an immense fascination over stories told about Terceirians who had spent their entire lives without leaving the island and hardly had the need to seek the other side of Terceira. I remember one citizen in Angra do Heroísmo being born and raised on the island of Terceira who, upon a time when I reflected upon the isolated aspects of island living during my first six-month-stay in 2008, stated: "But this is where I can breathe!".

View towards the Island of Graciosa on a clear day. Photo: Marit Johansson

The reflections above show the manifold sensations of an island, giving both a sense of isolation and openness. “An island can be both a prison and a paradise, both heaven and hell. An island is a contradiction between openness and closure, between roots and routes, which islanders must continually negotiate,” writes Godfrey Baldacchino (2007:167). As shown above, such negotiations concerning the paradoxical notions of the island do indeed take place on Terceira Island. Ronström writes how islands at all times have been ascribed utopias, dystopias and myths about the world’s beginning and end (2007:157), and the Azores has indeed been an object for myths (e.g. Gillis, 2004). Still today, there are both myths and scientific investigations concerning a possible pre-Portuguese settlement.

Historically, Angra do Heroísmo has in many regards had an island’s typically multi-faceted dimension, insofar as being placed on an island with all the limitations and restrictions which that represents, yet receiving the entire world while working as a lifeline for the sailors and ships on the way both to and from “the New World”. Presently, this may still be said to be the mentality of the people in Angra do Heroísmo, as a general description of a resident from Angra is one of being: relatively isolated and attentive to traditions and conservative, yet most welcoming, interested and curious about every new person arriving to the island. As such, it can be suggested that the mentality and identity of the people in Angra are connected with the physical landscape and the notions of an island.

Ronström's study of Visby, which is also situated on a small island off the coast of Sweden, draws on the discourse concerning an island mentality or identity which he believes is pinned down to "remoteness, marginality and distinctiveness" (2007: 158), and he further stresses some of the same themes and aspects that I have found to be relevant in the case of Angra, such as an emphasis given to Gotland's former significance as a node for international interaction and commerce, discussions on the bias of living on the island and characteristics given as isolated and traditionalist, yet having a better quality of life and living more authentically. Ronström also stressed the fascination over stories told about the island people who never have been to the mainland, and further draws on the relationship Gotland has to the mainland, a comparison which the Angrenses often make (2007). Ronström sees this symbolic line between the island and the mainland as a boundary which creates a foundation for an identity related to cohesion and particularity (2007: 177-178). Hence, a similar line and foundation for identity can be valid for the case of Terceira Island.

11.4 Heritage and identity– conclusion and discussion

This chapter has sought to address the value of the World Heritage Status and the inhabitant's relationship to Angra do Heroísmo as a historical place, a World Heritage City and a home place. An important word that occurred when asked about reactions toward the classification or value of the World Heritage Status was pride. This aspect seems undisputed, though it was indicated that the pride felt among the inhabitants was instructed. However, my data does not confirm this assumption. Other descriptions given for the value of classification were recognition of historical significance and the ways in which it brought esteem to the citizens. In any case, this recognition or pride can be seen as a double-edged sword, some of which was emphasized by the mayor and expressed in the interviews, as the status also creates certain predicaments or practical dilemmas for the citizens. One interviewee expressed how this could cause a lack of interest in preservation.

However, we see how pride is not only related to the World Heritage classification, as the interviewees also stressed the pride they take in Angra's colonial history. I argue above that this is seen as Angra's "grand" history, and that the World Heritage Status has helped to strengthen this part of history. I also argue that the meaning found in the present related to these aspects is expressed in the sense of pride and the importance of recognition. However, in Angra do Heroísmo we can also find heritage which present an alternative to this more authorized heritage that coincide with the national narrative, being a more local community heritage which is not controlled by authorized institutions but is maintained, interpreted and given value by the people (Mydland and Grahm 2012, Smith 2006).

In terms of the Angrenses' relationship to Angra do Heroísmo, interviewees stressed how Angra was their place of birth, with one telling about his upbringing in Angra, while another expressed how the city was a vital part of his life. Thus,

as argued above, Angra is both a public symbol and a field of care, as the city both triggers aesthetical experiences based on the visual, but also contains personal experiences (Tuan, 1979). Tuan further accentuates the significance of a homeland's features of "high visibility and public significance" (1989:159), such as monuments and historical buildings, some of which can "serve to enhance a people's sense of identity" (ibid). If acknowledging this theory, we can say that the identity of the inhabitants and the ways in which they identify with the city are affected by the monuments and architecture of the city, as they do have a "high visibility and public significance". Indeed, an interviewee above accentuated how he feels fully "identified with the city" after telling about the historical sites in the city.

Tuan also argues how visible signs can encourage an awareness and loyalty to one's homeland (ibid), and I would reason that several of the statements in this- and preceding chapters express a loyalty to Angra do Heroísmo, being both "true" Angrenses and newly arrived inhabitants. Yet, there is an attachment that comes with "familiarity and ease, with the assurance and of nurture and security, with the memory of sounds and smells of communal activities and homely pleasures accumulated over time" (ibid). These aspects were articulated by several interviewees, as one was emphasizing Monte Brazil as a symbol for familiarity or home, even though she also expressed the longing for her "real homeland". Another informant articulated how one's place of birth is a secure point in life and stressed the aspects of Angra that he found reassuring and familiar – namely calmness and a good quality of life. Moreover, the communal activities, or the more popular heritages, such as the Espírito Santo Feast can strengthen an attachment, as the participants also emphasized how this is heritage to them.

Laurajane Smith stresses the dialectical in experiencing a heritage site, in which the meaning and value of a heritage site is negotiable and discursive (2006:74-75). There is no doubt that the inhabitants' sense of a place and relationship to Angra do Heroísmo has changed over time, and some of the cases and discussions analysed in this thesis demonstrate the dialectical relationship that the citizens have with their city, as they engage in discussions over the meaning and value of the site. I would also claim that the changes in heritage politics seen in Angra do Heroísmo further depicts the negotiable and processual in the ways in which a heritage site is valued and given meaning. However, the physicality of a heritage site is not a constant measure, especially not a living historic city, and possible changes of the physicality can also affect the ways it is experienced and valued by the local community or visitors. The earthquake in Angra do Heroísmo in 1980 can offer an example of such change, which in turn changed the ways in which the Angrenses relate to the city, or how they value the site and give it meaning. The responses given in terms of the earthquake gives evidence of such, and some articulated how this incident had been a milestone for the city.

