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Changes in the cultural landscape and their impacts on heritage management : a study of Dutch Fort at Galle, Sri Lanka

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A Study of Dutch Fort at Galle, Sri Lanka

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A Study of Dutch Fort at Galle, Sri Lanka

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Preface

"The fort is there, [but] you are not there."

In May 2018, a high school student who lives in Galle Fort (Sri Lanka) posted a Facebook request to his friends: "what will you write for me when I die?"[1] One of his friends commented, "The fort exists; you do not exist," which portrayed how locals perceived the long-term existence of Galle Fort, spanning nearly four centuries, from colonial times to the present.[2] The fortress walls were strong enough to withstand the Indian Ocean tsunami in December 2004, which devastated the southern and eastern coasts of Sri Lanka, and was the country's most destructive natural disaster in recorded history. Despite being a colonial edifice, the frontal view of Galle's [Dutch] ramparts are regarded as the iconic image of Galle, symbolizing the stability, rigidity and the power of the Southerners—a testament to the fort as a "localized colonial monument" (as outlined in sub-chapter 6.1.3). In 1988, Galle Fort—at the time an old, walled seaside town with a local community—was recognized as a World Heritage city in the form of the "Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications," a name still restricted to UNESCO's World Heritage list and related international and bureaucratic purposes. The fort does indeed continue to exist, despite the changes inherent to any urban landscape, amid each successive phase—as a fortified town, a colonial port city, a residential-administrative centre and a World Heritage city.

This study critically assesses the changes World Heritage recognition has brought about in the fort during the past 30 years, and how these changes have affected Galle Fort as a monument; the community living in it, who perceive the fort as a *gama* ("village"); and ultimately its urban heritage management.

1 A Facebook post by Gayoth Sandeepana, 16 May 2018 (the author wished to be named).

2 A friend's comment on a Facebook post by Gayoth Sandeepana, 16 May 2018.

GATEWAY TO "THE FORT": FROM COLONIAL FORTIFIED CITY TO A WORLD HERITAGE CITY

The study focuses on Galle Fort, the colonial administrative-port city founded and developed by three European colonial powers in peninsular Galle, on the picturesque southern coast of Ceylon (currently Sri Lanka), with finest cinnamon, the Dutch VOC's main trade interest. It was at the end of the 16th century that the Portuguese founded the *Fortalesa de Gale*, which was developed into a standard fortification around 1620 (Pieris 1913, 1914; Abeyasinghe 1966; Reimers 1929). The Dutch East India Company captured the fort in 1640, following by a siege in partial cooperation with King Rājasingha II of Kandy (1635–1687), who was intent on driving the Portuguese away, as they had developed territorial ambitions despite their initial trade interests (Goonewardena 1958). The VOC fortified the whole of peninsular Galle by strengthening the same fortifications that we see today. Dutch occupation made the most significant impact during the colonial phase of the fortress, still visible in its existing architecture, and offered an indication of the development of the urban landscape. *Vesting Gale* (Galle Fortress) was occupied by the British in 1796 (De Silva 1953), the last colonial power strong enough to capture the whole island, in 1815, who remained there until Ceylon's independence in 1948.

How are such "colonial monuments" perceived in Sri Lanka? Sri Lanka is a predominantly Buddhist country (with a multi-ethnic community comprising 70% [Sinhalese] Buddhists), with the vast majority of Buddhist religious monuments dating from the 3rd century BCE onwards, and formerly ruled by Sinhalese Buddhist kings who provided royal patronage to foster Buddhism. These Buddhist monuments are much valued in the country, while they are also connected to Sinhalese Buddhist

nationalism.[3] Several colonial edifices gradually gained recognition as monuments in the country after its independence, a result of the material-based national heritage practice heavily influenced by the Western schools, which treated all monuments equally over the past half-century (as outlined in sub-chapter 2.5).[4] On the other hand, as a country with a rich heritage, all "monuments"—either local, colonial, Buddhist or ones belonging to other faiths—are generally valued in the country. Although Sri Lanka's colonial past is generally known to its people, who have a 92% literacy rate—the highest in South Asia—it is a "bygone era" in the ordinary local sense, especially among the young, who have a 98% literacy rate, yet have never experienced colonial Ceylon (as outlined in sub-chapter 2.5). [5]

Galle Fort is generally called *Gālu Kotuwa* (Galle Fort), but also *Gāllē Ōlanda* or *Landēsi Kotuwa* ("Hollandais Fort at Galle"), largely by the previous generations, who were not used to the word "Netherlands," but "Holland." To the people of Galle, including the fort's residents, it is just *Kotuwa* ("the Fort"). Despite the majority of the colonial forts in the country having been founded by the Portuguese, locals identify them as *Ōlanda Kotu,* "the Hollandais or the Dutch Forts," as the Dutch were primarily responsible for their present forms. Although Sri Lanka has nearly 30 colonial forts (including a number of ruined ones)[6] and many colonial edifices, Galle Fort is unique among them in several respects. It is the only "walled town" in the country with a multi-ethnic urban community living inside the fortress walls, which is lesser known or unknown to people outside the South, who see the fort as a monument.[7] Thus, it is a "living historic town." It is the "best preserved" and largest colonial fortress, also being the most visited and largest colonial monument in the country, known all over Sri Lanka. Surrounded by the Indian Ocean and featuring centuries-old colonial architecture, the fort boasts rich scenic and architectural beauty. Being an urban landscape that is unique in the country, together with its community, Galle Fort has inspired not only research, but also songs, books and the award-winning Sinhala film *Pawuru Walalu* ("Walls Within," 1997).[8] Besides these, the fort was important to the people of Galle as an administrative centre, a capacity that is now substantially reduced.

What made Galle Fort a World Heritage city? UNESCO's short introduction identifies the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications 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."[9] In general, walled towns fall under UNESCO's criterion iv, indicating outstanding architectural value (UNESCO 2018; Creighton 2007). Therefore, Galle Fort was no exception, while its Dutch colonial architecture and that particular historical phase were emphasized by the Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS (1986) and the World Heritage project from the onset. Thus, neither the presence of the people inside the fortress walls nor the living space it created throughout its history exceeded the "material value" of the fortress.

3 Also called "ethno-religious nationalism," and further outlined in sub-chapter 2.5, Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism emerged as a socio-political mobilizing force in Sri Lanka from the mid-19th century to consolidate the socio-political interests of the Buddhist elites (Nuhman 2016).

4 Archaeological studies of Ceylon were initiated by the British over a century ago, having a somewhat different scope, but later aiming the preservation of monuments; this continued after independence, parallel with global developments in heritage, heavily influenced by the Venice Charter (1964).

5 The country has a 92% literacy rate, according to the Ministry of Education, Sri Lanka; source: http://www.mohe.gov.lk/index.php/about-ministry/overview (accessed 28 February 2019). In 2017, it was 98% among 15 to 24-year-olds, according to UNESCO; source: http://uis.unesco.org/country/LK (accessed 28 February 2019).

6 Nelson (1984) identifies 24 Dutch forts (which were mainly developed by the Dutch) and groups them into four categories, according to their locations: the Western Group (Colombo, Kalutara, Negambo, Hanwella, Kalpitiya); Southern Group (Galle, Matara, Star Fort-Matara, Tangalle, Katuwana); Northern Group (Jaffna, Hammenhiel, Elephant Pass, Pas Beschutter, Pas Pyl, Poonaryn, Mullaittivu, Point Pedro, Kankesanturai, Manner, Arippu); and Eastern Coast (Batticaloa, Fort Frederick-Trincomalee, Ostenburg) (Nelson 1984). Apart from this, Katuwana and Hakmana are also identified as fortified stockades (Nelson 1984). A few of these forts no longer exist, while a few survive only in ruins. In addition, there are also ruins of Dutch forts on Delft Island (in northern Sri Lanka) and Rathnapura.

7 Matara Fort at Matara, the second largest coastal city in Southern Province and located next to Galle, is also inhabited to a certain extent; however, it is not completely walled.

8 The film, directed by Prasanna Vithanage, focuses on a traditional post-colonial Roman Catholic family lived in Galle Fort.

9 Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451 (accessed 28 February 2019).

WORLD HERITAGE RECOGNITION AND CHANGING HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPES

Cities are built by people, inhabited by people and changed by people, unless they are changed by natural hazards or gradual natural processes. As Lynch states, cities are in a continuous process of change, which results in a different succession of phases, and there is no final result (Lynch 1960, 2). Change is a process inherent to the city, much like to everything. However, "change" in a World Heritage-recognized historic city is not very welcome in most cases. Laws, policies and the institutional interests of national governments strongly aim to preserve the historic value or rather a significant historic phase of the landscape in order to maintain the prestigious World Heritage status, which is directly linked to the economic benefits associated with global tourism. In a way, this can be identified as a strong effort to arrest the inherently dynamic nature of the city, and thus poses a challenge. The challenge is much more complex due to the contradictory nature of development needs and the conservation priorities of historic cities (Imon 2008). As preservation often conflicts with the will of the numerous users and the builders who use, inhabit, build up and constantly shape the city, the phenomenon also leads to contested historic cities. Similarly, the scenario has negatively affected the communities of World Heritage-listed walled towns in a number of cases, as these have been used and exploited by different groups over the centuries (Creighton 2007; Bruce and Creighton 2006).

Although the World Heritage programme principally aims at preservation, the World Heritage recognition of historic cities has mostly garnered criticism; Asia is no exception (Logan 1995; Simpson 2008; Winter 2010; Dearborn and Stallmeyer 2009; Manfredini 2013). World Heritage listing is associated with a number of uncontrollable and interconnected indirect impacts on historic cities and their residents, resulting in positive and negative changes that affect each other. While negative impacts include globalization, gentrification, foreign direct investments or land grab, commercialization, urban regeneration and the displacement of traditional urban communities by threats to local culture, on the contrary, the same factors also contribute to uplifting the local economy and improving safety and infrastructure while preserving the historic charm of the cities. Furthermore, some of these impacts are common to global cities from East to West, like New York, Toronto, Berlin, Shanghai and Tokyo, while they similarly affect World Heritage-listed global cities such as (historic parts of) Amsterdam and Beijing, indicating that these impacts are common effects of urbanization (Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen 2016; González Martínez 2016). However, each historic city faces these challenges—driven also by internal factors and impacts—within its own context, a common scenario from East to West.

Although the preservation of historic cities has been a concern of UNESCO and affiliated institutions since the initiation of the World Heritage programme, the historic city is seen as a "collection of monuments" at the initial stage, while urban conservation is viewed with a material-based approach. The change in the heritage paradigms from material-based approaches to value-based and people-centred approaches have resulted in seeing the historic city as a dynamic entity and a "living organism." The scope of urban conservation is thus broadened from monuments and sites to the entire built environment, including its intangible dimensions, within a landscape-based approach (Bandarin and Oers 2012; Veldpaus, Pereira Roders, and Colenbrander 2013). Parallel to this, participatory management was adopted by World Heritage programme; this also changed the approaches to managing dynamic historic cities by integrating the aspirations of the urban community, while the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape (2011) saw urban culture as a driving force of the historic city. Despite developments towards the best practices of urban conservation on global level, the process is progressing slowly at the country level, especially in South Asia, where historic cities are still managed in a conventional way, despite facing unique challenges within each local context.

RELEVANCE AND MOTIVATION

Within a broader context, this study contributes to the critical debates on the historic urban landscape

change associated with World Heritage recognition, a global heritage concern at the country level, by critically analysing how a developing South Asian nation—in the lower-middle income category—manages a colonial historic city amid its own economic, political, cultural and ethnic imperatives. The study contributes to the modern discourse of "people" as the focus of urban heritage. This research broadens the scholarship on the diverse nature of historic urban landscape change and its challenges in the South Asian context, each unique in many aspects.

On a national level, this research aims to find solutions to a practical professional issue that has existed since the 2010s, which is elaborated separately below, under "Motivation." The study is a critical assessment of local heritage laws, policies and practices dealing with urban heritage. It emphasizes the importance of participatory management and people-centred approaches, which the country's urban heritage management practices have so far lacked. Therefore, I hope that this research will contribute to creating a more sustainable urban heritage management policy, aimed at adopting global best practices for managing historic cities, within the country's own context. In addition, the study created a GIS database, complete with photographs, describing nearly 500 buildings in Galle Fort (2016), which will benefit comparative studies by future researchers.

Although Galle Fort's colonial history, architecture and maritime archaeology have been extensively studied, research on the challenges of urban heritage management associated with landscape change is comparatively scarce. The topic has only gained academic attention because of three works—by Boxem and Fuhren (2012), Sanjeewani (2012) and Samarawickrema (2012)—focusing on the World Heritage project at Galle Fort. While the first one looks at it from the point of view of heritage experts, the latter works have highlighted the views of the fort community. This study includes the views of both the community and heritage practitioners, as well as other stakeholders, and thus I try to provide a balanced view while considering the complex factors behind the changes in the urban landscape at the international, national and local levels, from laws and policies to the (national and local) political agendas. Thus, the work analyses the heritage practices of the historic city as a complex process with interconnected factors at different levels and influenced by various powers, which can neither be taken out of that context, nor researched independently.

My personal interest and professional background as a researcher attached to the Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology—the country's national heritage institution—were the motivation behind this research. The specific idea for Galle Fort as a subject of interest was triggered by my official work visit to the fort in early 2013 to follow up on UNESCO's concerns for the Galle Harbour Development Project regarding the fort and its buffer zone. Being a non-Southerner who was seeing the fort's residential (and also business) quarters after a long period, I was fascinated by its uniqueness, which cannot be found anywhere else in the island. I remarked to my colleague from Galle, "I am sure you are very happy to work in this beautiful place." To my surprise, she replied, "I wish I could get a transfer," and then explained the conflicting interests and tense interactions between heritage institutions and the community in preserving the privately-owned buildings that comprise the majority of the fort. Such conflicts are not very common for local heritage professionals,[10] as the majority of the archaeological sites and monuments in Sri Lanka have state ownership due to the powerful colonial heritage legislations coupled with a strong institutional structure. As Wijesuriya—a former Assistant Archaeology Commissioner—clearly points out, "Sri Lanka is a country with deep-rooted conventional conservation practices which have been heavily influenced by the Western school for more than a century and which are backed by a strong legislative and institutional framework" (Wijesuriya 2007, 88).

The scenario revealed the challenges faced by the Department of Archaeology in managing the country's only "World Heritage-listed colonial town" (together with other partner heritage institutions),[11]

10 However, there are a few exceptions, as two prominent examples show. The urban community living around the ancient ramparts of the former Kingdom of Kotte, currently the official capital of the country, have had conflicts with the Department of Archaeology over preserving the ramparts, which mostly run through private properties. The Department of Archaeology has also had a serious conflict with the (Buddhist) temple authorities of the World Heritage-recognized Golden Temple of Dambulla in 2017 over conservation and intrusive developments, which also became a major concern for UNESCO.

11 Galle Heritage Foundation and Urban Development Authority.

though the department has successfully managed the country's monumental heritage for more than 100 years. Furthermore, the protection of Galle Fort has drawn much national media attention in recent years due to the large-scale development projects led by the government in its buffer zone, about which UNESCO has expressed its concern.[12] The interests of the Dutch organization NUFFIC, which generously funded the project, has also contributed to the aims of this study, and prompted me to design the research in ways that would be beneficial to my organization and to the country as a whole.

AIMS, OBJECTIVE AND METHODS

Although urban landscapes are continually changing, there are strong reasons behind substantial changes, both human and natural. One particular example of human impact is the state-led urban renewals of Singapore, which changed the city-state from a colony with slums and squatters into a cosmopolitan city ranked among the top ten most liveable cities in Asia (Kong 2011). Galle Fort, a walled seaside town with ordinary locals and dilapidated colonial buildings, has gradually turned into a cosmopolitan city, tourist hotspot and prime real estate zone within three decades of its World Heritage recognition. While these developments have brought changes to the lives of members of the fort community, they have also brought challenges in preserving the fort's "colonial landscape" due to the increasing conflicts of interest between the community and heritage management institutions.

The research aims to answer the following main questions:

i. What changes (in the built environment and in demographic, commercial and cultural patterns) have occurred at Galle Fort so far since the initiation of the World Heritage project?
ii. Why do these impacts seem irreconcilable with the established guidelines for heritage management in Sri Lanka as a developing nation?
iii. How can a more equitable solution with greater consensus between stakeholders, be developed for Galle Fort?

The above-mentioned changes in Galle Fort since 1988, the conflicting interests of the stakeholders of the historic town and heritage laws (policies and practice) are the key areas analysed in this study, all of which bear interconnected factors and consequences affecting each other. The first area entails a temporal comparison to identify these changes, mainly focusing on two factors of the urban landscape—material heritage and the urban community over the past 30 years. The second area identifies the challenges to the state-led heritage management practices of the historic city, specifically through the positive and negative effects these changes have wrought on material heritage and the community. Finally, the study provides recommendations for an equitable heritage management solution for the fort, with greater focus on its community.

The research goals are achieved with multidisciplinary methods, using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods and techniques, including GIS and SPSS. The quantitative data methods focus on the changes in land use. The ideas of stakeholders are identified through qualitative methods, with special attention to the voices of the community and heritage officers. In providing a balanced view, the work also incorporates the ideas of heritage policymakers and the other professionals engaged in development activities, including architects and lawyers. The research uses a wide range of data collection methods, including interviews, questionnaires and participant observation, as well as data sets, such as historic maps, aerial photographs, survey maps, recent drone images, documentation of buildings of Galle Fort, decisions of World Heritage Committee, local heritage laws, management policy documents of Galle Fort, decisions of state heritage meetings, decisions of community meetings, newspaper articles on critical heritage decisions, letters exchanged between heritage institutions and decisions on illegal developments.

In addition, I have produced a short documentary (20 minutes), *Another Story of Galle Fort: A UNESCO World Heritage City*, focusing on the gentrification of Galle Fort and based on anecdote 1 in chapter 6. I thought that a documentary was the best way to portray the strong emotional attachment

12 The matter is further discussed and illustrated via three short cases in sub-chapter 7.7.

the residents feel towards their landscape, which I experienced throughout four years on and off at Galle Fort, but found difficult to put into words in a thesis. Furthermore, I wanted to bring the research to a wider audience through this, and thus made it available on YouTube.[13]

SCOPE AND STRUCTURE

I stress that this research is not to judge World Heritage, but rather to see its interconnected impacts over the community and historic urban landscape of Galle Fort in a balanced view which are substantially influenced by local heritage laws, policies and practice. Being the same impact can affect both positively and negatively, the study identifies the complex nature and the challenges of urban heritage management. Rather than seeing the dark side of World Heritage, the study focuses on how Sri Lanka can manage Galle Fort positively and sustainably through identifying the strengths, failures and challenges of managing the historic city over the past 30 years through the results of changes spread visibly over its landscape and remain as experiences and memories of the community. I hope the study will also be a voice for the fort's historic urban landscape, being the voice of its contemporary community.

Most of the land use changes shown in the study were observed and recorded from 2015 to January 2019. The interviews were conducted between 2015 and 2018; however, people also spoke about their memories of the landscape from several decades prior. As an independent researcher who lived in Galle Fort for more than one year between 2015 and 2018 and contacted the community often, I realized that their views are affected by new experiences amid a regenerating landscape. Similarly, the views of heritage officers, the officers themselves, heritage policies and practices also changed during this period. I tried my best to include these changes in the research, and thus I identify everything as continuous, interconnected processes rather than static and independent phenomena. Thus, the findings of this research are strongly related to this particular period in the long, continuing journey of Galle Fort. Heritage management constantly brings new issues and challenges, while heritage paradigms also change with time. Thus, I hope Galle Fort will face new challenges in the future; however, there are always lessons we could take from the past, as "history repeats itself."

The overview of the structure of the book is discussed below:

The first chapter is an introductory chapter focusing on the historical background of Galle Fort, its current condition, the fort's World Heritage recognition (1988) and the progress of the World Heritage project over the past 30 years. These factors are discussed in the context of colonial, post-colonial and post-independent policies and agendas in order to identify how they have affected Galle Fort (as a colonial port city, fortified town and a monument) and its enduring community.

The second chapter discusses the conceptual framework of the study, namely, the concept of cultural landscape, the ideas of World Heritage and the dynamic historic city and current urban heritage management. It discusses how the shift in heritage paradigms has shifted the focus of managing a historic urban landscape towards a participatory and people-centred approaches.

The third chapter focuses on the multidisciplinary methods that I propose to use in answering the main research questions, and explains why each method is proposed to achieve each specific goal. (Dutch) colonial architecture and the living community of the fort are the two main focuses of this study, analysed respectively by quantitative and qualitative methods.

The fourth chapter is both a background and discussion chapter that focuses on the institutional and legal framework of the management of Galle Fort at the international, national and local levels. It critically analyses the strengths and weaknesses of the key heritage management institutions with reference to their respective laws and institutional policy documents, parallel with the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee.

13 Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pp7y8tDFsM.

The fifth chapter focuses on the "material heritage" of urban landscapes in order to identify to what extent the preservation of the "colonial landscape" has been successful so far, this being the aim of the heritage institutions. It is based on an extensive analysis of the functional and architectural changes of nearly 500 buildings at Galle Fort, mainly townhouses under private ownership, from the initiation of the World Heritage project until 2016.

The sixth chapter focuses mainly on the "human element" of the urban landscape by discussing the drastic socio-economic changes of Galle Fort with special reference to "sense of place" and community feelings. It analyses the outcomes of World Heritage recognition, such as foreign direct investments, gentrification and commercialization, from a balanced perspective, focusing on both their positive and negative effects on community and heritage management.

The seventh chapter analyses the challenges and issues of managing the changes of historic urban landscape of Galle Fort amid the conditions described in the previous two chapters. Thus, this chapter mainly deals with the legislative application in the World Heritage city based on the laws and policies discussed in chapter four and the views of stakeholders and government sources. It also identifies conflicts of interests between the urban community and the heritage institutions.

The eighth chapter concludes the book while also providing recommendations for an equitable heritage preservation solution at Galle Fort, with equal importance given to both the community and the monument.

1. History, Overview and the World Heritage Project

The chapter focuses on the historical background of Galle Fort, its current condition, the fort's World Heritage recognition in 1988 and the progress of its World Heritage activities over the past 30 years. While the first part of the chapter discusses developments in the colonial landscape of Galle Fort and the associated community, the latter critically discusses the bureaucratic will behind its World Heritage recognition.

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GALLE FORT

1.1.1 PRECOLONIAL GALLE

Although the fort at Galle—despite the local labour and building materials responsible for its construction—is a colonial product, literary and archaeological evidence indicate that Galle was an important port city even before the colonial encounters. The city's economic prosperity, beauty and fame are mentioned in Sinhala *Sandēśa* poems[14] of the 14th to 15th centuries CE, particularly in the *Parevi Sandēśaya* ("The Pigeon's Message") and the *Mayura Sandēśaya* ("The Peacock's Message").[15] Galle, one of the natural ports of the south and a minor port during the historic period, gained prominence with the rise of the kingdoms in the southwestern regions of the island after the 12th century CE (Siriweera 2003).[16] In general, the island's strategic location within the east-west international shipping passageway has made it important to Indian Ocean transit trade from the earliest times (Prickett-Fernando 2003; Siriweera 2003). The earliest recorded visitor to the city is Ibn Battuta, the famous Arab navigator, who reached Galle in 1344 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992). Tennent has identified Galle as the port into which Chinese vessels sailed; it was known as "Lo-le" (Emerson Tennent 1860). This is further confirmed by the Galle Trilingual Slab Inscription (in Chinese, Tamil and Persian), dated 1409 and erected by General Zheng He, who was sent on a naval expedition to the Coromandel by the Chinese emperor Yongle (Willetts 1964).[17] Thus, Galle was an important harbour for Indian Ocean commerce prior to the arrival of the Portuguese on the island in 1505.

14 This genre of Sinhala poems, composed between the 14th and 16th centuries CE, revolves around the sending of a message by a messenger, especially a bird; the works were influenced by the classical Sanskrit poem, the *Meghadūta* ("The Cloud Messenger") of Kālidāsa.

15 The reference in the *Parevi Sandēśaya* ("The Pigeon's Message"), written by the erudite monk Totagamuwe Sri Rahula in the 15th century CE, reads as follows:
"Sarā soṅdin maha sayuratha mulullē
Perā rägena ran mini mutu siyallē
Sarā tubū men salpil udullē
Purā mësiri däka yägan Gāllē" (Rahula 1925 [15th century CE], 64)
(The markets are shining [almost] like all the gold, gems and pearls obtained by exploring the entire ocean. See the full beauty [prosperity] of Galle and fly ahead.) The idea of *ran-mini-mutu* or "gold, gems and pearls" in classical Sinhala literature implies "valuables," and thus the poem implies that all valuable goods are abundant in the markets of Galle, which demonstrates the prosperity of the city. In the *Mayura Sandēśaya* ("The Peacock's Message," c. 1390), the peacock messenger is requested "not to hesitate to see the beauty of Galle, which is greater than all cities of the world": *Nāllē kotanakath lova mulullē; Gāllē siri daku nova päkillē* (Kaviswara 1910 [c.1390] 84).

16 The kingdoms shifted to the south after the fall of Polonnaruwa Kingdom, the second kingdom of the country, after the invasion of Kalinga Magha (1214 CE).

17 The Chinese text of the inscription records donations bestowed on the shrine of the Buddhist temple in the mountains of Ceylon, while the Persian version records donations to a Muslim shrine and the Tamil text indicates donations to a Hindu temple (Gunawardana 2003). Wereke (2003), who discusses the political dimensions of Zheng He's arrival based on Chinese sources, states that Zheng He stopped in Sri Lanka and received a hostile reception from the regional ruler Alagakkonara, whom he then captured and brought to the Chinese court. Alagakkonara was pardoned by the emperor, but local sources are silent on this event. Although Chinese sources identify Alagakkonara as the king of Sri Lanka, this must have occurred during the period of King Buwanekbahu V (1372–1410), who was usurped by Alagakkonara and reduced to a *de jure* status (Werake 2003).

1.1.2 THE PORTUGUESE OCCUPATION

Foundation of the Fort

Although it is generally accepted that the colonial history of Ceylon begins with the unintentional arrival of the Portuguese in the bay of Galle in 1505, literary evidence strongly suggests that the port of Colombo, not Galle, was the first place of landing. According to the account of Fernão de Queirós,[18] which was later followed by Dutch chronicler Valentijn,[19] Don Laurens D'Almeida,[20] the son of Francisco D'Almeida and Viceroy of Goa, was blown off course by a storm on his way to the Maldive Islands, and accidentally entered the bay of Galle (Queyroz 1930 [1680s]; Valentijn 1726 [1978]).[21] The earliest Portuguese accounts of Ceylon, as identified and elaborated by Silva, are a letter written by King Manuel to Pope Julius II in 1507, along with the later accounts of Portuguese chroniclers João de Barros (1552), Gaspar Correia (1550s), Fernão de Queirós (1680s) and three local versions of the story: *Sītāwaka Hatana* (The War of Sitawaka; c. 1585), *Rājāvaliya* (Genealogy of Kings; mid-16th century) and *Mahā Hatana* (The Great War; late 17th century) (Silva 2009). Of the seven accounts, only Queirós mentions that the Portuguese landed at the port of Galle, while the local versions identify the place as the port of Colombo, as also claimed by João de Barros. According to archival and literary sources, Galle Fort was built much later than the first encounters with the Portuguese and the erection of Colombo Fort. However, there is a debate over the exact period in which the fort was founded by the Portuguese.

According to the accounts of Antonio Bocarro,[22] the fort was constructed on the orders of Mathias de Albuquerque, Viceroy of Goa (1591–1597), in 1589 (Bocarro 1635 [1996], 38). Abayesinghe, who refers to Queroz, Couto, Ribeiro and other sources, states that Mathias de Albuquerque reported the completion of 12 forts (*fortes* or *fortalezas*) by 1597, and Galle was among them (Abeyasinghe 1966, 28).[23] Based on Portuguese sources, Pieris states, "the erection of the fort at Galle is referred to in the letter of the City of Goa to the King, dated 1595" (Pieris 1913, 552).[24] In a letter addressed to the king of Spain and Portugal by Captain Antonio Martins, who for many years had been a prisoner of [King] Wimala Dharma (1591–1604),[25] the fort is described as small, made of palm trees and earth, and could easily be destroyed by the sea (Pieris 1913);[26] Pieris notes, "The date of the letter is uncertain, but it must have been written between 1605–1612" (Pieris 1913, 552). The construction of the fort was carried out by Smarakon Rāla, a local leader placed in charge of the districts of Galle and Matara by the Portuguese (Pieris 1913). The erection of the fort has been cited as a work that the king of Spain had been urging for the previous eight years (Pieris 1913).[27] However, (1913), Samarakon

18 *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (c. 1680).

19 François Valentijn's (1666–1727) *Description of Ceylon* was originally published in 1726. He was a Dutch minister attached to the Dutch Reformed Church in the east.

20 Also known as Dom Lourenço D'Almeida.

21 While Queyroz (1930, 177) states that D'Almeida reached the port of Gale, Valentijn mentions that they anchored in the bay of Gabalican (1978 [(1726)]), 258). Galle was known to the early Portuguese writers as Gabiliquama (as noted by the translator of Valentijn (1978 [(1726)]), 258).

22 Bocarro (1594–1643), appointed chronicler of Portuguese India and keeper of the state archives, was the author of the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoens do Estado da India Oriental*, which contained description of the lands, fortifications, revenues and expenditures of the Portuguese Empire in the East.

23 Fransciscus, who quotes F. H. Vos's "Old Galle," also mentions the fort was built in 1589 on the orders of Viceroy Methias de Albuquerque (1983, 32).

24 *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções*, 4 Thomes, published by the Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1880 –1892. III, p. 105, quoted by Pieris (1913, 552).

25 King Wimaladharmasūriya I (1591–1604) was originally known as Konappu Bandara. He fled to the Portuguese when King Rājasingha I killed his father, who had been left in charge of Udarata (Kingdom of Kandy) after its conquest by Rājasingha I. Konappu Bandara was baptized by the Portuguese as Don João da Astria and he gained reputation at Goa for his skill in the use of arms. Don João was sent to Kandy as commander-in-chief to install D. Philip Yamasinha Bandara, the nephew of the late king of Kandy, on the throne. The new king, however, died soon after, and Don João, who had accompanied the Portuguese force from Goa, seized power, drove out the Portuguese force and ascended the throne under the name of Wimaladharmasūriya (Abeyasinghe 1966, 13). He denounced Christianity and converted to Buddhism. As king, he also received the first Dutch envoy, Joris van Spilbergen. Baldaeus describes the king as a bold and experienced warrior, a discerning statesman who respected the treaties and contracts entered into with foreign kings and princes, except for the Portuguese, who were jealous of his power in Ceylon (Baldaeus 1672 [1960]).

26 Later authors also confirm that the initial "fortalice" was made of palm trees and mud (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002; De Silva and Beumer 1988).

27 *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, *6 fascic,* ed. by J.H. Da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1857–1877, pp. 108, 217, quoted by Pieris (1913, 287).

was called to assist in Denawaka before the task was completed (Pieris 1913).

The fort built by Samarakon Rāla was "pulled" during the time of Portuguese Captain General Constantine de Sa,[28] and the "present site was selected in spite of the advice of many experienced officers" (Pieris 1914, 287). *Constantine de Sa's Maps and Plans of Ceylon* (1929) strongly supports the idea that a standard fortification was built during his first term in office (1618–1620).

"This fort, the bulwarks and the breastwork which are all entirely built of stone and mortar, have I had built for Your Majesty, at the time that I was general of the island for the first time…" (Reimers 1929, 60).

However, some authors mention that the fort was founded after the siege of Colombo Fort (1587–1588) by King Rājasingha I of Sitawaka (1581–1593),[29] with the aim of total expulsion of the Portuguese from the island (Franciscus 1983; De Silva and Beumer 1988; Diessen 2008).[30] As Franciscus states, "the fort was actually a 'retreat' and not a 'fort' in the accepted sense of the word" (Franciscus 1983, 32). It can be assumed that this idea applies to the earlier fort constructed by Samarakon Rāla.

Overall, it seems plausible to suggest that the Portuguese founded standard fortifications in the first quarter of the 17th century.

The Architecture

Diessen provides two maps of the fort taken from the Portuguese map book *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon* from circa 1628, which appears to contain the oldest available maps (Diessen 2008, 170-1).[31] According to Reimers, who published a collection of maps, including these, under the name *Constantine de Sa's Maps and Plans of Ceylon*, the work was commissioned by Constantine de Sa (Reimers 1929).[32] The materials used in building the fort, its size, structure and security measures are recorded in Reimers's work, although the plan lacks some details:

"… All the work of the fort is of earth. Its town is 3,000 fathoms[33] in circuit, its bay and coast 2,830, and the neck of the land 160 fathoms, as the plan shown. There lie there 3 bulwarks, each so great that 8 pieces of cannon of the heaviest calibre can play from it; it has also on the seaside on the barren coast a breastwork from which also 8 great pieces can play and prevent the enemy from landing any men there" (Reimers 1929, 60).

Although the work places the construction of the fort between 1618 and 1620, Constantine de Sa's first period, considering the evidence from the earlier, more rudimentary phase of the fort's construction, this can be identified as the erection of standard fortifications which chiefly had a military function.[34] This is further confirmed by the construction of a "large warehouse which could store sufficient food and ammunition for a long siege" (Reimers 1929, 60). Antonio Bocarro's accounts are also evidence of this more developed phase, which included a warehouse with "sufficient ammunition" (Bocarro 1635 [1996], 38).

28 Constantine de Sa e Noronda, Captain-General of Ceylon from 1618–1620 and 1623–1630 (Reimers 1929).

29 The siege of Colombo, the Portuguese stronghold under the command of Rājasingha I, who is known for his extreme bravery, is viewed as one of the country's most patriotic wars against the Portuguese Empire. Rājasingha came close to victory and was only thwarted by his inability to prevent Portuguese reinforcements from coming in from India (Silva 2017, 159). However, the Dutch replaced the trading post of Colombo and expanded their territories, which gave rise to the local saying *iňguru deela miris gattā wagē* ("receiving chilies in exchange for ginger"). The name Rājasingha, literally meaning "Royal Lion" (or the Lion King), was given to him after defeating Vidiya Bandāra at Palanda at the age of 16, when he was the nominal head of the army of his father (king) Māyādunnē (Silva 2017).

30 According to De Silva and Beumer (1988), although the Portuguese had established a small trading post in Galle, it was not until 1588, when Rājasingha I laid siege to Colombo, that the Portuguese withdrew to Galle and built this "fortalice." Diessen (2008) also mentions that the construction of the fort began in 1590, after the siege of Colombo, but only when the Portuguese regained power over the kingdom of Kotte.

31 These plans have been published by several other authors, including De Silva and Beumer (1988), Paranavitana and Silva (2002) and Parthesius and Anderson (2007).

32 According to Reimers, this collection of plans of Portuguese fortifications on Ceylon was prepared on the order of Don Diego de Castro, the viceroy of Portugal (Reimers 1929, 51). De Silva and Beumer (1988, 153) mention that the plans were commissioned by Constantine de Sa. This collection of maps was also published by P. E. Pieris (1926) under the name *Portuguese Maps and Plans of Ceylon*, 1650; however, the latter work contains only maps without any information.

33 One fathom equals 1.8 metres.

34 This contradicts the hypothesis of Diessen (2008), who dates this collection to circa 1628, the second period of Constantine de Sa.

A fort (*fortalesa*) of rectangular shape is shown in the Portuguese map book *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon* (c. 1628, Fig. 1); this was built on the small, projecting arm of land on the eastern side of the peninsula, which is marked "*sitio da fortalesa*" in Fig. 2. Defensive walls with three bastions built across the neck of the peninsula, various streets and Flag Rock to the southwest can also be identified in Fig. 2. The bulwarks (bastions) were named after the saints of the Portuguese: San Lago facing east, Conceycao in the middle and Santo Antonio facing west (Pieris 1914, 287; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 31). According to Paranavitana and De Silva, the major objective of the construction of the rampart with three bastions was to guard the harbour (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 109). Nelson's *The Dutch Forts of Sri Lanka*, a detailed study with plans of the Dutch forts in the country, provide a brief description of the location and nature of these Portuguese structures: "It was upon that small projecting arm that the Sinhalese settlement was placed and it was there that the Portuguese built their first fortification. … So when the Portuguese came to defend the town that had grown up on the peninsula they built a wall across the neck and strengthened it with three rounded, flat-sided bastions, one at each end and one near the centre" (Nelson 1984, 48).

The first statement corresponds to the earlier fort built by Samarakon Rāla and discussed above. The only remaining edifice of these Portuguese constructions is the "*fortalesa*" marked in Fig. 1, which is currently known as *Kalu Kotuwa* ("Black Fort") in Sinhala (Fig. 3). It was developed by the Dutch, who renamed it *Zwarte Bolwerk*[35] ("Black Bastion"). The Portuguese defensive wall with three bulwarks underwent several modifications during the Dutch occupation.

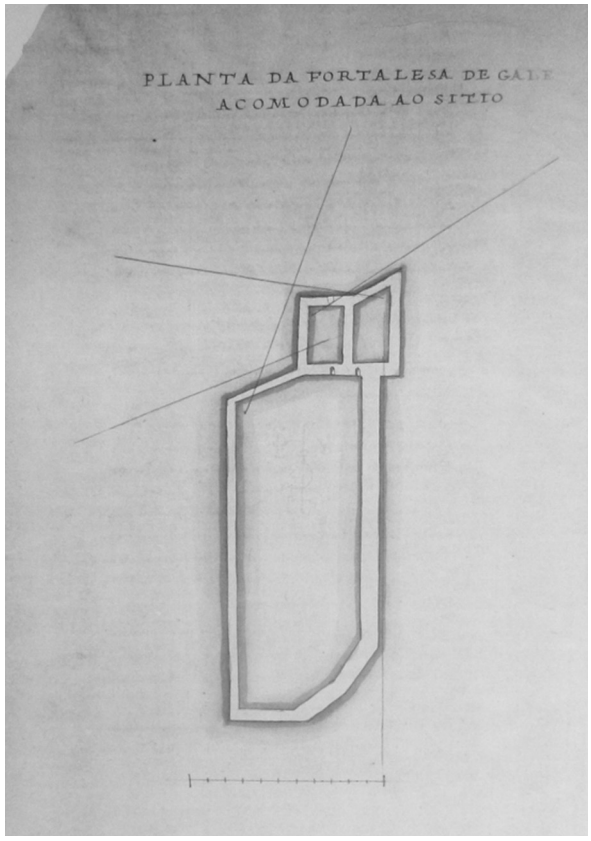


Fig. 1 Ground plan of the "*fortalesa*" from the Portuguese map book *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon,* c. 1628 (Diessen 2008, 170).

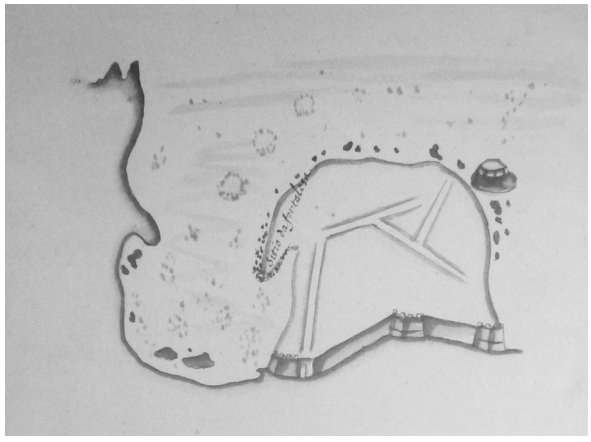


Fig. 2 The fort's location in the peninsula, secured by the defensive wall, from the same map book (Diessen 2008, 170).[36]

35 "Zwarte Bolwerk," according to Diessen (2008, 181).

36 These plans were also published by Reimers (1929, 35-5), De Silva and Beumer (1988, 153) and Paranavitana and De Silva (2002, 109-10).



Fig. 3 The Black Fort, 2016.

The map of Galle by Pedro Barreto de Resende, the cartographer of Antonio Bocarro's work (1635),[37] is one of the earliest Portuguese maps of Galle Fort (Wagenaar 1994, 67; Parthesius and Anderson 2007, 91). His map depicts three major landward bulwarks with the *fortaleza* and the city, which is completely filled with buildings, including three churches named St. Domingo, St. Pedro and St. Francisco (Parthesius and Anderson 2007). The Portuguese map book *Plantas das fortalezas, pagodes & ca. da ilha de Ceilão*, from circa 1650, also includes two plans (Figs. 4−5) similar to those in the above-mentioned work, *Beschrijving en Caarten van den Eijlande Cijlon*.[38] Although this work was produced roughly two decades after the first work, there is not much difference between the plans, except for the buildings on the streets and the entrance in the defensive wall, as shown in Fig. 5. However, it can be discerned that the Portuguese maps of the fortress are limited when compared to the sources from the time of the Dutch occupation.

Portuguese Colonial Policies and the Fort Community

Galle has been identified as one of the three principal Portuguese fortresses on the island, together with Colombo and Jaffna (Codrington and Hocart 1939, 128). While the fort provided security for that part of the island, it also served as an administrative centre. According to Antonio Bocarro, the fort additionally had under its jurisdiction 272 villages, which were owned by Portuguese (Bocarro 1635 [1996], 39). The function of the forts changed with the Portuguese colonial policies, and Galle too underwent these changes. Initially, the fort was seen primarily as a military instrument (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59). The plan the Portuguese adopted in order to pacify the country and to check the defensive inroads of the king of Kandy was the construction of a large number of forts (Abeyasinghe 1966, 27).[39] Based on Portuguese sources, Abeyesinghe states that this earlier policy of fortified towns continued with an important difference after 1605 (1966, 59).

37 *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoaçoens do Estado da India Oriental*.

38 The date "1650" is noted in pencil on the title page of this work, which is currently at the Library of Congress.

39 Some of these forts were merely wooden stockades, while more permanent ones were built of brick or stone (Abeyasinghe 1966, 27). Based on Portuguese sources, Abeyasinghe states that the Portuguese had planned to conquer the island with a modest budget (1966, 59).

