The Local Identity Politics of World Heritage:
Lessons from Galle Fort in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Institutionalized heritage protection has become a global phenomenon, and the UNESCO World Heritage program is perhaps the most well-known of these efforts. Although the List is intended to be concerned only with heritage, in reality it also serves as a global stage for broadcasting geopolitics, national agendas, and subnational motives. Given these hidden functions driving the World Heritage List, I interrogate what the implications of listing *really* are through the living heritage site of 'Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications' in Sri Lanka. I consider the tensions between different scales of identity-building associated with the site, explore the politics of conservation and its motivating forces, and probe the impacts of tourism alongside the mechanisms supporting its imbalances. Drawing from the findings at this site, I consider broader applications to other potential World Heritage sites and discuss directions that demand further attention in global planning and heritage practice.

Thesis Supervisor: Lawrence J. Vale
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CHAPTER 1
Understanding World Heritage: An Introduction

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Institutionalized heritage protection has become a global phenomenon, and the UNESCO World Heritage program is perhaps the most well-known of these efforts. Today, 1092 World Heritage sites populate the world under this program, and the list continues to grow annually. While monuments, archeological ruins, or nature reserves are commonly recognized as World Heritage sites, there has also been a growing presence of active urban settlements on the World Heritage List. Their prevalence has led to the formation of the 'Organization of World Heritage Cities', an international NGO of 250 cities that are UNESCO World Heritage sites. While the conceptualization of "world heritage" is in itself problematic, it becomes highly contested when applied to a *living* urban fabric.

Countries – especially developing countries – often seek World Heritage status for their sites of heritage due to the prestige, global recognition, and the allure of increased tourism associated with Listing. With over a thousand sites from across the world currently on the World Heritage List, this is by no means a small-scale affair. Inscription demands a commitment to the World Heritage Center's conservation standards and practices and can severely restrict development within and near the site. Since attracting tourism is often one of the motivations for seeking Listing, there is an intrinsic tension between these resultant development pressures and conservation ideals. Although the creation of the List is intended to be concerned only with heritage, in reality it also serves as a global stage for broadcasting geopolitics. For nations, the presence of a site on the List signals international acceptance of national agendas and the identities curated by them. Given these hidden functions driving the World Heritage List, I am interested in interrogating what the implications of listing *really* are.

I use the site of 'Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications' to explore these hidden motives and the true implications of Listing. The site is colloquially known as Galle Fort, and is a walled city attached to the southern tip of the coastal city of Galle in Sri Lanka. The Fort encloses an area of 52 hectares, with the ramparts encircling a perimeter of about 2.4km. The site was designated as World Heritage site in 1988 and is one of six cultural heritage sites in the country. The site has a long

colonial history due its importance as a trading port. It has experienced nearly 400 years of colonization – first under the Portuguese (1505 – 1640), followed by the Dutch (1640 – 1796), and finally the British (1796 – 1948). It is an exemplary case of a living heritage site and its status as a World Heritage site for three decades makes it an excellent site for this study.

Research Questions and Methodology

At its core this thesis is an exploration of the contradictions that are intrinsic to the concept of world heritage. I am particularly interested in considering these issues in the context of inhabited, living heritage sites. Using the site of Galle Fort in Sri Lanka as a case study, I begin by trying to understand the construction of identity through the site. I consider subnational, national, international and personal agendas driving this process and aim to understand how these may manifest on the site. I delve into the challenges associated with defining what constitutes heritage, how it is valued, by whom, and why. I also ask, how are perceptions of cultural heritage affected by listing? And how do these shifts in perception vary between local and global communities?

Given the programs' emphasis on conservation of the built environment, compounded with state-led promotion of conservation for heritage tourism, I also consider how these may impact the built and social environments of the historic urban center. To this end, I question the motivations behind conservation investment, its relationship to identity curation, what 'authenticity' means in this context, and how it is perceived by different social groups at the site. Through this study I aim to explore fundamental questions on the politics of preservation at the World Heritage site of Galle Fort including: What is conserved? For whom is it conserved? And who is involved (or not involved) in the decision-making process?

Previous scholarly work has established strong connections between Listing and tourism. Consequently, to fully understand the impacts of Listing, I believe it is imperative to also consider the dynamics of tourism in Galle Fort. Through the site of Galle Fort, I aim to understand how tourism (and indirectly Listing) affects patterns of urban growth, the form and functions of the built environment, urban demographics, and social dynamics. I consider the different local, national, and transnational policies and planning efforts to understand how they have influenced the socio-spatial dynamics on the site. I contemplate these contemporary shifts through the lenses of a variety of stakeholders to better understand plural perspectives on the status-quo.

The broad question driving this work is: What are the impacts of inscription to the UNESCO World Heritage List on historic urban cores? Within this realm, I am interested in addressing three specific areas:

1. What are the global-local identity politics associated with Galle Fort? How has the site been manipulated to serve national and international agendas of identity construction?
2. Given the emphasis on conservation as a condition for Listing, what are the goals and motivations driving conservation efforts at Galle Fort? How has this impacted the perception of 'authenticity' among local and global communities?
3. What is the extent of the relationship between Listing and tourism at Galle Fort? How has tourism affected the built and social landscapes of the site?

I use a variety of qualitative and quantitative research methods to investigate these questions and to help unpack the complexities of the themes being considered. Across all the themes of this study, I rely on observation, documentary analysis, demographic data, interviews, and the data collected from a survey. I use visual and archival material in the form of photographs, historic and contemporary maps, signage, legal documents, and reports to understand the various layers of the site and the dynamics at play between and within them. I also analyze demographic data drawn from the Sri Lankan census to understand the local population and trace any changes that have occurred over time. During a two-week visit to Galle Fort for field work, I was also able to gather data through a survey I conducted among 208 respondents. The survey gathered data primarily from tourists and to a lesser extent from residents, on topics such as World Heritage, authenticity, tourism, and some basic demographic information. I complemented these techniques with information collected from semi-structured interviews conducted among residents, business owners, tourists and professionals working in the various conservation and development agencies involved in Galle Fort. While many of the professionals I interviewed were based in agencies located in Galle, some of the authorities worked at the national level with a focus on Galle and were thus based in Colombo.

Interviewees	Title, Organization
AHM Razik	Resident and Employee at the Historical Mansion Museum
Tharanga	Project Planning Officer, Galle Heritage Foundation
Menaka Arosh	Tuk tuk driver
Jo Eden	Resident and Business owner of Poonies Kitchen
Vanessa Fookes	Tourist
Anonymous	Business traveler
Laurence	Tourist
Shaffy Authad	Resident
Fazal Hameed	Hotel owner of Deco 44 and Deco 56 from Colombo
Harindra Galappaththi	Hotel and business owner of Cinnamon
Anusha Liyanage	Resident and Owner of Shoba Traveler's tree homestay
SSP Rathnayake	Director General UDA Colombo
KAD Chandradasa	Additional Director General UDA
Premalal Ratnaweera	Secretary General UNESCO Sri Lanka
Roland Silva	Former Archeological Commissioner and Former President ICOMOS
Ashley De Vos	Principal ADV Consultants & Former National Chairman ICOMOS
Chandana Wijeratne	Director SLTDA
Abeyratne KHMWK	Director UDA Southern Province
Lakmal Wijeratne	Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church
Manjula Kalhara De Silva	Architect from Colombo with projects in the Fort
Manjula Bulathsinhala	Heritage Manager, Dept. of Archeology
Vivan Sethi	Investor and former resident
V Senthilkumar	Resident
Janaka De Silva	Artist and Resident
Lucy Dearden	Resident and Business owner of Galle Fort Spa
Shanjei Malraj Perumal	Tour Guide and Resident outside the Fort
Nadia	Business owner of Pilgrims Hostel
Jack Eden	Resident and Business owner of Eden Villas
Anuradi	Central Cultural Fund
Chamanthi	Resident outside the Fort
Olivia Richli	Resident and former General Manager Amangalla
Catherine Rawson	Resident and business owner of Old Railway Shop outside the Fort
Anonymous	Tourist

The interview questions aimed to understand the motivations behind Listing, the process by which World Heritage status was acquired, and the changes observed over time. The interviews of residents and business owners primarily focused on understandings of culture and heritage, their personal experiences with Listing, conservation, tourism and development pressures. The interviews with planning and conservation professionals focused on issues, processes and successes related to

Listing, conservation, tourism, and development. Using these diverse research methods, I consider the multiple facets of local identity politics of world heritage at the site.

The 'Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications' is an archetypal example of a living urban center that has been listed as a World Heritage site. While the identity-politics of the site are shaped by forces that are sometimes uniquely contextual, understanding the impacts of Listing can provide many valuable lessons that can be carried over to other sites. Through this thesis, I hope to gain a more holistic understanding of the physical, social and economic impacts of Listing with the hope that this can help inform mitigation efforts for other sites. While I do problematize the conceptualization of World Heritage, it is not the purpose of this study to disparage the World Heritage program. However, I do hope to draw attention to some of the complexities embedded in the idea of World Heritage and shed light on its impacts on-the-ground, in an effort to encourage countries to make more informed decisions regarding the pursuit of Listing for their heritage sites.

What is World Heritage?

"What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located." (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1972).

Originally introduced in 1972 by UNESCO, this concept of World Heritage is problematic even in its very definition. The heritage landscape of any geographic territory – let alone at the scale of a country – is immensely diverse. The very act of *selecting* a limited number of sites for the World Heritage List is an act of exclusion that either marginalizes, delays recognition, or even entirely denies the heritage and consequently the identity of unselected social groups. Furthermore, even within individual sites populations are typically quite heterogenous. Thus, conforming with the World Heritage mold requires the reduction of these plural heritage identities into a monolithic identity that prioritizes a dominant narrative for the site. While the description above characterizes the concept of World Heritage as an idealistic and apolitical one, in reality its pursuit is a deeply political endeavor. Nominations for each country are typically handled by the State. National governments are not neutral parties by any means and often may use Listing not just to garner prestige, but also to obtain global validation for national agendas. When considered within these highly political and plural contexts, there is an inherent tension in this universal notion of heritage.

As noted above, I am especially interested in the phenomenon of world heritage as it relates to sites of "living heritage". While all cultural and natural heritage sites may experience the effects of Listing to varying extents, the implementation of the World Heritage idea to a site containing a living community is especially complicated and relevant to the field of Urban Planning. "Living Heritage" typically refers to a site with living dimensions like a living or dwelling community that consequently has some special association with the site (Poulios 2014). Furthermore, the idea of 'living heritage' is also characterized by a continuity of traditions, practices or even skills. These *living* sites remain inhabited with active centers of commerce, networks of social connections, and a continuity of cultural expressions. While sites – and even monuments – with a local community living near or around the site can be considered 'living heritage sites', their association is considered relatively weak as compared to sites with a dwelling community living permanently within the site. Recognizing the importance of "living heritage", the International Centre for the Study of the preservation and restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) – an advisory body to the World Heritage Center – launched the Living Heritage Site Program in 2003 to emphasize the living dimensions of heritage sites, their relevance to contemporary life, and the need for sensitive approaches beyond conventional conservation (Wijesuriya 2015). While the living heritage approach recognizes the importance of socio-cultural activities as well the material fabric, it is a fairly recent effort coming nearly 30 years after the launch of the World Heritage program. Meanwhile, the World Heritage List has housed several "living heritage" sites from the very beginning. However, their heritage management and conservation efforts have followed conventional conservation with an emphasis on the material aspects of heritage. While "living heritage" sites are a popular presence on the World Heritage List, conventional conservation practice often endangers their living aspects.

An Overview of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention

In 1972 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted an international treaty known as the World Heritage Convention. The convention called for the protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world that was considered to be of 'outstanding universal value' to humanity. It was drafted by UNESCO with the help of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). The initial seeds that motivated the creation of the World Heritage Convention link to the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. The planned construction of the dam would flood the valley where the Abu Simbel temples –

an important site of the ancient Egyptian civilization – were situated, sparking international concern. In 1959, following an appeal from the governments of Egypt and Sudan, an international campaign was launched by UNESCO to safeguard the monuments located in the valley. As a result of these efforts, the temples of Abu Simbel and Philae were dismantled, relocated, and reassembled at safer locations. The 80-million-dollar campaign was funded by donations from over fifty countries and highlighted the importance of international cooperation, and shared responsibility in protecting exceptional cultural sites. Although the Egyptian monuments had to be protected off-site, the success of the international campaign led to on-site heritage protection efforts in Venice (Italy), Mohenjo-Daro (Pakistan), and Borobudur (Indonesia). These initial campaigns eventually resulted in the emergence of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972 and its eventual adoption by the United Nations (UN) in December of 1975.

The countries that have ratified the Convention are known as State Parties. They have the benefit of "belonging to an international community of appreciation and concern for universally significant properties that embody a world of outstanding examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth"(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1972). The Convention outlines the duties of the State Parties in identifying potential heritage sites, and in protecting and preserving them. Signing the Convention is essentially a pledge to conserve national heritage and any World Heritage sites on a nation's territory. While the former is a declaration of an ideological intention, a country is held accountable by UNESCO for the latter. The Convention requires State Parties to report regularly on the state of conservation of their World Heritage sites to the World Heritage Committee. The Committee is responsible for implementing the Convention, making decisions on the allocation of the World Heritage Fund, and for making the final decision regarding the inscription of a site to the World Heritage List. It also reviews the periodic state of conservation reports and responds with recommendations for action (to the relevant State Parties) when sites are found to be managed improperly.

According to the World Heritage Center, the benefits of ratifying the Convention and having sites inscribed to the World Heritage List include: 1) belonging to an international community; 2) the prestige of having sites on the World Heritage List; 3) Listing as a catalyst for heritage preservation; 4) access to the World Heritage Fund; 5) Listing as a magnet for international cooperation and other funding sources; 6) implementation of a comprehensive management plan; and 7) increased public awareness. Ratification provides access to the World Heritage Fund – an annual fund of

approximately US $4 million that is available (but not guaranteed) to assist State Parties in the identification, preservation and promotion of World Heritage sites. This fund is primarily built from compulsory and voluntary annual contributions by the State Parties and is allocated annually on a need basis by the World Heritage Committee. All State Parties are required to make a compulsory annual contribution to the UNESCO Regular budget, 1% of which goes to the World Heritage Fund. In 2018, thirteen State Parties including Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Norway, and the United States of America made voluntary contributions totaling about $1.15 million. It also provides access to emergency assistance in case of human or natural disasters. World Heritage status is not merely a token gesture as it requires the home nation of every site to commit to protect it in the face of war, pollution, natural disasters, development, or even neglect resulting from a lack of funds. The program has been successful in protecting sites globally – preventing highway construction near the pyramids of Giza, and blocking the construction of an aluminum plant near the site of Delphi in Greece.

Countries first prepare a 'Tentative List' which is an inventory that forecasts all the properties a State Party may decide to nominate for inscription in the next five to ten years. Sites from this Tentative List are then selected by the State Party on an annual basis for nomination to the World Heritage List. To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of 'outstanding universal value' and must satisfy at least one of ten selection criteria. World Heritage sites are selected on the basis of six cultural criteria and four natural criteria. These are explained in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* which along with the Convention is the main working guide on World Heritage. The Operational Guidelines defines "outstanding universal value" as –

> Cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole.(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2017b)

It is important to note that the nature of the nomination process demands a commitment to the conservation of the site even *before* a site is designated. State Parties must substantiate the inclusion of a site to the Tentative List with evidence of legislative and regulatory protections, institutionalized conservation efforts, and management plans for the site. Properties nominated on the basis of any of the six cultural criteria are also required to meet the conditions of "integrity and/or authenticity".

While authenticity is described in the Operational Guidelines as the credible or truthful expression of a variety of attributes like form and design; materials and substance; use and function; location and setting; traditions, techniques and management systems; language and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors, integrity is defined as "a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes."

In 1978, the first twelve sites were inscribed on the World heritage List. By 2018, the convention was ratified by 193 State Parties and the World Heritage List consisted of 1092 properties spread across 167 of these State Parties. The World Heritage List has also designated 54 of these sites as being 'In Danger' with two sites being delisted in the history of the program – Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany delisted in 2009, and Arabian Oryx Sanctuary in Oman which was delisted in 2007. The Dresden Elbe Valley was delisted when authorities decided to go ahead with the construction of a new bridge that threatened the site and had earned the site a spot on the endangered list in 2006. In the case of the Oryx Sanctuary however, the site was delisted at the request of the government when oil was discovered on the site. If the concept of 'World Heritage' was truly an implementable one, the status of protection for this site would have been dictated by global ownership rather than national agendas of profit. Thus, this delisted site further emphasizes the innate tension that is at the heart of the concept of World Heritage.

PART II: PREVALENCE OF THE WORLD HERITAGE PHENOMENON

The World Heritage Center categorizes sites on the basis of location into five regions – Africa, Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America, and Latin America and the Caribbean (Figure 1.1). A majority of the sites are located in the developed regions, particularly in Europe. Responding to this regional bias, in 1994 the World Heritage Committee launched the 'Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List'. However, despite its good intentions the proportion of sites located in Europe compared to the developing regions has not shifted dramatically since the launch of the strategy. Among the developing regions, Asia-Pacific has a substantial concentration of Listed sites including the World Heritage site of Galle in Sri Lanka. As of 2018, 23.5% (numbering 256 sites) of all World Heritage Sites are located in the 'Asia and the Pacific' region.

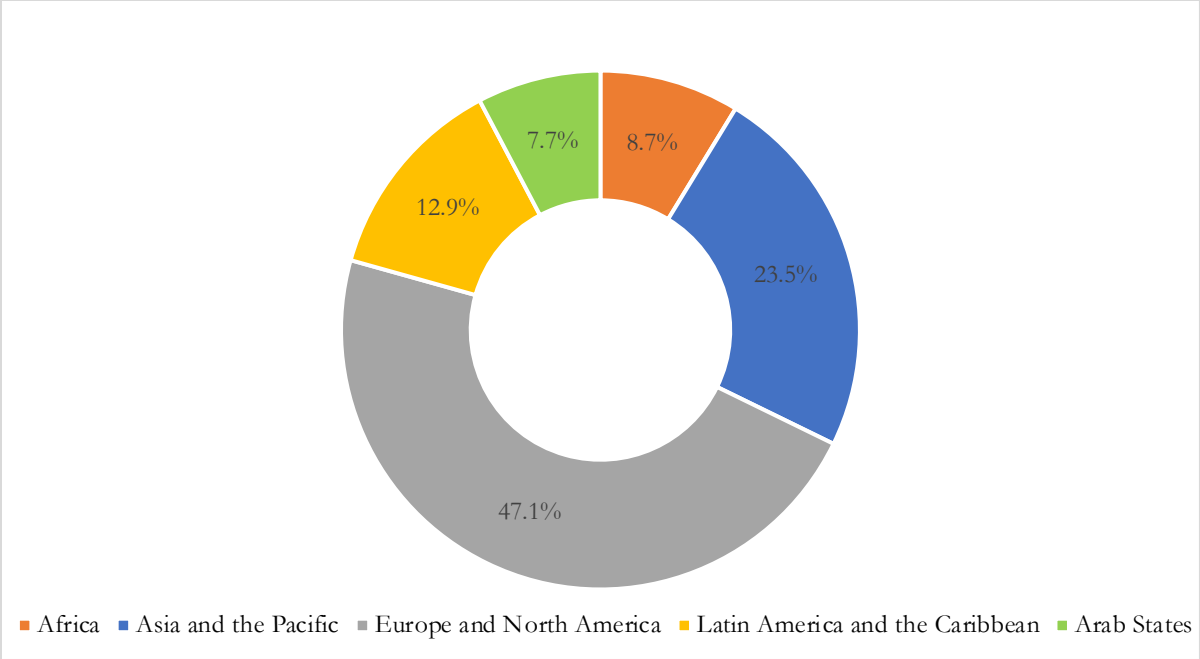

Figure 1.1. Distribution of World Heritage Sites by Region, Data Source: (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018c)

Cultural Heritage and the World Heritage List

Sites on the World Heritage List may be selected either based on their cultural value, natural value, or both. The current list of 1092 World Heritage Sites consists of 845 cultural sites, 209 natural sites and 38 mixed (having both cultural and natural value) sites. Thus, cultural sites comprise about 77% of the sites on the World Heritage List.

Figure 1.2 looks at the distribution across site categories in the five regions. In the three regions that are predominantly composed of developing countries – Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and Latin America and the Caribbean – the majority of the World Heritage Sites are Cultural sites with Natural sites having a stronger presence in Africa compared to the other two regions. In the 'Asia and the Pacific' region, 71% of the World Heritage Sites (numbering 181 sites) are Cultural sites, with only 25% (63 sites) Natural sites, and the remaining 5% (12 sites) designated as Mixed sites. Thus, Cultural Sites dominate the World Heritage List not only globally, but also in the Asia-Pacific region where a majority (30 from a total of 36) of the countries have developing economies.

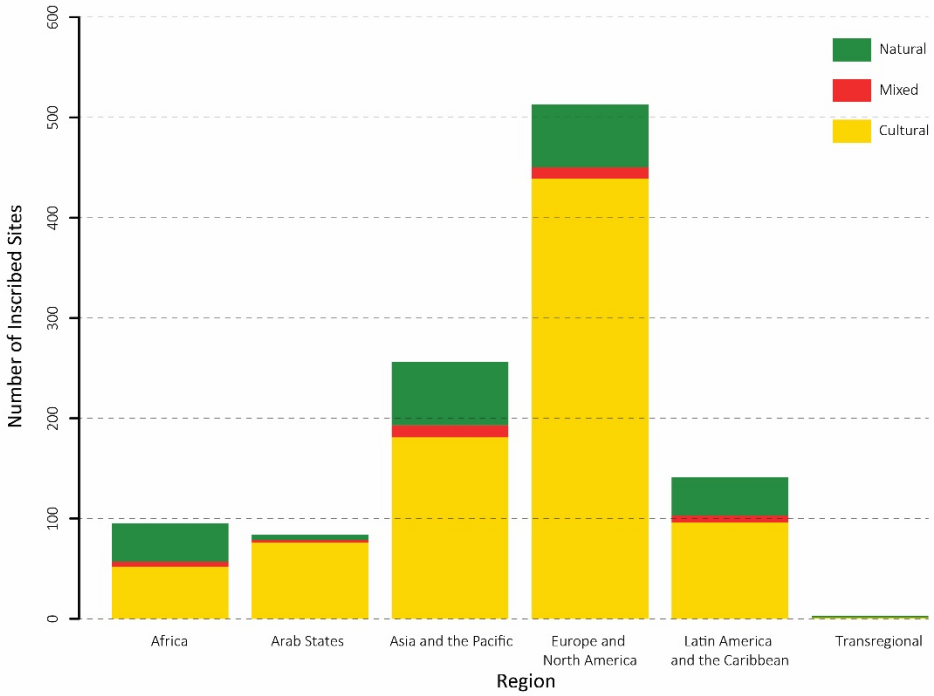

Figure 1.2. Distribution of Site Categories by Region, Data Source: (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018c)

The definition of sites of 'Cultural heritage' by the World Heritage Center encompasses monuments, groups of buildings, and sites which are the works of man or the combined works of nature and man. This third category are typically either cultural landscapes or towns. The towns fall into three categories – towns that are no longer inhabited (typically archeological sites), historic towns that are still inhabited and will continue to develop under the influence of socio-economic and cultural forces, and new towns of the twentieth century (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2017b). In the case of living historic town centers, sites must reflect the historic spatial organization, structure, materials, and where possible the functions in order to be considered for inscription into the World Heritage List. Since monuments like the *Taj Mahal* or *Borobudur*, and even groups of buildings like *Group of Monuments at Hampi* or *Kajuraho* are contained and uninhabited they are typically less problematic as heritage sites.

Among the urban sites, the dynamics at uninhabited archeological ruins are less complicated than those at living, breathing town centers that are inhabited even today. Unlike the other types of cultural sites, these inhabited town centers face intense development pressures from rapid urban growth and a growing tourism industry. While monuments, archeological ruins, and natural sites do

attract tourism the absence of a living community on site, the existence of clear boundaries of protection, and buffer zones largely protect the immediate site from these pressures. While protection and buffer zones do exist for living urban sites, the presence of a living community within its boundaries can make its implementation difficult. While these communities may value their cultural heritage, their present-day needs are often at odds with the goals of the World Heritage Center. Furthermore, the strength of impact can also vary across developed and developing countries. In more developed locations that already have access to amenities, the restrictions to renovations or changes to the appearance of the structure may only be a minor inconvenience. However, in developing regions and in neighborhoods occupied by poorer residents, these restrictions can prove to be immensely challenging.

Inhabited cities with living residents have been featured on the List since 1978. Some of the earliest urban fabrics to be designated include the City of Quito in Ecuador, and the Historic Centre of Krakow in Poland both of which were designated in 1978. Since then the List has acquired a few hundred living sites spread across the developed and developing worlds. The identities of these cities are often multi-layered, with long histories of contested pasts, and complex political dynamics. The transformation of such cities into World Heritage sites consequently exacerbates underlying tensions. Examples of these living sites are seen across all regions of the world – from Avila (Spain), Dubrovnik (Croatia), Cartagena (Colombia), Havana (Cuba), Jerusalem (proposed by Jordan), Damascus (Syria), Luang Prabang (Laos), to Hoi An (Vietnam) to name a few.

While the identity politics of each site are somewhat unique, there does seem to be a pattern of contestation around sites of colonial heritage in postcolonial countries. These colonial heritage sites present a challenge in consolidating a nation's past, present, and projected future identities. They also exist at the intersection of national and transnational dynamics, more so than most religious sites or other types of cultural sites. The old town of Galle in Sri Lanka is an exemplary case of such a colonial site that is situated in a postcolonial nation, grappling with the national identity it wants to project on the global stage. It is thus an apt site as a case study to situate the questions being considered. In order to situate Galle Fort within the larger global context of the phenomenon, I will also briefly look at previous studies of a few comparable sites – Cartagena, Hoi An, and Chiang Mai.

Site of Study: Old Town of Galle, Sri Lanka (colloquially Galle Fort)

The idea of contested identities seen in the examples below unfold dramatically in the context of Galle Fort, a World Heritage site located at the southern tip of Sri Lanka. Singular as the only non-Buddhist cultural site among the country's cultural World Heritage sites, Galle Fort highlights the long history of conflict among subnational identities on the island. Successively colonized by the Portuguese, Dutch, and the British the site is Sri Lanka's only colonial World Heritage Site. Its nomination and identity as a heritage site are both constructed around a colonial nostalgia that selectively preferences certain histories. The material aspects of heritage (the urban fabric of the site) is manipulated varyingly towards identity construction at the national and international scales. The history, context and dynamics of these contestations will be explored in further detail in chapter 2.

Figure 1.3. Aerial view of the UNESCO living World Heritage Site of Galle Fort, Source: ("Galle Fort [Digital Image]" n.d.)

A premier destination of cosmopolitanism in Asia, Galle Fort and Sri Lanka have seen tremendous growth in tourism – and heritage tourism – in recent years making this a good site of study for the questions being considered. At a time when the "Lonely Planet effect" has raised global concern, Sri Lanka has been named Lonely Planet's #1 country to visit in 2019. Occurring

amidst contested national identities in a plural society, global-local pressures, aggressive tourism promotion, and rapid growth the dynamics at Galle Fort are ripe for consideration.

Comparable Site: Cartagena, Colombia

Located on the northern coast of Colombia, the 'Port, fortress and group of Monuments Cartagena' was designated in 1984 on the basis of criteria (iv) and (vi).

Criterion (iv). Cartagena is an eminent example of the military architecture of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, the most extensive of the New World and one of the most complete.

Criterion (vi). Cartagena, together with Havana and San Juan, Puerto Rico (already inscribed in the World Heritage List), was an essential link in the route through the West Indies. The property fits within the general theme of world exploration and the great commercial maritime routes.

In its nomination, the site is described as having the most extensive and complete fortifications in South America. The defensive walls contain three zones – Centro, San Diego the merchant's quarter, and Getsemani the suburban quarter that used to be inhabited by artisans and slaves. The nomination also emphasizes the site as an exceptional example of Spanish military architecture and a focal point in the 'New World' (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2017a).

Figure 1.4. Aerial view of historic Cartagena with the new city in the background, Source: (Lonely Planet n.d.)

Much like the instrumentalization of heritage sites all over the world, the World Heritage site of Cartagena is a pawn utilized in the construction of a national identity. Although a multicultural site, the development of tourism has placed emphasis on an Afro-Colombian identity that fits the narrative of the site as a site of slave trade and a "contemporary incarnation of a Spanish colonial past" (Cunin and Rinaudo 2008). This selective commercialization of an ethnic identity is a form of exclusion that delegitimizes other pasts. Elites promote Cartagena as a peaceful Caribbean tourist destination, emphasizing its Caribbean-ness through this site (Streicker 1997).

Tourism investment in the historic center began with the renovation of two ancient monasteries converted to luxury hotels in the mid-1990s. In the early 1990s, the state auctioned off several historical properties which were then restored to new uses, starting the process of gentrification by tourism in Cartagena (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017, 86). Furthermore, in 2002 the Colombian government offered incentives to attract foreign investment to the country promoting the transformation of colonial homes into tourist accommodations. Although the site always had commercial functions, in the decades following its designation many commercial premises have increasingly begun to focus on tourism services. The new commercial uses include restaurants, bars, designer boutiques, high end international brands, crafts and jewelry stores (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017, 89).

Figure 1.5. View of a commercialized streetscape within the World Heritage site at Cartagena, Source: (Vale 2017)

The process of gentrification by tourism has caused the historic center to lose the urban functions that gave it its vitality. For instance, the public plaza has been transformed from a social space where children play sports to a tourist space with street performances and street food (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017, 97). While the Centro neighborhood exhibits the best state of conservation of the built environment, it has seen a process of depopulation with the growth of tourism (Bourdeau, Gravari-Barbas, and Robinson 2016, 181). While many historic residential structures have been restored, they serve as second homes and are consequently unoccupied outside the holiday season (Bourdeau, Gravari-Barbas, and Robinson 2016, 185). In Getsemani on the other hand, the state of conservation of the buildings is poorer than in the Centro but the neighborhood has retained its original population and traditional ways of life (Bourdeau, Gravari-Barbas, and Robinson 2016, 185).

The prosperity within the site that followed its inscription has caused it to become a symbol of a new prosperous Colombia to the government. However, the walled city is a stark contrast to the urban environment just outside the fortifications. The larger city outside the extents of the World Heritage site has a population of nearly 1 million. Poverty is rampant here and it has very different built and demographic characteristics than the site. A bubble within its context, the contradiction of the concept of authenticity is apparent at this site.

Comparable Site: Hội An, Vietnam

Located in Central Vietnam on the north bank of the Thu Bon River, the ancient town of Hoi An was designated in 1999 on the basis of Criterion (ii) and (v).

Criterion (ii). "Hội An is an outstanding material manifestation of the fusion of cultures over time in an international commercial port"

Criterion (v). "Hội An is an exceptionally well-preserved example of a traditional Asian trading port". In its nomination, the 30-hectare site is described as a well-preserved trading port that reflects a blend of indigenous and foreign (primarily Chinese, Japanese and European) influences. The town comprises 1,107 timber-frame buildings, a wooden Japanese bridge, and several religious buildings. The nomination also highlights the "living" aspect of the town which continues to be occupied and function as a center of commerce (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018a).

Figure 1.6. Streetscape in Hoi An that has become more commercialized in recent years with cafes, souvenir shops, tailors' shops, Source: Photo by author from April 2017

The language of the nomination suggests that like many other colonial sites in postcolonial countries, the concept of colonialism is nostalgically presented. The emphasis on architecture and oriental mystique that belongs to a particular era prioritizes a certain past suppressing other histories that existed prior to the arrival of the colonizer. The language of the nomination also works to establish the historical cosmopolitanism of the site, arguably as a way to appeal to the contemporary global tourist.

In the early 1990s tourism had very little presence in the town with only one hotel and roughly 30,000 visitors per year (Avieli 2015). Tourism began steadily increasing and 158,000 people visited the town in 1999 – the year of its designation. Following its inscription, tourist numbers increased dramatically with 1.5 million visitors recorded in 2011. The influx of tourists has created a pressure on residents of the old quarter to rent some (or all) of their property for commercial uses. While some houses which were designated as "traditional merchant houses" were almost turned into museums, other residents converted their front rooms for tourist-oriented businesses. In addition to the commercialization of programs, the period following designation also saw an increase in property values. By late 2000, many home owners began selling their properties first to wealthier Hoianese, then to entrepreneurs from Hanoi, and eventually to foreign investors by 2002 (Avieli 2015). Government policies aimed at developing "quality tourism" here also resulted in much of the profits benefitting outsiders rather than locals (Avieli 2015).