Hence, in the view of Smith, heritage is not just an anchor, but a way of negotiating a sense of belonging or a local community identity (2006:75). Specific

heritage sites may not only be seen as places where past human experiences took place, they also trigger current feelings and experiences. In this way, heritage sites give meaning in the present, as well as how every new encounter or experience rewrites its meanings and values, with Smith arguing how these experiences of a place help to “bind groups and communities” (2006:77). Yet, she also draws attention to how the experience of a site is affected by management mechanisms or classifications, some of which create boundaries or restrictions (2006:79). Firstly, in the case of the World Heritage Site of Angra, the notion of the “classified zone” gives a boundary for the experience of site, as well as for the preservation guidelines affecting the ways in which the local community relate to- and experience the city. The point becomes explicit upon describing the mixed feelings that the inhabitants have toward the classification, as this illustrates how for instance the inhabitants’ feelings toward the site are affected by the regulations.

The link between heritage and identity is well established, though also under dispute (Lowenthal, 1994, Solli, 1997, Smith, 2006, Jensen, 2006). Smith writes how material culture is assumed to provide a physical representation [...] to the slippery concept of “identity”, which like history “fosters the feelings of belonging and continuity” (2006:48). However, little attention has been given to how this identity is affected and formed by heritage (ibid). Similarly, it is difficult to give a clear answer as to how the material heritage works to construct the identity of the Angrenses. However, as stressed above, an identity can come with the daily experiences that the inhabitant has with this heritage site, in which values and meanings are negotiated, and as such these experiences can bind the community of Angra, as stated by Smith. Furthermore, the visual symbols of a home place can enhance the sense of belonging and identity (Tuan, 1989:159). Tuan further argues that an “awareness of other settlements and a rivalry with them significantly enhance the feeling of uniqueness and of identity” (1989:166). The latter is stressed at several points in my data, e.g. by the ways in which the rich history of Angra was compared with Ponta Delgada. The inhabitants also compare their lifestyle with the mainland, together with the importance of being the first city in Portugal, which has been stressed by several informants. Therefore, one can argue that an identity and sense of place is enhanced by making such comparisons.

In the latter, there also lies a risk of using heritage as a way to “emphasize our own superior worth”, to phrase Lowenthal, who also states that by: “[L]auding our own legacies and excluding or discrediting those of others, we commit ourselves to endemic rivalry and conflict” (1994:42). He further states that:

Most heritage reflects a personal or communal self-interest. Things are valued as my heritage or our heritage: we may be modest about what we are, but rarely about what we were. Even a shameful past may earn self-admiration for facing up to it. In celebrating symbols of their histories, societies in fact worship themselves. (1994:46)

Nevertheless, as stated, the World Heritage Status has helped positive sentiments to transpire that is believed to be constructive for the community, as one interviewee put it. Hence, a World Heritage Classification may also hold a possibility of highlighting a place superiority in comparison to other places, even though according to the World Heritage Convention, it is in fact enlisted for just the opposite reason, rather because of its international importance and value for *all the people of the world*.

The research of the Norwegian Atle Omland showed that a great part of the site managers (24 from countries in Europe, Asia, America and Africa) saw their heritage as a common heritage, although some would not wish for others to take part in the presentation of their site, as the past and heritage is connected with ownership (1998:26). Moreover, Omland found that most curators emphasized the importance of obtaining international recognition for their national heritage sites, with prestige seen as a more important good coming from the classification than preservation (1998:31). These findings also coincide with the data from Angra, in which the value of the World Heritage List is related to pride and recognition. In other cases such as Quebec City, Southern Öland and Visby in Sweden or Vega in Norway, international recognition, pride or the sense of being unique and selected were important attributions of the World Heritage Status (Evans, 2002, Turtinen, 2006, Ronström, 2007, Fageraas, 2013). As a result, these findings may show that World Heritage can hardly escape the fact underscored by Lowenthal, namely that heritage is most often celebrated as “my or ours” (1994:46). As shown, it has been stressed how the notion of World Heritage contradicts the very essence of cultural heritage, which is related to diversity more than universalism (Cleere, 2001, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2007). Indeed the World Heritage concept has been argued to be more related to the European Authorized Heritage Discourse, and rather being a means of authorizing this discourse in an international context (Smith 2006: 99, 100).

PART V CLOSING

12 Conclusions

The principle aim of this thesis has been to map and analyse past and current discussions, negotiations and social processes that take place and relates to conditions created by living in and monitoring the World Heritage City Angra do Heroísmo. Moreover, the purpose has been to study how and with what results and consequences contested values, interests, rhetoric and powers are put into play and made into dynamic forces for stakeholders in the city. Through the case study of Angra do Heroísmo we have seen how the discussions and negotiations stem from diverging interests and values, as well as a deviating views on heritage and on the management of a World Heritage City, in specifically. The different stands taken can be said to be based on ideological, political, economic, practical and aesthetical judgements and believes, which spring out from the profession and/or the role of the stakeholder or the position taken in discussions.

Broadly speaking, we can also say that the analyses show how there are different fields emerging in the case of Angra, such as the antiquarian, the practical field (Guttormsen and Fageraas 2007), as well as the economic, political field and the commercial field. However, the data show how stakeholders can move between fields and have looser or stricter ties to these fields. The latter derives from the fact that stakeholders rarely take only one position or hold only one belief; instead, they hold different roles and have different viewpoints that can change according to the matter discussed or the position taken in the discussion. What is more, some stakeholders express how they hold a double feeling towards the development projects, feelings in which preservation values are set against the need for development. A sense of mixed feelings is also seen in the ways in which the World Heritage Status can be said to be a double-edged sword, which on the one hand represents possibilities, pride and recognition, while on the other gives restrictions and limitations. Another aspect that becomes evident throughout this study is how the stakeholders' resources or capital give important dispositions and therefore positions in the processes, debates and negotiations taking place in Angra. In other words, the resources and the capitals that the stakeholders hold give certain powers that trigger discussions and processes, and affect their nature and thus their outcome.

