

The Balance of Local Culture and Global Economic Development:
the Case of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village in Kigali, Rwanda

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Abstract

As the fastest urbanizing continent in the next three decades, Africa is projected to play a major role in the global economy. The upward trend in the influx of foreign direct investments is set to continue thanks to an overall stable political and macroeconomic climate on the continent and microeconomic reforms in many countries. The country of Rwanda stands out for its reforms to ease business and for its attention to spatial planning as they relate to global competitiveness. The extensive master planning process for its capital Kigali exemplifies the city's aims to integrate its economy in the global market through strategic physical developments including heritage preservation.

This thesis interrogates the references to and the inclusion of heritage preservation in the planning priorities of a post-colonial, post-conflict and developing city like Kigali aiming to operate as a global city. The plans for the Nyarugenge Heritage Village, currently an active wholesale trading center, will serve as a case study to assess Kigali's intentions to balance its local culture with its participation in the global economy. The case study is discussed through a content analysis of city master plans and interviews with planning stakeholders as well as with store owners in the trading center. The analysis reveals heritage preservation is primarily meant as a tourism attraction and an economic development strategy. In light of this conclusion, the thesis ends on a discussion of a holistic planning process which could achieve a better balance between local culture and global economic development.

Thesis Advisor: Gabriella Carolini, Assistant Professor

Reader: Delia Wendel, Lecturer in Landscape Architecture

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I. Introduction

Context

The assertion of Africa being the most rapidly urbanizing continent is widespread and agreed upon, although it has drawn some skepticism. The worldwide urban population first surpassed the rural population in 2009. By 2050, the United Nations estimates the urban population will grow by 2.5 billion people. Ninety percent of this growth, resulting from urbanization and population increase, will occur in Asia and Africa. Africa is projected as the fastest urbanizing continent in the next three decades. Given the current urbanization rates, the African urban population is set to triple by 2050 and expand the list of megacities with more than 10 million inhabitants. The growth will nonetheless be most significant across existing and rapidly consolidating medium-sized cities with less than a million dwellers (United Nations, 2014). Levels of urbanization also vary across the continent, with Eastern Africa showing the fastest rates of urbanization (UN-Habitat, 2014).

However, the Africa urbanization narrative has been criticized for its oversimplifications and erroneous claims. Potts (2009) has notably presented country-specific and continent-wide evidence of the slowing and stagnating urbanization rates with some East African regions being the exception. The author urges local planners, academics and international agencies to reframe liberalized economic policies that currently focus on urban economies, especially given that rural populations will remain predominant in the near future (Potts, 2012). Leading international organizations like the United Nations insert some concessions about African urbanization in their reports. For instance, the recent UNECA flagship and UN population reports note the low correlation between urbanization and economic growth ('World Urbanization Prospects', 2014). The failures in implementing normative urban planning approaches from the global North in the global South is also acknowledged (UN-Habitat, 2014).

At the same time, Africa's appeal to the global economy is difficult to argue against. Although the changes will vary across countries, urbanization rates coupled with population growth will provide Africa with the largest working-age population in the world by 2040 and give rise to middle-class consumers. The McKinsey Global Institute (2010) therefore urges global companies not to overlook the immense potential of the continent: in 2020, an annual revenue above \$2.5 trillion could result from only four types of industries (consumer-facing sectors, resource, agriculture, and infrastructure). Foreign direct investments have dramatically increased, going from \$9 billion in 2000 to \$62 billion in 2008 for instance. By 2010, Africa had become the developing region with the highest rate of return on foreign investments. The influx of investments is set to continue thanks to an overall stable political and macroeconomic climate in Africa and to microeconomic reforms in many countries (McKinsey, 2010).

A 2015 report from the World Economic Forum concurs that important strides have been made to reform the business climate in Africa. However, the report notes that African countries have not reached the level of competitiveness expected from two decades of urbanization and growth. In fact,

low levels of competitiveness, extreme poverty and income inequality still plague the continent. Africa is also not following the usual agriculture -manufacturing - service sector progression in economic development. By bypassing the manufacturing phase, the region is heading down a remarkable but highly uncertain development path (World Economic Forum, 2015). According to the World Bank (2017), economic growth in Africa is lagging behind population growth because of spatial factors. The crowded and disconnected urban form in many cities engenders high costs of living and doing business. African cities therefore need efficient spatial development which will ensure their entry and competitiveness in the global economy (World Bank, 2017).

When it comes to reforms in promoting and easing of business and attention to spatial planning as they relate to global competitiveness, the country of Rwanda stands out. The annual GDP growth rate ranged between 4.6 and 11.1% in the past decade. During the same time, Rwanda had a meteoric rise in the World Bank 'Doing Business' index, an aggregate ranking of six factors including ease of starting a business and protection of investors. The country was ranked 158th out of 190 countries in 2007, with Singapore ranked first place ("Doing Business 2007", 2006). Since then, Rwanda has risen to the 56th rank in 2017 and is the second highest ranked Sub-Saharan African nation after Mauritius¹ ("Doing Business 2017", 2016). On the Global Competitiveness Index, Rwanda received the third highest rank among Sub-Saharan African countries after Mauritius and South Africa² ("Global Competitiveness Report", 2016).

These aggregate indices and growth indicators become particularly significant considering Rwanda was torn apart by a genocide in 1994. The country's widely applauded economic turnover is primarily attributed to strategic government interventions, including policies and the creation of institutions. The 'Rwanda Vision 2020', published by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) in 2000, set the tone for the country's development goals. Following national reflection sessions, the document puts forth a vision of a strong, modern and united nation with a clear identity. The year 2020 is envisioned as the country should have significantly shifted from its agrarian subsistence-based economy to a knowledge-based economy. This transformation necessitates a strong support of human capital and a liberal trade regime to ensure regional and international integration (Rwanda Vision 2020, 2000). The MINECOFIN has since published two Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategies (EDPRS) to detail the implementation route of the 'Rwanda Vision 2020'.

Advances in urban planning have also been observed in Rwanda. The government stands out for its leadership in physical development plans and particularly for its level of involvement in the plans' implementation. According to Goodfellow (2013), the government relies on decentralization to ensure the enforcement of building and environmental regulations. The centerpiece of urban planning efforts is the capital city of Kigali, as the city's development is expected to pave the way for other cities in Rwanda and attract investments. The ambitious goals for Kigali were set out to be

¹ The top and second rank were held by New Zealand and Singapore respectively

² Switzerland and Singapore were the highest ranked countries worldwide.

achieved with consultation from foreign urban planners, particularly from Singapore (Goodfellow, 2013). Several African countries regard Singapore as a model for development, but the Rwanda-Singapore relationship remains remarkable, with Rwanda often dubbed the 'Singapore of Africa' ("Africa's Singapore?", 2012; "Rwanda Aspires to", 2011). The relationship was first forged on the similarities between Rwanda and Singapore: after facing devastating events, both small and resource-poor geographies headed for new national identities fueled by economic growth strategies reliant on human capital (African Business, 2013).

Rwanda and Singapore most notably collaborated in the master planning process of Kigali. The master planning process was actually first led by the Denver-based design firm OZ Architecture. The firm published the Kigali Conceptual Master Plan in 2007 and followed up in 2010 with Sub-Area Plans for high-priority areas in the city. The master plans from OZ Architecture were complemented by the ones done by Surbana-Jurong (formerly known as Surbana International Consultants), a Singaporean firm behind 90 master plans across 30 countries including 9 in Sub-Saharan Africa. Surbana produced detailed master plans - including urban design, zoning, and transportation guidelines - for the city as whole and for its three districts Nyarugenge, Gasabo, and Kicukiro. This master planning process exemplifies Kigali's economic aims at integrating its economy in the global market through physical development and in particular cemented the Rwanda-Singapore partnership. Divided in five-year development phases, the three detailed district master plans by Surbana are set to guide the transformation of Kigali until 2040. The first phase, spanning between 2013 and 2018, focused on the development of the central business district into an attractive financial hub ('Africa's cities of the future', 2016).

As the end of this phase is nearing, it is timely to review its implications for Kigali thus far and its possible impacts on the city for the years to come. It is interesting to note that the current Rwandan High Commissioner to Singapore - a position created in 2010 - clarified that Rwanda is not calling itself the 'Singapore of Africa' but simply looking at Singapore as a reference in economic development (African Business, 2016). From this claim, one can wonder what constitutes the limits between emulating an economic model and diluting a national identity in favor of another as implied in a metonymy like the 'Singapore of Africa.' In other words, could the use and the apparent rejection of that rhetorical device tell us more about Kigali's intentions to balance of its local culture with its participation in the global economy?

This thesis will address those themes through a case study of the aspirational 'Nyarugenge Heritage Village' in the Central Business District. The location of this ever-consolidating downtown happens to also be home to one of the oldest neighborhoods in the city. With an urban fabric primarily made of low-rise light industrial and retail uses, the Nyarugenge Detailed District Master Plan depicts the area as a "heritage village" that will preserve the vernacular Rwandan architecture, intimate scale and diversity of facades not found in contemporary architecture. Moreover, the heritage village is envisioned as an attractive tourist destination with its adaptive reuse of buildings and promotion of local arts and crafts. The urban design guidelines included in the Nyarugenge District master plans

by Surbana aim to create distinctive paths, edges and urban nodes through covered pedestrian walkways, the preservation of certain building facades, and accentuated view corridors to the historic mosque - the main landmark of the area.

The juxtaposition of a heritage village and a modern CBD has historical, development and spatial implications and sparks debates about desirable urban development in the context of Kigali. The city is a little over a century old and spent half of its existence under colonial rule. After founding Kigali in 1907, the Germans used it as a small administrative and military base. Kigali gained an important administrative role but did not experience significant urban growth under its Belgian rule starting in 1916. The three decades after Rwanda's independence in 1962 were marked by political instabilities which forced people, including Kigali residents, in and out of exile. The city's functions as an urban, economic and cultural center hardly consolidated in that period (Manikariza, 2015).

Research Questions and Methodology

This thesis will explore how development objectives and planning processes in Kigali balance cultural and economic development goals. The primary aim of the thesis is to understand why cultural heritage preservation is included as a planning priority for the development of Kigali. To do so, the following sub-questions will be addressed in this thesis:

- What are the current development priorities for Kigali?
- How and why have the guiding design and planning principles of Kigali evolved since 2007 initial master planning process to include cultural heritage preservation?
- How do the design elements of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village relate to or contrast with the urban design characteristics of the rest of the CBD?

The first sub-question is primarily answered through an overview of the city's master plans, discussed in Chapter 2. The following chapter is a literature review that is meant to contextualize the themes and discerned development priorities mentioned in the master plans. These two chapters will provide the basis for a summative content analysis methodology (Weber, 1990; Hsieh & Shannon, 2015). The analysis is performed on a selected set of master plans to address the second sub-question by laying out the contexts in which cultural heritage preservation is expected to operate in Kigali. First, words and phrases which relate to cultural heritage preservation and economic development were selected based on Chapters 2 and 3. After performing frequency counts using the qualitative data analysis software Nvivo, the contextual usage of those words and phrases was thematically grouped to ease comparisons across master plans. The context is then discussed at length in Chapter 4 to highlight any overt or underlying efforts to balance local culture and global economic development.

Semi-structured interviews of planning stakeholders were conducted to complement the interpretations of the summative content analysis regarding the second sub-question. Interviews

questions targeted the other two sub-questions depending on the informant's occupation. The majority of respondents are local and national government representatives. The first set of interviews was conducted with representatives of the One Stop Center (OSC) for the Construction and Urban Planning based in the City of Kigali (CoK). Respondents at the central government level were affiliated with the Ministry of Infrastructure (MININFRA); the Rwanda Development Board (RDB); and the Institute of National Museums of Rwanda (INMR) and the Rwanda Academy for Language and Culture (RALC), both under the Ministry of Sports and Culture (MINISPOC). Except for Anna Breda's interview, all interviews were conducted in Kigali over the month of January 2017.

Respondent	Title- Organization
Benon Rukundo	Master Planning Zoning Guidelines Assessment Officer – Kigali One Stop Center (OSC)
Solange Muhirwa	Building Construction Architect Officer – Kigali OSC
Patrick Arinawe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Planner – City of Kigali • Former member of Surbana master plan consulting team
Antje Ilberg	Senior Adviser to the Minister - MININFRA
Adelin Kajangwe	Industrial Development Analyst - RDB
Jean de Dieu Mukeshimana	Product Development Analyst - RDB
Eric Hakizimana	Physical Planner - MININFRA
Anonymous	Institute of National Museums of Rwanda (INMR)
Anonymous	RDB
Igor Iradukunda	Manager – Century Real Estate
Assumpta Mugiraneza	Founder and Director- Iriba Center
Alice Uwimana	Public Relations Officer - INMR
Dr. Alphonse Nkurunziza	City Engineer – City of Kigali
Liliane Mupende	Former OSC Director

Merard Mpabwanamuguru	Master Plan Review (Development and Doing Business) - OSC
Dr. Jacques Nzabonimpa	Director of Culture, Protection and Promotion Unit – Rwanda Academic of Language and Culture (RALC)
Anna Breda	Former Senior Architect at the Kigali OSC

A set of structured interviews were conducted with 10 employees or owners of shops located within the boundaries of the future Nyarugenge Heritage Village and along a street proposed to be pedestrianized. The purpose of these interviews was to assess the urban design character, specifically, the imageability (to be discussed in chapter 2) of the heritage village from the perspective of the respondents. This assessment adds valuable insights on the third sub-question by including perspectives from individuals who navigate the heritage village and the CBD on a daily basis.

II. Overview of Kigali Master Plans

Conceptual Master Plan

The Kigali Conceptual Master Plan (KCMP) is the first city-wide plan for Rwanda's capital and was prepared for the Rwandan Ministry of Infrastructure. The plan, published in 2007 (the 100th anniversary of the founding of Kigali), was elaborated by a project team lead by OZ Architecture and comprised of EDAW Inc, Tetra Tech Inc, Engineers Without Borders, Worthington Design, and Economics Research Associates. The team of consultants first became involved in Rwanda in 2004 on a few architectural and planning projects. This work involved interactions with the Rwandan President Paul Kagame, the City of Kigali leadership, and the Ministry of Infrastructure. The OZ Architecture team of consultants was offered an opportunity to broaden their planning involvement by preparing a master plan for the City of Kigali. The project team spent over a year studying the context of the city to produce a conceptual plan aimed to provide an overall vision for the development of Kigali over at least five decades (KCMP Chap1, 2007). The KCMP includes five sections: an overview of the planning process; a presentation of the physical, economic, and institutional context; an assessment of the opportunities and constraints; the plan itself with a categorization in seven new land uses; and suggestions for an implementation strategy and other recommendations.