In the initial years, with homeowners unable to undertake repairs that met the conservation guidelines, renovations were often done illegally. This highlights the disconnect between conservation goals and community needs that is prevalent in many World Heritage sites. Ethnographic studies have also noted that touristification caused by inscription has led to "unprecedented pressure" that collapsed traditional lifestyle in the town (Avieli 2015). The inscription of the site has helped increase economic wealth for locals through tourism (Caust and Vecco 2017; Avieli 2015). However it has also changed the nature of the site with buildings housing cafes, restaurants, hotels, galleries, and tailor shops that serve the needs of tourists rather than a variety of shops serving the needs of locals (Caust and Vecco 2017). The pressure to increase tourism facilities has also led to expansion on the margins of the town – its urban area had more than doubled by 2010 (Avieli 2015). Although the inscription of the site has helped preserve the buildings themselves, their functions and the culture of the old town have been changed irreversibly to serve the needs of the visitor (Caust and Vecco 2017). However, residents also indicated deriving a sense of pride from the return to "glorious days of cosmopolitanism" (when the town was a bustling port) since its designation (Avieli 2015).

Thus, the inscription of Hội An has led to contested meanings of place due to the monolithic heritage narrative structured around the site and exacerbated by the rise of the tourism industry. It is interesting to note that while Listing resulted in the adaption of local culture for tourism, residents also voiced an increased sense of pride derived from the international recognition conferred on the heritage site (Avieli 2015).

Comparable Site: Chiang Mai, Thailand

While the deployment of heritage in identity construction is by no means a monopoly of the World Heritage program, it does provide global validation to a national effort. In Thailand, these governmental efforts to fabricate a national culture and promote a tourism industry began in 1959 with the establishment of the Tourist Organization of Thailand a national agency. Since then tourism has grown to become a major economic contributor in the country. Chiang Mai is the second largest city after Bangkok and has been a popular tourist destination in the north with an international airport and a network of roads connecting to nearby provinces. In 2018, it recorded 10 million tourist arrivals with about 30% of them being international visitors (Wangsri 2018). In 1995,

this figure was approximately 2.6 million visitors – still a significant tourism presence (Chon 2013, 71).

Figure 1.7. Old city in Chiang Mai surrounded by urban sprawl, Source: (Werayutnattana 2019)

In 2015, the site was included into Thailand's Tentative List as a town with a living history of 700 years tied to "the Lanna's history, the history of Siam, and also the history of Asia and the world" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2015). It was included under criteria (i), (ii), (iii) and (vi). Founded by King Mangrai in 1296 AD as the political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual center of the Lanna Kingdom of the Tai people, the historic town is located in northern Thailand. It is home to numerous historical and cultural monuments – the moats, walls, gates, around 40 ancient temples inside the walls – and is a living city even today with a population of 172,000.

The language of the tentative proposal is similar to the language used in decades of tourism promotion for Chiang Mai that considers Lanna culture through a lens of nostalgia. However, while the site is significant in Lanna history, today it is multi-ethnic with inhabitants from surrounding hill tribes and displaced refugees from Myanmar (Lauzon 2010). For hundreds of years the area has been inhabited by a variety of indigenous and ancient tribes. However, a monolithic Lanna narrative has been promoted for tourism and is reflected in its nomination as well. Much like in the previous examples, the heritage site of Chiang Mai has been co-opted to promote national agendas. Thaification and the emphasis of a Thai identity rather than the historically multicultural Siamese identity has obtained a global stage through the site's acceptance to the tentative list. Originally a

multi-ethnic kingdom, the postcolonial decades witnessed state efforts aimed at national integration. However, after the end of the Cold War the country has increasingly been represented as four culturally distinct regions. Thus, in Chiang Mai the promotion of a dominant ethnic identity through the site, functions at both a subnational and international level.

While the tourism economy has helped generate employment and infrastructure investment like the construction of an international airport, it has also had negative social, environmental and cultural impacts. It has also increased the cost of living inside the city of Chiang Mai (Chon 2013, 74). Uncontrolled clearing of land for agriculture in the surrounding areas has also led to the rise of pollution with the city being labeled as the "most air-polluted city in the world" (Wipatayotin 2019). While this is not exactly true – it was for a brief period in March 2019 during forest fires, however, Delhi in India is the most polluted city in the world – Chiang Mai is the 9th most polluted city according to AirVisual rankings. Like many other booming tourist destinations that are also living heritage sites, Chiang Mai has faced immense development pressure. Interestingly, since the UNESCO nomination has only been a recent development, in the past conservation efforts have sometimes been sidelined for other development efforts. For instance, a 20-year development plan for mass-transit that conflicts with conservation values has recently come into question since the proposal for nomination has become a possibility. Given the decades of prioritization of development over conservation, it remains to be seen if the site will satisfy the World Heritage Center's requirements of integrity and authenticity to become a World Heritage site.

PART III: LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding the Concept of Heritage and its Connection to Identity

The Oxford English dictionary defines 'heritage' as an inheritance or 'a property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance', but modern-day heritage discourse has argued that heritage is not merely a material object like a building or even a site. While these physical spaces are important, they are essentially tools that facilitate cultural processes within them (Smith 2006, chap. 2). They are critical vessels of memory that offer communities continuity with the past and create opportunities for engagement with the present (Lowenthal 1998). Heritage is thus more broadly defined as a cultural process and as experience rather than just a thing (Smith 2006, chap. 2). It can be understood as the objects, places, and practices attributed to heritage value (R. Harrison 2009, chap. 1). Heritage can be

described as "representational or symbolic both in its physicality and in the intangible acts of doing or performing heritage, it is also a process and a performance where the values and meanings that are represented are negotiated" (Smith 2006, 74). This theoretical conceptualization of heritage as both the physical space itself, and equally the cultural processes contained within it is critical to the topic of inquiry.

Heritage is also closely related to identity through its material culture providing a physical representation of a vague concept (Lowenthal 1998; Smith 2006, chap. 2). Heritage – unlike history – is exclusive and is associated with a specific group of people. It provides generational continuity and a common purpose specific to the group it binds (Lowenthal 1998, 128). However, this conceptualization of heritage as specific to a social group, is fundamentally at odds with the very idea of world heritage. Heritage has the capacity to reinterpret the past through the process of bringing it into present-day, selectively enhancing the commendable while softening the shameful aspects of a people's history (Lowenthal 1998, 148). The concept of heritage has varied uses in contemporary society. It is manipulated for the construction of identity in different ways across the world through the invention of traditions. These 'invented traditions' are "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, 1). In addition to the economic aspects of the 'heritage industry', historically heritage has also been used as a tool of government for nation-building at the supranational, national and subnational scales (Vale 1992, 48). Heritage is often used to communicate national identity in culturally heterogenous, postcolonial states of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century (Vale 1992, 55). Built heritage is used by the state to connect to certain favorable past narratives, and as a means of constructing a singular national identity that typically highlights a dominant subnational group identity (Vale 1992, 54). At the international scale, heritage is used by states to encourage national pride through international recognition thereby forging a stronger national identity (Vale 1992, 60). Lawrence Vale also highlights the role of media campaigns in this interpretation of idealized heritage narratives for the construction of a city-image or national-image (Vale 1999). These discussions on the use of heritage for identity building at the subnational, national and international scales are particularly relevant in understanding the global-local dynamics of any world heritage site.

In the context of contemporary globalization, heritage is increasingly being used to establish cultural identity on the global stage (R. Harrison 2009, chap. 4). While globalization – described as the increased interaction between the nations of the world – is an old phenomenon, its intensity in the present-day context is novel. Previous movements of globalization have included colonial expansions of European powers, long ranging trade routes like the Silk Road and population migrations in response to invasion. The current wave of globalization began with the end of World War II and the establishment of international agencies like the United Nations, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Labadi and Long 2010). These international institutions were intended to stabilize international relations and improve understanding between different cultures across the globe. Through the 1960s and 70s 'heritage' became the focus of campaigns to save endangered material and natural sites resulting in the global adoption of the World Heritage Convention in 1972 (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 1). Although there are several institutions promoting 'world heritage', today UNESCO's World Heritage Convention dominates the landscape of world heritage recognition and conservation. There has been some debate on the concept of World Heritage with respect to the homogenizing effects of cultural globalization, and the imposition of western preservation practices on non-western cultures. Laurajane Smith argues that world heritage is an "authorized heritage discourse" that renders the dynamic phenomena of heritage inert. Furthermore, it is based on western elitist ideas of universal cultural values which marginalizes alternative heritage. She identifies ICOMOS and UNESCO as key agencies that have institutionalized the concept (Smith 2006; Labadi and Long 2010). On the other hand, defenders of the program argue that the Convention helps establish international best practice standards and in fact does not cause homogenization due to its progressive assimilation of alternative approaches like 'The Nara Document on Authenticity' and the concept of intangible heritage (Logan 2001; Labadi and Long 2010). New approaches like 'intangible cultural heritage' that aim at conceiving heritage not only as a preserved masterpiece of the past, but also as living spaces that are appropriated by local communities have been a positive step away from traditional western conceptualizations of heritage (Bortolotto 2007). Despite the debates surrounding the concept of World Heritage, it has become globally influential through UNESCO's World Heritage Convention which is ratified by 193 countries as of 2018. It is important to consider the perceived positive and negative aspects associated with the concept of World Heritage in order to address the impacts of Listing a given site. Since nations often use World Heritage as "a form of soft power to communicate their cultural, social and environment credentials to the world" (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 1) it is important for

the purpose of this investigation to consider the narratives being constructed and the political motivations driving them.

Exploring the Relationship between Heritage and Tourism

The term 'heritage industry' was coined in the late 1980s by British academic Robert Hewison to describe the sanitization and commercialization of the past to capture a nostalgia for better times during a period of decline in the United Kingdom (R. Harrison 2009, chap. 1). Hewison criticized heritage as a false history, and the heritage industry as a producer of fantasy screening us from our true past (Hewison 1987). In the 1990s, John Urry used the concept of "the tourist gaze" to argue against the blind consumption of the heritage industry proposed by Hewison (Urry and Larsen 2011). The tourist gaze was defined as a way of relating to places that is removed from the 'real world' with an emphasis on the "authentic" aspects of the tourist experience (Urry and Larsen 2011; R. Harrison 2009). Thus, the heritage industry and tourism can both be considered manifestations of the economic aspects of heritage.

Heritage and tourism have a long history of connection. The Greek historian Herodotus first conceived a list of the 'Seven Wonders of the World' that was reproduced in Hellenic guidebooks in the fifth century BCE (R. Harrison 2009). World Heritage as a late twentieth-century invention (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992) however, is unique in its influence of globalization and transnationalism, spreading a 'western ideal of heritage' (R. Harrison 2009, chap. 1). The 'heritage industry' and tourism are thus intrinsically related to the economic aspects of heritage. Lowenthal describes this industry as one that seeks to conserve heritage while simultaneously consuming it, and highlights the tension that this presents with staying "authentic" (Lowenthal 1998, 87). While heritage is used to attract tourism, tourist revenue is also required for the maintenance of these sites of heritage (R. Harrison 2009, chap. 1). While travel and tourism itself are not new, they have expanded significantly in the era of globalization with developments in transportation shrinking the globe (Judd and Fainstein 1999). Public and private entities are increasingly converting cultural heritage into an attraction to tap into the global tourism market. Revenue generated from admission fees, souvenirs, food and accommodation generates employment and contributes to the global economy (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 7). Some argue that heritage tourism creates awareness and consequently a greater respect for places and practices of culture (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 7).

On the other hand, critics note that heritage tourism and its associated conservation, corporate investment in architectural heritage, and gentrification cause demographic shifts in local communities displacing residents to accommodate tourists in core historic centers (D. Harrison and Hitchcock 2005). Understanding the links between heritage and tourism, and the evolution of this relationship through the era of globalization helps establish the premise for the topic being studied.

Studies (Leong et al. 2017; Jimura 2011; Ertan and Eğercioğlu 2016) have explored the relationship between World Heritage Listing and tourism. Although nominations for World Heritage status are made on the basis of conservation and heritage value, tourism is an anticipated consequence of listing since inscription confers recognition and stimulates tourist demand (D. Harrison and Hitchcock 2005, v). While World Heritage status may have limited impact on tourist arrivals for already popular sites like the Tower of London, in less established destinations inscription is accompanied by an increase in tourism (D. Harrison and Hitchcock 2005, v). However, given this relationship between world heritage and tourism, it is important to fully understand both the intended and unintended outcomes of Listing. According to Francesco Bandarin the former Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Center, the role of UNESCO through the World Heritage Site program is to promote "best practice in sustainable management" since the large variety of World Heritage Sites does not allow for the prescription of a one-size-fits-all standard (D. Harrison and Hitchcock 2005, v).

Authenticity – the Cornerstone of World Heritage

There has typically been an emphasis on 'authenticity' as an essential criterion on sites for heritage tourism. To describe the pressing significance of authenticity today, the 'Nara Document on Authenticity' states that "In a world that is increasingly subject to the forces of globalization and homogenization, and in a world in which the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity" (ICOMOS, UNESCO 1994). Traditional western conceptualizations of heritage have largely been preoccupied with the physicality of heritage leading to an emphasis on 'conservation as found'. This fossilization of cultural practices is often at odds with non-western cultures particularly in Africa and Asia that conceive heritage differently.

However, many authorized institutions of heritage that operate globally like ICOMOS and the UNESCO World Heritage Convention have been influenced by western practices of conservation and management of heritage sites. These conventions have tremendous influence at both the national and international levels (Smith 2006, chap. 3). In the initial years of the World Heritage Convention, authenticity was equated to 'original' with sites maintaining their authentic "design, materials, workmanship and setting" (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 3). Although the first version of the Operational Guidelines of the World Heritage Convention from 1977 noted that "authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values", in 1980 this definition was revised to exclude the clause on the importance of subsequent modifications instead emphasizing that any reconstruction must be based on detailed documentation of the original conditions (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 3).

In an effort to think of authenticity in a way that is respectful of the world's diverse heritage, institutions like UNESCO and ICOMOS (through the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity) called for conscious efforts to avoid standardized approaches in determining authenticity in different cultural contexts. In contrast to the western notions of 'authenticity' that had previously dominated heritage conservation discourse, the document also emphasized the need to consider both tangible and intangible expressions of heritage (ICOMOS, UNESCO 1994). The document which was adopted in 1994 stated that "All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that heritage properties must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which they belong" (ICOMOS, UNESCO 1994). However, authenticity and "outstanding universal value" continue to be based on earlier conceptions from the 1964 Venice Charter despite UNESCO's adoption of the Nara Document on Authenticity which incorporates non-western approaches to heritage management (Meskell 2015, 141). A study of 106 nomination dossiers found that a majority of the World Heritage Sites still relate authenticity to the original state and form of the site (Labadi and Long 2010, chap. 3). This proclivity to equate authenticity to original has increasingly led to the 'museumification' (Hewison 1987) of places of heritage.

This debate over the 'authentic' applies not just to the material objects and places but also the practices of heritage. While urbanization increases the vulnerability of people and properties, intangible heritage can help preserve traditional urban morphology even under development pressure. On the one hand, by continuing to serve the collective social functions of a community the conserved historic center may contribute to the survival of the cultural heritage of the city (Bandarin and Oers 2014, chap. 5). However, with the rise of heritage tourism, it can also be argued that heritage becomes a form of performance for the benefit of 'others' (D. Harrison and Hitchcock 2005, chap. 1) creating a 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell and Lippard 1999). This results in the 'museumification' and commodification of places and practices of heritage. The commodification of tourism is based on the value of associated goods and services, and on the symbolic value of the tourist experience (Shaw and Williams 2004, 24). While direct commodification of the tourism experience occurs through entrance fees, indirect forms of commodification includes accommodation, food, souvenir sales and other shopping (Shaw and Williams 2004, 25). Recognition of places of heritage through international programs like the UNESCO World Heritage List, confers global 'branding', revealing new destinations every year. This branding allows the tourist industry to "cash out the market value of authenticity" (D'Eramo 2014). While World Heritage Listing is not the sole cause for tourism in these places, it confers a stamp of legitimacy, proclaiming the outstanding heritage value of these sites (D'Eramo 2014). This branding effort thus helps market these destinations on the world stage attracting tourists from across the globe.

Impacts of Tourism

Tourism is considered a desirable industry particularly by governments in developing countries due to its perceived economic benefits. The opportunity to create wealth from freely available resources through tourism has been attractive in developing regions (Williams 1998, chap. 4). Advocates for tourism argue that it can generate jobs cheaply, and spur economic development through "multiplier effects" improving the aesthetics and amenities in the urban environment for residents (Judd and Fainstein 1999). It can also positively impact a country's GDP, and improve the capacity of a national economy to attract investment (Williams 1998, chap. 4). Opponents however argue that much of the gains from tourism are reinvested into further infrastructure for the tourist industry providing little benefit to the local community (Judd and Fainstein 1999). Tourism affects the urban form of cities with their urban cores primarily dedicated to entertainment and retail uses rather than

working-class residential or office uses. Thus, the city center of tourist cities typically cater to affluent visitors rather than the local population (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 22).

The growth of urban tourism leads to the development of infrastructure like hotels, restaurants and attractions to support it (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 257). On the one hand, tourism has been found to cause displacement of local workers, high inflation and commodification of local subsistence economies while on the other it is believed to have positive effects at the national level increasing foreign exchange earned, employment and wages (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 258). With regards to its social effects, critics argue that tourism is destructive to indigenous cultures, while proponents argue that local communities adapt some aspects of their culture to outside influences while rejecting others. It is important to consider both the economic and social effects of the tourist industry in tandem for any evaluation on the impacts of heritage tourism.

Although some earlier research regarded tourism as an isolated phenomenon occurring in bubbles (Judd and Fainstein 1999), more recently tourism has been shown to overlap with gentrified areas since gentrification provides "consumption facilities and a middle-class sense of place that attracts further consumers" (Lees and Phillips 2018, 281). Tourism gentrification is defined as the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into an affluent enclave with developing tourism and corporate entertainment (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017, 277). Since tourism can increase property values, it can make it harder for low-income residents to stay, while simultaneously enabling only affluent people to move into the area (Lees and Phillips 2018, 287). While tourism gentrification has the potential to renew historic areas, tourist facilities can also cause direct and indirect displacement of residential and commercial uses (Gravari-Barbas and Guinand 2017, 266; Atkinson and Bridge 2004, chap. 1). It can also cause 'place-based displacement' which is related to the loss of place experienced by residents due to the consumption of space by visitors (Lees and Phillips 2018, 282). This globalized phenomenon of gentrification in countries and cities of the global 'south' is reminiscent of previous waves of colonial expansion, manifesting as a form of new urban colonialism (Atkinson and Bridge 2004, chap. 1). Contemporary tourism led gentrification is similar to colonialism in its privileging of white appropriation of urban space and history, and its use as a form of urban governance (Atkinson and Bridge 2004, chap. 1).

Tourism in South and South-East Asia

Understanding the landscape of tourism in the South and South-East Asian context is important in understanding how Sri Lanka has been influenced by regional trends and how its evolution is positioned within its regional context. In Southeast Asian cities where international tourism is an important component of development, urban tourism is resulting in the restructuring of cities (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 246). It is a significant component of the economy in many nations in the region. The flow of international tourists to the region began in the 1970s with tourism primarily concentrated in urban centers, and bolstered by government policies to encourage international tourism for economic growth (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 246–56). Mass tourism in the region largely began in the 1970s but by the 1980s East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Pacific experienced a tremendous growth in regional tourism arrivals (Hitchcock 2009, 8). The presence of US military bases in the region during the period of the Vietnam War encouraged travel to Southeast Asian countries during periods of leave (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 252). Since the 1960s, the development of tourism in the region has relied on ethnic diversity as the major commodity of 'differentness' to lure tourists (Hall and Page 2012, 13).

By the 1990s tourism became one of the primary industries in the region (Hitchcock 2009, 8). The rise of the globalized middle class and transnational corporations has encouraged the "cultural imperative to consume" through tourism (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 253). Tourism development for nation-building and political showcasing began in the region in the 1980s primarily in Singapore and Thailand a trend that eventually spread to many other countries in the region (Hall and Page 2012, 25). Tourism in Singapore have been heavily influenced by the political priorities of the ruling party (Hall and Page 2012, chap. 5; Janakiraman 2018). Aggressive global marketing particularly by the National Tourism Organizations in both these countries has played a critical role in the development of their tourism industry (Hall and Page 2012, 16). In Singapore, tourism promotion has historically emphasized multicultural traditions and oriental exoticism that commodifies ethnicity to appeal to global consumers (Hall and Page 2012, 18; Janakiraman 2018). Consequently, since the mid-1980s heritage conservation efforts have focused on ethnic aspects of Singapore's neighborhoods for the sake of tourism (Janakiraman 2018). Today, the tourism industry is a major contributor to the country's GDP leading it to export its expertise in tourism services and ideas to other countries in the region (Hall and Page 2012, 25).

International organizations like the United Nations have also played a role in the growth of tourism by aiding Southeast Asian governments with the development of tourism marketing plans and policies. Globalization has led to an intensification of social relationships across the globe to the point that events in one region are influenced by the other regions (Hitchcock 2009, 6). This phenomenon of cross-cultural understanding was apparent in South and Southeast Asia through the sheer volume of humanitarian aid that followed the 26 December 2004 tsunami. This empathy was facilitated by first-hand experience or indirect familiarity with destinations like Phuket due to global tourism (Hitchcock 2009, 6). Although a one-off event, the tsunami had a crushing impact on the tourism industry in the region with people choosing alternate destinations in the aftermath (Hitchcock 2009, 10).

Considering tourism, heritage, and identity in the Sri Lankan context

International tourism in Sri Lanka between 1948 and 1966 was small, with only limited promotion by the governmental tourism bureau (Hall and Page 2012, chap. 15). Following the establishment of the Ceylon Tourist Board in 1966 tourism began to grow, becoming the fifth largest source of foreign exchange by 1997 according to the World Trade Organization. In 1967 these efforts were reinforced by the Ceylon Tourism Plan – a ten year plan for developing the tourism industry with financing from the US Agency for International Development – which has formed the basis for all future tourism growth in Sri Lanka (Hall and Page 2012, chap. 16). Prior to start of the civil war in 1983, marketing efforts had always been focused on promoting the image of the country to *foreigners* leading it to retain its former name of Ceylon in all tourism related activities for the sake of continuity (Hall and Page 2012, chap. 16). The period of civil war led to fluctuations in the tourist economy. After the Asian market crisis of 1997, more efforts to develop inter-regional tourism (and decrease dependency on Western markets) have been made through efforts by the SAARC. A labor-intensive industry, tourism has helped create employment; however, since involvement in the tourism industry has been monopolized by the Sinhalese, existing ethnic inequalities have been exacerbated with uneven distribution of economic gains (Hall and Page 2012, chap. 16).

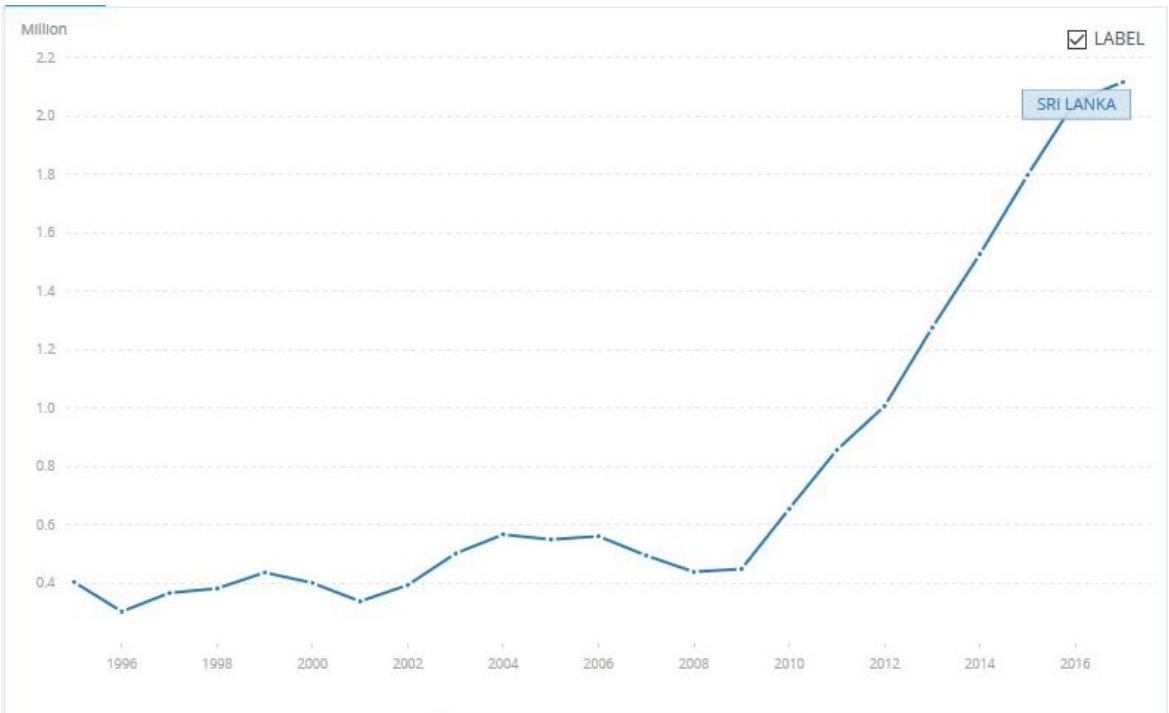

Figure 1.8. International tourism to Sri Lanka, number of arrivals from 1995 to 2017, Source: (World Tourism Organization n.d.)

Ethnic tensions – particularly between the Sinhalese and Sri Lankan Tamils – have existed for centuries becoming amplified in the post-independence period (Vale 1992, 192). The island's ethnic groups include the Sinhalese majority, Indian Tamils who are descendants of the low-caste bonded laborers imported by the British to work on tea plantations, and Sri Lankan Tamils who are high-caste Tamils descended from the island's ancient Tamil kingdoms. The postcolonial period saw the rise of a Sinhalese 'national' identity, with discriminatory national policies exacerbating Tamil-Sinhalese tensions at the subnational level. In addition, material forms of heritage like the built environment have also been exploited to promote this nationalistic narrative (Vale 1992; Pieris 2013). Lawrence Vale discusses the manipulation of urban design to serve this Sinhalese centric identity through Sri Lanka's parliament complex (Vale 1992, 193). The quest for a new national identity in the post-colonial era, has been closely related to the island's complex histories of colonialism (Perera 1999, 189). Nationalistic efforts of the 1970s and 1980s were also prompted by economic concerns like tourism which had become a major source of foreign exchange by the 1970s (Perera 1999, 189). This emphasis on nationalism and tourism in the 1970s, resulted in the selective appropriation of indigenous cultures to construct a particular historical narrative (Perera 1998, 189).

The work being done: Filling the Gap

Exploring the impacts of the World Heritage program requires an understanding of the theories within the field of heritage studies encompassing the concepts of heritage, world heritage, globalization and the heritage industry. The literature reviewed above on the relationship between heritage and identity, is critical to my investigation of the identity politics of Sri Lanka's cultural heritage sites like Galle Fort. The wealth of literature examining the relationship between the heritage industry and conservation is important, particularly in considering the concept of authenticity in a rapidly globalizing destination like Galle. Previous scholarly work has explored the role of conservation in heritage tourism and the supposed evolution of preservation priorities – from an emphasis on physical form to contemporary recognition of intangible aspects of heritage. In order to fully understand the forces shaping local practice, it is important to consider on-the-ground practices in Galle's World Heritage site within this global context of conservation practice. The writings above on the direct and indirect economic benefits of tourism and its resultant investment can help us understand the forces transforming the urban fabric being studied. At its core, this thesis operates at the intersection of the ideas of heritage, identity, conservation, and tourism. It aims to consider heritage conceptualizations, conservation practice, and tourism induced development in tandem for the World Heritage site of Galle Fort in order to better understand the impacts of World Heritage Listing.

In order to begin to understand the global-local politics at play at the heritage site of Galle Fort it is first essential to understand the foundational concepts of heritage, world heritage, and how these are related to constructed identities of a site. I hope to use this understanding to investigate contested historical and contemporary identities at Galle Fort, and the tensions that emerge through the construction of a dominant narrative for the World Heritage site. I will consider these identity politics at the subnational, national and international scales to tease out the institutional, governmental, and geopolitical forces motivating identity curation. Building on past scholarly work that explores the idea of the heritage industry, the commodification of culture, conservation and their relation to tourism, I plan to use the site of Galle Fort to understand the planning, policy, and conservation measures that have influenced the manifestation of these concepts. Understanding the motivations behind these tools alongside how they affect the built environment can help inform efforts at other sites. Furthermore, through the study of Galle Fort I hope to investigate the gaps between the intentions of the World Heritage program and its outcomes particularly with regards to

the ideal of 'authenticity'. As seen from previous research, there is a link between Listing and tourism. Consequently, I will use past studies on tourism led gentrification to help understand how this has impacted Galle Fort. I will consider policy and planning efforts at the global, national and local level to unpack their motivations, and any tensions between the goals and outcomes of these efforts.

Given the global popularity of the World Heritage program and the prevalence of colonial heritage sites across the developing world, the findings of this study could provide useful parallels. While case studies have been done on religious inhabited sites like Luang Prabang, there is a pressing need to consider more pluralistic sites like Galle Fort where religion is not part of the World Heritage narrative. As one of the earliest listed inhabited towns in Asia-Pacific, Galle Fort can provide lessons on the long-term impacts of Listing that can be carried over to sites in the region and beyond.

Drawing from the literature, I am interested in addressing the following:

1. What are the dynamics of identity at the heritage site of Galle Fort and how has this been shaped by its subnational, national, and international contexts?
2. What has shaped conservation attitudes in Galle Fort and what is its relationship with authenticity? What is the method of implementation and perception of authenticity here?
3. How has tourism led gentrification evolved in Galle Fort? How has it been influenced by state policy, the civil war, and investment patterns – what has motivated these?

CHAPTER 2

Historical Context of Galle Fort as a World Heritage Site

Sri Lanka: Historical, Political and Geographic Context

Sri Lanka is a 65,610 sq. km teardrop shaped island located in Southern Asia in the Indian Ocean. The country's geographic location at the center of the maritime silk trade route between China and Europe led to its emergence as a place of commerce as early as the 8th century BCE. Well-endowed with a long coastline and a number of natural harbors, its strategic location along east-west trade routes attracted merchants from across Arabia, Asia, and eventually the Portuguese, Dutch and British.

The country boasts a long-recorded history going back nearly 3000 years with a rich cultural history that is intertwined with the Indian Subcontinent. Buddhism was first introduced on the island in the 3rd century BCE and kingdoms were established at cities like Anuradhapura (approximately from 300 BC to 1000 AD) and Polonnaruwa (approximately from 1070 AD to 1200 AD). The northern portion of the island was conquered by the Chola dynasty establishing a Tamil Kingdom here in the period between 990 - 1077 BCE. The periodic South Indian invasions resulted in the growth of Hinduism on the island. The island was divided into several kingdoms until the colonial period.

The island's colonial history is perhaps the most significant for this study. The country's colonial experience has had a lasting impact on its local culture, development, and its national identity Sri Lanka experienced a long era with three layers of colonial rule first by the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch, and finally the British (Holt 2011, 135). The Portuguese controlled the coastal areas of the island from 1505 to 1658. While they established their capital at Colombo, the Sinhalese continued their rule over the remaining island from Kandy. The Dutch East India Company captured most of the coastal areas and established Dutch Ceylon ruling from 1658 to 1796.

During the period of Dutch rule, the Kandyan Kingdom however continued to control the interior of the island which was rich in cinnamon. Thus, both the Portuguese and the Dutch focused their efforts on controlling the spice trade (Holt 2011, 136). The Dutch invested in new techniques of plantation agriculture to fully exploit the potential of this lucrative cash crop.

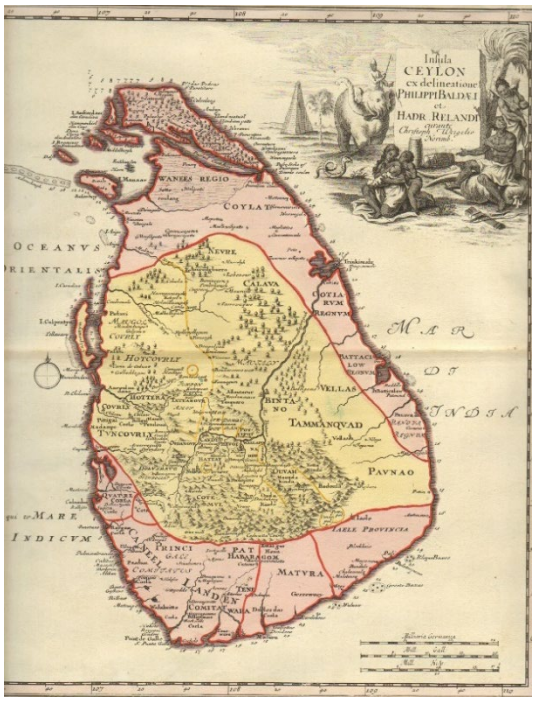

Figure 2.1. Map of Dutch Ceylon from 1719 showing Dutch territories in red and the Kandyan Kingdom in yellow. Source: (Weigel 1719)

However, by the time of British rule of the island the market for Sri Lankan cinnamon had declined (Holt 2011, 136). The British colonized the entire island ruling from 1796 until Sri Lankan independence in 1948. In British Ceylon, the spice trade gave way to a new plantation colony that was the main Asian producer of coffee for British and European markets (Holt 2011, 136). The British made social, economic and political changes that have had a lasting impact on the country – from the establishment of coffee, tea and rubber plantations, to transportation networks, and the import of Tamil labor. While the Dutch cinnamon plantations had relied on the bonded labor of local Sinhalese cinnamon peelers, during the British period labor was primarily Indian immigrants. The switch from cinnamon to coffee production marked the modernization and development of the economy if the country (Holt 2011, 137).