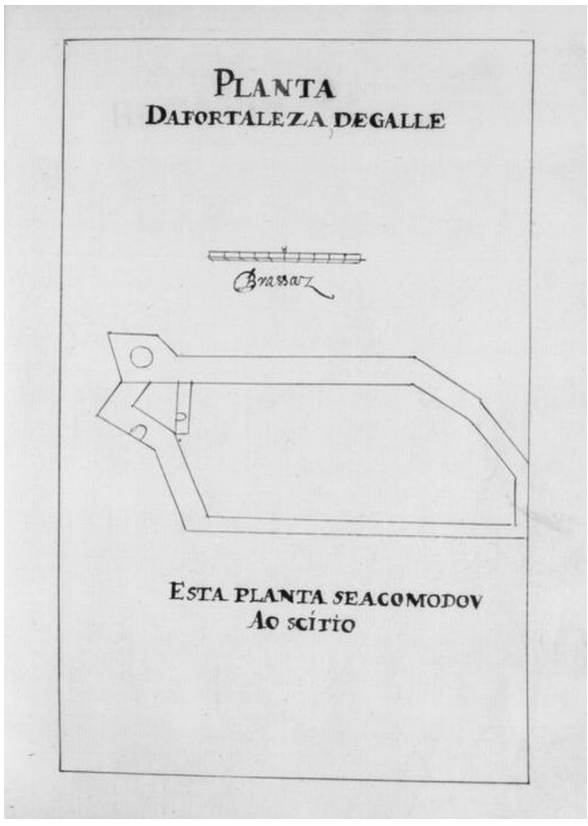


Fig. 4 Ground plan of the *fortalesa* of Galle from the Portuguese map book *Plantas das fortalezas, pagodes & ca. da ilha de Ceilão*, published c. 1650 (Library of Congress).[40]

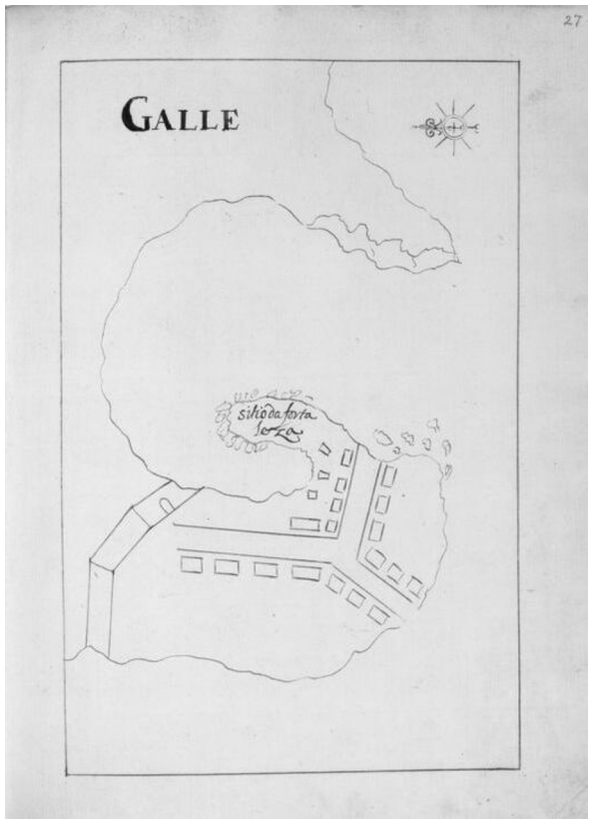


Fig. 5 The fort's location on the peninsula, from the same map book (Library of Congress).[43]

The fortified town was to be the key to the whole conquest [of the island] and the central institution for its achievement (Abeyasinghe 1966, 60).[41] Natives, particularly chiefs, were encouraged to live inside the forts with their families, and the objective behind this new policy, which effected a radical change in patterns of village life in Ceylon, was to ensure the loyalty of the native population (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59).[42] The settlement of the Portuguese on the island was facilitated by allocating lands to the colonists (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59). The colonist population was further strengthened by Indian Christians, and having natives live among the land-owning Portuguese or Indian Christian community established within the fortified town was part of the grand vision (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59-60).

There is evidence that the Portuguese population at Galle remained low during the inception of this policy. A contemporary *tombo*[44] reveals that the towns of Galle, Kalutara and Pandura did not even have 50 Portuguese settlers in total (Abeyasinghe 1966, 62). Antonio Bocarro states there were two hundred inhabitants in Galle Fort, 70 "whites" and 130 "blacks" (1635 [1996], 39). An increase in the Portuguese population of the fort was observed by

40 Available at: https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7754am.gct00189/?sp=26, under the Digital ID http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7754am.gct00189 (accessed 1 October 2018).

41 *Documentos Remettidos da Índia ou Livros das Monçõaes I*, ed. R.A. Bulhao de Pato, pp. 58-59, as noted by Abeyasinghe (1966, 60).

42 Ibid. "With their families within a fortified town and under constant surveillance, the Sinhalese menfolk were unlikely to revolt" (Abeyasinghe 1966, 59).

43 Available at: https://www.loc.gov/resource/g7754am.gct00189/?sp=29, under the Digital ID http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g7754am.gct00189 (accessed 1 October 2018).

44 Also *thombo*, the term mainly refers to land deeds or "land *thombo*," while "head *thombo*" contain population statistics.

Ribeiro, who served in Ceylon from 1640 to 1658.[45] According to him, 262 Portuguese families lived in the fort (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999] 35). In 1726, Valentijn stated that the church of the fort offered Dutch services in the morning and "Cingalese" in the afternoon, implying that the Sinhalese also resided in the fort during the Dutch occupation (Valentijn 1726 [1978]). This was further confirmed by Heydt[46] in 1744, who notes that the fort had a mixed population, including natives (Heydt 1744 [1952]). Therefore, it can be assumed that although the Portuguese colonial policy did not bring about instant results, it had a long-lasting effect on determining the fort's multiethnic community and turning the fort into a living space.

1.1.3 THE DUTCH OCCUPATION

Dutch Colonial Policy and the Conquest of Galle Fort

Dutch colonial policy on the erection of forts in the colonies was different from that of the Portuguese, which was elaborated earlier. In 1602, the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company) was formed by amalgamating a number of competing Dutch trading companies with the aim of gaining a trade monopoly on East Asian spices, whose trade had been under the control of the Portuguese (Jayasena and Floore 2010). As the Netherlands was at war with both Spain and Portugal, the newly founded VOC was granted the mandate to conquer land, build forts and maintain an army in order to protect trade from these hostile countries (Jayasena and Floore 2010). This policy was the major reason behind the remarkable development of the Galle Fort under the Dutch occupation.

Unlike the Portuguese period, the Dutch period of Galle Fort was documented extensively by contemporary (Dutch) chroniclers and VOC records. Joris van Spilbergen was the first Dutchman to write about Galle. He was the leader of the expedition sent by the House of Moucheron in Zeeland on 5 May 1601, upon receiving the news that there were profitable opportunities for trade in Ceylon (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 29).[47] Spilbergen's map of the island of Ceylon includes Point de Galle with their three ships and the caption "Here is where we first sighted land: we sailed forward to Matecalo" (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 22-3).[48]

In May 1602, Spilbergen met Wimaladharmasūriya I (1590–1604),[49] the king of Kandy,[50] who was treated with the greatest courtesy, in light of the Dutch need to drive away the Portuguese (Abeyasinghe 1966, 44) (Fig. 6).[51] In November of the same year, another Dutch fleet came to Batticaloa under Vice Admiral Seebald de Weert, who also met the king, causing the Portuguese to fear a possible attack on Galle by the Dutch (Abeyasinghe 1966, 44). The possibility of attacking Galle Fort was discussed with De Weert, and the king requested that the Dutch sail to Galle immediately (Pieris 1913, 394). The plan was foiled by the murder of De Weert by the Kandyan courtiers due to his insult of the queen (Baldaeus 1672 [1960]; Pieris 1913; De Silva and Beumer 1988).[52]

45 However, Captain João Rebeiro's work was originally published in 1685, long after his 18-year stay as a Portuguese soldier in Ceylon.

46 Johan Wolffgang Heydt was a surveyor attached to the VOC. He was in Galle during his stay in Ceylon from 1734 to 1737 (Wagenaar 2014).

47 Spilbergen was issued the VOC charter nearly a year after he set sail (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 29; De Silva and Beumer 1988, 468).

48 Matecalo can be identified as Baticaloa, on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka.

49 See footnote 25.

50 Kingdom of Kandy or Udarata, the monarchy situated in the mountainous areas in the central part of the country, was absorbed into the British empire in 1815 by the Kandyan Convention (*Udarata Givisuma*) between the British and the chiefs of the Kandyan Kingdom that deposed King Sri Vikrama Rājasingha. According to Abeyasinghe (1966, 12), "the full name of this kingdom was Kanda uda rata i.e. the country on the hills. The Portuguese shortened it to Candea, using that name for both the kingdom and the capital, Senkadalala Nuwara." According to the British sailor Robert Knox, who spent 20 years of captivity in the Kandyan country, the city was known by the locals as "Mauneur, signifying the Chief or Royal City" (Knox 1681 [1989], 22). The city is currently known as "Mahanuwara" in Sinhala. Knox further states that the term Candy, as it was generally called by the Christians, probably derives from Conde (Kanda), which signifies "hills" in the Sinhala language, as it is situated among hills (Knox 1681 [1989], 22).

51 "He [the king] offered them a fort in his territory, declaring in the hyperbolical language characteristic of diplomatic dealings of the time, 'I, my queen, prince and princess will carry on our shoulders the stones, lime and other things'" D. Ferguson, *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society XXX*, p.384 as noted by Abeyasinghe (1966, 44).

52 The king who was to meet Vice Admiral De Weert before laid siege to Galle was warned by his ambassador to be on



Fig. 6 King Wimaladharmasūriya I meets Joris van Spilbergen, 1602, from *Historiael Journael*, 1605 (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 34).[53]

Nearly four decades later, King Rājasingha II of Kandy (1635–1687) came to an agreement with the Dutch on expelling the Portuguese by capturing their forts, followed by the decision for a joint attack on Galle.[54] However, the Dutch preferred

guard. Thus, the king refused De Weert's invitation to board and inspect the Dutch ships. De Weert then invited the king to visit the shore and view the ships, which too was refused by the king, convinced that something was afoot. Angry at king's decision, the Vice Admiral refused to assist the king in war against the Portuguese. The king asked De Weert to do as he had promised, and said he needed to return to Kandy, since his queen was alone as his half-brother Senarath had marched to the frontier and he too had to join the main forces soon. At this point, the drunken Admiral incautiously said, "Oh, as for the empress, she would never be at a loss for men," and added he would not sail to Galle if his majesty would not honour him by visiting the ships. According to Baldaeus (1672), the king, who was a "hasty and cruel man," was now boiling with rage and indignation at this unseemly answer, and hastily started up from his seat, saying, *Banda lapa mebal* —"Bind this dog" (*bändapan mē ballā,* in modern colloquial Sinhala). With this command, four nobles tried to secure the Vice Admiral, who shouted violently to his men for help. Meanwhile, a courtier gashed De Weert's head with a sword while the admiral tried to reach his sword. None of the courtiers dared to communicate this to the king, except for the Prince of Uva. The king, who was much surprised, asked why didn't they secure the Vice Admiral. The courtiers replied that it was impossible, since the Vice Admiral had tried to reach his sword. The king, realizing that what had happened could not be undone, also ordered De Weert's men to be killed, which was recorded by Baldaeus (1672) nearly 70 years later: "Well then, since he is dead, dispatch the rest likewise that they might partake the same reward with their master." The order was carried out immediately, sparing only one youth from Vlissingen, who was taken into king's service. The king, who had left for his palace at Kandy after the incident, sent a note in Portuguese to the captain of the ship: "He who drinks wine is not good. God has done justice. If you desire peace, peace. If you desire war, war" (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 36-8; Pieris 1913, 394-5; De Silva and Beumer 1988, 38-9).

53 The portrait has been reproduced from the copy in the first edition of the *Historiael Journael*, 1605, published by Floris Balthasar in Delft (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 468).

54 The treaty of 1638 states that the forts captured from the Portuguese would be garrisoned by the Dutch only "if His Majesty

a surprise attack without the assistance of the Sinhalese (Goonewardena 1958). Rājasingha was prepared to assign the Dutch a monopoly on the island's cinnamon trade in return for aid against the Portuguese, as well as reimbursement of the cost of the campaign (Silva 2017, 172). In March 1940, Galle was captured under the command of Vice Admiral Willem Jacobsz Coster before the arrival of Rājasingha's troops, who arrived only in time to take part in the plunder (Goonewardena 1958, 37). According to Valentijn, Coster received the ships from Haarlem, Middelburg and Breda with 400 men on the 11th, and stormed the city on the 20th without waiting for the emperor's men, who were "loitering" and late to arrive (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 324). Goonewardena (1958, 52), who quotes Queyroz, states that the king accused Coster of having attacked Galle before the time they had agreed upon. Thus, the king was still dissatisfied with the Dutch, and Coster, who had followed the king to Kandy in the hope of bringing about a better understanding, was murdered by the Sinhalese on his way back (Codrington and Hocart 1939). The Dutch retained Galle (and also Negambo) under their control on the grounds that Rājasingha had not paid them for the expenses incurred in these expeditions (Goonewardena 1958; Silva 2017, 173).[55] The reason behind this was the belief of the Batavian authorities that these two forts were the "keys to the most fruitful cinnamon lands of the island of Ceylon."[56] The Dutch naturally expected great profits from these conquests, and attributed only secondary value to Colombo, the centre of Portuguese power (Goonewardena 1958). King Rājasingha closely blockaded Galle by land in 1642 (Codrington and Hocart 1939).

Galle was the VOC's first major possession, and it remained their administrative centre until the capture of Colombo in 1656 (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 109). The Galle Commandment was one of the three large provinces into which VOC territories of Ceylon were divided, the other two being Colombo Province and the Jaffna Commandment (De Silva 1953, 8). The Commander of Galle was the third highest-ranking official, while the Governor and the Commander of Jaffna respectively held the first and second ranks (Schrikker 2007, 42). Against this background, Galle Fort developed as a port city and the administrative centre of the Southern Maritime Province, which was well known for the finest cinnamon on the island, the VOC's main trade interest.

Development of the Urban Landscape

It was the Dutch who were responsible for the expansion and development of the fort over the next 156 years into the form we see today. Although the sources on the Dutch occupation are abundant, only the major developments are discussed here, based on the ancient plans, descriptions of contemporary writers and secondary sources. *Ceylon: Grote atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie IV* by Diessen (2008) shows the gradual developments of Galle Fort by means of plans that are currently in the National Archives and other institutes in the Netherlands. Paranavitana and De Silva's *Maps and Plans of Dutch Ceylon* (2002) also include several plans of Galle Fort. De Silva and Beumer (2008) describe the fort according to ancient paintings and the descriptions of Dutch as well as Portuguese sources.

thought it fit." However, the Dutch copy omitted the vital clause "if His Majesty thought it fit," which led to misunderstandings between two parties. As per the agreement, Trincomalee (Fort Frederick) was to be handed over to the king as soon as he gave the Dutch ten elephants to meet the cost of the capturing the fort; after its capture, Colombo was to be demolished. All other forts would be garrisoned by the Dutch until the king paid all the expenses incurred by them in his service; when all the expenses were paid, the king would assign the Dutch one fort (Goonewardena 1958, 37). Codrington and Hocart's version includes a few variations: "when the Portuguese had been completely expelled from Ceylon the Dutch should retain only one fort, but that they should hold Negombo and the other forts until all the expenses of the war had been paid, and that Colombo, when captured, should be demolished unless the king decided that it should be kept as a fortress, in which case it was to be garrisoned by the Dutch" (Codrington and Hocart 1939, 119).

55 In January 1641, the senior merchant, Marten Vinck, brought a statement of the Dutch expenses to the Kandyan court. The king particularly objected, and refused to pay the expenses of the monthly salaries of the men who had been left in garrison in Trincomalee (Fort Frederick), because this had been garrisoned against his wishes, or to reimburse the loss of the cargo ship Rarob, which wrecked off Negambo in 1640. Although the loss of the Rarob and part of its goods was calculated at 87,000 florins in the expenses presented to the king, the actual loss is recorded as 41,135 florins in the Galle trade books (Goonewardena 1958).

56 Goonewardena (1958, 37), based on the manuscript *Overgecomen Brieven en Papieren,* Kol. Arch. 1034 (1638) at the Kolonial Archief section, the Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives) in The Hague.

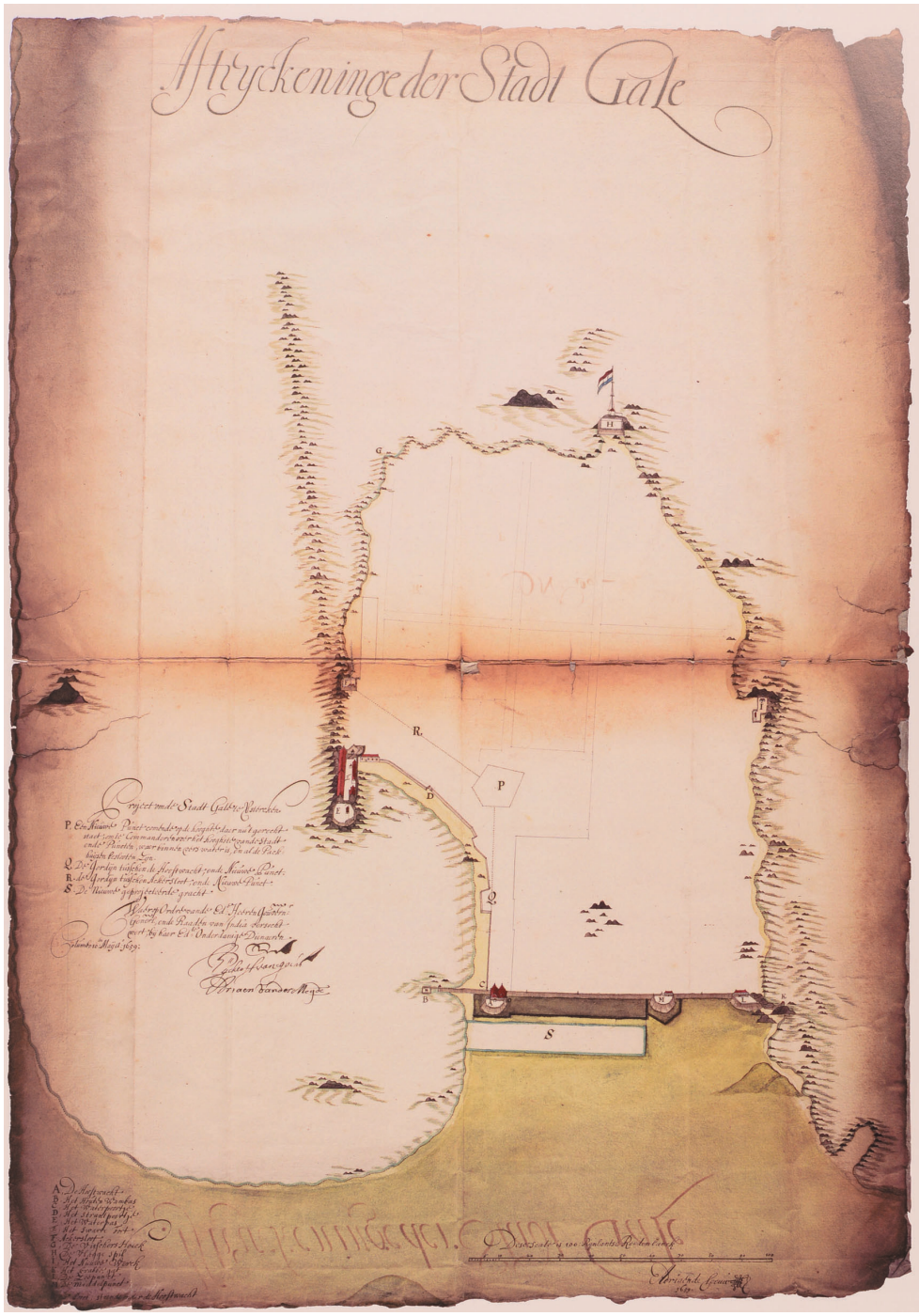


Fig. 7 "Depiction of the Town of Galle" by Adriaen de Leeuw, 1659 (Diessen 2008, 171).[57]

57 Nationaal Archief, Den Haag.

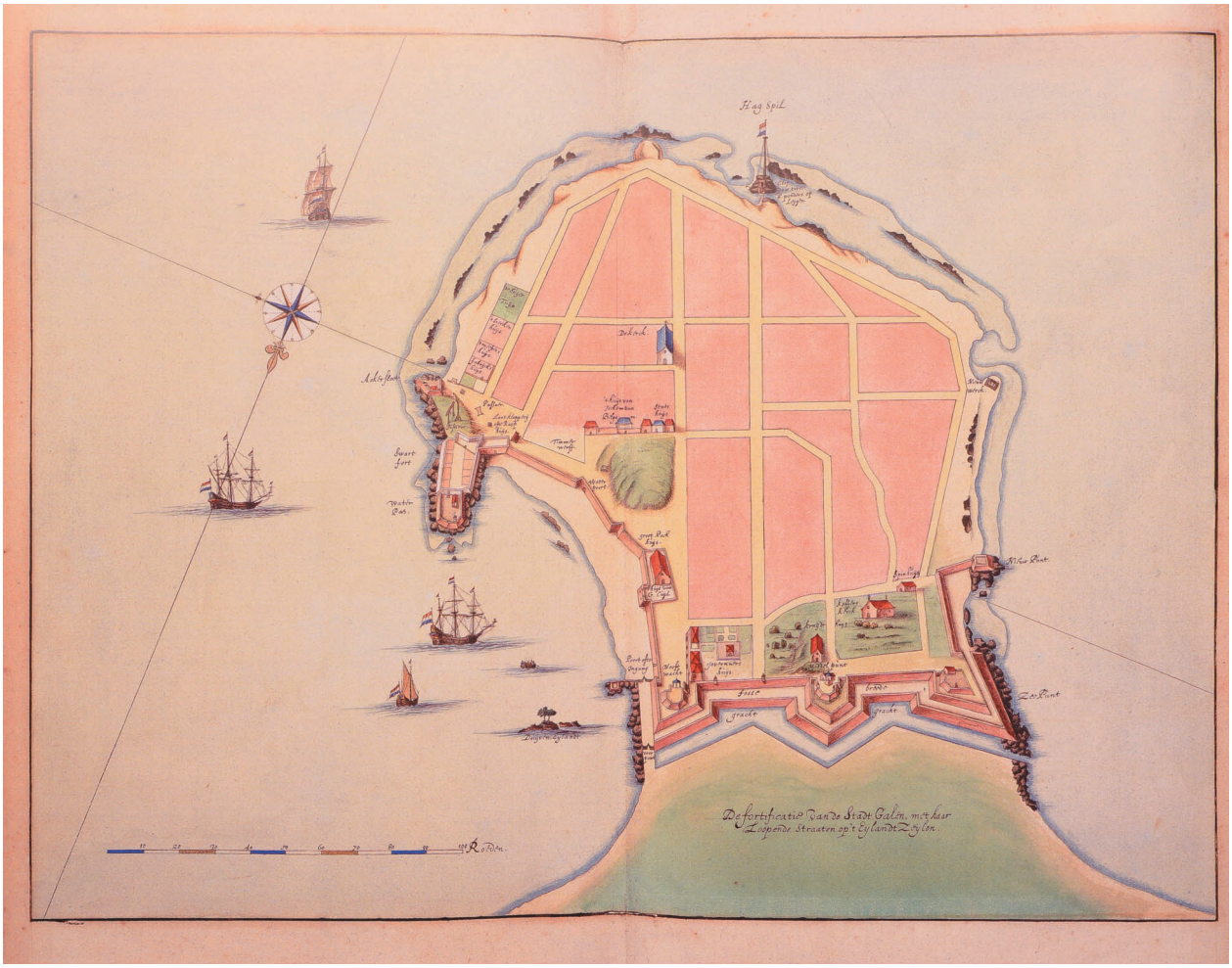


Fig. 8 "The fortification of the town of Galle, with its street plan on the Island of Ceylon" by Johannes Vingboons, c. 1665, drawn for the *Atlas of Laurens van der Hem* (Diessen 2008, 172).[58]

The rampart is the major physical feature that determined the shape of the fort. Adriaen de Leeuw's 1659 map, "Depiction of the Town of Galle," shows the rampart at an early phase, when it extended only from the Portuguese Fort (Zwarte/ Swart Fort) on the bay side to the end of the three major bulwarks (Fig. 7). After 1640, the Portuguese defensive works were first restored and renovated, without any radical modifications, following the Portuguese pattern (Diessen 2008, 171). While Nelson (1983) mentions that the Dutch closely followed the Portuguese pattern, Oers (2002) states that the urban pattern of Galle reveals a Portuguese origin. It is clear that the geographical features of the peninsula were the major factor in determining the shape of the fort, which was characteristic of Portuguese forts, while some of the Dutch forts in Ceylon had their own distinctive plans, such as Jaffna and Star Fort, Matara.

These ideas parallel those of Ribeiro, who states, "the only alteration made by the Hollanders after their occupation was to build the bastions in the modern style and enlarge and deepen the moat" (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999] 35). The moat and the modernized main front of the fort, from 1659, are clearly visible in the next map by Johannes Vingboons, from circa 1665 (Fig. 8).

Wagenaar (2014), who states urban development in Galle under the VOC had been a continuous process

58 Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek Atlas Blaeu Van Der Hem 39.06.

since the 1640 conquest, further mentions that, although the typical characteristics of Portuguese colonial settlement were retained in the beginning, these were removed soon after. The removal of cloisters and churches were some examples in this regard. It took decades, however, until typical Dutch features came into existence (Wagenaar 2014, 148). Letters addressed to the governor-general show that a hospital and an orphanage were established as early as 1646 (Pieris 1929, 133), which shows the foundation of "social services" in early Dutch urbanization.

Further development of the fort can be discerned in the above-mentioned "The fortification of the town of Galle," drawn by Johannes Vingboons (Fig. 8). This plan shows the new Akersloot Bastion, located just south of the Portuguese Zwarte Fort, which was named after the birthplace of the Vice Admiral William Jacobsz Coster, under whose command the town was captured in 1640 (Diessen 2008, 172). Another new bastion (marked as "Nievw Punt" and later known as Aeolus Bastion) can be seen on the left side, and a further extension of the rampart up to this point can be identified from the plan. The street grid, which covers the whole peninsula, two churches and several buildings on the plan, illustrates the expansion of the city in its developing phase. Despite these visible developments, Ribeiro notes, "the inhabitants called it a city, but it was merely a fortress" (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999] 35).

"The fortress of Galle was built on a point of land with the sea on two sides; on the north was a steep line of rocks, and there it had no other defence. On the south side was the bay, protected by a palisade of pointed beams; while a line of ramparts with its moat and three bastions cut across the land side from sea to sea, with a gate and drawbridge in the middle; the position was well protected with this fortification" (Ribeiro 1685 [(1999] 35).

Baldaeus,[59] in his 1672 work, mentions that these dangerous rocks (which were originally to the south) and rough sea resulted in the wreckage of the Dutch ship Hercules (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 127).[60] Nearly 50 years later, Valentijn also confirmed the rocks and strong currents, as well as the VOC's efforts to avoid these dangers (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 113).[62]



Fig. 9 "Town of Galle," anonymous (1675–1685) (Diessen 2008, 173).[61]

In contrast to Ribeiro, in 1672, Baldaeus stated that "the fort is well built in an elevated locality, has good stone built houses and churches, fine gardens and deep and splendid wells" (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 127). This more developed phase of the fort can be seen from a map drawn by an anonymous cartographer between 1675 and 1685 (Fig. 9).

This plan shows the extension of the fortifications on the western side of the peninsula by two additional bastions, from new point Aeolus to the Flagstaff point called "the New Work" (Diessen 2008, 172).

59 Reverend Phillipus Baldaeus (1632–1671) stayed in Galle for one year before he was appointed as the Dutch *predikant* who was responsible for converting the Tamil communities in northern Ceylon to the Dutch Reformed Church (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], viii).

60 Preserving the Hercules shipwreck amid the proposed Galle Harbour Development Project was a main interest of the Department of Archaeology, which was agreed to by the Sri Lanka Ports Authority, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.3.

61 Centrale Bibliotheek Rotterdam, 86 L 9.

62 A shot was fired to warn ships not to sail further, and a pilot send on board who knew how to enter the bay while avoiding dangerous rocks (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 113).



Fig. 10 The date 1669 (MDCLXIX), shown on the VOC monogram above the inner archway, indicating the completion of the work.

The old wall has been straightened and provided with new gates with warehouses above and beside it, which were completed in 1669 (Diessen 2008, 172). The date 1669 (MDCLXIX), shown with the VOC monogram above the inner archway of the current gateway from the harbourside, shows the completion of the first stage of work (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 32) (Fig. 10). The bulwarks are no longer called the Hoofdwacht (Main Guard), Middelpunt (Middle Point) and Zeepunt (Sea Point), but have been assigned new names: De Maen (The Moon), De Son (The Sun) and De Ster (The Star) (Diessen 2008, 172). Valentijn, who described the fort in 1726, uses both the old and new names, demonstrating the prevalence of the old names several decades after the introduction of the new ones (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 113-4). The map illustrates the city's expansion over the whole peninsula, with the majority of buildings facing the streets. Open spaces are retained in the middle of the land plots, which are covered by the houses in streetward direction.

The Dutch fortified the whole town according to the plan drawn by Jan Christiaensz Toorzee in 1698 (Diessen 2008, 177) (Fig.11). The completion of the Flag Rock, Utrecht and Aurora bastions can be seen in this plan. Valentijn's assessment of the city can be viewed as a further improvement on the description of Baldaeus:

"Within the city, which is built with regularity and neatness, but is about half as big as Batavia, there are many moderately wide streets (some of earth, some with grass growing), many beautiful stone buildings, some moderately large churches, beautiful wells in most houses and outside the city (as also here and there within), very beautiful gardens and courtyards …" (Valentijn 1726 [1978], 114).

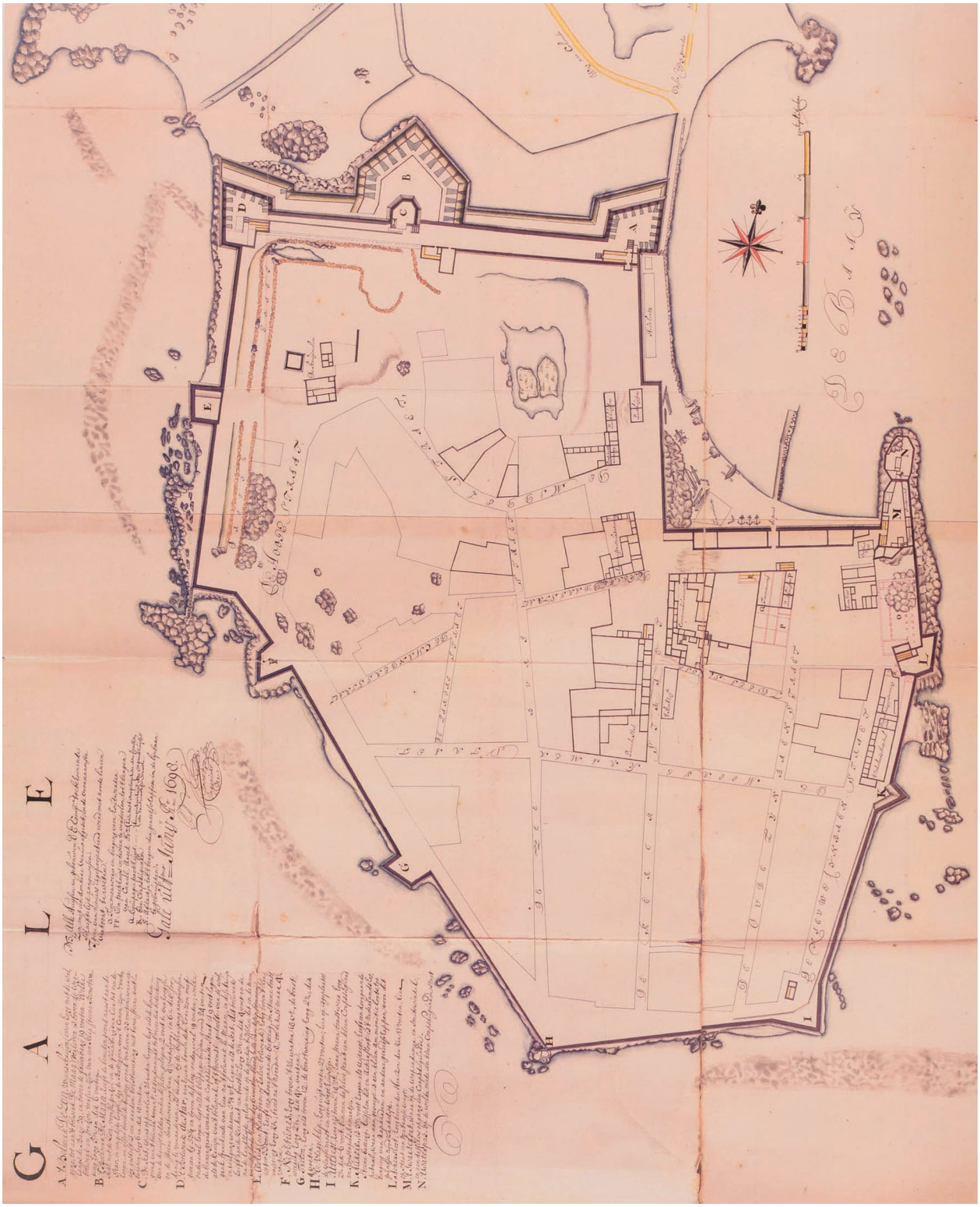


Fig. 11 Plan of "Gale" by Jan Christiaensz Toorzee in 1698 (Diessen 2008, 176).



Fig. 12 "Galle (as seen) from the causeway" by Caspar Steiger (c. 1730), with the Dutch flag hoisted at Flag Rock Bastion (Diessen 2008, 209).[63]

His indications of the various buildings, such as the hospital, the Akersloot Bastion, the drawbridge over the moat, the church, the storehouse, the commander's house etc., offer an example of the contemporary social, military and religious requirements, as well as those of the VOC. Steiger's painting "Galle (as seen) from the causeway," from circa 1730, shows the contemporary layout of the fortifications, the causeway and the moat, which provided an extra layer of security to the northern fortifications, as well as the Dutch flag hoisted at Flag Rock Bastion (Fig. 12 and Fig.13)

Diessen, who compares the previous plan, that of Jan Christiaensz Toorzee from 1698, with the map copied by P. Elias in 1790 from the original drawing by Major Engineer G. E. Schenck (Fig. 14), concludes that the fort would undergo scarcely any further changes up to the end of the Dutch period (2008, 201). Although the bird's eye view of the fort does not reveal drastic changes, the literary evidence shows that the fort had indeed undergone several modifications during this period, as will be discussed later.

Galle played an important role in Dutch religious policies, although these policies did not have as significant an impact on society as economic policies did. There were four main church bodies on the island, constituted into councils, and Galle was one of them (Arasaratnam 1958, 218).[64] The present Dutch Reformed Church or "De Groote Kerk," which was located on Church Street, was consecrated in 1755 (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 166; Franciscus 1983, 34).[65] The church was built, according to tradition,

63 Also published by De Silva and Beumer (1988, 159).

64 The others were Jaffna, Mannar and Colombo (Arasaratnam 1958).

65 It is said the church was built on the site of a Portuguese Capuchin convent demolished by the Dutch. According to Diessen (2008, 210), the space on the upper floor of the *Equipagepakhuis*



Fig. 13 Flag Rock Bastion, 2016.

as an offering of gratitude to God upon the birth of a daughter to Casparus de Jongh, who was Commander of Galle at that time (Franciscus 1983, 34).

By 1760, Galle had grown into a real town with military, economic and administrative functions (Schrikker 2007, 44). Many typical town institutions, such as orphanages, estate administration, garbage collection, civil militia, hospitals and so on, were copied from the model of the Netherlands (Schrikker 2007, 44). Three schools were established in the city under VOC administration. Two of them served Dutch children, while the other served Sinhalese pupils (Wagenaar 2014, 156). The Dutch introduced an intricate sewerage system, which functioned using sea water.

Despite the architectural, social, religious and educational developments under Dutch occupation, there is evidence that the town had turned into an unhealthy place by the end of the occupation. A memorandum written in 1784 for Van de Graaff,[66] by Arnoldus De Lij, reveals that at least a quarter of the garrison was infected with some contagious disease, which he called *de Gaalse ziekte* ("the Galle sickness") (Schrikker 2007, 61). Van de Graaff, the Commander of Galle from June 1794 to the following January, gave greater priority to the hygiene of the city. He decided to renovate the hospital, prevent sick cattle from being slaughtered for food, improved regulations on picking up garbage and banned prostitutes from the inner city (Schrikker 2007, 61-2). Furthermore, he took steps to secure clean water for the inhabitants from Unawatuna, the next bay to the east (Schrikker 2007, 61). Other company buildings were repaired under his leadership (Schrikker 2007, 62). In 1785, the commander and council of Galle renewed the prohibition on burning rubbish in the streets, which had been being practised in villages (Wagenaar 2014, 159).

A plan of the fortress of Galle 1790 (copied by P. Elias from the original drawing by Major Engineer G. E. Schenck) shows the fort's layout at the end of the Dutch occupation (Fig.14). The company's military priorities can be discerned from the indications of barrack buildings, guard posts, the Javanese camp and several buildings for storing gunpowder and ammunition. The 90-acre fort is guarded by 14 bastions with intervening ramparts; the administrative buildings include a supply and trade office, a

(Ships' Supplies Warehouse) served as the church until the Dutch Reformed Church that exists today was consecrated.

66 Van de Graaff was Dutch governor from 1785 to 1794.

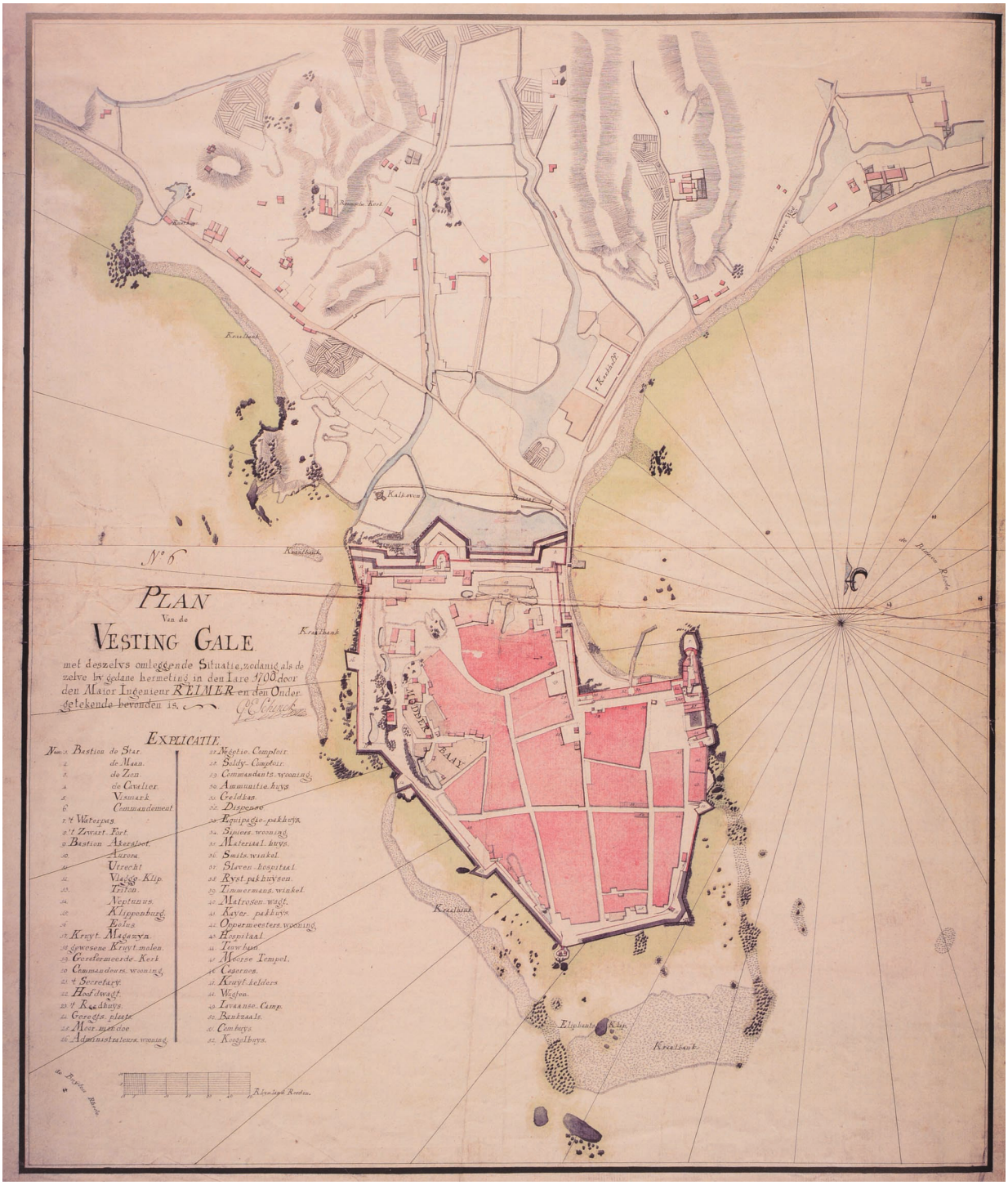


Fig. 14 Plan of Galle Fort copied by P. Elias in 1790 from the original drawing by Major Engineer G. E. Schenck (Diessen 2008, 200).[67]

67 Also published by Paranavitana and De Silva (2002, 113) and Wagenaar (1994, 95).

secretariat, council and courthouses (Paranavitana and De Silva 2002, 113). Apart from the Reformed Church, a "Moorse Temple" can also be identified, which indicates that a Moor community of considerable size resided in the fort.