In terms of the powers or hierarchies, the data from Angra, shows how the inhabitants have a slight amount of legitimate power, but nonetheless have power or influence in the sense of participating in public discussions, initiating petitions and advocating their cause in the media or addressing these matters to authorities. Additionally, they have the power to choose whether to adhere to the preservation

guidelines or not. However, they do not possess any legitimate power other than common public privileges in a liberal democracy (Vestheim, 2012). The cultural heritage management or the antiquarian field has such a legitimate power and holds the ideals in heritage preservation. Even so, we see how these ideals can change and that the authorities can deviate from the “ideal” regulations, as ideals do change. The analysis above also shows how the political field and its powers are strong, some of which was for instance seen in the case of the closure of the Conservation Office and in the case of the marina. We can also see how the antiquarian field or the cultural heritage management is overruled by political and economic concerns, when development is set up against conservation values.

By qualitative interviews and anthropological fieldwork, another main objective of this thesis was to get close to the stakeholders in a World Heritage City, and to obtain and study the opinions of the people living with World Heritage. Moreover, the aim was to plunge into one specific case in order to attend to a great part of the aspects that a World Heritage Classification holds; thus, I have sought to give a chronological presentation of the processes and discussions that have been taking place in the city of Angra do Heroísmo since the earthquake in 1980 up until the present moment. As said in the introduction to this thesis, it is the particular rather than the universal that was the point of departure. However, this thesis has also shown how a great part of my data concurs with other studies of World Heritage Sites, meaning that the aspects and matters addressed can be said to be universal rather than particular. The latter will be attended to firstly, before addressing the dissonance in heritage, as the data from Angra do Heroísmo shows how heritage management can cause conflict and *dissonance*. In the last part of this chapter, I will discuss the political aspects of heritage management based on the findings from Angra do Heroísmo.

12.1 Universal or particular?

As said, I embarked upon this study to investigate the particularities of Angra do Heroísmo; still, comparisons made with studies of other World Heritage Sites demonstrate how a great part of the aspects and tendencies which are addressed and found through the study of Angra are fairly common trends rather than being unique for this case. Firstly, I will point out the significance of a key person in a nomination process who was found to have been essential in the nomination process of Visby in Sweden, in Polish nominations, in nominations made by New Zealand and Australia, as well as in the cases of Vega and Røros in Norway (van der Aa, 2005, Ronström, 2007, Fageraas, 2012, Hølleland, 2013, Gjelsvik, 2014a: 17, Gjelsvik, 2014b: 99-108). Such key persons often have some of the same qualities as the key person in the case of Angra, taking a personal interest and having both the means and contacts on the local, regional, national and international levels.

Furthermore, the predicaments dealt with by a strong Conservation Office, and the discrepancy between homeowners and officials that can derive from such an

entity, were equally relevant to the case of Trinidad de Cuba as it was in Angra do Heroísmo (Haslie, 2009). Furthermore, the data from Angra shows how the perceived impractical and inconvenient in the preservation guidelines cause a discrepancy between the officials and the homeowners, some of which also lies at the core of the discrepancy revealed in the case of Trinidad de Cuba (Haslie, 2009). However, Angra is “unique” in the sense of being confronted by an additional problem: the termites that are affecting the legal wooden structures in the classified zone.

The cases of Angra do Heroísmo, Røros and Visby all stress a common trend regarding the fact that many classified areas often undergo an aesthetization, since they all present aesthetically pleasing facades designed to enhance a sense of nostalgia, and which set a frame for both conservation and themed tourism. As pointed out by informants in Angra do Heroísmo – the city has undergone a facelift, with more paint and cement and certain aspects of the city was claimed to give a “fake” feeling. Though, other informants stressed the charm, the colours and the beauty of city centre of Angra after the reconstruction. Thus, these views adhere to objective and subjective authenticity. Objective authenticity is the expert evaluation of the authenticity of heritage, concerned with the original and true, while a subjective authenticity relates to the unprofessional view which rather is based on feelings and experiences (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2011). Though, in the case of Angra, the reconstruction after the 1980 earthquake can be seen as a symbolically important act as it was a means to repair the mental landscape for the inhabitants (Meurs, 2007).

Guttormsen and Fageraas discuss how Røros portrays an antiquarian ideal picture, which instead reflects prevailing preservation policies and ideologies than historical correctness or “objective reconstructions” (2011:447,455). Ronström defines the transformation that Visby underwent due to the World Heritage Classification, a World Heritage production, and he further draws on the aspects of heritage production set out by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998), as it “transform their objects, by making them into displayed objects, by the means of historization, aesthetization, objectification and homogenization; by increasing their density and distinctiveness; and by increasing their significance, locally and globally” (Ronström, 2007:182, author’s translation). This description is as relevant for Visby as Angra do Heroísmo and Røros, as they are all rather homogenous historic urban areas that through preservation policies have enhanced certain historical and architectonical aspects, not to mention their significance increasing both locally and globally due to the World Heritage Classification. However, new development projects in Angra do Heroísmo have and are challenging this formerly homogenous and authentic cityscape. In the case of the marina or the cruise ship terminal, it was as well argued for these projects as they could maintain/revive the historical function of Angra do Heroísmo as an international port, or connect the city once again with the sea. As such, several stakeholders argued for a *functional authenticity*.