Ceylon gained independence from the British in 1948. Following independence, the first Prime Minster of Sri Lanka disenfranchised Indian Tamils in an effort to strengthen political support for his party. This marked the start of a long period of tensions between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority. In 1956, Sinhala replaced English as the official language of the country to make it harder for Tamils to pursue government jobs (Weisman 1985). In 1972, the country became the "Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka" and adopted a presidential system rather than the previous parliamentary government. Although this shift occurred at the height of the Cold War, the

government at the time – under Sirimavo Bandaranaike – maintained neutral foreign relations. In 1978 the constitution was amended to include concessions for Tamils including the elevation of Tamil to a national language to soothe building ethnic tensions.

However, this history of ethnic tensions eventually resulted in a 25-year Civil War. In 1983 fighting broke out between the government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who sought to create a separate Tamil State in the north and east. The Civil War caused the displacement of millions and the death of thousands of people in the conflict. The civil war period is broken down into four constituent periods of wars. The 'First Eelam War' began with the 1983 anti-Tamil riots in July 1983 in Colombo. During the next several years efforts to broker a truce were attempted with the support of Indian Troops. However, in 1990 India withdrew involvement and the 'Second Eelam War' began with LTTE seizing control of Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka. In 1991, Indian prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated and two years later Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe was assassinated by the LTTE. In 1995 a short period of truce was followed by the 'Third Eelam War' which lasted till 2001 with war raging across the north and east of the island. In 2002 a landmark ceasefire was established between the LTTE and the government brokered by Norway. In 2004, Mahinda Rajapaksa won the elections becoming President. By 2006 the fighting slowly resumed and the civil war continued until the government defeated the LTTE in May 2009 (*Reuters* 2009).

The post-conflict years under President Rajapaksa saw ambitious infrastructure development efforts funded by foreign governments like China. During his presidency, Rajapakse worked to increase the powers of the Presidency and consolidated power within his family. In 2015, a new coalition government headed by President Sirisena of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe of the United National Party came to power, promising economic advancement, political and judicial reform.

Sri Lanka's complex political history has a resulted in a society with diverse religious, linguistic, and ethnic identities. The island country has an ethnically diverse population of 22.6 million (CIA 2018). Comprising 74.9% the majority of the population is Sinhalese followed by Sri Lankan Tamils (11.2%), Sri Lankan Moors (9.2%), Indian Tamils (4.2%), and 0.5% of the population categorized as others which includes Burghers, Veddas, Malays, Chinese, and Africans. The Burghers are a Eurasian ethnic group who are the descendants of Europeans – predominantly Portuguese, Dutch, and British – who settled in Sri Lanka; the Veddas are a minority indigenous group on the island (CIA 2018).

In terms of religion, the Sinhalese are predominantly Buddhist, most Tamils are Hindu, and some of each of these groups are also Christian (Winslow and Woost 2004, 5). Although ethnicity and religion do not mirror each other exactly, over the twentieth century religion has emerged as a marker of ethnicity (Winslow and Woost 2004). In 2012, 70.2% of the population was Buddhist, 12.6% Hindu, 9.7% Muslim, and 7.4% was Christian (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka 2012). There were efforts to convert the population to Christianity during the colonial period – the Portuguese proselytized Roman Catholicism while the Dutch propagated the Protestant faith (Holt 2011). The more relaxed attitude of the British toward religion in Sri Lanka resulted in many citizens reverting to their traditional faiths (Holt 2011, 141).

Today the two official languages of Sri Lanka are Sinhala and Tamil spoken by 87% and 28.5% of the population respectively. A legacy from the British rule, English is a recognized language spoken by 23.8% of the population (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka 2012).

UNESCO in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka accepted the World Heritage Convention becoming a State Party in June of 1980. By 2018, the country was home to a total of eight World Heritage sites – six cultural sites, and two natural sites.

Cultural sites (with the year of inscription):
Ancient City of Polonnaruwa (1982)
Ancient City of Sigiriya (1982)
Sacred City of Anuradhapura (1982)
Sacred City of Kandy (1988)
Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications (1988)
Golden Temple of Dambulla (1991)

Natural sites:
Sinharaja Forest Reserve (1988)
Central Highlands of Sri Lanka (2010)

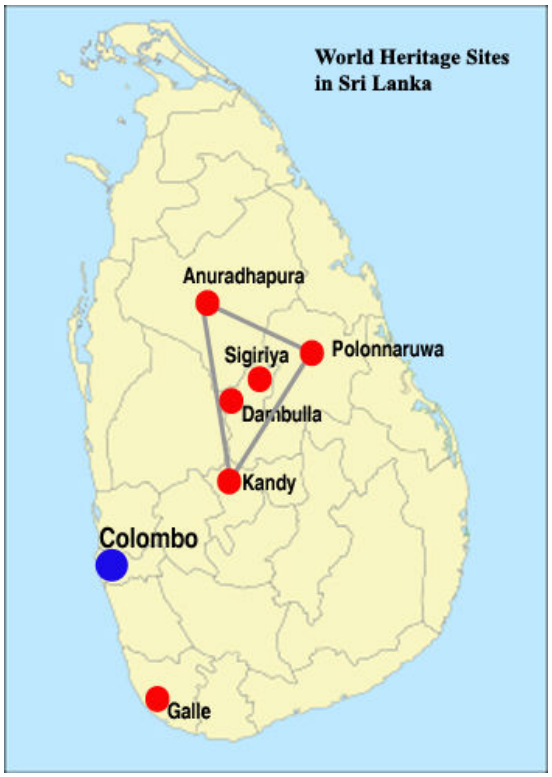

Figure 2.2. Map of Sri Lanka's cultural World Heritage Sites indicated in red, Source: (Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Cultural Affairs n.d.)

This list of World Heritage sites alludes to the climate of heritage politics on the island. Except for the 'Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications' the other five cultural sites are all significant in Sinhalese history, with four of them showcasing aspects of Buddhism. Since the process of nomination is led by the State Party, recognition of a site as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO can unintentionally help reinforce certain national agendas (as showcased by Sri Lanka's list). It can provide global legitimacy of constructed national identities that may marginalize the histories of minority ethnic groups. For Sri Lanka, the selection of sites having 'cultural value' to Sri Lankans by the state are reflective of the political climate of the 1980s.

In 1987, the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord declared for the first time that Sri Lanka was a "multi-ethnic and multi-lingual plural society" (Wickramasinghe 2006). However, multiculturalism in late 20th and early 21st century Sri Lanka is a legacy from the colonial era that considers society as cultural groups rather than as an approach to equity (Wickramasinghe 2012). In post-independence Sri Lanka, ethnic tensions arose in the early 1950s with the increasing prevalence of development programs that emphasized the state ideology of a Sinhala nation. Sudharshan Seneviratne notes that since the 1970s, the idea of a "national culture" that prioritized Sinhala-Buddhist culture was

popularized by the Sri Lankan state (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008, chap. 11). Projects like the Mahaweli Development Project reflected the state ideology of crafting an agrarian Sinhala-nation as a way of going back to Sri Lanka's "Golden Age" centered around Sinhala-Buddhist culture (Wickramasinghe 2006).

Following the establishment of the Open Market policy in 1977, cultural sites became marketable commodities that could attract foreign investment and heritage tourism (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008, chap. 11). Consequently, the UNESCO-Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle Project was established with the idea of promoting cultural tourism (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008, chap. 11). The project was implemented by the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) with UNESCO support from 1980 to 1997 (Ministry of Housing, Construction, and Cultural Affairs n.d.). Regarding the joint effort, Roland Silva notes "if it were not for UNESCO's interest in co-operating with and stimulating further efforts of the national authorities of Sri Lanka, we would not have seen the birth of this important project of the Cultural Triangle" (R. Silva et al. 1998, 7). The Cultural Triangle connected the ancient sites of Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, and Kandy. The two sites of Dambulla and Sigiriya were located inside the triangle. All five sites are connected to Sinhala history. The Cultural Triangle aimed to "revive the Glory that was Sri Lanka" by linking to a "Golden Age" of Sinhalese-Buddhism (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008, chap. 11). While national efforts to highlight the Sinhalese heritage of the country were not a recent phenomenon (Perera 1998; Pieris 2013), "zealous efforts" of the Minister of Cultural Affairs and President Jayewardene resulted in the adoption of the proposal by UNESCO in 1978 mobilizing international support for the Program (R. Silva et al. 1998). Support of the Cultural Triangle project by an international agency like UNESCO broadcasts a monolithic national heritage (and identity) that is tied to Sinhalese-Buddhism on a global scale. Considered in the context of ethno-religious tensions in 1980s Sri Lanka that would eventually result in a 25-year period of unrest – this raises serious concerns regarding the global legitimization of nationalistic ideology through heritage.

All five sites from the Cultural Triangle project were eventually also designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites providing added legitimacy for the state curated idea of a Sinhala-nation that neglects the histories of ethnic and religious minority groups in the country. Seneviratne notes that the Cultural Triangle project was never extended north to incorporate Hindu and Tamil-speaking areas of the island (Liebmann and Rizvi 2008, chap. 11). These cultural identities still remain unrepresented among the sites on the country's List and the Tentative List. Sri Lanka currently has

two sites on its Tentative List – Seruwila Managala Raja Maha Vihara added in 2006, and Ancient Pilgrim route along the Mahaweli River included in 2010 – both of which are sites related to Buddhism.

Given UNESCO's foundational goals of promoting international cooperation and solidarity the composition of Sri Lanka's List is troubling. At its core, World Heritage was conceptualized to be universal. But as we've seen above, in Sri Lanka heritage was instrumentalized by the state to construct a monolithic national identity. By giving their stamp of approval, UNESCO has condoned the behavior of the state albeit unintentionally. Through heritage politics the program has been effectively manipulated to reinforce certain ethnic identities while suppressing others.

Galle Fort and the Path to World Heritage Status

Sri Lanka's cultural heritage sites on the List all focus on pre-colonial heritage with one exception – 'Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications' or Galle Fort as it is known colloquially. While the island is home to several forts, Galle Fort is considered to be the most intact fort and has therefore drawn the attention of local and international architects, archeologists and historians. Of the six cultural sites, it is also the only one that was not involved in the Cultural Triangle Project of the 1980s.

Conservation efforts for the Fort began as early as 1940 when the Department of Archeology was given the responsibility of protecting Galle Fort under the Antiquities Ordinance (De Vos 1987). Development in urban areas was regulated by the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1946. However, as development pressures grew, they began to threaten the state of historical sites (Pali 2005). In 1971, the ramparts of Galle Fort were declared a protected monument under the Antiquities Ordinance. The ordinance included a "400-yard rule" that stipulated that no development could take place within 400 yards of the ramparts without the consent of the Department of Archeology. The 400-yard buffer zone when applied to the ramparts allowed for the protection of the entire area inside the Fort, as well as the 400-yard swath of land outside the walls which encompassed the esplanade.

However, Wijeratne Pali president of ICOMOS Sri Lanka notes that development pressures from an unsympathetic state and private sector made it difficult for the Department of Archeology to manage such a large area, causing the site to deteriorate rapidly (Pali 2005). From my

conversations with the Galle Heritage Foundation as well as former personnel from the Department of Archeology like Dr. Roland Silva and Ashley De Vos, I discovered that the impetus to protect the site primarily stemmed from architects, archeologists, historians and other experts in the Department of Archeology. Ashley De Vos, the former National Chairman of ICOMOS, recalls beginning to work on the nomination of Galle Fort in the early 1980's under the auspices of Dr. Roland Silva the Archeological Commissioner at the time. Since the State was preoccupied with conservation efforts that fed its own political agenda, Galle Fort did not fit its narrative and was largely ignored in ongoing efforts at the time. He noted that some politicians even questioned the value of a colonial fort like Galle and proposed demolishing it to develop a fisheries harbor. The desire to conserve Galle Fort and ensure its long-term protection therefore motivated the group of professionals/experts from the Department (including Dr. Roland Silva and Ashley De Vos) to seek World Heritage recognition for the site. These efforts resulted in its ultimate designation as a World Heritage Site in 1988.

Figure 2.3. Map of the World Heritage Site 'Old Town of Galle and its fortifications' that was submitted in 1986 by the State Party for its nomination to the List, Source: (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018b)

The Site has an area of 52 hectares inside the walls and is defended by 14 bastions. When the city reached full development in the 18th century it housed 500 families and a variety of administrative, religious, and commercial programs. Galle Fort was designated as a World Heritage site based on Criterion IV which requires the proposed site "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history." (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2004). The justification of the criterion was described as follows:

"Galle provides an outstanding example of an urban ensemble which illustrates the interaction of European and architecture and South Asian traditions from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Among the characteristics which make this an urban group of exceptional value is the original sewer system from the 17th century, flushed with sea water controlled by a pumping station formerly activated by a windmill on the Triton bastion. However, the most salient fact is the use of European models adapted by local manpower to the geological, climatic, historic, and cultural conditions of Sri Lanka. In the structure of the ramparts, coral is frequently used along with granite. In the ground layout all the measures of length, width, and height conform to the regional metrology. The wide streets, planted with grass and shaded by suriyas, are lined with houses, each with its own garden and an open verandah supported by columns - another sign of the acculturation of an architecture which is European only in its basic design"

The site is described as "the best example of a fortified city built by Europeans in South and South-East Asia, showing the interaction between European architectural styles and South Asian traditions" in its nomination. The nominations of other sites – Anuradhapura "a Ceylonese political and religious capital", Kandy "sacred Buddhist site…last capital of the Sinhala kings", and Polonnaruwa "second capital of Sri Lanka" – typically highlight their significance to Sri Lankan culture and history, or Sinhala/Buddhist architecture styles. However, Galle Fort is not presented as an epitome of Sri Lankan culture or architecture but rather as a living monument of dual parentage – a cocktail of local and European roots (De Vos 1987). It is interesting to note that its description also highlights a preference of parentage from among its three colonizers – "Founded in the 16th century by the Portuguese, Galle reached the height of its development in the 18th century, before the arrival of the British"(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018d). The ICOMOS nomination file describes development from the British era as "a number of unfortunate modifications were then made: ditches filled in, new blockhouses added, a gate put in between the Moon bastion and the Sun bastion, a lighthouse installed on the Utrecht bastion, and a tower erected for the jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1883" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018d). The selective identification of a 'golden

age' raises questions about emphasizing particular pasts while minimizing others, and the incentives catalyzing it, something that will be investigated further in later chapters of this project.

Galle Fort: A Brief History

Galle's strategic location along the main sea routes and its natural harbor raised it to prominence among the ports in Sri Lanka. The earliest record of Galle is believed to date back to Ptolemy's World Map from the 2nd century AD. A busy trading port connecting to Greece, Arabia, and China it is believed that the Moroccan explorer Ibn Battuta passed through the port of Galle in the 14th century. The inscriptions on the Galle trilingual Slab in Chinese, Persian, and Tamil from the early 15th century suggests that Chinese, Muslim, Hindu, and Jain traders frequented the port.

Portuguese and the early Black Fort (1505 – 1640)

The Portuguese made their initial landing in Sri Lanka at Galle in 1505 to take refuge from inclement weather on their way to the Maldives. Consequently, Galle became a port of call for the Portuguese and in 1543 a Franciscan Chapel was constructed. The first known fortifications were erected in 1588 and were called *Santa Cruz de Gale*. These earliest fortifications were a primitive arrangement consisting of a wall with three bastions facing the land to protect from attacks from interior kingdoms. The Portuguese believed the seaside to be insurmountable due to their maritime ability and therefore built only earthen and palisade defenses facing the sea (Pali 2005; Thompson, Steinberg, and Perry 2011). Today only one of the bastions of the old fort remains and is called Black Fort due to its dark colored edifice.

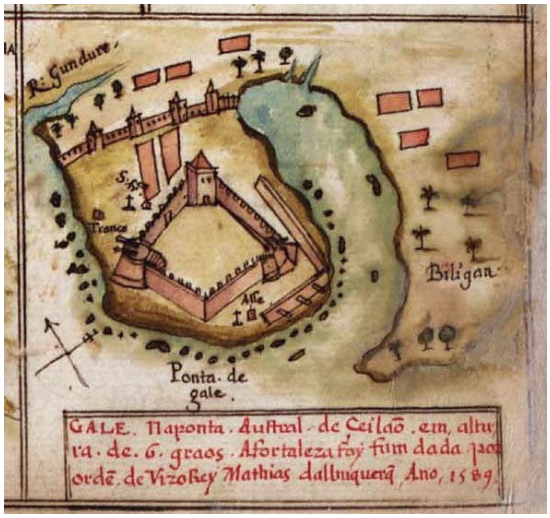

Figure 2.4. Map of Ponta de Galle, 1630 from a Portuguese atlas, Source: ("Point de Galle" 1630)

Dutch colonization and the construction of Galle Fort (1640 – 1796)

In 1640, an armada of 12 Dutch ships and 2000 men attacked the Portuguese fort of Galle and after a short battle gained control of it. By the time of Dutch occupation of the fort in the 17th century, the Indian ocean had many European nations competing for power in the region. The Dutch East India Company's (originally known as *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) seizure of the port of Galle dismantled the Portuguese monopoly of the cinnamon trade. In order to safeguard the fort and harbor against the English, French, Danish, Spanish, and Portuguese fleets, the Dutch constructed fortifications on both the landward and seaward sides. Rampart construction began in 1663 and continued into the 18th century. The northern fortified gate was protected by a drawbridge and a ditch and was completed in 1669. They established a well-planned town with a regular street grid accommodating administrative, religious, residential, and commercial uses inside the fort.

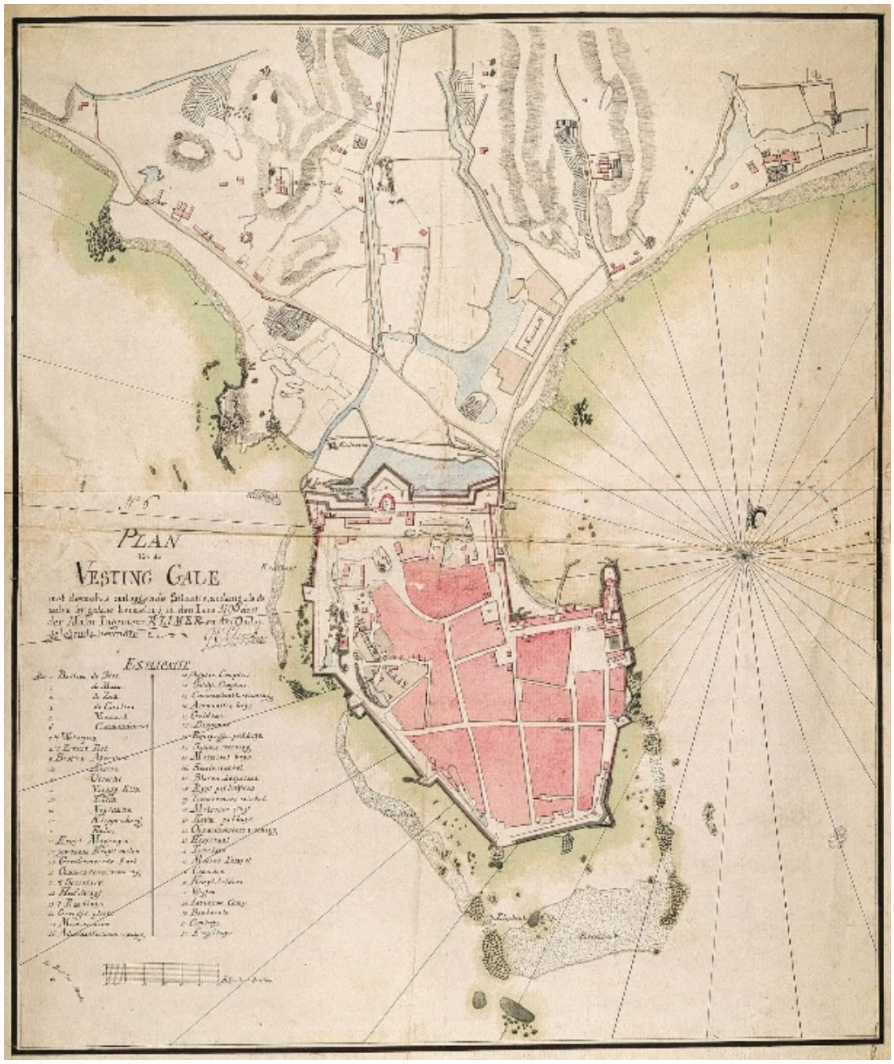

Figure 2.5. Map of Galle Fort at its fullest development under the Dutch dated 1790, Source: ("Map of the Dutch Fort at Galle" 1790)

The Fort included buildings for defense like a gun house and arsenal; buildings for trade including workshops and warehouses; and a Commander's residence. They also built an elaborate system of drains that flood at high tide washing the contents out to sea (or possibly sewers) that are still in existence today (Pali 2005). The simple and solid architecture of the VOC successfully adapted European modes to the island's tropical climate (K. M. D. Silva and M 2005, 262). The VOC sent millions of Europeans to work in Asia between 1602 and 1796 trading over 2.5 million tons of goods including spices, fabrics, porcelain, carvings, ivory, and slaves. Much of this made its way through the harbor at Galle Fort (Thompson, Steinberg, and Perry 2011).

British colonization and the fort (1796 – 1948)

In 1796, the Dutch surrendered the Fort to the British, and Galle Fort retained its importance as an administrative and shipping center. However, with the enlargement of the Colombo harbor in the early twentieth century, Galle lost its significance as a seaport but remained an important administrative and legal center for the South. The British adapted many of the Dutch structures for their use, replacing only those which were no longer functional. Consequently, while few Portuguese structures have survived, much of the urban fabric from the British and Dutch period remain even today (Pali 2005). In 1871 the first Census recorded a population of 47,954 with 7496 houses and 8979 families in the Municipality of Galle (Department of Census and Statistics 1871). During the period of British colonization, the moat was sealed, a new commemorative gate was added in 1883 for Queen Victoria's jubilee, and the old British lighthouse was constructed in 1848 and consequently rebuilt in 1940 after it burned down the year before. During the British era Galle Library was established (1871), as was the Galle Gymkhana Club (1885) on the esplanade, and the Galle Railway Station (1894). In 1889, a wealthy Sinhalese philanthropist commissioned the construction of the Buddhist temple on a plot of land he owned within the fort (Thompson, Steinberg, and Perry 2011).

CHAPTER 3

Dual Parentage: Rebuilding the Dutch Image through Heritage

Prioritizing Particular Pasts as Heritage

While Galle Fort's colonial heritage is attributed to three European traditions – Portuguese, Dutch, and British – among these its Dutch ancestry is given special significance. Although the Dutch era in Sri Lanka was the longest at 156 years, it does not significantly exceed the British era (152 years), or the period of Portuguese colonization (135 years). However, this prioritization of a particular colonial heritage is perhaps unsurprising given that much of the built heritage at Galle Fort dates to the Dutch period. The reasons for this are twofold – the Dutch destroyed most of the Portuguese settlement upon capturing Galle in 1640, but the British adapted existing Dutch structures for their own use rather than destroying them. Furthermore, with Colombo's rise as the capital of British Ceylon, Galle Fort's significance as a colonial administrative port declined during the British period. Thus, while the built environment was adapted to meet British needs construction activities were significantly more limited than during the Dutch period which is portrayed as a golden heyday. As the material culture of heritage, the presence of a predominantly Dutch built fabric enables the construction of a predominantly Dutch identity for Galle Fort.

Another factor that could contribute to this favoring of one colonial identity over another is the nature of the colonized-colonizer relationships in each era (Schrikker 2007). During the period of Dutch rule, the colonial government cultivated a more collaborative relationship with the native population encouraging them to undertake agricultural efforts to grow cash crops like cinnamon which were then sold to the VOC. While British colonial exploitation also focused on the growth of a cash crop – coffee – they implemented a system that relied less on the native population (Schrikker 2007). Thus, despite both being engaged in the colonial exploitation of Sri Lanka, each colonizer shared a different dynamic with the native population. These historic dynamics have influenced contemporary attitudes resulting in the absence of negative feelings towards the Dutch colonial period. However, discussions on colonialism in contemporary politics and the media in Sri Lanka typically paint the period of British rule as the bloodiest beginning with the Kandyan Wars to bring the whole island under British control. Furthermore, many issues in contemporary Sri Lankan society can be directly traced to British era policies like the import of Tamil laborers and the favoring of high-caste Sinhalese. It is possible that this association of contemporary issues with the

British colonial era, and its temporal proximity to living memory led to the preferential position of Dutch colonization in Sri Lanka's modern-day narrative.

This biased promotion of certain pasts is seen on both the Sri Lankan and Dutch sides. Since the late twentieth century, the Netherlands has been actively engaged in international cultural cooperation efforts that aim to reconcile Dutch history with contemporary international relations. Political interest in the concept of shared heritage began in 1997 when a member of Parliament proposed the reinterpretation of Dutch colonial history as a tool for strengthening international relations rather than just a dark period of the country's past (Oostindie 2008, 26). The Dutch International Cultural Policy is aimed to "improve the Netherlands' image, and to support our political and economic interests abroad" (Ministerie van Algemene Zaken 2014). The policy has three focus areas – priority countries, creative industry sector, and shared cultural heritage. Cultural policy under the shared cultural heritage category aims to encourage bilateral relations between the Netherlands and the countries that bear "traces of a shared history" like Australia, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Japan, Russia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Suriname, and the United States to "preserve the significance of these historical links for future generations" (DutchCulture 2017). Given the unequal relationship between the two concerned parties in history, the presumption that they would both conceptualize this "significance" to contemporary times in the same way seems unlikely – or at the very least highly challenging. Under the program the Dutch government offers advice, partial funding (a matching fund that requires the host country to contribute funds that will be matched by the Dutch), and technical expertise. Any funding that is given to the partner country by the Dutch government is contingent on the definition of the selected heritage as *mutual* heritage (Oostindie 2008, 26). The language of the policy also emphasizes a cooperation based on "equality, reciprocity, and respect for ownership". While equality and reciprocity could indicate an amending of the past dynamics of inequality, the third clause on ownership is vague and could suggest potential limits on the burden of responsibility that will be borne by the Dutch government.

Dual Parentage vs. Shared Heritage vs. World Heritage

While the rebranding of colonial relationships as "shared heritage" certainly boosts the Dutch image, the concept itself raises several questions – Do partner countries like Sri Lanka *share* the same conceptualization of their colonial heritage as the Dutch? Do they *share* the same visions for the

instrumentalization of this heritage for the future? *Sharing* implies an equality that goes against the very foundations of the heritage being considered, making the concept of a "shared heritage" problematic. However, as illustrated through Galle Fort, the construction of this shared heritage narrative has helped revamp the image of both partners – it has created a more favorable Dutch image that simultaneously boosts colonial accomplishments while underemphasizing colonial exploitations; for the host country it has provided a marketable commodity that is a magnet for global tourism. Much like the concept of world heritage, shared heritage has allowed for the construction of a highly reduced, monolithic identity that masquerades as a layered, heterogenous identity for Galle Fort.

Integral to this idea of a shared heritage is also the notion of inseparability, and the blending of two cultures to birth a new, unique, hybrid heritage that is to be protected. Although its nomination pre-dates official bilateral heritage relations with the Netherlands, there had been some early efforts from within the Sri Lankan Department of Archeology to promote Galle Fort as this type of cultural concoction. The concept of 'heritage of dual parentage' was initially introduced by Dr. Roland Silva who is a former President of ICOMOS, former Director General of the Department of Archeology and the former Director General of the Central Cultural Fund (CCF). It was later also presented by Ashley De Vos (former National Chairman of ICOMOS) at the VIII General Assembly of ICOMOS in Washington D.C. in October 1987 through the archetypal site of Galle Fort. The dual parentage of Galle Fort's heritage was described through its architecture as a masterful amalgamation of Western concepts with Sri Lankan craftsmanship and vernacular building proportions. Under this idea of dual parentage, Galle Fort was portrayed as "neither Portuguese, Dutch, nor British, but totally Sri Lankan" and its conservation would "create an appreciation for the value of this patrimony" (De Vos 1987). This positioning of Galle Fort as an example of Sri Lankan heritage rather than colonial heritage is also fitting when considered within the context of nationalism that dominated Sri Lankan politics in the 1980s. As seen in the language of its UNESCO nomination, Galle Fort is positioned not as a site of European colonial heritage but as a Sri Lankan adaptation of it. Like *shared* heritage, the idea of dual parentage implies an almost benign chain of evolution producing a uniquely individual heritage. However, *parentage* unlike the word 'shared' seems to indicate a higher level of responsibility – possibly in the form of child support. When I discussed these three concepts with Ashley De Vos, he described dual parentage, shared/mutual heritage, and world heritage as increasingly placing the burden of protection on the

host country while reducing the responsibility of other involved parties – namely the colonial patriarchy. Speaking about some of the fundamental issues with the conceptualization of world heritage, he noted:

> This whole concept of nomination - I think they are approaching it wrong. Because we say now it belongs to the world, and therefore it should be World Heritage, and therefore we have to protect it for the world and all sorts of rubbish like that. That's why I brought a thing out called monuments of dual parentage. (Ashley De Vos)

Elaborating on this idea of dual parentage, Ashley De Vos explained it in the context of Galle Fort as follows:

> I said Galle Fort for example, is a dual parentage [site]. There's a father, there's a mother. The father went off leaving the mother with the children. And I said, in a court of law you'll have to pay alimony. So, maintaining this is also part of your responsibility, you can't say it's not your responsibility. So, in other words if it's a colonial monument of a certain period - say Dutch - the Dutch should also be involved in the maintenance of this monument. They can't expect the host country to do it. Now World Heritage doesn't say that. World Heritage says the host country is responsible for maintaining it. (Ashley De Vos)

However, this idea of dual parentage was softened and positioned instead as mutual heritage. Challenging the benign definition of mutual heritage promoted by the Dutch government, Ashley De Vos also observed:

> The Belgians and Dutch got together and turned it into mutual heritage. There was a seminar some time ago on '400 years after Dutch rule' - I made a statement saying we were under the colonial [rule] and how can you call rape a mutual heritage. The Dutch Ambassador got up and said, "how do you say things like that". I said, "but its true madam. It is not mutual heritage. If its mutual heritage it should be equal, and each person should take their share". (Ashley De Vos)

Despite these criticisms of the mutual heritage concept, he also acknowledged the funding that has been provided by the Dutch government under the Shared Heritage program. Describing the variation in funding between the shared heritage and world heritage programs, he noted:

> So that embarrassed the Dutch a lot, so they actually funded the restoration of the fort walls. If you look at this World Heritage and UNESCO getting involved, we didn't get one cent from UNESCO. Nothing. You don't get anything. (Ashley De Vos)

Even with the adoption of the more palatable mutual heritage (rather than dual parentage) the Dutch government has provided support for numerous projects in Galle Fort under their Mutual Cultural Heritage program. DutchCulture the organization for international cultural cooperation has supported several projects to conserve the shared history of Sri Lanka and the Netherlands – many of them in Galle. Their mission is described as motivated by the following sentiment:

> What remains today of the Dutch Period is a shared heritage that evolved from interaction and exchange between the Sri Lankan and Dutch cultures. This had an effect on the social, cultural, religious, economic and political spheres, resulting in influences on both the tangible and intangible heritage of Sri Lanka. (DutchCulture 2017).

In the interest of this shared heritage, there has been a long history of Dutch funded conservation projects in Galle starting as early as 1988. Looking at a timeline of the projects, while some of the initial undertakings were small-scale and project-based, there have also been wider reaching programs in more recent years.