The intent of the KCMP is to present a flexible framework for long term growth and to provide the groundwork for comprehensive master plans. The framework does not control growth in "an authoritarian way, but [...] is guided by Rwandans as they shape they capital city incrementally." This

will result in a "vibrant, unique, and truly Rwandan city" that meets the basic needs of all its citizens (KCMP Introduction, 2007, 9). The timeframe for growth ranges from a few decades to a century as indicated in the two forewords by the then Minister of Infrastructure and Kigali Mayor. The specific goals and objectives of the framework are an explicit reflection of several guiding principles which were agreed upon by the project team and that informed the planning and design process. The principles emphasized among other things holistic planning, capacity building and employment opportunities for Rwandans, and locally based solutions. By following the latter principle, the KCMP "should not import ideas that have worked in other locations or climates unless they are highly appropriate." Respecting Rwandan culture and avoiding a dependency on international suppliers can be achieved by using local knowledge and culturally appropriate building technology (KCMP Chap1, 2007, 11).

This guiding principle of locally based solutions appears to work in tandem with the aspirational role of Kigali on the global stage. In his foreword, then Minister Stanislas Kamanzi describes the plan as an aspiration to "celebrate the best parts of the Rwandan history and culture while laying the groundwork for a dazzling future." An integral component of this future involves Kigali availing investment opportunities able to attract investors and visitors from across the world. The former minister envisions Kigali as a model city at the regional, continental, and global scales by the end of the century (KCMP Introduction, 2007, vii). The project team reiterates the vision of Kigali and Rwanda solidifying its position on the global stage both for its development and economic development strategies. For instance, enhancing the security of the city can attract world-class businesses, service investments, and visitors in general. These economic development strategies should not dismiss the existing fabric of the city. In fact, social capital and heritage should be preserved by encouraging an incremental upgrade of the existing fabric (KCMP Introduction, 2007).

With guiding principles and economic development visions as a backdrop, the primary goal of the KCMP is to promote sustainable urban development in Kigali by balancing ecology, equity, and economy. The outcomes of a participatory process with input from city officials, civil society, citizens and other stakeholders form the backbone of this objective (KCMP Chap1, 2007). Achieving sustainable urbanism -- that is heavily anchored in environmental sustainability -- entails coordinating future land use, transportation and infrastructure with the existing fabric of Kigali and the projected growth of the city. The spatial framework of a sustainable urbanism-minded growth are presented in three maps which are the crux of the KCMP. The Land Use Plan map projects the maximum build out for Kigali by organizing the city into zones of different densities capable of accommodating to population and land area growth. The second map, the Natural Features Plan, illustrates areas where urban development ought to be restricted. These areas include wetlands, open spaces such as natural preserves, and current agricultural zones suitable to remain that way. The Transportation and Infrastructure Plan directly echoes Kigali's vision as regional and continental hub. In fact, the map presents networks that connect proposed economic centers, such as a new International Airport, with existing ones, primarily the city center in Nyarugenge (KCMP Chap4, 2007).

Detailed Master Plans

The KCMP set the groundwork for a comprehensive master planning process that would produce detailed urban design guidelines and propose implementation mechanisms. The OZ Architecture Team, in collaboration with the City of Kigali, produced some comprehensive plans in the form of the Kigali Sub Area Plans published in December 2010. The studies to produce the plans were initiated in 2008 after the team's invitation to Kigali by the then Mayor of Kigali Aisa Kacyira. Four sectors - the administrative boundaries below the district level - were treated as sub areas in these plans: Rebero, Masaka, Kimihurura and Kinyinya. The first two sectors are in the Kicukiro District, the latter two in the Gasabo District. The Sub Area Plans build on the sustainable urbanist goal of the KCMP and present an overall vision for each site that is supplemented by site planning and programming, design and development guidelines, and possible municipal financing tools. Rebero is planned for resort and conference centers related uses that necessitates the preservation of the natural environment and new developments such as hotels. Masaka, the largest of the four sites, is envisioned to include a new city center. Based on its location, the Kimihurura sub area can become a gateway to Kigali from the existing international airport. Finally, Kinyinya can serve as a town center for nearby residential neighborhoods by providing amenities and services suitable for families. To ensure the proper implementation of the Sub Area Plans, the OZ Architecture Team indicated further physical and policy planning was needed. The recommendations included the elaboration of district and city-wide master plans and clear implementation mechanisms (Kigali Sub Area Planning Introduction, 2010).

Earlier in 2010, another set of master plans produced by the Singaporean firm Surbana International Consultants was published. With the aim of following up on the KCMP with comprehensive master plans, the City of Kigali engaged Surbana in 2008 with the development of detailed master plans for the Nyarugenge District, the Central Business District, and a potential residential area in Kinyinya (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010). There is no trace of a standalone Kinyinya plan by Surbana in the online repository³ of master plans. However, master plans for the Nyarugenge district and the CBD were published in February 2010. Surbana continued their involvement in Kigali as the firm was chosen by the City of Kigali after a public tender to produce detailed master plans for Gasabo and Kicukiro, the two other districts of the city. In May 2013, these master plans were completed and were published along other plans and reports including an integrated Kigali-wide master plan, a transportation master plan for the city, and urban design reports for one sector in Gasabo and another in Kicukiro. Under the comprehensive master plan umbrella, the three district master plans put forth more detailed urban design guidelines and implementation timelines.

Out of the extensive set of Surbana master plans, the most relevant plans to further discuss in this thesis and in relation to the 'Nyarugenge Heritage Village' case study are the Nyarugenge district and

³ <http://www.masterplan2013.kigalicity.gov.rw/Downloads/>

the CBD master plans as well as the integrated Kigali master plan. The 2010 Nyarugenge district master plan was presented in three volumes: a detailed master plan, a transportation and infrastructure master plan, and a zoning and urban design guidelines report. The main of these volumes was to provide a blueprint for the physical development of the district until about 2030. A clear development pathway was necessary for Nyarugenge especially because of the urgency to consolidate and bolster the functions of a CBD (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, i). The Nyarugenge District is envisioned as "Kigali's Revitalized Central Business District and Vibrant New Growth Area". As stipulated in the district master plan, this vision further materializes the aspirations of "Rwanda's progressive government and enterprising population [...] to position the country as the economic and financial hub of Central Africa" and "Kigali as a global city with a thriving economy, a vibrant social setting and attractive housing options" (Detailed Master Plan Report for Nyarugenge, Vol1, 2010, p.iii). The vision also aligns with the Vision 2020, the EDPRS, and the KCMP. The guiding principles of livability, prosperity and ecological sustainability of this district master plan are said to have been adapted from the sustainable urbanism principles of the KCMP (Detailed Master Plan Report for Nyarugenge, Vol1, 2010, p.iii). And to ensure these principles and vision are elaborated in an inclusive manner, the district master planning process included participatory meetings with representatives of the City of Kigali and the general public (Detailed Master Plan Report for Nyarugenge, Vol1, 2010, p.i).

The proposed vision of Nyarugenge as a revitalized CBD and vibrant new growth area comes with seven goals with associated objectives and strategies. The seven goals are introduced as follows: "revival of the existing central business district and creation of well distributed district level urban nodes"; "renewal of existing urban areas"; "development of comprehensive new townships"; "creation of alluring recreational features and tourist attractions"; "transit oriented development supported by an efficient and cost-effective transportation system"; "provision of integrated, timely, cost effective and eco-friendly infrastructure facilities"; and "conservation, revitalization and management of the unique and rich natural features" (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, 3-3). One of the objectives under the goal of reviving the CBD is to meet the city of Kigali and the East African region's needs in commercial space. Doing so will involve the development of spaces catered to banks, multinational companies and large retail as well as activities complementary these businesses. The activities include entertainment venues, convention spaces, and hotels (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, p.3-4). The "renewal of existing urban areas" goal involves the conservation and revitalization of heritage and cultural landmarks. Applying a local "Rwandan" character - the adjective Rwandan is between quotes in the document - to new public projects is listed as a strategy to reach the goal. Another strategy is redeveloping historic market areas while maintaining their character and built form. For example, the Nyabugogo market -- one of the most active areas in the city -- could be turned into "a vibrant cultural market, targeting both tourists and locals" (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, p.3-5). This type of development could also fulfill the "creation of alluring recreational features and tourist attractions" goal (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, p.3-7).

With the CBD already a major focus area of the Nyarugenge district, the 2010 detailed master plan for the CBD provides additional levels of vision and specificity. The CBD master planning process was informed by three guiding principles - "economic advancement", "people oriented", and "ecological sustainability" - which mirror the ones in the Nyarugenge plans (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 1-1). In this plan, the CBD of the city of Kigali is envisioned as "[t]he Green Financial Hub of Central Africa" (Karunakaran3-2). The master plan reiterates the crucial of the central business district in bolster Kigali and Rwanda's economic development. In fact, the CBD will need to cater to multinational and local companies and to other activities around conventions and tourism. "[I]mpart[ing] local character and identity to the CBD" by enhancing heritage areas and public spaces can also contribute to the city's economic development which already has some momentum. In fact, a real estate demand section in the master plan notes that land prices in Kigali had been on the rise but adds that no records in support of that claim were available given the city's young property market.

The CBD will actually be comprised of two CBDs located in the Muhima and the Nyarugenge sectors, two adjacent sectors in the Nyarugenge District. Medium to low-end housing currently make up the bulk of the existing built form in the Muhima sector (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 2-3). The area is therefore proposed to be completely redeveloped into the "modern CBD core of Kigali" (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, iv) -- the Muhima CBD is referred to as the CBD1. The Nyarugenge CBD2 is envisioned as the "historic CBD of Kigali" which will include high-end modern developments catering to large-scale businesses while retaining the existing historic and low-rise urban fabric (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, iv). The existing conditions in the Nyarugenge sector, which is already considered Kigali's center and financial hub, reflect the history of the urban growth of the city following Rwanda's independence in 1962. Various developments sprouted in the sector, from civic and educational facilities to housing and an active wholesale market (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 2-3). This market still operates as the primary wholesale trading center in Kigali but those are considered incompatible with the consolidation of the CBD2. The wholesale activities should be relocated but the built form of the market preserved and redeveloped for cultural and tourism purposes (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, iv).

While the Muhima and Nyarugenge CBDs have distinct existing conditions and target, they are both set to meet the four goals under the broader vision of the CBD as a green financial hub. The Kigali CBD aims to be: "the Premier Financial Hub of [the] Central African Region"; "the Landmark Activity Node of Rwanda"; "the Main Tourist Destination in Kigali City"; and "a Sustainable and Green CBD" (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 3-2). For the Kigali CBD to become a premier financial hub, top-tier regional and international financial institutions will be encouraged to open offices in the CBD (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 3-3). Heritage areas and iconic towers are proposed to be developed in the CBD to solidify its position as the landmark activity node of the city (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 3-4). The CBD could become the primary tourist destination in Kigali thanks to heritage areas that can be redeveloped into tourist attractions (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 3-5). To achieve the "Sustainable and Green CBD" goal, one of the main

recommendations is the conservation of the wetlands around the CBD (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 3-6). The proposed implementation mechanism of the specific projects under each goal include a zoning plan and capital improvement projects. These two strategies are also listed in the 2010 Nyarugenge district master plan. One of the main functions of the proposed zoning plans is to prioritize development in areas serviced with infrastructure. Zoning plans shall be reviewed at least every five years and adapted in response to pressures and gaps in development. The government-funded capital improvement projects could include the development of infrastructure, public facilities, and housing (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 6-1).

The 2013 Kigali City Master Plan Report is the culmination of Surbana's master planning engagement with the CoK. The master plan is influenced by an urban sustainability framework with economic, societal and environmental considerations (Joshi et al, 2013, xiii). Through this triple bottom line framework, it integrates the individual visions for the three Kigali districts into a broad vision for the city and puts forth six goals that reflect priority sectors of development. Kigali is envisioned as "the center of urban excellence" whose districts each have a focus area: Kicukiro will act as knowledge hub and a green gateway to the city; Gasabo will be a hub for employment and culture; and Nyarugenge will be home to a "green financial hub and vibrant growth center" (Joshi et al, 2013, xi). Given that detailed master plans of each district were done, the Kigali City Master Plan Report mainly discusses the six goals that will guide the physical development of the city and that need to be met to achieve urban excellence. The goals are phrased as follows: "city of vibrant economy and employment for all"; "city of green transport"; "city of affordable homes"; "city of enchanting nature and biodiversity"; "city of endearing character and unique local identity" and "city of sustainable resource management" (Joshi et al, 2013, 10-11). Without diving into the specifics of each goal, the abridged description of the "city of endearing character and unique local identity" directly refers to heritage preservation. Historic and culturally significant sites should be preserved and their heritage value promoted to locals and tourists (Joshi et al, 2013, 11). To achieve this objective and by extension develop an endearing character and unique identity for Kigali, a Tourism Development Strategy and a Local Identity Development Strategy need to be fully fledged by the CoK (Joshi et al, 2013, 57).

Nyarugenge Heritage Village

Both the conceptual and the detailed master plans operate on multiple scales, put forth a series of visions and goals, and address a variety of topics. The case study of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village provides a useful entry point to navigate those different scales, goals and topics and answer the research questions posed in this thesis. The heritage village project is extensively discussed in the 2010 Nyarugenge District detailed master plan, the 2010 CBD master plan and both the 2010 and updated 2013 Nyarugenge zoning reports.

In the 2010 Nyarugenge district master plan, the Nyarugenge Heritage Village is mentioned as part of the phasing plan. Two dozen projects, including the heritage village, are organized in three

implementation phases. The first phase spans between 2010 and 2015, phase 2 between 2016 and 2020, and the last phase ends in 2025. The heritage village, marked as a public project, is listed under phase 2 with the specific objective to make Kigali an attractive touristic destination (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, 13-4). Completing this public project will require infrastructure development and streetscape improvements among other tasks (Damani & Karunakaran, 13-4) and a capital improvement implementation strategy is therefore recommended (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 7-2).