At the end of the Dutch occupation, the government had to invest more in repairing the fortifications due to the ongoing tense situation with European rivals after the fourth Anglo-Dutch war[68] (Schrikker 2007, 58). Galle underwent several repairs during the period of Van Angelbeek,[69] the last Dutch Governor (Schrikker 2007, 58). Although large-scale plans were made to improve the military defence of the fort during and after the war, these were never carried out, since the High Government of Batavia considered Trincomalee more important than Galle in defending the company's possessions in Ceylon (Diessen 2008, 187).[70]

Urban Community

Heydt's accounts show that the fort had a mixed community in the mid-18th century; however, his observations on the condition of the houses stand in contrast to the ideas of both Baldaeus and Valentijn:

"It is built over with many but very poor houses in which Europeans are the least seen, but in it dwell Costizos,[71] Mestizos,[72] Moors, Malabars, Sinhalese, and Chettis mostly mixed together" (Heydt 1744 [1952], 46).

The culturally diverse population is further confirmed by Wagenaar, who has analysed the archival population data. According to the Day Register written by Jan Schreuder's[73] secretary, the city had a total of 1,841 inhabitants (Wagenaar 2014, 148). Although the ethnic backgrounds of the 518 company servants can be found in another document kept in the National Archives in Colombo, the ethnicities of the common people who comprised the majority of the city's population are hardly mentioned. The majority of the company servants were Europeans, while there were also *casties, mixties, pusties, toepassen*[74] and Sinhalese (Wagenaar 2014, 150). Descendants of these European company servants were identified as Dutch Burghers during the British occupation.[75] There were also Muslims and Chettis who became permanent residents and controlled most of the limited trading in the city, despite the Dutch policies of discouraging their settlements (Arasaratnam 1958, 234; Wagenaar 2014, 150).[76] Moreover, most families owned slaves, and the total number of privately owned slaves is estimated to have been 200 (Wagenaar 2014, 150). According to Arasaratnam (1954, 234), there was a distinction between the Dutch and the native quarter within the city.

The poor housing conditions can also be detected from the contemporary laws. As a consequence of the circular letter on fire prevention sent by the High Government of Batavia in 1744, house owners who could not afford to pay for tiles—"the insolvent and poor" inhabitants—had to leave the fort in 1746 (Wagenaar 2014, 158). This also shows that the cost of living within the fort was placing a burden on poorer inhabitants even in the middle of the 18th century. On the other hand, this scenario is similar to the current gentrification of the fort, considering the World Heritage recognition elaborated in chapter 6.

However, the architecture of the common peoples' houses can hardly be determined. According to Wagenaar (2014, 158), the majority of the private houses in 18th century Galle were modest structures covered with palm leaves.[77] The architecture of the colonial houses is elaborated separately in sub-chapter 5.1.3.

68 The four 17th and 18th century naval conflicts between England and the Dutch Republic. Details available at https://www.britannica.com/event/Anglo-Dutch-Wars (accessed 10 July 2018).

69 Dutch governor Johan Gerard van Angelbeek (1794–1796).

70 The natural harbour's strategic location was important to defending India-both the Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. In the period 1788–95, the desire to take possession of Trincomalee in order to gain supremacy in Peninsular India became one of the dominant themes in Britain's relations with the Dutch (Silva 2017).

71 *Casties* were the offspring of a European father and a *mixtie* (Wagenaar 2014, 152).

72 *Mixties* were the offspring of a European father and indigenous mother (Wagenaar 2014, 152).

73 Schreuder was Dutch governor from 1751 to 1761.

74 These terms indicated offspring of mixed marriages.

75 The term "Burgher" is of Dutch origin, and is used in Sri Lanka to identify the sociocultural group of Dutch descendants who settled down on the island after the British took over the administration of its coastal region. This included persons born in Dutch Republic and servants of VOC with other European origins. After dissolving the VOC in 1799, a new community of "Dutch Burghers" was created (Paranavitana 2010).

76 In 1716, Governor Hendrick Becker wrote that it was also a matter of the greatest urgency that the Moors be kept out of the country, since their presence was very prejudicial to the interests of the Company (Raben 1996, 140).

77 However, this could also have been *cadjan* (woven coconut leaves), since coconut is common in Galle, while palm leaves were commonly used in Jaffna, the fortified town in the North.

1.1.4 THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

The Acquisition

The British acquisition of Dutch possessions on Ceylon, including Galle Fort, is a consequence of the contemporary dynamics of the international politics of Europe and Asia (De Silva 1953, 16; Schrikker 2007, 131). As a result of the "Kew letters," addressed to King George III by the Dutch *Stadtholder* William IV, who was at his refuge in Kew after the French conquest of the Netherlands in early 1795, it was proposed that the Dutch possessions on Ceylon be brought under the protection of the British Army to forestall a possible French annexation (Schrikker 2007, 131).[78] An assurance was given that these possessions would be returned to Holland in the event of independence (presumably from the French) (Schrikker 2007, 131). This letter was used by the British as a justification to mount a comprehensive operation to gain control of Dutch possessions in Asia and at the Cape (De Silva 1973, 8). From the beginning, there had been confusion over the concept of "protection" in the negotiations with Van Angelbeek, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon. In the Dutch view, protection meant the temporary stationing of a British garrison on the island, while in the British view, it implied a temporary occupation of the Dutch possession (Schrikker 2007, 132). According to De Silva (1973), the Dutch authorities on Ceylon were too weak to attempt anything more than a show of resistance. Furthermore, they had neither military (or navel) nor financial resources (De Silva 1973, 8).

In an instant response to the Kew letter, Trincomalee, the much-desired harbour with Fort Frederick, was conquered by the British in July 1795, and Colombo was occupied on 16 February of the following year (Schrikker 2007, 132; De Silva 1953, 44). Captain Lachlan Macquarie[79] of the 77th regiment occupied Galle on 23 February 1796, a week after the signing of the capitulation of Colombo (De Silva 1953, 50; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 32). Although many Dutchmen in Ceylon, Batavia and the Netherlands assumed that the Maritime Provinces of Ceylon would revert to the Netherlands after the war, they were ceded permanently to Britain under the Peace of Amiens[80] in March 1802, and collectively became a British Crown Colony (Schrikker 2007, 134; Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 46).

Modifications, Diminishing Importance and Development as an Urban Centre

The Colebrooke Cameron reforms[81] recommended that the colony be divided into five provinces, with Colombo, Galle, Jaffna, Trincomalee and Kandy being established as the main administrative centres (Samaraweera 1973, 81). According to Robert Percival's accounts (1803), soon after British acquisition, Point de Galle was the third most important town in Ceylon (Percival 1803, 130-1). Against this background, the British continued to use the fort as their southern administrative centre.

According to Nelson (1984), the modifications made during British times comprised the draining of the water outside the main front, the creation of a road along its eastern edge, moving the main entrance through the front rampart between the Sun and Moon Bastions[82] (1873) and the lowering, or removal, of many of the parapets around the peninsular shores. These modifications are identified as "comparatively small" by Nelson (1984), but only in the context of the total demolition that took place at Colombo Fort.[83] In fact, a council board

78 According to Schrikker, both the British and Dutch monarchs feared a French annexation of Dutch possessions in Asia, which in turn would have enhanced France's competitive position. Therefore, the requests (known as the Kew Letters) were made by the Dutch *Stadtholder* in order to protect these Dutch possessions (Schrikker 2007, 131). However, De Silva mentions that this document was extracted from him in his capacity as Captain-General and Admiral of Holland, enjoining all governors of colonies and commanders to immediately deliver possession of the forts and installations under their command to the British (De Silva 1973, 8).

79 Macquarie later became the governor of New South Wales in Australia, and thus, one of the most influential people in Australian history.

80 This is also known as the Treaty of Amiens (27 March 1802), an agreement signed in Amiens, France, by Britain, France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic (the Netherlands), and which achieved a peace in Europe for 14 months during the Napoleonic Wars. Available at: https://www.britannica.com/event/Treaty-of-Amiens-1802 (accessed 10 July 2018).

81 This refers to a series of reforms that transformed the administrative, judicial and financial systems of Ceylon, and were carried out between 1832 and 1834 at the recommendation of W. M. G. Colebrooke and C. H. Cameron (Mendis 1956).

82 However, a copy of the map of Major Engineer Reimer by P. Elias (1790) shows a contemporary Dutch plan to move the main entrance to the exact location where the British constructed it (Diessen 2008, 201).

83 Colombo fort was completely dismantled during British

was appointed to consider the demolition of Galle Fort's ramparts, which resulted in a protest meeting at Oriental Hotel, Fort in November 1889 (Roberts 2005). At this juncture, Dr Peter Daniel Anthonisz (former Burgher[84] member of the old Legislative Council and Chairman of Galle Municipal Council) pointed out the fort was built not only as defence against foreign foes, but also for security against harsh weather during the monsoon, a claim that was upheld and thus saved the ramparts (Roberts 2005). The British installed their coat of arms on the outer side of the main entrance, which can be seen today (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 32). In around 1880, a new lighthouse was added to the Utrecht Bastion, and in 1883, a clock tower was erected in close proximity to the Moon Bastion[85] (Nelson 1984; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992). Despite these modifications and the introduction of many new buildings, a number of the fort's Dutch features remained intact, especially the ramparts.

The city's importance was strongly linked to the harbour, which persisted in the early British period as ships from Europe made Point de Galle the first harbour in Ceylon (Percival 1803, 131). Thus, the renowned import and export companies located at the fort included Clark, Spence & Co. (Church Street) and Charles P. Hayley & Co. (Light House Street);[86] these buildings remain in the fort even today. Plantations[87] brought an increasing amount of shipping to Galle and Colombo during this time. Although Governor Henry Ward proposed the building of a breakwater at Galle in 1856, it was finally constructed in Colombo from 1874 to 1886 (Mills 1933, 245).[88] With the further expansion of these harbour facilities, Colombo became the only port in Ceylon equipped to allow accommodation of large steamers, and consequently other port towns, including Galle, declined in importance (Panditaratne and Selvanayagam 1973 296). In the early 20th century, Colombo became the financial, political and social centre of the colony under the British (Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 27). Despite the decreasing importance of Galle Harbour, the city remained a regional urban centre, especially a residential-administrative one (Panditaratne and Selvanayagam 1973 296).

The two parts of the Galle town that we find today were clearly discernible at the beginning of the 20th century, as mentioned by Wright (1907): the fortified town and the outer town, the latter populated solely by the natives. *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon*[89] implies that the fort was seen as a monument during the late British occupation:

"The fortifications of Galle, as erected by the Portuguese and Dutch, even today, after a lapse of over three hundred and fifty years, present a grim, warlike, and imposing appearance ... The stone facing of the bastions, harassed by wind and waves for centuries, is in as good preservation as at the time of the erection of these massive defences" (Wright 1907 [2013], 753-4).

Implementation of the Antiquities Ordinance (No. 9, 1940) at the end of the British period assigned monumental status to the fort, which entrusted its preservation to the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon (Silva 1992).

The Urban Community

According to Percival (1803), the whole town was populous at the beginning of the British occupation, and the houses were superior to those of Trincomalee. Although the British made arrangements to allow Dutch officials, soldiers and citizens leave the country, many stayed behind due to their property, as well as the fact that their "coloured" families did not fit in with the narrow-minded colonial circle in Batavia (Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 46). However, as a result of Colombo's "metropole" status and Galle's

occupation (Nelson 1984).

84 Today, all colonial descendants are generally known as Burghers, a recognized ethnic group in the country. Also see footnote 75.

85 Although Nelson (1984) mentions the clock tower was built to commemorate the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, it was originally a memorial for Dr Peter Daniel Anthonisz (a former chairman of Galle Municipal Council) from the people of Galle, as mentioned by the plaque in the clock tower.

86 Wright (1907 [2013], 766-70) discusses the businesses at Galle at length.

87 The British established plantation industries in central Sri Lanka during the mid-19th century (coffee, rubber and tea) with a recruited Indian labour force, which created a plantation economy in the country (Hewa 1994).

88 Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir William Gregory persuaded the Colonial Office to build the breakwater at Colombo (Mills 1933, 245).

89 According to the editor, the work was the result of an initiative aimed to provide full and reliable information about the outlying parts of the British Empire, and supported by the governor of Ceylon (Wright 1907).

diminishing economic importance, most of the Burgher[90] notables in Galle moved to Colombo during the early 20th century (Roberts, Raheem, and Colin-Thomé 1989, 27). This space was probably then taken up by other local ethnicities.

1.1.5 POST-INDEPENDENCE: RESIDENTIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRE

The fort continued to be a residential-administrative centre after independence in 1948, despite the changes in ethnic demographics. Prime minister S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's government (1952–1956) favoured a nationalistic policy whose culmination was the replacement of English with the native Sinhala as the official language by the Official Language Act No. 33 of 1956 (Sinhala Only Bill).[91] The European-descended, English-speaking Ceylon Burghers, who felt uncomfortable with these reforms, consequently migrated to other English-speaking Commonwealth countries, especially Australia. Thus, the remaining Burgher population of Galle Fort also decreased considerably, and was replaced by other local ethnicities, both Muslims and Sinhalese.[92]

Although the fort's colonial architecture, its most prominent aspect, was extensively recorded before and during this period, local sentiment towards the fort is the least documented. Two works by Burgher authors, *Those Long Afternoons: Childhood in Colonial Ceylon* by E. F. C Ludowyk[93] (1989) and *Galle as Quiet as Asleep* by Norah Roberts (2005), reveals the authors' strong attachment to colonial Galle, including the fort (also in the post-colonial period) as a living space, through their nostalgic memories (Ludowyk 1989; Roberts 2005).[94] Interestingly, the attachment to the colonial fort demonstrated by the (Ceylon) Burghers is not paralleled in the views of Southerners of other local ethnic origins, neither Sinhalese, Muslims nor Tamils. Their presence in the fort was discussed to a certain extent within the World Heritage project, especially in academic research focused on the issues faced by inhabitants, and to a lesser extent in modern travel literature and policy documents.

1.2 GALLE FORT: A GENERAL VIEW

1.2.1 LOCATION AND MONUMENTS

Galle Fort, which faces Galle Harbour to the east, is situated in the Galle District of the Southern Province of Sri Lanka. The fort is a separate GN Division (the smallest public administrative subunit of Sri Lanka) identified as 96-D Fort GN Division, under the authority of the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat (Figs. 15−16).[95] It is part of Galle City (urban population 133,398 (2012), over an area of 16.5 square kilometres), the administrative capital of the Southern Province.[96] Thus, the fort occupies a prime location within the Galle Municipal limits.

The fortified town covers an area of 37.7 hectares; it is enclosed by the rampart walls, defended by 14 bastions and surrounded by the Indian Ocean, except to the north. Within the fort, there are 13 streets, the majority of which existed during the colonial occupation, with some being added at a later date. The main streets still bear the names used during the Dutch occupation, with slight variations.

90 This group was generally comprised of colonial descendants.

91 This bill, the result of one of the main campaign promises of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike after his landslide victory in the 1956 general election, was violently opposed by the Tamil-speaking minority in Ceylon. Details available at https://www.britannica.com/event/Sinhala-Only-Bill (accessed 7 July 2018).

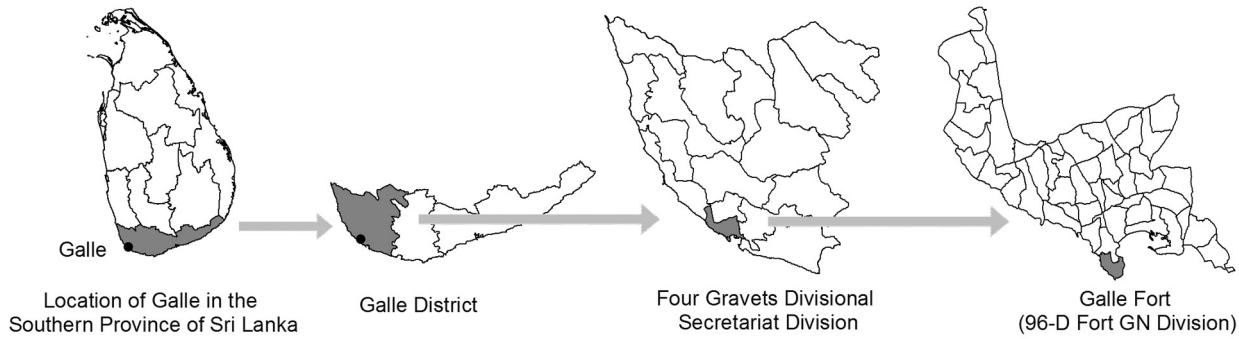
92 Mr Piyasena, owner of the property at Pedlar Street, stated that his mother-in-law bought the property from her Burgher colleague (at Southlands College, Fort) who moved to Australia (personal conversation, 2 September 2017).

93 Ludowyk was the first professor of English at the University of Ceylon.

94 The accounts of Roberts, one of the former librarians of the Galle Fort Library (1940–982), includes detailed descriptions of the notable Burgher and Muslim families that lived in the fort in middle and late 20th century.

95 *Grama Niladhari* Division in Sinhala. Public administration of the heritage city is discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.2.

96 "Census of Population and Housing – 2012, Final Report – Southern Province," p.7, available at http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/Southern.pdf (accessed 22 January 2019); "Social Screening Report: Rehabilitation of Sky Walkway at Rampart," p. 4, available at http://www.scdp.lk/pdf/social_safeguard/Galle/Urban%20Upgrading/SSR%20-Rampart%20Walkway%20SSR-Galle.pdf (accessed 4 July 2018).





The Study Area

Fig. 15 Location of Galle Fort according to local administration and the fort's map.



Fig. 16 An aerial view of Galle Fort, 2016.



Fig. 17 The Dutch Hospital (currently Dutch Hospital Shopping Precinct) and the Aurora Bastion.

While the fort as a whole can be considered a monument, within its fortifications are also particular monuments and historical buildings of colonial origin. The majority of them stem from the Dutch and British periods. Some of these still have their original function (including churches and private houses), whereas the majority of them have been redeveloped for reuse. The monuments that date back to Dutch period include the Dutch Reformed Church (1755); the Dutch Warehouse (currently the Maritime Museum); the Dutch Hospital (currently a shopping precinct; Fig. 17); the ramparts, including bastions and dungeons; Queens House (with British and modern renovations); and the historic buildings that house the National Museum, Post Office, Regional Archaeology Office and Magistrate's Court. In addition, the underground sewerage system built during the Dutch occupation is a notable feature of the fort. All Saints Anglican Church (1871; Figs. 18–19), Methodist Church, New Oriental Hotel (currently Amangalla), High Courts Building, the "Clan House" and YWCA (former Oriental Bank)[97] are some of the monuments and historic buildings that date back to the British period.





Figs. 18–19 All Saints' Church, completed in 1871.

1.2.2 THE COMMUNITY, LAND USE AND THE "LIVING CITY"

Galle Fort's community, both multiethnic and multi-religious, is the major factor in qualifying the fort to be a "living heritage city." While the demographics of the fort are further analysed in sub-chapter 6.4.1, the population of the fort in 2012 was 1068, according to the latest available census data.[98] The population by ethnicity was recorded as 851 Muslims, 577 Sinhalese, 36 Tamils and 65 foreigners, thus a total of 1529 in 2009, according to the Survey of Galle Heritage Foundation (Liyana Arachchi 2009). While the country's ethnic majority is Sinhalese (74.9%; 2012), the fort has a Muslim majority.[99] It was discussed in sub-chapter 1.1 that the Moorish presence in the fort dates back to the colonial period, which is also the case for the Sinhalese. Although there is an increasing number of foreign property owners, very few reside in the fort (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3). The most important aspect of the fort's community is its ethnic harmony and strong neighbourhood feelings, as elaborated in chapter 6. In the general view of the residents, the fort had a decent, educated community, who continue their social, cultural and religious practices even now (Fig. 20).[100]

97 Young Women's Christian Association.

98 Source: Census of Population and Housing (2012), Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka. In practice, a population census is conducted in Sri Lanka once every 10 years.

99 Source: Census of Population and Housing (2012), Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka.

100 Based on conversations with residents and personal observations, 2016–2018.



Fig. 20 Muslim religious practices of the women in a house, Leyn Baan Street, 2016.

Apart from the houses, the fort demonstrates a diverse land use, which also represents its living heritage: government institutions, departments, private firms, banks, museums, schools, military and police establishments and an increasing number of commercial places that cater to tourists. Galle District's High Court, District Court and Magistrate's Court are also located in the fort. In addition, two schools are located in the fort, namely Southlands and All Saints' Colleges (Fig. 21). However, a number of these government institutions are slated to be moved outside of the fort, following a cabinet decision made in 2017 (discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.1). These establishments attract a large number of day-to-day visitors to the fort, in addition to tourists (Fig. 22). The fort has multiple religious shrines for Christians, Muslims and Buddhists, which faiths cater to its community as well as outsiders; the churches date back to the colonial period, and could thus be regarded as "living monuments." Furthermore, the (increasing) historic charm of the fort has recently made it a popular destination for wedding photography.

The Rampart: A Lively People's Space

The rampart, once enjoyed mainly by the fort's community as a popular gathering space, is now being used equally by locals and tourists, while residents currently use it to a lesser extent. The rampart is the liveliest part of the fort, with fortune-tellers, cobra dancers, painters, ice cream sellers and cliff jumpers entertaining locals, tourists and schoolchildren on excursions alike, while also being used by local kids as a playground. It is very common for the people of Galle and the suburbs to visit the fort in the evenings to relax on the ramparts and see the setting sun (Fig.



Fig. 21 Teaching outside at the Junior Section of the All Saints' College, Pedlar Street.

23). As the ramparts are a famous destination for lovers, there is a Sinhala song with the lyrics:

> "From the stone walls of Galle Fort
> To gaze the beauty of a colourful kite
> (Flying) in the far horizon
> To be with you in a lonely evening …"[101]

The pleasant environment of the ramparts, and the outer roads of the fort, exposed to the sea breeze, has turned them into a favourite place for jogging, mainly enjoyed by outsiders. The fort's public grounds, enclosed by the ramparts, are mainly used by youth, schoolchildren and servicemen.

Tourism's Contribution to "Living Heritage"

Moreover, the flourishing tourism industry in the fort has also contributed to its living heritage. In general, the southern coastal belt of Sri Lanka, including Galle Fort, is one of the country's major tourist attractions due to its pristine beaches, which are now being exploited. The emergence of various types of tourist accommodations, from super luxury hotels to B&Bs, have turned the region into a prominent beach holiday destination for overseas tourists, while the region's attractions are significantly increased by the World Heritage city. Although the fort was a tourist destination for both local and overseas visitors even before its heritage recognition, the World Heritage emblem has yielded a steady increase in tourist arrivals at the fort, as well as in related facilities

101 The lyrics are from the Sinhala song *Gālu kotuwe gal bemmē* (From the Stone Walls of Galle Fort), sung by Kinsley Peiris (composer unknown).



Fig. 22 Men who work in the fort playing board games in the evening, Church Street.



Fig. 23 The rampart as an evening gathering place for local youths.



Fig. 24 Tourists, Church Street.

and services (Fig. 24). According to the Urban Development Authority, more than 230 tourism-related businesses were operating in Galle Fort in 2015 (UDA 2015).[102]

Thus, the fort is a lively landscape, used, experienced and enjoyed by diverse users with a range of values—residential, social, historic, economic, administrative, aesthetic, recreational, etc.—that sometimes conflict with each other, as discussed in the coming chapters.

1.3 WORLD HERITAGE RECOGNITION OF THE OLD TOWN OF GALLE AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS, 1988

1.3.1 THE BACKGROUND

Galle Fort's World Heritage recognition was the result of a series of initiatives, mainly led by influential (state) heritage officials, that had begun in the late 1970s to preserve the country's archaeological heritage. This movement started concurrently with UNESCO's safeguarding campaigns for globally important heritage. These campaigns, especially the ones in Asian regions, like Mohenjo-Daro and Borobudur, became a motivation for Sri Lankan heritage officials. At the Second International

102 "Social Screening Report: Rehabilitation of Sky Walkway at Rampart," p. 4, available at http://www.scdp.lk/pdf/social_safeguard/Galle/Urban%20Upgrading/SSR%20-Rampart%20Walkway%20SSR-Galle.pdf (accessed 4 July 2018).

Conference on Asian Archaeology held in Colombo in 1969, the country's archaeologists, including Roland Silva, proposed a preservation plan for the ancient city of Anuradhapura[103] (Silva 1993). The proposed preservation plan, which referred to the document that led to the UNESCO international campaign for Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan,[104] underscored that a proper preservation proposal could attract UNESCO funding (Silva 1993).

The Cabinet Memorandum on Promoting Cultural Tourism, 1970

By the end of the 1970s, the Sri Lankan government was interested in securing UNESCO's funding to preserve the country's cultural heritage. The then-Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs set up a committee headed by the Archaeological Commissioner, including the Assistant Archaeological Commissioner, to explore the possibility of proposing UNESCO preservation projects locally (Silva 1993). As a result, in 1970, the committee prepared a cabinet memorandum entitled "The Development of Cultural Tourism in Ceylon," which was not tabled at parliament, but later developed into the "Cultural Triangle," which is discussed later (Silva 1993). A major role of this initiative was played by Roland Silva, who was later appointed as the Archaeological Commissioner (1983–1990) and founding director of the Central Cultural Fund. Dr Roland Silva, one of Asia's foremost conservation experts and the visionary behind the country's modern preservation movement, also became the first Asian president of the ICOMOS International (1990–1999).

However, a larger proportion of the country's monuments relate to Buddhism, introduced from India in the 3rd century BCE, while secular monuments are associated with native kings. Sri Lanka is predominantly a Buddhist country, and the Buddha's Tooth Relic was (gradually) recognized as the symbol of royalty by the native kings. Buddhism is given special recognition in the country's constitution, which states, "Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha *Sasana*[105]…" (chapter II.9, 2015).[106] Thus, gaining the state support for the above-mentioned preservation plan for Anuradhapura, the country's centre of Theravada Buddhism, was not a challenge for the archaeologists of the Department of Archaeology. In fact, the plan was initiated in 1969 in collaboration with Anuradhapura Preservation Board (Silva 1993).

Preservation Needs of Colonial Galle Fort, 1971

The preservation of Galle Fort, a "colonial monument" that fell totally outside the context of the national political agenda or the concerns of ordinary citizens, gained importance in parallel with these movements due to an unexpected incident.

During the insurgency of 1971,[107] the military had occupied some of the state-owned colonial buildings in Galle Fort and repaired them, damaging their archaeological value (Silva 1992). As the fort in general could be regarded as a monument according to the Antiquities Ordinance (No. 9, 1940), the Department of Archaeology imposed a 400-yard law (365.76m) around the "Dutch ramparts" of the fort, which in practice functioned as a control zone for building activities, both inside and outside the fortress walls (discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.2). This also reveals the Department of Archaeology's (Western) material-based preservation approach, as an institution that began under British colonial occupation and was headed by Westerners until 1931. This was a very influential incident, and prompted experts to formulate a preservation plan for Galle Fort.

103 The ancient city of Anuradhapura, political capital of the country from the 3rd century BCE to the 10th century CE, was a centre of civilization and Theravada Buddhism. The city, with its large Buddhist monastery complexes with great *stupas*, was established around the sacred Bodhi Tree (fig tree), believed to be a sampling of the fig tree of Bodh Gaya, under which the Buddha became enlightened. It was brought to Sri Lanka by Sangamitta Teri, the daughter of Emperor Asoka and founder of the monastic order of nuns in Sri Lanka around the 3rd century BCE.

104 *Pakistan: Preservation of Historic Sites and Monuments with a View to Cultural Tourism* by R. Curiel, unpublished (Silva 1993).

105 *Sāsana* indicates Buddhism as a whole, including the doctrine, monastic order and religious practices. According to Obeyesekere, *sāsana* is the broad term connotes the "Buddhist civilizational order" (Obeyesekere 2017, 381).

106 The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka (as amended up to 15 May 2015), Revised edition, 2015, Parliament Secretariat. Available at http://www.parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution.pdf (accessed 30 October 2018).

107 Armed rebellion against the government of Ceylon carried out by the communist *Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna* (JVP or Peoples Liberation Front). The rebellions, including a second attempt to seize power in 1987, caused between 20,000 and 60,000 deaths (Hill 2013).

Galle Seminar, 1974

UNESCO's Director of Cultural Heritage, who visited the country in 1973, was so impressed with the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Tourism, and the line of thinking used by officials to develop "cultural tourism" with high potential, that it gained UNESCO's assistance (Silva 1993). Three heritage projects were funded by the UNDP in 1975 through the Director of Cultural Heritage, UNESCO (Silva 1993). This thinking on the part of the bureaucrats also affected the preservation plans for Galle Fort, as can be discerned from the Galle Seminar (1974).

Galle Seminar was held jointly in 1974 by the Galle Municipal Council and the Department of Archaeology, and was identified by the organizers as an attempt to stimulate public interest in preserving Galle Fort (Silva 1974b; Kullatillake 1974). The heads of related government institutions delivered talks on preserving Galle Fort during this seminar, which also emphasized the promotion of cultural tourism for economic development. The highlight of the seminar was a talk delivered by Roland Silva, then Assistant Archaeology Commissioner, about the need to preserve the city centre of Galle (1974). This talk largely focused on the economic benefits of preservation, especially to the local community in the form of homestay accommodation (Silva 1974a). Similarly, Bradman Weerakoon,[108] the Government Agent of Galle and a highly influential bureaucrat, also confirmed the importance of preservation on the economic development of Galle (Weerakoon 1974). Moreover, the Additional Director General of the Ceylon Tourist Board recognized the significance of Galle town in promoting cultural tourism (Silva 1974a). As bureaucrats in a developing nation, these individuals identified cultural tourism as a promising way to foster the economy of the local community, municipality and country as a whole. This government-led preservation movement was actively supported by local architect Ashley De Vos, another influential individual, conservator and later a heritage policymaker for Galle Fort.[109]

Cultural Triangle and First Heritage Recognitions, 1982

A great step towards the heritage listing of cultural sites in Sri Lanka was the establishment of the Cultural Triangle (also known as the "UNESCO-Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle") in 1980, which aimed to obtain international financial aid to preserve country's cultural heritage by campaigning through UNESCO. Parallel to this, the Central Cultural Fund (both the fund as well as the institution of the same name), an alternative heritage institution founded to handle Cultural Triangle projects, was established in 1980 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.4). Roland Silva was the pioneer of these initiatives. The Cultural Triangle connected (later World Heritage-listed) Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Kandy, which were the political capitals of the major ancient kingdoms of the country. The Buddhist cave temple Rangiri Dambulla (Golden Temple of Dambulla) and native rock fortress Sigiriya, with 5th-century murals, were located inside this triangle. Galle was an exception, situated outside the Triangle, a colonial city as well as a living city (although Kandy is also a living city, it is a local city that mainly has religious value due to the Temple of the Tooth Relic).

As head of Department of Archaeology, Roland Silva prepared nomination files for the first three Sri Lankan World Heritage sites, which were World Heritage-listed in 1982 (Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Ancient City of Polonnaruwa and Sigiriya).[110] Conservation and management of these sites were carried out by the Central Cultural Fund. By 1988, Galle Fort and Kandy were World Heritage-listed, and Dambulla gained World Heritage recognition in 1992. No cultural sites in Sri Lanka have been heritage-listed since then, although two sites are on the tentative list, proposed consecutively in 2006 and 2010.

1.3.2 HERITAGE RECOGNITION: EXPERT EFFORT

By 1986, Galle Fort had been nominated for World Heritage listing by the state party. Roland Silva, then Archaeological Commissioner, and architect Ashley

108 Weerakoon served nine heads of state, mostly as Secretary to the Prime Minister/President, including Sirimavo Bandaranaike (1960–1965), considered the first female head of government in the modern world.

109 De Vos, a local expert, co-authored the first preservation plan for Galle Fort (1987), as discussed below.

110 Source: Université de Montréal, Canada Research Chair for Built Heritage. Available at https://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/en/research-projects/active-projects/oral-archives-of-the-world-heritage-convention/roland-silva/ (accessed 3 July 2018).

De Vos, were the pioneers of this movement, while it was decisively supported by Rupa Karunatilake, then District Minister of Galle, who later became Sri Lankan Ambassador to the Netherlands.[111] These three individuals were among the ten members of the "Galle Heritage Committee," which in 1987 formulated the first preservation plan, entitled "The Preservation of Historic City Centre of Galle" (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.1). The preservation plan, co-authored by Gamini Wijesuriya (then Assistant Archaeological Commissioner) and architect Ashley De Vos, was presented to then-president of the country J. R. Jayewardene in February 1987. The plan identified Galle Fort as "A Monument of Dual Parentage" in order to gain political support for the preservation proposals, as discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.4. According to Lepelaars (1999), colonial heritage was placed lower on the public and political agendas, as it was not associated with the indigenous Buddhist heritage.

The Galle Heritage Committee included eminent scientist and Galle native Prof. Cyril Ponnamperuma,[112] who worked with NASA's Project Apollo and was the science advisor of the Sri Lankan president at the time; Prof. Senake Bandaranayake, the director of the Postgraduate Institute of Archaeology; three higher-ranking officials from the Department of Archaeology;[113] and an official from the Urban Development Authority. Although the committee included highly influential individuals, it had only one representative from the Citizens Committee, Ms N. D. Wijenayake, to represent the aspirations of the fort's residents. Despite being a resident, she was also Deputy Mayor of the Galle Municipal Council, thus representing politicians rather than residents. Therefore, the residents' consent and contribution to the heritage recognition of their own town and the formulation of the preservation plan was not considered vital at that time, during the nomination process. Despite the Galle Seminar (1974), there was no information on significant public awareness initiatives aimed at the community of either Galle or Galle Fort, according to both government sources and the testimony of longtime residents of Galle Fort.[114] According to Dr Gamini Wijesuriya, who contributed to the heritage nomination and co-authored the first preservation plan, the authorities managed to inform the "relevant people" about the heritage nomination, despite the fact that the process was dominated by experts.[115]

1.3.3 THE CRITERIA AND THE LACK OF MENTION OF THE COMMUNITY

In 1988, Galle Fort was recognized under criterion iv as the 200th World Heritage site, under the name "Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications."[116] In general, walled towns fall under the common inscription of UNESCO's criterion iv, indicating that each constitutes "an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history" (UNESCO 2018; Creighton 2007). As will be discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.2, the World Heritage Convention, as well as the notion of World Heritage, represent a material-based preservation approach at the initiation, as also reflected in criterion iv.

The Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS (1986) notes that the "outstanding architectural value" of the fort was the most important quality suggested by local heritage experts; this feature combines European and local traditions, and thus also fitted with the idea of a "Monument of Dual Parentage," further elaborated in 1.3.4;

"Galle provides an outstanding example of an urban ensemble which illustrates the interaction of

111 "The largest stride towards protection was taken in the nineteen eighties when the then District Minister of Galle, also a son of this great city, played the major role to win the support of all the lovers of Galle and further whetted their appetite to a series of dialogues. The Minister's strength was in his winning ways to draw each and all from the public sector and private, from those in this country and those outside" (Silva 1992).

112 Prof Cyril Ponnamperuma, whose research focused on the origin of life, was the principal investigator to analyse lunar soil brought from Project Apollo. He was highly respected in his home country, and thus became the Director of the Institute of Fundamental Studies (IFS) and the founding Director of the Arthur C. Clarke Centre for Modern Technologies, Sri Lanka.

113 This included Roland Silva, Archeological Commissioner, and Gamini Wijesuriya, Assistant Archaeological Commissioner.

114 Based on personal communication with a few longtime residents of Galle Fort, 2016.

115 Interview, 5 October 2018.

116 According to Silva (1992), Galle Fort was recognized as the 200th monument on the World Heritage list.

European architecture and South Asian tradition from the 16th to the 19th centuries" (Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS, 1986).[117]

However, the evaluation also reveals that the prominent European colonial architecture of the fortress is valued over the local elements.

"Among the characteristics which make this an urban group of exceptional value is the original sewer system from 17th century, flushed with sea water controlled by a pumping station formerly activated by a windmill[118] 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." (Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS, 1986).[119]

Finally, the most visible Dutch colonial architecture was prioritized:

"*It is this fortified city built by the Dutch which exists with but few changes*" (Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS, 1986).[120]

Thus, neither the urban community nor the intangible values associated with it were mentioned in the evaluation, but were considered by the Operational Guidelines only later on (discussed in sub-chapter 2.4.2). Furthermore, the town was not inscribed as an inhabited historic city under criterion vi, which the Operational Guidelines later revised with respect to this category (discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.3). In addition, some of the key individuals who contributed to the heritage nomination were European-educated heritage practitioners and scholars who were familiar with contemporary Western material-based heritage preservation. According to Dr Gamini Wijesuriya, who contributed to the preparation of the nomination, the process was not as comprehensive as it is today.[121] Thus, a living city was identified as a "collection of monuments" that could be well identified by the Advisory Body Evaluation of the ICOMOS (1986), as cited above. However, this is largely a result of the contemporary heritage practices of the time, and therefore cannot be solely attributed to the individuals who contributed to the process.

Due to all these factors (including the anticipated Dutch funds, which are discussed below), preservation of the prominent Dutch colonial architecture of Galle Fort became a matter of prime importance in the World Heritage project.

1.3.4 "A MONUMENT OF DUAL PARENTAGE": A PHRASE WITH DUAL PURPOSE

The term "Monument of Dual Parentage" was strategically used by key figures of the preservation movement in the '80s and '90s, mainly to overcome two major challenges. First, it aimed to adapt the preservation of the colonial monument to the (post-independent) political agenda, which focused on ethno-religious nationalism based on politicized Sinhalese culture and Buddhism.[122] Secondly, it aimed to secure the patronage of the Dutch for the proposed conservation programme, a solution to the financial limitations of the developing nation.

The idea of viewing the monument positively rather than as a relic of colonialism was proposed by Roland Silva and architect Ashley De Vos at the ICOMOS 8th General Assembly in 1987. "A Monument of Dual Parentage: The Preservation of the Historic City Centre of Galle, Sri Lanka" the preservation plan for Galle Fort (the above-mentioned plan presented to the president of the country), was presented in this assembly. According to Roland Silva, 85% of the designs of colonial monuments were indigenous, since they were "built with local

117 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451 (accessed 4 July 2018).

118 There have been controversies over the existence of Dutch-period windmill, which so far has not been proven.

119 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451 (accessed 4 July 2018).

120 Ibid.

121 Interview, dated 5 October 2018. In fact, a management plan has been considered compulsory for nominations since 2005, as discussed further in sub-chapter 4.5.4. However, Wijesuriya's heritage approach largely changed towards a people-centred approach in later years, which he endeavored to promote during his time at ICCROM, as mentioned in sub-chapter 2.4.2.

122 Also known as Sri Lanka's Sinhala Buddhist nationalism (briefly discussed in sub-chapter 2.5), this is based on politicized Sinhala culture and Buddhism (Jayasundara-Smits 2011).

material with the sweat and toil of the people of those countries."[123] Thus, at the ICOMOS General Assembly, they proposed to call colonial monuments "Monuments of Dual Parentage," "without disputing or destroying a heritage of nearly five centuries."[124] This was applauded by all, especially the Dutch.[125] In the third term of Dr Roland Silva's Presidency of ICOMOS International (1998), he invited the President of ICOMOS Netherlands to Sri Lanka to formulate a resolution for colonial monuments, which resulted in drafting the statutes of "Recommendation for ICOMOS to Form an International Committee on Colonial Settlements/Buildings of Dual Parentage/ Mutual Heritage under ICOMOS Scientific Committees."[126]

Locally, the term was promoted mainly by the (local) experts in the preservation movement. While Bandaranyake (1992) identified the fort as a product of two cultures, "Dual Parentage" was further elaborated as the adaptation of local labor, workmanship and technology to suit colonial requirements in the production of the fortress (Vos 1987, 24; Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 5; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 33). A broader but controversial perspective on "common heritage" was formulated by Kuruppu and Wijesuriya based on the ideas of Donald Appleyard, an urban theorist:

"Whereas originally they belong to one social group, an often hated and powerful one, now they are treasured as belonging to all" (Appleyard 1977, quoted by Kuruppu and Wijusuriya 1992, 22-23).

The notion was used in the Department of Archaeology's publication *The Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs* (1992). Campaigning to preserve a colonial monument in a post-colonial country with predominantly Buddhist heritage was identified by Kuruppu and Wijesuriya (1992) as one of the major challenges to and a new dimension of preservation. The brief articles by Bandaranayake (1992) and Kuruppu & Wijesuriya (1992) show how local heritage practitioners tactfully achieved their preservation goals by linking the monument to the native community that was once oppressed by colonizers. Bandaranayake (1992) placed the fort in the third phase of the overall urban evolution of the country by linking the colonization with native urban expansion. In addition, the author's identification of the townhouses of the fort as examples of "local vernacular architecture" also reflects an attempt to localize the Dutch hybrid domestic architecture (Bandaranayake 1992). Thus, Logan stated, the "country's archaeologists were able to incorporate the monument into a new vision of the national past" (Logan 2002, xvi).