- 1988 – City of Velsen, Netherlands twinned with Galle
- 1988 – Roof repair of Galle Library funded by SOS Velsen
- 1992 to 1994 – Restoration of ancient sewerage system in Galle Fort
- 2001 – Funding and technical guidance for the conservation of Dutch Reformed Church
- 2006 – Joint Statement for Cultural cooperation signed between Netherlands and Sri Lanka under the Sri Lanka-Netherlands Cultural Cooperation Programme
- 2006 – Library Renovation funded by SOS Velsen
- 2006 – Introduction of Master Plan 'A cultural triangle in the South' which contains the Bentota-Galle region in the west, Matara in the south and Kataragama-Yala region in the east. The Plan included 18 stand-alone projects related to "conservation, preservation and development of heritage sites in the region with a view to promote cultural tourism" intended to generate employment, develop the local economy, and improve the standards of living for the people living in this region. The types of sites identified include shared cultural heritage sites, maritime sites, and natural sites. Projects included:
  Sewerage system restoration after tsunami
  Conservation of the ancient ramparts in Galle Fort after tsunami
  Reconstruction of the National Maritime Museum in Galle
- 2006 to 2008 – Assistance for conservation of private house owners

- 2007 – 144,000LKR donation for special events like theatre, lectures for inhabitants inside and outside the Fort
- 2010 – Heritage mission by Royal Netherlands Embassy in Sri Lanka and Netherlands Cultural heritage Agency to identify and prepare joint projects with Sri Lankan counterparts.

While Galle has received substantially more funding from its mutual heritage status than its World Heritage status, the claims of UNESCO's complete lack of support are not entirely accurate. Sri Lanka has received approximately $266,400 of funding since 1985. However, much of this has been directed towards the natural heritage sites and the sites of Kandy, Sigiriya, and Anuradhapura. Galle's only funding from UNESCO was a 20,000 USD award towards technical cooperation in 1997 that was shared between Sri Lanka's 6 cultural sites. The UNESCO World Heritage Centre has encouraged this shared heritage partnership. A 1998 Report on the ICOMOS Monitoring Mission to Galle recommended "Since the Galle Fort depicts a dual heritage, the positive commitment of a European counterpart should be assured for the future support of its conservation programme." Thus, while the World Heritage Center itself provides limited funding, it strives to encourage assistances directly – by providing legitimacy for specific heritage sites – and indirectly – by reassuring global partners.

The world heritage and shared heritage conceptualizations are both problematic in their notions of collective ownership of the heritage emerging in a particular place, among specific social groups, and formed by certain contextual forces. The priorities of world heritage and its excessive emphasis on built heritage and its preservation in original form are questionable. But the world heritage concept has been globally institutionalized ensuring that certain international standards are followed across the board. On the other hand, the shared heritage concept is implemented almost on a case-by-case basis. While the goals and terms are negotiated between the two involved countries, there is no accountability to any overseeing authority, creating a scenario that is ripe for abuse.

National Attitudes towards Patrimony

The end of the 25-year Civil War in 2009 has seen a shift away from Sinhalese nationalistic agendas that dominated Sri Lankan politics in the 1980s. However, anti-colonial attitudes that have a long history in the country still remain. Anti-colonialism emerged in the 1880s, continued to grow

through the 1920s and 1930s fostered by the political climate in nearby countries like India, and eventually resulted in the Country's independence in 1948 (Perera 1999, 128). This development of anti-colonial sentiments over an extended period has had a lasting influence on contemporary perceptions of Sri Lankan-ness particularly in the realm of cultural heritage. During the 1980s, this resulted in the selective promotion of Buddhist heritage sites both internally as well as through the World Heritage program. Colonial sites like Galle Fort were largely dependent on the impetus of professionals within the conservation industry.

It has been three decades since Galle Fort was Listed. However, to national tourism agencies, even today its position as a heritage site is not on equal footing with the island's other sites. Olivia Richli, a resident of Galle Fort for 20 years and the former Manager of the Amangalla hotel noted - "I don't think they like to highlight colonial history. If you look at any advert done for Sri Lanka done by the tourist board it never includes Galle Fort. So, there's amazing shots of Sigiriya, beautiful pictures of all the ancient cities, and there's wonderful wildlife and there's great beaches, and there's the tea country but Galle is never ever featured." Tourism development for the entire country is under the purview of the Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA) while promotion is handled by the Sri Lanka Tourism Promotion Bureau. Chandana Wijeratne, the present Director of the SLTDA described the role of the agency in Galle as being limited to the handling of tourism licenses. Unlike other destinations in the country, the SLTDA has not engaged in any special studies or tourism development efforts for Galle. This indifference is surprising given that Galle was the fourth most popular destination among foreign and domestic visitors in 2017.

With regards to tourism promotion efforts, although Galle is a major tourist destination, the Tourism Promotion Bureau does not produce any Galle-specific promotional material. But Galle is included on the official Sri Lanka tourism website as one of many destinations to visit. Tharanga Liyanarachchi, the Project Planning Officer at the Galle Heritage Foundation noted that the task of promoting Galle as a destination has typically fallen on private tour operators and travel agencies. Most travel guides on Sri Lanka published by Lonely Planet, Fodor's, and Frommer's to name a few, do discuss Galle. SLTDA's official Sri Lanka Accommodation Guide for November 2018 to April 2019 includes a highly restricted list of the tourist accommodations in the Fort – only 3 hotels and 7 bungalows are included. It is possible that this is because many of the villas and homestays in the Fort are run informally on residential properties and are therefore unlicensed. Fazal Hameed, a Colombo resident who owns two boutique hotels in the Fort, highlighted that the lack of assistance

from the SLTDA occurs despite the collection of a tourism development levy from all tourist related businesses like his hotels. The levy is intended to be used for tourism promotions. However, in his experience this has not been the case during his decade at the Fort beginning shortly after the end of the civil war.

The apathetic attitude of government agencies towards the heritage site of Galle Fort is in sharp contrast with that of the Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO which considers Galle Fort's colonial patrimony to be an asset that draws tourists from all over the world. The Secretary-General of the agency described the value of Galle Fort as follows:

> We have other forts in Matara, Kalpitiya, Jaffna, Trinco [Trincomalee]. But this is a very unique thing – those three nations used Galle Fort as an entry point to Sri Lanka. When I visited Galle Fort, I met some foreigners there. I asked them "which country are you from?" [They said] "I'm from Portugal...Dutch like that…we want to see what our grandfathers and grandmothers did in Sri Lanka." That's why these people are coming all the way to Galle. Culturally it's a very, very valuable place, Galle. (Premalal Ratnaweera, Secretary-General Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO)

Local Attitudes towards Patrimony

Local reception of this narrative emphasis on Galle Fort's colonial patrimony is largely positive among local residents, foreign residents, and business owners alike. However, perceptions of shared heritage as compared to world heritage do vary across different stakeholders.

World Heritage as symbolic

All the residents and business owners I spoke to were aware of Galle Fort's status as a World Heritage Site and associated this designation with a sense of prestige and global recognition for the value of the heritage site. However, most residents and business owners also believe that the role of UNESCO in protecting the site is primarily symbolic – an international figurehead that is believed to be above the corruption that is rampant locally. Chamanthi, a lifelong resident of the Fort who recently moved outside but still runs a business inside the Fort discussed the importance of the Fort's World Heritage status, stating:

> Yeah, to a certain extent its good – because UNESCO put their hand, that's why people haven't put up big walls in front of the houses and putting gates. If they put gates in front of the houses nobody can see the buildings. It has happened because of the UNESCO [listing] because they don't allow what people want to do. (Chamanthi)

The Director of Urban Development Authority Southern Province, Abeyratne KHMWK, also echoed these sentiments in describing the significance of UNESCO's role in Galle Fort:

> If some superior person is not looking after the thing, the policy interventions can't be done easily. To do the policy-level decision making UNESCO plays a very good role. They are not touching the micro level but control the upper level, that is a good part. (Abeyratne KHMWK)

By contrast, among the 190 tourists surveyed, only 55% of them were aware of Galle Fort's World Heritage status. Among this subset of respondents, 46% said that the World Heritage status influenced their decision to visit while 38% indicated that its designation did not influence their decision to visit. Although the site's World Heritage status is noted on most travel websites and articles, there is not much advertisement of this fact on-the-ground. The only visible identifications of this status in the Fort are in the form of two 6 feet tall maps – one at each gate into the Fort – that are labeled to indicate the Fort's inscription in 1988.

Figure 3.1. Map at the Fort gate indicating the site's World Heritage status, Source: Photos by author in 2019

Many long-term residents who had been living in the Fort in the 1980s also described being unaware of the Fort's nomination during the process. There were no efforts to engage the local community in the decision-making to seek designation. Even after three decades of being Listed, residents brought up the lack of any tangible forms of support through the World Heritage program.

Olivia Richli, a resident of the Fort for 20 years and the former manager of the Amangalla described her interaction with the organization, noting:

> And from both from owning a house here – I'll have had this house for 20 years in July this year – and then from opening the hotel [Amangalla], I've been very involved in restoring two buildings in Galle Fort at different levels very much and UNESCO had absolutely nothing to do with it really. Even though we tried to ask for help from them, and there were some times when they were here, we said – "are there things are there recommendations you can give? Are there things we should use?" And they said, "no we're just a guidance. We've just highlighted that there's a place of great value to the government of this country and it's up to them to do it." (Olivia Richli)

The Legibility of Shared Heritage

In contrast to the purely symbolic function of the concept of world heritage at Galle Fort, the concept of shared heritage has physical manifestations on site in the form of the various projects funded by the Dutch government. Residents, business owners in the Fort and even professionals from agencies like the Galle Heritage Foundation mentioned projects that have been funded by the Dutch government over the years, including the new paved road in the Fort, conservation of 55 private houses, conservation of the Dutch Reformed Church, and conservation of the ramparts. Although frustrations do arise from the restrictions to renovation and construction inside the Fort due to its protected status, these are typically directed at local agencies like the Department of Archeology. For instance, in discussing her struggles during the renovation of her historic home in the Fort, Anusha a resident in the Fort since childhood and owner of a gallery said – "Department of Archeology said that we need to give our fullest to the Dutch government. Our fullest nice picture about the fort. So, to keep up that…I don't think the Dutch people are asking that. I have been working with tourists nearly 15 years but none of the tourists demand from me anything up to now. So, I don't think they will ever expect this kind of parliament act towards the people to safeguard a heritage like Galle Fort." The support that is provided within the umbrella of shared heritage is perceived positively in the local community with any issues being attributed to the irrationality of local authorities.

While the world heritage designation is considered a global stamp of approval, locals have truly embraced the *shared* nature of their heritage and take immense pride in the Dutch roots of their

hometown. As Jack Eden, a former resident of the fort for 21 years describes it – "The fort was this incredible, cultural gem of a Sri Lankan village within a Dutch framework. Amazing." Shaffy Authad, who has lived in the fort for 62 years, proudly shared an anecdote about the mosque which local Muslims believe was designed by the same Dutch architect who designed the church. This sense of inseparability of the histories of the people of Galle Fort and the Dutch was echoed by the Pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church who recalled:

> So, tourists do get involved in that financial way. As well as sometimes when you have tourists or family coming and making enquires of a loved one who was buried here, or got married here, or whose plaque is hanging on the wall, that really encourages us also to continue maintaining the church and continue ministering, knowing that even though we don't see much happening there is actually much that has taken place and continues to take place. About four years into my term here in 2017 there was one family who came – the Martins family. Their hatchment is right on top as you enter on your right-hand side – a medical doctor – and they were really curious to find out more details of their family tree. So, I guided them to our archives in Colombo, so they went and found out something. So, they went back to Australia and then they sent me an email with that whole family tree. (Pastor Lakmal Wijeratne)

It is also possible that another reason for the enthusiastic adoption of the shared heritage concept could be its ability to transform "Sri Lankan heritage" into something that is relatable to the modern Sri Lankan. Galle Fort's appeal to modern-day visitors as a multicultural destination is built on its long history of cosmopolitanism. It's image as a melting pot of Asian and European cultures has made it the locus of festivals like the Galle Literary Festival, and a favorite dinner-destination for Colombo's elite society. Shanjei Malraj Perumal, a tour guide in Galle Fort, discussed the Fort's unique position within the island's heritage landscape as follows:

> Sri Lanka is a country that's basically a dot in the sea. But for a dot in the sea – since we're talking about World Heritage Sites – we have eight of them here inside this country. And for a dot in the ocean that's quite a lot when you think about it. And if you take all the seven other World Heritage Sites you will understand that these are sites that talk about our history, our heritage where we come from as people. (Shanjei Malraj Perumal)

He also described the exceptional relatability of Galle Fort – unlike Sri Lanka's other the World Heritage sites – to the modern Sri Lankan, noting:

> But obviously being in Sri Lanka you've been interacting with the modern Sri Lankan on the road. And you'll understand that the modern Sri Lankan is a trouser wearing, English speaking, cricket playing person. So, if there's a site in Sri Lanka that shows off the modern Sri Lanka you get your sitting in it right now (Galle Fort). Generally, when you read about Sri Lankan culture you expect a Sri Lankan to pop up in front of you in loin cloth and oiled body most probably. But that's not the case. We are playing a European sport, were wearing European clothes, we are speaking in a language that is considered to be a third language here in the country which is a foreign language as well. So, I think that is part of our heritage as well and if there's one thing Galle Fort represents it's that part of our history. (Shanjei Malraj Perumal)

What's in a name? Commercialization of Colonial Nostalgia

The popularity of the shared heritage idea has resulted in the construction of a monolithic identity for Galle Fort. Despite its trysts with Portuguese, Dutch, and British colonialism the Fort is primarily portrayed as an amalgamation of Dutch and Sri Lankan culture. This is apparent in the emphasis of the Dutch narrative through tourism literature, conservation efforts, and also through ubiquitous nomenclature. Today, the fort is littered with shops, cafes, and restaurants that strive to emphasize this monolithic Dutch identity through décor – but even more obviously through their names. Colonial nostalgia has been extensively commercialized on Galle's streets with a plethora of storefront signs referring to either the Dutch or the Fort. Signs reading "New Old Dutch House", "Dutch Villa", "Dutch Hospital", "Royal Dutch café and restaurant", "Fort Bazaar", "Galle Fort Hotel", "Fort printers", "Lucky Fort restaurant", "Fortaleza", and "Fort Rotti" populate the Fort.

While the increasing commercialization of the Fort will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5, this section draws attention to the preferencing of colonial pasts and its permeation to nomenclature practices in the Fort. It is not uncommon for postcolonial countries to engage in re-naming efforts as an expression of decolonization. The renaming of Ceylon to Sri Lanka represents such an effort to reconstruct a new national identity that shifts away from the nation's colonial past. By contrast, in Galle Fort, the positive local attitudes towards Dutch colonial patrimony have resulted in the widespread adoption of names for businesses and villas that intentionally reference this connection. These naming practices are a result of the nostalgic consumption of colonialism

both by residents and tourists. Furthermore, these ubiquitous references to 'Dutch' and 'Fort' work towards the conflation of a preferred Dutch colonial identity with the contemporary Sri Lankan identity of this Fort.

Figure 3.2. Signage showing names of businesses in the Fort with language like "Dutch", "Fort", "Heritage", Source: Photos by author in 2019

CHAPTER 4

Colonial-Chic aesthetic: The Conservation of 'Authentic' Pasts

Galle Fort's position at the intersection of world heritage and shared heritage demand a high level of commitment to conservation. It could be argued that much like the motives behind pursuing designation, the primary motivations behind these conservation efforts have been driven by the desire for increased tourism. As seen in the previous chapter, specific colonial pasts have been prioritized in the Galle Fort narrative. This chapter will explore how these preferences have permeated into conservation efforts of the built environment at the site. I will also explore the motivations for conservation, attitudes towards nostalgic colonial conservation through the lenses of a variety of stakeholders – local and foreign residents and business owners, officials working at various authority agencies, and tourists – and interrogate the contradictions embedded within the concept of authenticity in conservation.

Overview of the Existing Conservation Framework

The rules of conservation that protect the Fort are simple and singular – the Antiquities Ordinance administered by the Department of Archeology. The Fort was declared a protected monument under Antiquities Ordinance No.9 in 1940 which mandates "21. (1) No person shall, except under the authority and in accordance with the conditions of a permit issued by the Archeological Commissioner, or in accordance with an agreement entered into under section 20, commence or carry out any work of restoration, repair, alteration or addition in connection with any protected monument." At the time Galle Fort was declared a World Heritage site there were no requirements by UNESCO for a buffer zone (Pali 2005). However, the Antiquities Ordinance stipulated a 400-yard buffer zone that is protected – a rule that has been enforced on paper but has been flouted quite openly in reality. A review of all the ICOMOS Monitoring Mission Reports for Galle shows that the organization has repeatedly called for an expansion of the buffer zone to include the Galle Harbor since the early twenty-first century.

In 1994, the Galle Heritage Foundation Act was approved by the Sri Lankan Parliament to establish the Galle Heritage Foundation to "promote the preservation, conservation and development of Galle Fort". Their powers include the power "to acquire and hold property", and to "receive or collect gifts, grants, or donations, in cash or land from local or foreign sources". The

Galle Heritage Foundation was created with the intention of integrating the various agencies engaged in the conservation of the Fort to simplify the heritage management process.

Officials I spoke to at the Department of Archeology, the Urban Development Authority, the Galle Heritage Foundation, and the Central Cultural Fund all expressed some frustration towards the abundant illegal construction that takes place in the Fort. A Development Officer at the Department of Archeology attributed the prevalence of this issue to the nature of the penalty for violating the Antiquities Ordinance. Violations can be prosecuted in a court of law and may result in a fine and/or imprisonment. However, the court cannot mandate demolition nor are authorities empowered to demand demolition of the illegal construction. Fines are typically between 50,000 LKR and 250,000 LKR which is approximately $285 to $1425 – a small price to pay for extra square footage in the form of an extension or an additional floor, or for amenities like a swimming pool (which are not permitted in the Fort). Imprisonment is a harsher punishment, with violators facing two to five years jail-time.

Conservation and the Colonial-chic aesthetic

Conservation efforts in Galle Fort began in the 1970s under the shared heritage ideology, almost a decade before the arrival of world heritage to Galle. The World Heritage Center has also extended its support to this idea of shared heritage, leading to the dominance of a Dutch-Sri Lankan emphasis in conservation efforts. These conservation efforts spanning thirty years have resulted in a very well-preserved urban fabric that has been described as an "exotic old trading port blessed with imposing Dutch-colonial buildings (Lonely Planet)". This reinterpretation of colonialism as a "blessing", and the simplification of the colonial narrative as stylistic has led to the emergence of a colonial-chic aesthetic in the Fort. Both locals and foreigners express an appreciation for the colonial-style urban fabric, and the cosmopolitan environment albeit for different reasons. For Sri Lankan visitors, Galle provides them the opportunity to experience Europe without actually going there; while for foreigners – particularly European expats – it provides the familiarity of Europe while residing in Asia. Discussing the appeal of the Fort and her decision to relocate there, Jo Eden, a long-term expat resident and businessowner in the Fort said:

> The minute I saw Galle – the charm, it had this feeling of familiarity. It kind of had that Asian feel but I suppose the architecture was such that it was European – felt very European felt very familiar – but I could never live in Europe. But it was Asia. (Jo Eden)

Galle Fort's popularity with expats and as a tourist destination has resulted in soaring land values consequently ensuring that the colonial buildings are filled with high-end boutique shops, chic cafes, and trendy restaurants further contributing to its cosmopolitan vibe. Advertising on the websites of many of the hotels in the Fort describe the destination as "Authentic Dutch World charm" (The Heritage Galle Fort), "Sri Lanka's time-defying colonial treasure" (Fort Bazaar), "imbued with colonial gentility and contemporary energy" (Amangalla). Such nostalgic renderings have resulted in a romanticized understanding of Galle's colonial history that erases the layers of conflict that were associated with it.

While extensive conservation of structures and their facades has enabled the preservation of colonial streetscapes, the colonial-chic aesthetic has also permeated into interior spaces. Tourist accommodations like Amangalla pride themselves on providing an ambience that reflects "Galle Fort's rich colonial legacy". The aesthetic of this legacy typically translates into sun-lit spaces, whitewashed walls, period furniture, highlights of pastel prints and patterns, all complemented by a smattering of tropical plants. As part of this colonial ambience, hotels offer decadent high-teas and candlelit cocktail hours on leafy verandahs. The interior and exterior spatial experience of Galle Fort has been carefully curated to recreate the "old world charm" that colonialism has come to represent.

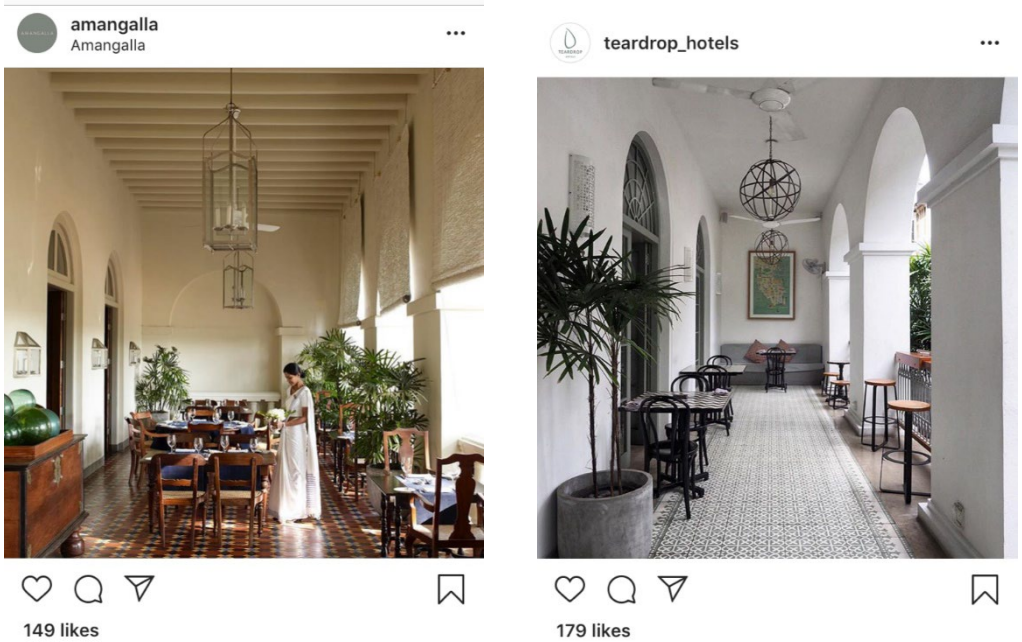

Figure 4.1 Instagram posts of Galle Fort interior spaces with a Colonial-Chic aesthetic, Source: (Left; Right) ("Amangalla (@amangalla) • Instagram Photos and Videos" 2017; "Teardrop Hotels (@teardrop_hotels) • Instagram Photos and Videos" 2018)

The Politics of Preservation

Since Galle Fort's designation as a World Heritage site three decades ago, heritage preservation of the Fort has been markedly political at a variety of scales. As discussed in Chapter 3, at the international scale, conservation decision-making for the Fort has been heavily influenced by global partnerships and world heritage and shared heritage priorities. This chapter will unpack the complexities of national and local politics of preservation. National attitudes towards colonial heritage conservation continue to affect Galle Fort's position within the island's heritage landscape. Additionally, national level politics have been known to use investment in the site as a platform to project political agendas. At the local level, there have been numerous struggles between residents and the various authorities concerned with conservation.

The myriad conservation missions that have occurred in Galle Fort over the years demand an introspection into the forces shaping these efforts and the ethics of the decision-making process: What is being conserved? How is it being conserved? Who decides? Who is responsible for the conservation? And how is it funded?

Politics of Selective Colonial Nostalgia

The discussion in Chapter 3 explored the privileged position of the Dutch colonial period among Sri Lanka's three eras of colonial history, and the potential reasons for this. This prioritization of Dutch colonial heritage emerges as a strong theme in many of the conservation projects in the Fort. Although the fort is almost entirely comprised of structures built during Dutch colonization, many of these buildings were adapted to different uses during British times. Conservation of colonial buildings in the Fort – except private houses in the Dutch style – typically involves restoring it to its Dutch persona by undoing any modern or even British adaptations. However, restoration is typically restricted to appearance and rarely extends to the restoration of original functions. The Dutch Hospital and Amangalla hotel – both adapted to different uses under the British – are good examples of this type of restoration.

The Dutch Hospital building was an adaptive reuse project led by the Urban Development Authority, that converted the heritage building into a trendy shopping and dining precinct. The structure was originally built as a hospital by the Dutch in the 17th century. Constructed with coral stone, the building was designed with colonnaded verandahs along the longer edges. During the British era, the hospital was converted into the Chief Administrator's Office. Following

independence in 1948, the building was used as a town hall for Galle until 2003 when it was vacated. With funding from ICOMOS, World Monuments Fund, and American Express conservation work began in 2006 to repair the roof, windows, walls, and other architecture details restoring it to it former Dutch glory. The building was opened in 2014. Even its name – the 'Old Dutch Hospital' – references its Dutch legacy rather than its more recent 150-year British lifetime, indicative of the permeation of Dutch colonial heritage prioritization.

Figure 4.2. (Left) Dutch Hospital 2009 image from the Galle Heritage Foundation (Right) Photo by author in 2019

Another example is the Amangalla which was built in the 17th century and originally functioned as the Dutch army barracks. After the end of Dutch rule, the building was converted into a British garrison and officer's mess. The building was first converted into a hotel in 1863 by the British and was bought in 1899 by the Brohier's, a Dutch Burgher family who ran it till it was sold to the Aman group in 1995. The former General Manager of the Amangalla, noted that when the building was extensively renovated in 2003, the main level was returned to its original layout. This return to Dutch rather than British forms, coupled with the Dutch connection of the hotel's recent ownership (the Brohiers) has helped reinforce the Dutch colonial narrative in the twenty-first century.

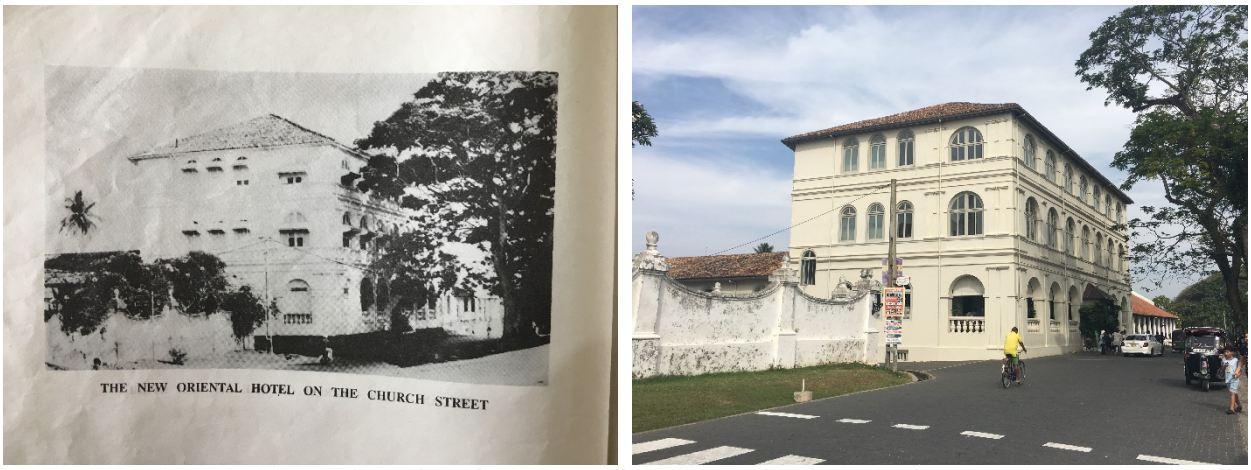

Figure 4.3. (Left) Image of the New Oriental Hotel (now Amangalla) from 1992 obtained from the book "The Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs" (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992); (Right) Photo of Amangalla hotel by author in 2019

The perpetuation of these attitudes of colonial nostalgia have manifested as a sense of gratitude among local residents to the Dutch colonizers. Their appreciation extends not only to Dutch architecture and engineering, but also to the foresight demonstrated by Dutch colonizers in the design of the Fort – a feeling that has been strengthened following the 2004 tsunami. Several local and foreign residents that I interviewed described feeling thankful to the Dutch for their ingenuity in the design and construction of the ramparts which protected the Fort during the tsunami. The worst effects of the tsunami were experienced in the northeastern, northern and the southern regions of the island. According to reports by UNHCR, Galle district had the third highest death toll after the Ampara and Hambantota districts. Galle Fort experienced only minor flooding – not over the walls but from the esplanade through the gate – since the ramparts protected residents and their properties from the kind of damage experienced all along the country's coast.

Politics of the Heritage Management Process

All the Fort residents and business owners that I spoke with described feeling a sense of pride in their built heritage. However, while they recognized the need for conservation, there was also a sense of frustration in dealing with the authorities and in making their spaces livable within such a restrictive framework. The various authorities I spoke with at the Galle Heritage Foundation (GHF), the Urban Development Authority, and the Department of Archeology acknowledged the challenge of meeting the needs of a living community while also fulfilling their respective roles in the conservation of the urban fabric.

In addition to safeguarding the Fort, one of the primary tasks of the GHF is to coordinate between the relevant authorities. In addition to GHF, there are four authorities concerned with development and conservation of the Fort – the Urban Development Authority (UDA), Department of Archeology, Central Cultural Fund (CCF), and the Coastal Conservation Department. Other stakeholders involved in the decision-making process may also include the Galle Municipal Council, and individual experts depending on the nature of the project. Previously, individuals were responsible for getting all the necessary approvals from the various stakeholders – a very messy and time-consuming procedure.

To simplify this process of getting approvals for a project, the idea of a Planning Sub-committee was implemented in 1998. The sub-committee is comprised of representatives from the four authorities, the GHF, the Municipal Council and individual experts. Under the new streamlined process, applicants only need to submit one proposal for approval to the UDA. The UDA gets the necessary clearance from all the authorities in the Planning Sub-committee, following which it can render a decision on approval. While the new system is an improvement on the previous format of obtaining approvals, both local and expat residents/business owners expressed frustration over it, albeit for different reasons.

The expat residents/businessowners I interviewed primarily talked about the inefficiency and slow pace of obtaining approvals for conservation and development projects in the Fort. Many also commented on rampant corruption in the various government agencies and its detrimental effects on the Fort's growth. In discussing their personal experiences undertaking conservation and renovation projects in the Fort, they were somewhat neutral ascribing any inefficiencies to Sri Lanka's status as a developing country.

Local residents/businessowners on the other hand, were less forgiving. They described strained relationships with foreign neighbors who they believe receive preferential treatment from the authorities. When I spoke to Anusha Liyanage, a long-term resident of the Fort who now operates a guesthouse called Shoba Traveler's Tree in her childhood home, she was deeply troubled by the discriminatory treatment she believed she received from local authorities. The establishment neighboring hers was owned by a foreigner and had begun the installation of a noisy generator a few days before I spoke with her. Although she had filed a complaint, no action had been taken even by the end of my stay in Galle ten days later. The neighbors had justified the installation by assuring the authorities that proper soundproofing would be provided. However, upon installation Anusha was

concerned about the noise level and the poor performance of the soundproofing. She described the incident saying:

> People are not equally treated by the government. That's the only thing that I feel will create a mess inside the fort. I put a complaint two days back. Still no one did anything regarding that. So, he [owner of Fort Printers next door] is a foreigner. I'm a local. So, I feel I am not treated well. I am sure there are other people [also experiencing the same thing]. This is not a good way to handle. When you have a problem normally, they should have asked the Manager or someone to come to Department of Archeology, or GHF, or somewhere and ask us also to come there. Then we both can sit at one table in front of them and discuss what we can do. They tell that it's soundproof. So, I can just ask why don't you just turn it on to see whether it is soundproof? That is the thing [that] must be done. (Anusha Liyanage)

These attitudes of bias towards foreigners over locals also emerged from my conversations with Tharanga from the Galle Heritage Foundation who noted that unlike locals, foreigners focus on quality and not quantity. While he acknowledged the difficulties faced by locals in conserving their properties, he also emphasized that foreigners could be relied on to conserve their properties well. In a place whose economy relies heavily on conservation, these biased attitudes have influenced investment patterns and increased the threat of gentrification.

> They [locals] want to develop their property up to 2-3 stories and provide lot of rooms there. But foreign investors are not talking amount – the amount of the rooms – but are concerned about the quality of the rooms. Sometimes some local investors have 5 rooms but earn 2000 rupees one day. Foreign investors have 2 rooms where they earn 75,000 rupees a day as luxury boutique hotels…You can observe that most of the valuable buildings are owned by private investors, i.e. foreign investors. We can analyze they have done a nice job and have nicely conserved those properties so now we have good buildings there. (Tharanga Liyanarachchi, GHF)

This favorable perception of foreigners over locals was also shared by officials at the UDA who observed that in their experience foreigners were more respectful of regulations than locals. However, violations of building and conservation regulations by locals are often motivated by their inability to finance possibly expensive undertakings, and to make their colonial structures livable to meet present needs. Abeyratne KHMWK, the Director of UDA Southern Province, described the contrasting attitudes of locals and foreigners towards regulations as follows:

> Foreigners like the beaches. They like that and most of those people protect those things and adhere to the regulations. But still the local people don't like to adhere to it, and they are the people who mostly violate those things. We are struggling with local people. (Abeyratne KHMWK)

Despite the more streamlined process, both groups (local and expat residents/businessowners) expressed frustration at the presence of so many committees and the complexity of satisfying their various requirements. They also mentioned the slow pace of the decision-making process as problematic. Many residents I spoke to also raised concerns about the illegal construction work that often happens on weekends or on national holidays when government agencies are closed. The officials I spoke to at the GHF, UDA, and Department of Archeology all acknowledged that the process needs improvement.