As explained in the 2010 CBD master plan, the existing Nyarugenge Market will become the Nyarugenge Heritage Village. Given that it is one of the oldest settlements in Kigali, the market is currently located in the core of the existing city center and commercial hub in the Nyarugenge CBD2. The designated heritage village is in close proximity to notable educational facilities like the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) and new commercial developments such as the Kigali City Tower (KCT). More importantly, the heritage village includes civic and cultural landmarks such as an Aga Khan mosque (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, A5-12). The strategic location, the presence of landmarks and the historic nature of the Nyarugenge Market can be leveraged into a new commercial and retail market with an appeal to tourism (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, A5-13).

The development of the heritage village will require a relocation of the existing wholesale activities. According to the heritage village concept plan, "it is imperative to strike a delicate balance between non-gentrification" and the creation of "an environment suitable for the (new) commercial and retail market" (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, A5-14). The concept plan continues with an overview of urban design strategies for the heritage village. There is no explicit mention that these strategies are proposed as means to achieve the aforementioned delicate balance. Nonetheless, given no other type of strategies are advanced, this thesis will discuss the proposed urban design concepts in light of the crucial balance to be achieved.

The proposed urban design concept of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village relates to the guiding principles and recommendations for the urban design of the Nyarugenge CBD2. The principles and recommendations are classified under a handful of categories including districts, imageability, legibility, and landmarks (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 5-30). Clusters of similar land uses are referred to as districts. The character of these districts, such as the "market and heritage precinct" that contains the heritage village, should be reinforced. This recommendation ties into the principle of imageability which emphasizes the preservation and the regulated redevelopment of the historical urban fabric of the CBD2. Although the Nyarugenge CBD is fairly well planned, its legibility can be ameliorated with streetscape improvements and road linkages. An enhanced legibility will positively affect the levels of walkability and of connectivity through visual and physical pathways. Landmarks, either historical buildings or new developments, can help also affect how the CBD is structured and experienced.

The notions of legibility and imageability presented in the urban design of the CBD2 are strongly evocative of Kevin Lynch's seminal book "The Image of the City." According to Lynch (1960), an environment is said to be highly legible if its constituent parts can be easily distinguished from one another and organized into a pattern. Those constituent parts - referred to as city elements - can be categorized as paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. A path is a customary, occasional, or potential channel of movement. Edges are barriers (either permeable or impenetrable) or seams along two regions. A district is defined as a sizeable section of the city with an identifiable character. Nodes result from the convergence of paths or from the concentration of a particular use or physical character. Landmarks are points of reference which can either be internal or external to an environment.

Lynch (1960) defines imageability as the "quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer." (Lynch, 1960: 9). The image evoked by a particular environment is influenced by both the structure of the environment itself and the observer. Whether an environment is well structured, unremarkable, or seemingly disordered, the observer will organize and give meaning to what is presented. Lynch (1960) explains that the imageability of an environment depends on its physical form but also its history, function, social meaning, and individual meaning to each observer. The author only focuses on the connection between built form and imageability as he operates under the assumption that "form should be used to reinforce meaning, and not negate it." (Lynch, 1960: 46).

The urban design concept of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village directly points out landmarks, one of Kevin Lynch's city elements (Joshi, 2013,, 6-37). As shown in the figure below, the main urban design interventions include the conservation of existing building facades. This distinctive building edge will run along a proposed pedestrianized street. Two existing Church Inkuru Nziza and Aga Khan Mosque should be preserved as landmarks.

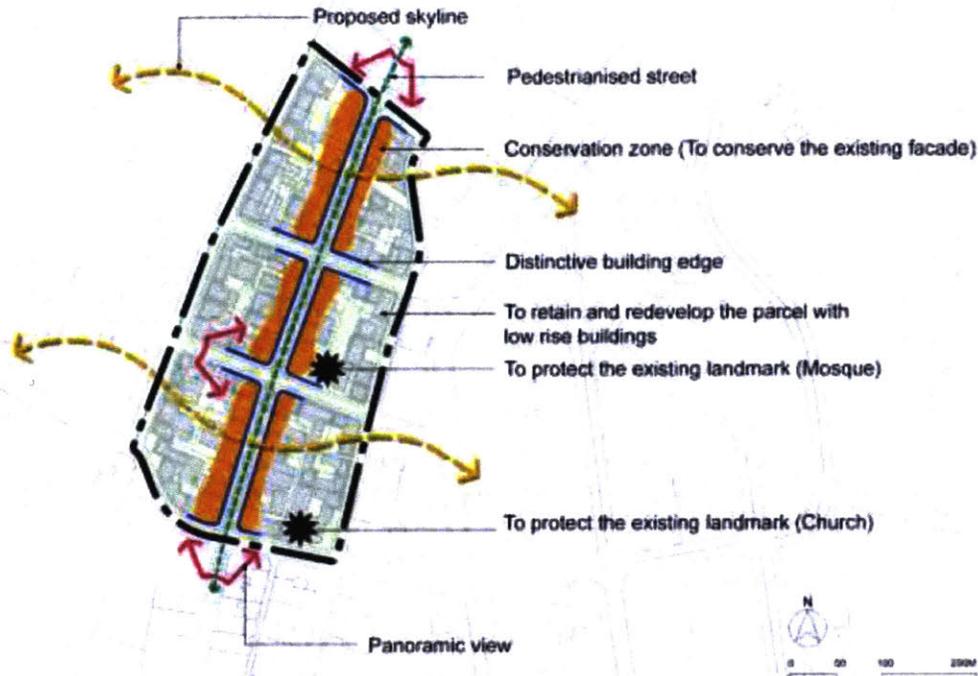


Figure 1 Nyarugenge Heritage Village urban design concept (Joshi, 2013,, 6-37)

III. Literature Review

As stated in the 2010 Nyarugenge master plan, Kigali intends to position itself as a global city. According to Sassen, the concept of the 'global city' has emerged alongside the rise of information technologies and the subsequent facilitated mobility of liquidity and capital. This current phase of the world economy emphasizes privatization, deregulation, and the entry of foreign firms in national economies. Global cities represent a spatial unit and scale which result from the blurring of the national as a spatial unit in favor of deregulation (Sassen, 2005). The concept of the global city is closely linked to the one of the networked economy given the intensity and variety of transactions between cities. Castells (2010) defines as a network as an open set of interconnected nodes whose quantity can expand with no bounds. The nature of the nodes is specific to the network in question but all networks share a common trait: the distance - whether it be physical, social, economic, political, or cultural - between their respective nodes approaches zero. The network society is therefore an appropriate topology for a capitalist economy rooted in globalization (Castells, 2010). Both Sassen and Castells note that the network society also engenders significant restructuring of power, culture, and experience. These shifts are also emphasized by Hudson who advances that global city transcends and challenges the notion and survival of the nation-state. Cities become fluid entities with real and metaphorical spaces in which flows of the international economy can operate (Hudson, 2015).

However, efforts to “globalize” by city authorities have met with criticism. For example, the global and network city viewpoints are criticized for a lack of acknowledgement of localized and national processes influencing globalization. Citing the work of Peter Taylor, Robinson notes that all cities are inherently global since they possess the liberty to insert themselves in global networks. This capacity underlines the competitiveness of city development and strategies that can sometimes be damaging to poorer cities (Robinson, 2012). Meagher concurs that cities in the global South are trying to outdo one another in the global economy circuit by adopting the knowledge and creative city brand. The author warns that these competitive tactics perpetuate a so-called 'telescopic urbanism' which excludes the urban poor from employment opportunities (Meagher, 2013). This notion of telescopic urbanism is at the center of much of the criticism towards developing cities aiming for the world city status. According to Watson, cities in sub-Saharan Africa are responding to the keen interest of international property development through various master plans for urban centers and satellite cities. These plans often present modernist visions rooted in globalized rhetoric such as new urbanism, smart and/or eco-cities. Implementing those visions will likely further impoverish and marginalize the poor populations disregarded in the master plans (Watson, 2013).

Some authors, including African scholars, have put forth perspectives that nuance the critiques of the process and outcomes of the world class and modernism aspirations in the global South. AbdouMalik Simone concedes that African cities, far from reaching world class city status, could incur new pressures by inserting themselves in the flows of the globalized network society. The effects of these pressures would not be insignificant in African cities and communities used to operating within confined scales. However, the author argues that Africans exert firm control in deliberately operating at a transnational and global arenas while maintaining a functional grounding at the local scales (Simone, 2001). For instance, the study of Addis Ababa's relation to modernity by Ejigu represents a case study supporting Simone's arguments. Ejigu explains that modernist projects in Ethiopia's capital should not be reductively equated with top-down political impositions nor with architectural and planning utopias. On the contrary, modernism spaces in Addis Ababa are co-constructed by the producers and the users of those spaces. Everyday citizens identify with and are proud of the commercial developments - an example modernist space- sprouting in the city (Ejigu, 2013).

The nuances presented by Simone and Ejigu add to the efforts of developing urban theories about and for the global South. Robinson writes that "decoloniz[ing] the field of urban studies" is necessary to stimulate theoretical innovations beyond the Western-centric milieu of globalization (Robinson, 2002, p.549). In this vein, Enwezor presents distinct interpretations and forms of modernity in different regions of the world. The author qualifies the European and Western modernity as a 'supermodernity' driven by notions of progress and rationality. Asia, particularly its southeastern regions, is undergoing a modernity that hybridizes western and alternative forms of development. This hybrid modernity has yet to gain the sweeping power and influence on development narratives that supermodernity possesses. As for the African continent, its modernity is the most distant and even antagonistic to supermodernity. Enwezor calls it 'aftermodernity' as Africa

will become modern after the current forms of modernity end, after the continent distances itself from colonial modernity (Enwezor, 2010). In "The Art of Being Global", Ong expands on the notion of Asian modernity. Similarly to Robinson, the author criticizes the hegemonic urban theories extrapolating Western ideas and forms of being global to non-Western contexts. Asian cities are successfully theorizing and embodying new and distinctive forms of global. In fact, this reinvention of the art of being global has engendered an urban normativity positioning Singapore and Shanghai as beacons of modernity. The 'Singapore model' has been proven particularly prolific in exporting its normative urban plans even beyond Asia (Ong, 2011). Given the existing influences from the West and the rising ones from the East, Ejigu applauds the emerging theories from within Africa. However, he warns that the global dominance of capitalist cultural economy makes the search for an African cultural and spatial authenticity extremely difficult (Ejigu, 2013).

Difficulties in defining, gaining and maintaining cultural authenticity in African cities is a subject that has been widely discussed in other geographies as well. Hawkes explains that culture and public planning - and by extension city-making- are strongly connected. Among the many interpretations of culture, the author defines culture both as inherent values and aspirations and as processes to transmit and develop those aspirations. Public planning, whether it be plans or policies, puts forth tangible interventions which are explicitly or tacitly influenced by culture. The author argues the connections between culture and public planning ought to be strengthened given that culture is "the bedrock of society." (Hawkes, 2001, p.3). According to Hawkes, this era of globalization has made discussions of the role of culture in society and in planning more salient. With cities in the global South aspiring for modernity, some question whether the modern can exist without dissolving the past to make way for the future (Berman, 1988). The past of most developing cities includes pre-colonial and colonial phases followed by a progression into national and globalized phases (Grant, 2002). During this progression, Ong notes that cities are labelled 'post-colonial' as it is a designation encompassing a transitory phase soon to be replaced by a 'global city' label. However, positioning the postcolonial city along a trajectory of urban development does not resolve the perceived tensions between culture, planning, and identity. In fact, postcolonial cities are concerned with inauthenticity and can straddle an ambivalent identity that both rejects and identifies with colonial legacies. For instance, statements about identity can be made through the built environment using designs that aim for both cultural authenticity and international modernity. According to Ong, another contentious manifestation of the ambivalent postcolonial identity is the choice and selection of heritage areas (Ong, 2001).

The contention around heritage comes in part from the connected but effectively divergent notions of cultural authenticity and cultural distinctiveness. Hawkes explains that authenticity results from manifestations of culture within a community, which the community can itself identify. Distinctiveness is also achieved through certain manifestations of culture. Evans lists practices of branding in European cities such as grand projects and 'edutainment' activities anchored around museums. The brand is expressed through so-called 'karaoke' architecture projects that forgo vernacular design in favor of exuberant designs aimed to impress foreign investors and politicians.

The author explains that cultural spaces are increasingly commodified given this hard-branding techniques. The cultural urban consumption occurs both in spatial and symbolic terms by agglomerating museums in historic districts for example (Evans, 2003). City branding could ensure both cultural authenticity and distinctiveness according to Kavatzis. The author explains that branding efforts can provide a city with a competitive edge necessary to attract investors and tourists. However, branding goes beyond marketing techniques as it is able to concurrently strive for and enhance community development, local identity, and social cohesion. It is able to cater to multiple stakeholders and target both foreign investments and preservation of local heritage (Kavatzis, 2004).

Kigali plans to use heritage sites as anchors in economic development and tourism promotion strategies, an approach that has been used in other countries. In the context of the United States, Reichl traces the emergence of the historic preservation movement in the 1970s after the urban renewal period. Historic preservation received political support as a strategy for commercial development. At the time, an appealing outcome of historic district designations was an increase in property values and tax revenues (Reich, 1997). Benefits can also be felt in the development of new housing units with a significant portion being affordable. Nonetheless, the most valuable economic development outcome remain heritage tourism -- the tourism field is the third largest sector in the US. These direct benefits come with multiplier effects like job creation and downtown revitalization projects (Listokin et al., 1998). Chang (1997) touts the benefits of heritage tourism in the context of Singapore and dispels the assumption that the needs of foreign visitors are prioritized over those of the local community. The author argues that both the demand from locals for cultural activities and the demand from foreign tourists for leisure activities shape heritage conservation and tourism. Given these dual influences, the commoditization process should not be regarded as simply an outcome of touristic forces which inevitably lead to negative effects. Chang (1997) specifically dismisses the often cited negative effect of cultural erosion and inauthenticity. According to the author, "heritage is dynamic and ever changing" and can continue to be celebrated even in a new or altered form (Chang, 1997: 64).