In 1999, despite the invention of the term "Monument of Dual Parentage," Lepelaars (1999, 36) noted that public support for the preservation of the fort remained low, as colonial heritage was not as close to the people's hearts as Buddhist heritage.[127] The term did not reach non-expert residents, but was limited to local heritage practitioners, academia and Dutch stakeholders. In contrast, the idea had a positive impact on conservation finances, as funding from the Dutch government was the most significant among international donors, as discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.3. Large-scale conservation programmes were funded under the Dutch Common Cultural Heritage Policy (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science 2009, 1) which aims to "collaborate on the sustainable maintenance and management of common cultural heritage, on the basis of reciprocal political and substantive involvement" (Parthesius and Jeffery 2012, 273). Despite the substantial Dutch funds, neither the state nor contemporary heritage practitioners continue to identify the fort as "common heritage," unlike the Dutch. But these consequences

123 "What we said was, from 1500 onwards, nearly the whole of the Americas, whole of Africa, whole of Asia except Thailand and the whole of Australia and New Zealand were colonial. If we all had the attitude of 'these are colonial monuments and let's get rid of them—that is something we wanted to beat.'" Interview with Roland Silva conducted by Christina Cameron (2011), Victoria, Canada. Available at https://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/en/research-projects/active-projects/oral-archives-of-the-world-heritage-convention/roland-silva/ (accessed in 3 July 2018).

124 Ibid.

125 Ibid.: "We had a standing applause. And particularly the Dutch community came around to two of us and hugged us, saying, 'Oh, what a lovely presentation!'"

126 Ibid. Enders (2014) identifies the Recommendation as part of the "Declaration of Colombo on Safeguarding of Physical Heritage Deriving from Dutch Contact with Asia," followed by the international seminar "European Architecture and Town Planning Outside Europe (Dutch Period)," which took place in Colombo, Sri Lanka (24–28 February 1995). Available at http://www.sbh.icomos.org/images/Documents/SBH-History-1998---2016a.pdf (accessed 15 July 2018). Dr Roland Silva played a key role in the seminar from the local side.

127 Lepelaars also states that contemporary usage of the colonial heritage of Galle Fort for residential and commercial purposes makes it difficult to safeguard (Lepelaars 1999).

had a serious impact on the World Heritage project's preservation of the fort's prominent "Dutch" colonial architecture in the following years.

1.4 THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT OVER THREE DECADES

While the developments of the institutional and legal framework of the World Heritage project are discussed separately in chapter 4, its progress over nearly the past 30 years is discussed here in brief.

1.4.1 THE FIRST DECADE (1988–1997): CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION

With the initiation of the World Heritage project, priority was given to strengthening the institutional background, documentation and conservation of the monuments. The Galle Heritage Foundation was established by the Galle Heritage Foundation Act of 1994, a separate entity for the heritage city, as elaborated in sub-chapter 4.3.1. Dr Roland Silva, then Director General of the Central Cultural Fund (former Archaeological Commissioner) was the pioneer of this initiative. In the beginning, the Department of Archaeology's involvement in the heritage city was significant, which however declined over the next decades with the involvement of the Galle Heritage Foundation.

The Preservation Plan of 1987 (mentioned earlier and discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.1) was initiated by the Department of Archaeology immediately after the World Heritage recognition. As proposed in the long-term plans outlined in this document, the first systematic documentation of the buildings of the fort was conducted from 1988 to 1990 by the Department of Archaeology in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Moratuwa. The results were published in the Department of Archaeology's journal *Ancient Ceylon*, *15*, entitled *Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs: A Special Volume to Mark the Occasion of the Completion of the Phase One of the Long-Term Preservation Programme for the World Heritage City of Galle* (1992). This documentation, which includes scale drawings of streetscapes with building fronts, was decisive in assigning a material heritage value to the building stock, including private houses.

In addition, financial assistance from the Netherlands to conserve built heritage was also crucial during this phase, including the funding from the Dutch Municipality of Velsen under the twin-city programme with Galle Municipal Council, initiated in 1976.[128]

1.4.2 THE SECOND DECADE (1998–2007): COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH WITH THE NETHERLANDS

The second decade reveals a significant change in management policies, with the involvement of the Urban Development Authority in regulating building developments in the fort, a response to the lack of control over building activities. In addition, the functioning of Galle Heritage Foundation as a project-planning institute could also be identified, while Dutch government-funded research/ conservation projects were also significant during this phase. The end of this phase was characterized by the increasing commercial value of the fort's properties due to foreign/local investments, which subsequently resulted in gentrification, as will be elaborated on sub-chapter 6.3. In December 2004, the rampart walls saved the fort, which sustained only minor damages, from the massive Indian Ocean tsunami, which devastated the southern coast.

The second policy document, entitled "Conservation and Development of the World Heritage Site of the Dutch Fort in Galle," was formulated in 2002 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2). The plan, which introduced guidelines for developers, was strictly centred on preserving the colonial architecture.

Scientific improvements to underwater-archaeology research in Sri Lanka had a positive impact on the World Heritage project during this phase. The Maritime Archaeology Unit (MAU), Galle, affiliated with the Central Cultural Fund was established with the financial assistance of the

128 The programme was initiated in 1976 between the Municipality of Velson and Galle Municipal Council on the 100th anniversary of the council of Velsen, with the aim to support and develop Galle (Wijnen 2010). 171 projects were carried out under this initiative from 1978 to 1996, while the biggest categories were development, economy and culture (Wijnen 2010).

Netherlands Cultural Fund in 2001.[129] The excavation and conservation of the Dutch East Indiaman Avondster, wrecked in 1659, was the first project carried out by the MAU and funded by the Netherlands Cultural Fund.[130] The project is significant as the first large-scale maritime archaeology project in Sri Lanka. The project also focused on training Sri Lankan underwater archaeologists and conservators and building a museum to display the excavated finds (Parthesius and Anderson 2007; Parthesius and Dayananda 2003). The establishment of a maritime museum, a long-felt need identified by two local policy documents consecutively in 1987 and 2002, was undertaken with the financial support of the Netherlands in 2010. However, underwater archaeological discoveries at Galle Harbour, and the extensive related publications, strongly influenced the World Heritage Committee's recommendations, in 2003[131] and 2010,[132] to extend the boundaries of the World Heritage property to the old bay with its shipwrecks. Simultaneously, these finds played an important role in changing the scope of the proposed Galle Harbour Development Project towards that of a commercial leisure port in 2013 (discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.3).

The Dutch government-funded Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009), implemented by Galle Heritage Foundation and initiated in 2007, was prominent in supporting the local community of the fort during this phase. The project conserved or provided a façade representing "Dutch hybrid domestic architecture"[133] with collonaded verandahs to nearly 60 houses (depending on the evidence). The project was an impetus for giving a Dutch colonial appearance to residential buildings that had been altered the passage of time. Thus, these projects (including the maritime museum, which explores the past glory of the VOC), which were welcomed by the country and the local heritage practitioners, also strengthened and popularized the "Dutchness" of the fort. There is a debate over whether the European archaeological practices of stakeholders in host countries are actually fundamental to achieving equal partnerships and/or decolonized forms of archaeology (van der Linde 2012).

In 1995 and 1998, the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) of Erasmus University Rotterdam organized a series of customized, Dutch government-funded three-month courses for Sri Lankans in cooperation with the Netherlands Department of Conservation (Lepelaars 1999). These courses, aimed at strengthening Sri Lankan expertise in promoting urban heritage, also focused on the timing requirements of the World Heritage project.[134] In August 2018, IHS conducted a training on "Urban Heritage Strategies for Sri Lankan Professionals," attended by officials from the Urban Development Authority and the Department of Archaeology.

1.4.3 THE THIRD DECADE (2008–2018): ISSUES OF THE WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT

The third stage is noteworthy for the outbreak of critical issues regarding World Heritage recognition, which developed gradually over the years, similarly to most of the World Heritage-listed inhabited historic cities in the world (as discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.4). Among these issues, which affected inhabitants as well as the fort itself, are:

i. excessive gentrification;
ii. displacement of the local community and losing the sense of place;

129 According to Parthesius (2007; 2012), the project was administered by the Mutual Heritage Centre and managed by the Sri Lankan government agency, the Central Cultural Fund, in cooperation with international partners from the Netherlands, Australia and Mexico. However, the main international partners were the Netherlands and Australia.

130 The Avondster was wrecked on 2 July 1659, while it was anchored near the Black Fort (Parthesius and Dayananda 2003).

131 In 2003, the World Heritage Committee stated that the borders and buffer zones of the property are not adequate, as they do not reflect the relationship of the harbour with the recent archeological remains of the bay (SOC 2003, 113).

132 "Given that the shipwrecks are important tangible attributes of the outstanding universal value of the property as a 17th–18th century fortified port on maritime trading routes, it can be argued that they should be included as part of the World Heritage property, rather than protected only by a buffer zone." (WHC 2010, 128).

133 Elaborated in sub-chapter 5.1.3.

134 Basnayake's study at IHS ("An Approach for Heritage Conservation of Galle Fort through Integrated Urban Development,"1998) was based on an approach to heritage conservation for the fort that featured the integration of urban development. The idea, which later became a recommendation of the UNESCO Reactive Monitoring Mission Report 2002, was put into practice by the Urban Development Authority's Development Plan for Galle Urban Development Area 2008–2025 (2009) (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.3).

iii. unauthorized developments and threats to the Outstanding Universal Value;
iv. commercialization;
v. intrusive large-scale development projects inside the buffer zone, led by the government.

Furthermore, strengthening laws and formulating management policies based on the World Heritage Committee's recommendations are also significant. Thus, in 2009, the Urban Development Authority implemented Special Regulations (Planning and Building) for developments, and the first management plan, entitled "Integrated Management System," was formulated in 2015 (discussed in sub-chapters 4.3.2 and 4.5.4). Moreover, the large-scale Dutch government-funded conservation projects carried out during this phase were also important (discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.3). Most of the above-mentioned issues have received attention in academic research, both local and foreign, since 2010, while the community of the fort became a topic of interest in academia.

Abstract Space and the Struggle of the Inhabitants

Sanjeewani's study (2012) examines the "abstract space" of the World Heritage site produced by the authorities, and the inhabitants' responses to it. The author analyses case studies according to Henri Lefebvre's (1991) triad: Perceived, Conceived and Lived Spaces, in which the plan for the World Heritage site is viewed as an abstract space that the government, with the support of UNESCO, attempts to establish; meanwhile, inhabitants struggle to continue their lives. Therefore, the work identifies the inhabitants as "winners" and "losers" of the struggle (Sanjeewani 2012). One of the shortcomings of the work is that it lacks reference to the overall benefits the World Heritage project yielded in improving the residents' quality of life, which was addressed to a certain extent by the author's work in 2015, co-authored with Silva. Although the 2015 work mainly depends on the case studies of 2012, in contrast, the authors state that a surprisingly large proportion of the people have achieved their goals (Perera and Habarakada 2015). The authors conclude that UNESCO's humanism, which dominates a larger discourse, remains rather abstract, while the local/national government mainly aims to create a tourist economy through the project (Perera and Habarakada 2015).

Gentrification and Losing the Sense of Place

The gentrification of Galle Fort has received attention in academic research since the 2010s. Samarawickrema, who specifically discusses the gentrification of Galle Fort in her Master's thesis, concludes that gentrification of the fort's neighbourhoods took place through a combination of local, national and global processes (Samarawickrema 2012). The excessive gentrification of the fort is identified as a reason for its losing its sense of place (Sanjeewani 2012; Rajapakse 2013).

Protecting Outstanding Universal Value and Issues with Heritage Laws

Boxem and Fuhren's study (2012), which was carried out at the Technical University of Eindhoven, the Netherlands, is focused on how Galle Fort can develop sustainably, without damaging its Outstanding Universal Value. In conclusion, the authors highlight the necessity of the management plan (which was completed in 2015), and suggest adopting more decisiveness, both financially and with regard to human resources (Boxem and Fuhren 2010).

A critical examination of the heritage laws and guidelines was conducted briefly by Manawadu (2012), with special reference to the functioning of the Planning Sub-Committee and Special Regulations 2009. The author, also affiliated with the Galle Heritage Planning Sub-Committee (the committee discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2) as a consultant, stated that the heritage guidelines neither meet the aspirations of the residents, nor the new trends in development (Manawadu 2012).

The Hegemonic Preservation Narrative

The impact of the heritage policies on the resident Muslims, who comprise nearly 50 per cent of the fort's population, attention in academic research. Based on the arguments of Dubrow and Goodman (1964) on the hegemonic preservation narrative,[135] Sanjeewani (2012) argues that prioritizing the preservation of the Dutch history has led the World Heritage project to remove the Muslim heritage of the periods before and after colonialism. In contrast, Boxem and Fuhren (2010) identify Muslim cultural requirements, such as the introduction of Islamic

135 *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (2003).

architecture in facades, verandahs and courtyards, as well as the subdivision of houses due to larger families, as threats to the Outstanding Universal Value. However, this "Muslim heritage," which is not properly defined in Sanjeewani's work, could be identified as the Muslim residential culture of Galle Fort, according to Lepelaars (1999), who predicted as far back as 1999 that it would pose future difficulties for the World Heritage project due to its differences and special requirements.

Conclusion

While this chapter provides ample archival evidence to prove that Dutch colonial architecture is most prominent in the fort, evocative of its most significant historic phase, it also argues that the essence of the fort lies in its community. As the World Heritage recognition of the Galle Fort in 1988 was a matter handled exclusively by experts, preserving the prominent Dutch colonial architecture has become a prime aim of the World Heritage project, with lesser importance placed on its resident community.

2. Theoretical Framework

The chapter focuses on four theories, approaches or notions that deal with cultural landscape, World Heritage and modern urban heritage management. While it elaborates on the (negative) impacts of heritage recognition on historic cities, it also discusses how the paradigm shifts of urban conservation towards a more people-centred approach address these challenges. The chapter highlights the idea that a historic city is not just "architecture," but a "dynamic peoples' space," one that is also strongly associated with the feelings of the urban community.

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

2.1.1 ORIGINS

The concept of cultural landscape is a multifaceted notion, and originated from the concept of landscape developed by geographers, which later became popular in archaeology. The word landscape (or its Old English variations *landskipe* or *landscaef*) was introduced to Britain by Anglo-Saxons and other groups of Germanic people after the 5th century (Jackson 1984). J. B. Jackson, a pioneer of landscape studies, defines the meaning of landscape as "a portion of the earth's surface that can be comprehended at a glance" (1984, 3). Generally, the term has two meanings: a portion of land and a style of painting (Wylie 2007). Although landscape has been defined with reference to several domains, including culture, power, history, identity etc., landscapes are also identified as "contested" (Bender 1993; Mitchell 2002). Based on the ideas of Marxist sociologist Fred Inglis, Daniels argues that landscape as a concept "stands at the intersection of concepts a sociologist would strain to hold apart: 'institution,' 'product,' 'process' and 'ideology'" (Daniels 1989; Cresswell 1996, 157). Thus, "landscapes and places are products we have to live in and use" (Cresswell 1996, 157). The term "landscape" has gained attention in the field of urban heritage in recent years. According to Fairclough, the chronological spread of heritage has been expanding from monuments to cities and landscapes, until there are no significant temporal boundaries (Fairclough 2008).

The term "cultural landscape" and the particular idea it embraces were originally promoted by Professor Carl Saucer and the Berkeley school of geographers in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s (Fowler 2004). Sauer describes the landscape as both natural and cultural in his well-known essay "The Morphology of Landscape," originally published in 1925. In this essay, he recognizes cultural landscapes as a result of the transformation of the natural landscape by a cultural group.

"The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result" (Sauer 1963, 343).

According to Aplin, similar ideas of the concept of cultural landscape can be found even earlier, in the writings of the French school of geography, as well as those of German geographers, despite variations in terminology (Aplin 2007). However, some pioneers of landscape studies also see human interventions as part of the landscape. Landscape historian Hoskins's best-known work, *The Making of the English Landscape* (1955), contains chapters on "The Industrial Revolution and the Landscape" and "The Landscape of Towns," which implies the author's identification of manmade features as part of the landscape. J. B. Jackson (1984), who introduced vernacular landscape in postwar America, supports this idea by stating that although landscape means natural scenery in America, it always contains a human element in England.

2.1.2 CHANGING NOTIONS IN GEOGRAPHY AND SUCCESSIVE USE IN WORLD HERITAGE

Hoskins was the first to identify the importance of landscape in a historical context. In explaining the link between landscape and history, he stated that "the English landscape itself, to those who know how to read it aright is the richest historical record we possess" (Hoskin 1955, 14). Wagner and Mikesell (1965), Sauer's former students, identify cultural landscape as one of the five major entities that constitute the core of cultural geography. Their definition is parallel to Sauer as well as closer to its current approach in archaeology.

"Cultural Landscape is a concrete and characteristic product of the complicated interplay between a given human community, embodying certain cultural preferences and potentials, and a particular set of natural circumstances. It is a heritage of many eras of natural evolution and of many generations of human effort" (Wagner and Mikesell 1965, 11).

Although this concept was conceived at a time in which there were more pristine landscapes, human impact on the natural landscape has increased dramatically with time. This has led to controversies over the applicability of this theory in geography. An American geographer Peirce F. Lewis, who wrote more critically on the subject, has stated, "nearly every square millimetre of the United States has been altered by humankind," and thus cultural landscapes are "nearly everything that we can see" (Lewis 1976, 6). The contemporary scarcity of virgin landscapes led to his identification; "*all human landscape has cultural meaning*, no matter how ordinary that landscape might be" (Lewis 1976, 6). Therefore, it became difficult to identify the fine line between ordinary landscape and cultural landscape. With these shifts in meaning, the importance of the concept decreased in geography, which was its subject of origin.

For the very same reason, however, the rareness of pristine landscapes resulted in the adoption of this concept in the field of archaeology. The book *The Cultural Landscape: Past, Present and Future* (1988), which resulted from one of the major conferences on the concept in archaeology held in Norway in 1986, states, "in the end it was realized that, even in Scandinavia, a virgin landscape was a fiction" (Birks 1988, 1). The concept of cultural landscape first arose in official World Heritage Records in 1987, regarding the UK's proposal to prepare a draft for a Lake District National Park nomination for the 1987 meeting (Fowler 2004; Aplin 2007). The term "cultural landscape" became popular in archaeology when it was adopted by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee in 1992 as a new category within the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (Fowler 2004; Aplin 2007).

According to the Operational Guidelines, 2017, "Cultural landscapes are cultural properties and represent the 'combined works of nature and of man' designated in Article 1 of the Convention. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (Article 47, WHC.17/01).[136]

Currently (as of March 2019), there are 102 cultural landscapes, including lofty mountains, gardens and sacred places that are the "combined works of nature and man."[137] Yet there are still diverging opinions as to the use of this term in World Heritage, given the increased human impact on nature as mentioned by Lewis (1976). As Platcher (1999) emphasizes, if the cultural landscape expresses human influence on the environment at the landscape level, then basically all landscape would have to be considered "cultural landscapes."[138]

2.1.3 THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONCEPT IN MANAGING HISTORIC CITIES: UNESCO'S HUL APPROACH

Embracing a cultural landscape paradigm in World Heritage expanded its usage in conservation thinking and practice. The effort to adopt the ideas of this concept in UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape approach, 2011 (also referred to as HUL, and elaborated in the sub-chapter 2.3.1), can be seen

136 The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2017. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 31 October 2018).

137 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/ (accessed 28 February 2019). There were 102 sites by February 2019.

138 Platcher (1999), quoted by Fowler (Fowler 2004, 20).

in this context. The HUL approach identifies a historic city as a landscape based on a nature–culture relationship, the fundamental idea behind the cultural landscape concept; namely, "the historic urban landscape is the urban area understood as the result of a historic layering of cultural and natural values and attributes, extending beyond the notion of 'historic centre' or 'ensemble' to include the broader urban context and its geographical setting" (Article 8, UNESCO Recommendation on the HUL, 2011). Ken Taylor, who identifies cities as cultural landscapes, relates the HUL approach closely to the cultural landscape concept (Taylor 2015a; Taylor 2015b). Taylor (2015a) traces the ideas of the concept in the Vienna Memorandum, 2005,[139] the initiation of UNESCO's HUL Recommendation (2011), which shows a shift of the urban environment beyond the purely physical architectural fabric to that of one fitting the cultural landscape model (Taylor 2015a).

Therefore, the HUL approach recognizes the significance of giving equal importance to the conservation of both culture (community and its values) as well as architecture in urban conservation: "…it is as much about buildings and spaces, as about rituals and values that people bring into the city" (Bandarin and Oers 2012; Taylor 2015a, 181). Similarly, the city is identified as a living space, where the meaning of the built environment has to be understood in relation to the living society, its needs for the preservation of memory as part of its culture and life, its sense of beauty, its use of places and its changing processes (Bandarin 2015).

Galle Fort is a historic urban landscape, inhabited and changed, as well as continuously inhabiting and changing, by several successive urban communities from the colonial period to the present time, and for diverse functions, including military, commercial, administrative and residential functions as well as global tourism. The conflicts and tensions that have arisen over the preservation of the "colonial landscape" of Galle Fort through World Heritage recognition and its subsequent changes are examined in this study. The results of human interactions with the landscape, including various social groups with different powers, are explored, an integral part of which is identifying how to mitigate the negative effects of landscape changes for a sustainable future living space. Thus, the identification of the historic urban landscape as a "cultural landscape" is basically due to its cultural or human element, which is the very element lacking attention in local heritage laws and policies. This research therefore focuses on the human dimension as much as the architecture.

2.2 THE NOTION OF WORLD HERITAGE

2.2.1 ORIGINS

The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established as an agency of the UN in 1945, and a priority of the organization in its early years lay in the protection of cultural heritage during armed conflict (Strecker 2018). This resulted in the adoption of the 1954 Hague Convention, the first instrument dealing with the protection of cultural property at the global level (Strecker 2018). UNESCO is responsible for coordinating international cooperation in education, science, culture and communication. Among its objectives are strengthening the ties between nations and societies, and mobilizing the wider public so that each child and citizen may grow and live in a cultural environment rich in diversity and dialogue, "where heritage serves as a bridge between generations and peoples" (UNESCO).[140]

UNESCO's efforts to safeguard universally important heritage began in the early 1960s with the safeguarding campaign for Abu Simbel temple, which would have been flooded by the Aswan Dam.[141] The decision to build the Aswan High Dam was made in 1954. UNESCO launched an international campaign to rescue the endangered monuments in 1959, followed by an appeal by the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments.[142] This was the impetus for the later campaigns, such as saving Venice and its Lagoon (Italy) and the Archaeological Ruins at Mohenjo-Daro (Pakistan), as well as restoring the Borobodur Temple Compounds (Indonesia). These

139 Vienna Memorandum on World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture, 2005 (UNESCO).

140 Available at http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco (accessed 6 July 2018).

141 Available at http://en.unesco.org/70years/abu_simbel_safeguarding_heritage (accessed 6 July 2018).

142 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

cases illustrate the international concern for these sites and the will of states to help protect heritage beyond their borders.

However, the origin of the idea of World Heritage was crystallized in a White House Conference in Washington, D.C., in 1965 which called for a "World Heritage Trust."[143] The trust would stimulate international cooperation to protect "the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry."[144] At the request of the conference participants, in the 1970s, UNESCO began the elaboration of a treaty entitled "International Protection of Monuments, Groups of Buildings and Sites of Universal Value" which covered only cultural policy (Francioni 2008).[145] In 1968, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed similar proposals for the conservation of world natural heritage, which were completed in February 1971 (Francioni 2008).[146] Subsequently, the UNESCO and IUCN drafts were merged into a single text covering cultural and natural heritage, and these proposals were presented to the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, Sweden (Francioni 2008; Svels 2017).[147] With a few amendments, the text was adopted on 16 November 1972 as the "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (hereafter referred to as the World Heritage Convention), and the convention entered into force in 1975 (Francioni 2008; Svels 2017).[148]

The World Heritage Convention embraces the idea of a common heritage or universal sharing of humanity's outstanding heritage: "World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located" (UNESCO).[149] The idea is based on a general trend in international law around the 1970s to elevate humanity in its entirety to the position of a rights-holder (Wolfrum 2009).[150]

2.2.2 THE CONVENTION AND ITS CRITICS

Ratification of the World Heritage Convention allows a state party to have sites inscribed on the "World Heritage List," provided they are of "outstanding universal value" (hereafter also referred to as OUV) and meet at least one of the ten criteria listed in the Operational Guidelines. While there are 193 States to the Convention as of 31 January 2017, 96 states parties have ratified the convention.[151] Enlisting World Heritage sites began with 12 sites in 1978; the number has risen to 1,092 (March 2019) in the last 40 years (UNESCO).[152] The total inscription of sites in March 2019 (Fig. 25) shows that the majority of them fall under the cultural heritage category (77%, 845). It is also important to note that 54 sites are currently in danger.

The World Heritage Convention mainly focuses on definitions of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, national and international protection of these heritages, the World Heritage Committee and the World Heritage Fund. World Heritage comprises three main categories, cultural, natural and mixed heritage; the latter properties satisfy a part or all of the definitions of both cultural and natural heritage. The first category, cultural heritage, comprises monuments, groups of buildings and sites with outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science (Article 1, World Heritage Convention, 1972). Natural sites comprise physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, including geological and physiographical formations with outstanding universal value from an aesthetic or scientific point of view (Article 2, World Heritage Convention, 1972). This category comprises the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants from the point of view of science or conservation (Article 2, World Heritage Convention, 1972).

143 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

144 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

145 Also available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

146 Also available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

147 Also available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

148 17 December 1975 (UNESCO). Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ (accessed 11 July 2018).

149 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

150 Based on the idea quoted by Brumann (2015).

151 Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/ (accessed 6 July 2018).

152 Sources: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/&order=year and https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/ (accessed 28 July 2018).

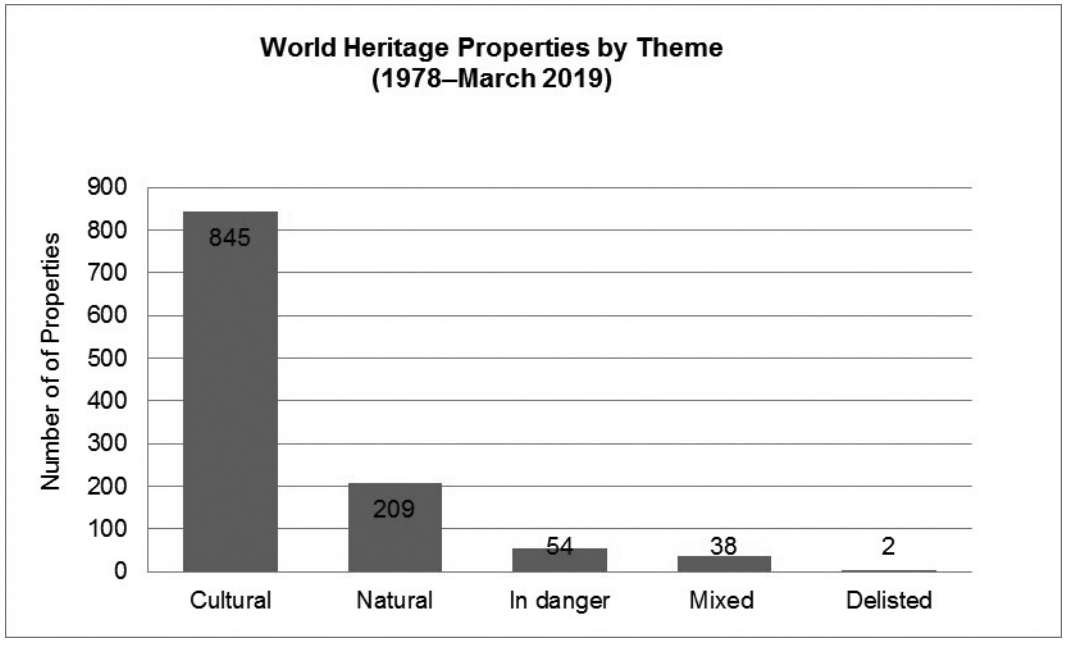


Fig. 25 World Heritage properties by theme (from 1978–March 2019).[153]

According to Poulios, the development of the concept of World Heritage shows a Western European, material-based approach to preservation, which focuses primarily on the preservation of materials/tangibles (Poulios 2014). A shift in heritage paradigms resulted in a more progressive conceptualization of heritage within UNESCO, namely to a value-based and people-centred approaches, which will be elaborated in sub-chapter 2.4.2. Gradually, the Western material-centred conservation approach, as manifested in the Venice Charter of 1964 (Poulios 2014; Smith 2006), was replaced by new charters, including the Nara Document (1994) and subsequent charters from the Asia region (Winter 2014). These charters demonstrated an Asian model of conservation, with distinct themes, namely intangibility, community, spirituality and relative authenticity (Winter 2014).[154]

The inclusion of mixed heritage in 1987 and the subsequent introduction of cultural landscapes as a subcategory of cultural heritage in 1992 can be viewed in this context.[155] In 2003, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which came into force in 2006, marking another step forward.

The concept of World Heritage has both pros and cons, and thus Cleere states that the convention is equivocal with regard to its successes and failures (Cleere 2011). However, Francioni and Lenzerini identify the programme as a successful and effective instrument for the protection of heritage of exceptional interest to humanity (Francioni and Lenzerini 2008). The authors cite the steady increase in the number of contracting parties and properties inscribed on the World Heritage List as bearing witness to this success (Francioni and Lenzerini 2008). However, strong criticisms have been raised against the global imbalance, politicization and Eurocentrism of the World Heritage List (Cleere 2011; Bertacchini and Saccone 2012; Logan 2012; Meskell 2014; Meskell, Liuzza, and Brown 2015; James and Winter 2015; Di Giovine 2015; Winter 2015). Currently (as of March 2019), 47% of the sites inscribed on the list

153 Source: https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/ (accessed 11 July 2018).

154 According to Winter (2014, 5) the China Principles (1998), Shanghai Charter (2002), Indonesia Charter (2003), Yamato Declaration (2004), Okinawa Declaration (2004), Xi'an Declaration (2005), Seoul Declaration (2007) and Hoi An Protocols (2009) as are among the initiatives that have proclaimed the need to recognize alternative curatorial practices and forms of cultural governance for a number of areas, including cities, museums and intangible heritage.

155 Mixed heritage was introduced in 1987 (Svels 2017).

are from Europe and North America (UNESCO).[156] Moreover, there are debates over the unequal regional representation in the elections of the World Heritage Committee (Meskell, Liuzza, and Brown 2015). According to Laurajane Smith (2006), monuments represent the European colonial and imperial past (and present), and are increasingly being reconsidered on the World Heritage List. In addition, some historic places related to European colonialism in the non-Western world are listed as World Heritage sites, and are financially supported in order to reinforce the social, economic and political histories of Western elites.[157] Inscribing the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications on the World Heritage List, which mainly represents the Dutch colonial history of Ceylon, could also be interpreted in this context.

Another critique of the World Heritage system is state hegemony in heritage determination, which causes negative impacts on local communities. Though it could disenfranchise local groups from their past and cultural identity, the real stakeholders are not consulted in decision-making concerning their heritage (Silva 2016). UNESCO's response to this issue, encouraging the participation of stakeholders and the challenges this brings, are discussed in sub-chapters 2.4.2 and 2.4.3. According to Di Giovine (2015), the World Heritage programme considers its "target audiences" (experts, tourists) and local peoples whose operational understandings and uses of heritage sites frequently conflict with UNESCO's. The matter is also being elaborated in relation to Galle Fort by Sanjeewani (2012). Furthermore, the list unofficially serves domestic political purposes (Logan 2012; Silva 2016). While Meskell (2014) identifies UNESCO as an agency for global branding rather than global conservation, Keough sees heritage listing as a marketing tool (Keough 2011).

2.2.3 HERITAGE LISTING OF INHABITED HISTORIC CITIES

In 1996, 29% of World Heritage sites were historical towns of a European nature (Cleere 1996). Although UNESCO's World Heritage List has no specific statistics on inhabited historic cities, it is estimated to be over 250 (UNESCO).[158] The World Heritage Convention of 1972 does not even mention the term "historic cities," nor "urban heritage," however, "rapid urban or tourist development projects" have been identified as a serious threat to cultural and natural heritage (article 11.4). The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (hereafter referred to as Operational Guidelines) of 1992 recognize historic cities as "groups of urban buildings," a rather static and monumentalist identification. Their inclusion in the World Heritage List, which comes under cultural sites, falls into three categories (WHC/2 Revised 1992, 6).[159]

i. towns that are no longer inhabited
ii. historic towns that are still inhabited
iii. new towns of the 20th century

While the state of conservation of towns of the first category "can be relatively easily controlled," by contrast, historic towns that are still inhabited "by their very nature, have developed and will continue to develop under the influence of socioeconomic and cultural change, a situation that renders the assessment of their authenticity more difficult and any conservation policy more problematical" (WHC/2 Revised 1992, 6).[160] The Operational Guidelines of 2005 show an improvement with the identification of "urban buildings" as "historic towns and town centres" in 1992. In addition, inhabited historic towns were further elaborated under four categories with more attention to their monumental value, however without equal importance ascribed to their inhabitants and associated intangible value (WHC.05/2 2005, 86):[161]

i. Towns that are typical of a specific period or culture, which have been almost wholly preserved;[162]

156 Available at https https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat/ (accessed 28 February 2019).
157 Winter 2007, cited by Silva (Silva 2016, 10).
158 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/678/ (accessed 6 July 2018).
159 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 1992. UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).
160 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 1992. UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).
161 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005. UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).
162 Here the property to be listed is the entire town together with its surroundings, which must also be protected. Available

ii. Towns that have evolved along characteristic lines and have preserved, sometimes in the midst of exceptional natural surroundings, spatial arrangements and structures that are typical of the successive stages in their history; [163]

iii. "Historic centres" that cover exactly the same area as ancient towns and are now enclosed within modern cities;[164]

iv. Sectors, areas or isolated units, which, even in the residual state in which they have survived, provide coherent evidence of the character of a historic town that has disappeared.[165]

However, there was a call to nominate inhabited historic cities under criterion vi, which was associated with intangible values such as living traditions, beliefs and artistic and literary works of outstanding universal value.[166] Although these values are generally associated with the urban community, the monumental value of the city is still prominent in the Operational Guidelines: "historic centres and historic areas should be listed only where they contain a large number of ancient buildings of monumental importance which provide a direct indication of the characteristic features of a town of exceptional interest" (WHC.05/2 2005, 86).[167]

The Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications was not listed as an inhabited historic city in 1988, but under criterion iv, the commonly inscribed category for walled cities, represented outstanding architectural value (as also elaborated in sub-chapter 1.3.3). This is a perfect example of how historic cities were recognized as static objects based on their monumental value during the early years of World Heritage listing.

The Operational Guidelines of 2005 identified the numerous difficulties of preserving inhabited historic centres, "largely owing to the fragility of their urban fabric (which has in many cases been seriously disrupted since the advent of the industrial era) and the runaway speed with which their surroundings have been urbanized" (WHC.05/2 2005, 86).[168]

In addressing these difficulties, UNESCO initiated the Programme for the Safeguarding and Development of World Heritage Cities in the 1990s (van den Dries 2015). In 2011, UNESCO adopted the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. These initiatives, with a more people-centred approach — largely owing to the shift of heritage paradigms — are elaborated further in sub-chapter 2.4.2.

2.2.4 WORLD HERITAGE AS A MARKER OF TRANSFORMATION IN INHABITED HISTORIC CITIES: AN ASIAN EXPERIENCE

World Heritage recognition of historic cities being a "marker of transformation" (van den Dries 2015, 670) is widely discussed in relation to the challenges faced by local communities as well as monuments (Jenkins and King 2003; Simpson 2008; Dearborn and Stallmeyer 2009; Reeves and Long 2011; Suntikul and Jachna 2013; González Martínez 2016). The transformation or regeneration of historic cities is interconnected with several issues, including globalization, global tourism, foreign direct investments, real estate pressures and gentrification.

Globalization, in brief, is identified as a "greater interaction of the nations of the world" (Labadi and Long 2010, 2). Globalization involves processes of economic systematization, international relations between states and an emerging global culture or consciousness (Waters 2001, 15). Previous waves of globalization include the great imperial expansions of the European powers during the 16th century (Labadi and Long 2010). According to Labadi and Long (2010), the current wave of globalization commenced at the end of World War II, with the establishment of the United Nations and the so-called Bretton Woods institutions — the IMF

at Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005. UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

163 Ibid. Here the clearly defined historic part takes precedence over the contemporary environment.

164 Ibid. Here it is necessary to determine the precise limits of the property in its widest historical dimensions and to make appropriate provision for its immediate surroundings.

165 Ibid. In such cases surviving areas and buildings should bear sufficient testimony to the former whole.

166 "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." Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/ (accessed 29 October 2018).

167 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005. UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

168 Ibid.

and IBRD.[169] These institutions were intended to stimulate global political and economic integration as well as greater understanding between cultures (Labadi and Long 2010). While INGOs such as the UN have directly contributed to globalization, Rodney Harrison identifies "'World Heritage' in particular, as a globalizing process itself " (Harrison 2015, 297). Refuting the idea of World Heritage as a system of cultural globalization, Long and Sweet argue that there is a marked convergence of interest in international heritage bodies that manage World Heritage to portray a particular vision of national identity (Long and Sweet 2006). While heritage is used to simulate national pride at the domestic level, in the supranational sphere, heritage sites are marketed and sold as iconic markers of a local area, country, region or even continent (Salazar 2010). Globalization of heritage through tourism (growing global tourism) combines with the domestic political interests of World Heritage listing, especially promoting heritage tourism; this results in heavy investment in tourism to heritage cities (including the foreign direct investments), which thus leads to urban regeneration.

Urban regeneration, also termed "urban renewal" or "reconstruction," describes a broad range of interventions in the built environment and in communities, facilitated by the state, the private sector, public–private partnerships or, less commonly, by community-level agencies (Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013a). Roberts defines urban regeneration as a "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which seeks to resolve urban problems and bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change or offers opportunities or improvement" (Roberts 2017, 18). Thus, the process aims to facilitate a better social life for people and to increase economic growth and environmental sustainability (Roberts, Sykes, and Granger 2017). However, urban regeneration has to reflect the particular local circumstances that define it, [170] while also dealing with a number of issues, including social and community issues (Roberts, Sykes, and Granger 2017). Regeneration in general either involves "hard renewal" (the replacement of the existing built environment with new uses), often led by property firms, or "soft renewal," the rehabilitation of buildings accompanied by measures to preserve areas characterized by their heritage value (Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013a).[171] Improper regeneration initiatives create a number of social issues, including social imbalance, social exclusion, displacement of traditional communities and gentrification.

In the early eighties, gentrification was referred to as "the process by which working-class residential neighbourhoods are rehabilitated by middle-class homebuyers, landlords and professional developers" (Smith 1982, 139). Gentrification is identified as part of the restructuring of inner-city residential space (Smith 1982, 151). According to Davidson and Lees (2005), gentrification also appears to have moved outside of the central city and is now being used to describe changes in the suburbs of some cities. Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen (2015) show that gentrification is a common process in global cities, including New York, Shanghai, Toronto and London and Amsterdam; part of the latter is World Heritage-listed.[172] Zukin's description of gentrification chimes in with the transformation seen in historic cities: "movement of rich, well-educated folks, the gentry, into lower-class neighbourhoods, and the higher property values that follow them, transforming a 'declining' district into an expensive neighbourhood with historic or hipster charm" (Zukin 2010, 8). Gentrification resulting from the heritage listing of historic cities is a complex process that exhibits more (global tourism-oriented) commercial gentrification, but also changes within the local contexts. Commercial gentrification excludes the needs of the local population and caters only to those of visitors, tourists and new residents (González Martínez 2016). This process is characterized by higher land values, rentals and replacement of residential buildings with commercial places catering to tourists, including boutique hotels, trendy restaurants, bars and cafés, branded clothing outlets etc.

169 International Monetary Fund; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank).

170 For example, the principles of Singapore's urban renewal in the late '50s are summarized under the headings of "Conservation," "Rehabilitation" and "Rebuilding" by the UN experts who assisted the Singaporean government (Abrams, Kobe, and Koenigsberger 1980; Kong 2011).

171 Ibid.

172 Seventeenth-Century Canal Ring Area of Amsterdam inside the Singelgracht.

Furthermore, it can be observed that historic cities also experience "new-build gentrification." The term refers to the resettlement of the inner city with newly built expensive apartments and houses or renovation of old buildings (Davidson and Lees 2005, 1169). The features of "new-build gentrification" listed by Davidson and Lees (2005) include:

i. reinvestment of capital;
ii. social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups;
iii. landscape change; and
iv. direct and indirect displacement of low-income groups.

Moreover, Zukin (2010, 9) identifies "super-gentrification," as British geographer Loretta Lees calls it, which is described as the merely affluent upper middle class in gentrified areas selling their nicely restored houses and apartments to the superrich.

One of the main characteristics of new-build gentrification is the reinvestment of capital, both foreign and domestic, into both soft as well hard renewals. Zoomers argues that the World Heritage List also contributes to the foreignization of land (or "land grab") through rapidly growing foreign direct investments (FDI), globalization and market liberalization (Zoomers 2010). The term "land grab" generally refers to large-scale, cross-border commercial land deals concerning either lease (often for 30 to 99 years) or purchase that are carried out by transnational corporations, foreign governments or individuals (Borras et al. 2011; Zoomers 2010; Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013b).[173] While land grab is widely practised in agribusiness, Zoomers (2010) posits that encouraging investments in tourism as a mode of rapid economic growth in developing countries also contributes to land grab. The World Heritage listing of historic cities could also be identified as an indirect contributing factor to land grab, associated with heritage tourism, especially in developing countries. However, the land acquisitions in historic cities are not large-scale, unlike the extensive land grabs that occur in agribusiness, despite the exponential land values of smaller plots associated with heritage value. In addition, investments in tourism by companies with domestic and foreign partnerships are also increasing.

In general, the factors mentioned above are briefly discussed here with a few related examples from Asian historic cities. World Heritage-listed historic cities with a colonial influence, such as Hanoi (Vietnam), George Town (Malaysia), Macau (China) and Galle Fort (Sri Lanka), as well as a few others such as Beijing (China) and Luang Prabang (Laos), have been selected as examples.