Moreover, Guttormsen and Fageraas discussed how Røros can be seen as an idealization of a place that is far from the former poor and polluted mining society (2011:448), some of which can be related to how heritage alters the past by upgrading, updating and/or forgetting in order to accommodate the contemporary (Lowenthal, 1998: 12). What is more, heritage produces a new object that is not related to the notions of real or fake, and as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett states: “Heritage is not lost and found, stolen and reclaimed. Despite discourses of conservation, preservation, restoration and reclamation, heritage produces something new in the present that has recourse to the past” (1998:149-150). As such, these World Heritage Cities can be said to be producing a new image or representing something new, rather than reproducing the mining society in Røros, the colonial history of Angra do Heroísmo or the medieval Visby. As a result, these arguments take a step out of the authenticity debate related to the real and the fake, or the objective authenticity, as it rather concerns a present experience of a place. Thus we can rather talk of an experienced authenticity. Moreover, the case of Angra do Heroísmo stresses the relevance of *constructionistic authenticity*, by the ways in which the authenticity of the historical cityscape is an object for discussions, negotiations and social processes, and in terms of the examples given in this thesis also stress the ways in which authenticity is defined differently and being an object for change, depending on the context, the authorities in power, or different views and ideologies for preservation. I would therefore argue that the modern development projects can be said to be part of the cultural processes of this living heritage site (Wang 1999).

Another common tendency in World Heritage Cities is how the regulation of the classified area, or the limited historic urban spaces, themselves bring about concerns for the possibility for commerce, accessibility and use. The room for commerce is addressed in both the study of Røros and Visby, and in the case of Røros the limited possibility for signage was one of the main conflicts (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:62), while Ronström draws on how certain businesses (groceries, hardware stores and health services) have been driven out of the inner city of Visby to give room for design shops and cafés (2014:11). The tendency of commerce moving out to the outskirts can also be seen at Røros (Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:67). Indeed Røros has a correspondingly high density of cafés and design shops, but I would say that this type of gentrification is less evident in Angra do Heroísmo; however, as seen above, the restrictions for commerce were believed to have negatively affected commerce in Angra, with business owners struggling to adjust their business to contemporary needs and in terms of running a business efficiently. The latter also stems from the limitations of the historical cityscape, which was seen as an obstacle on deliveries, with limitations for parking being a further concern stressed by business owners in Angra do Heroísmo. A lack of parking facilities was also one of the problems accentuated in the case of Quebec City, Visby and Røros (Evans, 2002, Guttormsen and Fageraas, 2007:66-67, Ronström, 2014:11). In terms of accessibility, the data from Angra do Heroísmo

also shows how the cobblestones brought about concern due to its inaccessibility and dangers, and Ronström similarly draws attention to how this type of pavement excludes certain groups from the inner city of Visby (2014). In other words, the case of Angra and Visby both addressed the democratic predicament when maintaining a “historical” outlook for these cities.

A great part of this thesis has sought to analyse the values at stake in the discussions related to the contemporary projects in the city, and as seen from other World Heritage Cities, contemporary projects within historical areas bring about debate (Meurs, 2007, Bandarin and Oers, 2013, Rodwell, 2014, Gaillard, 2014). Broadly speaking, the analysis of the discussions in Angra do Heroísmo showed how the disputes are derived from different views on the room for modern architecture within historical cities and further centre around dichotomies related to modern development and preservation, which can be said to be at the core of similar debates found at other World Heritage Sites such as Liverpool and Dresden Elbe Valley (Rodwell, 2014, Gaillard, 2014). Moreover, the analyses of the discussions in Angra do Heroísmo show how it is argued that these contemporary projects should be constructed on the outskirts of the historical city centre, and as a consequence we see that a line is drawn between the centre and periphery, which can also be seen as a front stage and a back stage. Both Haslie and Ronström draw attention to the sense of a front stage and back stage found in Trinidad de Cuba and Visby, where the old inner cities comprise the front stage where you find the clean, homogenous and historic centres, whereas the peripheries (the areas surrounding the classified zone) can be seen as a back stage that is more heterogenic, modern, commercial and diverse (Ronström, 2007:190-194, Haslie, 2009:89). As argued above, there are similar tendencies in Angra, where the “peripheries” that surround Angra can also be said to be a back stage (heterogenic, less controlled, contemporary and commercial), while the classified area is a front stage that is more aesthetic, homogeneous and historical.

Moreover, as mentioned in the previous chapter, there may be a risk of World Heritage Sites accentuating some parts of a place’s history, the ones that the site were enlisted for, at the expense of other histories. This is accentuated in the case of Visby, Sweden and Vega, Norway. As I have previously explained, Angra’s emphasis on its colonial past can be explained by the ways in which it speaks through the private and public spheres, as well as through formal institutions such as UNESCO (Aronsson, 2004). The latter is relevant for other World Heritage Sites, and one can argue that the reasons why one part of an enlisted site’s history is emphasized is how it speaks through- or is advocated for by such a significant formal heritage institution.

However, in terms of tourism, Angra may be an atypical case, as it is not a World Heritage Site that receives a huge influx of tourists, though as shown this stereotype given for World Heritage Sites has often been declined, as the automatic link between World Heritage and tourism is more diverse (Hall and Piggin, 2002, Williams, 2005:132-136, Ronström, 2007, Poria, Reichel and Cohen, 2011,

Dewar, du Cros and Li, 2012, Hølleland, 2013:242). Although there is a strong link between World Heritage and tourism, and many World Heritage Sites do experience great influxes of tourists, the status does not necessarily affect the number of visitors since, e.g. they may be well visited sites before the classification. However, as it has been claimed, and which I would argue has been the case in Angra do Heroísmo, a lack of motivation and strategy for increased tourism to begin with can have given this limited influx of tourists (Hølleland 2013). Though, there are other factors which causes limited tourism, such as present policies for tourism development, air traffic policies and geographical premises.

A last matter that can be said to be a common tendency is how the value of World Heritage Classification is related to pride and the importance of universal recognition. As shown above, these aspects were given emphasis by the informants in Angra, in addition to being demonstrated in Omland's study and in the case studies of Southern Öland, Quebec and Vega (Omland, 1998, Evans, 2002, Turtinen, 2006, Ronström, 2007, Fageraas, 2013). Hence, these finding may show that World Heritage can hardly escape the fact emphasized by Lowenthal, that heritage is most often celebrated as "my or ours" (1994), some of which contradicts the universal intention of a World Heritage designation.

On the basis of the preceding, I would argue that several of the topics addressed or found in the case of Angra are the same discussions, disagreements, aspects or tendencies that can be found in other World Heritage Sites, whether being located in Central America, North America, Scandinavia, New Zealand or Australia. I must emphasize that the preceding are only suggested *common trends*, as further comparative studies are needed to verify whether these trends are indeed *universal*.