Despite the arguments from Gale and similarly-minded scholars, the connections between heritage and economic development through tourism continue to face criticism. Markusen (2009) notes that the proliferation of arts, cultural and historic districts in the United States is occurring without much empirical research from urban planners and city officials. The author recommends to re-evaluate the approach of branding cities as cultural destinations, often done through flagship projects designed by renowned architects and other large investments meant to attract out-of-town tourists. The re-evaluation can be supported by empirical research showing citizens and residents could be more valuable targets of cultural tourism initiatives (Markusen, 2009). Nasser (2003) remarks that tourism planning tends to consider the touristic appeal of heritage sites through their built form. This strategy not shifts the focus of heritage areas away from their authentic cultural and social significance but also redefines this significance in favor of tourism. To prevent the overexploitation and degradation of heritage assets, it is necessary to stop dissociating their built and urban forms

with the type of activities occurring in them. The author also advances the importance of merging land use planning with social ideals in order to balance the tourism influences with the needs and aspirations of local communities (Nasser, 2003). The changes in the conceptual development of cultural heritage presented by Loulanski (2006) echo the planning approaches recommended by Nasser (2003). Loulanski (2006) explains the concept of functional heritage is gaining more traction. Functional heritage emphasizes the people and the functions over the built form of heritage areas. Preservation can therefore shift from an objectified view of heritage to a more purposeful and sustainable approach (Loulanski, 2006).

IV. Analysis

Summative Content Analysis

Based on Chapters 2 and 3, the following key words and phrases were selected for the content analysis of planning documents: heritage, economic development, tourism development or tourism⁴, authentic, identity, and distinctive, tourism or tourism development. This selection can represent the two ends of the balance with 'authentic' and 'identity' expected to be related to local culture while 'distinctive' and 'tourism/tourism development' to global economic development.

The key words and phrases were entered in the Text Search Query tool of the NVivo Pro 11 software for each of the selected master plans. These master plans were discussed in Chapter 2 and are: the 2007 KCMP (only its fourth chapter), the 2010 Nyarugenge master plan, the 2010 CBD master plan, the 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report, and the 2013 KMP. The results of the Text Search Query includes a list of all the references to the key word or phrase searched. The query was conducted after enabling the option to find words stemming from the one entered in the tool. For instance, references to the noun 'distinctiveness' would be included in the query results for the adjective 'distinctive'. The references to each word or phrase query were individually read in their immediate context. Summary tables in the Appendix list the total number of references and the counts of individual references mentioned in a similar context within the selected master plans.

The results of the content analysis show a clear departure between the conceptual master plan by OZ and the detailed master plans by Surbana in terms of their conceptualization of heritage preservation. In the chapter 4 of the KCMP, heritage was mostly conceptualized through the preservation of natural features. The word 'heritage' is mentioned four times in the chapter in the context of a proposed Heritage Memorial Park in the Kicukiro District. The heritage park would be part of a larger set of regional parks as noted in the Natural Features Plan, one of the three key maps that make up the KCMP. The Natural Features Plan maps 65% of Kigali as

⁴ The word 'tourism' was used in the analysis of the 2007 KCMP, 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report and 2010 CBD master plan since the query for the phrase 'tourism development' returned no results.

unsuitable for urban development and necessary to protect given its environmental character (KCMP Chap4, 72).

From this observation, the preservation and enhancement of natural features can affect the type of growth in the urban fabric. This Heritage Memorial Park would be situated close to a proposed new city center to be located south of the existing one in the Nyarugenge sector. The KCMP states the new city center would not require much expropriation when developing given its proposed location on mostly unoccupied land. Plus, the construction of a new city center would be less challenging than redeveloping the existing Nyarugenge center (KCMP Chap4, 92).

The query for the word ‘authentic’ and words stemming from it yielded no results. The word ‘identity’ which could speak to cultural heritage was only mentioned in the fourth chapter of the KCMP. The sole reference to ‘identity’ is made in the context of housing typologies. Housing developments should have a sense of identity in addition to catering the various needs of households and providing them with a safe and private living environments (KCMP, 67).

The context around ‘distinctive’, ‘economic development’, and ‘tourism’ did not show any explicit connections to cultural heritage preservation. The adjective ‘distinctive’ was not mentioned once in the document. The five references to ‘economic development’ relate to a variety of strategies, none of them explicitly mentioning cultural heritage. One potential strategy to enhance economic development is to better integrate housing into the local economy. This integration could happen by linking housing to walkable and mixed-used neighborhood centers with a wide array of uses and amenities (KCMP Chap4, 65).

The master plan also notes the potential economic development potential of creating a free trade zone near the upcoming airport in Bugesera. This airport, albeit outside the administrative boundaries of the Kigali City Province, ought to influence the development of the city. For instance, rail and transportation networks could be developed in response to the intensified import-export activities (KCMP Chap4, 105 & 108). In addition to new strategies in economic development, existing sources of economic growth should not be stifled. As transportation networks intensify, highways and parkways are likely to cross through rural and peri-urban areas. This should not prevent residents of those areas from bringing agricultural and non-agricultural products to market and therefore stifle their sizeable contributions to the economy (KCMP Chap4, 81).

As previously noted, the three references to ‘tourism’ are not explicitly related to cultural heritage. Higher levels of tourism and economic activity have caused an increase in air traffic. Among other reasons, the new Bugesera airport is needed to absorb the excess air traffic because the existing international airport is rapidly reaching its capacity (KCMP Chap4, 104). The other two mentions of ‘tourism’ are made in the context of the Natural Features Plan. Although existing forests are set to

be protected from urban development, eco-tourism activities can be permitted if they aim to educate visitors and researches about flora and fauna of the forests (KCMP Chap4, 70). Wetlands are another natural feature around which urban development is regulated. Buildings meant to assist in the promotion of tourism are the only structures that may be allowed to locate within the restricted 20 meters buffer around wetland edges (KCMP Chap4, 86).

Content analysis of the selected detailed master plans paint a different picture of cultural heritage preservation. In fact, the following themes were consistently related to the word 'heritage': overall district and city-wide development priorities; economic development; tourism; urban design objectives; zoning and conservation guidelines; and identity-making strategies. Moreover, the Nyarugenge Heritage Village was presented as a project in which the aforementioned associations play out. The remainder of this chapter will be organized around those themes and will further elaborate on the results of the content analysis for 'heritage' and the other selected words and phrases. The perspectives of the interview respondents will be introduced alongside the detailed discussion of the content analysis. The respondents provided viewpoints that contextualized, supported, contradicted, and nuanced the contents of the detailed master plans.

Heritage and Nyarugenge Heritage Village

Heritage and Conservation Plan and Urban Design Objectives

The Nyarugenge Heritage Village illustrates the CoK and the master plans' emphasis of culture in development. In fact, the heritage village project is the single project associated with the most references to 'heritage' in the detailed master plans. For instance, more than 35% of the references to 'heritage' in the 2010 CBD master plan relate to the Nyarugenge Heritage Village. The main proposal for the heritage village as a planning area is a low-rise, low-density and pedestrian-friendly commercial and cultural district (CDB Master Plan, A5-2). Street lighting, street furniture and other urban design interventions are recommended to make the area more pleasant for pedestrians (CDB Master Plan, 5-40). Similarly to the phasing proposed in the 2010 Nyarugenge master plan (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, 13-4), the Nyarugenge Heritage Village is included in the second phase – spanning from 2014 to 2019- of the CBD master plan implementation. By 2019, the heritage village is expected to function as a "tourism related retail-cultural and entertainment center" (CBD Master Plan, 6-3).

The Heritage and Conservation Plan – about 10% of the references to 'heritage' in the 2010 CBD master plan - lists the Nyarugenge Heritage Village among other heritage sites throughout the CBD. The sites identified - ten in total - are landmarks that impart a sense of history and identity to Kigali. The Heritage and Conservation Plan therefore emphasizes the need to preserve these heritage areas as they could be rehabilitated into attractive tourist destinations. The ten selected sites include: five historic religious edifices like the St. Famille Church; four historic buildings like the Central Prison and the Statehouse; and one conservation area which is the market that makes up the fabric of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village.

A footnote in the Heritage and Conservation Plan mentions that a more detailed study of heritage sites should be conducted by the Kigali OSC because the list of 10 sites is not exhaustive (CBD Master Plan, p.5-29). This recommendation is reiterated in the follow-up measures section of the CBD master plan (CBD Master Plan, p.8-1). The 2010 Nyarugenge master plan states the same recommendation as a follow-up measure required for implementation. A third of the references to 'heritage' in the district master plan relate to heritage conservation guidelines. Developing those guidelines would help enhance local culture and identity by regulating the conservation of sites, whether those sites includes a standalone building or extends over a larger area (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, 14-1).

The 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report, at first glance, appears to have taken a step in proposing heritage conservation guidelines. In fact, over half of the references to 'heritage' in the zoning report are related to a Heritage and Conservation Overlay. The requirements of this zoning overlay shall supersede the ones in base zoning categories and of other zoning overlays. The Heritage and Conservation overlay aims to protect sites with an aesthetic, historical, social, and technological

significance. The aesthetic value of a site can be expressed in its design, construction, and age. Heritage sites should reflect a historic event or period. The social significance can invoke a spiritual, political, or cultural attachment. As for the technological value, the building technology used in heritage sites should display signs of available technology during the period of construction (Joshi, 2013,, 113).

However, the 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report also recommends the CoK performs a detailed heritage study to arrive at an exhaustive list of heritage sites to be preserved. In fact, the Heritage and Conservation Overlay highlights the same ten sites (including the Nyarugenge Heritage Village) that were mentioned in the Heritage and Conservation Plan of the 2010 CBD master plan (Joshi, 2013, 114). This zoning report does elaborate on the urban design vision of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village project. The heritage village is designated as one of the five key areas in the CBD for which specific urban design plans will be applied (Joshi, 2013, 129). These plans aim to consolidate certain urban design characters in those areas and reinforce the CBD's architectural heritage and character (Joshi, 2013, 127). The urban design plan of the heritage village lists two main objectives. The first is to maintain the low rise build form and the ambience of the old city which have a distinctive and touristic character. The second objective is to create a ground level with a human scale and activated with a pedestrianized environment (Joshi, 2013, 163).

Insights on motivations and conception of the heritage village project

During their interviews, respondents (currently and formerly) affiliated with the CoK highlighted the important motivations behind the Nyarugenge Heritage Village. Benon Rukundo from the Kigali OSC cited the project as one of the strategies to retain the uniqueness of Kigali. He explained the heritage village is part of the first trading center in the city, established in the areas commonly referred to as *Quartier Commercial* and *Quartier Mateus* – the 2010 CBD master plan refers to the area as the “Nyarugenge Market”. This trading center was built using wooden poles and mud bricks referred to as *rukarakara*. The small shops also have a building form different from the modern shopping arcades. The use of space in the aspirational heritage village is also noteworthy. Multiple merchants would gather, rent a small space, and begin selling a wide variety of goods. Rukundo rhetorically asked whether the likely redevelopments in the heritage area could maintain the character, the local construction techniques, or the building forms of the original trading center. He also wondered whether the nature of new developments in the CBD would not gentrify small scale retail merchants. He said: "[e]ven after new construction, even after the city has been changed, are these people still going to be in the CBD? We do not want them to be pushed away" (January 04, 2017).

When asked about the inception of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village, Rukundo stated the idea was not put forth by one specific government agency or entity. He explained the detailed master plans were championed by the CoK but involved participation from an array of stakeholders. Liliane Mupende, former Director of the OSC, elaborated that the master planning process engaged public and private institutions; civil society through churches and NGOs; military institutions;

representatives of the international community such as embassies; and the general public during the monthly *umuganda* (community service work) as well as meetings strictly focused on the master plan. During these stakeholder interactions, the idea of preserving an area that could illustrate the uniqueness of the Rwandan way of life began to emerge. The concept of a heritage village was agreed upon by all stakeholders according to Rukundo.

Patrick Arinawe attested the Surbana consulting team – which he was a member of between February 2012 and March 2013- was diligent in its stakeholder engagement and "met absolutely everybody" (January 10, 2017). These stakeholders were the ones urging for preservation although Surbana also considered it. Arinawe explained the consulting team "tried to copy the Singapore model, the way Singapore is developed" but it received advice from stakeholders and from case studies in other countries that "it is not wise to completely remove a city." In a century, if people come to Kigali and realize the old fabric of the city has been replaced by a "new and exotic" one, they would likely say "we have lost culture, we have lost everything because of development" (January 10, 2017). He added that preservation is beneficial for historical and touristic purposes and that the two stakeholders who stood out in their advocacy for preservation are the Ministry of Sports and Culture (MINISPOC) and the Rwandan Development Board (RDB).

According to Mupende and Arinawe, the area of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village was selected based on its historical significance and built form -- these selection criteria align with the ones of Heritage and Conservation Overlay. As previously mentioned, the first commercial shops in Kigali were set up in the *Quartier Commercial* and the wholesale economic activities that took place there quickly thrived. In terms of the building fabric, Arinawe explained the first architectural features specific to the heritage village are the local construction techniques which have allowed the structures to still be standing up to today. The built form in the area is also distinctive particularly for its rows of colonnaded porches.

The Nyarugenge Heritage Village, as shown in the district and CBD detailed master plans, has specific boundaries. Former OSC Senior Architect Anna Breda was unsure of the exact process behind the choice of those boundaries. She nonetheless shared the following potential reasons: the selection may have been informed by input from the CoK or other stakeholders; the selected area is an adequate representation of the heritage value of the *Quartier Commercial* and the *Quartier Mateus*; and new developments in the CBD may have been taken into consideration. Arinawe described the process of defining the boundaries as "a coincidence and a miracle at the same time" but confirmed Breda's thoughts on the matter (January 10, 2017). He explained that the Surbana consulting team learned through stakeholder engagement that the first-ever constructed structures in the *Quartier Commercial* happen to be located within the designated heritage village boundaries. The choice of those boundaries also became obvious due to the clustering of buildings with similar footprints and architectural features.

Assumpta Mugiraneza, founder and director of the Iriba Center, is currently engaging in an audiovisual documentation of the *Quartier Commercial* in the hopes of consolidating and preserving a collective memory for Rwandans. She noted that she wasn't aware of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village concept and hopes the project won't be reduced to a dry administrative decree. In fact, unlike planning a new roadway, the endeavor of cultural heritage preservation is demanding and complex. The process should therefore involve the general public and experts with resources and knowledge in history, anthropology, urbanism, and architecture. A careful, participatory and informed process is particularly important for the *Quartier Commercial*, an area filled with history and that plays a significant role in the heritage of Kigali and by extension of Rwanda by virtue of the city being the country's capital.