The Asian historic cities of Hanoi, Macau and Luang Prabang experienced land grab on different scales in the wake of World Heritage listing (Logan 1995; Simpson 2008; Winter 2010; Labadi and Long 2010). Notable international investments were carried out in the French Quarter of Hanoi even as late as 1995 (Logan 1995). Foreign investment brought new casinos and other themed leisure spaces to Macau, which attracted 20 million tourists to the tiny city in 1997 (Simpson 2008). Domestic as well as Chinese and Korean investments poured into Luang Prabang, creating issues involving local community and monuments (Winter 2010). Reeves and Long identify the foreign investments in a hotel complex on the banks of the Mekong to accommodate the tourists of Luang Prabang as a threat to the farmers who used to grow their crops there, on what was once one of the best areas for urban recession flood plain agriculture (Reeves and Long 2011). In October 2011, the Times of India reported a residents' protest against the grabbing of land around the UNESCO-designated World Heritage site, Churches of Goa.[174]

An exponential increase in land values and rentals is another phenomenon associated with investments (foreign and domestic), global tourism and the heritage branding of historic cities. The French villas of the historic centre of Hanoi were reported to be selling at a 300% increase in three years by mid-1994 (Logan 1995). Rising land values, together with encouraging investments in tourism, consequently result in local populations selling their properties and investors becoming the owners of the properties. The process results in the social upgrade of the locale by high-income groups, while decreasing local populations. Furthermore, historic cities give space to a cosmopolitan middle class, a result of

173 Zoomers quotes "SEIZED! The 2008 land grab for food and financial security" (GRAIN 2008). Available at https://www.grain.org/article/entries/93-seized-the-2008-landgrab-for-food-and-financial-security (accessed 10 July 2018).

174 "Stop the land grab around world heritage site, say Old Goa villagers," the *Times of India*, 3 October 2011.

FDI. While the local populations, their values and memories are gradually erased from the landscape, the functionality and the traditional roles of historic cities are also disappearing with them.

Landscape change due to the above-mentioned processes, or urban regeneration that facilitates the growing global tourism, is a common phenomenon in historic cities, and is identified by a few different terms, all exhibiting similar outcomes. Dearborn and Stallmeyer state that Luang Prabang has been transformed into a "tourist landscape," while Winter uses the term "touristscape(s)" for this process, with reference to Angkor (Dearborn and Stallmeyer 2009; Winter 2007). The historic centre of Macau is characterized as a "maze of inauthentic fake landscapes" due to the new urban clusters of large, integrated resorts (Manfredini 2013). Similarly, the influx of foreigners and the growth of tourism has created an "artificial environment" in Galle Fort (Sanjeewani 2012). In addition, new constructions such as condominiums, which symbolize modern living, cater to the growing middle and upper classes of historic cities. Between 1995 and 1999, over 120 new high-rise buildings sprang up within the boundaries of George Town (Jenkins and King 2003, 55).

The ultimate result of this whole process is the direct and indirect displacement of low-income groups from their spaces through capitalizing heritage values for corporate profit. While this is a gradual process with interconnected factors, as discussed above, politicized preservation policies also result in gentrification. Among the goals of the preservation plans for the inner city of Beijing were the elimination of substandard (traditional) housing and reducing population densities to change the land use from residential to commercial (González Martínez 2016). Thus, the original population is excluded from urban transformation processes, and their activities disappear, a fundamental component of urban heritage authenticity (Lü 1997; González Martínez 2016). Following Herzfeld, Byrne highlights another category of displaced and marginalized people, namely "heritage refugees," for whom the monuments in their midst became a curse when government-led projects developed their neighbourhoods into heritage precincts that attracted wealthy would-be residents (Byrne 2011).

Although the regeneration processes for World Heritage-listed historic cities mostly exhibit the characteristics of new-build gentrification, it is also heavily oriented towards global tourism, while it also caters to the domestic middle and upper classes to a certain extent. Thus, the historic city is no longer a "vital city" that successfully fulfils the needs of its inhabitants, one of the five basic dimensions of city performances identified by Lynch (Lynch 1981). The current practice of managing historic urban landscapes within this challenging context is discussed in the next sub-chapter.

2.3 THE DYNAMIC HISTORIC CITY AND CURRENT URBAN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

"Undoubtedly, modern 'urban' conservation principles suffer from being derived from 'architectural' conservation principles" (Bandarin and Oers 2012, 72).

Cities are the centres of civilization, power, economic development and scientific advancement, as well as social and cultural identity (Istanbul Declaration 1996; Bandarin and Oers 2012). The preservation of historic cities has been a concern of UNESCO and affiliated institutions since the initiation of the World Heritage programme. UNESCO adopted the Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas (Nairobi Recommendation) in 1976. In 1987, ICOMOS, an advisory body of the World Heritage Committee, adopted the Washington Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas. 2011 was a benchmark year, with the acceptance of the Valetta Principles by ICOMOS and UNESCO's Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape. These soft laws show gradual progress in urban conservation/management with regard to growing global and local requirements. The monument-based definition of the "historic and architectural areas," described as "group of buildings, structures and open spaces… constituting human settlements…" in the Nairobi Recommendation (1976), shifted towards a more value-based approach within a decade. According to the Washington Charter (1987), Historic Urban Areas "include cities, towns

and historic centres or quarters, together with their natural and manmade environments. Beyond their role as historical documents, these areas embody the values of traditional urban cultures."

Cities are fundamentally important as living spaces, with over half of the world's population living in cities today; therefore, they substantially represent the daily lives, activities and values of people.[175] The idea of a city as not just architecture or monument was clearly demonstrated by the urban thinkers of the previous generation: Lynch, Norberg-Schultz, Jacobs, Van Eyck and De Carlo (Bandarin 2015). In current urban conservation, the "historic city" is identified as a "living organism" (Valetta Principles, 2011) and "landscape," with the interconnected "historic layering of cultural and natural values which extend beyond the notion of historic centre" (article 8, Recommendation on the HUL, 2011). Cities, whether historic or modern, are dynamic organisms that are in a process of change (Bandarin and Oers 2012). Lynch identified the ongoing transformation of the city in his best-known work, *Image of the City*:

"Not only is the city an object which is perceived (and perhaps enjoyed) by millions of people of widely diverse class and character, but it is the product of many builders who are constantly modifying the structure for reasons of their own. While it may be stable in general outlines for some time, it is ever changing in detail. Only partial control can be exercised over its growth and form. There is no final result, only a continuous succession of phases" (Lynch 1960, 2).

This ongoing transformation or change in historic cities negatively affects four main elements in the following domains, as identified by the Valletta Principles (2011).

i. Natural elements: environmental change including pollution, vibration, climate change and natural hazards
ii. Human elements: displacement of local communities, gentrification and decreasing local populations
iii. Tangible elements: changes in the built environment, including authenticity, integrity, form and appearance and the urban setting (each identified as challenges in preservation in modern urban planning), transformation of urban space towards tourism with lack of liveability, traffic congestion
iv. Intangible elements and social environment: loss and or/substitution of traditional functionality and role, losing ways of life specific to the local community, loss of identity, losing a sense of place

UNESCO's Historic Urban Landscape approach categorizes these elements as natural, cultural and human resources (2011).

Urban conservation, which "lies at the very heart of urban planning" (Recommendation on the HUL, 2011), fundamentally aims to balance spatial, environmental, social, cultural and economic factors amid the process of urban change (Valetta Principles, 2011). However, the historic city is a dynamic landscape, and "landscape cannot be preserved unchanged, and perhaps this is its main lesson for heritage practice" (Fairclough 2008, 304). Cities, in general, illustrate phenomenal shifts towards urbanization, with six out of every ten people in the world expected to reside in urban areas by 2030 (UN Habitat).[176] This population growth exerts great pressure on historic cities, with tourism development, globalization and the following unprecedented demographic, environmental, economic, social and spatial challenges. In addition, "development" and "urban conservation" are often seen as conflicting themes in conventional urban conservation. UNESCO's systematic monitoring has revealed that many important historic urban areas all over the world have lost their traditional functions, or are in a process of transformation that threatens to undermine their integrity and historic, social and artistic values (Bandarin and Oers 2012).

The challenges of historic urban landscape conservation have transformed the prevalent material-based urban conservation approach into a value-based, holistic and people-centred one. Participatory planning, the fundamental part of this process, was adopted in urban conservation by agencies affiliated with the UN and also recommended by European treaties, such as the European Landscape Convention

175 According to UN Habitat, half of the world's population live in cities. Available at https://unhabitat.org/goals-and-strategies-of-un-habitat/ (accessed 12 July 2018).

176 Available at https://unhabitat.org/un-habitat-at-a-glance/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

(hereafter also referred to as ELC). Within these global trends, UNESCO embraced the Historic Urban Landscape approach (hereafter also referred to as HUL), a participatory solution to addressing the rapid, uncontrolled urbanization of historic cities that leads to the deterioration of the urban landscape and threatens their identity, local culture and "sense of place" (HUL Guidebook 2016). Ron van Oers and Francesco Bandarin, attached to UNESCO, wrote extensively on the approach. The concept was gradually developed from the Vienna Memorandum of 2005 into the UNESCO Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape 2011 (HUL Guidebook 2016). The approach comprises four main tools and six critical steps for implementation, as follows (HUL Guidebook 2016).

Tools:

i. Community development tools — involving diverse stakeholders
ii. Knowledge and planning tools — monitoring the change, management and improving quality of life
iii. Regulatory systems — legislation
iv. Financial tools — local and global funds, partnerships

Critical Steps:

i. Comprehensive surveys and mapping (natural, cultural and human resources of the city)
ii. Participatory planning and stakeholder consultation on values
iii. Assessing the vulnerability of urban heritage values
iv. Integrating values and their vulnerability status into a wider framework for city development
v. Prioritizing actions for conservation and development
vi. Establishing the appropriate partnerships and local management frameworks

However, the HUL approach is a soft law, and thus the states parties are not legally bound to follow the recommendation. Successful pilot projects have been carried out through UNESCO in few historic cities, both in the East and West.[177]

Modern urban conservation/management is integrated within urban planning and global best practices such as participation, which is elaborated in sub-chapter 2.4. The following factors discussed in the next sub-chapters can be identified as the most salient characteristics of modern urban conservation/management:

2.3.1 HOLISTIC AND LANDSCAPE-BASED APPROACH CONSIDERING THE NATURE–CULTURE RELATIONSHIP

"Archaeological heritage management" or "cultural resource management" primarily aims at the protection of heritage objects (Smith 2008). This material-based conservation was also common to historic cities and epitomized by the Nairobi Recommendation on historic areas (1976), as elaborated earlier. Currently, the identification of a historic city has changed from the traditional view of "collection of architectural monuments" (Bandarin and Oers 2012); a historic city is now identified within a landscape-based approach, where conservation decisions are taken at the landscape level. The landscape-based approach is also reflected in the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2004), Vienna Memorandum (UNESCO, 2005), Xi'an Declaration (ICOMOS, 2005) and, most recently, the Valletta Principles (ICOMOS, 2011) and Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (UNESCO, 2011). While the protection of individual buildings is heavily concerned with fabric, the management of areas and landscapes is linked to "character" (Fairclough 2008, 304). UNESCO's HUL framework (2011) identifies urban character from a holistic view, with interconnected layers of urban landscape and associated cultural practices (intangible values generated by inhabitants).

"This wider context includes notably the site's topography, geomorphology, hydrology and natural features, its built environment, both historic and contemporary, its infrastructures above and below ground, its open spaces and gardens, its land use patterns and spatial organization, perceptions and visual relationships, as well as all other elements of the urban structure. It also includes social and cultural

177 Case studies of Ballarat (Australia), Shanghai and Suzhou (China), Cuenca (Ecuador) , Rawalpindi (Pakistan), Zanzibar (Tanzania), Naples (Italy) and Amsterdam (Netherlands) (HUL Guidebook 2016).

practices and values, economic processes and the intangible dimensions of heritage as related to diversity and identity" (Article 9, Recommendation on the HUL, 2011).

Therefore, urban conservation is identified as a holistic process "not limited to the preservation of single buildings. It views architecture as but one element of the overall urban setting, making it a complex and multifaceted discipline" (Recommendation on the HUL, 2011).

Not only historic cities, but also urbanization is generally viewed within a broader context today. UN Habitat has adopted a "holistic and global approach towards urbanization," which goes beyond city planning and infrastructure development, and also focuses on urban legislation, gender, youth and capacity-building.[178] In parallel to this, the HUL approach also considers legislation development, and focuses more closely on people, as discussed below.

Culture, Sense of Place and Collective Memory

The HUL approach identifies "cultural resources" as distinguishing features of cities and also a "driver of sustainable development of historic cities" (HUL Guidebook 2016, 8). The definition of culture adopted by UNESCO "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by [a human] as a member of society."[179] The cultural diversity of humankind has been elevated to the rank of common heritage of humanity by the UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity, 2001.[180] "Cultural heritage," as defined by the World Heritage Convention (1972), is elaborated under sub-chapter 2.2.2, which is rather material-based. Modern urban conservation ascribes similar importance to preserving the tangible cultural resources of the historic city, as well as its cultural diversity and the intangible culture associated with the experiences of inhabitants. While the historic urban landscape is seen as a "cultural space" that manifests human culture, the sense of place of the city's inhabitants has become a prime rationale for urban conservation today. The HUL approach tries to "make our cities distinctive and create their sense of place and identity" (HUL Guidebook 2016, 11).

Human consciousness and experiences as incorporated into places was the very modern idea behind the "sense of place" (Relph 1976). According to Relph, "place" is created by individuals, groups or societies by changing a "space," and "the spirit of a place lies in its landscape" (1976, 30). Lynch connects the idea with landscape memories; "a sense of place in itself enhances every human activity that occurs there, and encourages the deposit of a memory trace" (1975, 119). Agnew identified sense of place as the subjective and emotional attachment people have to a place (Agnew 1987). Based on Lowenthal's *Geography, Experience, and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology*, Ralph points out that places and landscapes are individually experienced through our own attitudes, experiences, intentions and circumstances (Lowenthal 1961; Relph 1976). Schofield and Szymanski identify "home" as the root of most conceptions of sense of palace, a strong mentally constructed idea that supersedes the physically constructed "house" (Schofield and Szymanski 2011). Thus, sense of place is a very personal and subjective idea.

The ideas of sense of place and place attachment, specifically on the perspective of local communities in World Heritage sites, has gained attention in recent academic research (Tan et al. 2018; Garcia, Vandesande, and van Balen 2018; Sun and Wang 2017); and there is wide literature on the subject (Smith 2018; Adams et al. 2017; Hashemnezhad, Heidari, and Hoseini 2013; Lewicka 2011; Saar and Palang 2009). With the shift of urban heritage paradigms to a more people-centred approach, sense of place as associated with the emotional attachments of urban dwellers gained importance in urban conservation. Thus, Tunbridge has shown that landmarks and other structural components to which Lynch (1960) first drew attention have acquired focal significance in urban conservation activity today (Tunbridge 2008).[181] While place attachment is threatened by improper urban regeneration resulting from heritage listing, an unintentional "process of remaking places," preserving sense of place remains a challenge. According to Tunbridge (2008), one

178 Ibid.

179 Available at http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/cultural-diversity/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

180 Ibid.

181 The city image and the elements discussed by Lynch (1960) include paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks, while landmarks are frequently used clues to identity.

person's landmark may be an object of interference or hostility to another, which has practical implications for urban policy decisions. Moreover, attachments are also intangible values with a dynamic nature, continuously evolving and adapting to changing needs, and thus difficult to preserve (Jigyasu 2015). Therefore, the UNESCO's Recommendation on the HUL also aims to preserve the "collective memories" of the landscape as a whole (Article 15, 2011).

Collective memory, or the equivalent French phrase *la mémoire collective*, was developed by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who wrote that "our memories remain collective, however, and are recalled to us through others even though only we were participants in the events or saw the things concerned" (Halbwachs 1966, 23). Thus, Halbwachs argued that it is impossible for individuals to remember in any coherent and persistent fashion outside of their group contexts (Olick 1999, 2008). This idea, also termed "collective remembrance," currently stands for the "transmission of shared experience which has been retained by a group" (Barash 2016, 52). However, preserving the collective memory of the city, which is a shared experience or experiences, is challenging in the case of complex and heterogeneous modern urban societies, as their remembrances vary. Moreover, they are dynamic, as mentioned earlier. Finally, both the preservation of sense of place and collective memory are likely to lead to the preservation of structures associated with memories/attachments, rather than the memories that are associated with these structures. For instance, the collective memory of an event at town hall is impossible to preserve without preserving the town hall itself. Thus, urban conservation again goes back to the preservation of structures or tangible values of the landscape.

2.3.2 LANDSCAPE DEMOCRACY: PARTICIPATORY APPROACH BASED ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The second element, landscape democracy, is well elaborated by the European Landscape Convention (2004): "… establish procedures for the participation of the general public, local and regional authorities, and other parties with an interest in the definition and implementation of the landscape policies …" (Chapter 2, Art 5c). The idea is identical to the definition of landscape democracy put forth by the International Federation of Landscape Architects: "Landscape Democracy is a form of planning and design in which all citizens are meant to participate equally, either directly or through elected representatives in the proposal, development and establishment of the rules by which their landscape and open spaces are shaped."[182] The participatory planning approach, its development within World Heritage and its practical challenges are discussed separately in sub-chapter 2.4.

According to Butler (2014), the relevance of public involvement in landscape issues is primarily seen as giving those who experience and are affected by landscape a voice in its future. However, public involvement has been a part of landscape planning since the 1970s, and became a fundamental aspect of the discipline over the years, attaining mainstream status through the ELC (Butler 2014). Since the end of the 20th century, the human rights of local heritage have become a worldwide issue as the decentralization movement has spread across the field of urban planning and conservation (Sirisrisak 2009). The national importance of heritage has shifted to a more local context, and thus local government and residents began to play a more important role in any process of urban planning and conservation (Sirisrisak 2009). According to Logan (2012), there is a growing tendency to see heritage conservation as a human rights-based cultural practice rather than a technical matter, which is also supported by the arguments of Smith and Byrne (Smith 2006; Byrne 2008). However, the idea is poorly understood by heritage practitioners (Logan 2012).

The UN's Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements (1996) clearly shows a human rights-based, people-centred approach to urban planning; "cities must be places where human beings lead fulfilling lives in dignity, good health, safety, happiness and hope."[183] Furthermore, UN Habitat states that "the process of urbanization should adhere to the human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination, inclusion and participation, accountability and the rule of law."[184] The approach

182 Available at http://iflaeurope.eu/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2015/03/IFLA-EU-resolution-Landscape-democracy.pdf (accessed 21 September 2017).

183 Available at https://unhabitat.org/history-mandate-role-in-the-un-system/ (accessed 21September 2017).

184 Available at https://unhabitat.org/urban-themes/human-rights/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

adds value to urban planning by legitimizing prioritization of the interests of the most marginalized in society and their participation in the planning process, similar to the idea of the World Bank (as will be discussed in sub-chapter 2.4.1). Similarly, the HUL approach considers whether it could serve the local residents, including the poor and marginalized.[185]

The fundamental idea of UNESCO's HUL approach is stakeholder participation in urban conservation policies, which is coordinated from both the institutional and sectorial perspectives (Article 23, Recommendation on the HUL, 2011). In addition, participatory planning is used to empower "diverse cross-section stakeholders" including local, national, regional, international, public and private actors (Articles 6 and 24a, Recommendation on the HUL, 2011). The approach introduces civic engagement tools (also known as community engagement tools) to empower stakeholders "to identify key values in their urban areas, develop visions that reflect their diversity, set goals, and agree on actions to safeguard their heritage and promote sustainable development" (Article 24a, Recommendation on the HUL, 2011). Although participation is a promising model, there are numerous challenges and limitations in applying it to World Heritage, as discussed under sub-chapter 2.4.3. Finally, enhancing the quality of life of the urban community and environment (Articles 17 and 11, Recommendation on the HUL, 2011) is gaining more attention in urban conservation today, together with upgrading liveability.

2.3.3 CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH PARTICIPATION

There is growing attention towards the feasibility and challenges of the use of bottom-up participatory approaches in conflict resolution between stakeholders in the planning and conservation of historic cities (Sirisrisak 2009; Yung and Chan 2011; Ercan 2010). Local participation is currently regarded as a key to resolving conflicts between "development" and "urban heritage conservation," and thus UNESCO's Recommendation on HUL proposed a participatory approach to mediation and negotiation between groups with conflicting interests in historic cities (Article 24a). This is also a solution to overcome the conflicts that arise due to differences between the heritage values of "ordinary" people and "experts."

In conserving the Old Town of Bangkok, community participation was used to resolve the conflicts that arose in communities over the conservation master plan (Sirisrisak 2009). Although the participatory approach also resulted in upgrading the living conditions of the local community, the author identifies the negative impacts of the top-down approach used in decision-making (Sirisrisak 2009). However, the conservation of the historic F&B residential quarter in Istanbul's Old City shows that conflicting interests in urban conservation are challenging to address with the participation of overly ambitious communities (Ercan 2010). Although the community's aspiration for the F&B quarter was to restore the interiors of the residential buildings as well as their façades, not all buildings were repaired extensively due to budgetary constraints (Ercan 2010). Thus, the practical application of the approach is challenging, as it is difficult to satisfy the aspirations of all urban communities, which are not homogenous and thus have different heritage perceptions (Tunbridge 2008, 236). Moreover, determining who is the suitable public, and when they should be involved in the decision-making process, is also a challenging question in urban conservation as well as planning (Yung and Chan 2011).

2.3.4 MITIGATING THE DYNAMIC HISTORIC URBAN CHANGE RATHER THAN CONTROLLING

The European Landscape Convention (2004) recognizes the dynamic nature of landscapes and recommends an optimistic way to embrace landscape changes (Fairclough 2008).[186] According to the European Landscape Convention (2004),

185 New Life for Historic Cities — The Historic Urban Landscape Approach Explained, 2013 (UNESCO). Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/727/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

186 "… it [ELC] looks forward to how to enhance or create new landscape that contains heritage more than it looks to protect existing heritage against all change; in its embrace of change it adopts an optimistic view of heritage as a process not a reaction" (Fairclough 2008, 308-9).

landscape management "means action, from a perspective of sustainable development, to ensure the regular upkeep of a landscape, so as to guide and harmonize changes which are brought about by social, economic and environmental processes" (Chapter 1, Article 1e). Fairclough (2008, 309) elaborates, "'Change and Creation' becomes a central part of the new heritage approach ... changes are actually part of the character of the landscape, then further change of some sort becomes desirable as well as being an impact, sometimes, negative, to be mitigated or minimized." Demas elaborates on mitigating changes with reference to a value-based approach (Demas 2012).

While the elements that reflect changes to historic urban landscapes are discussed under sub-chapter 2.3 (natural, human, tangible and intangible elements), urban transformation can mainly be identified in the city's built heritage, demography, economy, cultural practices and natural environment. The Recommendation on HUL identifies factors influencing the transformation of historic urban landscapes, including demographic shifts, global market liberalization and decentralization, mass tourism, market exploitation of heritage, development pressures and climate change. Moreover, the factors interconnected with regeneration are discussed under sub-chapter 2.2.4.

Due to the dynamic nature of historic urban landscapes, important urban conservation objectives, such as safeguarding the authenticity or integrity of the physical and social fabric during the process of change, remain a myth or, at best, an approximation (Bandarin and Oers 2012). Instead of controlling the change of historic cities, the HUL approach "supports communities in their quest for development and adaptation, while retaining the characteristics and values linked to their history and collective memory, and to the environment" (Article 15, HUL Recommendation 2011). Thus, preserving values is more prioritized, as these are "guardians of collective identity and memory, helping to maintain a sense of continuity and tradition" (Bandarin and Oers 2012). While these values, including sense of place and collective memory, are discussed in sub-chapter 2.3.1, preserving the cultural practices of landscape and the human element is given more attention. According to Lewis (1976, 7), "nearly all items in human landscapes reflect culture in some way." Landscapes continue to regenerate as people struggle to adapt to new meanings that might have detached from their culture and identity (Ujang and Zakariya 2015). The impacts of change and regeneration, which are inherent to a landscape, are further elaborated by Mitchell: "history matters to the structure and look of a landscape. We inherit a landscape which forms the basis for any changes or developments we subsequently make" (Mitchell 2008, 30).

To summarize, the fundamental idea of modern historic urban conservation and management is the recognition of the historic city as a lively phenomenon based on its inhabitants and users. The inhabited historic city is an ever-changing process, and thus its users, or their successors, should be enabled to "construct their own future landscape in which the past remains legible and relevant to them" (Fairclough 2008, 309).

2.4 PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND THE PEOPLE-CENTRED APPROACHES IN MANAGING HISTORIC CITIES

2.4.1 PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

Public participation, which is also a basic principle in democracy, is a process by which the public is involved in decision-making, regarding planning issues that interest and affect them. The participatory planning paradigm, which is widely discussed, practically implemented and promoted in several spheres in today's world, developed within the field of urban planning in the United States. Arnstein's (1969) "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," the best-known early theoretical work on participation, outlines the different levels of citizen participation, arguing that they do not have enough power (Fig. 26). The arguments of Smith (1973) for participatory planning underscored the effectiveness and adaptivity of participatory planning in the planning processes that contribute to the stability of the societal system. Thus, he identified citizen participation as an essential element in the planning process, one that strengthens the role of urban communities (Smith 1973).

		Degrees of citizen power
8	Citizen control	
7	Delegated power	
6	Partnership	
5	Placation	***Degrees of tokenism***
4	Consultation	
3	Informing	
2	Therapy	***Nonparticipation***
1	Manipulation	

Fig. 26 Arnstein's eight rungs in "A Ladder of Citizen Participation" (Arnstein 1969, 217).

According to Arnstein, public participation "is a categorical term for citizen power" and "the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens, presently excluded from the political and economic processes, to be deliberately included in the future" (Arnstein 1969, 216). The definition of public participation by the World Bank in the early 90s has a similar idea in terms of marginalized communities*:* "a process by which people, especially disadvantaged people, can exercise influence over policy formulation, design alternatives, investment choices, management, and monitoring of development interventions in the communities" (The World Bank 1992, 2). Currently, the nature of the participants goes beyond underprivileged groups, and thus demonstrates a more holistic concept, which includes individuals, citizens' initiatives and lobbies and common-interest groups (Arbter et al. 2007).

Smith identifies participatory planning as "individual or societal units being involved in the planning process related to the domain of the individual or societal unit" (Smith 1973, 281). Different terms are used to describe various kinds of participatory planning, such as collaborative planning, stakeholder engagement, community-based planning, consensus building, shared decision-making and co-management (Omar et al. 2013). In the last couple of decades, the paradigm has shifted from top-down to a more bottom-up approach, in which the public is the main focus group or decision maker (Roux and Clliers 2013). However, the bottom-up approach has practical challenges, as will be discussed later. Among some of the positive aspects of the concept in general are resolving conflicts, effectiveness, enhancing public knowledge, empowering local communities and understanding the requirements of the real users of the space (Roux and Clliers 2013). However, the use of the concept in practice has challenges and limitations, including the choice of participants, defining the level of involvement of the communities, budgetary constraints and unrealistic expectations on the part of the communities, which results in unhappy and rebellious communities (Roux and Clliers 2013).

The fact that participation or participatory planning has been embraced by several UN agencies, as well as international and European treaties, has had a great influence on popularizing the approach as a globally accepted best practice. Participatory planning has enjoyed worldwide awareness since 1976, when it was invoked in the first UN Habitat meeting, calling for "creating possibilities for effective participation by all people in the planning, building and management of their human settlements." [187] The Rio Declaration (1992) stated that "environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens" (Principle 10).[188] Similarly, public participation in decision-making has been highlighted by European treaties like the Aarhus Convention (1998),[189] addressing environmental matters in Europe and the European Landscape Convention (2004). Participation has been progressively adopted by major international development agencies, such as the World Bank, the FAO, the ILO, UNDP and UNICEF, in their development practices (Oakley 1991; Adell et al. 2015). The approach, associated with other best practices like empowerment and capacity-building, is promoted by NGOs. Similarly, NGOs within the United Nations apparatus have increased the pressure to include the participation of local communities (Conforti et al. 2015; Adell et al. 2015). Adoption of

187 UN-HABITAT, 1976: Paragraph I.1, quoted by Sirisrisak 2009, 406.

188 The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992) available at http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/RIO_E.PDF (accessed 21 September 2017).

189 Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-Making and Access to Justice in Environmental Matters.

this approach within UNESCO's concept of World Heritage is discussed below, within this broader context.

2.4.2 DEVELOPMENT OF PARTICIPATORY AND PEOPLE-CENTRED APPROACHES WITHIN WORLD HERITAGE

The participation of local communities associated with World Heritage demonstrates a gradual improvement in UNESCO's notion of World Heritage, from that of socioeconomic development to decision-making, since the inception of the World Heritage Convention (1972). Although the convention encouraged the states parties "to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community" (Article 5a), there was little focus on local communities at the start of the convention. In the text of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972), there are four mentions of "community"; however, three of them mention the "international community," which is based on the powerful utopian idea of the universal sharing of humanity's outstanding heritage (Brumann 2015).

It was emphasized under sub-chapter 2.2.2 that the development of the notion of World Heritage was based on the Western European material-based preservation approach. The participatory approach to this notion gained importance especially in the 2000s, with changing the focus of cultural heritage from monuments to a strategy that people use to "be" in the world (Harrison 2008). In other words, it was a result of shifting conservation paradigms from traditional, material-based ones to value-based and living heritage approaches. While the first category focuses on indigenous and non-Western communities, the latter is based on the idea of the continuity of heritage — the associated, living community with its original function (Poulios 2014; Court and Wijesuriya 2015). Smith (2006) identifies the gradual change of the "Authorized Heritage Discourse" (AHD or material-based approach) from a top-down approach to greater community participation, although establishing a bottom-up relationship is challenging. Behind this change, there were also global trends towards the improvement of this approach as a best practice, as discussed above.

The Operational Guidelines of the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 2005 identified the people–nature relationship, for the first time, with respect to natural heritage that has a "dynamic state, and to some extent involve[s] contact with people" (2005, 22).[190] In the same year, the above-mentioned Article 5a of the World Heritage Convention was included in the Operational Guidelines (as Article 15b, 2005), and it was further requested by the Operational Guidelines to have an appropriate management plan for nominations of World Heritage sites to preserve their OUV, preferably through "participatory" means.[191] Article 12 of the Operational Guidelines encouraged the states parties to ensure the "participation of a wide variety of stakeholders," including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, NGOs and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination and protection of World Heritage properties (2005, 3).[192]

Behind this innovative participatory management model was the adoption of the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage at the World Heritage Committee's 26th session in 2002. The Budapest Declaration (2002) seeks an equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development through joining World Heritage to the "social and economic development and the quality of the life of our communities" (Article 3c).[193] Therefore, it ensures the active involvement of local communities at all levels of managing, protecting and identifying World Heritage properties (Article 3f, Budapest Declaration).[194] In addition, the Nara Document of Authenticity (1994), which was annexed to the Operational Guidelines in 2005, identifies "responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it" (Article 8, 1994).[195] Both documents indirectly

190 WHC.05/2 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005. UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2018).

191 WHC.05/2 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005, p 26. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

192 Ibid.

193 The Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (UNESCO, 2002), available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/decisions/1217/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

194 Ibid.

195 The Nara Document of Authenticity, 1994. Available at https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf (accessed 21 September

propose a reciprocal approach, which focuses on the socioeconomic benefits of heritage to the community and the subsequent protection of the heritage by the community.

The participatory approach developed within two branches of World Heritage. The first category was the rights of indigenous peoples as associated with natural heritage, based on the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007. The other, the communities associated with cultural heritage, especially urban heritage, and based on UNESCO's Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape 2011, is given more attention in sub-chapter 2.3. The European Landscape Convention, which came into force in 2004, also had an influence on the latter, calling for the participation of the general public in defining and implementing European landscape policies.

The decisions of the 31st session of the World Heritage Committee welcomed enhancing the role of communities in implementing the World Heritage Convention.[196] As a result, the level of community involvement was improved with respect to decision-making in the Operational Guidelines of 2008, in which the International Assistant Request Form requested that the management committee of a property include "some members of the local community."[197] The Request Form specifically emphasized the "management plan with participants including the local community."[198] Furthermore, it was also inquired whether sufficient attention was given to community involvement.[199] In 2011, UNESCO adopted the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, a holistic and participatory planning approach to managing dynamic urban landscapes with more emphasis on urban communities. Communities became a focus group of World Heritage, such that the "Strategic Action Plan for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention 2012–2022," adopted in the 18th session of the general assembly (2011), prioritized the sustainable development of communities and cultures in their vision for 2022 though "connecting conservation to communities."[200]

The climax of these initiatives was the theme of the 40th anniversary of the World Heritage Convention, "World Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local Communities," in 2012.[201] Sustainable (heritage) development was planned to be achieved by balancing conservation and community interests through integrated planning and management.[202] The concept of "sustainable development" mainly derived from the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992), which welcomed "new concepts of status and lifestyles which are less dependent on the earth's finite resources and more in harmony with its carrying capacity" (Article 4).[203] In other words, it implies that the heritage resources used by the current generation should be preserved without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs, which however has much confusion and plenty of cynism, although it remains an important concept (Clark 2008, 82).

The decisions of the 39th Session of the World Heritage Committee emphasized local communities (and indigenous people) in decision-making, monitoring and the evaluation of World Heritage properties.[204] Furthermore, the potential of World Heritage properties to enhance the quality of life and well-being of all stakeholders, local communities in particular, was also considered.[205] With these

2017).

196 "1. Confirm, that in the future, the conservation of the world's natural and cultural heritage should, wherever possible, be done with the active engagement of communities which have a close relationship with the heritage in question."

"2. Pledge that they shall, as appropriate, seek the active involvement of communities at all stages, from the preparation of tentative lists through to conservation requirements for sites which are in danger." WHC-07/31.COM/13B, p. 7. Available at https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2007/whc07-31com-13be.doc (accessed 31 October 2018).

197 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2008, p.144. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid., p.151.

200 "Eightieth Session of the General Assembly of States Parties to the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (WHC-11/18.GA/11), p. 2, 7. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-18ga-12-en.pdf (accessed 21 September 2018).

201 Ibid., p. 2.

202 Report on World Heritage and Sustainable Development — The Role of Local Communities in the Management of UNESCO Designated Sites, Kotor, Montenegro, 7–8 June 2012, p. 3. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/907/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

203 The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, 1992 at http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/RIO_E.PDF (accessed 21 September 2017).

204 WHC-15/39.COM/5D p.10. Available at https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2015/whc15-39com-5D-en.pdf (accessed 21 September 2017).

205 Ibid., p. 9.

improvements, the term "participatory planning" appeared in the Operational Guidelines for the first time in 2015, with reference to an effective management system of World Heritage properties with a stakeholder consultation process (Article 111a).[206] The local and indigenous communities were among the stakeholders, who were partners in the protection and conservation of the properties along with governmental, non-governmental and private organizations (Article 40).

In the same year, ICCROM, an advisory body to the World Heritage Committee, published a guidance note on the "people-centred approaches" co-authored by Wijesuriya (2015), who, as an Assistant Archaeological Commissioner of Sri Lanka, contributed to the heritage nomination of Galle Fort and the preparation of the first policy document.[207] The paradigm is based on the idea that communities must be the *sine qua non* within the heritage discourse (Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Court 2016). Thus, engaging communities in conservation and management processes is considered a key component of people-centred approaches, which, however, has no simple instructions (Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Court 2016). The paradigm prioritizes the requirements of the communities associated with living heritage, as noted by Court and Wijesuriya:

"[for] heritage places that appear to be successful visitor attractions, the question needs to be asked if other communities, such as local residents, are still allowed to enjoy their heritage as it was originally intended and if they derive benefits from it" (Court and Wijesuriya 2015, 4).

Thus, heritage contributes to the broader socioeconomic well-being of the community, which in turn benefits the preservation and continuity of the physical heritage (Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Court 2016).

Since the early '80s, the people-centred approach has been used as a strategy for human development and the equitable distribution of resources to ensure long-term ecological sustainability (Korten 1987). Korten (1987) identified the use of the approach in the field of development in the late '90s as a "third-generation NGO strategy" promoted by international donors in order to democratize the third world, mainly the control over economy and power. The paradigm has changed considerably in the heritage sector today, while ICCROM has contributed to promoting the paradigm in a range of ways.[208] The ideas of the people-centred approach can be traced from ICOMOS charters from the late '90s. The Washington Charter on Historic Towns (1987) states that "the participation and the involvement of the residents are essential for the success of the conservation programme and should be encouraged. Conservation of the historic towns' urban areas should concern their residents first of all" (Article 3).[209] Furthermore, the International Cultural Tourism Charter (2002) recommends that tourism should generate benefits for the host community (principle 5). While the development of the people-centred approach to World Heritage can be viewed within the scope of the promotion of the best practices by the agencies affiliated with the UN apparatus, it is also the result of adopting global best practices in the field of heritage.

206 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2015. http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 21 September 2017).

207 The turning point in Wijesuriya's professional career was the conservation of the Temple of the Tooth Relic, the main feature of the World Heritage City of Kandy, Sri Lanka (interview, 5 October 2018). In 1998, the shrine — the most powerful national, religious and cultural symbol of the Sinhalese Buddhists — was attacked by the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam or "Tamil Tigers," a powerful militant group that fought for a separate Tamil state or "Tamil Eelam" for the Tamil ethnic minority in northern Sri Lanka from 1983 until its defeat by the Sri Lankan government in 2009). The LTTE was banned by the country immediately after the attack, and a special Presidential Task Force, chaired by the president, was appointed to restore the temple. Although the conservation assistance of the Department of Archaeology had been made available to the temple authorities with instructions from the highest political office, paradoxically, the final conservation decision-making power lay with the high priests of the temple and its lay custodian. Furthermore, the community associated with the living monument demanded the full recovery of the temple, which conflicted with established conservation principals. Thus, Wijesuriya argued that the practices of local culture could override internationally set (Western) conservation guidelines, and highlighted that community requirements should be facilitated by conservation professionals (Wijesuriya 2000). He further argued that heritage is not heritage, but a part of community life, and it is therefore very natural that the community care for it (Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Court 2016). This incident later led him to contribute to the development of people-centred approaches during his time in ICCROM.

208 Wijesuriya, Thompson, and Court (2016) discuss the ICCROM programmes that promote this paradigm.

209 Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington charter, 1987). Available at: https://www.icomos.org/charters/towns_e.pdf (accessed 21 September 2017).

2.4.3 CHALLENGES AND LIMITATIONS OF THE PARTICIPATORY APPROACH WITHIN WORLD HERITAGE

Despite international high-level policy improvements, community participation in decision-making at a significant level remains a real challenge locally in many heritage places, both in the East and West (Yung and Chan 2011; Mydland and Grahn 2011; Sarvarzadeh and Abidin 2012; Dian and Abdullah 2013; Fan 2013; Court and Wijesuriya 2015). Van den Dries (2015) shows that heritage practitioners have still not given sufficient attention to the matter. The author who has analysed the nomination dossiers for cultural sites in 2015 (a total of 21 World Heritage nominations) identifies "citizen participation," "public participation" and "community participation" as the least-mentioned phrases (van den Dries 2015).

The state bureaucracy of heritage management is one of the major reasons behind this, as there is slow progress in the development of local policies associated with best practices in response to international improvement. Despite the increasing external pressure on Western democracies, the weakly developed structure of civil society coupled with a strong state has lead to community participation in China being rhetoric rather than reality (Fan 2013). Due to an insufficient legal framework, the stakeholder participation is rather low in Luang Prabang in Laos (Suntikul and Jachna 2013). While Omar et al. show there is low stakeholder collaboration in George Town, Malaysia, Rasoolimanesh et al. elaborates that the lack of opportunities for the community to become involved in the decision-making process is one of the reasons behind this (Omar et al. 2013; Rasoolimanesh et al. 2017). Furthermore, the government and the local authorities of George Town are incapable of providing a suitable channel for communicating with the community (Rasoolimanesh et al. 2017). Similar issues are also found in the Western context. The traditional "authorized heritage discourse" still seems to have a strong hold within the field of Norwegian cultural heritage management, a major obstacle to the improvement of local participation (Mydland and Grahn 2011). Brumann (2015), who identifies the participatory approach as "myth and reality" within UNESCO, points out that surprisingly little is discussed in World Heritage Committee sessions about the communities living at or near World Heritage sites, mainly due to the time pressure. Furthermore, World Heritage is the object of a convention between nation states, and the communities living in heritage properties and their destinies are not the convention rationale, as pointed out by Brumann:

"While past communities are often the creators of what is significant in the sites and are believed to establish the 'outstanding universal value' (OUV) required for an inscription on the World Heritage List, present-day local populations often come in only as a disturbing factor, as those who build the high-rises and bridges in old towns … It is then protection 'from,' rather than 'for,' the communities that moves to the forefront" (Brumann 2015, 277).

Although there are challenges, the model is positively and most commonly used in tourism development in World Heritage cities, with special reference to community participation (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Su and Wall 2014; Khadar, Jaafar, and Mohamad 2014; Svels 2015; Rasoolimanesh et al. 2017). However, Su and Wall's (2015) case study on the Great Wall (China) shows that the community's acquisition of tourism benefits can occur even without the community's involvement in decision-making. However, applying this approach is encouraged in World Heritage cities in order to democratize decision-making and improve overall sustainability (Mateo 2014; Conforti et al. 2015). The approach is considered a best practice or soft law rather than being obligatory to the formulation of management plans for World Heritage properties. Resource manuals for World Heritage nominations limit community involvement to nomination processes and socioeconomic well-being, including the decision-making level to a lesser extent.

While the strength of the communities also determines their involvement level, the effective transfer of international best practices to the local level is mandatory in promoting participation. While local regulations and funds are required to promote participation, two equally important factors in this regard are the positive attitudes of local heritage practitioners towards participation and the raising of community awareness so as to increase their involvement.

2.5 POSTCOLONIALISM, DECOLONIZATION AND "COLONIAL MONUMENTS" IN SRI LANKA

Although this study does not focus on the postcolonial place-making of Galle Fort, the concepts of postcolonialism and decolonization are briefly discussed here with reference to the colonial monuments of Sri Lanka. The postcolonial place-making of Galle Fort is specifically discussed by Samarawickrema (2012), whose study aims to determine how the various actors and social groups of Galle Fort produce and construct its postcolonial space. The author concludes that the World Heritage designation has brought in state agents to manage the value-added properties, which in turn has brought power struggles and forms of mismanagement associated with a powerful bureaucracy (Samarawickrema 2012).