12.2 The dissonance in heritage management

One of the premises for this thesis is how heritage causes dissonance, because its interpretations, meanings and valorizations are contested and trigger discussions and even conflicts. As mentioned, the notion of a *dissonant heritage* was addressed by Tunbridge and Ashworth, who state that discrepancy and incongruity are essential to the notion of the idea of dissonance. They further claim that the "dissonance in heritage involves a discordance or a lack of agreement and consistency" (1996:20). In Smith's view, dissonance lies implicit in the very essence of heritage and in the social processes which it involves (2006:81). Still, the dissonant heritage addressed by Tunbridge and Ashworth gives less attention to the dissonance occurring between stakeholders on heritage management, in which modern development or current needs are set against heritage preservation or preservation ideals. Dissonant heritage is rather stressed in terms of abandoned and dislocated heritage, commemoration of war, difficult heritage and uses of heritage for the political reasons, plus the dissonance occurring upon heritage tourism being discussed (1996, 2007).

In the following, I will give some examples of the dissonance that occurs upon heritage management in the World Heritage City of Angra do Heroísmo. Though it can be a contradiction per se, all the time the aim of UNESCO is to create “peace in the minds of men and women”, and considering the general moral and peacekeeping imperative of the World Heritage Convention. As Tunbridge and Ashworth ask, “Between which elements does dissonance occur”? (1996:20). In this case, it can also be asked: Between *who* does the dissonance occur? Indeed, most of the cases assessed above show evidence of the dissonance that heritage holds. Generally speaking, the dissonance is brought about due to diverging values, interests and the different meanings and values given to heritage. What is more, the dissonance is caused by the ways in which power relations, preservation ideals and policies are challenged.

Firstly, I will argue that there is a dissonance between the inhabitants and heritage management, which primarily derives from a discrepancy between preservation values versus practical problems when maintaining a house within the classified area. One of such dissonances occurred due to an inconsistency in bureaucratic matters, which was exemplified by the case of the window frames. Another dissonance stems from the ways in which the inhabitants find the preservation guidelines unpractical, inconvenient and time consuming. The case of the termites stresses the problem of heritage preservation, as neither the legitimate materials nor the illegitimate materials are appropriate. As one informant said, the inhabitants are left to solve the matters on their own as long as the officials cannot provide a solution to the problem. Thus, the dissonance occurs upon diverging views on how to amend the problem of the termites, and the fact that the inhabitants are not given sufficient aid. Moreover, we can see the legitimate powers being held by the official cultural heritage management and the illegitimate powers of the inhabitants in this dissonance. The legitimate power has the ideals for preservation, but the inhabitants hold an illegitimate power in the sense of being able to decline the advice given or to refuse to use the materials given in the preservation guidelines. Hence, there is a dissonance between preservation guidelines/ideals and practice. The latter can for example be seen in the case of the windows, in which the legitimate wooden windows are substituted through the use of illegitimate aluminium windows.

Another aspect that causes dissonance among the stakeholders are contemporary buildings. Firstly, the dissonance can be said to be triggered by different views on contemporary buildings in a classified area. For example, the neighbours did not give their consent to the public library because it does not coincide with the architecture of the city. Secondly, the dissonance is caused by what the inhabitants describe as a lack of information and involvement. Therefore, the inhabitants feel excluded from the process. On the other hand, an official stressed how the area would profit from this new library, as well as the library being a means to upgrade a previously unused and deprived property. Thirdly, this dissonance can be said to be activated by a sensation of injustice, which is due to

the fact that the materials of the new public library are otherwise banned in the classified zone. Lastly, a dissonance occurred when the library could not be completed due to financial difficulties. In sum, we can say that the dissonance is caused by different perceptions of the room for modern architecture in a classified area, a sensation of exclusion and injustice, diverging beliefs in the benefits of the library and financial misfortune.

Another example of dissonance in Angra do Heroísmo is related to the cobblestones. This particular dissonance stems from different meanings and values given to the cobblestones, not to mention being brought about due to negative experiences with the cobblestones. To take the last point first: In order to raise awareness of the poor quality of the stones, the campaign was triggered by a negative experience, or rather an accident, which was believed to have been caused by the poor quality of the cobblestones. Inhabitants also expressed how the pavement had been an object for collisions and falls, as well as being stressed how it was inaccessible for baby prams and disabled. Hence, it is a dissonance derived from the value given to the cobblestones, as some instead regard it to be a heritage production in the sense that its purpose is to enhance a historical outlook, rather than being precious heritage. However, the officials and representatives from the antiquarian field acknowledge the need for restoration, but will not substitute the cobblestones for a modern pavement. There are representatives from both the antiquarian field and the inhabitants who defend the cobblestones due to the importance of this tradition, and by the ways in which it maintains the historical image of Angra do Heroísmo. In sum, this dissonant aspect in Angra accentuates four issues or possible dissonances: human values versus heritage production, accessibility and heritage preservation, authenticity and heritage production and the accentuations of the inhabitants as significant stakeholders. Nonetheless, the dissonance in this case of the cobblestones can be said to be a *negotiable dissonance*, considering the fact that the matter was publicly debated and negotiated, in which several stakeholders were heard in both different media and finally in a governmental hearing. Moreover, a solution to the problem that had caused the dissonance was found. This negotiable dissonance can stand in contrast to the *contradictory dissonance* that the case of the library presented, where we find a dissonance that stems from contradictory views on managing the city, in which a solution was not presented nor a consensus reached.