Mugiraneza explained that the *Quartier Commercial*, by virtue of being referred to as a '*quartier*' (district), is not a random cluster of buildings constructed in a rush and with no purpose. A district is carefully built, "desired" and "integrated" especially given that commerce played a huge role in the modernization of Rwanda (January 26, 2017). She added that the area represents, and to some extent continues to, the intersection of a multitude of lives. People who first moved to Kigali had to eventually make their way to the *Quartier Commercial*. The district was also a required stop in preparation of wedding ceremonies or during the Christmas season. Opening a shop there was associated with upward mobility and sign of success. These small individual stories build up the broader history and the notion of collective memory. According to Mugiraneza, this is particularly significant in Rwanda because heritage is not recorded in writing but through oral history. She stresses that the lack of written material should not be mistaken for a neglect of past history or current everyday life. Au contraire, Rwandans are particularly skilled at preserving and disseminating history in spoken language.

Imageability of Nyarugenge Heritage Village

In the spirit of hearing more about current everyday life, shop owners or assistants working within the boundaries of the heritage village were asked to share their perspectives on the project. As noted in Chapter 2, the urban design concept of the heritage village includes notions of legibility and imageability usually associated with Kevin Lynch's work. The first half of the interview with each shop owner or assistant aimed to uncover the informant's perception of Lynch's five city elements – paths, nodes, edges, districts, and landmarks. The interviews were conducted under the assumption that the *Quartier Commercial* (QC) and/or the *Quartier Mateus* (QM) were the districts overlapping with the heritage village area. The informants were therefore directly asked about the boundaries between those two districts.

Table 2 summarizes the responses to questions focused on Lynch's city elements. The various city elements are mapped in the figures below. The paths indicate the routes used to arrive within the designated heritage village area. With the exception of the route taken by Valentine Muhumuza, each path drawn is frequently used by at least two respondents. In terms of nodes, three respondents pointed out the high levels of activity in the vicinity of the City Plaza

building, the Kigali City Market and the location of the old post office. The first two nodes do not fall within the boundary of the heritage village. The other respondents either referred to the entire QC or the QM as areas of high activity. According to three respondents, the levels of activity in the QM have significantly dropped since a fire ravaged a block in the district.

The answers regarding the edges of the QC and the QM showed the most disparity. Two respondents were not able to discuss the boundaries of either district, and three others only provided the ones of the QC. Figure 5 shows the edges described by respondents who mentioned both QC and QM. There was a lot more overlap in the perceptions of landmarks, the majority of which are outside the boundary of the heritage village. The urban design concept of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village identifies two landmarks: the Church Inkuru Nziza and the Aga Khan Mosque. Valentine Muhumuza was the only informant to list the church as a landmark. None of the respondents mentioned the mosque.

	Length of time spent in current occupation (years)	Paths	Nodes	Edges between QC and QM	Landmarks
Dinah Rukundo	2	Centreville roundabout → M Peace Plaza → Hotel Gloria	Former location of post office	-QC: from Rubangura to Ecole Belge	- City Plaza - M Peace Plaza -KCT - Kigali City Market -T2000
Ildephonse Mukonyi	7	Bus terminal → Kigali Market	Kigali City Market	-QC: from Rubangura to Ecole Belge	- City Plaza - M Peace Plaza - Kigali City Market -Gloria Hotel
Respondent 3	1	Former post office to 59 th street	-Former location of post office - City Plaza - Kigali City Market	-QC: City Plaza to Mosque -QM: mosque to M Peace Plaza	Kigali City Market
Respondent 4	4	Bus terminal → Kigali Market	Quartier Mateus (less active since fire)	Doesn't know	City Plaza
Respondent 5	5	Bus terminal → Kigali Market	QC more active than QM	-QC: west of 59 th St	-City Plaza -KCT

				-QM: east of 59 th St.	
Respondent 6	4	Centreville roundabout → M Peace Plaza → 59 th St.	- QM - Rubangura building	- QC: City Plaza to City Market -QM: 59 th St	-City Plaza -59 th St
Respondent 7	10	Centreville roundabout → M Peace Plaza → 59 th St.	QM (used to be more active)	-QC: Rubangura to Ecole Belge	-Centenary House - M Peace Plaza -Kigali City Market
Respondent 8	12	Centreville roundabout → M Peace Plaza → 59 th St.	QC more active than QM after the fire	-QM: 59 th St	City Plaza
Respondent 9	5	Bus terminal → Kigali Market	QM	-QM: 59 th St between Mosque and gas station	Does not find any area distinctive
Valentine Muhumuza	1/4	Bus terminal → Gas Station	QM	Doesn't know	-Hotel Gloria - Church Inkuru Nziza

Table 2 City elements imageability summary table



Figure 2 Paths

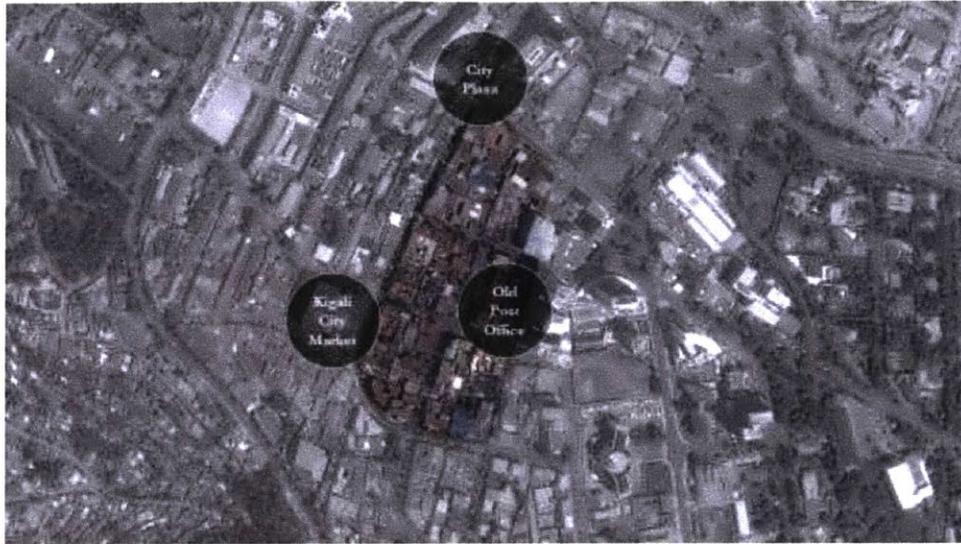


Figure 3 Nodes



Figure 4 Edges



Figure 5 Landmarks

In addition to the built environment, the quality of imageability may be related to other elements such as the history and the function of an area (Lynch, 1960). Two interview questions set out to uncover what these elements may be in the perspective of the shop owners or assistants. The first question focused on the history of the QC and the QM. Only three respondents stated having some knowledge of the historical trajectories of the districts. According to respondent 8, the QM was named after a wine called Mateus which was served in a popular bar that may have been once located in the district. Respondent 8 noted having arrived in the QC more than a decade ago and that the *Quartier Commercial* appellation was already in use. In their answers, respondents 4 and 7 did not differentiate between the QM and the QC but explained that the area was the first concentration of commercial activities - especially wholesale - in Kigali.

The other question was open-ended and asked each respondent what elements they liked in the QC or the QM. Answers related to the built environment were not precluded by the phrasing of the question. Nonetheless, nine out of ten respondents responded they appreciated the high level of commercial activity in the area with its diversity of goods to sell and buy. Respondent 6 explained that the area was well-known in Kigali and easy to find for clients. Customers usually have fruitful shopping trips: if they cannot find a product in one shop, they will likely find it in a nearby shop. As the respondent was saying this, a customer walked in the shop to buy a piece of hardware and was advised to visit the shop next door which carried that product. In addition to the high levels of activity, two respondents added that they enjoyed the conviviality in their community of shop owners and assistants.

In the penultimate interview question, respondents were asked which parts of the QC and the QM they think should be preserved. Four respondents mentioned, not surprisingly, that the shop in which they work and the other ones along 59th street needed to be preserved. Mukonyi was the only respondent who didn't express a strong preference towards the preservation of any portion of the QC or the QM. He noted that the new high rise commercial buildings would

continue to be built in the CBD. However, if the CoK expects shop owners in the QC or the QM to relocate into those new buildings, the city will need to subsidize the high commercial and office space rent costs. On the other hand, respondent 7 strongly suggested the entirety of the QC and the QM be retained because the development of new commercial buildings only serve to beautify the city. The relocation of the existing shops of the QC and the QM into those new development could cause tremendous losses. First, the landlords who are currently renting spaces to shop could lose revenue. More importantly, some shops in the QC and QM have been operating from the same location for decades. A relocation would disrupt the networks of clientele established over many years.

The last question of the interview aimed to gauge the respondents' awareness of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village project and the associated pedestrianization of the 59th street. Mukonyi responded he once overheard the project being mentioned on a television show. He could not recall its title but remembered the show aired after the evening news in the Rwanda Television (RTV) channel. Mukonyi suggested information about the Nyarugenge Heritage Village plan be disseminated through more systemic and widespread campaign. None of the other nine respondents were aware of the plan. Three respondents stressed the negative impacts their businesses would incur if the 59th street were to be pedestrianized. According to two respondents, not allowing vehicles on the 59th street would effectively amount to relocating the shops away from this key location in the city. Respondent 7 once again mentioned that landlords would be affected by the losses in revenue of the shops renting their space.

Heritage and Development Priorities

The 2010 CBD master plan cites the preservation of historic landmarks and low-rise areas, particularly prevalent in the Nyarugenge CBD2, as part of its overall planning objectives (CBD Master Plan, p. iii and iv). Two out of the four goals under the “Green Financial Hub of Central Africa” vision for the Kigali CBD also make references to ‘heritage’. The two goals in question aim to establish the CBD as “the landmark activity node of Rwanda” and as “the main tourist destination in Kigali City” (CBD MP, 3-2). Similarly, the preservation of urban heritage is mentioned as one of the handful key considerations of the 2013 KMP (Joshi et al, 2013, 12). The city master plan also references ‘heritage’ in the two of its six actionable goals under the vision of Kigali as “the Center of Urban Excellence.” In fact, the “City of Enchanting Nature and Biodiversity” and the “City of Endearing Character and Unique Local Identity” goals both mention heritage, with about 90% of the total references of ‘heritage’ related to the latter goal.

All interview respondents currently affiliated with the CoK explicitly stated the development of Kigali is guided by this vision of a “Center for Urban Excellence”. The City Engineer for Kigali, Dr. Alphonse Nkurunziza, said the “city master plan is the guiding handbook for what we have to do” by presenting six main goals to steer the city's development (January 28, 2017). He went on to enumerate the six main goals of the 2013 KMP: ‘city of character, vibrant

economy, and diversity'; 'city of affordable homes'; 'city of enchanting nature and biodiversity'; 'city of green transport'; 'city of endearing character and unique local identity'; and 'city of sustainable resource management'. Patrick Arinawe also noted the six aforementioned goals were the main guiding principles shaping the development of the city. He explained the City put worth the overall vision of urban excellence which was broken down into several goals by the consulting team. In Dr. Nkurunziza's perspective, "these six goals were already within the mindset of the city" even before the conceptual master planning process in 2007 but "were scattered and nobody would really give them attention" (January 28, 2017). He added that Surbana's work was fundamental in consolidating these various objectives and providing pathway to reach them with actionable projects and detailed plans.

According to Benon Rukundo, the notion of endearing character and unique identity shows planning officials at the city of Kigali "do not want the city to change to start looking like New York [..], Washington [...], Tokyo, or Singapore [..]. They "want it to be Kigali, [..] to be unique" (January 04, 2017). Liliane Mupende, director of the Kigali One Stop Center (OSC) between 2008 and 2014, noted that a crucial part of the master planning process was to "create a uniqueness" and "define what we want to see as Kigali" (January 30, 2017). Dr. Nkurunziza also mentioned the intent is to embed the Rwandan history and culture in the architecture of the city. In fact, cultural considerations were deeply embedded in the triple bottom line urban sustainability framework of the 2013 KMP. He stated that "culture is cross-cutting and whatever we do, culture comes number one" (January 28, 2017). Unfortunately, the CoK is facing challenges – such as a lack of expertise in architecture - in showing its commitment to culture through the implementation of the city master plan. Despite these setbacks, Dr. Nkurunziza noted culture maintains its central role in the ways the CoK perceives development.

Economic Development

Role of the CBD in economic development

Except in the 2010 CBD master plan, references to 'economic development' in other detailed masters were not explicitly connected to 'heritage'. The 2010 Nyarugenge master plan, in its acknowledgement sections, lists the public sector officials at the city and district levels with expertise in economic development – the same acknowledgement section can be found in the CBD master plan. Out of the fifteen officials acknowledged, five have roles directly related to economic development. The three districts and the CoK each have a Vice Mayor in charge of Finance and Economic Development and the CoK also has a Director of Planning and Economic Development (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, ii).

Two documents pertaining to economic development are referred to across the detailed master plans (mostly in their respective planning context sections). The first is the "Vision 2020", published

by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in 2000, which projects Rwanda as "modern and economically strong nation and a regional leader of development in Africa" (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, p.i). The other document is the "Kigali Economic Development Strategy" prepared in 2001 by the Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management (KIST) – this strategy is referenced in all the detailed master plans. The urbanization policy included in the strategy recommended an expansion of Kigali's boundaries in preparation of high fluxes of rural-urban migrations. In 2005, the administrative boundary of Kigali was extended (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, 2-3). The KIST economic development strategy also touched on the tourism, construction, commercial services and information technology sectors ("Kigali Economic Development Strategy", 2001).

The purpose of the 2010 CBD master plan was informed by three key strategies for Kigali's development put forth in the KIST Kigali Economic Strategy – this document makes up a quarter of the total references of 'economic development' in the master plan. The three strategies are: global competitiveness, improvement in quality of life, and business and industry promotion (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, p.1-1). References to 'economic development' are also related to real estate demand (1 out of 12 total references) and to the role of the CBD within Kigali (3 out of 12 total references). Given the momentum in economic development, land prices in Kigali and particularly in the CBD have been rising - no formal real estate records were available to be cited in the master plan. The lack of records also applies to figures of demand and supply of real estate. Nonetheless, given Kigali's successful efforts in attracting foreign investment, the master plan notes that demand for commercial land is high and that the shortage of spaces for business and tourism uses (e.g. office spaces, hotel rooms) will become more pronounced (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 2-6).