Politics of Conservation Investment

Historically, investment in conservation and development activities in the Fort have ebbed and flowed with political tides. The civil war, peace process, and the tsunami all had far reaching impacts on foreign investment policies in the Fort. The period after the tsunami saw an influx of foreign aid money to the country. Sri Lanka received almost 650 million US dollars of aid from the UN relief fund. Residents of Galle recall that many aid workers situated themselves in the Fort since unlike the surrounding coastal areas it suffered minimal damage from the tsunami. Thus, the tsunami put Galle in the spotlight attracting foreign aid workers, NGOs and so on. The tsunami was also followed by increased conservation investment from the Dutch government under the shared heritage program.

While the Sri Lankan economy suffered during the civil war, the period of ceasefire from 2002 to 2005 brought some foreign investment to the country. One expat resident who lived in the Fort at the time noted "Norway was here…there was ceasefire. So, there were these great initiatives put in place by the United National Party to attract foreign investment. And that's what happened. That's when everyone came. That's when people started coming to the fort and buying houses. So, a lot of foreigners came then." Policies regarding foreign investment have also changed numerous times based on the political climate. During Mahinda Rajapaksa's first term as President after the 2005 elections, foreign property ownership policies were also changed. Prior to 2004, properties purchased by foreigners were subject to a 100% tax. However, in 2004 the Rajapaksa government dropped the taxes to encourage foreign investment. Jack Eden, the owner of a villa business recalled:

> And so, then the government of the Prime Minister of 2004 [Rajapaksa, who went on to become President after the 2005 Presidential elections] dropped the taxes. Which then basically said to investors in South East Asia largely - come on in. And I think they had a deliberate policy of selling 3000 properties down the coast thinking that those people would invest, build, develop, open tourist accommodation, provide jobs, invite tourist in. (Jack Eden)

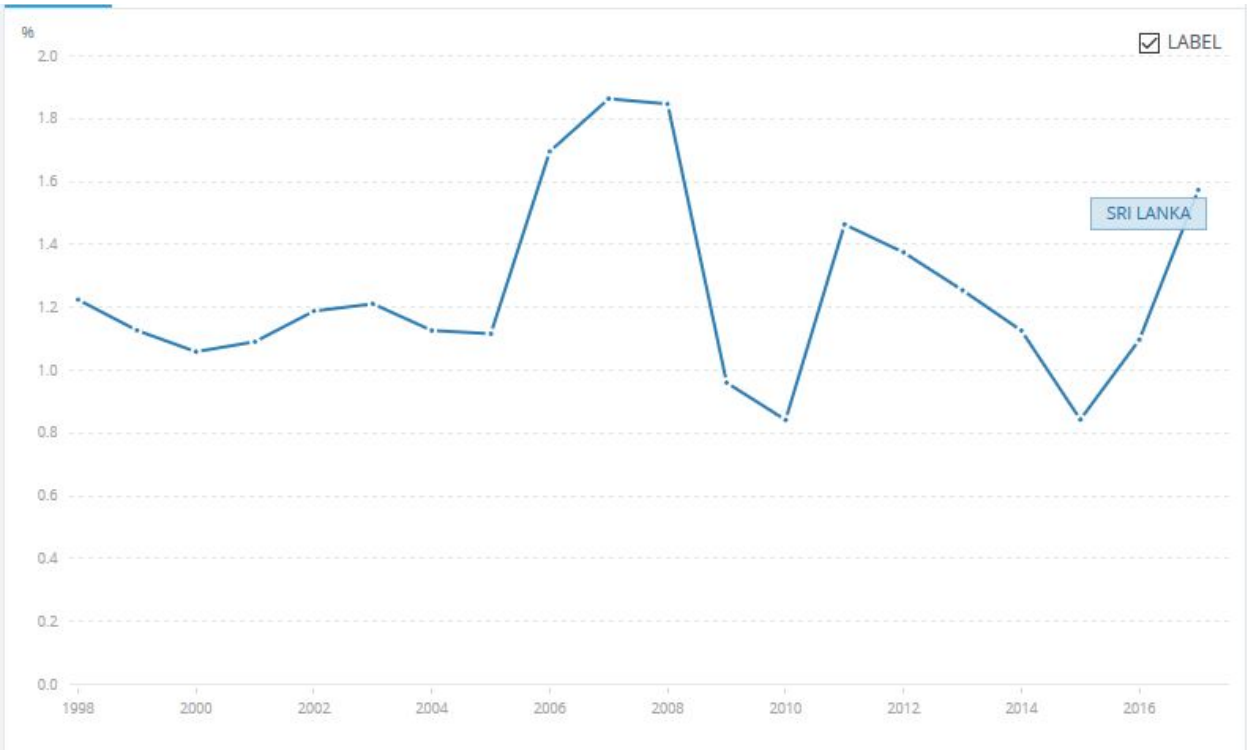

Figure 4.4. Foreign Direct Investment net inflow as a % of GDP in Sri Lanka from 1998 to 2017, Source: (World Bank n.d.)

In addition to foreign investment at the individual level, political preferences have also influenced global investment patterns – particularly in infrastructure projects. During the Rajapaksa tenure from 2005 to 2015, China invested billions of dollars in infrastructure projects like roadways and ports. During this period China committed nearly $8 billion, largely in the form of loans (Safi 2018; Abi-Habib 2018). Extensive Chinese funding of the Hambantota port project resulted in it eventually falling under China's control when Sri Lanka failed to repay its loans opening a geopolitical pandora's box. In this way, conservation and development investment in Sri Lanka have been shaped extensively by international and national politics.

Conservation Efforts and the Politics of Scale

As seen in Chapter 1, despite well-intentioned efforts of the World Heritage Center like the Nara Document, contemporary conservation practice under the World Heritage program continues to consider 'authenticity' as preservation of the original and equates 'integrity' to intactness. Although the World Heritage Center has viewed elements of conservation through these highly reductive meanings of 'authenticity' and 'integrity', in Galle Fort it has also successfully served as a watchdog against inconsiderate large-scale development. Through the thirty years of Listing, UNESCO has clashed with national agendas for Galle on two major endeavors – the cricket stadium, and the new commercial harbor. However, while UNESCO was successful in deterring the latter project, on the former it has been surprisingly lenient in castigating the State Party for its violation of the conservation standards that accompany Listing.

The Galle international cricket stadium was opened in 1998 just outside the Fort walls on the land previously called the Esplanade. For several decades, the Esplanade had served as a public recreation space where locals played football and cricket. The Esplanade (and now the stadium) is well within the 400-yard buffer zone around the Fort. Historically, during colonial times the Esplanade had served as an open field of fire for cannon, and to prevent enemies from approaching the military complex of the Fort unnoticed. The 2002 ICOMOS Report for the World Heritage Centre on Galle Fort highlighted the threat posed by the stadium stating "The current construction activities turning the formerly open space into a sports facility may be considered as a good development project, but it completely overlooks the fact that this area is a vital element of the total military complex of the Galle Fort – and therefore should be protected." While UNESCO's objection stemmed from concerns on the conservation of the site's physical integrity, locals lamented the loss of socially valuable public space. The cricket stadium suffered tremendous damage from the 2004 tsunami. Consequently, a new pavilion called the 'Mahinda Rajapakse Pavilion', named after the then president was constructed. The pavilion was built illegally and did not comply with UDA regulations in its scale or location. Although building approvals were obtained subject to certain conditions, these conditions were not adhered to during construction (Fernando 2018). However, it was protected from demolition since it was supported by the then President, and various international cricketers. The stadium has become immensely popular over the years and is considered one of the most picturesque stadiums worldwide. It is also believed to be lucky for the Sri Lankan cricket team (AFP 2018). With the stadium gaining cultural significance in the years since

it was opened, the World Heritage Center has softened its criticism of the project. The 2016 ICOMOS Report noted "It could indeed be argued that the location of a cricket ground immediately adjacent to a military establishment epitomizes much of the colonial heritage of the British era in Sri Lanka." Thus, despite the Centre's rigid approach to conservation this shifting attitude towards the stadium suggests that developments that fit the cultural heritage narrative may be accommodated. However, in national politics UNESCO's stance on the pavilion has become a major point of contention. In 2018, rumors began to circulate that UNESCO had threatened to delist Galle Fort unless the Rajapakse pavilion was demolished (although there had been recommendations for full demolition of the stadium in 2011, by 2016 UNESCO had changed its stance on this). The government resolved to demolish the pavilion and move the stadium to Pinnaduwa (Fernando 2018). However, the rumors were eventually put to rest. UNESCO had never required the demolition of the pavilion but had recommended a few other illegal constructions like the derelict indoor-nets building be cleared by December 2019.

Figure 4.5. View of the Galle international cricket stadium from the ramparts, Source: Photo by author in 2019

While the stadium is an example of a large-scale development that slipped through UNESCO's conservation requirements, the Galle harbor is an example of a project that was stymied by it. Since 1991, there had been proposals to develop Galle port as a regional multipurpose port with financing from Japan. Following the tsunami, the Galle Fisheries Harbor was reconstructed with support from the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). With regards to the commercial harbor however, a 2007 impact assessment mission by the World Heritage Center found that the proposed port would adversely affect the World Heritage site. The proposed port would

affect the wave patterns. However, the report noted that as long as the recommendations outlined in the assessment were implemented, the impacts would only be minimal. Objections were primarily over the port's impact on the 'visual and physical integrity' of the site and the bay. The project was consequently revised, and a scaled-back tourism port was proposed instead. However, the State Party failed to provide details regarding the project to the World Heritage Center leading to further delays. By 2018, the project had been stalled by the Sri Lankan Port Authority despite receiving JICA funding due to major port developments at Hambantota and Colombo. Unlike the cricket stadium, the World Heritage Center was able to exercise a great deal of influence on the port development by citing conservation concerns at the World Heritage site. Since then, the World Heritage Center has also advised the State Party to revise the site boundary to include the harbor.

While UNESCO has shaped macro-level balances between development and conservation for the site, it has not concerned itself much with micro-level issues at the building scale. Decision-making at this scale has largely been left to local authorities with Galle Heritage Foundation at the helm. The GHF is a key player in the politics of preservation in the Fort. As the coordinator between the various agencies the foundation plays an important role in the Fort's heritage management. However, despite the nature of its responsibilities – heritage management, coordination of conservation and development activities, allocate funds to conservation projects – the agency is not staffed by professionals with knowledge of these fields. GHF currently employs only three Project officers with training in archeology, four clerical staff, three graduate staff, one Account officer, and one Administrative officer. Given the prime role played by GHF, the lack of experience of its staff is highly problematic. The 2016 Report on the ICOMOS Advisory Mission to Galle Fort thus recommended strengthening the manpower of the foundation.

All the Dutch funded conservation projects have been building-scale efforts and have typically been overseen by the GHF. While the Dutch government provides funding, or technical expertise, or training where needed they have not been involved in any conservation efforts on-the-ground. Since 2005 the GHF has implemented five projects funded by the Dutch government. The largest of these projects has been the conservation of private houses which began in 2006. Under this project fifty-five private houses were successfully conserved over a three-year period. Over time, private dwellings had been subjected to "human mutilation" with façades being changed, lack of maintenance and unauthorized rebuilding; however, the interiors of most buildings remained unchanged due to their practicality and climate-sensitive design (De Vos 1987).

However, the Dutch funded conservation efforts faced several challenges due to cultural misconceptions regarding the implications of participating. Officers at the GHF recall the difficulty in convincing homeowners to apply for the available funds to conserve their dilapidated homes. This was because homeowners feared that utilizing the funds would somehow enable the government to seize their property. Tharanga Liyanarachchi of GHF said "I went each house and spoke to each house owner and finally selected three houses. First, I conserved those three houses, then one by one [homeowners] started to join with us. Finally, I could fulfill all the requirements to rescue 55 houses." Despite the availability of funds, the cultural practices of the local Muslim community presented an additional challenge to the conservation of houses. The project aimed to restore the Dutch façades of the houses which had morphed over the years from their original Dutch colonial form. Being private dwellings most of the changes were post-colonial modern adaptations. Thus, while British adaptations (which were minimal) were respected as part of the colonial legacy of the Fort, the GHF sought to remove all modern traces from the façade and consequently the streetscape. In many homes the verandah had been closed off to provide added interior space and the colonnades had been filled in.

Figure 4.6. Church Street restoration of façade architectural elements to original Dutch form, Sources: (Left) Image from "The Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs" (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992) dated 1990; (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 4.7. Number 72 Church Street façade conservation which involved restoring Dutch arches and removing later additions, Sources: (Left) Image from GHF dated 2007; (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 4.8. Property on Parawa Street where architectural elements were restored to Dutch form and the facade was repainted in the samsara color. Sources: (Left) Image from GHF dated 2008; (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 4.9. Property on Pedlar street where later additions like a low wall have been removed. The property has been converted into Fort Printers, a boutique hotel and restaurant. Sources: (Left) Image from GHF dated 2010; (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 4.10. Church Street modern additions of gates and walls removed, and façade repainted white. The property has been converted to commercial uses, Sources: (Left) Image from GHF dated 2014; (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Liyanarachchi also observed another reason for blocking the verandah – the presence of street dogs which are considered haram by the Fort's predominantly Muslim inhabitants. He described the process of working with the local community to address these concerns as follows:

> That's a very specific cultural problem. So, I discussed with them and promised them, ok, we will open the verandahs and we will unveil the columns, arches, and the original timber columns and then I will fund you to keep a fence to block the dogs. So, they were happy about that. Now they aren't concerned about dogs. That [project] totally changed cultural attitudes. (Tharanga Liyanarachchi, Galle Heritage Foundation)

The above statement is indicative of the relative positioning of conservation versus community needs for the GHF. Although the agency aims to balance the two in its work, its first priority is the protection of colonial built heritage. Their dedication to the conservation of the Fort's heritage has translated into a focus on the restoration of Dutch colonial architectural forms and architectural details, with little concern for the uses within. Although tasked with the responsibility of heritage management for the site, the GHF operates almost exclusively within the field of physical conservation. This raises questions about who is responsible for wider heritage management for the site: how are these efforts stitched into the contextual big picture?

The influential role played by the GHF in shaping the built fabric is immensely problematic given the structure and composition of the organization. As highlighted by Liyanarachchi himself, most employees lack professional training in heritage conservation or related fields, and the ones

that are trained lack experience. The lack of a proper participatory process further exacerbates the issue at hand. Currently, it appears that wide-reaching decisions regarding the Fort's conservation are made based on the preferences of the organization. Given that one of its responsibilities is the management of donations and funds, it is possible that these preferences may be shaped by the agendas of the sources of those donations rather than the needs of the local community.

Colonial Myopia and its Impact on Greater Galle

As Galle has grown in popularity as a tourist destination development pressures from the Fort have increasingly spilled out to the surrounding areas. Although the Fort is heavily protected by its status as an ancient monument by the Department of Archeology, and its status as a World Heritage site the areas around the Fort have largely been neglected in these efforts. At the time the Fort was Listed, the Operational Guidelines defined buffer zones quite loosely as "the natural or man-made surroundings that influence the physical state of the property or the way in which the property is perceived"(UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2017b). Galle Fort's 400-yard buffer satisfied this requirement. However, since 2005 the buffer zone has been conceptualized as a protective layer to the property and the World Heritage Center has repeatedly (in the ICOMOS Reports from 2002 and 2016) recommended the extension of the buffer zone boundaries.

The greater Galle area (outside the Fort) is also home to several colonial era relics. Some of these are individual buildings like the old Dutch market and British market both of which are protected by the Department of Archeology. However, there are also entire neighborhoods like China Garden (so named since Chinese migrant laborers settled there) that are threatened by chaotic development in the absence of any heritage-focused regulation. For instance, the Galle railway station is a 10-minute walk (600 meters) from the Fort gate. The nearby former storage rooms of the Ceylon Railway company – a long building with an arcaded façade – have been adapted to commercial and residential uses over the years. Catherine Rawson and her husband Rasi run a clothing boutique and café named 'Old Railway Shop' in a property within the structure. Discussing the lack of oversight and their own experience converting the structure to house a shop, they noted:

> You're not meant to change the façade but as you can see there's a way around everything here. People have done…If you have an arch, you're not meant to alter the arch...But I don't think that they're necessarily protected with a historical context in mind. Which is a shame really because they should be. (Catherine Rawson)

In recent years with the boom in tourism, tourist-oriented development pressures have begun to affect these neighborhoods. As the Fort becomes more saturated, tourist shops, hotels and cafes have begun to look at less expensive locations beyond the Fort walls. However, since much of the authorities' attention has been focused on the Fort, unregulated development often goes unnoticed. Speaking about the outward flow of tourist functions, the owner of a business outside the Fort noted:

> I know a lot of people have asked us about availability on this road – to which we always say no. There's nothing. And actually, there isn't. It's all full. But people have recognized – it sounds a bit like we're blowing our own trumpet – when you put something like this in a place where it doesn't exist, other people see that there's a potential to do that. (Catherine Rawson)

Given the level of preservation inside the Fort, it is unsurprising that the areas just outside the walls are highly susceptible to development pressures. Agencies like the UDA are beginning to try and tackle some of these issues in the upcoming Master Plan for the Greater Galle area. While planning for sustainable development and managing growth are steps in the right direction, these efforts for Galle have been more reactive than proactive.

Conservation for Tourism

As outlined in Chapter 1, for decades Sri Lanka has been engaged in efforts to cultivate tourism. The SLTDA reported that 2.1 million international tourists visited Sri Lanka in 2017 with tourism making a direct contributing of 4.5% to GDP. Tourism was also the third largest contributor to the country's foreign exchange earnings (14.8% of Total Forex earnings). Although Galle Fort as a colonial site may not have fit Sinhalese-nationalistic agendas of the 1980's, it's conservation nevertheless was at least partly motivated by its appeal to the foreign tourist. Ashley De Vos described the motivations behind seeking World Heritage Listing for Galle Fort as follows:

> We were looking for a colonial site, something that had some colonial history. Because all the other sites were religious sites – Buddhist religious sites. So, we were looking for something that was more holistic. Now though we have so many forts none of them are like this [Galle Fort]. This is also a living site, it has a history, lots of people there even at the moment. I think we were looking for something that…it also appealed to a lot of the

> foreigners who came as an interesting place. They could relate to it easily. But I don't think it was conscious decision like that. But the fact that they could… (Ashley De Vos)

This sentiment was also echoed by Liyanarachchi from GHF who described heritage as a revenue generating asset through tourism – "It's [heritage is] an asset like a hen laying golden eggs. So, we have to look after that hen to get nice golden eggs." Other professionals working with the various conservation and development authorities emphasized the ethical importance of protecting the Fort, but also acknowledged that the desire for tourism was a significant factor prompting conservation.

The prioritization of tourist preferences in the conservation of the Fort is also evident in the types of new uses replacing previous residential and commercial establishments. New commercial uses coming into the Fort primarily cater to outsiders rather than locals. Tourist souvenir shops, clothing boutiques, spa products, high-end restaurants, cafes, and bars cater to visitors either from abroad or other parts of the country. Even in the process of commercialization local preferences are not accounted for. For instance, when rumors surfaced about McDonald's arrival to the Fort in the new Dutch Hospital development, locals reacted very differently than foreigners – both expats and tourists. The fact that McDonald's never did arrive illustrates that conservation projects like the Dutch Hospital are aimed at visitors and not the local community. The Dutch Hospital's tenants include several Colombo restaurants, jewelry stores, art galleries, handicraft shops all frequented mainly by tourists. Catherine Rawson, an expat resident and business owner outside the Fort who is married to Rasi, a Sri Lankan and lifelong Galle resident, noted the divergence between local and foreign preferences in the context of the McDonald's example, saying:

> And there was rumor that McDonald's was going to have a portion of that [Dutch Hospital]. Everybody I know that's a foreign national living in Galle was outraged. And my husband and his friends [Sri Lankans] were like FINALLY we've been waiting since we were 6 years old to have to have this. And all of our friends in Colombo have access to this. People around the world – we see it on TV. Why shouldn't we have one because you want to keep the fort looking pretty? (Catherine Rawson)

The 'Living' Heritage Conundrum

Galle Fort has been positioned as a "living heritage" site within the World Heritage narrative since its inscription in 1988. Prior to its designation, in 1975 the Fort consisted of 631 properties of which 83% were residential (De Vos 1975). With the commercialization of the Fort over the years the

residential population has seen a downward spiral (UN Habitat Sustainable Cities Programme 2006; Liyanage 2012).

Year	Population of Galle Fort
1971	2866
1981	2703
1991	2326
2001	1993
2009	1589
2012	961
Source: (UN Habitat Sustainable Cities Programme 2006; Liyanage 2012)	

With the growth of the tourism economy in Galle Fort, soaring land prices in the Fort have incentivized local residents to sell their properties and settle in areas outside the Fort. In addition to its residential function, the "living" nature of the Fort has historically also been attributed to the government administrative functions, religious functions, as well as schools and law courts that were housed within. While tourists are attracted to the "living" nature of the Fort, the growth of tourism has led land value here to skyrocket. This trend has in turn highlighted to authorities the untapped potential in converting these administrative/government functions into more economically lucrative tourism functions. However, doing so undoubtedly changes the character of the Fort.

The Fort is home to 2 schools – All Saints College and Southlands College – and several government offices including the Magistrate's Court, the Galle Post Office, Police Residence, Police In-Service Training Institute, and several other government offices. In 2017, the Ministry of Law & Order and Southern Development which is a cabinet ministry responsible for implementing national policy on law and order, ordered 15 government buildings to be vacated and their functions moved outside the Fort (Wijedasa 2017). However, this political move was carried out without consulting the Department of Archeology and the Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO. At the time of my visit in January 2019, several government offices had already been moved outside the Fort including the Post Office. Government functions that are related to the conservation of the Fort like the offices of the Galle Heritage Foundation, Department of Archeology, and Central Cultural Fund are slated to remain in the Fort. Many of the residents I spoke to described the two schools and the court as being integral to the Fort community and raised concerns about the impact of replacing these functions with more shops and tourist facilities. Jo Eden, an expatriate long-term resident of the Fort reacted to recent proposals to move the schools and courts out of the Fort saying:

> I think it's really important that the school stays here, and the courts stay here. I really feel quite strongly about them. It's got to be working fort. It can't just turn into a shopping Mecca. So, it'll be nice if all these places still stay. (Jo Eden)

In addition to highlighting this threat from commercialization, she also commented on the Court's contribution to the ambience of the Fort. She described a romanticized perspective of the Court functions that was nostalgic for a bygone time.

> And also, that's what gives the fort its unique charm and all the little lawyers in the court square…it's just wonderful…it's sort of Victorian when you go into some of these…oh my god…it's not how a lawyer lives in the west, but it's fabulous! (Jo Eden)

In discussing the importance of retaining the schools, courts and administrative functions in the Fort, she also highlighted their integral role in the "living heritage" of the Fort:

> And I think these places should still be here and the police station, and the army camp. Of course, it's just people are probably looking at the bottom line and seeing a vast real estate like the army camp. I just really hope it stays. And when they [schoolgirls] do their band practice they're all marching on the ramparts and in the morning the army boys are doing their sport up there. It would be awful if it just became… (Jo Eden)

Figure 4.11. Weekday bustle around the Court and the adjacent lawyers' offices, Source: Photos by author in 2019

Both local and expat residents I spoke to felt strongly about the proposed move. They agreed on the importance of retaining the school and court functions inside the Fort to ensure that it remains a "living" heritage site. The conservation and development authorities share residents' concern, but the push to increase tourism has strong political backing. Anusha Liyanage, a long-term resident of the Fort and business owner raised concerns about this move.

So now they're going to move the school out of the fort. The school they are protesting against the government not to do that. (Anusha Liyanage)

When asked about what would replace these functions, she expressed her disappointment with the proposal, saying:

Hotels. It's amazing what's happening inside the fort. I never thought the fort will be a money machine like this. (Anusha Liyanage)

Nadia, an expat business owner inside the Fort echoed this disappointment regarding these recent efforts to shift the schools and courts out of the Fort, noting:

They always talk about moving the schools and courts. I think the courts are going to go. Oh! That's something that's going wrong. They want to remove the courthouses which I guess it's not a very practical place for them to be. But their idea is – the idea for that court square is – that they just want to make it into hotelsville. (Nadia)

Figure 4.12. Morning assembly of one of the schools, Southlands College, in an open space near the ramparts, Source: Photo by author in 2019

Figure 4.13. Students leaving from the two schools at the end of the school day, Source: Photos by author in 2019

With regards to the religious functions in the Fort – while the Fort's myriad religious structures including the mosque, the Buddhist temple, the Dutch Reformed Church, and the All Saints Church have all been conserved, their significance to the local community has transformed over the years. The mosque still remains a significant social space for the Fort's primarily Muslim community. However, today the Buddhist temple and the churches primarily serve as tourist spaces. Pastor Lakmal from the Dutch Reformed Church observed – "The temple is also struggling because they have only one family in the fort, so all the other devotees have to come from outside. So, there are some times when the monk doesn't have the meal for the day also. The Anglican church has couple of burghers still with them not from the fort they live outside…We have 35 families in our [church]. None of them are from the fort."

Conservation for tourism has resulted in a very well-preserved built environment, but it has been less successful in conserving the original spatial and social functions of the Fort. The adaptation of colonial buildings to serve contemporary needs of the local population is a positive one. Rather than museumising the built fabric, it allows the Fort to remain as "living heritage", retaining its social significance to contemporary Fort life. However, the recent initiatives to increase tourism functions in the Fort are problematic and counterintuitive. 'Museumising' the Fort would not only make it increasingly less livable for residents, but it is also likely to make it less attractive to the tourists it is hoping to draw. The Director of the UDA for the Southern province confirmed that the courts are eventually slated to move to a new court complex which will be constructed in the near future if the current government remains in power, but the plans to move the schools have been put on hold for now. However, given the political backing for the move, it seems unlikely that the local agencies advising against the move will have much success.

Buildings vs. People: The idea of Human Heritage

Thus far, conservation efforts in the Fort have been preoccupied with the protection of the buildings, the streetscapes, and the pattern of the underlying urban fabric. As discussed in Chapter 1, heritage is not just the physical spaces but also the cultural processes within them, and these have been largely ignored in Galle Fort. The fact that conservation authorities have neglected to protect this human aspect of heritage was noted by several local residents including Anusha Liyanage, a long-term resident and businessowner in the Fort who said

> Because heritage is part of human – it's not buildings, it's not the grass, it is not the sea, it is not the clock tower. It is all what the human created. So, you must keep up the human being and make them look after the things and create a new heritage also. Because now after Dutch people, we are creating a new heritage here. We are having a heritage as fort people because as Muslims, Burghers, Buddhists we are all living inside the fort. (Anusha Liyanage)

Many of the cultural processes intrinsic to the Fort have either faded away as residents move out with gentrification, or they are becoming increasingly commercialized for tourist consumption. For example, stilt fishermen were once an integral part of the marine culture along the southern coast. However, today stilt fishing has become a tourist performance rather than a traditional livelihood. Inside the Fort, Court Square was once a green public field that was used by locals to play cricket and picnic. However, today it has been transformed from a social space for locals to a social space for visitors. It serves as a weekday parking lot and hosts tourist-oriented functions on the weekends – a concert venue for the Galle Literary festival, and as a market selling artwork, souvenirs, and trinkets. The absence of a critical public space used by residents has resulted in the upheaval of previous cultural processes of community building.

Figure 4.14. Court Square as concert venue (left) and a weekend tourist market (right), Source: Photos by author in 2019

Many of the cultural processes related to the Fort are still present today but are quickly fading. Given that the Fort was Listed almost thirty years ago, the tourism boom has been fairly recent. This is primarily because the dicey political situation during the long civil war suppressed tourist arrivals. While it is not too late to protect the cultural processes of the Fort, the recent trends of gentrification and commercialization – facilitated by government policies – have only exacerbated their deterioration. One long-term resident commented on the transformation of streets from social

spaces to tourist spaces in recent years and the impact this has had on local community dynamics. Previously, women would sit on their doorstep in the afternoons chatting with local passersby while children played cricket on the streets. However, she noted that this does not happen any more due to tourist presence and increased traffic, consequently leading to lesser opportunities for social interaction and weaker social ties.

Diverging Perspectives on Conservation

In order to understand how these conservation efforts function holistically within their context, I will consider their perception through a variety of lenses – local residents, expat residents, professionals in fields related to conservation, and tourists. Some of the divergences between these perspectives – particularly between local and expat residents – are also illustrated in the varied reactions by stakeholders to recent road improvements. In 2011, the dirt roads inside the Fort were paved over, inspiring a variety of reactions from residents.

All the local residents I spoke to described feeling a sense of pride in their built environment. Although some of them expressed frustration at dealing with the conservation authorities on home renovation projects, they still believed in the value of conserving the built environment. All of them also brought up the road improvement project as a positive effort. The replacement of the old dusty road was perceived as a modernization of the Fort, and as a "luxury" upgrade. Chamanthi, a lifelong resident of the Fort who recently moved outside but still runs a business inside the Fort reacted to the road improvements as follows:

> Those days we didn't have a luxury road in the fort. This is a Netherlands government donation to reconstruct and put new blocks to the road. They are the people who donated money to the central government of Sri Lanka to uplift the roads. So, it's good. Now because of the roads anyone can walk. (Chamanthi)

Although many residents believe that the economic benefits of tourism have been vital to their survival, many also voiced concerns about the rapid commercialization that has emerged in recent times. Lifelong resident Chamanthi described her concerns regarding these recent changes noting:

> Now it's busy, but those days it's not busy. All the things were inside the fort. We had the hospitals, the courthouse, then schools…so it's like a little modern village [where] all races, religions are living together. Now they have turned [the Fort] into [a] business…Everywhere

> door to door there is some kind of business. This is the specialty inside the fort. But now very busy. (Chamanthi)

However, despite frustration with these recent trends of commercialization, residents also expressed a sense of pride in Galle Fort with one resident saying:

> [I] don't like to tell anything that I don't like about the fort. I am happy and I am proud that we are living in the living heritage that is appreciated by billions of people in the world. (Chamanthi)

For locals, the infrastructure improvements are perceived as a step towards modernizing Galle Fort and improving the quality of life for its residents. While the idea of Galle's shared heritage is a source of pride, the strictly enforced conservation of the built environment is seen as a move for promoting tourism. And while locals have benefited from the tourism economy, they also resent the prioritization of tourist needs over local needs.

On the other hand, expat residents – even long-term residents who have lived in the Fort for over 20 years – did not speak about heritage pride. They highlighted the importance of the old-world-charm of the fort and the role of conservation in preserving this aesthetic. Unlike local residents, expats do not perceive the road improvements as a positive step. Many of them romanticized the dusty roads of the past, lamenting the heat emitted from the new paved roads, and the increased traffic. One resident said, "when we first moved, we used to sit on the front step and a bullock cart would drive past once a day, that was our only vehicle." Another, a business owner inside the Fort described the paving of the roads and the conservation efforts in the Fort as follows:

> When I first arrived, it was just dirt road everywhere. But then they bricked it with a concrete brick and that just retains all the heat so I'm sure the temperature has gone up at least a couple degrees because of that. But they're very good because they keep all the outside of the buildings must be white or yellow like the traditional yellow color so that's nice. (Lucy Dearden)

For expats, the modernization of Galle is perceived as a threat to its colonial ambience that is nostalgic of a bygone era. The conservation efforts are seen as a necessity to protect this colonial aesthetic with some calls for stricter enforcement. While most expats acknowledge the value of the tourism economy for local residents, they also believe that the recent rapid growth of tourism is a threat to the colonial atmosphere that makes Galle special.

Not surprisingly, professionals working at conservation agencies like the Galle Heritage Foundation, the Department of Archeology and CCF view both the infrastructure projects and conservation projects as a positive effort. Officials at the GHF especially, stressed the importance of heritage conservation and its link to tourism. however, they also raised concerns about rising gentrification and the importance of maintaining the community to conserve local heritage. However, sensitivity to this human aspect of heritage does not come through in the practice of these organizations.