The data further shows how there was a dissonance deriving from the preservation policies. This dissonance is exemplified by the closure of the Conservation Office or the reorganization of the management apparatus, in which there was a disagreement about whether to have an autonomous and specialized Conservation Office just for the classified zone, or to let the municipality be involved in the heritage of the city. Moreover, there was a dissonance upon the consequences of this reorganization, as one party believed that the city had not lost anything essential, as representatives from the antiquarian field believed the city had been better preserved through the Conservation Office. The informants

representing the antiquarian field used words such as interests and involvement to describe the former situation, as well as the present organization lacking a holistic strategy for the preservation. The other party believes the heritage policies should consider the economic and practical realities of the “users” of the classified area, in addition to describing how there had been a museum-like treatment of the city that moved the citizens away during the time of the Conservation Office. However, another aspect of this case was how the reorganization of the cultural heritage management apparatus had an effect on the dissonance that the Conservation Office’s policies had caused among the public. In sum, one can say that this dissonance was derived from diverging values and meanings ascribed to cultural heritage management, which basically relates to the dichotomies of preservation ideals and progress and current needs. For this reason, this dissonance can be called *a value-based dissonance*. However, the dissonance also relates to diverging politics for cultural heritage management. As such, it can be said to be a *political dissonance*.

However, it must be added how the subject of tourism can be said to be a theme in which there prevails a general *consensus* among the stakeholders, as most stakeholders express the wish for a quality-based tourism which entails a limited influx of tourists, maintaining authenticity, preventing large-scale tourism developments and asserting a knowledge-based tourism. These views also coincides with the Azorean policies for tourism. Moreover, it was argued that tourism should be developed with sentiments for a place and its inhabitants.

Tunbridge and Ashworth describe how dissonant heritage can be related to a traumatized or troublesome past (1996), and as I have argued in this thesis, the 1980 earthquake in Angra do Heroísmo can be a kind of difficult heritage in the sense of being meaningful for its citizens, but one that cannot be comfortably celebrated as part of the city’s history (McDonald, 2009:1). What is more, Tunbridge and Ashworth bring attention to the discomfort in commemorating heritage related to human trauma (Smith, 2006:81), and the lack of public commemoration of the 1980 earthquake in Angra do Heroísmo can show the discomfort related to this part of the city’s history. Though as I have argued in this thesis, several initiatives have only recently been made to commemorate the earthquake. However, Tunbridge and Ashworth accentuate the dissonant aspect of such traumas by the ways in which they cause atrocities (1996:94-130). Nevertheless, I will argue that the earthquake is a dissonant heritage, all the time with dissonance also meaning disharmony. Indeed, the earthquake does not represent a harmonious part of the history, some of which was stressed by informants by the ways in which it brought forth personal and societal distress that represented a trauma.

12.3 Heritage politics in a World Heritage City

I will argue that the data from Angra do Heroísmo shows how heritage management *is* political. We can say this for several reasons, firstly because the nature of the discussions in Angra is close to the definition given of heritage politics, which is said to be when the perspective is moved “from the past to the present, making heritage into something people fight with and about, here and now” (Ronström, 2007: 24, 25, author’s translation). Moreover, heritage politics involves contested ideas about the past and the uses of the past (ibid), as well as raising questions concerning the definition of power and control. As seen from the discussions analysed in this thesis, they essentially concern contestations between stakeholders over present ideas on heritage and views on the ways in which heritage should be managed, and we see how the stakeholders use the heritage as a vital rhetoric in order to serve their view. What is more, the World Heritage Status is used and fought *with*, as the status is used explicitly in the argumentation for different interests and by different stakeholders. Whether the discussion concerns a new marina, the construction of a public library or cobblestones, the fact that it is a World Heritage City is a breaking point. *Thus, based on my data I would claim that the World Heritage Status triggers discussions, affects the character of the discussions and influences the outcome of the discussions.*

Secondly, the political aspect of managing a World Heritage City becomes evident in the ways in which the political field has a great impact in several of the cases analysed above. Furthermore, political aspects or considerations overrule preservation values or the antiquarian field, some of which was shown in the case of the marina, the new five star hotel in the Bay of Angra and in the case of the closure of the Conservation Office. The latter case was believed to be an act which derived from a worry of not being elected due to the growing discontent among the public in the preservation politics. Even so, the reorganization of the heritage management apparatus can be seen as a democratic act all the time that the politicians represent the will of the people in a liberal democracy (Vestheim, 2012). Lastly, we see the significance of the political in the management cases by the ways in which the informants characterize processes or debates to be politicized or political.

However, the data from Angra shows how *heritage politics change over time*, or in other words we see the discursive and dialectical in politics concerning heritage management. For instance, the latter was shown in the case of the Conservation Office. Moreover, the changes in politics in Angra can be seen by the changing views toward contemporary architecture within the classified zone: only a decade ago, contemporary buildings were banned within the classified area and instead moved to the fringes of the classified area where the restrictions were weaker (Leitão, 2011), whereas there is currently a new public library with a contemporary architecture being built in the heart of the classified area. Not only was there a consent given to modern buildings in the classified area, it is now considered to be beneficial for the city and it is claimed how the present should

rather “leave a mark” from our time than building replicas. The fact that the city was reconstructed or replicated in 1980 accentuates the turn in politics for the city.

As I have previously pointed out, this change can also be explained in terms of the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006), which we see from several examples above is a dynamic, changeable and negotiable measure. The data from Angra shows how the discourse is challenged both from within- and from forces outside the discourse. The change of ideas on heritage management occurring within the discourse is exemplified by the executive at the Regional Directorate for Culture, who is advocating for new policies in which contemporary architecture is preferred to replicas within the classified area. These changes can be said to coincide with new policies outlined by UNESCO, which has sought to harmonize conservation and urban development, cf. the Vienna Memorandum and the New Recommendations for Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) (UNESCO, 23.09.2005, van Oers, 2010, UNESCO, 10.11. 2011). Indeed, Smith also draws attention to how the Authorized Heritage Discourse has been challenged and thus changed. The World Heritage Convention and its ways of making Western values on heritage universal has been criticized, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which puts an emphasis on immaterial and non-Western cultures, can be seen as a consequence of this critique (2006:28).