The CBD holds a strategic role in the economic development of Kigali, envisioned as a regional business and development hub by the national government. In fact, the CBD will cater for many of the sectors, such as banking and tourism, set to help achieve the vision for Kigali. Sites with heritage value can be tied to the CBD's role in contributing to the economic development of Kigali and of Rwanda. Historic areas not only can serve as vibrant public and recreational spaces but can bestow local character and identity to the CBD (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 2-6). Interview respondents from the CoK reiterated the multiple functions the CBD will serve. Benon Rukundo explained that the CBD will include commercial and shopping, service, residential, recreational, and touristic functions to respond to the public's need. For instance, the tourism component can be fulfilled by the Nyarugenge Heritage Village that can showcase how the city used to look like. In terms of recreation, the now operational car-free zone will be improved with new activities and amenities that attract and retain people in the area. These improvements could include playing areas for children, fountains, and artists' atelier and showcase areas. To enhance the pedestrian-friendly environment, other pedestrian plazas will be introduced very soon. The commercial, residential and service functions,

particularly in public transportation and parking, will ensure a functional and operational area that caters to all users' potential needs.

Real estate investment priority areas

Patrick Arinawe and Merard Mpabwanamuguru, in charge of Master Plan Review in Development and Doing Business at the OSC, situated the CBD within the broader goal of Nyarugenge to operate as a financial district. Arinawe noted an inspiration was Wall Street. Dr. Alphonse Nkurunziza noted that like all central business districts, Kigali's CBD would constitute a financial and commercial hub that is attractive to investors. This way, the CBD would clearly answer to the 2013 KMP goal of "city of character, vibrant economy and diversity." Adelin Kajangwe, an Industrial Development Analyst at the Rwanda Development Board (RDB), noted that Rwanda is the second-highest ranked second African country in 'Doing Business' thanks all the systems put in place, by the RDB and other institutions, to promote and facilitate investments. Mpabwanamuguru explained the OSC facilitates real estate investors in many ways, from locating and acquiring land suitable for their development to processing construction permits as their project takes shape. Kajangwe said the RDB also works to assist investors around in the two key opportunities areas in real estate: affordable housing and commercial and office development.

This last statement seemed at odds with article 3 of the RDB 2015 Investment Promotion Law which cites only construction of low-cost housing as one of the priority economic sectors (RDB Investment Promotion Law, 2015). Kajangwe admitted this inconsistency was worthwhile to point out but clarified commercial and office developments were still a key investment opportunity. It is clear the affordable housing is a pressing need and parties willing to supply low-cost can expect to receive land provisioned with basic infrastructure and fiscal incentives such as lowered income corporate taxes. Although other real estate projects cannot benefit from similar incentives, commercial and office development are needed to respond to existing demand, to support RDB's MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Events) initiative, and to become a hub for business in the East African region.

According to Kajangwe, the RDB conducts detailed studies to quantify demand which is helpful to investors. He noted that with occupancy rates of some commercial and office buildings reaching "80%, 90%, 100%, then you know there is a demand" -- most of the buildings are even booked before completion (January 17, 2017). From market studies performed by the OSC, Mpabwanamuguru mentioned Kigali had sufficient spaces for commercial uses, "lack[ed] few spaces for office", and was mostly in need of residential spaces. Igor Iradukunda, a Manager at Century Real Estate (one out of the dozen of real estate firm in Kigali), added that the general perception of office and mixed-use developments being oversupplied was wrong. A gap in office supply will certainly be apparent once the thousands of businesses and operating from buildings zoned as residential in the detailed master plans are forced to move. At the time of the interview, Iradukunda was referring to the official announcement from the City of Kigali giving those businesses and

NGOs a three-month notice to relocate to designated office and commercial buildings -- the CoK seemed to have enforced the eviction notice (“City moves to enforce eviction”, 2017). He was confident this regulation was overall useful but emphasized the necessity of educating the general public about the goals behind that decision. This will avoid a poor implementation and dispel misconceptions that this regulation is a product of a conspiracy from developers looking to rent their office spaces.

According to Mpabwanamuguru, this regulation will admittedly cause some inconvenience to businesses having to relocate. The disruption will nonetheless be far outweighed by the positive long term effects. The relocation will first alleviate the existing gap in residential homes. The most benefits will result from the likely increase in investments in both residential and office uses. In fact, investors may have felt reticent to further invest in commercial and office developments because "some of the spaces are lacking clients" as businesses were operating from residential homes (January 30, 2017). Although the RDB did not advocate for this regulation, Kajangwe expects it will benefit the investors -in commercial and office developments- that the RDB does advocate for.

Pressure from investors

At the same time, investors can sometimes put forth conditions that are misaligned with the RDB's expectations and become challenging to manage, Kajangwe notes. Interactions with investors can affect Rwandan local culture's influence on urban development as MININFRA's Eric Hakizimana mentioned. Kajangwe explained an investor's first priority was to ensure a path to obtain a return on investment. Given that phasing out in real estate projects takes years, investors seek sovereign guarantees or agreements that some of their office or commercial spaces be leased by government entities. Granting these types of guarantees upfront is tricky for the RDB, especially when there is uncertainty in the reliability of investors. Patrick Arinawe also shared the perspectives of a potential investor and the ones of the CoK can differ. The CoK considers public interest through many lenses, including culture and the economic viability of projects. On the other hand, "an investor looks at personal interests first" and "[t]he rest of culture comes next". In fact, investors want to ensure economic return and maintain a certain level of freedom. This freedom can manifest itself through a high "pressure to have imported architecture" (January 10, 2017). Solange Muhirwa added it was difficult to influence investors to incorporate local materials in their developments since buildings costs would increase.

According to Kajangwe, the RDB also pays attention the cultural impact of the investments they attract. Incentives are granted after certain criteria, such as job creation and export potential, are met but the potential impact to culture is also considered. The Board is also spearheading projects such as the 'Kigali Cultural Village' with foreseeable positive outcomes on to the cultural scene. Given that "Rwandans are very sensitive to [their] culture and [their] behaviors", a project that could harm cultural and behavioral values would not be well received at the RDB (January 17, 2017). When asked whether real estate investment opportunities could relate to the preservation of local

small-scale economies, Kajangwe responded he failed to see how those two areas intersected. These small-scale businesses operate from scattered standalone units and "what we want to see now is high rise buildings, estates" (January 17, 2017). The only way the spaces housing those small-scale businesses can be preserved is if they're regarded as cultural heritage. Kajangwe was referring to spaces in what he called "informal settlements" and not specifically to the 'Nyarugenge Heritage Village' (January 17, 2017).

Mpabwanamuguru explained real investment opportunities did relate to small-scale economy preservation because "the city belongs the people" regardless of the scale of their economic enterprises. Plus, the CoK will work to ensure the businesses preserved in the heritage area would develop "to become big" (January 30, 2017). The respondent deferred the question about strategies behind expansion process to urban economists at the OSC but said small shops should remain to provide an affordable space for small and/or nascent enterprises while new real estate developments could host established businesses.

Tourism

The Kigali Cultural Village (KCV) project brought up by Kajangwe leads to a discussion of tourism, a seemingly integral function of heritage in Kigali and of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village specifically. The references to 'tourism' in the 2010 CBD master plan stress the importance of tourism in city and country-wide development. Tourism, along with subsistence agriculture, make up the bulk of the economic base in Rwanda (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 2-6) and is one of the sectors prioritized by the central government when it comes to advancing the economic development of the country and its capital. The 2013 KMP shows that tourism development can in Kigali will occur in two ways: eco-tourism and cultural tourism. Both of these types of tourism require to plan for heritage preservation, whether the heritage is a natural or a cultural asset.

In fact, about 15% of the references to 'heritage' in the 2013 KMP relate to tourism. The plans under the "city of enchanting nature and biodiversity" (one of the six main goals of the city master plan) include the provision of attractive open spaces and public parks with some recreational features. Those spaces can be part of a network of tourism destinations with a focus on eco-tourism and agro-tourism. A heritage tree park is proposed as one of the attractions in the Gasabo District (Joshi et al, 2013, 52). The natural landscapes in the Nyarugenge District can also serve eco-tourism purposes (Joshi et al, 2013, 53). The other master plan goals to connect heritage to tourism is the "city of endearing character and unique local identity". In addition to elaborating a Local Identity Development Strategy to fulfill that goal, the CoK is encouraged to produce a Tourism Development Strategy in conjunction with the RDB (Joshi et al, 2013, 58). This strategy should aim to unlock the full tourism potential of heritage assets, whether natural or cultural (Joshi et al, 2013, 57). The 2013 KMP does offer some proposals for this tourism strategy by grouping potential destinations into four corridors with distinct touristic experiences. This proposal builds off the 2009 'Sustainable Tourism Development Masterplan for Rwanda' by the RDB (Joshi et al, 2013, 57).

It is worth noting the only references to ‘authenticity’ were found in the 2013 KMP and were all related to the Tourism Development Strategy. The authentic natural environments concentrated in the "nature adventure corridor" and still in proximity to the urban center can be appealing to locals and foreign tourists (Joshi et al, 2013, 59). The "agro community and waterfront development corridor" can offer visitors with an authentic experience of social interactions in communities. This community based tourism does come with a level of "staged authenticity" - in quotes in the master plan document - but can provide members of these rural communities with new employment opportunities from the tourism sector (Joshi et al, 2013, 59).

As shown in the city master plan, a significant number of heritage sites are concentrated in the urban environment of Kigali. The touristic potential of those sites is also highlighted in the CBD and Nyarugenge detailed master plans. A handful of references to ‘heritage’ in the 2010 CBD master plan indicate a connection to tourism. The development of at least four heritage areas is cited as a strategy to transform the CBD into a "new landmark activity node". With recommendations to enhance the design of some of these sites, heritage areas can become landmarks and attractive tourist destinations (CBD Master Plan, p.3-4). The connection between heritage and tourism is also made under the goal of making the CBD "be the main tourism destination in Kigali City". Local culture and heritage areas can be adaptively reused into tourist destinations and be showcased as part of an entertainment district in the CBD. A range of low to medium-rise hospitality facilities could be developed in the vicinity of the heritage areas (CBD Master Plan, p.3-5).

Two out of the 9 references of ‘heritage’ in the 2010 Nyarugenge master plan pertain to tourism. A detailed land utilization strategy categorizes recreation and tourism areas into four zones: ridges, wetlands and low-lying areas, urban parks, and urban attractions. The urban attraction zone will feature heritage along with cultural, recreational and retail areas in the CBD. The 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report includes the C3A zoning designation for a special district aimed to "create a vibrant, low rise commercial district with historical, cultural, tourism and recreational character" (Joshi, 2013, 54). Based on the zoning plans, the Nyarugenge Heritage Village appears to be included in the C3A zoning (Joshi, 2013, 12). The heritage village also lands within the urban attraction zone mapped in the 2010 Nyarugenge master plan (Damani & Karunakaran, 2010, 4-11). Dr. Nkurunziza, Kigali's City Engineer, emphasized the economic and touristic potential of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village throughout his interview. Anna Breda included tourism as one of the many attributes of the project since the economic sustainability of a public initiative like the heritage village needed to be considered.

The Kigali Cultural Village (KCV) is another public-led project which can speak to cultural tourism within the urban core of the city. Jean de Dieu Mukeshimana, a Product Development Specialist at the RDB, and another anonymous respondent (referred to as A2) affiliated with the RDB provided insights about the inception and the expectations of the KCV. According to both informants, the idea of the KCV was pursued following a resolution of the 2010 *Umwiberero* or National Leadership

Retreat, an annual convening of Rwandan leaders aimed to reflect on and address existing challenges through actionable initiatives. The cultural village is set to be located in Rebero, Kicukiro District, as the area was designated for tourism development in the sub area and detailed master plans. The KCV has two primary aims, the first being to help educate current and future generations about their culture. A2 noted the instabilities leading to and during the genocide forced people out of Rwanda and severed their connection to their local culture -- this connection needs to re-established and strengthened.

The second objective is to diversify tourism products - now mostly focused on ecotourism- and increase revenues by catering to potential tourists, both native and foreign, on a tight schedule. For Mukeshimana, the KCV will provide "a clear experience of culture in a one stop center" that showcases other destinations across the country (January 18, 2017). Its designation as a cultural 'village' is not insignificant: the village is at the root of Rwandan culture with its associated sense of community and belongingness. Short-term visitors in Kigali for MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions) related activities can experience a pleasant touristic experience in the city and decide to come back to tour other areas. Rwandans themselves will appreciate the accessible cultural experience of KCV given their increasingly busy professional lives.

According to the anonymous informant from the RDB, cultural tourism has gained traction since the 2009 'Rwanda Tourism Policy' by the Ministry of Trade and Industry. The informant affirmed Rwandan culture, given its richness and uniqueness, could certainly be promoted as a standalone tourism product. Another institution actively focusing on cultural tourism is the INMR. An anonymous respondent from the INMR explained cultural tourism promotion had become the INMR's main mission following the restructuring of the institute in 2011. The respondent did not point to any stakeholder advocating for the refocusing of mission. According to the respondent, cultural tourism was important for economic development as it could induce private investments in museums and other venues.

Alice Uwimana, Public Relations Officer at the INMR, echoed this statement but added the preservation of culture, social gatherings, and the reinforcement of national pride and identity could also be enhanced. In fact, the INMR had launched a series of projects that exemplify the many positive outcomes of cultural tourism. Uwimana cited the notable reintroduction of *umuganura* in 2011 which has since then remained an annual national event. She explained the celebration dates back to the early days of Rwanda and was meant as a thanksgiving for a productive harvest. With *umuganura* not being observed since colonial times, the annual event now gathers Rwandans to celebrate an aspect of their culture and can event attract tourists.

In contrast, Assumpta Mugiraneza emphatically warned about the dangers in pairing culture and tourism. According to her, thinking about cultural heritage in terms of revenue generation is a grave danger, a danger that threatens to smother our culture. She recalls her experience working with the MINISPOC after a request for proposals in 2013 to document seven historic sites in Rwanda. The

Iriba Center and its partners dived into the challenging process of critically engaging with the history of those sites. Promoting tourism around those sites after their thorough documentation would not have been problematic for Mugiraneza. However, she terminated her involvement with the project after many instances of touristic priorities overshadowing the historic documentation goals. She feared tourism would drain the essence of those sites whose histories had not been captured. Mugiraneza wishes the MINISPOC had realized their attitude was at odds with the country's recent efforts to reconnect with its cultural values - she cited the rehabilitation of *gacaca*, the community-led courts, and *itorero*, the civic education programs.