Tourists who spend time visiting Galle and other parts of Sri Lanka largely view the state of conservation of the built environment positively. Like expats, there is a romanticized perception of the local urban fabric and a nostalgia for colonial times. The "living" aspect of the fort was also mentioned as one of the main appeals of the Fort. Vanessa Fookes, a visitor from Australia who spent a week in the Fort noted:

> It's the architecture, the preservation, the fact that people actually live in these buildings that are older than colonized Australia which from my context is quite amazing. Now that I've been here, it is super special. I've never seen anything like this back home…But right here in Galle you have a concentration of several years of history and that's not something I have seen in Australia. And there seems to be affair amount of respect for the buildings...And then there's beautiful carved furniture that recreates the look of that era even if these are not antiques. They create the look of that era. (Vanessa Fookes)

Another tourist from the Netherlands who first visited the Fort in 1984 and was back for his second visit in 2019, reacted to the conserved state of the built environment saying:

> Buildings are more beautiful now, but the atmosphere hasn't changed much. I was amazed that this fort and walls were built 400 years ago when I came last time. It's amazing. So, the atmosphere is still there. I still experienced that same amazed feeling this time. (Dutch tourist)

While there are some convergences across different stakeholders regarding the state of conservation in Galle Fort, there are also significant divergences in perspectives. Many of these variations stem from the impacts on daily life, socio-economic dynamics, and perceived political biases that are prevalent in the Fort.

Authenticity

Authenticity is a fundamental requirement for any World Heritage site. As discussed in Chapter 1, despite the adoption of the Nara Document in 1994, authenticity in world heritage practice still places emphasis on preserving the original form. Although the Nara Document emphasizes the importance of subsequent modifications, in Galle Fort the only modifications that are respected in conservation efforts are colonial ones. As explored earlier in this chapter, most conservation projects – particularly of private homes – have involved the removal of modern traces from the exterior.

Given the vagueness of the term 'authenticity', I conducted a survey among 208 individuals in the Fort to get a better sense of how this concept is popularly understood and how Galle Fort is perceived in this context. Although all the respondents were aware of the word, most were unsure how to explain its meaning in the context of a place. As one respondent said "I know what it means. But I don't know how to explain it!" Overall the results were somewhat inconclusive. 62% of the people taking the survey agreed that authenticity could be described as the presence of historic architecture; 44% said that it could be considered an accurate representation of history; 58% believed that it implied a preservation of the original form of a place. While many of the 208 respondents indicated different combinations of these three as the definition of authenticity only 21% of the respondents described authenticity as all three meanings – the presence of historic architecture, an accurate representation of history, AND as retaining its original form.

Although definitions of authenticity were somewhat murky, the response to the application of the concept to Galle Fort was overwhelmingly positive. Overall, nearly 82% of all respondents indicated that Galle Fort is an authentic heritage site. Only 4% expressed that it was not an authentic heritage site, while another 14% were uncertain if contemporary Galle Fort could be considered an authentic heritage site. With the option to add notes and alternate definitions, several respondents stressed "well-preserved", and mentioned aspects like – "not fake", "maintain original without over maintaining", "lived in", "human culture", "not commercial". The responses suggest that although authenticity is largely perceived through the condition of the built environment, people are also sensitive to the cultural processes and community inhabiting these spaces. However, although a few respondents raised the importance of human values and living heritage, the majority seemed satisfied with thinking about authenticity as a characteristic determined by the built environment. The lack of reflection on the community inhabiting and being served by this built environment beyond its contribution to the atmosphere of place is disconcerting.

Even professionals working on the conservation of the Fort when describing authenticity spoke of these dual aspects of the built environment and the cultural processes that happen within. An official from the GHF described authenticity as such:

> But this is a nice part of Galle Municipal Council area and very well-preserved fortress city. There are two schools. Government offices, private offices, people are living there. So that's why architectural values, religious values, social values, cultural values, technological values, scientific values, lot of values are still remaining. That is the authenticity of the built fabric. (Tharanga Liyanarachchi, Galle Heritage Foundation)

However, despite this conceptualization of authenticity, heritage practice in Galle Fort is still preoccupied with the built environment. While several restoration and adaptive reuse projects have been undertaken, there haven't been any policy interventions or measures taken to safeguard the cultural processes within the Fort. One of the main complaints from residents was the lack of conservation of the local community. Many felt that the government has failed to protect the locals, placing foreign investment ahead of local needs on many occasions.

The study of the idea of authenticity in Galle Fort highlights the disconnect between its conceptualization by the Nara Document and on-the-ground realities. The Nara Document embraces subsequent modifications as contributing to the authenticity of the site suggesting that Galle Fort's conservation practices and these adaptive definitions of authenticity are mutually exclusive. As seen in Chapter 1, western heritage conceptualizations have traditionally emphasized the physicality of heritage and 'conservation as found'. Given the long history of western support for conservation, it is not surprising that this school of thought has permeated into conservation practice at Galle Fort. However, it is interesting to note that there were some divergences between respondents from non-western regions (Asia, Arab States) and respondents from western regions (Australia, Europe and UK, North America) on the meanings of authenticity. That said, since 74% of the sample population was from western regions like Australia, Europe and UK, or North America and only 26% were from non-western regions these divergences may not be representative of regional patterns of conceptualizing authenticity.

Region of respondent	% that said authenticity means presence of historic architecture	% that said authenticity means the accurate representation of history	% that said authenticity means retaining its original form
Eastern [53 people]	57	28	45
Western [155 people]	64	50	63

The World Heritage List is supposed to be a compilation of heritage sites of "outstanding universal value". In addition to ideas of authenticity, this is a fundamental requirement of any site on the List. Consequently, I tried to understand popular perceptions of whether Galle Fort meets this requirement. In the survey conducted among 208 people in the Fort (a mix of both visitors and residents) respondents were asked if the Old town of Galle was of outstanding heritage value globally. 70% of the respondents agreed with the sentiment, while 24% were uncertain, and only 7% felt that the Old town of Galle was NOT of outstanding heritage value globally. Although the overwhelming response suggests that Galle Fort is of global value, the problem with the world heritage construct is that this value is framed as global ownership. As seen through the interrogations in this chapter, claims of plural ownership are complicated.

CHAPTER 5

Consuming Nostalgia: Gentrification and the Tourist Industrial Complex

Tourism is a mainstay of the Sri Lankan economy. Tourist arrivals to Sri Lanka have been growing since the 1970s although arrivals were somewhat stagnant during the civil war. In 1970 tourist arrivals numbered 46,247, in 1983 (at the start of the civil war) they were recorded at 337,530 and by 1988 (the year of Galle's designation) they had dropped to 182,662 (SLTDA 2018). Since the end of the civil war in 2009 tourist arrivals have been increasing exponentially from 447,890 in 2009 to 2.3 million in 2018. Mimicking these national trends, tourism in Galle has also seen immense growth, particularly in recent years.

The consumption of colonial nostalgia has become a cornerstone of the economy at Galle Fort. In 2017, Galle was ranked fourth among all tourist destinations in Sri Lanka in the number of foreign and local visitors. As seen in chapter 3, the World Heritage status of Galle Fort is largely symbolic. While its Listing may have only had a limited direct influence on tourists' decision to visit, its indirect influence has been tremendous. The global recognition from Listing has resulted in Galle Fort being featured in Travel + Leisure, Conde Nast Traveler, Monocle, Lonely Planet magazine, Forbes and several other publications. All articles begin by describing the destination as the "UNESCO World Heritage Site of Galle Fort". So, although Galle Fort's World heritage status may not have directly attracted tourists, it has resulted in its increased promotion by leading travel publications, thereby drawing the attention of tourists.

Details of Visitors in 2017, *Source: (SLTDA 2017)*					
Foreign Visitors by Location			**Domestic Visitors by Location**		
Location	*No. foreign visitors*	*Revenue in LKR*	*Location*	*No. local visitors*	*Revenue in LKR*
Sigiriya	563,039	2,437,670,173	Sigiriya	682,646	71,125,900
Polonnaruwa	248,510	929,490,703	Apegama	118,950	7,700,150
Anuradhapura	100,117	377,415,122	Polonnaruwa	84,418	3,142,550
Galle	18,170	12,515,342	Galle	67,248	1,810,015
Ritigala	10,792	2,969,658	Anuradhapura	46,951	856,030
Apegama	1,865	1,453,628	Ritigala	45,647	1,070,914
Ibbankatuwa	1,006	294,804	Ibbankatuwa	29,170	535,280
Dambulla	720	223,598	Kataragama	12,737	228,180
Kandy	220	33,402	Kandy	3,493	58,380
Kataragama	104	78,960	Dambulla	1,698	28,730

The cultural heritage industry in Galle Fort has thus continued to grow with the stimulus of this global recognition. Majority of the visitors travelling to Galle Fort highlighted the importance of its cultural heritage. In the survey I conducted among 190 visitors, 89% noted that Galle Fort's importance is linked to its Cultural heritage. Among those emphasizing its value as cultural heritage, 78% of the visitors exclusively highlighted cultural heritage, while the remaining 22% identified both cultural and natural heritage values for the site. In addition to the indirect effects of UNESCO's stamp of approval, infrastructure developments in the years after the civil war have greatly contributed to Galle's growing tourism industry. During Mahinda Rajapaksa's presidency from 2005 to 2015, the Southern part of the island saw a lot of investment since his support was concentrated in this region. In 2011, Sri Lanka's first expressway from Colombo to Galle was opened making Galle more accessible to tourists and locals. The opening of the expressway reduced travel time from about five hours to two hours, making Galle an ideal day-trip destination. Given that Sri Lanka's only international airport is in Colombo, the new expressway has made Galle much more accessible to international tourists. The Director of SLTDA noted that foreign tourist arrivals to Sri Lanka are led by China, followed by India, and then the United Kingdom. While tourism has helped create employment and a robust tourism economy, these benefits have been accompanied by costs as well – namely gentrification.

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 1, heritage tourism is often accompanied by conservation, investment in architectural heritage, and tourism-led gentrification. The aspects of conservation and investment in the built environment have already been discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter will explore the idea of tourism-led gentrification in the Fort. Gentrification in this case is not so much a case of the poor displaced by 'gentry' as conceptualized by Ruth Glass, but the transformation of middle-class neighborhoods into affluent, exclusive enclaves that cater to tourism, leisure and cultural activities (Gotham 2005; Atkinson and Bridge 2004). Tourism in Galle Fort relies heavily on its colonial history and built heritage. Thus, it is unsurprising that as tourism has grown, so has the value of the Fort's built environment, and more so the land it sits on. Consequently, gentrification in the Fort has been visible in the shifting demographics, changing property ownership, and commercialization of uses in the Fort. In order to fully understand tourism gentrification in the Fort, it is important to interrogate the cultural and economic processes and policies at the global, national and local scales.

Almost all the residents and professionals that I interviewed registered concern over the rapid gentrification that has inflicted on the Fort, especially in recent years. Several professionals who are working in the fields of conservation and development specifically identified the phenomenon as an issue in the Fort. A Project Planning Officer from the Galle Heritage Foundation emphasized the growing prevalence of the issue stating:

> Gentrification started from 2000 but it increased after 2007-2008 because of development works. Investors had a good interest to invest here.

Ashley De Vos who was the former President of ICOMOS and worked on the conservation of the Fort for decades as part of the Department of Archeology, also raised concerns about some specific aspects of gentrification in the Fort. Speaking about the rising property value and changing demographics, he noted:

> When you have too much money, gentrification happens and that's what is happening to Galle now…There was an English guy out of Hong Kong who came and bought that house, he sold it to his brother for 5 million [LKR or approximately $28,000], his brother did some small renovations in it and sold it recently for 110 million [LKR or approximately $620,000]. Which I think is mad. Absolutely mad. That is the gentrification that is taking place and you have a totally different type of people coming. (Ashley De Vos)

While many of the interviewees may not always have explicitly used the term gentrification, they did allude to it. Several local residents raised concerns about the aspects of gentrification that they had either observed or experienced firsthand – rising land values, tensions around foreign property ownership, and commercialization. Senthilkumar, a resident who has lived just outside the Fort since 1975 and has been working at a jewelry shop in the Fort for the last 12 years, spoke of the loss of social spaces with the growth of tourism saying:

> Now it's all ruined. It's all commercialized. We used to play cricket on the road now you can't even walk. (V.Senthilkumar)

Another Sri Lankan business owner Fazal Hammed from Colombo who runs two boutique hotels in the Fort, observed the growing conversion of properties to tourist uses:

> Now there are more hotel operations happening. When we got in, there was just limited accommodation. Now everybody has converted their homes to a homestay. (Fazal Hameed)

Most residents acknowledged the benefits of the tourism economy and viewed tourists in a positive light. However, the rapid onslaught of tourism-led gentrification has caused some alarm. Anusha Liyanage a Fort resident since childhood and the owner of a gallery in the Fort noted:

> We feel like it's too quick…because lot of establishments have come inside fort and they have a target to achieve so things are happening so quickly. So, mostly it's affecting the residents. (Anusha Liyanage)

While expat residents also mentioned some of these aspects of gentrification, they were primarily concerned about the Fort's commercialization with increased tourism. Viewing the Fort through a nostalgic lens, many of them characterized this commercialization as detracting from the colonial aesthetic and "old world charm." Vivan Sethi, an expatriate former resident and investor who currently owns several properties in the Fort, described the Fort's tourism transformation as follows:

> When you walk around the fort today its completely changed. It's still living but it's much more a tourist place. It really was quite a sleepy, real living town. (Vivan Sethi)

While most residents echoed this nostalgic sentiment, a few also drew parallels between increased conservation investment and gentrification. Lucy Dearden, a business owner and resident in the Fort for eight years described the positive changes during her time in the Fort due to gentrification:

> A lot of buildings were almost derelict. There has been a lot of gentrification. So, the fort looks a lot better now than it used to. (Lucy Dearden)

Different stakeholders reacted more strongly to certain aspects of gentrification compared to others, however, concern over the phenomenon was expressed across all groups. Local and foreign residents may not have always used the g-word, but all of them mentioned one or more aspects related to gentrification. It is also clear that professionals in the various conservation and development agencies for the Fort, consider gentrification a rapidly escalating threat to "living heritage" that needs to be addressed quickly.

The New Era of Colonization

Although 21st century Sri Lanka is a postcolonial society, the markers of tourism-led gentrification indicate the onslaught of a new era of exploitation. Like colonialism, gentrification shifts local power to newer, wealthier residents and is often accompanied by social tensions based on class and race (Wharton 2008). This has certainly been the case in Galle Fort where local residents have been

replaced by more affluent newcomers. This process has been aided by political policy that gives preferences to foreigners for the sake of capitalism and is single-mindedly focused on exploiting the tourism potential of the site. While colonization may seem like an antiquated term that is too harsh in this context, there are some parallels to tourism gentrification – land acquisition, shifts in political and social dynamics, marginalization of local communities, and uneven distribution of economic benefits. However, it is important to consider that this new era of urban colonization through gentrification has been facilitated by national political agendas.

Property Ownership

The question of property ownership in Galle Fort is a fraught one. Since 2002, property ownership laws pertaining to foreign ownership have been changed numerous times based on political purposes for investment. Prior to 2002, under the Finance Act No. 11 of 1963, all property purchases by a person who is not a citizen were subject to a property tax equivalent to the value of the property (colloquially described as a 100% tax). However, in 2002, during the ceasefire brokered by Norway the incumbent government under Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe, took aggressive measures to promote tourism and foreign investment to overcome the country's ongoing economic crisis. The property tax on foreign owners was repealed by the Finance Act No.11 of 2002, essentially lifting any restrictions on foreign ownership. Following these changes, an article in TIME magazine from 2003 noted that "a property boom has begun" in Galle Fort with foreigners owning at least 40 out of the 200 homes in the Fort at the time (Palling and Laughton 2003). The article went on to note that the new measures coupled with Galle Fort's "colonial houses, picturesque churches and mosques on narrow streets" and its UNESCO World Heritage status made it a good time to purchase property in the Fort saying "now is the time to make a move." In 2004 the 100% tax was reinstated but with the end of the civil war in 2009, the property boom continued until 2012. Since 2012, however, foreigners can no longer purchase land outright. Restricting the access of land to foreigners was intended to curb tax evasion (Aneez 2014). Under the Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act No.38 of 2014, foreigners are either limited to 99-year leaseholds with a 15% stamp duty (a tax paid by property buyers) or can hold 49% of the shares – with 51% of the shares owned by Sri Lankan partner – in any local company that purchases land.

During the early years – particularly around the time of the ceasefire – articles like the one in TIME magazine helped draw global attention to investment opportunities in property in Galle Fort.

However, many of the current expatriate residents who moved here around this time also recalled that the decision to purchase property in the Fort was influenced and facilitated through word-of-mouth by expatriates residing in the Fort at the time. I spoke with Jack Eden – an expatriate who purchased property in the Fort in 1998 – about his decision to move there with his family at a time when few foreigners lived in the Fort. He recalled that they had initially planned to buy a beach property. However, an American who had lived in the Fort since 1986 suggested that they purchase a property in the Fort instead. And they did. Describing his experience purchasing property in the Fort nearly 21 years ago, Jack Eden, an expat Fort resident and villa business owner said:

> And so, we were sort feeling quite despondent and an American guy lived in the fort who by then had lived here for 20 years. A great character, fabulous guy, no longer with us…he said come into fort. And we said the Fort? Really? Are you serious? Noooo. But he said come in for lunch on Sunday…We had lunch and we bought a house that afternoon. (Jack Eden)

In addition to the media coverage, social networks of early expat "settlers" and word-of-mouth have played a huge role in encouraging other foreigners to invest in Galle Fort. Some foreigners have invested in property that they either lease or run businesses in; some have purchased holiday homes; and others have decided to live in the Fort for different lengths of time. Jack's wife Jo Eden, an expat resident and owner of a boutique shop in the Fort for 21 years, described the power of social networks in bringing other foreigners into the Fort as follows:

> My husband's brother came to visit in 2000: he stayed bought a house in the Fort and he's opened a hotel... My godfather's son he bought a house just around the corner in about 2000 and he's now got the Fort Bazaar hotel. He's got a company called Teardrop. He's living in Hong Kong now, but he's got Teardrop. Another friend called Aaron from Hong Kong he came to visit he stayed. Oh my god. That's why my husband started villa management because everyone kept asking us to do stuff. (Jo Eden)

Thus global, national, and local forces have each acted in different ways and enabled the urban colonization of land in the Fort. At the transnational level, the 1997 Asian financial crisis and Hong Kong's handover to China affected expats living in the region at around the same time Sri Lanka opened itself to foreign investment. This first wave of investment during the Norwegian-brokered ceasefire was followed by a wave of global attention and an influx of foreign aid following the tsunami. In recent years, the tourism boom – amplified by Sri Lanka being listed as Lonely

Planet's number one country to visit in 2019 – has caused the global spotlight to linger on Galle Fort, attracting foreign investment from new venues. At the national level, policy changes regarding property ownership – particularly in the period between 2002 and 2012 – have heavily shaped the landscape of Galle Fort. At the local level, social networks of the expatriate community have contributed to an increase in foreign property ownership. Understandably, none of the expat property owners I spoke with view themselves as 'colonizers' nor their ownership of property in the Fort as a form of colonization. Most of them expressed strong emotional ties to Galle, and many of the early property buyers – including Jack Eden who purchased property in 1998 – also emphasized the fact that they recognized Galle Fort's value well before Sri Lankans did, noting:

> So, you could say foreigners saw the authentic beauty in it, which people in Colombo didn't in those days. And they [Sri Lankans] do now. (Jack Eden)

It is unclear how many properties in the Fort are actually owned by foreigners today. The statistic was not available from any of the authorities working on the Fort – including the UDA and the GHF. While the TIME magazine article from March 2003 estimated that about 20% of the properties in the Fort were foreign owned, another article from June 2003 in the *Sunday Times* – a local Sri Lankan newspaper – reported this figure at 35%. Today, the Fort consists of 283 properties that are classified as Residential use and it is believed that about a third of these are owned by foreigners. However, with many of these properties being run as luxury villas, very few expats actually live in the Fort at present.

The increasing presence of foreign property owners in the Fort, has been accompanied by tensions among locals to establish the legality of their property ownership. This is particularly true for locals that live in ancestral properties that have been in their families for multiple generations. Many of them do not have clear land deeds for their properties. This complicates the sale of property and many also face issues of squatting by renters. Nadia, the owner of Pilgrims – a restaurant and bar that used to be run in the garage of a villa until 2015 – discussed some of the issues that her former landlord has had with their most recent renters:

> So now they've rented, and I think now they have squatters. That's something weird that happens in Sri Lanka. But I think so they rented for a year. And now they've said like oh that lady doesn't actually own that house and she doesn't have any proper deeds. Which is often the case in Sri Lanka people don't have proper deeds to their house. So, it is their house. But

legally it's not their house in the sense that they can't rent it if they don't have the deed. (Nadia)

Figure 5.1. Signs on a street corner regarding land deeds. One sign reads, "Is it our fault for not having deeds for our lands?", Source: Photos by author in 2019

The current land registration system in Sri Lanka is outdated and flawed, leading to rampant land fraud in recent years. The issue is further complicated by the existence of three customary laws in Sri Lanka namely Thesawalamai law, Muslim law, and Kandyan law. Historically land registration was not mandatory, and officials were not required to check the authenticity of land deeds, allowing for the rise of forged deeds, and multiple sales of a single plot (Nadarajah 2015). Furthermore, the continuous occupation of a land for 10 years gains certain property rights – a rule that can be easily abused to seize ownership (Nadarajah 2015). Although the country has begun to take some steps towards land reforms with the introduction of land Title registration and Deed Registration, improvements are slow. Land titling initiatives under *Bimsaviya* were first introduced in 1998 but didn't begin to take effect until 2007. Even today, residents of Galle Fort grapple with the challenges of land fraud, lack of clear land titles, and squatting. For the large Muslim population in the Fort, Muslim property law typically governs the inheritance of land. Property is typically divided among the daughters of a Muslim family. Over generations, this has resulted in highly sub-divided properties with complex ownership structures. Many owners also do not possess clear deeds for properties they have inherited. Residents in the Fort who lease their properties face additional issues of squatting and seizure of ownership by long-term renters as seen in the example described above by Nadia.

Rising Land Costs

Following the end of the civil war, Galle Fort has emerged as an extremely popular tourist destination. Its popularity has been the result of a variety of events and efforts that have drawn global attention – from its World Heritage Listing, shared heritage status, the epicenter for Tsunami rehabilitation efforts by foreign agencies, infrastructure improvements like the expressway, the cricket stadium and so on. Galle Fort's early popularity with tourists had resulted in the establishment of a few luxury hotels like Amangalla and the Galle Fort Hotel in 2004. However, in the years following the tsunami the growth of tourism has been exponential. As seen in the table below, foreign tourist arrivals have more than tripled just between 2011 and 2017.

Change in number of visitors to Galle
Source: (SLTDA 2017, 2011)

	2011	**2017**
Foreign visitors to Galle	5,115	18,170
Domestic visitors to Galle	47,432	67,248

This growth of the tourism industry has led to an influx of investment and an increased demand for space for tourist facilities, causing land values to rise rapidly. Early investors like Jack and Jo Eden recall property being very cheap when they arrived in 1998. They were able to purchase their house (now Poonie's Kitchen) for about $30,000 and the most expensive property for sale in the Fort at the time was listed at $150,000. Today, it would be impossible to find even a small property in the Fort for $150,000. As land value in the Fort has gone up many local families have sold their properties. This has primarily been because they can purchase significantly more land with this money outside the Fort. Some families have leased their properties since the rent comfortably covers their rent and living expenses outside the Fort. For instance, Pilgrims hostel is located in a property on Sudarmalaya Road that has been rented from a retired schoolteacher who uses the rental income to support her living expenses outside the Fort. Some others, also lease or run commercial establishments in the verandah and lower floor of the property while continuing to reside in the floors above.

Every resident, business owner and professional I spoke with mentioned the rapidly increasing land values in the Fort. Most residents who have owned property in the Fort since before the real estate boom could not imagine being able to purchase property in the Fort today. Land value in the Fort is typically measured by perch where 1 perch is approximately 25 square meters. Tharanga Liyanarachchi from GHF noted that in 2005, the cost of 1 perch was 4 million LKR while

now it is 17 million LKR which marks a shift from about $22,000 to $100,000 per perch. Several professionals including the Secretary General of UNESCO Sri Lanka pointed out that land in the Fort is some of the most expensive on the island – more expensive than in Colombo. The UDA also estimated land value in the Fort at around 15 million LKR per perch. The UDA also requires a minimum plot size of 6 perch implying that at minimum property values start at about 90 million LKR or $500,000. However, in reality most properties in the Fort today are listed at around $1 million at minimum. Lanka Island Properties, a real estate agency's website lists a 2-bedroom, 2-bathroom townhouse on 7.2 perches of land for $1.2 million. Furthermore, as Galle Fort has become a coveted real estate market, properties for sale inside the Fort are not easy to come by. It is also clear that many of the real estate agencies pitch properties to foreign investors since listings include descriptions like "neighborhood is foreign friendly" with "restaurants and shops managed by foreign owners" nearby. While these listings aim to attract foreign investors, the profile of the typical foreign investor has changed over the years.

Shifting Demographics

The demographics of the residents of the Fort have changed over the years with gentrification. As seen in Chapter 4, the population of Galle Fort itself has been decreasing over the last few decades. In addition, as local residents have sold or rented their properties and moved out of the Fort, it is likely that the demographics of the resident population have also shifted. According to the 2012 census, out of the total population of 1,068 in Galle Fort 469 are male while 599 are female (about 56% of the population). It was also reported that 472 are followers of Islam, 479 are Buddhists, 19 are Hindus, 15 are Roman Catholics with remaining residents following other faiths (Liyanage 2012). On the basis of ethnicity, Lankan Moors make up 472, with 465 Sinhalese, 17 Sri Lankan Tamils, and 7 Indian Tamils (Liyanage 2012).

Administrative boundaries in Sri Lanka are classified in five levels – National, Provincial, District, Divisional Secretariat division (DS division), and Grama Niladhari Division (GN Division). The country is divided into nine provinces which are further subdivided into a total of 25 districts. Galle Fort is located within the Galle district. However, each district is also further sub-divided into administrative sub-units known as divisions. Galle Fort is within the Galle Four Gravets DS division.

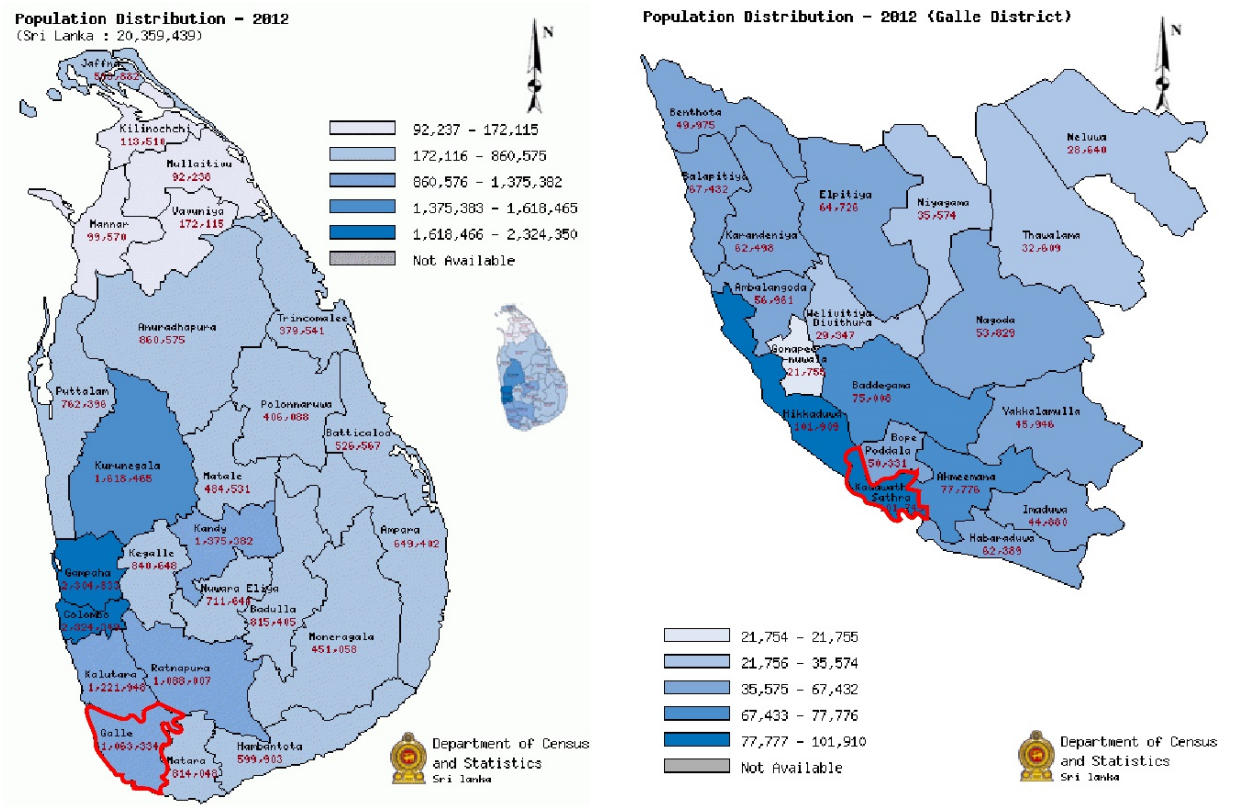

Figure 5.2. (Left) Map of districts in Sri Lanka with Galle District shown in red. (Right) Map of Divisional Secretariat divisions in Galle District with Galle Fort Gravets shown in red.

The table below, compares the demographic distribution of Galle Fort with the distribution that is seen its Divisional Secretariat level. As seen in the table below, the proportion of ethnic groups in the population inside the Fort does noat t mimic larger sub-district patterns. Inside the Fort Sri Lankan Moors are the largest ethnic group followed by Sinhalese. Unlike the Sinhalese predominance at the divisional secretariat level, the proportion of Sinhalese to Moors is almost equal. This ethnic mix of the population within the Fort has helped skirt some of the typical Sinhalese-Tamil tensions that have affected other parts of the island.

Comparison of the population distribution by Ethnic group in Galle Fort and the Galle Fort Gravets divisional secretariat, *Source: (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka 2012)*

	Sinhalese	Sri Lanka Tamil	Indian Tamil	Sri Lanka Moors	Others
Galle Fort	48.4%	1.8%	0.7%	49.1%	0%
Galle Four Gravets	66.7%	0.8%	0.3%	32.1%	0.1%

In most parts of the country – including at the Galle Fort Gravets sub-divisional level – Buddhism is typically the most predominant religion. However, the Fort has a large Muslim

population, making this the dominant religion in the Fort even today. There is an active mosque and Arabic college within the Fort as well as a Buddhist temple and several churches. While the mosque is popular with Fort residents, the other religious institutions are typically visited by tourists and worshippers living outside the Fort. Pastor Lakmal Wijeratne of the Dutch Reformed Church observed that none of the churches located in the Fort have residents of the Fort in their congregation. Their members all come from outside the Fort. He also noted that while some tourists do attend the Sunday service, most visit the church during the week, with some even offering financial support through donations.

> Tourism contributes towards the maintenance of the church because we have a donation box and every 3 to 4 months some of our people from the Colombo office will visit from the accounts department and they will collect the money and go. Its approximately around 200,000-300,00 LKR so that is set apart towards the maintenance of this building. So, tourists do get involved in that financial way. (Pastor Lakmal Wijeratne)

Comparison of the population distribution by religion in Galle Fort and the Galle Fort Gravets divisional secretariat, *Source: (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka 2012)*

	Buddhist	Islam	Hindu	Roman Catholic	Others
Galle Fort	44.9%	44.2%	1.8%	1.4%	7.7%
Galle Four Gravets	65.7%	32.3%	0.7%	0.9%	0.4%

Like the resident demographics have changed over the years, so have the profiles of incoming investors. Early expatriates who moved into the Fort around 2000, recollect that in the early 2000's many of the investors were older expats from the United Kingdom and Europe, many of them living in Hong Kong, Singapore, and other parts of Asia. However, they noted that in recent years many of these expats have sold their properties to younger Sri Lankans either living abroad or in other parts of the island. Both residents and officials from the Galle Heritage Foundation mentioned the increased presence of investors from Asian neighbors like China in the country but noted that their presence within the Fort is still limited. In recent years there have been some Chinese investors in the Fort. While they have not purchased properties, they do lease and run commercial establishments like shops and restaurants. Jack Eden who runs a villa business, described the shifting demographics of the Fort's resident population, and the decreased presence of British expats, saying:

> Not so much anymore [British expats living in the Fort]. Quite a few have sold already. Galle Fort Hotel was bought by a Sri Lankan company. Three of the last properties that have been sold have been bought by Sri Lankans. Oh, no – *four* properties. So Kumara Sangakkara bought one. So, when he buys one everyone does everyone goes "Oh! what's going on down there?" (Jack Eden)

The demographics of tourists has also been changing as the tourist industry grows. Although the SLTDA lists maximum tourist arrivals to the island as being from China, India and the United Kingdom, the demographics of tourists in Galle do not appear to follow this pattern. Until recently, Chinese tourists were not very common in the Fort. However, many residents noted that in recent years there have been more Chinese tourists in the Fort – many of them visiting on China bus tours. With their increasing numbers, these large buses were finally prohibited from entering the Fort last year. One owner of multiple tourist accommodations in and around Galle Fort noted that most of their guests are typically passport holders of the United Kingdom or Australia. Of the 190 visitors surveyed for this study the majority identified as originally being from Europe and the United Kingdom.