Moreover, the data from Angra shows how the discourse is also affected by forces outside the discourse. This is seen for example by how the inhabitants’ silent changes and opposition against the conservation policies have affected the views of the managers, as some acknowledge the inhabitants’ practical difficulties in preserving their homes according to the current conservation provisions. In fact, one of the reasons for the reorganization of the management apparatus to take place was due to these acknowledgements or the concern for the “users”. Furthermore, several of the stakeholders that the Authorized Heritage Discourse outlines as the experts and the proper stewards of the past, understand the need for change or at least see the necessity to accommodate the needs of the public in a better manner. This change can give more of an emphasis on practical values in heritage preservation. Indeed, the New Recommendations for Historic Urban Landscape (HUL) also stressed the importance of progress in order for historical cities “to maintain their functionality, traditional roles and population” (UNESCO, 10.11. 2011, II, 17). Hence, this can also be said to be preservation policies that maintain *a functional authenticity* of a heritage site (Lengkeek, 2008).

I would further argue that the petition against the cobblestones is defying the Authorized Heritage Discourse by challenging the authority to define and judge what to preserve within Angra do Heroísmo. Another “outside force”, so to speak, is the political field that has affected the ways in which Angra do Heroísmo is managed, by for instance the reorganization that was made in 2004 when the Conservation Office was closed, a reorganization which was also explained by prioritizing the needs of the public. Another example of the politicians’ influence on the Authorized Heritage Discourse can be seen from the mayor’s avocation for

contemporary buildings within the classified area. I would also argue that the inhabitants have challenged the hegemony of the experts or the basic ideas of the heritage discourse by claiming for more of a local participation, some of which was seen in the case of the library. This is another issue which has also been discussed within the discourse, as was drawn upon in Chapter 8, the importance of local participation has been increasingly accentuated in policies outlined by UNESCO. In sum, we can say that the data from Angra do Heroísmo, which in certain respects, coincides with universal trends, shows how there is a new Authorized Heritage Discourse being negotiated or even taking shape, in which advocates for more local participation generally, see the need to harmonize preservation and contemporary architecture/current developments, decline replicas and to a greater extent acknowledge the practical needs of the public living within the classified area.

In the case of Angra do Heroísmo, we can also see the political aspects of a World Heritage nomination. Indeed, it was a politician's initiative to nominate the city, and the nomination can be seen as a top-down decision. Furthermore, it can be argued that the nomination was political in the sense of being instrumental (Vestheim, 2008). Vestheim argues how all cultural politics are instrumental per se, and I have argued in this thesis that the nomination of Angra do Heroísmo can be seen as an instrumental act. As stated above, the reasoning for nominating the city adheres to the "quality argument", in the sense that heritage is given a priority because of its intrinsic value (Vestheim, 2008:57). Consequently, this is also in line with the Authorized Heritage Discourse, in which heritage is valuable per se (Smith, 2006:29). Vestheim further stresses how this quality is seen from an elitist point of view (2008:58), and similarly that the Authorized Heritage Discourse focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that the current generation "'must' care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations [...]" (Smith, 2006:29). Another important reason for nominating the city was to preserve Angra do Heroísmo, although this rationale can also have a democratic aspect or effect of heritage politics in the sense that a preservation ensures a common experience of this heritage for present and future generations (Aronsson, 2006: 6).

I will also argue that the nomination had an emotional rationale or can be seen as a token of local patriotism. Firstly, it was a local initiative, and as one informant pointed out: It was done because "we love the place". Vestheim also argues how culture is seen as a means for social and economic development (2008:59), a rationale which lies behind a great part of World Heritage nominations, as a World Heritage Status is believed to generate local or regional growth, plus being seen as a way of community building and a means to strengthen local or regional identity (e.g. Saltzman, 2001, Turtinen, 2006, Kultmag, 2014 Fyall and Rakic, 2008: 161 (in reference to Bonnette, 2005), Kaltenborn et al., 2013). However, I have no data which confirms whether this was one of the rationales for the nomination of Angra do Heroísmo.

The political decision to nominate Angra can also be seen as a formative act meant to have a great impact on the character of the city, as well as the nature of the processes and discussions that the city has lived through since the classification in 1983. Moreover, the decision was formative in the sense of giving the city a new frame, both symbolically and literally. Symbolically in the sense of the symbolic value or frame it gave the city, and literally by the ways in which the status brought about boundaries in terms of a classified area and buffer zones, as well as legal frames and international commitments. It was also be seen as formative in the ways in which the local residents define their sense of belonging and identity.

Though, knowing how the sovereignty of the State Party is one of the strongholds of the World Heritage Convention, the data from Angra show the limited means of UNESCO in order to affect or influence management or the mistreatment of World Heritage Sites, despite the fact that the World Heritage Convention is regarded as one of the most successful international agreements, and entails binding rules and moral obligations for the states ratifying it, in addition to holding sanctioning means of the World Heritage List in Danger and delistment. What is more, the data from Angra do Heroísmo shows how the local or regional cultural heritage management or preservation values are overruled in certain cases, and I would argue that the management of a World Heritage Site is ultimately relying on prevailing regional and local political conditions and bureaucratic systems.

12.4 Life in a World Heritage City

As the title indicates, this thesis has sought to assess and analyse life in a World Heritage City. As argued, contested values about the past and diverging views on heritage management trigger a dissonance between the stakeholders, and we can see how the discussions are entangled with politics or have the nature of heritage politics; as such, we can say that *life in a World Heritage City* concerns contested meanings and values about the past and present preservation, economic interests, modern development, regulations, definition power, political instrumentality, political rivalry, legitimate and illegitimate power, changing heritage politics, replicas, contemporary architecture, uses of the past, symbolic power, dissonance, heritage production, petitions, media debates, tourism, branding, archaeological remains, a new marina, the construction of a five star hotel, a cruise ship terminal and a new public library. Furthermore, I will argue that this thesis has shown how details or materialities can trigger daily concerns and be an object for public discussions, and in this sense, life in a World Heritage City entails: window frames, roof tiles, termites, aluminium windows, cobblestones, parking, deliveries, signage and sight lines.