When asked if cultural tourism in Kigali's urban context had any limitations, Liliane Mupende answered yes but preferred to qualify them as challenges rather than limitations. In the context of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village for instance, the first challenge comes from the standards of densification placed on the area due to its heritage designation. Developers and property owners may wish to heavily densify a building but are not allowed to do so given the preservation standards. The main challenge remains the transition of businesses in the heritage area from wholesale to uses such as entertainment and retail more compatible with tourism. Mupende added business owners there are starting - though it had been difficult at first - to understand the value addition potential in that transition.

Heritage and Guidelines

Local Identity Development Strategy

In addition to the production of detailed heritage studies advised in the Nyarugenge and CBD master plans, the 2013 KMP recommends the CoK elaborate a Local Identity Development Strategy. A little over 75% of the references to 'heritage' in the detailed city master plan are related to this recommendation. It is one of two strategies – the other being a Tourism Development Strategy- essential in providing Kigali with an endearing character and a unique identity. The Local Identity Development Strategy should mostly be comprised of targeted heritage conservation and urban design strategies. All heritage sites need to be identified and enhanced so as to become attractive and identifiable destinations for tourists and locals alike.

A few ways to formalize the Local Identity Development Strategy are recommended in the master plan, including the development of unique landmarks and heritage precincts (Joshi et al, 2013, 60). The main value of landmarks is that they allow a city to stand out. The landmarks can act as nodes when traveling through Kigali and serve as focal points when seen from afar or as part of the skyline. This wayfinding utility can be useful for a person visiting the city. Landmarks, which can include heritage or other iconic buildings, should be therefore be further developed through international design competitions for instance (Joshi et al, 2013, 61).

Heritage precincts could encompass religious and cultural sites, historic markets, and traditional settlements. These areas should have an architectural and urban design character and shall follow special guidelines based on that character. Built areas with a heritage significance materialize the "collective memory of the people" in a physical form (Joshi et al, 2013, 60). With the development pressures in Kigali, more profitable buildings from a financial standpoint can have more appeal and threaten the preservation of heritage areas. Consolidating urban design and heritage conservation guidelines is crucial to ensure development of new urban projects is responsive of existing heritage areas. If heritage sites were "erased, this [would] create a vacuum that [would] be a loss to the society as a whole." (Joshi et al, 2013, 60). Heritage significance goes beyond the built form and includes community traditions and art forms among other elements. The precincts should therefore incorporate communities with cultural heritage traits. Other recommendations regarding precincts is the creation of a heritage management body and incentives for land owners in heritage areas (Joshi et al, 2013, 61).

Rwandan vernacular architecture and urban design

When asked what features characterized vernacular architecture and urban design, Solange Muhirwa, a Building Construction Architect Officer at the OSC, responded there weren't any clear manifestations of vernacular design in Kigali. From her architecture education at the former Kigali Institute of Technology (KIST), she recalled the mildly successful attempts at defining the features of vernacular design. Benon Rukundo described the vernacular as a combination of the construction techniques which ultimately shape the built form. For instance, the characteristic dome-shaped houses often associated with Rwanda are a result of the *ikigonyi* building technique which did not rely on mud construction. He added the OSC is attempting to encourage new developments to incorporate vernacular design features as well as references to national Rwandan symbols. The Convention Center in the Gasabo District is a great example of a modern development which emulates the characteristic dome-shaped Rwandan houses and the *agaseke* national symbol.

Patrick Arinawe also cited the Convention Center as a successful example in referencing Rwandan culture in the built form. However, he noted that creating guidelines for new developments in the CBD to reflect vernacular features in their designs has proven to be challenging because the OSC is "still trying to define what Rwandan architecture is" (January 10, 2017). Anna Breda concurred that there were no sources with an exhaustive definition of Rwandan vernacular design. In her perspective, the discussion of the vernacular should go beyond the focus on local materials that make up the dome-shaped homes to include an analysis of the way people shaped space based on their needs. For instance, the individual home includes layers of communal spaces that can accommodate the nuclear and extended family or acquaintances and neighbors. Analyzing the habits, the culture and the ways in which people interact with a space become the responsibility of architects and urban designers who should then interpret their findings in new designs.

City of Kigali initiatives to define guidelines

According to Arinawe, the City of Kigali is engaging relevant stakeholders in this process of defining Rwandan vernacular design features. These stakeholders include Rwandan architects; private and public parties knowledgeable about culture and engaged in activities like art; and the general public with an emphasis on people with more lived experience. The process could be helpful in making components of a building -- such as the colors, the windows, or the doors - evocative of Rwandan culture. At this stage, Arinawe recognizes there is still some way to go when it comes to incorporating Rwandan architecture and culture in the CBD. This assessment was echoed by City Engineer Dr. Nkurunziza who stated "the current architecture [of the CBD] does not reflect the uniqueness of the city" since the architectural aspects have been borrowed "from abroad" (January 28, 2017). He added the CoK had acknowledged this situation as an area to improve upon and is determined to introduce variations in architecture to reflect Rwandan culture.

Nonetheless, neither Dr. Nkurunziza nor Liliane Mupende considered the absence of an exhaustive understanding of the vernacular or a full-fledged Local Identity Development Strategy to have been a major hurdle during the detailed master planning process. Dr. Nkurunziza did mention the CoK was currently searching for experts to join an advisory board which will elaborate the Local Identity Development Strategy. This strategy is important to produce as it can define an implementation plan to infuse character and identity in built projects. Dr. Nkurunziza noted an ongoing study led by South African architect Peter Rich would also feed into the strategy. Mupende also cited Peter Rich's contributions in emphasizing the importance of noticing and defining traditional design features, especially when it comes to housing typologies. She added that "as much as we're trying to modernize and go to a different way [...] of designing", it was important to ask how vernacular design components can be maintained (January 30, 2017).

Ministry of Infrastructure initiatives to define guidelines

The ongoing study by Peter Rich Architects directly addresses Mupende's last comment. The study was actually commissioned by the Ministry of Infrastructure (MININFRA) in 2015 and is titled "Inclusion of Traditional Rwandan Cultural Characteristics into the Built Environment." Dr. Antje Ilberg, a senior advisor to the Minister of Infrastructure, and Eric Hakizimana, a physical planner in the MININFRA Division of Urbanization, Human Settlement, and Housing Development, provided some of the motivations behind the commission of study. Dr. Ilberg explained that the market based economy approach and the privatization of land - a result of extensive land reforms and the EDPRS policies - catalyzed a construction boom that is transforming the urban fabric of Kigali. In this context, the perception that constructing buildings were sufficient for urban development has started to change. She stressed the importance of urban design and the need to best serve the potential users of a space.

Moreover, the topic of cultural preservation had slowly become one of the top priorities in some ministries. This is a response to President Paul Kagame's observations that the Rwandan image and identity was getting diluted -- Hakizimana added that these observations resulted from conversations between the President and Peter Rich. According to Dr. Ilberg, the heightened attention to user-centered urban design and to cultural preservation is especially important for Kigali's CBD for several reasons: the urban center is drawing out local businesses; is congested during the day and lacks activity in the evening; and is being developed with little thought on servicing and circulation. In commissioning the study, the MININFRA gladly aligned with Peter Rich's primary aim to focus on preservation small-scale business as it relates to built and unbuilt spaces. This objective would also ensure a preservation of economic livelihood and history, which differs from other government entities paying more attention to stylistic and decorative elements for cultural preservation. From the interviews with shop owners and assistants, the high level of commercial activity stood out as a feature of the imageability of the heritage village.

Eric Hakizimana emphasized the outcome of the study will be clear guidelines in addressing several challenges and observations around cultural preservation in Kigali. The intent to preserve small-scale businesses was crucial in maintaining the vibrancy and the urban economy in Kigali. Hakizimana noted that a recent report - whose title and author(s) he could not recall - indicated a decline in commercial activities. He speculated this decline was associated with the CBD's dwindling vibrancy. People are going away from the city center despite it having more capacity and buildings. This lack of activity could be correlated with existing businesses' difficulties in securing the clientele they used to have, which in turn forces those businesses to move away. The challenge in small-scale business preservation converges with other key issues such as urban circulation. A smooth circulation in the urban center is mostly hindered by the length of blocks which can reach 300 meters. Another issue is the lack of references to Rwandan culture in completed and on-going construction projects in the CBD.

Hakizimana applauded the Kigali Convention Center as a modern project that echoes culture but clarified it didn't mean similar designs should be replicated everywhere. He added the following observation, a particularly important one in his perspective, informed by external experience. Preserving and remembering through museums, visual or written documentation only has a limited value according to Hakizimana. Cultural preservation achieves its full meaning when one is able to experience by a space by seeing it, touching it, and navigating through it. He cited the example of Singapore that is attempting to recover its old city from instead of having preserved some of its fabric from the onset of rapid development. With the mindset that preservation relies on a spatial experience, establishing urban guidelines becomes crucial to prevent arbitrary and capricious development decisions.

The "Inclusion of Traditional Rwandan Cultural Characteristics into the Built Environment" report therefore aims to lay out heritage guidelines. Benon Rukundo noted this study would help the OSC "develop the heritage guidelines further" and consider other methodologies and techniques (January

04, 2017). Eric Hakizimana emphasized the study would be producing guidelines, and not amending existing ones, since the detailed master plan plans did not provide any nor state the guidelines they were operating around. In his perspective, he can't assume rigorous guidelines and consultations with the MINISPOC or the Institute of National Museums of Rwanda (INMR) were used to select heritage sites if this process is not explicitly described in the master plan. For instance, some religious edifices are set to be preserved but there are no guidelines detailing which those buildings were selected and why others were left out. Hakizimana assumes that in the absence of clear guidelines, heritage sites - including the Nyarugenge Heritage Village- may have been designated in a process informed by Surbana's expertise and consultations with locals.

Through their work in various countries, Surbana consultants have developed a lot of experience working with different cultures according to Patrick Arinawe. "[T]hey know what culture means", he explained, but as consultants "they will ask you what you want, they'll also give you what is good, and then you strike a balance" (January 10, 2017). Despite the level of expertise, Hakizimana expressed some doubts about the effectiveness of the consultations between Surbana and the local leadership at the CoK. He thought the process could have been hindered by the inherent differences in points of view between the two parties. Nevertheless, the more apparent limitation remains the lack of references to guidelines. A promising potential next step with the guidelines to emerge from Peter Rich's study is that they can be adapted to peri-urban and rural areas. These areas are also experiencing development - albeit different from the growth in the CBD, the current scope of the study - and could benefit from a purposeful consideration of heritage conservation and cultural appropriateness.

Despite the potential positive outcomes of the study, the MININFRA respondents foresee challenges in its implementation. These challenges are related to broader shortcomings of the detailed master plans that may have repercussions on heritage preservation. Dr. Antje Ilberg noted the detail master plans assigned zoning requirements and development standards down to individual plots. Her main concern with the plot-level specificity is that this process was mostly behind computer screens. To her knowledge, the detailed master planning process was not participatory or at least as participatory as the conceptual master planning one. Dr. Ilberg emphasized the aforementioned claim should be taken with a grain of salt given that she was not in Kigali during the elaboration of the detailed master plans. Nonetheless, it is clear the detail master plans introduced new land use categories without clear principles behind them. These land uses were superimposed on plots legally owned by citizens - thanks to the extensive land tenure regularization initiatives- and often conflict with those individuals' hopes and expectations for their land. Plot owners lack the capacity to uphold new land use requirements for higher density apartment buildings for instance -- even capacity was not an issue, they would be confronted with low levels of demand.

The coordination between central and local government may constitute another major obstacle. With the first implementation phase of the detailed master plans underway, it has been difficult to keep pace with local governments who abide to the master plan to the letter. In order to optimize

upcoming implementation phases, the full set of existing master plans is undergoing an auditing process meant to highlight gaps and inconsistencies. Dr. Ilberg explained the MININFRA is primarily aiming to disseminate its frameworks of planning principles, inclusiveness, urban planning and construction codes, and efficient and accountable resource management to local governments.

Hakizimana illustrated some ways heritage conservation could be affected by the aforementioned challenges. Albeit land tenure regularization is effectively a great achievement, he explained that some land owners may find the designation of their plots as heritage sites problematic. However, improving the understanding of these land owners about heritage conservation and delineating clear guidelines should avoid potential disagreements. According to him, not putting forth those planning and governance frameworks before the production of detailed master plans was admittedly a failure from central government. It nonetheless remains important to make room for checks and balances to ensure multiple levels of government gain a sense of agreement and ownership in Kigali's development.

This is particularly relevant because of the bind investors may put them in. For instance, if potential investors become fond of a certain area and are told it is preserved as heritage, they might decide to forgo any investment if denied that specific piece of land. Even with regulations, it is still a balancing act not to place too many stringent regulations on investors who may decide to invest elsewhere. The potential investor could offer to compensate the expropriation of a designated heritage area in order to develop it. The authority to approve changes in land uses changes, say from a heritage area in the CBD to a fully developable plot, lies at the district council level. Like any person, a district councilor may be swayed by the investor's proposal and could therefore benefit from external opinions from the central government. Hakizimana noted this was another example showing the need for clear regulations to clarify, among other things, in which cases (if any) a heritage area land use could be modified.

Heritage and Identity

Identity through heritage and urban design

The references to 'identity' across the master plans discuss ways to enhance the sense of identity at three scales: the city, the CBD, and individual projects such as heritage sites. The identity of Kigali and its CBD can be reinforced through heritage conservation. Intentional urban design choices can strengthen the sense of identity of those heritage sites.

The 2013 KMP and the 2010 CBD master plan mostly address identity-making at the city and CBD scales. In the 2013 city master, 42 out of the 44 references to 'identity' are related to the "city of endearing character and unique local identity" target. About a third of these references pertain to the overall impetus behind the goal. The distinct identity of Kigali is formed by the confluence of the built environment, the natural environment, and people's local cultures. By preserving the city's identity, Kigali's citizens will retain their sense of belonging and experience an improved community

life (Joshi et al, 2013, 57). The Local Identity Development Strategy reiterates the building blocks of “creating a distinct character and identity for places in the city” (Joshi et al, 2013, 60). The identity of a city results from several qualities including the following: development that is sensitive to the existing historical, social, cultural, and environmental context; a wide range of activities offered in the city and that are seamlessly connected; and innovative design that can transform a space from ordinary to memorable (Joshi et al, 2013, 60). These qualities can be emphasized through the formalized strategies such as heritage precincts and unique landmark developments (Joshi et al, 2013, 61-62).