Loomba observes that modern European colonialism was distinctive and by far the most extensive of the different types of colonial contacts that have been a recurrent feature of human history (Loomba 2005, 3; Harris 2018). In order to show the significant impact of European colonialism globally, Loomba (2005) points out that 84.6 % per cent of the global land surface was under its influence in 1930. Despite the difficulty of theorizing colonization, it is defined as "the takeover of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation" (Loomba 2005, 11). The term "postcolonialism" was originally meant to convey a historical-material change in the political status of a country "after colonialism" (Nayar 2015, 122). Since the 1980s, this has changed into a way of reading and interpretation, a theory and a methodology that examines the nature of the Euro-American nations' conquest, domination and exploitation of countries and cultures in South America, Asia, Africa and regions like Canada and Australia (Nayar 2015, 122). Thus, as Loomba and Licata point out, it is helpful to think of postcolonialism in a wider scope, as not just literally coming after colonialism, but including its multiple legacies, such as cultural and psychological ones (Loomba 2005; Licata 2012).

The term "decolonization" refers to "both the loosening of colonial-imperial connections and control of the European nations over settlements and colonies … In postcolonial studies, it is the second meaning that accrues more importance: the cultural-intellectual-philosophical attempt to escape colonial forms of thinking" (Nayar 2015, 45). Perera's work (1994) on the decolonization of Sri Lanka, with reference to its transformation in society and space, points out that government policies after independence aimed at nationalizing society and space by "breaking the former loyalty to the Empire," which is better epitomized by the "replacing of English with Singhalese as the official language,[210] making Buddhism the national religion, the wearing of national dress by the Prime Minister himself, and conversions to Buddhism from Protestantism." The British colony of Ceylon (1815–1948) was renamed as Sri Lanka by the constitution of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 1972, in which the country became a republic within the commonwealth.[211] The honorific title "*Sri*" (Sanskrit "splendour, fortune") preceded the name "Lanka," showing that even the name of the country was "indigenized," a somewhat controversial term within the local context.[212] Even the date of the constitution was primarily chosen according to the Sinhalese system, in the Buddhist Era.[213]

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210 The Sinhalese Only Bill, mentioned in sub-chapter 1.1.5.

211 The Constitution of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), 1972. Available at http://www.parliament.lk/files/ca/4.%20The%20Constitution%20of%20Sri%20Lanka%20%20-%20%201972%20(Article%20105%20%E2%80%93134)%20Chapter%20XIII.pdf (accessed 14 November 2018).

212 Using the term "indigenous" to denote the locals or the process of localizing is controversial in the Sri Lankan context, since there has been a minority indigenous community in the country called Vedda or *Wanniyala-aeththo* ("people of the forest") from the earliest times. In spite of this, the term "indigenous" is popularly used to denote indigenous medicine (Ayurveda), which differs from Western medicine. According to the 5th-century CE Pāli chronicle the *Mahāwamsa*, the dynastic history of Lankā began with prince Vijaya, who came from the country of Vanga, India (*Mahāwamsa* 2011 [1912]). It is generally believed that the Sinhalese, the ethnic majority of the country (75%), are the descendants of Prince Vijaya and his Indian queen. According to the *Mahāwamsa*, the origins of the Pulindā (or the Vedda) also date back to the time of Prince Vijaya, as the Veddas are identified by *Mahāwamsa* as the descendants of the children of Prince Vijaya and his local demon queen, Kuvannā, whom Vijaya initially married (*Mahāwamsa* 2011 [1912]). According to research on the prehistoric country, the Late Pleistocene hunter-gatherers of Sri Lanka have anatomical affinities with the Veddas, the hunter-gatherers of historical times (Kourampas et al. 2009), which has led to the hypothesis that the Veddas were the first inhabitants of the island, while arrival of Vijaya is located within the scope of the proto-historic colonization of the island.

213 "On this the tenth day of the waxing moon in the month of Vesak in the year two thousand five hundred and fifteen of the Buddhist Era" (the Constitution of Sri Lanka [Ceylon],

Postcolonial studies of Sri Lanka, as both a wartime and postwar country, focused substantially on the county's ethnic conflict, coupled with national identity,[214] which can also be attributed to the British colonial policies that contributed to the rising Sinhala Buddhist nationalism. According to Nuhman (2016), Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism emerged as a socio-political mobilizing force in Sri Lanka from the mid-19th century to consolidate the socio-political interests of the Buddhist elites. Religion and nationality were used to consolidate the ethnic identity of the elites and to differentiate themselves from the Christians, the economically and politically privileged groups dominating the British administrative sector because of their English education and Christian identity (Nuhman 2016). While religion and language played a major role in the formation of Sinhala-Buddhist and Tamil-Hindu identities in Sri Lanka, this political change brought Tamil Hindus and Tamil Christians together to fight for their linguistic and civil rights during the post-independence period (Nuhman 2016). The ultimate outcome was the civil war between government forces and the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam or the Tamil Tigers), which since 1983 had aimed to create an independent Tamil state or "Tamil Eelam" for the Tamil ethnic minority in northeastern Sri Lanka and was defeated by government forces in 2009.

The general public of the current generation, the majority have no experience with colonial Ceylon, has suffered heavily from the tense situations in the country's recent past—insurgency (1971) and ethnic conflict (1983–2009)—which each left behind thousands of deaths.[215] Thus, their memories are more closely connected with these powerful events that they have actually experienced, while colonial history is viewed as a "bygone era" in the ordinary Sri Lankan sense, despite the attention given to it by academia. Besides, Ceylon's transition to independence was peaceful, unlike in British India (Jazeel and Brun 2009). Despite this fact, decisive battles against the colonial empires were used to inspire patriotism and Sinhalese Buddhist nationalism. The Battle of Mulleriyawa (1559), which was led by King Rājasingha I when he was still a prince and resulted in grave defeat for the Portuguese, was the subject of a popular song in the Sinhala film *Sandeśaya* ("The Message," 1960).[216] In 2017, the president, in a special gazette notification, declared the leaders and rebels of the 1818 Great Rebellion[217] against British colonial rule "patriotic national heroes" (they were formerly identified as "betrayers") who fought in a "national freedom struggle." [218] While the colonial period is treated as a bygone era, the glory of the country's great past under the (Sinhalese-Buddhist) kings is still valued by the people. According to Wickramasinghe, Monumentality, specifically during the hydraulic civilization—the period between the 3rd century BCE and 12th century CE in which great reservoirs, colossal *stupas* and Buddha statues were erected under the patronage of the powerful Sinhalese Buddhist kings

1972; available at http://www.parliament.lk/files/ca/4.%20The%20Constitution%20of%20Sri%20Lanka%20%20-%20%201972%20(Article%20105%20%E2%80%93134)%20Chapter%20XIII.pdf.

214 A number of works discuss ethnic conflict in a postcolonial framework (Harris 2018; Brun and Jazeel 2009 ; Kapferer 2010; Stokke 1998; Perera 1998).

215 For insurgency of 1971, see footnote 107.

216 The song is *Tikiri kumaru rājasingha namin raja wunā,* "Prince Tikiri Ascends the Throne as Rājasingha (*rāja-singha*, the Royal Lion)," composed by Arisen Ahubudu and sung by Dharmadasa Walpola. The lyrics read, *Mulleriya velehi watura leyata härawunā,* "The field of Mulleriyawa turned blood red," based on the local chronicles, which recounted how the blood shed by the Portuguese flowed like water in the marshlands of Mulleriyawa.

217 Also known as the Uva Wellassa Rebellion—named from the place of its origin, far from Kandy, the capital of the kingdom—the rebellion started in 1817, soon after the British acquisition of the Kandyan Kingdom through the Kandyan Convention of 1815, which deposed the last ruling monarch, King Sri Vickrama Rājasingha (1798–1815). According to Mendis (2005), the British found the revolt a formidable one; it was gradually supported by the majority of Kandyan chiefs, who were dissatisfied with British rule. The British caused severe damage to properties, crops and irrigation works in order to force the people into submission, and in the end were able to quell the revolt (Mendis 2005 [1952], 22-3). According to local belief, the heavy damages caused to the area by the British brought long-lasting negative effects to Wellassa, meaning "[an area with] a hundred thousand paddy fields" (*vel-lassa*, "paddy fields-hundred thousand"), indicating the prosperity of the area back then.

218 "… President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka hereby declare that the under mentioned Sinhalese leaders who were sentenced to death by the Court Martial for their involvement in the national freedom struggle in 1818 and deported to the Island of Mauritius shall be patriotic national heroes and that the descendants of such heroes too shall be descendants of such national heroes... Furthermore, I do hereby declare as war heroes these Sinhalese leaders who patriotically fought for the cause of an independent Sri Lanka" (*The Extraordinary Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 2036/11, 11 September 2017).

of Rajarata ("Country of the Kings")—became especially valuable to consolidating national identity (Wickramasinghe 2014).

"Colonial Monuments" in a Postcolonial and Postwar Country

The "changes" and the way local people perceived the country's colonial buildings and landscapes after independence is a heterogeneous and continuous process. According to Perera, Colombo, the country's capital city, was transformed from the exclusive domain of colonial power to a bastion of Ceylonese social and cultural practices during decolonization (Perera 2002). The place and street names of Colombo were "indigenized" by nationalizing the space (Perera 1998).[219] However, Galle Fort—an outstation with decreasing importance as a port city—was an exception, where a number of Dutch and British street names continued to be used despite the significant social changes (as discussed in sub-chapter 1.1.5). [220]

While some of the country's colonial buildings and landscapes with strong utilitarian functions still continue in these original functions (the National Museum, some of the railway stations, churches, lighthouses, survey towers, ports, tea and rubber plantations), the majority of state-owned colonial buildings have been reused for various government purposes, continuously changing over the course of time. One such example is the British-period State Council Building of Colombo, previously reused as the parliament building and currently the Presidential Secretariat. There are also other important ones that have been elevated to the status of monuments, as discussed below.

The first chapter discussed the challenges of the heritage nomination of Galle Fort, a colonial monument, in the context of the nationalistic policies of the post-independence governments. According to Perera, the governments explicitly acknowledged and promoted the revival of historic religious centres from the mid-'50s, after independence (Perera 1994, 382). These were Sinhalese Buddhist monuments, and a substantial number of them were under the custody of the British-established Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, even prior to independence. The country's national archaeological practices, heavily influenced by the Western school, esteemed the material value of a monument despite its origins—either local or colonial—and thus the Department of Archaeology took initiatives to declare a number of colonial edifices as monuments soon after the 1948 independence, which is a continuing practice even now. Some of the examples of this initiative are the ramparts of Matara Fort (1952); the Dutch-period Star Fort of Matara (1959); the Dutch-period museums at Pettah or at the (demolished) Colombo Fort (1999); and 12 colonial buildings in Colombo, mainly British-period ones, also including the Dutch Hospital (2000).[221] The World Heritage recognition of Galle Fort (1998), as discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.2, could also viewed through this lens, despite its strong economic importance. Against this background, colonial monuments and important buildings gradually gained recognition in the country. They were integrated into the country's overall monumental heritage and admired by the public, who have valued monuments for generations. In 2012, the Philatelic Bureau of the Department of Posts issued a series of postal stamps of "colonial buildings of Sri Lanka," a testimony to this.[222]

Since the late '80s, the governments have shown a growing interest in preserving colonial buildings and monuments, due to the efforts of archaeologists coupled with the economic benefits of and international assistance for preservation. Dutch government-financed fort preservation projects have existed since the '90s (as discussed in sub-chapter 4.4.3). After the end of the war in 2009, the [Dutch] Jaffna Fort—located in Jaffna, viewed as the capital city of the proposed Tamil Eelam and the major stronghold of the LTTE—heavily damaged by the war, was conserved in a 104.5 million-LKR,

219 According to Perera (1998), the main thoroughfare in the Colombo Fort area, Queen's Street, became Janadhipathi Mawatha (literally President's Avenue), while the the park in Cinnamon Gardens was renamed from Victoria to Viharamahadevi Park, after the queen of a highly regarded Sinhalese king in Lankan history.

220 There is an exception at the fort in the form of a small residential street, which was renamed after the Buddhist temple that had been located there since the British occupation.

221 *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No.10,340, 10 January, 1952; *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No.11,709, 26 March 1959; *Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 1085, 18 June 1999; *Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 1116, 21 January 2000.

222 In 2018, the Philatelic Bureau also issued a postal stamp to commemorate the bicentenary of 1818 Great Rebellion ("Uva Wellassa Struggle," 1818–2018) against British rule, which was mentioned above.

state-led project (2011–2015), funded by the Dutch government with a 40% financial contribution by the Sri Lankan government.[223]

The country's approach to reusing colonial buildings changed significantly in recent years with the state-led urban regeneration projects of Colombo, which turned the colonial building into an object of urban beautification with an economic interest. The Urban Development Authority under the former regime (2005–2015) carried out a project on the restoration of historic buildings, under which the Dutch Hospital of Colombo (as well as the one at Galle Fort) and former British-period Lunatic Asylum (later also housing the Auditor General's office) were restored and reused as trendy shopping malls. In fact, the latter, renamed as the "Arcade," is located in the Independence Square of Colombo, where the country's Independence Memorial Hall is located. According to the Urban Development Authority, "young and enterprising architects were dispatched to Paris, France to gain international exposure to heritage buildings and the beautification of a well-planned city … to create a masterpiece etched with the glory of a nation with a proud heritage."[224] These buildings have enhanced the colonial chic of Colombo—a fast-growing metropolis—also showing the potential of the contemporary nation.

Preserving colonial monuments is no longer a challenge. In 2013, the official residence of the former Dutch Naval Commissioner at Trincomalee—the major city of Eastern Province, part of the LTTE's proposed Tamil Eelam—was restored and converted into the Maritime and Naval History Museum with the financial assistance of the Dutch government, also a state-led project.[225] It was declared open by then-Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa, coinciding with the country's 65th Independence Day celebrations in 2013,[226] and revealing new frontiers for the country's colonial buildings.

223 Source: Administration Report, 2011. Ministry of National Heritage. Available at http://www.parliament.lk/papers_presented/08122012/administration_report_ministry_of_national_haritage_2011.pdf (accessed 6 December 2018). The project was carried out by the Department of Archeology under the auspices of the Ministry of National Heritage.

224 Available at the official website of the Urban Development Authority Sri Lanka, http://www.uda.gov.lk/restoration-historical-building.html (accessed 6 December 2018).

225 The estimated sum of the project is 75 million LKR. The contributions of the Netherlands and Sri Lankan governments are 56 million LKR and 19 million LKR, respectively (Administration Report, 2011, Ministry of National Heritage). Available at http://www.parliament.lk/papers_presented/08122012/administration_report_ministry_of_national_haritage_2011.pdf (accessed 6 December 2018).

226 "The opening was held as a part of the 65th Independence Day celebrations in Trincomalee. The 300-year-old building was renovated on an initiative of President Mahinda Rajapaksa. The total project cost Rs 75 million. The Dutch government provided financial assistance under the Sri Lanka-Netherlands Cultural Cooperation programme. The National Heritage Ministry, Sri Lanka Archaeological Department, Sri Lanka Navy and the Dutch government carried out the project as a joint venture," "President opens renovated Dutch Navy Commissioner's Housing Complex in Trincomalee," available at the *Daily News,* 4 February 2013; accessed 6 December 2018).

3. Methodological Framework

This chapter focuses on the methods used to collect the research data for the study. It elaborates on the combined use of qualitative data and quantitative data as well as analysis techniques in achieving each of the specific goals of the research.

3.1 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODS

3.1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The physical and human environment of the Galle Fort has been subject to considerable changes since the fort gained World Heritage status. These changes have significantly impacted both the fort as a monument and the people living there. In addition, there are conflicting interests between the fort community and heritage management authorities.

Research Questions:

1. What demographic, built-environment, commercial and cultural changes has Galle Fort undergone so far since the initiation of the World Heritage project?

2. Why do these impacts seem irreconcilable with the established guidelines for heritage management in Sri Lanka as a developing nation?[227]

3. How can a more equitable solution be developed for Galle Fort with a greater consensus between stakeholders?

3.1.2 RESEARCH APPROACH, METHODS AND FIELD WORK

The research goals have been achieved by using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The key areas analysed—the changes to Galle Fort since its World Heritage recognition in 1988, the conflicting interests of stakeholders, heritage laws, policies and practice—were all interrelated factors and consequences affecting each other. While the tangible aspects (changes to the historic buildings, demography, etc.) were mainly analysed quantitatively, the intangible aspects were analysed with qualitative methods (Table 01 and 02). In identifying the conflicts of interest, community and heritage institutions were considered as equally important, while the community (residents and the business community) was weighted more heavily, based on the current people-centred approach in urban heritage management, as elaborated in the theories chapter. The ideas of other stakeholders were also considered, in accordance with the participatory approach discussed in sub-chapter 2.4.

To be able to answer the sub-questions, fieldwork was considered an integral and necessary part of the study. Thus, more than one year was spent on fieldwork during 2015–2018 in the periods listed below; this mainly included participant observation at Galle Fort, one of the main sources of data gathering, which is discussed later (Table 03). In addition, some of my observations from Galle Fort in January 2019 are also included in the study.

227 As briefly outlined in sub-chapter 1.4.3.

Research Question	Qualitative Data Analysis Method			
	Interview	Questionnaire	Participant observation	Anecdote
Stakeholders' perception of Galle Fort and its changes	√	√	√	√
Conflicting interests	√	-	√	√
Behaviour of community and heritage authorities	-	-	√	-
Community ideas about heritage laws, policies and practice	√	-	√	-

UDA: Urban Development Authority; GMC: Galle Municipal Council; DOA: Department of Archaeology; GHF: Galle Heritage Foundation.

Table 1 Qualitative data analysis.

Cultural Landscape Changes	Data Analysis Method		
	Qualitative	Quantitative	Quantitative Data
Built Environment	√	√	Land use survey with drone images, building development data (UDA, GMC), data on illegal developments (DOA)
Demography	√	√	Demographic data
Economy	√	√	Business registration data, field surveys, surveys of UDA and GHF
Urban culture	√	-	-

UDA: Urban Development Authority; GMC: Galle Municipal Council; DOA: Department of Archaeology; GHF: Galle Heritage Foundation.

Table 2 Qualitative and quantitative data analysis.

Year	Month											
	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
2014												
2015												
2016												
2017												
2018												

Fieldwork at Galle Fort

Writing

Table 3 Fieldwork schedule

3.1.3 MATERIALS

Primary Data

Qualitative Data

i. Interviews (structured and semi-structured)
ii. Questionnaires
iii. Participant observation, including informal conversation
iv. Case studies, short cases (including "anecdotes")

Quantitative Data

Mapping Data

i. Cadastral Map of Galle Fort (No. 81003, 1:1000), 2013, Survey Department, Sri Lanka
ii. Drone images of Galle Fort with full coverage, April 2016 (DJI Phantom 3 Professional Drone)
iii. World View 3 panchromatic satellite images of Galle Fort, 2017 (courtesy DigitalGlobe Foundation)
iv. Aerial photographs of Galle Fort Nos. 65.05.036 (1965); 94.16.092 (1994) Survey Department, Sri Lanka

Statistical and Other Quantitative Data

i. Demographic data for Galle Fort (Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka)
ii. Business registration data for Galle Fort (Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat, Galle)
iii. Statistical data on applications and issuance of the Preliminary Planning Clearance (Urban Development Authority, Galle)
iv. Data pertaining to the issuance of Building Permits in Galle Fort (Galle Municipal Council)
v. Data related to illegal developments and destruction of antiquities (Regional Archaeology Office, Galle)

Other primary sources

i. Local heritage laws, policy documents and policy decisions
ii. International heritage guidelines
iii. Decisions of the World Heritage Committee on the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications
iv. Letters exchanged between heritage institutions and stakeholders
v. Primary literary sources and archival maps

Secondary Data

i. The systematic documentation of the building of Galle Fort, entitled *The Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs* (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992)
ii. Literary sources

3.1.4 TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

i. IBM SPSS Statistics 23
ii. ArcGIS 10.2

IBM SPSS Statistics was used to create the land use dataset for the fort, which was used to compare land use between 1992 and today, as elaborated in sub-chapter 3.3.1. The reasons for using SPSS were its ability to handle large amounts of data, its wide selection of analytical functions and its compatibility in linking the SPSS dataset with ArcGIS (as discussed in sub-chapter 3.3.2). The dataset included nearly 500 housing units, and thus the use of SPSS was efficient in analysing the changes in building stock, which was done with the simple descriptive statistics of SPSS. Furthermore, large amounts of qualitative data, especially the structured interviews and questionnaires, were also analysed with the simple descriptive statistics of SPSS. ArcGIS was mainly used to visualize the land use changes discussed in chapter 5.

3.1.5 FLOW OF THE METHODOLOGY

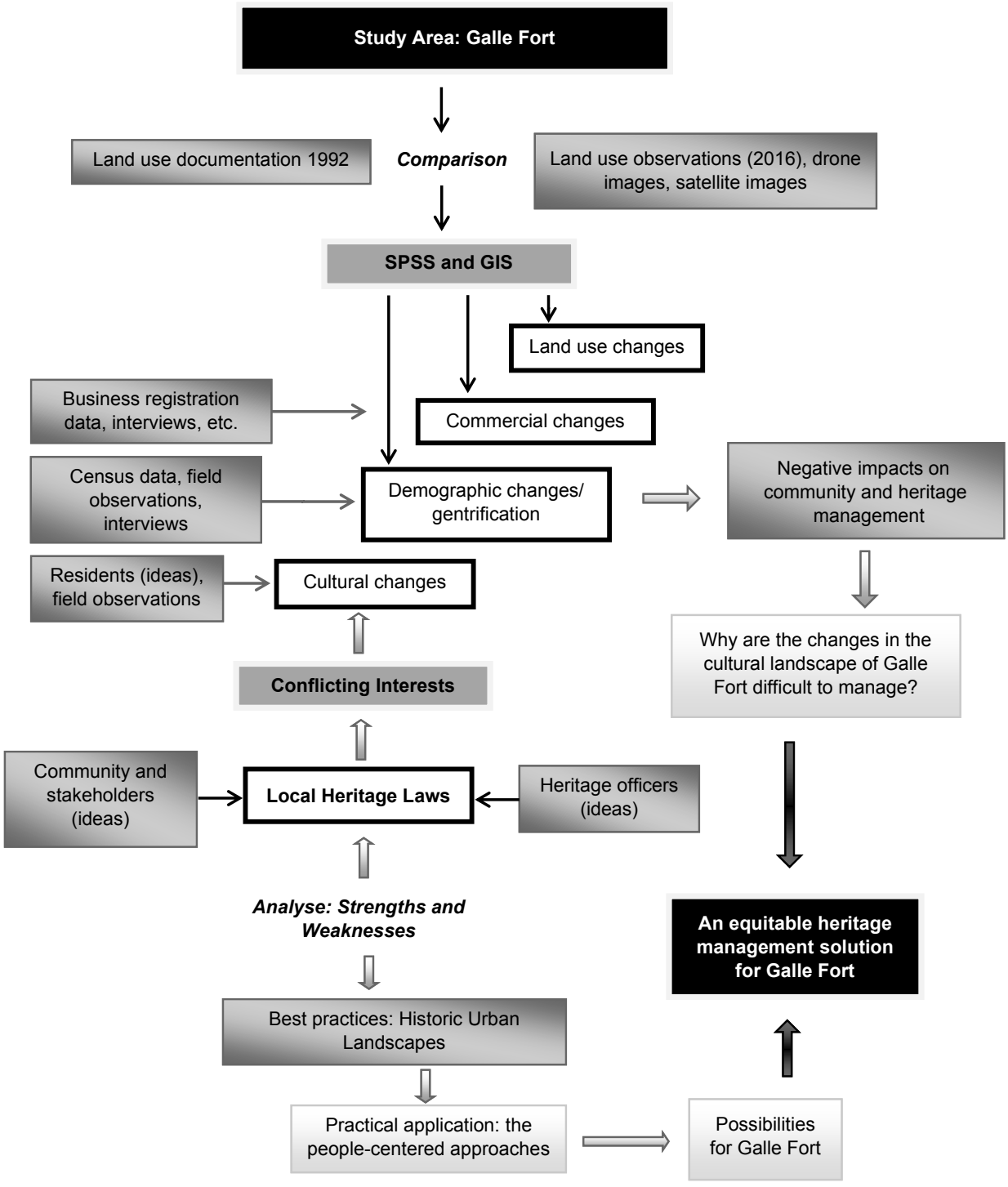


Fig. 27 Flow of the methodology.

3.2 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

3.2.1 STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH RESIDENTS

In structured interviews, people are asked to respond to as nearly identical a set of stimuli as possible, which are administered orally (Bernard 2006). According to Bernard (2006), a questionnaire is regarded as one kind of structured interview. Thus, a structured interview with questionnaire was administered orally to examine the ideas of residents, the key informants, while semi-structured interviews were also used (as is discussed below). A questionnaire is specifically considered suitable for ascertaining the overall opinion of the community on certain issues, such as ideas on the changes to Galle Fort, heritage laws, building development procedure, etc.[228] Furthermore, this method was considered the best approach due to the reluctance of some residents to record interviews. A substantial number of them had conflicts with heritage institutions associated with "illegal"[229] developments. Although they liked sharing this information, they did not want the interviews to be recorded. Thus, some information was recorded as field data.

Two questionnaires were specifically made for the structured interview, respectively consisting of 65 questions (a general questionnaire) and ten questions (a questionnaire on building development, if applicable), both including answer choices; however, the respondents were allowed to go beyond the form to express their views in detail and provide other answers if necessary, thus expanding the information and answer choices. While some of these interviews were recorded with the consent of the respondents, the majority of them were not recorded, depending on the consent of the residents. The analysis of the data was mainly done with the simple descriptive statistics of SPSS.

The Snowball Technique in the Selection of the Sample

The snowball technique, a network sampling method was used in choosing the sample; this is identified as the best method for dealing with a relatively small population of people who are likely to be in contact with one another (Bernard 2006). In traditional Sri Lankan neighbourhoods, it is very common for neighbours to have close contact with each other. This is very much visible in Galle Fort (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.1.1), which is a relatively small and confined space, where the houses share common walls, and the population of less than 1,000.[230] Among the 319 families (Electoral Register, 2012), there are some who have lived there for generations (although many have now left the fort), which has increased their neighbourhood relationships. According to Bernard, the snowball sample grows through recommendations by participants.

"In the snowball technique, you use key informants and/or documents to locate one or two people in a population. Then, you ask those people to (1) list others in the population and (2) recommend someone from the list whom you might interview. You get handed from informant to informant and the sampling frame grows with each interview. Eventually, the sampling frame becomes saturated—that is, no new names are offered" (Bernard 2006, 193).

The method is commonly used with hard-to-find or hard-to-study populations, mainly for three reasons: there are few members scattered over a large area; they are stigmatized and reclusive people (e.g., HIV-positive individuals or drug users); or they are members of an elite group who don't care about the needs of the researcher's data (Bernard 2006). It was essential to this research to identify the longtime residents of Galle Fort who have experienced the changes in the fort (since heritage recognition), as increasing gentrification and commercialization has reduced their number

228 The questionnaires included questions on the residents' perceptions of Galle Fort, changes to Galle Fort, the interviewees' houses, heritage laws, "illegal" developments, property sales at Galle Fort, the advantages and disadvantages of living in Galle Fort and building development procedure (if applicable, in the case of residents who have developed their properties).

229 As outlined in sub-chapter 7.3, although they are deemed "illegal," some of these are simply requirements of the community; however, they are not properly facilitated by the heritage laws. Thus, it is questionable to call them illegal and therefore the terms "illegal" and "unauthorized" used in this study depending on the context.

230 1,068 in 2012 (Census of Population and Housing, 2012, Department of Census and Statistics, Sri Lanka).

significantly. Generally, the fort's residents are difficult to approach for a few reasons. First, the majority of them are reluctant to share information on development and heritage practice, as a considerable number of residents have conflicts with heritage authorities over "unauthorized" developments. Secondly, there are groups that do not care about the researcher's data, which includes the majority of the inhabitants who have recently become wealthy due to tourism or comprise the (traditional) elite of the fort. Thirdly, requesting data from residents is very common, as several government surveys and other studies have been carried out in the World Heritage City, and thus some residents see it as a disruption. For these reasons, during my first two months in Galle Fort, I failed to find residents who were willing to share information. Therefore, the snowball technique was used as a solution to this practical problem.

Key informants, who were identified mainly through day-to-day conversations, recommended others who were willing to participate, and this method was repeated with the new participants. This showed that residents were not reluctant to participate when they were recommended by neighbours who had also participated. For instance, a resident of Parawa Street recommended contacting her two neighbours, who then participated willingly. Consequently, it was decided that the participation of Parawa Street was sufficient when the owners of five of the 18 households on the street participated via each other's referral. In the end, a comparatively balanced sample of 33 informants, comprising all strata of society, ethnicities and street representation was achieved. The sample included 18 Muslims, 14 Sinhalese and one Tamil resident.

Although "unauthorized" building development was not always a frankly answered question, participant observation filled in this gap, as discussed below. Despite the long time spent in each household, the technique was extremely productive in gathering the necessary data.

3.2.2 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured interviews have open-ended questions, but follow a general script and cover a list of topics (Bernard 2006). The method is used to survey the ideas of heritage officers, policymakers, the business community (local and foreign), some residents and lawyers handling court cases on "illegal" developments. This was identified as an ideal method for gaining information from heritage officers, especially at the top level, who have limited time to provide data. The method was also used when there were few informants; however, the questions require further explanations. The members of the business community, both longtime dwellers and those who had conflicts with heritage authorities, as identified by the snowball technique, were also interviewed by using this method. All semi-structured interviews were recorded with the consent of informants. Interviews were analysed manually, while many important ideas were quoted to illustrate the arguments.

The Trio: The Influential Middle-Level Heritage Officers

Three important middle-level heritage officers were identified, who represented the three main heritage agencies and were in charge of the World Heritage City from 2015 to 2017: the Project Planning Officer of Galle Heritage Foundation; the Exploration Officer responsible for Galle Fort at the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle (replaced by the Site Manager in September 2017); and the Town Planning Officer responsible for Galle Fort at the Urban Development Authority, Galle. Their ground-level work and longtime experience at Galle Fort have turned them into important officials with a strong voice in decision-making, including the Planning Sub-Committee.[231] It was observed, from 2015 to 2017, that these three officers have cultivated good professional relationships, and that they sometimes collectively made positive decisions while supporting each other's decisions, also in the Planning Sub-Committee.[232] For these reasons, these three officers were interviewed, and contacted both formally as well as informally.

231 Galle Heritage Planning Sub-Committee (discussed separately in sub-chapter 4.3.2), which regulates development activities in Galle Fort.

232 However, this situation changed when two of these officers were promoted/transferred in late 2017/2018, resulting in a lack of collaborative decisions among the three main heritage institution in certain cases.

3.2.3 QUESTIONNAIRES

Questionnaires are a popular and useful tool in ascertaining public knowledge, perception and opinion. In this study, short questionnaires were used to gather ideas from local and foreign tourists, the business community and the heads of institutions within Galle Fort.[233] The main objective of using this technique is to identify the perceptions of Galle Fort in each of these groups by means of brief questionnaires, as they cannot devote more time to the matter.

Tourists and Visitors (Local and Foreign)

Although there are no exact statistics on visitor arrivals at Galle Fort, Urban Development Authority estimates there are about 2,000 to 3,000 daily tourist arrivals of both local and foreign origin.[234] Therefore, the estimated number of daily visitors was considered to be 2,000 (population size), and the sample size was determined by using the online sample size calculator of the National Statistical Service of Australia[235] as follows.

Confidence level: 95%
Population size: 2,000
Proportion: 0.5
Confidence level: 0.07 (upper: 0.57000; lower: 0.43000)
Slandered error: 0.03571
Relative slandered error: 7.14
Sample size: 179

Therefore, it was decided to survey the opinions of 200 visitors (100 foreign and local visitors each) within one day. The questionnaires included 14 short questions, with answer choices offered in both English and Sinhala to suit both the foreign and multi-ethnic local community of Sri Lanka. While Sinhala is one of the two official languages of the country (the other is Tamil), English is recognized as the "link language."[236] In April 2016, questionnaires were randomly distributed among tourists at the Moon, Utrecht and Flag Rock Bastions of the ramparts, which are popular gathering places. However, willingness to participate was considered important. One of the constraints was the lack of English proficiency among tourists, especially from Russia, China and France. However, there were occasions when tour guides and friends assisted them. This was also common with local Tamil-speaking visitors, especially schoolchildren, although the majority of them answered the English questionnaires. In general, the participation was highly successful, and tourists also shared further experiences along with completing the questionnaire; these accounts were added as field notes. Analysis of the data was done with SPSS.

Partly-failed Questionnaire with the Business Community

According to UDA statistics (2015), more than 230 tourism-related businesses operate in the fort, owned by residents, locals and foreigners, as well as both local and foreign companies.[237] A considerable number of these businesses are run by staff/individuals for their owners, and the majority of foreign-owned businesses is run by local staff. The questionnaire consisted of 20 short questions on the perception of Galle Fort, the nature of the business, ownership, structural (architectural) changes to the location of the business, building development procedures and heritage laws. There were occasions when the staff refused to answer the questionnaire, claiming their poor knowledge of the facts, and were reluctant to answer without the consent of the owners. While some frankly said that they lied, it was ascertained that other owners provided only partial information. However, some owners, especially the residents of the Heritage City, took great interest in this regard. For these reasons, this method was aborted after the completion of 24 questionnaires, and it was decided to continue with semi-structured interviews with business owners identified through the snowball technique.

233 This includes 20 institutions from the public and private sectors and religious establishments.

234 "Social Screening Report: Rehabilitation of Sky Walkway at Rampart, Galle City," Ministry of Urban Development, 2015, p. 4, available at http://www.scdp.lk/pdf/social_safeguard/Galle/Urban%20Upgrading/SSR%20-Rampart%20Walkway%20SSR-Galle.pdf (accessed 4 July 2018).

235 Available from http://www.nss.gov.au/nss/home.nsf/pages/Sample+size+calculator (accessed 4 July 2018).

236 "Official Language Policy of Sri Lanka," available at http://www.languagesdept.gov.lk/web/ (accessed 4 July 2018).

237 "Social Screening Report: Rehabilitation of Sky Walkway at Rampart," p. 4, available at http://www.scdp.lk/pdf/social_safeguard/Galle/Urban%20Upgrading/SSR%20-Rampart%20Walkway%20SSR-Galle.pdf (accessed 4 July 2018).

Institutions

23 Twenty-three heads or other relevant officers of institutions (public and private) located within the fort were interviewed successfully with questionnaires. This was nearly half of the institutions of the fort in 2016.

3.2.4 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS

Participant observation "involves going out and staying out, learning a new language (or a new dialect of a language you already know), and experiencing the lives of the people you are studying as much as you can" (Bernard 2006, 344). The method is considered a staple in anthropological studies, especially in ethnographic studies, and has been used for over a century (Kawulich 2005). The methods include observation, participation and informal conversation carried out on a day-by-day basis. Bernard distinguishes participant observation from both pure observation and pure participation (Dewalt and Dewalt 1998). While Bernard (2007) identifies the three levels of participation as complete participant, participant observer and complete observer, observing as an outsider is recognized as moderate participation by Dewalt and Dewalt (1998). While non-participant observation was recently recognized as observing passively without participation (Liu and Maitlis 2012), Dewalt and Dewalt (1998) identify it as acquiring cultural knowledge without the active interaction of people, such as watching television, reading newspapers, etc.

Despite its broad use, the technique has constraints, as it is time-consuming, it is difficult to keep field notes, and there is personal bias due to the closeness of the groups; important information could be missed due to familiarity (Dewalt and Dewalt 1998). In addition, the method has ethical concerns, as informants do not know the information shared as "gossip" will become part of a book (Dewalt and Dewalt 1998). Thus, Dewalt and Dewalt (1998) point out that every possible step must be taken "to do no harm to our informants," according to the contemporary code (1997) of American Anthropological Association.

The major aim of using this method in this study is to identify the conflicting interests between the community and heritage authorities in the Heritage City through observing their natural behaviour and its results on a day-to-day basis by living in Galle Fort and interacting with both parties. The fundamental description of participant observation, as expressed by Malinowski on the Trobriand Islands, also includes taking a personal interest in gossip and taking morning walks through the town (Malinowski 2014).[238] Both methods were followed in this research, namely by building a good relationship with the community, which took nearly four months. Generally, the community is more open about their issues with someone familiar to them than with a researcher with field notes and a pen. They were more candid in informal conversations with regard to their "unauthorized" constructions and the behaviour of heritage institutions in legislative implementation. Thus, informal conversations are one of the main sources of this study. In addition, the observation of "illegal" developments when heritage offices were closed revealed the true nature of this issue. Thus, more than a year in total was spent between 2015 and 2018 at the YWCA,[239] a monumental building on Church Street. The major reason to not to stay with a resident family was the possibility of research bias due to familiarity.[240]

In addition, I participated in certain city events during this time, including the village security council meeting, functions at religious sites and other open functions, while I was invited by heritage authorities to a number of meetings, workshops and functions in the Heritage City. Among the non-participant observations are day-to-day observations of the Heritage City, as well as observations made while visiting both the Regional Office (South) of the Department of Archaeology and the Information Centre of Galle Heritage Foundation.

238 "Soon after I had established myself in Omarkana (Trobriand Islands), I began to take part, in a way, in the village life, to look forward to the important festive events, to take personal interest in the gossip and the developments of the village occurrences … as I went on my morning walk through the village, I could see intimate details of family life ..." (Malinowski 2014, 6-7).

239 Young Women's Christian Association.

240 The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) of Galle runs a hostel for employed women and tourists (women), which houses employed women engaged in several sectors at Galle Fort, including the legal, education, banking and commercial (tourism) sectors. The YWCA works closely with the All Saints Church, one of the major living monuments at Galle Fort, as well as some residents. In addition, it rents space for businesses run by a leading (resident) businessman and a foreign investor. It is located right next to two large-scale development projects funded by a foreign and a local company in 2016.

Challenges, Achievements and Pitfalls

Participant observation was initially challenging, as some residents were suspicious toward me, knowing my affiliation with the Department of Archaeology; it was thus assumed that I was collecting data on their "illegal" developments to be submitted to the heritage authorities.[241] I was frustrated during the first two months in Galle Fort, as I could not build a good relationship with the community; some who spoke to me later ignored me. Yet, I kept on taking morning and evening walks in the fort, greeting the residents, and also spent time at one of the retail shops in Pedlar Street, chatting with the shopkeeper; this was a meeting place for residents. The situation gradually changed after the first four months, due in part to the use of the snowball technique (discussed above), which expanded my network. In the end, certain residents had some important things to share that they thought should be part of my research. Living in the fort also resulted in building good relationships with some residents, which was unavoidable, although a researcher should remain distant.

The case was similar with heritage officials, as it was difficult to remain distant in practice. Given the somewhat bad reputation that heritage authorities had in the community, the relevant heritage officers sometimes invited me when they made decisions that were positive for the community. The brief case of the foreign businessman's development, discussed in sub-chapter 7.6.1, is one such example. Participant observation gave me the opportunity to acquire a balanced view on certain critical incidents, as I saw how the community and heritage officers reacted and looked at the same issue from two different perspectives. Furthermore, I also saw the visible impact of these incidents on the urban landscape. While the community was frustrated with the law not being implemented equally, the officers revealed the practical challenges of legislative implementation.

3.2.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS, PITFALLS AND RESPONDENT CONFIDENTIALITY

My relationship with some residents as well as certain heritage officers sometimes resulted in personal bias, a pitfall of participant observation. Thus, I was reluctant to write anything that could harm them. Considering the ethics of this situation, members of the community were given pseudonyms when discussing sensitive information. This was especially relevant with respect to critical information about a number of controversial situations (such as "illegal" development, negative criticism, bureaucratic and political will, etc.) discussed in chapter 7. This method was also followed in the case of heritage officers and other professionals. In fact, there were occasions that when both residents and heritage officials requested to be anonymous, and I respected their requests. Similarly, some of them did wish to be named, and their wishes were respected, in the case of uncontroversial information. As a substantial amount of information is based on day-to-day conversations, I was very careful not to use this information in a way that could negatively affect the "contributors." It is also important to mention that the verbal consent of contributors was requested prior to conducting the interviews, while requesting written consent was somewhat difficult in the local context of Galle Fort.

3.2.6 ANECDOTES, MENTAL IMAGE OF THE CITY AND PRODUCING A SHORT DOCUMENTARY

Anecdotes are one of the major sources of information in this study. Anecdotes in this study could be regarded as interesting and powerful incidents (or examples) briefly adduced to support certain arguments, while some of them provide in-depth information on certain matters. In general, the arguments supported by anecdotes are either difficult to support with quantitative data, or could be better supported by both qualitative and qualitative data, since they are associated with the "human element" of the urban landscape. Sub-chapter 6.6 contains two anecdotes that focus on intangible aspects of the urban landscape (sense of place and neighbourhood feelings) affected by gentrification, which deals with the emotional feelings of residents and is thus difficult to analyse quantitatively. Both chapters 6 and 7 contain a number of anecdotes focused on the impacts of legislative implementation and socio-economic changes on the community.

241 As revealed by a few residents later on.

Almost all of the anecdotes and short cases were retrieved through interaction with the community and heritage officers (participant observation), except for the three short cases in chapter 7.7, which deals with political and bureaucratic will. These are focused on controversial policy decisions (two of them also drew the attention of UNESCO) heavily affecting the urban landscape, and therefore considered important to this study. In general, some of these short cases are also supported by other sources, such as policy decisions, court decisions, letters and newspaper articles.