Region	**% of visitors**
Europe & UK	62.1%
Asia	17.4%
Australia	12.1%
North America	6.8%
Arab States	0.5%
Africa	0.5%
Source: Survey by author among 190 respondents	

Furthermore, while the age range of typical tourists in the Fort was quite wide, 60% of the visitors who were surveyed were under 40 years of age. The survey was administered among tourists in Galle Fort, aged 18 years and older over a period of two weeks in mid-January. This is considered to be during Sri Lanka's peak season for tourism. However, it is important to note that the Galle Literary Festival (which attracts many Colombo residents) took place during this time period and may have influenced the presence of visitors from other parts of the country, and the surrounding region.

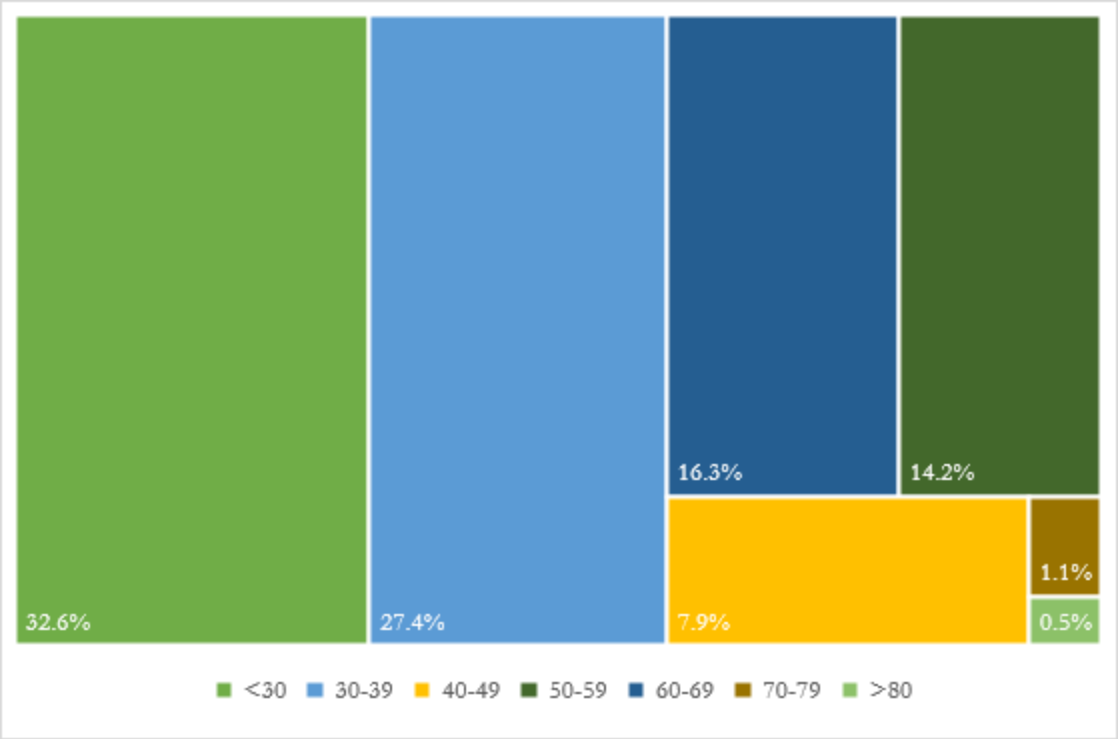

Figure 5.3. Age distribution of visitors to Galle Fort among the 190 survey respondents who were tourists

Changing Uses through Commercialization, Commodification, and Consumption

One of the very visible effects of the growing tourist industry in the Fort is the commercialization of programs within it. As tourism has grown in the Fort, many residents of the Greater Galle area have become involved in the tourism economy through a variety of tourism related activities. In addition to the conversion of residences into hotels, villas, guesthouses, and homestays, several new boutique shops, handicraft and spice stores, jewelry shops, cafes, and restaurants have been opened. Many of these new commercial establishments have been opened in structures that were previously residential. Some of these have involved complete conversions, while others have converted part of the residential structure – either one floor, or the verandah and front rooms, or half the frontage.

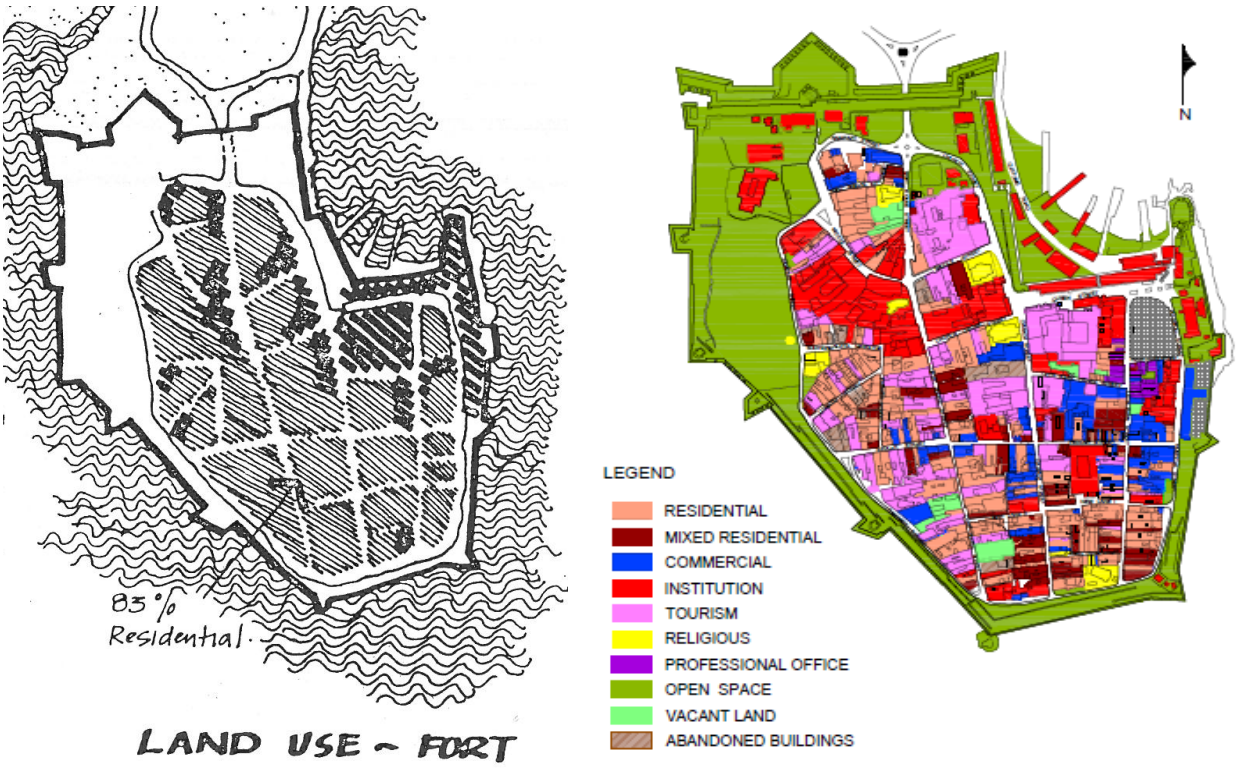

Figure 5.4. (Left) Galle Fort 1975 Landuse map, Source: (De Vos 1975). (Right) Galle Fort 2015 Landuse map, Source: Galle Draft Development Plan (UDA 2019)

As seen in the land use maps above, in 1975 nearly 83% of the Fort was residential use. In the most recent land use maps of the Fort however, only 46.5% is residential use, with 33.2% commercial use, and 5.1% being described as 'tourism use'. Of the 609 total properties within the Fort, properties classified as Tourism use number 31 and include different types of tourist accommodations like hotels, and guesthouses. However, looking at the various tourist accommodation options listed on travel websites like Agoda show that this figure is highly underestimated. Agoda shows 82 tourist accommodation properties within the Fort, while google shows about 120, and Booking.com shows over 60 properties. This discrepancy is largely because many of the residential properties are either partly or completely used as tourist accommodations without licensing. This is true across price-ranges with many luxury high-end accommodations still represented as residential use in the latest maps.

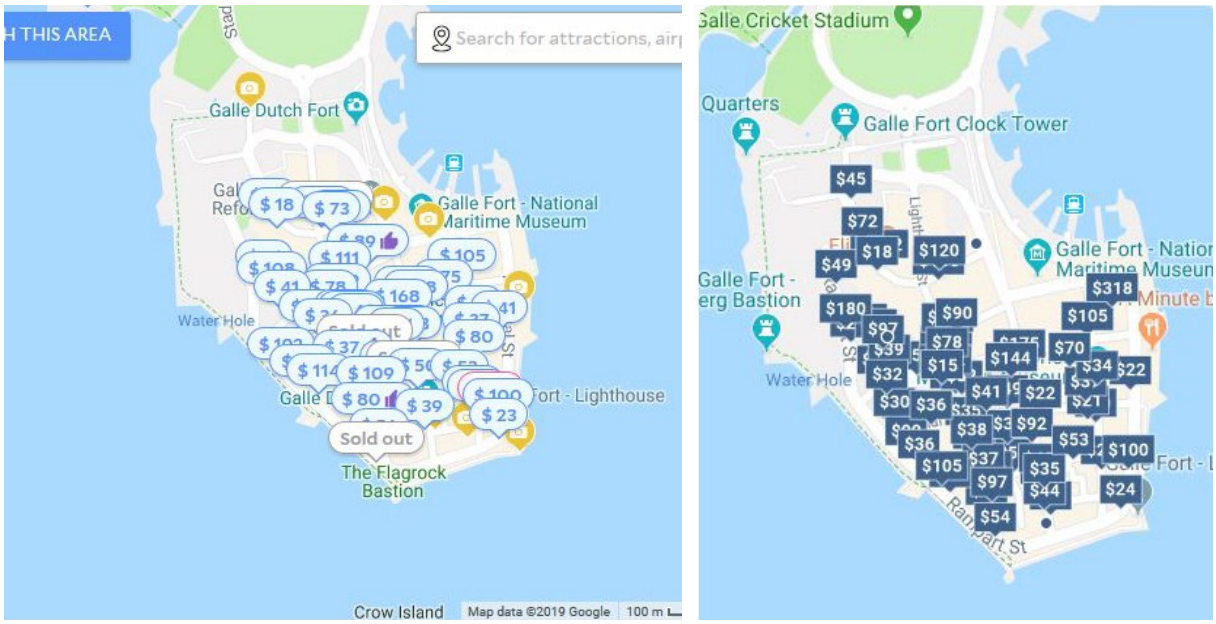

Figure 5.5.(Left) Agoda showing 82 tourist accommodations, Source: ("Agoda" 2019). (Right) Google showing 120 tourist accommodations inside the Fort, Source: ("Google Hotel Search - Galle Fort" 2019)

Current regulations do permit the partial conversion of residential properties to commercial and tourism uses. An official from the Department of Archeology noted that the regulations permit 35% of the property to be converted, as long as a 65% residential use is maintained. However, this is not strictly monitored and is often violated with many properties in the Fort being completely converted from their residential uses. All types of tourist accommodations including homestays, guesthouses, hotels, and villas are considered as 'Tourism uses'. However, as seen in the discrepancy between landuse maps and tourist accommodation websites, the regulation has been extensively violated. Part of the reason why tourism use properties continue to masquerade as residential properties is to avoid paying commercial rates for their utilities. Another issue that was raised by officials from both the Department of Archeology and GHF, was that many of the tourism use properties are owned and run by foreign investors with the transactions for bookings occurring abroad. Consequently, these transactions do not necessarily benefit the local economy. This has long been recognized as an issue by professionals like Ashley De Vos who was working with the Department of Archeology on conservation of the Fort for decades; he noted:

> These foreigners who lease out their properties they have one small guy there working. He has to clean the place and so on. These guys collect their money abroad on airbnb and so on. So, the money is there – it never comes here. So, what is the contribution to the economy? Nil. (Ashley De Vos)

Although the Fort did have some commercial establishments within the walls even previously, these primarily catered to residents' everyday needs. However, as the Fort has commercialized to cater to tourists, the nature of amenities available inside the Fort has changed. This has resulted in residents increasingly having to go outside the Fort for their everyday needs like grocery shopping, purchasing meat and vegetables, grooming and so on. One resident who has lived in the Fort for 62 years commented on the changes in the last decade or so noting that:

> Earlier, there were six grocery shops here but now [we are] left with only two. Others are converted to souvenir shops and jewelry shops you see. And haircutting salons for men also we had about five. Now we're left with only one." (Shaffy Authad)

Figure 5.6. Number 30 Leyn Baan Street converted from residential to retail uses. (Left) Image from GHF dated 2007. (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 5.7. Number 56 Lighthouse Street converted from residential use to a hotel and cafe. (Left) Image from GHF dated 2008. (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 5.8. National Junction at the corner of Pedlar and Lighthouse Street. Today Pedlar Street has become the main commercial street within the Fort. (Left) Image from GHF dated 2008. (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 5.9. New Lane I is a small residential lane that increasingly has converted to tourism uses. The building on the right has an added floor and has adopted a neo-colonial style. (Left) Image from GHF dated 2014. (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Images for the "before picture" in the comparative series above were taken at different times between 2007 and 2014 by officers at the Galle Heritage Foundation. Although the Fort was designated in 1988, these "before" images show that many of the original residential uses were retained for nearly two decades after Listing. As seen from the 2019 images above, rapid commercialization of the Fort is in fact a fairly recent phenomenon. The end of the 25-year civil war coupled with an influx of post-tsunami investment has largely been responsible for this shift with the conversion of residential properties into more lucrative commercial uses.

Figure 5.10. Pedlar Street has rapidly commercialized with the growth of tourism. (Left) Image from GHF dated 2008. (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

Figure 5.11. Leyn Baan Street has commercialized and has recently seen the arrival of Colombo chain stores. (Left) Image from GHF dated 2014. (Right) Photo by author in 2019.

The above images illustrate that while there was some early commercialization of uses by tourism along the main streets like Pedlar Street and Leyn Baan Street, it was comparatively limited until recently. Many residents observed that the rapid commercialization of the Fort has only begun to occur in earnest since 2014. Prior to this period, they described the growth of tourism and its accompanying investment as gradual rather than the recent trends of rapid growth. This recent spurt of accelerated tourism development has been accompanied by the arrival of several Sri Lankan chain shops like Odel in 2014, Spa Ceylon in 2015, and Embark in 2015 – all hoping to capitalize on growing tourist consumption. High-end boutiques and shops like Mimimango (opened in 2004), KK Boutique (opened in 2009), and Stick No Bills (opened in 2012), to name a few, have also gradually populated the landscape alongside luxury accommodations over the last decade. Angling to commodify a "local craft", the number of jewelry shops has grown exponentially in recent years.

Shaffy Authad, a gemologist and resident of the Fort for 62 years, observed that the number of jewelry shops in the Fort has increased alongside tourism – growing from four shops to nearly eighty shops today. Although some gems are mined in areas near Galle, gems are a specialty of the country and not particularly a "local" craft. However, narratives emphasizing jewelry making as a local handicraft have emerged with the growing tourist industry here. Local tour guides, many travel guidebooks, and travel blogs have helped reinforce these narratives by promoting Galle Fort as a gem and jewelry shopping destination in Sri Lanka. Many of the Fort's jewelry shops also advertise themselves by highlighting their "Sri Lankan craftsmanship" or providing demonstrations of a "150-year-old tradition".

The commercialization of the Fort has also resulted in the transformation of the social uses of space. Several residents recalled that previously the streets and plazas like Court square used to serve as play spaces and as spaces of social interaction. However, as the buildings edging these streets have increasingly become converted to commercial and tourist uses, the street has been appropriated becoming the domain of the pedestrian tourist. The growing tourist industry has also resulted in increased traffic making streets hostile environments that are not conducive for their former social functions. Even the Esplanade has lost its position as a public space to the local community due to its conversion into a more commercial form like the stadium.

Urban Sprawl: Impacts on Greater Galle

Historically the "city center" of Galle city was considered as the area around the Fort, the Bus terminal and the Railway station. However, since the 1980's urban activities have begun to shift towards the peripheries with the establishment of educational and medical facilities in these areas. Given that the conservation of the Fort began in earnest even before its Listing in 1988, these outward development pressures have become increasingly visible over the last two decades. A study of the changes in built-up area between 1993, 2001, and 2013 was conducted by the UDA. These maps (shown below) illustrate that changes in the built-up area – and consequently new construction – have increasingly shifted into the interior parts moving away from the Fort and its nearby coastline which have become saturated over the years. In 1993, much of the built-up area was concentrated in the core of Galle city with some development spreading to its immediate surroundings along the

Galle-Matara road, and Weligama a nearby town. However, from 2001 the urban expansion into the interior began with residential populations moving to these newly developed peripheral areas.

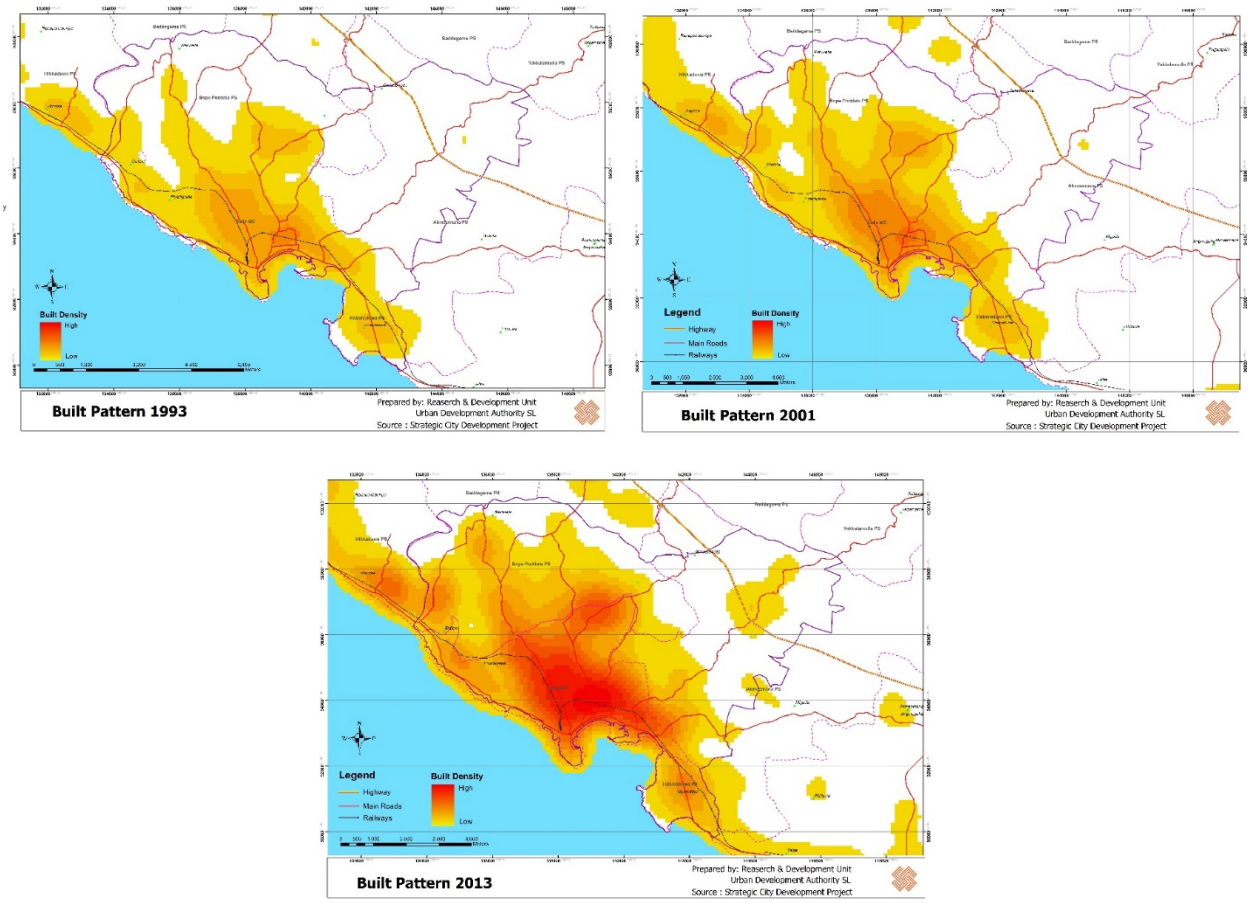

Figure 5.12. Built -up area in Galle city in 1993, 2001, 2013, Source: Galle Draft Development Plan (UDA 2019)

A study of the shifts in population density between 2001 and 2012 confirms this outward shift of residential populations from the city core. This is partly due to the growth and development of new nodes around the periphery. For instance, the development of a hospital at Karapitiya in the periphery attracted other medical functions over time to this area creating a new node outside the traditional Galle city core. These new nodes coincide with major infrastructure routes like the E01 expressway, the A2 road and major railway stations. Responding to this outer growth, the latest UDA development plan identifies six major peripheral nodes.

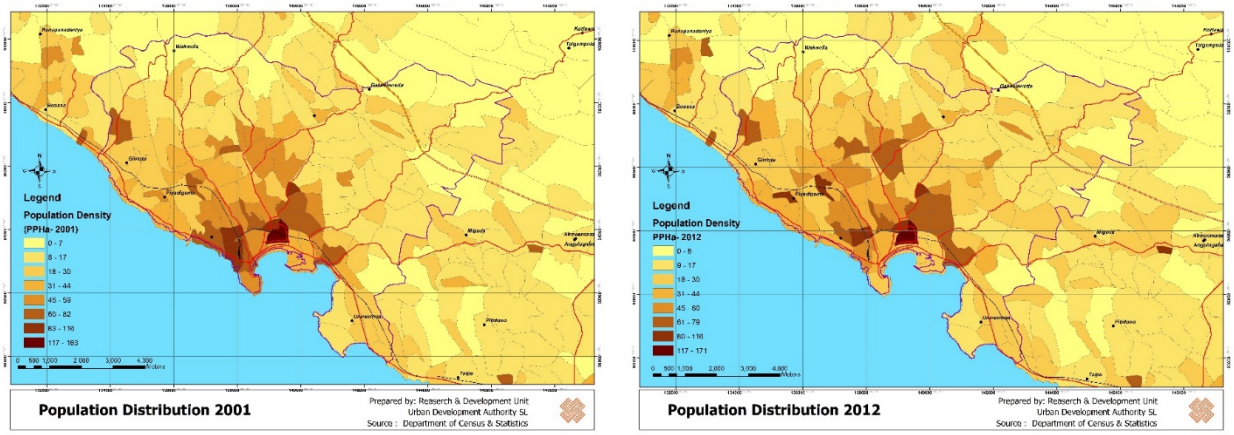

Figure 5.13. Population Distribution in 2001 and 2012, Source: Galle Draft Development Plan (UDA 2019)

Scale of Planning

Given this sprawling growth, planning efforts for Galle are carried out by the UDA at an intermediate scale of a metropolitan area. This area is larger than the Municipal Council area (known as Galle MC), and even the DS division, but is smaller than the extents of Galle District. This in-between planning area is defined as the Greater Galle Area and includes the Fort, the city core, and the new peripheral nodes as well. However, this has not always been the standard scale of land considered for planning. Previous planning efforts had been carried out for the Galle MC which was declared as an Urban Development Area in 1979. However, since 2005 when the Greater Galle Area was declared an Urban Development Area this has been the standard scale at which planning has been done.

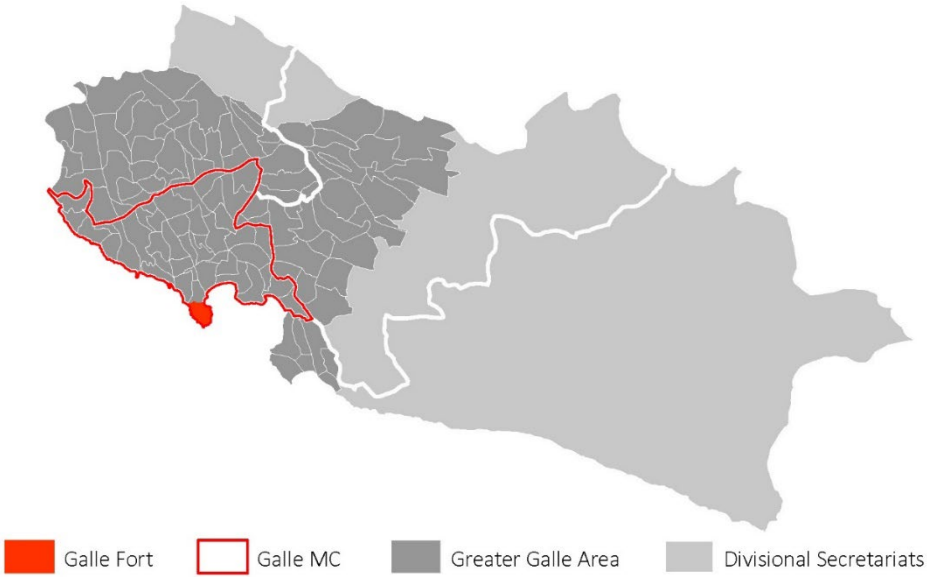

Figure 5.14. Map showing the extents of Galle Fort, Galle MC, and the Greater Galle area, Source: Data from UDA, map created by author

Previous Planning efforts

Although the UDA had a presence in Galle when the Fort was Listed in 1988, at the time its role was primarily regulatory in nature. Since there was no specific development plan for the Galle area, any development was required to be in accordance with the 1986 planning regulations. These 1986 regulations were a set of planning and development guidelines initially established for Colombo. However, in the absence of development plans for each region, these regulations were applied all across the country. Although these regulations were applied in the Galle region, as a protected area the Fort was still under the purview of the Department of Archeology. The Director of UDA Southern Province also noted that the 1986 regulations as well as the conceptual model of the UDA in Sri Lanka was deeply influenced by the functioning of the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore. Although the limitations of these cookie cutter regulations were recognized early on, the first development plan for Galle was not prepared until 2009 by the UDA.

Given the pattern of sprawl that was observed as early as 2001, several planning efforts have been conducted for the Galle area over the years. In the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami, ADV Consultants led by Ashley De Vos was tasked with preparing a Development Plan for Galle. The proposals of this plan were largely related to tourism development particularly in the areas surrounding the Fort. It called for the stadium to be shifted up the coastline, with the esplanade converted back to an open space. It also proposed a CBD and administrative center in the areas just outside the Fort. The plan also envisioned the development of peripheral education centers along major transportation corridors.

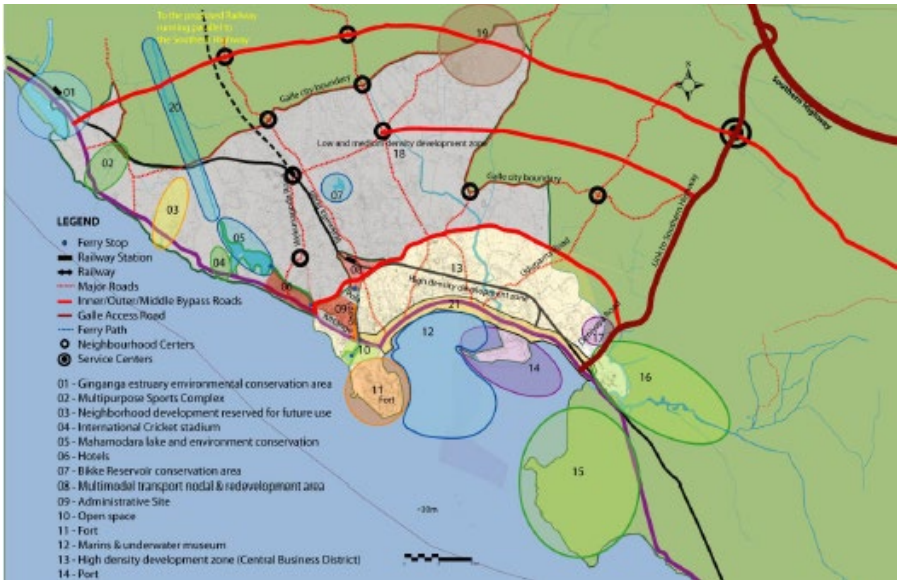

Figure 5.15. Development Plan prepared by ADV Consultants in the aftermath of the 2004 tsunami, Source: (UDA 2019)

Following this initial effort, the UDA prepared a Development Plan for the Galle MC area that was enacted in 2009. The plan specified the existing uses and permitted land uses within the areas earmarked for development. Like the ADV plan emphasized tourism development, this development plan aimed to strengthen and diversify economic activity and to develop Galle town as a major tourist center in the Southern province. It called for conservation of built heritage in the Fort with some natural areas marked for conservation. However, considering urban sprawl, newly emerging peripheral nodes, and the threats to the natural environment from rapid development the plan's focus on Galle MC was outdated. The UDA quickly recognized the limitations of this plan and has since expanded its efforts to the Greater Galle area.

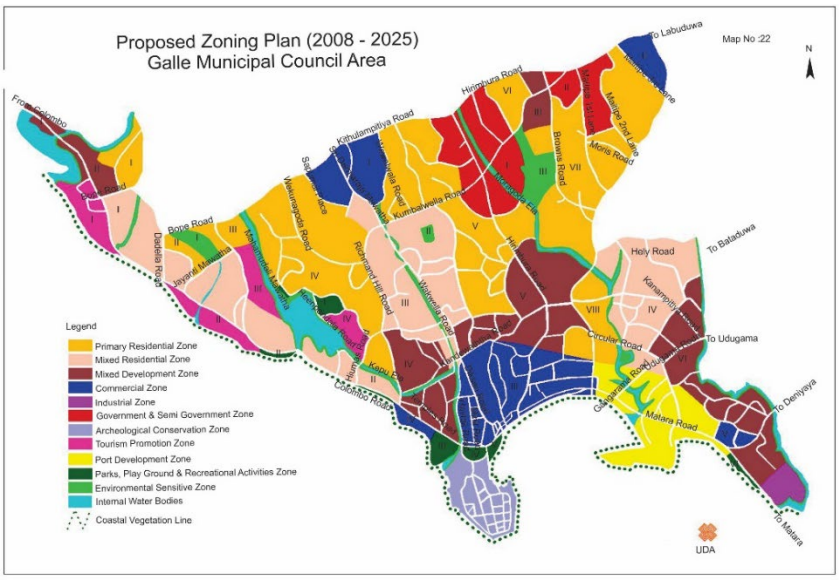

Figure 5.16. Proposed zoning plan 2008 - 2025 for Galle MC area prepared by the UDA, Source: (UDA 2019)

At the request of the UDA, in 2015 Uni Consultancy Services from the University of Moratuwa prepared the Galle City Region Strategic Development Plan 2030. The plan took a regional planning approach and proposed the enhancement of five "smart growth centers" in addition to the Galle CBD. It also emphasized the tourism potential stating – "Among the different potentials of Galle and the surrounding region, attractions for tourism undoubtedly become the most significant and that makes it most competitive with other locations in the island." The plan proposed expansion of tourism from Galle Fort to other destinations in the region. It emphasized the need to cultivate plural forms of tourism like adventure tourism, eco-tourism, in addition to cultural and heritage tourism. This plan has been influential to the UDA's latest Development Plan which is slated to be released later in 2019.