The references to ‘identity’ in the 2010 CBD master plan bring up identity-making strategies at the scale of the CBD. The guiding principles of the master plan include 2 references (out of 19) to ‘identity’. The planning process is said to be based on three principles: “economic advancement”, “people oriented”, and “ecological sustainability”. According to the “people oriented” principle, the CBD should serve everyone. Identity and local lifestyle should therefore be “enhanced” and sites with historic and cultural significance preserved (CBD Master Plan, 1-1). The CBD also has an instrumental role to play in meeting Kigali’s economic development goals. With this mind, developing heritage sites to provide an identity to the CBD becomes important to consider (CBD Master Plan, 2-6). The idea of enhancing sense of identity is also found under the “landmark activity node” goal. As part of the creation of heritage landmark area in the CBD, the use of local material and the inclusion of local art should be promoted to strengthen identity and the sense of belonging (CBD Master Plan, 3-4).

Both the city and CBD master plan mention the potential of heritage sites in imparting a sense of identity at broad scales. The identity of heritage sites themselves can also be strengthened, particularly through urban design. Three references of ‘identity’ in the 2010 CBD master focus on the scale of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village. Civic and cultural landmarks are said to “infus[e] the area with a tinge of the heritage flavor” which should be “capitalized [upon] to create a unique identity” for the heritage village (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, A5-9). Also, architectural and urban design interventions with landscaping, rooftop gardens and/or green walls in the Nyarugenge Heritage Village can reinforce an identity where the modern and the historic are juxtaposed (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 5-45). In the 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report, the only three references to ‘identity’ are related to urban design overlays and guidelines. One of those references pertains to the proposed skyline of the Nyarugenge Heritage Village. The skyline is meant to enhance the identity of the heritage village through the preservation of low rise buildings on either side of the proposed pedestrianized street (Joshi, 2013, 163).

Several interviews respondents also connected the notion of identity with the built form and cultural heritage. Dr. Nkurunziza, Kigali’s City Engineer, explained that Kigali should have a unique identity to differentiate it from other cities. This difference can be expressed in a built environment that embeds Rwandan culture. Patrick Arinawe (CoK) and Eric Hakizimana (MININFRA) also emphasized architecture and urban design as vehicles of expression of Kigali’s culture and unique

identity. In addition to the built environment, Liliane Mupende (former OSC director) stressed the importance of heritage conservation as part of Kigali's identity. In learning from other contexts, Asian cities have managed to rapidly grown, transformed and densified but have kept niches of heritage areas as visual testaments of their past. This example is relevant to keep in mind as Kigali develops and becomes more globalized. Mupende added that preservation was critical to retain signs of the unique ways Rwandans design and uses spaces. The Nyarugenge Heritage Village exemplifies the purposeful preservation of an area with historical and design significance in Kigali.

Distinctiveness: to whom does identity matter

Expect for the 2010 Nyarugenge master plan, the references to the adjective 'distinctive' in the detailed master plans analyzed are connected to the notions of identity, heritage, and urban design. In the 2010 CBD master plan, the overall urban design concept of the CBD is meant to create a "distinctive, symbolic, and functional heart of Kigali City" (Karunakaran & Damani, 2010, 4-17). Ten out 15 references of 'distinctive' are made in the context of the architectural and urban design proposals of specific sites throughout the CBD. The Nyarugenge Heritage Village is not mentioned as one those sites. Nonetheless, the sole reference of the word 'distinctive' in the 2013 Nyarugenge zoning report is found in the short description of the urban design objectives of the heritage village. As previously mentioned, one of the objectives is to create a distinctive and touristic character by retaining a low rise and historic built form (Joshi, 2013, 163). As for the 2013 KMP master plan, fifteen of the 18 mentions of 'distinctive' are related to the "city of endearing character and unique local identity" goal. The purpose of reinforcing Kigali's unique identity is to enhance the city's distinctiveness that can attract investors and tourists (Joshi et al, 2013, 57). The Local Identity Development Strategy should refine this distinctiveness through special urban precincts, vibrant streetscapes, attractive public spaces, and urban recreational and touristic destinations (Joshi et al, 2013, 60-62). It is worth noting

The notion of a distinctive identity attractive to tourists and/or investors also came through in the interviews with Dr. Alphonse Nkurunziza, Liliane Mupende, Eric Hakizimana, and Anna Breda (former senior architect at the OSC). None of the respondents employed the word 'distinctive' to qualify Kigali's identity. They tended to use the adjective 'unique' as they were asked to whom Kigali's endearing character and a unique identity would matter. All four respondents first mentioned Kigali's unique identity mattered to its citizens and more broadly speaking to all Rwandans. According to Breda, planning Kigali without its identity in mind would amount to "denying the identity of the people who are living [here]" (April 03, 2017). She wondered how one could live in a city whose history and identity had been erased. Mupende noted current and future generations of Rwandans can learn about Kigali's history, appreciate the magnitude of its transformation, and experience spaces with a unique character all thanks to cultural heritage sites.

Hakizimana stated the MININFRA's conception of urban development prioritized Rwandans but also considered other parties that may positively contribute to the country's growth. Based on the

respondents' answers, the other parties to consider are tourists and investors. A city with a unique identity not only attract tourists for a single visit but pique their interest enough for them to come back for additional visits. The appeal of a unique identity towards investors is mentioned by Dr. Nkurunziza and Mupende. Dr. Nkurunziza specifically cited foreign investors may be more inclined to invest in a city like Kigali that values its identity and aims to embed its culture in its built environment. According to Mupende, cultural heritage sites can be strategic investment areas for both foreign and local parties. Locating a development within or in the vicinity of heritage areas can help draw in a large clientele. Although the pull factor of heritage sites in Kigali still has room to grow, foreign parties can benefit from investing in entertainment activities, restaurants, bars, or hotels. Heritage areas also constitute an excellent local investment opportunity particularly for merchants of local arts and crafts. For instance, merchants could surely boost their sales by displaying their products in the Nyarugenge Heritage Village, especially if its street is pedestrianized.

V. Conclusion

The thesis aimed to understand what explained the references to and the inclusion of cultural heritage in Kigali's planning priorities. This broad investigation was broken down into three sub-questions that will first be succinctly answered in this chapter. Although the Nyarugenge Heritage Village was used as a case study, the answers to the sub-questions and to the main question are indicative of the broader conceptualization of cultural heritage preservation in Kigali.

Based on the initial reading of the master plans and interviews with CoK informants, the current development priorities of Kigali are informed by the 2013 KMP. The main vision for the city of Kigali is to become "a center for urban excellence" and is organized around six goals, one of which focuses on creating "an endearing character and unique local identity" for the city. This goal indicates that heritage sites need to be preserved and promoted as destinations for locals and foreign tourists. Informants from the CoK indicated that those development priorities had initially been put forth by the city and simply consolidated by the Surbana consulting team.

From the content analysis and semi-structured interviews emerged clear trends regarding the inclusion of cultural heritage preservation in Kigali's detailed master plans. As illustrated through the Nyarugenge Heritage Village, the notion of heritage is closely connected with economic development, tourism, and identity-making. The Nyarugenge district and the CBD in particular are expected to play an instrumental role in positioning Kigali as a regional and global city. To enhance the CBD's competitiveness, cultural heritage preservation projects such as the Nyarugenge Heritage Village are expected to anchor the CBD as the "landmark activity node of Rwanda" and the "main tourist destination in Kigali City". The close link between the heritage village and its potential as an urban touristic attraction speaks to broader strategy of diversification of tourism products. Cultural tourism can increase revenues, cater to different types of tourists, and contribute to Kigali and the country's economic growth. Finally, the urban design and unique built environment of heritage sites

are expected to enhance the identity of the CBD and of Kigali. A distinctive identity matters to current and future citizens of Kigali, tourists, and foreign or local investors.

In addition to its historical significance, the Nyarugenge Heritage Village is being preserved for its built form. Nonetheless, the understanding of what constitutes vernacular architectural and design is yet to be solidified. The current developments of the CBD are therefore not emulating Rwandan vernacular design features and are inspired by foreign design influences. The urban designs of the CBD and the Nyarugenge Heritage Village both include enhancements of the public realm through a car-free zone. The pedestrianization of the street in the heritage village has yet to be implemented. The prospect of a car-free zone was far from appealing to the informants working in the *Quartiers Commercial* and *Mateus*. Those interviews revealed that the imageability of the area was less related to the built form and more to the sense of community and bustling business atmosphere. Create a car-free zone in the heritage village would disrupt the core components of the area's imageability.

From these three research sub-questions, the references and the inclusion of cultural heritage as part of Kigali's development appear to result from an attention to Kigali's citizens, tourists, and to investors. However, the mention of these three parties is not synonymous with an actual equilibrium between local culture and global economic trends. The tone and the content of detailed master plans offset the balance towards global economic development. A particularly striking example is the purpose of the "city of endearing character and unique local identity" goal of the 2013 KMP. The explicit aim is to create a distinctive identity is to entice tourists and investors. The city master plan does mention that preserving Kigali's identity is important for its citizens to retain a sense of belonging and community. Should it be assumed that the sense of belonging will indeed be maintained amidst the more explicit design proposals and strategies catered to potential tourists and investors?

The master plans' underlying and explicit narratives are important to pay attention to given the preeminent position of the master plans in guiding Kigali's growth. It is especially important for CoK representatives to do so given that their considerations for development seem to be contradicted by elements of the detailed master plans. For instance, CoK informants noted that the growth of the CBD should be inclusive and avoid gentrifying the existing stores in the area. With those considerations in mind, the inclusion of a pedestrianized street in the heritage village seems odd given the poor reception for the interviewed store tenants. It is commendable for the CoK to affirm their prioritization of culture but this commitment needs to be reflected in planning documents. The master plan auditing process represent a great opportunity to do so along with the expected outcomes of the study by Peter Rich.

There are several precedents for the successful adaptation of Rwandan culture and traditional practices into to tangible applications for various contemporary challenges. These initiatives - such as *iterero*, *umwiberero* or *gacaca* – are referred to as "home-grown solutions"⁵. Local and central

⁵ <http://gov.rw/about-the-government/governance-home-grown-solutions/>

government entities should now ensure that culture is embedded in urban development and is truly balanced with the necessary considerations for economic growth.

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Appendix

Summative Content Analysis: Summary Table				
2007 KCMP	2010 Nyarugenge MP	2013 Nyarugenge Zoning	2010 CBD MP	2013 KMP
Heritage				
9: total references 4: Heritage Memorial Park in Kicukiro District	9: total references 3: conservation guidelines 2: 'Renewal of Existing Urban Areas' goal 2: tourism detailed land use plan 1: Nyaru Heritage village and tourism 1: caption of the photo of a church in Gitega sector	40: total references 12: description of heritage and conservatio overlay 7: zoning guidelines from heritage and conservation overlay 3: urban design objectives of Nyarugenge Heritae Village 17: captions for heritage and conservation overlay or Nyarugenge Heritage Village figures	98: total references references 8: planning objectives and opportunities in economic development 3: landmark activity node goal 4: tourism attraction goal 35: Nyarugenge Heritage village 28 : heritage village figure captions 5: heritage and conservation plan	59: total references 5: City of Endearing character and Unique Local Identity goal general motivation 4: Tourism Dev Strategy under City of Endearing character and Unique Local Identity 45: Local Identity development strategy under City of Endearing character

			4: heritage and conservation plan caption 3: heritage conservation guidelines 4 : Muhima CBD detailed master plan and urban design 12: Nyarugenge CBD detailed master and urban design	and Unique Local Identity 5: City of enchanting biodiversity tourism and attractions goal
Authentic				
No results	No results	No results	No results	3: total references 3: Tourism Development Strategy under City of Endearing character and Unique Local Identity
Distinctive				
No results	3: total references 2: mix-used development in the Rwezamenyo sector 1: central public plaza in the Nyakabanda sector	1: total references 1: urban design and tourism	15: total references 1: CBD urban design concept Statehouse: 2,7,8 2: Nyaru CBD urban design 2: Muhima CBD urban design 10: architecture and urban design features	18: total references 13: Local Identity Development Strategy in City of Endearing Character and Unique Local Identity: 1, 10-21 1:City of Vibrant Economy and Employment for all 2: City of Enchanting Nature 2: City of Endearing Character motivation:
Identity				
1: total reference 1: housing typologies	2: total references 1: heritage conservation guidelines 1: mix-used development in the Rwezamenyo sector	3: total references 3 refs: urban design and skylines	19: total references 3: Urban design of Muhima 4: Urban design of Nyaru: 2: Guiding principles 1: Heritage and econ dev 1: Heritage and landmark activity goal1: Heritage and conservation plan	44: total references 2: City of Enchanting Nature and Biodiversity 14: City of Endearing Character and Unique Local Identity motivation 27: Local Identity Development Strategy under city of endearing character

			1: Heritage guidelines 3: Heritage village 2: Statehouse: 1: Wetland park 1: Centre ville roundabout	and unique local identity goal 1: Tourism Development Strategy under city of endearing character and unique local identity goal
Economic Development				
5: total references 1: housing development 1: transportation planning 1: Bugesera Airport 2: free trade zones	9: total references 6: acknowledgements of city and district officials in charge of economic development 2: planning context in Kigali and Rwanda: KIST Kigali Economic Development Strategy 1: process leading to vision for the Nyarugenge District	1: total reference 1 ref: planning context in Kigali and Rwanda: KIST Kigali Economic Development Strategy	12: total references 3: KIST Econ Dev Strategy 5: acknowledgements of city and district officials in charge of economic development 1: real estate demand 3: role of CBD in Kigali	3: total references 2 references: agriculture and KIST Kigali Economic Development Strategy 1: renewable energy
Tourism/Tourism Development				
3: total references 1: Bugesera Int'l; Airport 2: natural features and eco-tourism	6: total references 6: ridges, wetlands, and vegetated areas as tourism and recreation opportunities	5: total references 2 refs: special district zoning 2 refs: parking requirements 1 ref: Nyarugenge Heritage Village	13: total references 4: Nyarugenge heritage village: 2: Heritage and conservation plan: 4: Eco-tourism and wetland park 1: Economy and employment context 1: Real estate demand 1: Economic development strategy	18: total references 17: Tourism Development Strategy under "City of Endearing Character and Unique Local Identity" 1: RDB Sustainable Tourism Development Master Plan