I produced the short documentary (20 minutes) *Another Story of Galle Fort: A UNESCO World Heritage City* based on the anecdote "Selling the Doll House" (sub-chapter 6.6.1). The documentary centres on the poem of the same name, copied by a shopkeeper in Galle Fort and written by a veteran Sri Lankan lyricist, and shows the lyricist's emotional attachment to his former house (in the fort), sold to a foreign investor in 2011. I identified documentary film as a powerful method for showing the residents' strong emotional attachment to their houses and urban landscape, which I had experienced from time to time throughout four years in Galle Fort, but is difficult to put into words in a book. Furthermore, I wanted to bring the research to a broader audience through this medium.

The research also attempts to ascertain the mental image of the city held by its residents, a method used by Lynch (1960). Mental mapping was developed by Kevin Lynch, and represents a visual perception of urban forms, based on the theory that people experience landscapes as places but not as artefacts (Williams 2015). Although a mental image is generally based on an individual's perceptions, a mental image of the fort collectively drawn by three residents is used here, which is closer to community mapping. The aim of this method is to identify a collective mental image of Galle Fort by a group of residents based on their collective memories, and thus, to identify how they experienced the landscape collectively. Community mapping, increasingly used today both in indigenous and non-indigenous communities, is defined as local mapping, produced collaboratively by local people, incorporating local knowledge about their places (Perkins 2007). Among the widely used terms for this are collaborative mapping and counter-mapping; the latter indicates the mapping against dominant power structures, or the opposite of the formal mapping of an authority (Hodgson and Schroeder 2002; Keller 2014).

3.3 QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS METHODS

3.3.1 COMPARISON OF BUILDING STOCK OF GALLE FORT FROM 1988 TO 2016

The main rationale for exploring the changes in building stock is to identify whether and to what extent material preservation is prioritized over the community of Galle Fort by current heritage management practice, and also to identify whether there is a difference in the way in which various actors are treated in this regard. Thus, a detailed periodic analysis of the changes in building stock at the inception of the World Heritage project, from

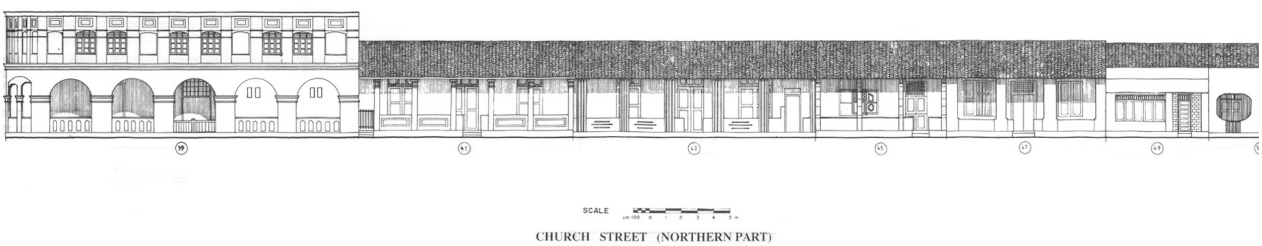
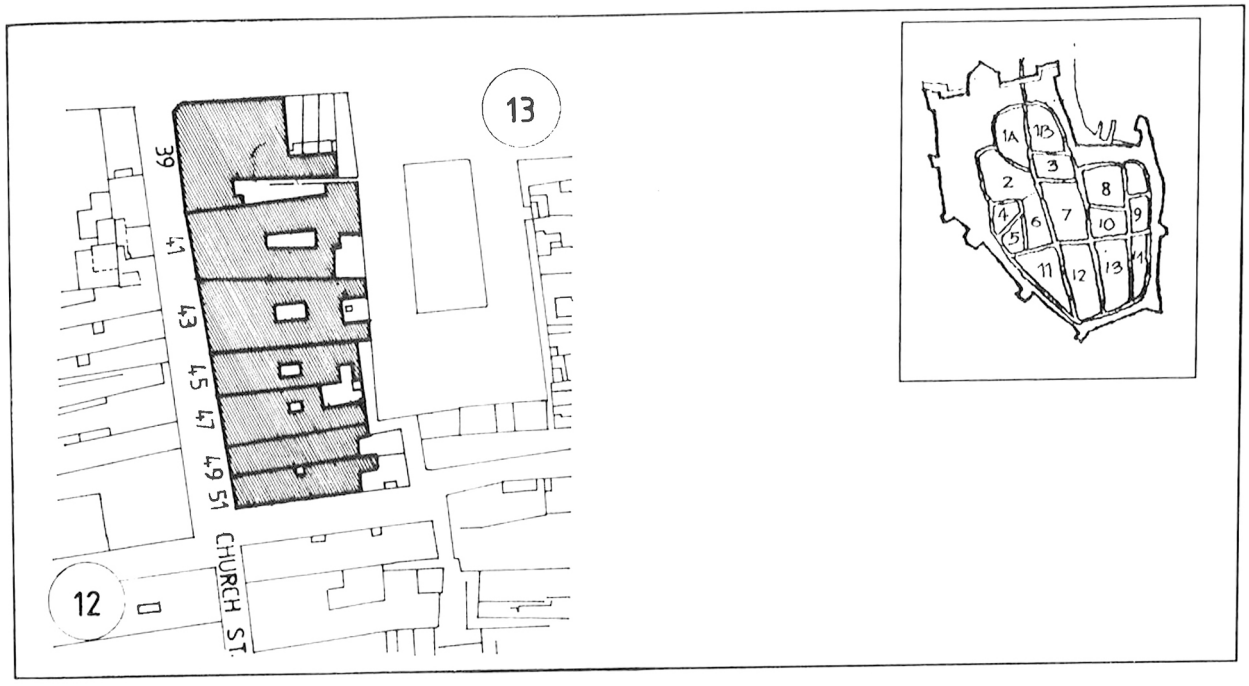


Fig. 28 Streetscape of Church Street with façades bearing the tax numbers 39 to 51 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 243).



BLDG. NO	BLDG. FUNCTION	STRUCTURE		PROBABLE PERIOD	NO OF STOREYS	TRANSFORMATION	SPECIAL REMARKS
		ROOF	SUPER.STR				
39	COMMERCIAL	HALF ROUND	BRICK	BRITISH	TWO	RESTORED	DECORATED DOORS, WINDOWS, ARCHES, TIMBER UPSTAIR
41	RESIDENTIAL	HALF ROUND	CORAL	DUTCH	ONE	RESTORED	ARCHES, MASONRY COLUMNS, COURT YARD
43	RESIDENTIAL	HALF ROUND	CORAL	DUTCH	ONE	RESTORED	COURT YARD, DECORATIONS
45	RESIDENTIAL	HALF ROUND	CORAL	DUTCH	ONE	RESTORED	COURT YARD, DECORATIONS
47	RESIDENTIAL	HALF ROUND	BRICK / CORAL	MODERN / BRITISH	ONE	V-MODIFIED / RESTORED	COURT YARD, DOORS, WINDOWS
49	RESIDENTIAL	HALF ROUND	BRICK	MODERN	ONE	MODIFIED	-
51	RESIDENTIAL	HALF ROUND	BRICK / CORAL	MODERN / BRITISH	ONE	RESTORED / MODIFIED	COURT YARD, DOOR, WINDOWS

Fig. 29 The location and description of the buildings (nos. 39 to 51) on Church Street (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 245).

1988 to 2016, was carried out. However, the lack of available temporal data was a constraint in analysing the change as a process. The comparison was also carried out in accordance with the prevailing building regulations (Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009).[242] Thus, the architectural elements prioritized by the building regulations—such as the façade, verandah, building colour, roof materials, number of floors, etc.—are compared, while the changes to colonial architectural features (the verandah and courtyard) are given special attention (these colonial elements are specifically discussed in the first part of chapter 5). A periodic comparison of the changes in the building stock is also an indication of the drastic changes in land use, both positive and negative, and thus, both in accordance with and also counter to the strict heritage laws. The findings indirectly shed light on the extent to which the requirements of the community are heeded by the currently practised heritage laws and practice. Therefore, conducting a comprehensive periodic analysis of the changes in building stock is regarded as crucial to this study, as it can quantitatively support arguments based on qualitative data.

The analysis is mainly based on the first systematic documentation of the buildings, carried out by the Department of Archaeology between 1988 and 1990 (edited by Kuruppu and Wijesuriya, 1992) soon after World Heritage recognition, and thus shows the contemporary condition of the buildings at the inception of the World Heritage project in 1988. The work, published in 1992, covers roughly 80% of the buildings (384 building units, including current subdivisions).[243] The documentation features detailed drawings of contemporary streetscapes with the façades of each building (Fig. 28). Buildings are documented by street and tax number, while the fort is segmented and the location of each building in each segment is shown with a basic ground plan of each building (Fig. 29). In addition, a table of descriptions of buildings includes each building's function, roof, building materials, probable period, number of stories, transformations and special remarks (Fig. 29).

The survey included in this study, carried out in 2016, covers nearly 90% of the buildings, including the ones surveyed in 1992 as well as new infill (total 494). However, the survey does not include the majority of buildings in the schools,[244] army camp and Black Fort (due to security reasons), while it does cover all private houses, buildings and other government establishments. The identification of each building unit or household is based on its tax number.

In addition, the "Survey on Social, Economic and Cultural Information of Galle Fort," carried out by the Galle Heritage Foundation in 2009, was also used for comparison on some occasions.

The Process of Comparison

The comparison aimed to identify changes both in as well as behind the façades, which are not visible on the streetscape; however, the façades were subjected to severe changes due to both approved and "illegal" developments. Therefore, drone images were used to identify the changes behind the façades. Changes were identified through visual comparison, and the analysis was based on SPSS, as is described later. The following five steps were taken in the process of comparison.

Step 1: Photographic documentation of buildings

The façades of each building in the fort were photographed in March and April 2016, including the ones recorded in 1992 as well as the new infill from 1992 onward. They were ordered by street and tax number based on the combined use of Kuruppu and Wijeruriya (1992) and the Cadastral Map of Galle Fort (2013). The cadastral map was mainly used to identify changes in some of the tax numbers (associated with subdivisions and new infill of buildings) and ownership of properties.

Step 2: Drone coverage of the whole fort (21 April 2016) to identify the architectural changes behind the façades

The drone was flown manually over each street to capture the street view of either side, while important groups of buildings and individual buildings of interest (monuments, buildings with central courtyards, "illegal" developments, ongoing

242 The regulation is separately discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2.

243 The work does not include the majority of the buildings in the schools (Southlands and All Saints Colleges), the Army Camp, the Black Fort with several buildings and three minor streets, namely Leyn Baan Cross Street, Small Modara Bay Street and Front Cross Street, with less than 30 buildings. In addition, a few buildings in Leyn Baan Street were also missing.

244 Southlands College and All Saints' College.



Fig. 30 Street view, Pedlar Street.



Fig. 31 Group of buildings, Church Street.



Fig. 32 Individual buildings of interest: Dutch Reformed Church.

construction, etc.) were specially photographed (Figs. 30–32). Due to the difficulty of flying the drone from the middle of the fort, with its narrow streets, and disturbing telephone and electricity wires, it was mostly flown from the ramparts and outer roads to the interior, as shown by the map below (Fig. 33).

Step 3: Create an SPSS dataset for the buildings in order to compare the changes between 1992 and 2016, including the following information (Table 04)

Step 4: Visual comparison of the functional and architectural changes (mentioned in the above table) of each building between 1992 and 2016 (illustrated

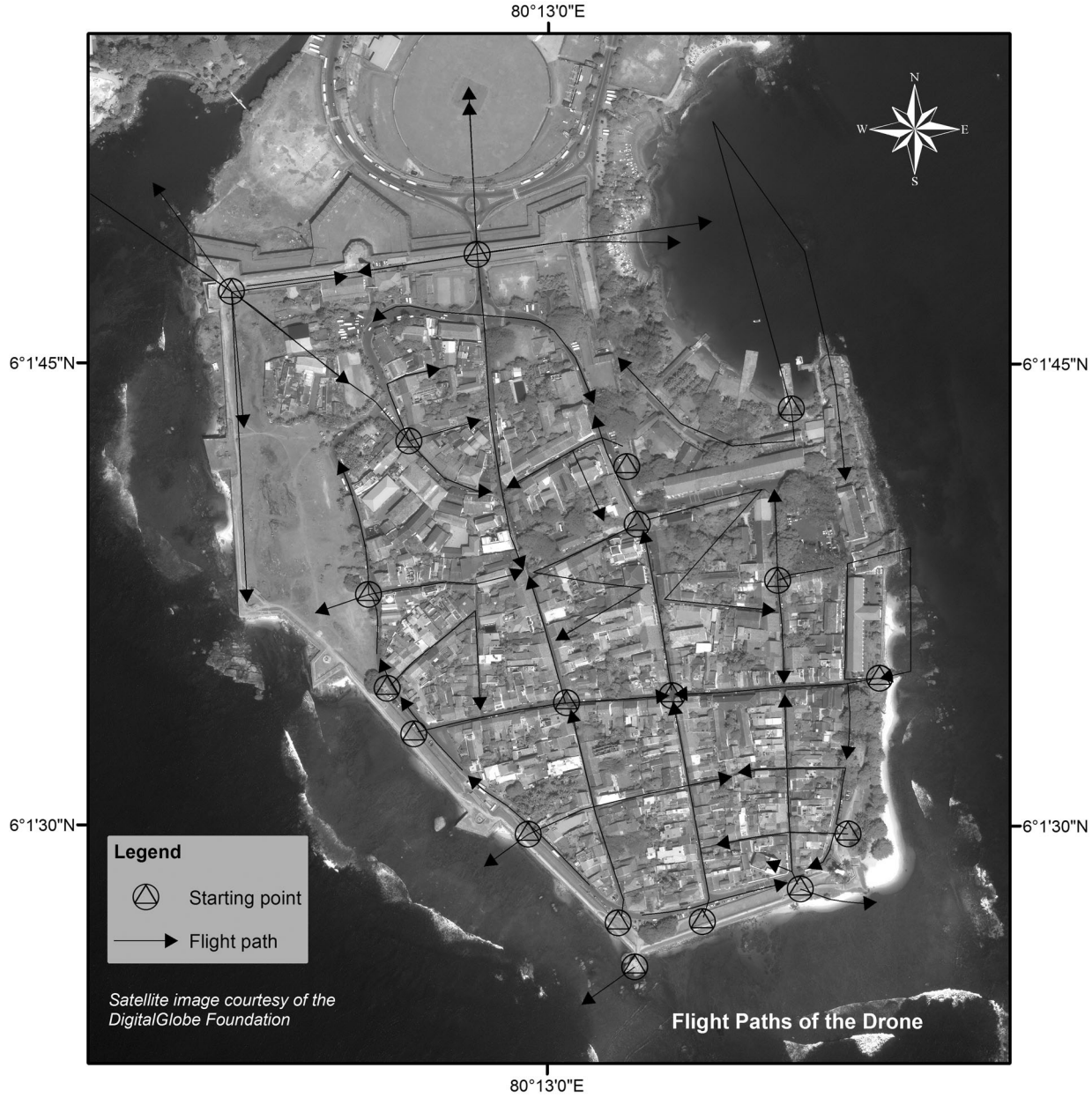


Fig. 33 Flight paths of the drone.

	General details of the building		
1	No	text	tax number
2	Recorded	yes/no	whether recorded in 1992 documentation
3	New	yes/no	whether the building is newly constructed
4	Subdiv _2016	yes/no	whether the building is subdivided
5	Subdiv_nos2016	text	tax numbers of the subdivided property
6	Merged_2016	yes/no	whether the building has merged
7	Merge-nos2016	text	tax number of the merged property
8	Bld_name	text	building name (if applicable)
9	Street	text	street name
10	Ownership	local/foreign/local & foreign	property ownership
11	Period_1992	Dutch/English/Modern, etc.	period identified by 1992 work
	Function (1992 and 2016)		
12	Fnc_1992	residential/commercial/ residential & commercial/ institutional, etc.	function in 1992
13	Fnc_2016	”	function in 2016
14	Fnc_ch	yes/no	whether the function had changed by 2016
15	Com_trst	null/ tourism/ non-tourism/ tourism & non-tourism/ OC	whether the building is currently associated with tourism
16	Com_type	null/ hotel/ restaurant/ gem & jewellery/ bank/ etc.	type of commercial activity
	Façade (1992 and 2016)		
17	Fçd_1992	contributory/ moderate/ disturbing/NE/ NR	façade in 1992
18	Fçd_2016	contributory/ moderate/ disturbing/ OC/ etc.	façade in 2016
19	Fçd_ch	yes/no	whether the façade had changed by 2016
20	Fçd_shop	yes/no	has the façade been converted into a shop
	Behind the façade and overall changes		
21	Con_ behind	high/ moderate/ low/ none/ NC/ OC/ etc.	nature of the constructions behind the façade
22	Overall_ch	contributory/ moderate/ disturbing/ OC	nature of the overall change
	Roof materials (1992 and 2016)		
23	Rf_1998	half round/ Calicut/ asbestos/ concrete/ etc.	roof material in 1992
24	Rf_2016	half round/ Calicut/ asbestos/ concrete/ etc.	roof materials in 2016
25	Rf_ch	yes/ no	whether the roof materials had changed by 2016
26	Add_solar	yes/ no	whether solar panels had been added to the roof
	Floors (1992 and 2016)		
27	Fl_1992	1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ NE, NR	number of floors in 1992
28	Fl_2016	1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ OC	number of floors in 2016
29	Fl_ad	yes/ no	whether floors had been added by 2016

30	Fl_facade	1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ OC	number of floors in the façade
31	Fl_hidden	yes/ no	are the floors not visible in the façade
32	Fl_attic	yes/ no	is there an attic
33	Fl_ch	1 to 2/ 1 to 2 and attic/ 1 to 3/ 1 to 4/ 2 to 3/ 2 to 3 and attic/ 2 to 4/ 3 to 4/ OC/ NE	nature of floor change by 2016
	Verandah (1992 and 2016)		
34	Vrd_1992	yes/ no/ closed verandah/ half verandah/ NR/ NE]	whether the building had a verandah in 1992
35	Vrd_2016	null/yes/no/ closed verandah/ half verandah/ NR/ NE/ OC]	whether the building had a verandah in 2016
36	Vrd_no2016	yes/ no/ NR, NE/ OC	verandah existed in 1992 but not in 2016
37	Vrd_add2016	yes/ no/ OC/ NR	whether a verandah had been newly added by 2016
	Central Courtyard (CCY) (1992 and 2016)		
38	CCY_1992	null/ yes/ no/ NC/ NR/ NE	whether the building had a CCY in 1992
39	CCY_2016	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether the building had a CCY in 2016
40	CCY_add	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether a CCY had been added by 2016
	Side Courtyard (SCY) (1992 and 2016)		
41	SCY_1992	null/ yes/ no/ NC/ NR/ NE	whether the building had a SCY in 1992
42	SCY_2016	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether the building had a SCY in 2016
43	SCY_add	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether a SCY had been added by 2016
	Features		
44	Sp_ft	yes/ no/ NR/ NE	are there special features
45	Old_dw	yes/ no/ NR/ NE/ OC	are there old doors/windows
46	Stable	null/ yes/ no/ NR/ NE	is there an old stable
	Building colour (2016)		
47	Colour	white/ beige/ grey/ yellow/ etc.	external colour of the building
	Other Additions (antique doors & windows, rooftop and swimming pool)		
48	Add_dw	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether antique doors/windows were added
49	Add_roof top	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether a roof top had been added
50	Add_pool	null/ yes/ no/ OC	whether a swimming pool had been added
	Abandonment		
51	Abd_ 1992	yes/ no	was the building abandoned in 1992
52	Abd_ 2016	yes/no	was the building abandoned in 2016
	Architectural style (contemporary or colonial)		
53	Style 90_ 1992	yes/ no/ NR/ NE	does the façade bear the contemporary styles of the 1990s
54	Style 90_ 2016	yes/ no	does the façade still bear the style of the 1990s
55	Style-colonial-1992	yes/ no/ NR/ NE	did the façade bear the colonial style in 1992

56	Style-colonial 2016	yes/ no/ OC	did the façade bear the colonial style in 2016
	Other		
57	Demolish	yes/ no/ could be/ NR	has the building been demolished and rebuilt
58	Illegal	yes/ no/ could be/ not clear/ NR	are there illegal developments
59	Modi_ style	not modified/ compatible/ incompatible/ OC/ NR	nature of modification
60	Sp_remaks	text	special remarks
61	Con_projects	yes/ no	has the building been conserved by the Preservation of Private Houses Project
62	App_dev	yes/ no/ could be	has the building been changed by an approved development
63	Comments	text	comments

[OC: ongoing development; NC: not clear; NE: did not exist in 1992; NR: not recorded in 1992.]

Table 4 Information recorded in the SPSS dataset. *[OC: ongoing development; NC: not clear; NE: did not exist in 1992; NR: not recorded in 1992.]*

by one example in Fig. 34) and the addition of these data to the SPSS dataset.

Step 5: Analysis of the building stock between 1992 and 2016 with the simple descriptive statistical functions of SPSS using the created datasets.

3.3.2 CREATION OF THE GIS DATABASE

One of the challenges in the creation of a GIS map was the unavailability of a base map that shows the land use of Galle Fort with the individual buildings by tax number. The land use map of Kuruppu and Wijesuriya (1992) and the improved version of the same map by Boxem and Fuheren (2011) did not identify the buildings by tax number. In addition, a large number of subdivisions and amalgamations as well as new developments have changed the shapes of the buildings substantially, and were not included in these past maps. Although the fort's GIS map, prepared by the Galle Municipal Council in 2015, showed the tax numbers, the shapes of the buildings were not accurate due to the use of low-resolution satellite imagery.

Therefore, the Cadastral Map of Galle Fort (2013), with a high resolution (1:1000), was used to identify the land plots with individual tax numbers (and land ownership). The map was georectified and the individual properties were digitized by tax number and street. Then, a georectified high resolution World View 3 Panchromatic image (2017) was overlaid on it, and the individual buildings were digitized in each land plot identified at first. The method is illustrated in the following flow chart (Fig. 35).

The tax number was considered a unique key in the GIS map as well as the SPSS dataset. The SPSS dataset was connected to the GIS map to allow visualize the data as well as the changes in land use over the period. The analysis was mainly done using simple queries, and the GIS map was mainly used to visualize the changes in building stock discussed in chapter 5.

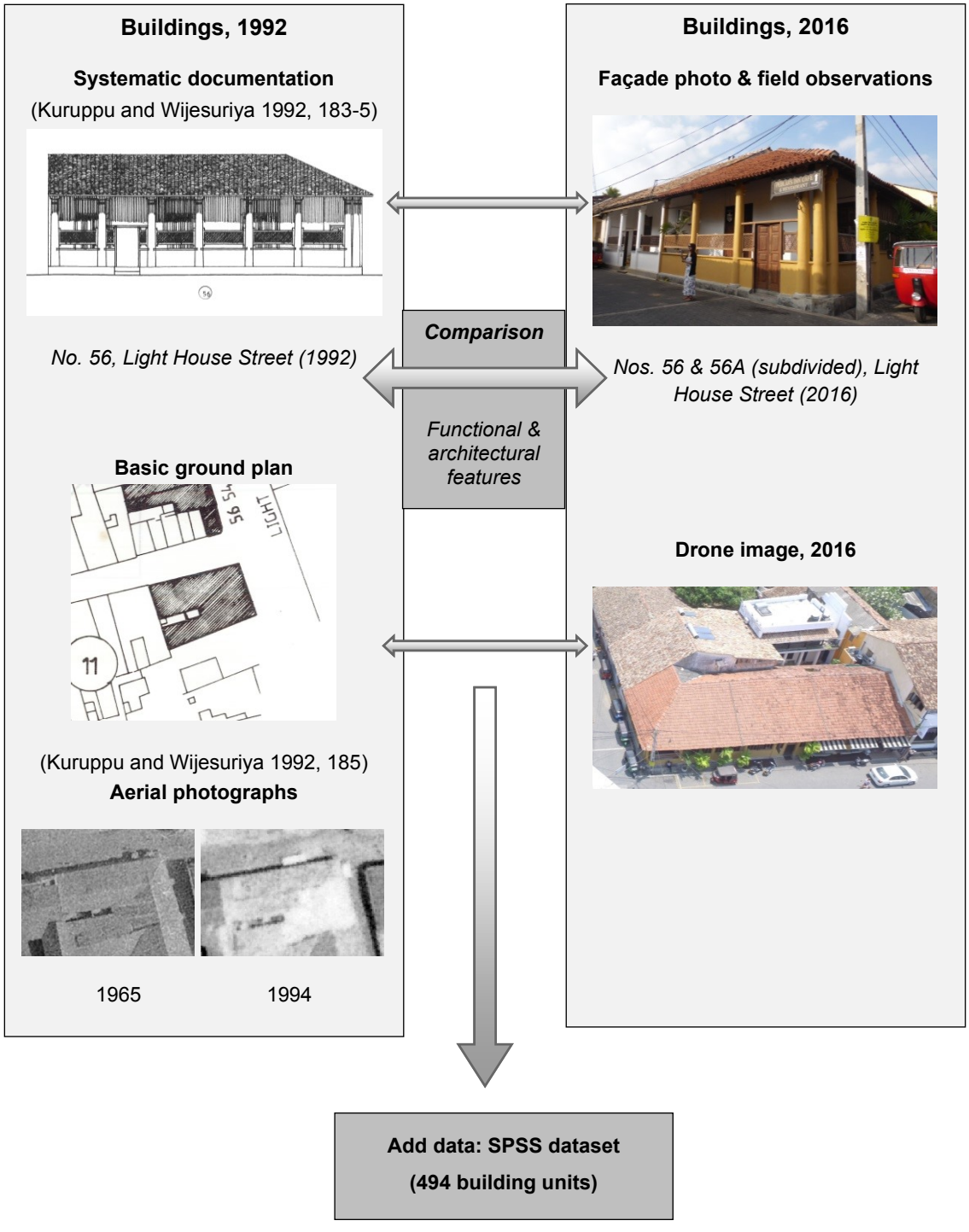


Fig. 34 The flow of the comparison of building stock.

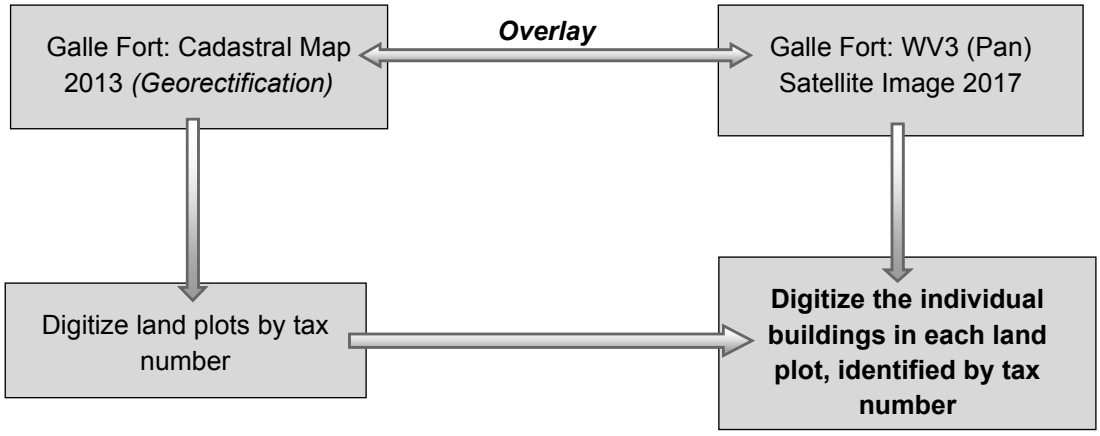


Fig. 35 Flow of the creation of the GIS map.

4. Institutional and Legal Framework

The chapter focuses on the institutional and legal framework for the management of World Heritage property, which is mainly handled by the state sector with a top-to-bottom approach (Table 5). While it discusses the obligations of the state party according to UNESCO, with special reference to the legal and administrative framework for the protection of Galle Fort, it also focuses on how this framework addresses other factors, including financial measures, research and benefits to the lives of members of the fort community.

4.1 INTERNATIONAL LEVEL: INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS

4.1.1 UNESCO AND THE ORIGIN OF THE WORLD HERITAGE CONVENTION

UNESCO and the origin of the World Heritage Convention were discussed in sub-chapter 2.2. Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) joined UNESCO on 14 November 1949.[245] The country accepted the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) on 6 June 1980, and thus Sri Lanka is legally bound to follow the convention. With the acceptance of the convention, the country is also responsible for following the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention.

The Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO (SLNCU), established in 1949 under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, is the government arm tasked with implementing the UNESCO agenda in Sri Lanka.[246] National Commissions of UNESCO were established under Article VII of the UNESCO Constitution (1945), and were further empowered by the Charter of the National Commissions for UNESCO (1978).

4.1.2 THE CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE, 1972

The World Heritage Convention is discussed separately in sub-chapter 2.2. According to Article 5 of the convention (1972), the obligations of the states parties for the protection, conservation and presentation of the World Heritage-listed properties include the following:

(a) to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community and to integrate the protection of that heritage into comprehensive planning programmes;

(b) to set up within its territories, where such services do not exist, one or more services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage with an appropriate staff and possessing the means to discharge their functions;

(c) to develop scientific and technical studies and research and to work out such operating methods as will make the State capable of counteracting the dangers that threaten its cultural or natural heritage;

(d) to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage; and

(e) to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and to encourage scientific research in this field.

245 Available at http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/worldwide/asia-and-the-pacific/sri-lanka/ (accessed 16 July 2018).

246 Source: Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO, http://www.slncu.lk/index.php/joomla/featured-articles (accessed 16 July 2018).

Institution		Legislation
International Level		
World Heritage Committee, 1977 World Heritage Centre, 1992	*World Heritage Convention, 1972* *Operational Guidelines, 2017 (revised)*	
Advisory Bodies to World Heritage Committee: ICOMOS (Soft Laws)	*Venice Charter, 1964; Washington Charter, 1987; Valetta Principles, 2011, etc.*	
National Level (also functions within local level)		
Department of Archaeology, 1890 [Key responsible agency]	*Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940)* *Antiquities (Amendment) Acts (2 & 22, 1955; 24,1998)* *Ceylon Government Gazette (14959, 1971)*	
Urban Development Authority, 1978 [Regulate building activities]	*Urban Development Authority Act (41, 1978) and subsequent amendments* *Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009*	
Central Cultural Fund,* 1980	*Central Cultural Fund Act (57, 1980)*	
Local Level		
Galle Heritage Foundation, 2004 [Limited management powers]	*Galle Heritage Foundation Act (7, 1994)*	
Galle Heritage Planning Sub-Committee,** circa 1997 onwards	*Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009*	
Galle Municipal Council, 1866	*Municipal Councils Ordinance (29, 1947) and subsequent amendments*	

** less involvement in management; ** a committee with the representatives from national- and local-level institutions*

Table 5 Key institutions and legislation involved in the management of Galle Fort.

In addition, the states parties should not take any deliberate measures that might damage cultural or natural heritage, according to Article 6.3 of the convention (1972). The convention provides direct but limited monetary benefits to states parties for safeguarding these properties, including the access to the World Heritage Fund, emergency assistance, technical assistance and indirect access to various other donors. The World Heritage recognition of the Old Town of Galle resulted in positive monetary benefits, primarily generous funds from the Dutch government, as elaborated in sub-chapter 4.4.3.

The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (hereafter also referred to as "Operational Guidelines"), a document that is continuously revised in light of new concepts and experiences, is developed by the World Heritage Committee for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.[247] The highlights of the Operational Guidelines are the process of inscribing properties on the World Heritage list, including the criteria for inscribing said properties; monitoring the state of conservation of the inscribed properties; managing the World Heritage Fund; and securing international assistance. Increasing the consideration of the community in the context of the Operational Guidelines and the notion of World Heritage is discussed under sub-chapter 2.4.2

4.1.3 THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE AND WORLD HERITAGE CENTRE

In terms of Article 8 of the World Heritage Convention (1972), the World Heritage Committee (hereafter also referred to as "WHC") is an intergovernmental committee established within UNESCO for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value. The WHC, which meets annually, consists of representatives from 21 states

247 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 16 July 2018).

parties to the convention.[248] It established the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, which meets during the sessions of the committee as frequently as deemed necessary and consists of seven states parties elected annually by the committee.[249]

The WHC decides which properties should be inscribed on the World Heritage list and which should be removed from the World Heritage in Danger list.[250] According to Paragraph 169 of the Operational Guidelines (2017), the WHC examines the annual state of conservation (SOC) reports of inscribed properties under threat, and ask the states parties to take appropriate action when the properties are not being properly managed.[251] The committee has expressed its concern over the intrusive development projects in the buffer zone of Galle Fort, namely the Galle International Cricket Stadium and Galle Harbour Development Project, which are discussed separately under sub-chapters 7.7.2 and 7.7.3. In addition, the annual decisions of the WHC related to the Old Town of Galle are analysed under sub-chapter 4.5.5. The WHC also defines the World Heritage Fund and allocates financial assistance on request from states parties.

Established in 1992, the World Heritage Centre is the focal point of and coordinator within UNESCO for all matters related to World Heritage.[252] According to the Operational Guidelines (2017), the centre functions as the Secretariat of the World Heritage Committee, and the Director General of UNESCO has designated the Director of the World Heritage Centre as Secretary of the World Heritage Committee.[253] Among the responsibilities of the centre are organizing the annual sessions of the World Heritage Committee and its Bureau; implementing the decisions of World Heritage Committee; providing advice to states parties on the preparation of site nominations; organizing international assistance from the World Heritage Fund upon request; and coordinating both the reporting on the condition of sites, and the emergency action undertaken when a site is threatened.[254]

4.1.4 ADVISORY BODIES TO THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE AND SOFT LAWS

In terms of the paragraphs 30 to 37 of the Operational Guidelines (2017), the advisory bodies of the WHC consist of the ICCROM, ICOMOS and IUCN, which mainly leverage their expertise to provide advice on implementing the convention.[255] Among these three, ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites), a non-governmental organization founded in 1965 and whose work is based on the Venice Charter (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, 1964), is the most influential on Galle Fort. The Report of the ICOMOS Monitoring Mission to Dambulla, Kandy and Galle, Sri Lanka in 1998[256] was the first influential policy document that recommended the state party to design guidelines for the renovation of private houses in Galle Fort, which resulted in the formulation of the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2).

These international and non-governmental institutions, including the above, are responsible for the preparation of non-binding (soft) laws in the field of heritage protection. Although the state party is not legally bound to follow these, there are occasions when some of these principals are used in local policies and laws. The most influential international soft law was the Venice Charter (ICOMOS, 1964), which has a strong material-based conservation approach (as

248 Articles 19 and 21 of the World Heritage Convention (1972). However, this becomes four years in practice, according to UNESCO. Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/ (accessed 16 July 2018).

249 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/committee/ (accessed 16 July 2018); Paragraph 19 of the Operational Guidelines (2017) is available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 22 January 2019).

250 Paragraphs 153 and 191 (b) of the Operational Guidelines (2017) are available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 22 January 2019).

251 The Operational Guidelines (2017) are available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 22 January 2019).

252 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/world-heritage-centre/ (accessed 16 July 2018).

253 Paragraphs 3 (c) and 27 of the Operational Guidelines (2017) are available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 22 January 2019).

254 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/world-heritage-centre/ (accessed 16 July 2018); Paragraph 28 of the Operational Guidelines (2017) is available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 22 January 2019).

255 The Operational Guidelines (2017) are available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 22 January 2019).

256 Formulated by Nishimura and Wijiratne (1998) and available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451/documents/ (accessed 13 July 13 2018).

discussed in sub-chapter 2.2.2). The first local policy document of 1987 included a recommendation for monitoring colour schemes in the heritage city, which derived from Article 6 of the Venice Charter (1964) and developed into an accepted colour code in the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009.[257] In contrast, the requirements of the community as they relate to living in inhabited historic cities, highlighted by soft laws like the Washington Charter (Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas, 1987), the Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns and Urban Areas (2011) and UNESCO's Recommendation on Historic Urban Landscape (discussed in sub-chapter 2.3), are not positively integrated into the formulation of local laws.

4.2 NATIONAL LEVEL: INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS

4.2.1 DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The Department of Archaeology (hereafter also referred to as "DOA") was established in 1890, during the British colonial occupation, as the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, and currently operates under the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Cultural Affairs (March 2019).[258] The DOA is empowered by the Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940 as the national apex institution for preserving and maintaining the country's archaeological heritage, and is therefore the main agency responsible for World Heritage property.[259] The DOA has the authority over the declaration of monuments and archaeological reserves in the country, and these provisions are discussed below as they relate to Galle Fort.

The DOA is headed by the Director General of Archaeology, a position held by a highly qualified heritage professional. It is the key authority responsible for taking higher-level management decisions regarding the heritage city and compiling annual state of conservation reports for the World Heritage Committee. The DOA implemented the first preservation plan (1987) for Galle Fort soon after its World Heritage recognition, and also formulated the first management plan, "Integrated Management System 2015," in collaboration with Galle Heritage Foundation. The DOA's active involvement in the documentation and conservation of the monuments in Galle Fort at the initiation of the World Heritage project (discussed in sub-chapter 1.4.1) has now declined with the increasing involvement of Galle Heritage Foundation (discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.1).

Apart from the above responsibilities, the DOA's involvement in the heritage city is significant in regulating developments through representing the Planning Sub-Committee (the committee that regulates development at Galle Fort, which will be discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2) and taking legal action against illegal developments. In addition, the maintenance work of several monuments, including the ramparts, is the responsibility of the DOA. These are mainly handled by the Southern Regional (or Provincial) Office of the DOA, which is located within Galle Fort, and headed by a Regional Assistant Director who is also responsible for granting permission for minor developments that do not require the approval of the Planning Sub-Committee. The Regional Office does not have a separate department for handling the affairs of the heritage city, as Galle Heritage Foundation was established specifically for the heritage city. It employs a site officer for the fort, replaced by a site manager in September 2017, who is mainly responsible for carrying out these duties. Neither the DOA nor its Southern Regional Office engages in community work in the heritage city, a major weakness according to the former Director General of the DOA (2016).[260]

257 Article 70.18, Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009.

258 It is important to note that government ministries of Sri Lanka often change with the government. The respective ministries of these key responsible agencies also changed over the four years of this study, and the ministries mentioned in this chapter were prevalent in March 2019. For example, the DOA was affiliated with the Ministry of National Heritage (November 2010 to January 2015) and Ministry of Higher Education and Cultural Affairs (January 2015 to November 2018), respectively, and currently falls under the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Cultural Affairs. Thus, when discussing incidents or short cases, the associated ministry is mentioned as the prevalent ministry of that period in this study.

259 In particular, the powers vested in the Director General of Archaeology by the amendments (10, 24 of 1998) are as follows: (40 a) to formulate a national archaeological policy and to coordinate and implement such policy after it is approved by the government, and (40 c) to protect and maintain such archaeological heritage.

260 Interview, 26 April 2016.

4.2.2 ANTIQUITIES ORDINANCE NO. 9 OF 1940: A COLONIAL LAW MANIFESTS A WESTERN MATERIAL-BASED CONSERVATION APPROACH

Although the Antiquities Ordinance is a powerful colonial law, the law does have provisions for dealing with historic urban landscapes, which lack in Sri Lanka, unlike in Europe. In contrast, the majority of Sri Lanka's monuments are Buddhist religious monuments (as briefly elaborated in sub-chapter 1.3.1), while its ancient cities, built by the native kings, were mostly ruined (except Kandy) when the colonial Archaeological Survey of Ceylon commenced its work. Thus the law, which deals with monuments and archaeological reserves, does not deal specifically with historic buildings, but considers them within the broader category of monuments.

Limitations in the Legal Protection of World Heritage Property

Against this background, there are some practical issues in the implementation of the law with respect to Galle Fort, a historic urban landscape with historic buildings. The Antiquities Ordinance provides legal provisions for the Department of Archaeology to acquire legal authority over monuments and archaeological reserves by orders published in the government gazette in three methods: declaring monuments on state land as "ancient monuments;" declaring monuments under private ownership that are in danger[261] as "protected monuments;" and declaring sites of archaeological importance on state land as "archaeological reserves."[262] While the ramparts of the fort and number of properties within the fort are (legally) owned by the state, the greater majority of properties in Galle Fort are under private ownership, including residential and commercial buildings of colonial origin. This land ownership mix has made it difficult for the DOA to take the whole fort into its custody in any way.

The first preservation plan implemented by the Department of Archaeology (discussed in 4.5.1) states that the ramparts "were declared a protected monument" (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 8; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 34). However, the ramparts have not been "declared" a protected monument by the government gazette so far. In fact, only monuments under private ownership can be declared protected monuments, while the ramparts are owned by the state. In contrast, the "Integrated Management System 2015" states, "The World Heritage Site of the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications have been included as an ancient monument since the fortifications have been built prior to the 2nd March 1815" (Mandawala 2015, 37). Section 48 of the Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940) interprets "ancient monument" as "any monument lying or being found in Sri Lanka which dates or may reasonably be believed to date from a period prior to the 2nd day of March, 1815," the day the country surrendered to the British Empire.[263] Therefore, this identification is justifiable with reference to the "fortifications" under state ownership. The "Integrated Management System 2015" also includes this contradictory statement: "although few houses which have been built before 2nd March 1815 could be categorized as ancient monuments none of the houses has been declared as protected monuments" (Mandawala 2015, 37). None of the privately-owned historic buildings within the fortifications has been declared a protected monument, as this requires the consent of the owners, which is discussed separately below. In addition, several buildings in the fort were built after 1815.

Although the Dutch ramparts, the main physical feature of the fort, were surveyed in 1976 at the request of the Department of Archaeology in order to be declared an archaeological reserve, this important step was somehow never finalized. It was only in 2016 that the Director General of Archaeology requested

261 Monuments under private ownership that are in in danger of destruction or removal, or damage from neglect or injudicious treatment, and that it is in the public interest to protect, can be declared as protected monuments by the gazette by the order of the appropriate minister, if there are no objections from the owners (Section 18 and 19, Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940).