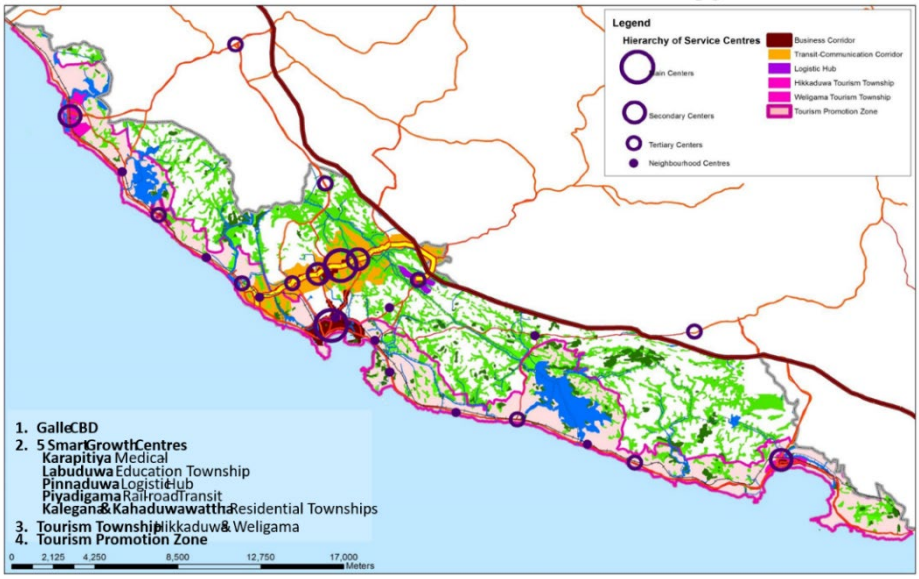

Figure 5.17. Galle City Region Strategic Development Plan prepared by Uni Consultancy services in 2015, Source: (UDA 2019)

The latest Development Plan prepared by the UDA for the Greater Galle area reinforces the complete conversion of the Fort into a zone for tourism, with the transfer of all other community functions like health and education to peripheral magnets. The plan proposes to treat Galle Fort and its surrounding areas as a Tourism Development Zone that will "reinstate the glory of the Medieval Legacy". The conceptualization of 'tourism' as a legitimate land use much like residential or commercial uses highlights its significance to the planned future of the region.

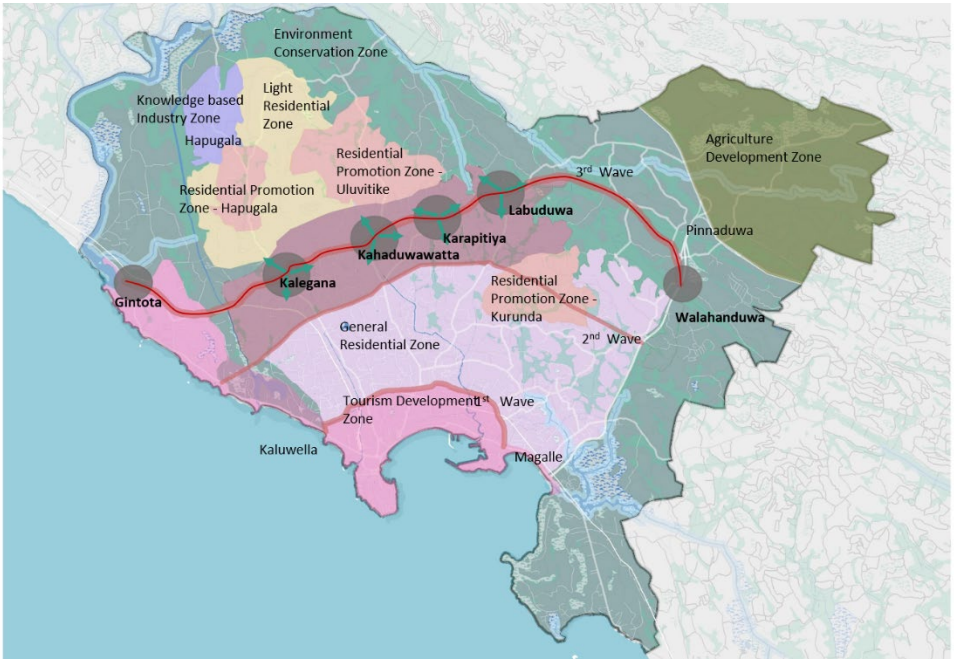

Figure 5.18. Concept plan that is part of the 2019 Development Plan for the Greater Galle area, Source: (UDA 2019)

However, the transfer of functions to the periphery coupled with the promotion of a monolithic Tourism Development Zone around the Fort, could have immense impact on the "living heritage" aspect of this area. The presence of the bus terminal, railway station, and administrative functions just outside the Fort have resulted in its continued functioning as the center for the region despite sprawling growth. However, while the proposed creation of new transport nodes at the periphery of the Greater Galle area would relieve some of the pressure in the Fort area, it may also be accompanied by intensified touristification of the Fort and its surroundings. If administrative and educational functions in the Fort and its surroundings are transferred to the peripheries, the implications would be immense.

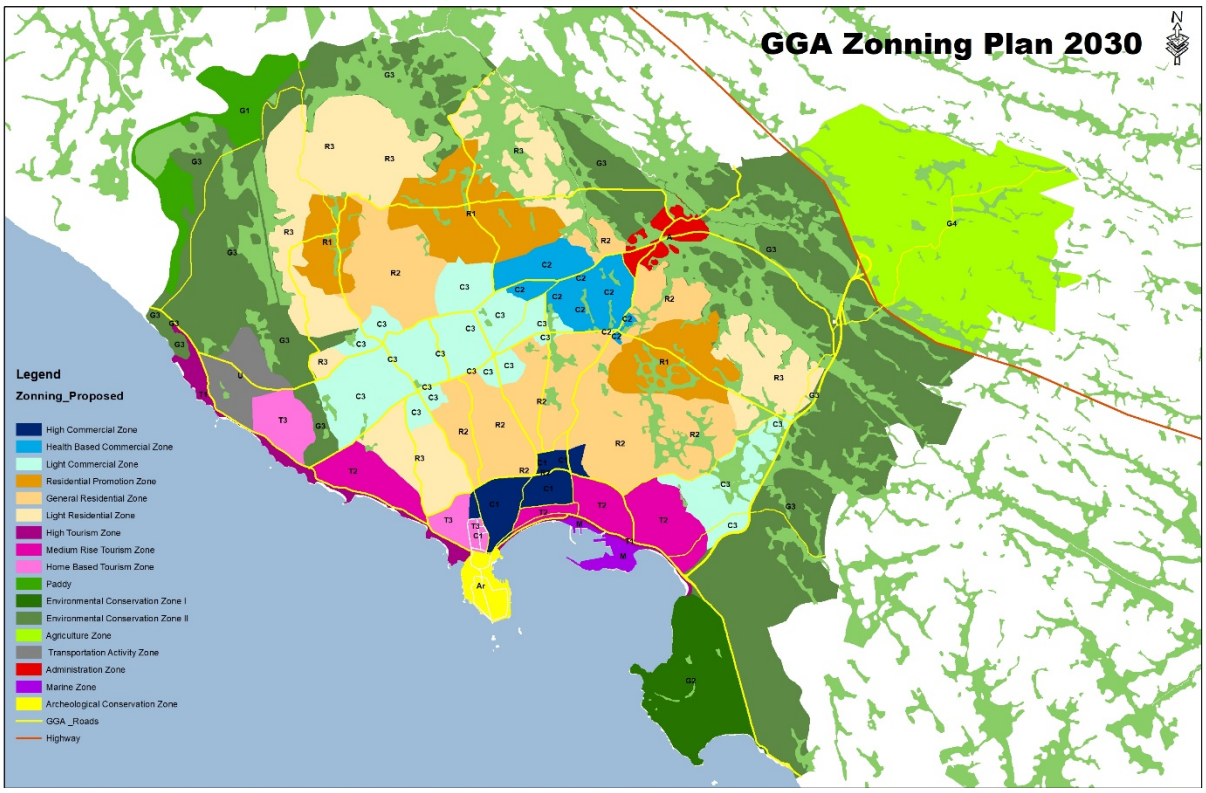

Figure 5.19. Greater Galle Zoning Plan 2030 with intensified Tourism Development Zone's in the Fort and surrounding areas shown in shades of pink, Source: Galle Draft Development Plan (UDA 2019)

While the development of a poly-centric metropolitan area is a positive step in addressing some of the current issues, the full-scale conversion of the Fort and its surroundings into a tourism zone could be problematic. This monolithic treatment of the Fort and its reduction to a tourist attraction, threatens the very existence of its living community. While the recent growth of tourism has benefited this community in some ways, the conversion of the Fort into an attraction demands an examination of who *really* benefits, and who bears the brunt of the burden of this transformation?

Furthermore, can a site that is promoted as "living heritage" truly retain this characteristic in its transformation into a tourist attraction? While the latest plan intends to capitalize on colonial nostalgia through tourism development, it is unclear what these efforts will entail and how conservation will be implemented. One of the concerns that have been repeatedly raised by ICOMOS and the World Heritage Center has been regarding the need for 'sustainable tourism'. To this end, a 'Sustainable Tourism Strategy' has been developed and is supposed to be implemented. However, given the number of agencies involved in any development activity in this area its adoption has been slow. The primary objectives of this strategy are the sustainable management of tourism, and balancing tourism with the needs of the living community. However, this effort has primarily focused on *sustaining* tourism by generating return visits, balancing short term and extended visitors, and making "the difficult decisions as to how the everyday life of the living community can go on alongside the tourist influx" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2018b). However, it is unclear how the plan proposes to do this, and how this goal of "sustainable tourism" will be integrated into the UDA's vision for the Greater Galle Area. The latest UDA Development Plan only proposes the creation of a Galle Fort Management Plan which entails the preparation of a database of the structures in the Fort. The task of managing conservation, development pressures from tourism, and the needs of the Fort's living community are not addressed in the Draft Development Plan.

Treatment of Galle Fort

While all the planning efforts have varied in their focus, their objectives, or even in their planning approach, they have all been in consensus on the treatment of Galle Fort. In all the development scenarios Galle Fort has been positioned primarily as an area for tourist development. Given the range of threats to the living community that are already in existence, this relatively monolithic treatment of the Fort as a tourist attraction raises concerns about its future. The UDA is an agency that is both tasked and equipped to deal with development issues. The GHF or the Department of Archeology are conservation agencies whose emphasis and expertise is in the preservation of the built environment. The management of a living urban fabric like Galle Fort requires a careful balancing of conservation and development. Entrusting the task primarily to conservation agencies leaves them ill-equipped to deal with development pressures and vice versa. While the UDA is one of the agencies involved in the Planning Sub-Committee for projects in the Fort, its Development Plan for the Greater Galle Area does not do much to address specific issues in the Fort. Instead it designates the Fort as an Archeological Conservation Zone thereby relying on conservation agencies

to manage development. Conservation of the "living heritage" of the Fort requires proper development and management of the built environment *and* its embedded cultural processes. However, current planning efforts and processes do not go beyond superficial measures to address this "living heritage" conundrum.

CHAPTER 6
Conclusions

The primary objective of this thesis has been to consider what the implications of World Heritage Listing *truly* are, using the site of Galle Fort as a case study to consider these impacts. As seen through the themes that have been explored, Listing is not always directly responsible for these impacts. However, it does provide an unparalleled level of global recognition and attention that draws other forces into action, thereby indirectly shaping the site. As noted in chapter 1, countries across the world seek World Heritage status for their sites due to the prestige, global attention, and the promise of increased tourism that is associated with Listing. This is particularly true for postcolonial, developing countries that use Listing as an opportunity to reinforce their newly constructed national identities on the international stage, and to develop tourism. The tourism economy is particularly attractive to developing countries since it capitalizes available resources to generate employment and brings foreign exchange into the country. The success of Listing towards these ends, has made the World Heritage program immensely popular across regions of the world – especially among developing countries that view listing as a tool for economic development. Sites are spread across 167 countries, with new sites being proposed every year. The program's continued popularity further stresses the need for introspection into this idea of world heritage and the tensions around its implementation, particularly in living urban heritage sites.

The UNESCO World Heritage site of 'Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications' highlights some of the fundamental issues with the very conceptualization of world heritage. The site illustrates the inherent tensions between the idea of a 'world heritage' and the living heritage of a local community. It also raises concerns about the heritage conservation paradigm and the deeply political connotations of the very act of preservation. Inclusion on the World Heritage List is *itself* an act of exclusion that represents the prioritization of a particular heritage over others. Furthermore, when considered at the scale of the site it can mean the selective preservation of certain preferred narratives of the past, with the exclusion of alternate perspectives and counter-narratives. This discriminatory act of preservation is not an insulated occurrence. It is typically shaped by transnational and national agendas, and facilitated by local power dynamics. So, although the intentions of the World Heritage program may only be concerned with the safeguarding of heritage, in reality the program provides legitimacy and global validation to everything under its protection.

Consequently, any heritage site Listing must be cognizant of these tangential repercussions of offering UNESCO's stamp-of-approval.

In the preceding chapters, I have considered the tensions between different scales of identity-building associated with the site, explored the politics of conservation and its motivating forces, and probed the impacts of tourism alongside the mechanisms supporting its imbalances. In this final chapter, I will briefly retrace the themes within these three primary buckets of findings, in order to help synthesize the major issues that have been identified. While the study is focused on the particular case of Galle Fort, I hope to draw more broad applications from this case study to postulate directions that demand further attention in global planning and heritage practice. The findings of this study offer valuable lessons on the implications of Listing on complex living sites, and emphasize the need for careful consideration of these effects before the pursuit of World Heritage status.

Concerns about Colonial Neutralizing

As seen in Chapter 3, Galle Fort is entangled in the politics of identity construction at a variety of scales. While the Fort has a long history of colonial heritage attributed to three distinct European traditions, its Dutch ancestry is prioritized. This preferential attitude towards particular pasts as heritage is aided both by temporal distance, and by lingering negativity towards the more recent British era of colonization. These biased perspectives on colonialism are prevalent both in the colonized Sri Lanka and in the colonizing Netherlands. At the international level, Galle Fort and other former Dutch colonies have been used to neutralize the undesirable connotations of colonialism through a shared heritage program. This program of the Dutch government is highly legible in the built and social landscape of Galle Fort and has been successful in rebuilding the Dutch image in Sri Lanka and beyond. While the idea of colonial patrimony is well received at the local level, national attitudes towards colonial heritage are not so forgiving. At the national level, state-led efforts have largely been preoccupied with using heritage for the construction of a Sinhalese national identity since independence. National tourism agencies favor the promotion of sites with Buddhist ties and are indifferent towards colonial heritage sites like Galle Fort. These national attitudes are evident in the landscape of Sri Lanka's World Heritage sites. The World Heritage list is a global proclamation of a nation's identity through heritage. With five of Sri Lanka's six cultural heritage sites being Buddhist sites, their message to the world is clear.

The use of heritage and the world heritage platform to promote dominant national narratives is incredibly problematic. It provides an unparalleled amount of global exposure and enables the reinforcement of national agendas. In Sri Lanka's case, the use of World Heritage to promote a Sinhalese-national identity was one among several other initiatives that eventually resulted in a violent and bloody civil war that lasted a quarter of a century. The dire consequences in Sri Lanka's case, should serve as a cautionary tale that encourages a more careful consideration of the hidden motives behind heritage promotion.

The tensions between the idea of world heritage, shared heritage, and living heritage collide dramatically in the colonial heritage site of Galle Fort. The existence of both world heritage status and shared heritage status for the Fort has led to a complementary functioning of the two programs. While the world heritage program provides accountability, institutionalized standards and recognition, the shared heritage program provides tangible assistance through funds, training and expertise. However, most sites do not enjoy this double status leading them to succumb to the worst aspects of whichever program they are under. While Galle Fort is in no way a "perfect" heritage site, it is important to learn from the successes that have emerged from the existence of tandem programs.

The local identity politics of world heritage and shared heritage that I have explored in chapter 3 highlight the importance of recognizing that these programs are not neutral expressions of identity. The case of Galle Fort demands that we take pause to consider – What is heritage being asked to do? Which pasts are chosen? By whom? And why?

Questioning the Ethics of Conservation

Building on these findings regarding contested pasts and identity construction through the site, in Chapter 4 I explored the politics of preservation, and the emergence of romanticized notions of colonial culture with the rise of a colonial-chic aesthetic. Since Listing demands a commitment to conservation, I explored how preferences for particular colonial pasts have permeated into these conservation efforts in the Fort. In the chapter, I considered the motivations and attitudes towards nostalgic colonial conservation through the lenses of various stakeholders in the Fort.

The politics of heritage preservation is apparent at a variety of scales in the context of the Fort. At the local level, selective colonial nostalgia has resulted in the prioritization of Dutch built heritage over other colonial periods in conservation efforts here. Furthermore, the heritage

management process in the Fort is a complicated one that highlights unequal power dynamics in the community with the prioritization of foreigners over locals. At a more macro-level, the political climate of the country including the civil war, the interim ceasefire, and contemporary foreign relations have all shaped the patterns of conservation investment in the Fort and surrounding areas. The politics of scale in conservation efforts also becomes apparent in considering the functioning of world heritage and shared heritage in Galle Fort. While the World Heritage program has primarily been preoccupied with larger urban scale concerns, the Shared Heritage program has operated at the building scale. While the myopic focus of each program can potentially be dangerous on its own, the two programs have complemented each other well at the site. However, since all conservation efforts have been hyper-focused on the Fort with little protection or planning for the greater Galle area, it has suffered from spillover development pressures in recent years.

In considering the motivations behind conservation in Galle Fort, it becomes apparent that conservation efforts have primarily been motivated by tourism. Recent discussions about moving non-tourist programming like schools and the legal courts out of the Fort seriously threaten the idea of the Fort as "living heritage". A recent ICOMOS Report from 2016, also mentions talks about ticketing the entrance to the Fort implying a complete conversion of the Fort into a tourist complex. As discussed in Chapter 1, heritage is not just the material fabric but also the cultural processes within it. However, it is apparent from the patterns of conservation in Galle Fort, that much has been done to protect the material fabric while the "human heritage" is increasingly under threat with the site's growing popularity as a tourist destination.

With this emphasis on conservation, development in the form of modernization is received very differently by locals and expat residents. While improvements are well received by locals, nostalgic notions of colonial heritage among expats has led to a rejection of modernization efforts in the Fort. Furthermore, the World Heritage program's emphasis on authenticity further exacerbates tensions between development and conservation. A fundamental requirement of Listing, Galle Fort highlights the fundamental vagueness of the concept and its openness to varied interpretations.

The discussion on conservation and its underlying motivations emphasizes the highly contentious nature of the act of preservation. As seen in Galle Fort, decisions regarding conservation are rarely neutral or apolitical. The study of conservation intention and implementation in Galle Fort highlights the importance of always questioning *what* is being conserved, and more importantly *for whom* (and *by whom*) is it being conserved?

The Need for Sustainable Tourism

As seen from the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, Listing impacts tourism both directly and through indirect influences. While the tourism economy is beneficial at the local and national levels, it can also result in a new era of colonization through gentrification. In chapter 5, I explored the various aspects of gentrification that are apparent in Galle Fort and the greater Galle area, alongside the planning and policy measures that have enabled them. Gentrification in the Fort has been marked by changing patterns of property ownership, rising land values, and shifting demographics in the Fort's population. National policies on property ownership have changed numerous times with the fluctuating political climate in the last two decades. During the civil war, foreign property ownership was encouraged in an effort to attract foreign investment to Sri Lanka. However, since the end of the war and the boom of tourism in recent years these policies have become more restrictive towards outsiders. The Fort has also become increasingly commercialized with the growth of tourism.

Gentrification has resulted in the increasing movement of the local community out of the Fort, in order to utilize their properties in the Fort for more lucrative tourism uses. This outward flow of people coupled with state-led efforts to shift administrative functions out of the Fort, has led to urban sprawl and growth at the peripheries. However, the Fort's depopulation coupled with the changing functionality of the Fort poses a threat to the Fort's "living heritage" identity. While concerns about the loss of "living heritage" are warranted, it is important to keep in mind the question – loss for whom?

Grappling with the effects of tourism in the Fort is challenging. On the one hand, the Fort exhibits all the symptoms of gentrification – a phenomenon that is perceived negatively for its association with displacement within the field of planning. However, Galle Fort also illustrates that while some conservation and policy mechanisms have indeed fed into this negative gentrification narrative, there have also been some benefits for the local community. The growing tourist industry has created many economic opportunities for locals who have been able to own and run profitable businesses catering to tourists. Locals have also benefited to some extent from the rising property values in the Fort that have enabled them to earn valuable rental income. The sale of property in the Fort, has also enabled them to afford much larger properties outside the Fort allowing them to continue traditional Muslim practices of property inheritance.

The exploration into the impacts of tourism and tourism gentrification, highlights the need for policy and planning mechanisms that safeguard the living heritage of sites. Galle Fort illustrates the importance of both national level policies as well as regional and local planning mechanisms to achieve this. While tourism can have many benefits, the lack of a plan for sustainable tourism can prove catastrophic. While the World Heritage Center has repeatedly called for the preparation of a plan for sustainable tourism, this has primarily focused on *sustaining* tourism by generating return visits and balancing short term and extended visitors. It is insufficient for the treatment of living heritage to be limited to its interface with tourism. The "sustainable" management of tourism at a living heritage site should first be concerned with the sustainability of its living community. While sustaining tourism is of immense importance to the local economy, the erosion of the living community endangers the very living heritage that this tourism relies on.

If the goal of "World Heritage" is to safeguard sites for *all* the people of the world, surely the sites' living community should be included among them. Especially for a site touted as "living heritage", protection of its living community as much as its built fabric is essential for safeguarding the site. The application of the idea of "sustainable tourism" in Galle Fort highlights the need to clarify: What is being sustained? For whom is it being sustained? And who is involved in this decision-making?

Conclusion

The World Heritage site of Galle Fort provides valuable lessons about the local identity politics of world heritage. It highlights the danger of postcolonial tendencies towards colonial nostalgia and draws attention to concerns about neutralizing colonialism. Furthermore, in light of the emphasis on particular pasts through the World Heritage program, the question of who is involved in the decision-making is especially pertinent. Galle Fort's path to inscription as a top-level process with no input from local inhabitants is not atypical. For a program that emphasizes global ownership of heritage, it is especially troubling that the decision to nominate a site does not require the involvement or even the cooperation of local stakeholders – those who are typically most affected by inscription. While the World Heritage Centre has been successful in holding State Parties accountable to conservation standards, it needs to do more to address the absence of any requirements for participation, or community involvement in the nomination process. The absence of a communal process is particularly paradoxical for a program that stresses collectivity.

Conservation efforts at Galle Fort also highlight some of the issues embedded in contemporary conservation practice, demanding a careful consideration of the politics of preservation and the ethics of conservation. In addition to paying attention to what is being conserved and why, the story at Galle Fort emphasizes the need to consider the key stakeholders that are involved (or excluded) from heritage conservation and policymaking. It highlights the pressing need for State Parties to consider the cost of World Heritage conservation – those who are sidelined by a site's protection for the world. Furthermore, the findings at Galle Fort also raises concerns about those tasked with the responsibility of protection. Listing is based on the state of a site at the time of its nomination. While the World Heritage Center does require countries to identify the boundaries of protection, long-term planning efforts and mechanisms to handle development pressures are dealt with on an ad hoc basis – if at all. Rather than using delisting as a punishment for sites that have gone too far, a plan for managing development and conservation should be a pre-requisite for inscription, not an afterthought.

Lastly, the findings at Galle Fort emphasizes the need for managing tourism in a manner that is sustainable and can support the survival of "living heritage". Tourism is a widely accepted indirect effect of Listing. However, the current nomination process does not require any preparatory efforts to manage this tourism in a proactive or sustainable manner. The effects of Listing are currently handled reactively. For instance, in Galle Fort, the growth of tourism has led to repeated recommendations by ICOMOS for the preparation of a tourism management plan. While the first of such recommendations was made in a 1998 Report, a 2016 Report indicated that a plan was being prepared, and in 2018 the plan had still not been implemented. Planning for sustainable tourism requires a clear understanding of what sustainability even means in this context. While it may imply sustaining a tourism industry at the national level, at the local level sustainability could imply a more people-centered, community-based approach. Rather than treating sustainable tourism management as a byproduct of the program, its definitions, objectives and mechanisms should command as much attention as conservation does currently.

This discussion of sustainability and tourism becomes especially relevant across the world in light of recent threats from terrorism, and its impacts on tourism – a critical economic sector in many developing nations. In the aftermath of 9/11, international travel has become safer than ever, but the culture of fear triggered by terrorism poses a significant threat to global travelers (Fusco 2016). In April 2019, the Easter Sunday attacks in Sri Lanka targeted churches *and hotels* in three

cities, killing and injuring hundreds. The country's fragile economy has seen steady progress since the end of the civil war in 2009 – driven primarily by tourism. While terrorism striking the country is itself detrimental to tourism, the fact that the attacks specifically targeted luxury hotels is even more disastrous for its growing tourist industry. In December 2018, Lonely Planet named Sri Lanka the "No. 1 Country to visit in 2019", heralding high hopes for the tourism sector in 2019. While it is too soon to quantify the economic impacts of the attack, some news outlets have reported that 70% of hotel reservations have been cancelled since the attack (Doyle 2019). Attacks in other countries have typically taken many years to recover from. For instance, arrivals to Bali dropped by 40% after the terrorist attacks in October 2002 and did not return to pre-attack levels for 2 years (Lee 2019). With one in ten Sri Lankan families depending on tourism for their livelihood, the effects of these attacks could be staggering.

In a country just beginning to recover from its long civil war, the shattering of hard-won peace is deeply troubling. Tensions in the country have typically existed between its Sinhalese majority and other minorities – between Sinhalese and Tamils during the civil war. There have also been periodic clashes between the island's Buddhist majority and its Muslim minority populations – a Muslim shrine in the ancient Buddhist city of Anuradhapura was destroyed by monks in 2011, more recently in 2018 anti-Muslim riots broke out in Kandy District. However, the recent terrorist attacks on churches, draws Sri Lanka into a global us-versus-them battle that has become increasingly visible in neighboring countries like India, Myanmar, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

In this global climate of conflict, World Heritage sites have increasingly become vehicles of geopolitical tensions. On the one hand, World Heritage sites are a means of identity-construction at a variety of scales; on the other, these identities can be symbolically destroyed through the destruction of the World Heritage site as seen in the case of Palmyra in Syria. During our ongoing cultural crisis, the themes discussed in the previous chapters – of identity construction, politics of preservation, ethics of conservation, and sustainable tourism – become more relevant than ever.

Although Galle Fort was inscribed as a World Heritage site nearly three decades ago, the effects of Listing have been slow to emerge – still in its nascent stages, it is not too late to save the "living heritage" of Galle Fort and everything it represents.

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Appendix

Survey Consent:

You have been asked to participate in a research study conducted by Aarthi Janakiraman from the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (M.I.T.) in Cambridge, USA.

Please note that (1) participation is voluntary; (2) you may decline to answer any and all questions and withdraw your participation at any time; and (3) confidentiality and anonymity are assured.

Please contact Aarthi Janakiraman (ajanakir@mit.edu, +1 475-232-3024) with any questions or concerns.
If you feel you have been treated unfairly, or you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, you may contact the Chairman of the Committee on the Use of Humans as Experimental Subjects, M.I.T., Room E25-143b, 77 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge, MA 02139, phone 1-617-253-6787.

By proceeding to the survey/questionnaire on the next page you are indicating that you are at least 18 years old, have read and understood this consent form and agree to participate in this research study. Please keep this page for your records and return the survey/questionnaire to the researchers. Please DO NOT write your name on the survey/questionnaire.

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1. I am…
   - ☐ Visitor to Galle from outside Sri Lanka
   - ☐ Visitor to Galle from Sri Lanka
   - ☐ Resident of Galle city

2. ***[If a visitor]*** How many times have you visited Galle Fort?
   - ☐ This is my first time
   - ☐ 2nd time
   - ☐ 3 or more visits

3. ***[If a resident]*** How long have you lived in Galle?
   - ☐ Less than 5 years
   - ☐ 5 – 9 years
   - ☐ 10 – 19 years
   - ☐ 20 – 29 years
   - ☐ 30 years or more

4. Where do you live (if resident) or stay (if visitor)?
   - ☐ Inside Galle Fort
   - ☐ Just outside the fort walls (Kaluwella, Walawwatta, Minuwangoda)
   - ☐ Other neighborhoods in the city of Galle
   - ☐ I'm in Galle for a day-trip from _____

5. Has the United Nations designated the Old town of Galle a World Heritage Site?
   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No
   - ☐ Don't know

For the statements that follow, please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, or are uncertain.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
6. ***[If Answer to #5 yes, and a visitor]*** Galle's status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site influenced my decision to visit.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. ***[If Answer to #5 yes, and a resident]*** Galle's status as a UNESCO World Heritage Site influenced my decision to live here.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. The Old town of Galle is an important place for all Sri Lankans.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. The Old town of Galle is a site of outstanding heritage value globally (outside Sri Lanka)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. **Check all that apply.** The Old town of Galle is important because of its…

- ☐ Cultural heritage
- ☐ Natural heritage
- ☐ Other: _____

11. **Check all that apply.** What does the word AUTHENTICITY in terms of heritage mean to you?

- ☐ Having historic architecture present
- ☐ The history is being told accurately
- ☐ Remains in its original form

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12. The Old town of Galle is an authentic heritage site	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Age :

- ☐ Under 30 years
- ☐ 30 – 39 years
- ☐ 40 – 49 years
- ☐ 50 – 59 years
- ☐ 60 – 69 years
- ☐ 70 – 79 years
- ☐ 80 and above

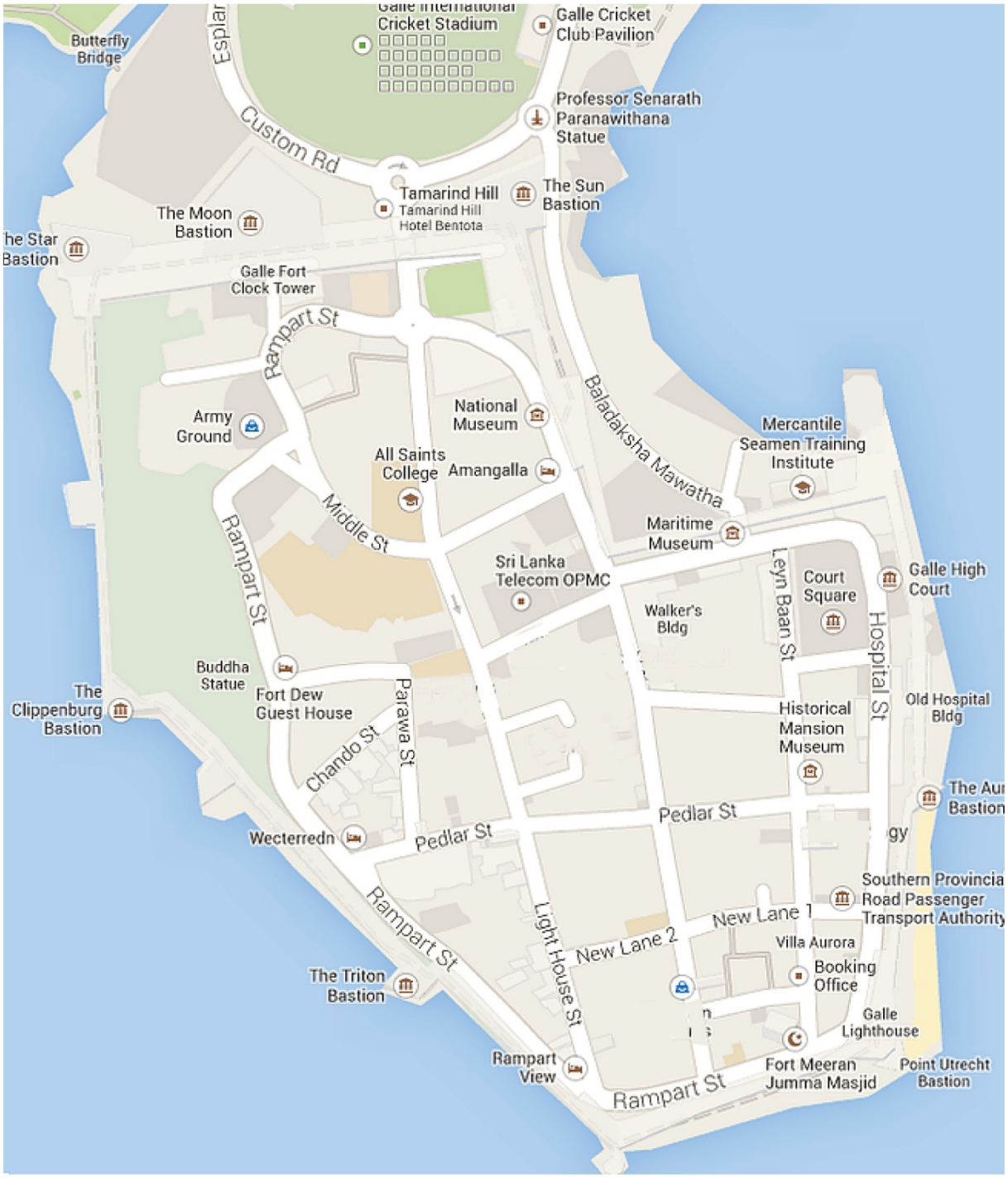
Gender :

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Residing in :

- ☐ Asia
- ☐ Australia
- ☐ Europe and the United Kingdom
- ☐ North America
- ☐ Latin America and the Caribbean
- ☐ Africa
- ☐ Arab States

Is there any particular area of the Old town of Galle that you think is authentic? Use the map below to indicate your opinion.



☐ Don't know