Lastly, this thesis has demonstrated the social structures, mechanisms and processes triggered by- and framed within the context of the management of a World Heritage City, in which we see how personal capitals and powers come into play and affect the nature of the processes and its outcomes. However, as shown,

life in a World Heritage City also holds emotional aspects that involve a traumatic past, collective memories, senses of a place, identifications, common experiences, recognition, pride, double feelings, the notion of an island, social interactions, family, friends, work, the importance of a good quality of life, daily experiences with a heritage site and a home place. On the basis of both of these structural and emotive aspects that have been demonstrated and analysed throughout this thesis, I would argue that the study undertaken in Angra do Heroísmo is close to what I would define as *heritage sociology*.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews

1. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
2. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
3. Interview, cultural/heritage sector/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
4. Interview, journalist, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
5. Interview, cultural heritage management sector, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
6. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
7. Interview, official, municipality, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
8. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
9. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
10. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, June 2011
11. Interview, contractor/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
12. Interview, tourism sector, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
13. Interview, commercial sector, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
14. Interview, commercial sector, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
15. Interview, tourist sector, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
16. Interview, business owner, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
17. Interview, former mayor, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
18. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
19. Interview, cultural heritage management sector, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
20. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
21. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
22. Interview, business owner, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
23. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
24. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
25. Interview, executive/cultural directorate, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
26. Interview, business owner/ inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
27. Interview, cultural sector/ former executive in the cultural heritage management sector/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, September 2010/ July 2011
28. Interview, inhabitant Angra do Heroísmo July 2011
29. Interview, cultural sector/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
30. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
31. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
32. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
33. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
34. Interview, former executive, regional cultural directorate/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011

35. Interview, 2 inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo July 2011
36. Interview, business owner, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
37. Interview, restaurant owner, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
38. Interview, former official/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
39. Interview, architect/inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
40. Interview, inhabitants, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
41. Interview, official, municipality Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
42. Interview, former inhabitant in Terceira, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
43. Interview, executive, regional cultural directorate, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
44. Interview, inhabitant, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
45. Interview, employee at the university, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
46. Interview, 2 tourists, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
47. Interview, tourist, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
48. Interview, 2 tourists, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
49. Interview, 2 tourists, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011
50. Interview, tourist, Angra do Heroísmo, July 2011

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APPENDIX

Examples of interview guides

Interview guide: Local inhabitants

Introduction

- 1) How long have you been living in Angra?
- 2) Can you describe your attachments towards Angra do Heroísmo?
- 3) Are you generally interested in Angra's history and archaeology?

Theme 1: Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage City

- 1) What was your reaction when Angra do Heroísmo was given a World Heritage status?
- 2) In your opinion, what are the main general benefits of being included to the World Heritage List?
- 3) In terms of Angra do Heroísmo. What are the main benefits of being a World Heritage City?
- 4) Can you think of any negative aspects of being a World Heritage City?
- 5) How has Angra managed to exploit the possibilities which lie in the status?

Theme 2: The 1980 earthquake/ the reconstruction

- 1) If possible, can you tell about your experiences of the earthquake in 1980?
- 2) How did you find the reconstruction process?
- 3) How did you find the final result of the reconstruction?
- 4) What do you think of the present architecture in Angra?

Theme 3: Local identity

- 1) How do you regard your sense of belonging to Angra do Heroísmo and the island of Terceira? Supplementary questions: How do you consider your local identity?
- 2) Has the status affected your local identity and your sense of belonging towards Angra do Heroísmo?
- 3) Do you feel any kind of pride in terms of Angra's status as a World Heritage City?

Theme 4: Cultural Heritage Management of Angra do Heroísmo

- 1) What do you think of the present preservation of the historical center?
- 2) Can you give your perspectives on the legal framework?
- 3) Have you been affected by the cultural heritage management policies? If so, in what way?
- 4) What is your opinion in terms of the New Management plan launched by the municipality?
- 5) What is your opinion in terms of the new cruise ship terminal, the new library and the hotel in the bay of Angra?

Interview guide – Cultural Heritage Management Sector

Introduction

- 1) Can you briefly tell about you professional background and your present professional responsibilities?
- 2) What is your relation to the city of Angra do Heroísmo?

Theme 1: The 1980 earthquake/the reconstruction

- 1) If possible, can you tell about your experiences of the earthquake in 1980?
- 2) How did you find the reconstruction process?
- 3) How did you find the final result of the reconstruction?
- 4) What do you think of the present architecture in Angra?

Theme 2: The history of Angra do Heroísmo – the nomination process

- 1) Are you familiar with the local nomination process leading up to the inclusion of Angra to the World Heritage List? Supplementary question: Who were leading the local and regional initiative? How did the process proceed?
- 2) Do you have any knowledge about the immediate affects or the reactions towards the enlistment of Angra do Heroísmo to the World Heritage List?

Theme 3: Angra do Heroísmo as a World Heritage City

- 1) In your opinion, what are the main general benefits of being included to the World Heritage List?
- 2) In terms of Angra do Heroísmo. What are the main benefits of being a World Heritage City?
- 3) Can you think of any negative aspects of being a World Heritage City?
- 4) How has Angra managed to exploit the possibilities that lie in the status?

Theme 4: Cultural Heritage Management of Angra do Heroísmo

- 1) Can you give a brief description of Angra do Heroísmo's cultural heritage management sector? How is it organized?
- 2) How do you consider the organization of the cultural heritage management of Angra do Heroísmo?
- 3) How do you regard the present state of the preservation of the historical center of Angra?
- 4) What are the present strategies for the conservation and preservation of Angra?
- 5) Can you give your perspectives on the legal framework? Is it sufficient in terms of protecting the cultural heritage?
- 6) What are the main challenges in leading the cultural heritage management?
- 7) What are the common objectives and dilemmas occurring in the daily management of a World Heritage City?
- 8) Historically, do you know of incidences where there have been conflicts between the cultural heritage management sector and the local community?
- 9) What is your opinion in terms of the new management plan launched by the municipality?
- 10) What is your opinion in terms of the cruise ship terminal, the new library and the hotel in the bay of Angra?

Theme 5: Local interest and awareness of Angra's World Heritage Status

- 1) How do you consider the local interest and awareness for Angra do Heroísmo's history and archaeology? Supplementary question: Do you think there is a local awareness of Angra do Heroísmo's World Heritage Status? In your opinion, what can be done to increase the awareness?

Closing

- 1) In your opinion, what are the future perspectives for the development of Angra do Heroísmo?
- 2) Do you have any additional comments?