262 Section 16 [Section 5, Antiquities (Amendment) Act No. 24 of 1998], Section 18, Section 19 and Section 33 [Section 3, Antiquities (Amendment) Act No. 2 of 1955] of the Antiquities Ordinance.

263 On 10 March 1815, the country (or rather, the Kandyan Kingdom in the middle of the country surrounded by the Maritime Provinces, which were already under British control) surrendered to the British Empire after signing the Kandyan Convention (*Udarata Givisuma*) between the British and the chiefs of the Kandyan Kingdom. The convention deposed King Sri Vikrama Rājasigha (1798–1815), the last ruling monarch, who was strategically betrayed by his chiefs, as elaborated by Obeyesekere (2018).

the permission of the Land Commissioner General to declare the ramparts of Galle Fort an archaeological reserve, a request that is still being processed.[264] Generally, state lands with multiple monuments are declared archaeological reserves. Thus, trying to declare a rampart of a fortress an archaeological reserve is also an exception and limitation of the law with respect to historic urban landscapes.

400-Yard (365.76-Metre) Control Zone, 1971: **A Fast and Strategic Alternative**

The Department of Archaeology realized the lack of legal protection for property during the 1971 insurgency,[265] when the military moved into the fort and repaired some of the historic buildings in military style, neglecting their archaeological value.[266] In order to protect the historic buildings inside the fortress, the DOA applied a 400-yard (365.76-metre) control/buffer zone to the Dutch ramparts in a 1971 government gazette (no. 14959), under Section 24 of the Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940) ("Ceylon Government Gazette" May 21, 1971 ; Silva 1992; Mandawala 2015):

"Regulations may be made prohibiting, or restricting subject to the prescribed conditions, the erection of buildings or the carrying on of mining, quarrying, or blasting operations on any land within the prescribed distance of any ancient monument situated on State land or any protected monument" (Section 24, Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940).

Although the rampart was not declared an "ancient monument" by the gazette before applying the 400-yard (365.76-metre) rule, it could be considered an ancient monument since it was built prior to 1815, as discussed above, and thus it was possible to apply the rule.

Apparently, this was the fastest solution the DOA could take to ensure the legal protection of the fort at that moment, as declaring an archaeological reserve is a long process that involves several government institutions.[267] The law covers 400 yards (365.76 metres) inside and outside the rampart walls (Fig. 36), and thus the whole fort and a radius of 400 yards (365.76 metres) outside the fort "comes under the preview of Director General of Archaeology as there is no point which exceeds 400 yards from the rampart" (Silva 1992, 3). However, only developments within the prescribed area can be regulated by this law.

Generally, this law is applied outside the monuments, and this is a special case in which the rule was automatically applied to the interior, the monument being the rampart walls of a fort. The rule was applied for similar cases twice prior to this, in 1952 and in April 1971, regarding the ramparts and the moats of Sigiriya, the "indigenous" rock fortress and the ramparts of Fort Frederick at Trincomalee, a colonial fort.[268] Although this law has been applied to 11 colonial forts so far, including Galle, only three colonial forts have declared archaeological reserves.[269]

Roland Silva, a former Archaeological Commissioner, states that the Department of Archaeology held a major seminar to notify "all the dignitaries" regarding the application of such "strict laws" (Silva 1992, 4). While Silva (1992) identified this as the most powerful law applied to the fort by the Department of Archaeology, "Integrated

264 A letter from Director General of Archaeology to the Land Commissioner General, "Declare the World Heritage of Galle Dutch Ramparts as an Archaeological Reserve," 20 January 2016, requested the permission of the Land Commissioner General to declare the ramparts of Galle Fort an archaeological reserve.

265 See footnote 107, chapter 1.

266 Discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.1.

267 First, the proposed land owned by the state has to be surveyed by the Survey Department, and the order to survey it has to be given by the respective Divisional Secretary (of the Divisional Secretariat) where the monuments are located, upon the request of the Department of Archaeology. Afterwards, the DOA has to seek the Land Commissioner General's approval to declare the area an archaeological reserve, with the submission of the survey plan showing the ruins. Finally, the land has to be declared an archaeological reserve by the government gazette.

268 *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No. 10370, 21 March 1952; *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No. 14954, 16 April 1971.

269 The nine forts apart from Galle and Trincomalee are: Jaffna Fort (1971); the ramparts of the Dutch fort at Batticaloa (1971); the Dutch fort at Mannar and its ramparts (1971); the ramparts of Matara Fort (1974); the (Dutch) Star Fort at Matara (1974); Katuwana Fort (2001); the Dutch fort at Rathnapura (2004); Menikkadawara (Portuguese) Fort (2004); and Ruwanwella (British) Fort (2004) (*Ceylon Government Gazette*, No.14959, 21 May 1971; *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No. 14967, 16 July 1971; *Ceylon Government Gazette*, 11 April 1974; *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No. 95, 18 January 1974; *Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 1214, 7 December 2001; *Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 1344, 4 June 2004). The three colonial forts declared as Archeological Reserves are Kalpitiya Fort (1964), Ruwanwella Fort (1965) and Fort Frederick at Trincomalee (*Ceylon Government Gazette*, No. 13931, 24 January 1964; *Ceylon Government Gazette*, No. 14480, 13 August 1965; *Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, 16 January 1981). Thus, two forts, namely Ruwanwella and Fort Frederick, are both Archaeological Reserves as well as subject to the 400-yard (365.76-metre) rule, providing them full protection.

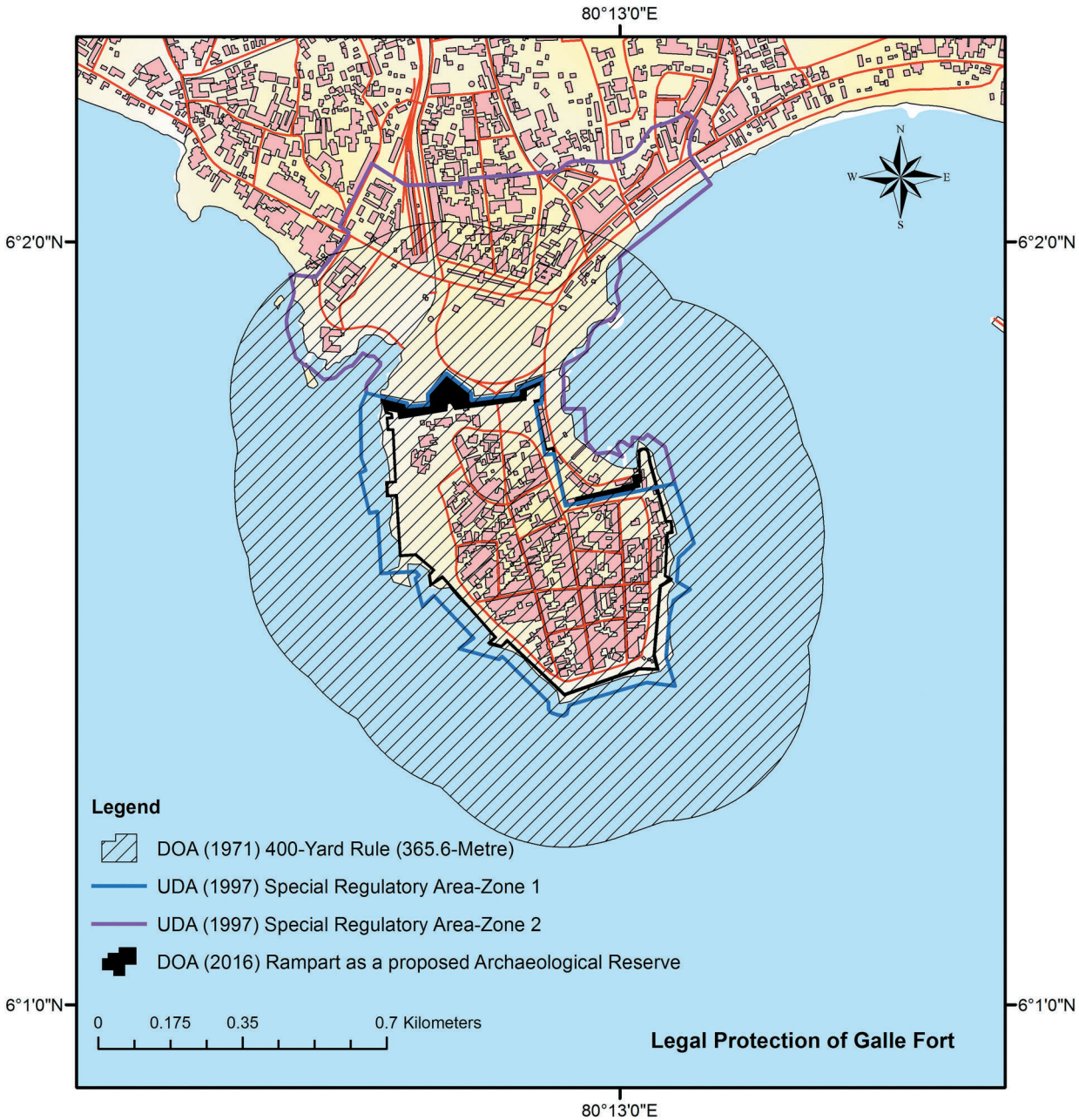


Fig. 36 Legal protection measures of the World Heritage Property initiated by the Department of Archaeology and Urban Development Authority.

Management System 2015" equates the law to a building regulation.[270] In practice, the law, which is not well articulated, does not serve as a proper building regulation, which led to the implementation of the Special Regulations, 2009 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2 and 4.6.3, and prevalent since 1997) amid growing development requirements.

The interviews and conversations with residents revealed they were aware that developments have been restricted in the fort since the 1970s, as briefly mentioned in sub-chapter 6.2.1, and indicate community awareness of this law.[271] In practice, the law is mainly implemented inside the rampart walls, while it was hardly used to control development activities in the outer buffer zone.[272] However, the law became important with the initiation of the large-scale development projects outside the fortress walls (discussed in sub-chapter 7.7). Thus, it took nearly 40 years to survey and mark the outer buffer zone of the land, while the process for the outer buffer zone of the sea was initiated in 2014, and gained importance with the launch of the Galle Harbour Development Project.[273] However, the short case discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.2 shows that there were challenging situations in which the heritage authorities failed to control intrusive developments in the outer buffer zone despite this law.

Unsuccessful Attempt to Declare Private Houses "Protected Monuments"

Although the Department of Archaeology took the initiative to declare 87 historically important houses under private ownership as protected monuments through the gazette in 2007, it was stalled due to objections from the owners (WHC 2010, 127). The owners staged a protest in front of the Department of Archaeology, along with forwarding their objections in writing to the Director General of Archaeology (the formal procedure by law).[274] Furthermore, the community also approached the line minister, who had to consider their objections,[275] since serious objections could stall the process, according to the Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940).[276] The reason behind the objections was the fact that the Director General of Archaeology's power over a protected monument overrides the owners' rights, as was known to these property owners.[277] As per the ordinance, commencing or carrying out any restorations, repairs,

270 "The Archaeological Department was quite nervous with the application of such a hard set of rules where no private or public buildings could theoretically even change the paint of their façade without the approval of the Department of Archaeology" (Silva 1992, 3-4); "In keeping with these provisions, the Department of Archaeology is consequently responsible for the protection of ancient and protected monuments, including the prescription of building regulations, approving requests for building permits and for any other construction activities within the protected zone which now stands as 400 yards. The Department of Archaeology is given the authority to stop inappropriate and/or illegal building activities" (Mandawala 2015, 36).

271 "The Archaeology Law was prevalent even back in the '70s. My (late) father built a sun shade in this shop [which can be seen even today], and he was charged by the Department of Archaeology with blocking the road with the sun shade. Later, the Department of Archaeology withdrew the case, as my father agreed to remove (demolish) it whenever requested by the Department of Archaeology" (personal conversation with Ms. Hewage, 12 May 2017).

272 In contrast, the law is put into practice with private properties in the outer buffer zone of Sigiriya, since the land inside the moat and rampart (including the moat and rampart) is owned by the state. Thus, the practical use of the law changes according to the situation.

273 The larger part of the 400-yard (365.67-metre) outer buffer zone is sea, as shown in Fig. 36. While the buffer zone of the land was surveyed and demarcated in 2010 (nearly 40 years after its implementation), it was only in 2014 that the DOA requested the Divisional Secretariat to survey and demarcate the boundary of the sea. At this juncture, the Divisional Secretary (of the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat, Galle) requested the Survey Department, Galle, with the assistance of the Sri Lanka Ports Authority, to give priority to the matter, as the "Department of Archaeology had to submit the map including the buffer zone of the sea to the UNESCO regarding the clearance for Galle Harbour Development Project" (letter from Divisional Secretariat, Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat, Galle to the Senior Superintendent of Surveys, Galle on the "Galle Harbour Development Project/Mapping the Galle Fort Protective Zone," 10 December 2014).

274 After the notification of the proposed list of protected monuments in the gazette by the DOA minister responsible, there is a period in which the public may forward their objections against the proposed order, which are then forwarded to the minister for the final decision through the Director General of Archaeology (Section 19, Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940). When the minister publishes the list of proposed monuments in the government gazette, the owners may forward their objections in writing, which is the formal way. However, in this case they also demonstrated against the proposal in front of the Department of Archaeology in Colombo. The DOA forwarded the objections to the line minister according to the Antiquities Ordinance, and subsequently the Ministry requested Galle Heritage Foundation to submit a report on the matter. However, the DOA did not receive this report from GHF, and the work did not proceed. This incident shows that serious objections can always stall the process (personal conversation with the officer responsible at the DOA, January 2016).

275 Personal conversation with a community member who participated in the protest, March 2016.

276 The objections were specified in terms of Section 19, Antiquities Ordinance No 9 of 1940.

277 Interview with Mr Fowzie, 16 February 2016.

alterations or additions in connection with any protected monument must be done with the permit of Director General of Archaeology, who also has the authority to refuse the issuance of such permits.[278] According to a community member, the selection of houses was not based on contemporary research, but merely on the DOA's 1992 documentation, which is already outdated, a fact denied by the DOA officer responsible for the matter.[279] However, 13 state-owned historic buildings were declared ancient monuments by the government gazette in March 2017, indicating the power of the Antiquities Ordinance over state-owned buildings.[280]

Strengths and Limitations with Respect to "Unauthorized" Developments

The DOA has the authority to file lawsuits in the case of unauthorized building activities in Galle Fort according to Sections 24 and 34 (a), (b), (c) and (d) of the Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940). The Antiquities Ordinance is a powerful act, as no person who is charged with or accused of an offence under the ordinance shall be released on bail.[281] While the penalty is a fine of no less than 50,000 LKR which is a relatively small amount, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years—or both fine and imprisonment—the maximum fine upon a guilty plea is limited to 500,000 LKR.[282] Furthermore, the DOA has no legal provision to issue demolition orders (which lies with the Urban Development Authority and Galle Municipal Council), nor for restoring the monument to its previous form. The negative effects of this and the DOA's proposed amendments to the Antiquities Ordinance in order to cope with these challenges (2017) are discussed under sub-chapter 7.4.1.

4.2.3 URBAN DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY

The Urban Development Authority (hereafter also referred to as "UDA"), empowered by the Urban Development Authority Act No. 41 of 1978 as the key urban planning and implementation agency of Sri Lanka, is responsible for regulating the building activities of the World Heritage city.[283] In terms of Section 23 of the UDA Act (41, 1978), the UDA has legal provisions to declare development areas, and thus Galle Fort was declared a "Special Regulatory Area" by the *Extra Ordinary Gazette* notification No. 987/12 of 7 August 1997 (Fig. 36) (UDA 2009). Declaring a Special Regulatory Area was proposed by the second policy document of 2002 (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2) in order to regulate building activities in the fort, since the UDA Act (41, 1978) is among the country's most powerful legislation.[284]

Accordingly, "The Special Regulations (Planning and Building) for World Heritage City of Galle Fort" (hereafter also referred to as "Special Regulations, 2009") were implemented in 2009 in order to "preserve the historic character," along with the more general Building Regulations of UDA in 1999, which is applicable to the municipality (UDA 2009). However, these Special Regulations have been applied to the heritage city at a basic level since 1997, with the declaration of the Special Regulatory Zone; this was the beginning of the UDA's involvement in the heritage city.[285]

278 Provisions of Sections 21 and 22, Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940. "The Director General of Archaeology may in his discretion — (a) refuse to issue a permit under section 21 in any case in which he is of opinion that the applicant for such permit is unable to carry out and complete satisfactorily the work to authorize which such permit is applied for, or that such work is unnecessary" (Section 22 (a), Antiquities Ordinance No. 9 of 1940).

279 Interview with Mr Fowzie, 16 February 2016; personal conversation with the DOA officer responsible, 10 February 2017.

280 *Gazette Extraordinary of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 2011/7, 20 March 2017. The buildings include the Black Fort, Dutch Warehouse, British Hospital (known as the Dutch Hospital), National Museum (building), post office building, old building at All Saints' College, Pedlar Street properties at no. 64/64A etc.

281 Section 15C, Antiquities Ordinance [Section 4, Antiquities (Amendment) Act No. 24 of 1998].

282 Section 44, Antiquities Ordinance [Section 13, Antiquities (Amendment) Act No. 24 of 1998] and [Section 5, Increase of Fines Act No. 12 of 2005].

283 The UDA is a government authority that currently operates under the Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development.

284 "The declaration of the Fort and its immediate environment including the waterfront along the marine drive as a Special Development Zone by the UDA" (Wijeratne 2002, 63).

285 Boxem and Fuhren state that Special Regulations have been applied to the heritage city since 1997 (2010, 84). While the Project Planning Officer of GHF claim that it was 1998 (personal conversations in January 2017), the Town Planning Officer of UDA states that it was in 2000 that the Planning Sub-Committee started its work (personal conversations, January 2017). According to the second policy document (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2), regular Planning-Sub Committee meetings were held after 2002 (Wijeratne 2002).

The "Development Plan for Galle Urban Development Area (Galle Municipal Council Area) 2008–2015" was initiated by UDA in 2009 in accordance with Sections 8 (c) and (f) of the UDA (Amendment) Act No. 4 of 1982. The plan identifies Galle Fort as an "Archaeological Conservation Zone," and thus subject to the Special Regulations, 2009 mentioned above. Currently, the UDA is the main agency responsible for granting Preliminary Planning Clearance, Building Permits and Certificates of Conformity, as discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2.[286]

Strengths

The UDA has the authority to take legal action against unauthorized developments/changes in use of the buildings in Galle Fort; the penalty for unauthorized building activity is similar to that of the Antiquities Ordinance.[287] As both the DOA and UDA can file lawsuits, it is common in Galle Fort that the two institutions may charge and fine an individual under two separate cases for a single wrongdoing, as illustrated by an anecdote in sub-chapter 7.4.1. Unlike the DOA, the UDA has legal provisions to notify an owner to restore any unauthorized construction, as well as to apply to a magistrate to issue a mandatory order allowing the authority to demolish or alter the unauthorized building work.[288] Although no such demolitions have been carried out in Galle Fort by the UDA so far, 36 residents were issued a written notice to remove their illegal renovations in 2017, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.5.1.

The first half of the 2010s showed an expansion of the UDA's involvement in the field of conservation, however with greater authority over other heritage management institutions. In 2014, the UDA conserved the former Dutch Hospital into a shopping precinct with the assistance of the Sri Lanka Army, a successful project based on adaptive reuse, although other heritage institutions were involved to a lesser extent.[289] After a change in regime, the UDA initiated the SCDP (Strategic Cities Development Project), which proposed Galle Fort Rampart: Sky Walk Way Improvement, a rehabilitation project for the ramparts financed by a World Bank loan in 2015. The project, which was planned without the consultation of the DOA, was vehemently criticized by some of the fort's residents as well as by leading heritage practitioners in 2016, which resulted in the revision of the plan.[290] In 2016, the SCDP also funded the conservation of the clock tower of the rampart.

4.2.4 CENTRAL CULTURAL FUND

The Central Cultural Fund (the institution as well as the fund of the same name, hereafter also referred to as "CCF"), established under Central Cultural Fund Act No. 57 of 1980, manages most of the state-owned, World Heritage-listed cultural properties in the country,[291] and has fewer responsibilities over Galle Fort. The CCF, the second most prominent entity in managing the country's heritage, is a government authority under the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Cultural Affairs. The CCF is governed by a Board of Management chaired by the prime minister, and includes the ministers in charge of cultural affairs, finance,

286 Until February 2017, the UDA was only agency responsible for granting Preliminary Planning Clearance, while the other tasks were the responsibility of the Planning Committee of the Galle Municipal Council, since these powers were delegated to local government authorities at that time.

287 That is, a fine not exceeding 50,000 LKR imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or both, upon a trial before a magistrate [Section 28 (1) UDA (Amendment) Act No. 4 of 1982].

288 According to Section 28A (1) and (3) of UDA (Amendment) Act No. 4 of 1982. This order will be issued if the occupiers do not act within seven days of the written notice of the UDA to do so, according to 28 (A) (1).

289 This is the result of a UDA project on restoring colonial buildings, initiated during the time of Gotabhaya Rajapaksa, then Secretary to the Ministry of Defense and Urban Development and one of the contemporary president's brothers, a highly influential official in the former regime. The project was carried out by military personnel, who were employed in such projects after the end of the war in 2009. According to a Galle-based heritage officer, rather than political will, it was the lack of interest in preserving the building on the part of other heritage institutions that led the UDA to handle the project. The DOA was involved in the initial plaster analysis of the building; however, the rest was carried out by the UDA (personal conversation, 29 June 2018).

290 Based on observations of public-awareness meeting for the project involving UDA officials and stakeholders, including state agencies and residents, on 26 November 2015 at the Information Centre of Galle Heritage Foundation.

291 Two of the six, namely Polonnaruwa and Sigiriya, that are owned by the state are solely managed by the CCF, while a number of sites in Anuradhapura (under the Maha Vihara and Jetawana Projects of the UNESCO-Sri Lanka Cultural Triangle) are also managed by CCF and have been owned by Buddhist temples for centuries.

UNESCO and tourism and the Commissioner of the Department of Archaeology.[292] Thus, Roland Silva, the pioneer in establishing CCF and its founding Director General, later stated that "a decision here was a mini-cabinet decision."[293] The CCF is headed by a highly qualified heritage practitioner, and has significant expertise and resources.

One of the major reasons behind the establishment of this alternative institution was to secure UNESCO's funds for preserving the country's cultural heritage (the Cultural Triangle initiative, as discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.1) and promote cultural tourism (Silva 1992). In addition, the necessity for an institution with a more flexible financial management system was also considered in order to handle large-scale foreign-funded conservation projects. The DOA, a government department, which follows the (strict) financial regulations of the public administration system and depends solely on the inadequate funds provided by the government treasury, could not fulfil these objectives.

The CCF's most significant contribution to the heritage city is implementing large-scale, Dutch government-funded conservation and research projects, including those of the Dutch Reformed Church and Avondster Project (some are discussed in sub-chapter 1.4.2).[294] As a professional institute, it is also involved in compiling some of the annual state of conservation reports for the heritage city in collaboration with the DOA. The responsibility of the CCF with respect to developments in the fort is limited to participation in the Planning Sub-Committee. The CCF runs the Maritime Museum and the Maritime Archaeology Unit, both funded by the Netherlands and exerting a positive effect on the heritage city.

Although the CCF receives international financial aid as well as funds from the government treasury, it has currently become a profitable entity through cultural tourism. Most of the CCF's income is derived from entrance tickets to the World Heritage sites and museums under its management. However, Galle Fort is an exception, having free entrance, although there is an entrance fee for the Maritime Museum at Galle Fort. In 2015, CCF sold 722,676 entrance tickets to foreign tourists (40% of the total tourist arrivals to the country), which generated 2751 million LKR.[295] The CCF annually provides substantial funds for the DOA, a non-profit entity. Although significant projects have not been carried out from these funds recently at Galle Fort, the museum of Dutch Star Fort at Matara, also located in Southern Province, was allocated 4.5 million LKR in 2018.[296]

Apart from these institutions and laws, there are a number of other laws dealing with the protection and the management of Galle Fort, within several domains.[297]

292 Section 3, CCF Act No. 57 of 1980.

293 Interview with Roland Silva conducted by Christina Cameron (2011), Victoria, Canada. Available at https://www.patrimoinebati.umontreal.ca/en/research-projects/active-projects/oral-archives-of-the-world-heritage-convention/roland-silva/ (accessed 13 July 2018).

294 The first such project was the conservation of the Dutch Reformed Church (completed in 2004), suggested by the World Heritage Committee due its poor condition on the arrival of the Deputy Director of the World Heritage Centre in 2001 (WHC 2001, 40). The project was also assisted by Dutch experts, and won a UNESCO Asia-Pacific Heritage Award for Cultural Heritage Conservation in 2005. In 2010, a 136.7-million LKR conservation project was completed on the rampart, and with the financial assistance of the Netherlands, the Dutch Warehouse was turned into a Maritime Museum after the conservation project, with the financial assistance of the Netherlands. In addition, the CCF's contribution to the initiation and development of scientific research in maritime archeology in Galle Bay through the Dutch-funded MAU (Maritime Archeology Unit) has been discussed in sub-chapter 1.4.2. The Avondster Project, a collaborative project between Dutch experts and MAU and funded by the Netherlands, excavated and preserved in situ the Avondster, the Dutch East Indiaman that wrecked in Galle Bay in 1659. The CCF runs the above-mentioned Maritime Museum, the first of its kind in the country, in the former Dutch Warehouse of Galle Fort, and has a project office on the same premises, separate from the MAU, which is located at the old piers outside the fort. Expert knowledge for conservation projects in Galle Fort is provided by the CCF on request.

295 Financial statement of the Central Cultural Fund by the Auditor General of Sri Lanka, 2015. Available at http://www.auditorgeneral.gov.lk/web/images/audit-reports/upload/2015/Funds_2015/CentralCulturalFundE.pdf (accessed 13 July 2018).

296 However, Galle Fort also benefits from the funds allocated to Southern Province. In 2018, 15 million LKR was allocated to put up new monument name/description boards for archaeological sites in Southern Province, including Galle Fort (source: DOA, August 2018).

297 Cultural Property Act, No.73 of 1988; the Archaeological Sites of National Importance Act, No.16 of 1990; Town and Country Planning Ordinance, No.13 of 1946 and subsequent amendments; Ceylon Tourist Board Act, No. 10 of 1966; Coast Conservation Act, No. 57 of 1981; and National Environment Act, No. 47 of 1980 (Abeywardana, Court, and Thompsan 2017).

4.3 LOCAL LEVEL: INSTITUTIONS AND LAWS

4.3.1 GALLE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Galle Heritage Foundation (hereafter also referred to as "GHF"), established under Galle Heritage Foundation Act No. 7 of 1994, was the only organization specifically established for the heritage city. GHF could be categorized as a local-level semi-government institution (currently) operating under the Ministry of Housing, Construction and Cultural Affairs.[298] According to the "Integrated Management System 2015," "the management of the site is vested on the Galle Heritage Foundation as provided by the Galle Heritage Foundation Act of 1994" (Mandawala 2015, 11). This is an inaccurate statement, as no such provisions are provided by the act, despite future plans to amend the act.

According to the Periodic Report of the State Party (Report 2003), GHF was established in order to overcome inadequate coordination between agencies in preserving heritage. However, this contrasts with the objectives of the GHF Act (7, 1994), which focuses on promoting the preservation and conservation of Galle Fort, including the preservation of houses as well as the general welfare of residents.[299] Thus, unlike other key institutions, the GHF has more responsibility over the community of the fort, though less in practice than its early years, as the foundation's vision has since turned towards making the World Heritage city a cultural tourist centre of excellence in 2025 (official website of GHF, July 2018).[300]

In terms of Sections 5.1 and 6.1 of the GHF Act (7, 1994), the administration, management and control over the affairs of the GHF is vested in this Board of Management, consisting of 14 ex officio members, six appointed by the minister and six appointed bi-annually by ex officio members. These 14 ex officio members, mainly representing the government and semi-governmental institutions, have power over various aspects of the fort, including the above key institutions. Thus, the foundation could act as a coordinating institution, as mentioned in the Periodic Report of the State Party (2003). The 14 ex officio members are the following heads of institutions or their nominees:

i. the Director General of the Department of Archaeology;
ii. the Chairman of the Urban Development Authority;
iii. the Minister of Cultural Affairs of the Southern Province;
iv. the Divisional Secretary of Galle;
v. the Mayor of the Galle Municipal Council;
vi. the Director of the Post Graduate Institute of Archaeology;
vii. the President of the Netherlands Alumni Association;
viii. the Chairman of the Sri Lanka Ports Authority;
ix. the Director General of the Central Cultural Fund;
x. the Chairman of the National Aquatic Resources Agency;
xi. the Director of the National Museums Department;
xii. the Director of the Coast Conservation Department;
xiii. the Director of Architectural Conservation of Monuments and Sites of the University of Moratuwa; and
xiv. the District Secretary of Galle.

The Chairman of the Board should be a board member appointed by the board members themselves (including the six appointed by the minister) according to Article 6 (2) (a) of the GHF Act (7, 1994).

Weaknesses: Lack of Decision-Making Power

The power of the foundation is limited and subject to the key institutions with decision-making power over the heritage city: the DOA, UDA and Galle Municipal Council. GHF has no authority over building activities in the fort, except for participating in the Planning Sub-Committee (the committee discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2), which also began much later, in 2010.[301] However, GHF currently

298 Formerly under the Ministry of Law & Order and Southern Development.
299 Section 3, GHF Act No. 7 of 1994.
300 Official website of the Galle Heritage Foundation available at http://www.galleheritage.gov.lk/ (accessed 13 July 2018).
301 Personal conversation with the Project Planning Officer



Fig. 37 An awareness project conducted by GHF for schoolchildren of the Fort Cities,[304] January 2016.

has a strong voice in decision-influencing within the committee, which, despite weak institutional power, rather depends on the personal power of the officials.[302] The foundation should follow the directions of other state institutions, including the above, even with regard to general maintenance work and the development of public amenities within the fort.[303] Against this background, the World Heritage Committee recommended empowering the foundation in its annual decisions from 2010 to 2016, including further legislative enactment of the act (WHC 2008, 97; 2010, 129; 2013, 128-30; 2014, 23; 2016, 80). The aim of the World Heritage Committee is to make GHF the key management institution, and positive suggestions to this effect were made by the "Integrated Management System 2015" (discussed separately in sub-chapter 4.5.4), which however remain vague, as discussed below. Thus, the World Heritage Committee identified weaknesses of GHF in its role as the managing authority of the property despite the new proposals (WHC 2016, 78).

of GHF, 18 October 2017.

302 Observations from the Planning Sub-Committee meeting at UDA, Galle in 30 November 2018.

303 Section 4 (g), GHF Act No. 7 of 1994.

304 The term "Fort City" was used by GHF specifically on this particular occasion, and is hardly used otherwise in the country. The programme was attended by schoolchildren from Galle and Trincomalee. The Dutch (formerly Portuguese) Fort Frederick, also known as Trincomalee Fort, is located at Trincomalee, on the eastern coast. Fort Frederick is not inhabited by civilians but is garrisoned by the Sri Lanka Army, although it is a major tourist and pilgrimage destination, the latter due to the centuries-old Hindu temple of Koneshwaram being located within the fort. The programme was also aimed at strengthening ethnic harmony among schoolchildren. The students of Galle were mainly Sinhalese, and those from Trincomalee were Tamils, the country's largest ethnic minority.

In practice, the chairman of GHF is a political appointee who often changes with the government. This political criterion for recruitment seriously affects the direction of the foundation, as suitable professionals are not always appointed. GHF has a director, the second-ranking officer that handles its administrative matters (until mid-2018), while its influential middle-level role is played by a project planning officer. GHF suffers from a lack of resources, especially a lack of staff and expertise.

Strengths and Gaining Recognition

Despite the fact that the parliamentary act was implemented in 1994, the GHF was only institutionalized in 2004, with its office and staff within the fort due to the lack of government funding (Boxem and Fuhren 2010).[305] GHF was moved out of the fort after the tsunami in December 2004, and located outside the fort until July 2018, a major impediment to its work at the fort and with the community that required its services.[306] In June 2018, GHF managed to acquire a state-owned building inside the fort, and established its office there in August 2018, an initiative supported by national-level political influence due to the lack of support by the bureaucracy of local public administration and local politicians.[307] GHF also runs an information centre at the fort that caters to tourists, visitors and researchers.

Despite the lack of decision-making power, GHF has gradually gained recognition by implementing projects in the heritage city, including preservation and conservation, awareness and social welfare. GHF has implemented two successful preservation projects: the Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009), funded by the Dutch government, and conservation of the dungeons at Moon and Triton Bastions (own funds). The target groups of the heritage-awareness projects and workshops conducted by GHF represent different layers of society, including residents, higher-ranking government officials, schoolchildren and mobile vendors and three-wheeler taxi drivers employed at the fort (Fig. 37). These projects have led GHF to work closely with stakeholders and gain recognition as a significant heritage management institution at the fort. Positively, a few employees attached to GHF maintain friendly and supportive relationships with the community, which in practice depends more on their individual personalities than institutional policies.[308]

Through the UDA, GHF commissioned ICOMOS Sri Lanka to undertake the formulation of the (unimplemented) second policy document, discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2 (Report 2003, 10). It also collaborated with the DOA in formulating the current "Integrated Management System 2015," which will give GHF a key role in implementation, though subject to the authority of the DOA. GHF has the legal provision to render better services to the heritage city through research and education.[309] However, these goals—including establishing and maintaining museums, laboratories, educational institutions and research centres, as well as funding research into the history of the heritage city—are among some of the ventures unachieved by GHF.[310]

Criticisms, Challenges and Solutions

The financial independence vested upon the institution as a foundation by the GHF Act (7, 1994) has led to serious criticism about the financial transparency of GHF. The foundation can receive money (in the form of loans, gifts, etc.) and land, both locally and internationally, invest money and borrow money.[311] In addition, the foundation is entitled to maintain its own fund, either earned on its own or received through the above-mentioned ventures.[312] Although GHF receives comparatively limited funds from the government treasury, it has a steady income, mainly from renting out space and granting permission for various activities in the heritage city, which are currently increasing. The accounts of the GHF can also be audited by auditors appointed by the Board of Management, and the GHF Act (7, 1994) does not mention the Annual

305 Basnayake, quoted in Boxem and Fuhren 2010, 64.
306 GHF had moved from the former Dutch Hospital at the fort due to damage to the building after the tsunami. The building was converted to a shopping precinct after conservation in 2014.
307 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, June 2018.
308 Observations, 2016–January 2019.
309 Provisions of Section 4 (f) and (i), GHF Act No. 7 of 1994.
310 Ibid.
311 Section 4 (e), (j) and (k), GHF Act No. 7 of 1994.
312 Section 12, GHF Act No.7 of 1994.

Financial Report of the Foundation.[313] Having their finances handled in this manner has created the impression among some residents that the system is "corrupt" (discussed in sub-chapter 7.1.3), as is also remarked by Sanjeewani (Sanjeewani 2012).[314] Not only do the residents, but also some heritage officers had the same impression in 2016.[315] GHF was also accused of recently supporting politicized heritage decisions and bypassing the appropriate authorities, including the DOA, as elaborated in sub-chapter 7.7.1. Against this background, the DOA has disagreed with GHF's request to empower the foundation by amending the Antiquities Ordinance in March 2018.[316] According to a Galle-based heritage officer (March 2018), empowering GHF, which was weakly supported by the bureaucracy, depended totally on political will.[317] Although a major reorganization of the GHF staff was planned during the chairmanship of architect Channa Daswatta, the chairmanship changed following the constitutional crisis of the country in October 2018.[318]

313 "The accounts of the Foundation shall be audited by qualified auditor or auditors appointed by the Board" (Section 13 (2), GHF Act, 7, 1994). In contrast, the accounts of the Central Cultural Fund (a national-level institution) are audited by the Auditor General with the assistance of qualified auditors (Section 9 (2) of CCF Act No. 57 of 1980). The annual finances of the CCF are tabled in the parliament and published in the government gazette (Section 9 (4), CCF Act No. 57 of 1980).

314 The matter is briefly discussed in sub-chapter 7.1.3. However, there are number of residents who are happy with the GHF, as also mentioned in sub-chapter 7.1.3.

315 This idea is based on personal conversations with Galle-based heritage officers in 2016 and 2017. According to one of them (conversations held in March 2016), "the money received by GHF is almost like something going into the dragon's mouth," a local saying that indicates it will never come back. However, the Director of GHF stated that GHF uses its profits for conservation and awareness projects (e.g., conservation of the dungeons) (interview, 9 March 2016). In 2018, GHF planned to use its profits for sustainable projects that support the community (personal conversation with an officer responsible at GHF, July 2018).

316 To empower GHF, both Galle Heritage Foundation Act and the Antiquities Ordinance have to be amended as the latter provides full power of management of archaeological heritage in the country to the Department of Archaeology. In March 2018, GHF called a meeting to address this, which was not agreed to by the DOA (personal conversation with an officer responsible at GHF, March 2018).

317 Personal conversations with an officer responsible at GHF, March 2018.

318 In October 2018, the president announced the removal of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and the appointment of former president Mahinda Rajapaksa as the new prime minister. The prime minister refused to step down, stating that the removal was unconstitutional. However, new cabinet ministers were appointed, which lasted until the Supreme Court's ruling, in December 2018, that the president's dissolving of the parliament was unconstitutional, which was followed by the resignation of Mahinda Rajapaksa. The impact of the crisis was visible in the state heritage sector, which resulted in changes in the top positions at both GHF and the CCF.

4.3.2 GALLE HERITAGE PLANNING SUB-COMMITTEE AND SPECIAL REGULATIONS, 2009: PRESERVING COLONIAL BUILDINGS

The UDA has legal provisions to establish planning committees to implement its development plans.[319] The Galle Heritage Planning Sub-Committee (hereafter also referred to as the "Planning Sub-Committee") was established by the UDA separately from the Planning Committee of the UDA (called the Planning Committee of the Galle Municipal Council until 2015).[320] The Planning Sub-Committee specifically deals with developments at Galle Fort, which are different from the general developments in the municipality, and are handled only by the Planning Sub-Committee due to the heritage value of the fort's buildings. The Planning Sub-Committee, guided by the Special Regulations (Planning & Building), 2009, the building regulations for Galle Fort, issues a Preliminary Planning Clearance for any development in order to ensure that the development is in accordance with fort's building regulations. In addition, the planning and building regulations prepared for the municipality by the UDA are also applicable to the fort.[321] Thus, a Development Permit granted by the Planning Committee and guided by these regulations is mandatory before commencing any development work in Galle Fort, a circumstance that is also applicable to the municipality's developments outside Galle Fort. This means that getting a Development Permit in Galle Fort is a lengthy process that is further elaborated below.

The Planning Sub-Committee is headed by the UDA, and represent Urban Development Authority,

319 Section 8B UDA Act No. 41 of 1978, UDA (Amendment) Act No. 4 of 1982.

320 Galle Municipal Council's Planning Committee served this purpose since the UDA's power was delegated to local government authorities, but was regained by the UDA in February 2017 after the establishment of the Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development in January 2015. For the local government authorities, see footnote 332.

321 Prepared under Section 8J of the Urban Development Authority Act. No. 4 of 1982 (Section 70.2, Special Regulations, 2009).

Department of Archaeology; Galle Municipal Council; Galle Heritage Foundation; Central Cultural Fund; consultant architect(s) and other institutions (including the Coast Conservation Department, empowered by one of the most powerful acts in the country).[322] The Planning Sub-Committee generally meets monthly at the UDA's district office in Galle (2018), where the representatives of above-mentioned institutions discuss newly submitted building applications, amendments to the approved plans and change of use of buildings with the respective applicants and their architects.[323] This takes the form of a negotiation between two parties to work out a development compatible with the colonial character of the buildings, and sometimes includes preserving certain colonial elements of the buildings. However, there have also been occasions when the Planning Sub-Committee has approved controversial developments, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.5.1. There are also site visits prior to the meeting, and the Planning Sub-Committee has the power to monitor developments in progress.

Special Regulations, 2009: Material-based Heritage Preservation

The Special Regulations (Planning & Building) of "Galle Fort" World Heritage City–2009 were specifically designed to address the development requirements of Galle Fort, in comparison with the 400-yard (365.76-metre) rule applied by the Department of Archaeology. The law, an improvement on the Guidelines for Developers draft of 2002, was formulated and implemented according to the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee (as discussed in sub-chapters 4.5.2 and 4.5.3), and focused strictly on preserving the colonial architecture of the buildings.

"Archaeological and architectural interest features of the colonial period buildings within the Fort Area shall be conserved and maintained" (Section 70.12, Special Regulations, 2009).

In practice, the Planning Sub-Committee encourages applicants and their architects to assign colonial architecture to every development, including the existing buildings, which no longer even have such value. The front verandah is one of the main elements that cannot be "changed or covered,"[324] and should be newly added to any building that does not originally have a verandah. The law restricts building heights to ten metres over two storeys, while building colour is limited to white, grey and yellow.[325] However, in certain cases, three floors are allowed within the space of ten metres, as discussed in chapters 5 and 7. While garages, boundary walls and swimming pools are not allowed within the fort, floor and roof materials are also regulated for compatibility with colonial architecture.[326] The Special Regulations, 2009 identify the historic urban landscape as a collection of colonial buildings; the practical implications of this law are discussed in sub-chapter 7.2.

322 The representatives include: Deputy Director of the Galle District Office of the UDA; President or representative of ICOMOS; Director General or representative of the CCF; Director General or representative of the DOA; Administrative Officer and a representative appointed by the Chairman of GHF; Municipal Commissioner and Municipal Engineer of the GMC; and the Town Planning Officer of UDA attached to the GMC. In practice, the heads of the DOA, CCF and GHF do not participate in the meetings. The usual representatives as of November 2018 include (based on personal observations): UDA: Southern Provincial Director (who chairs the committee), Assistant Director and Town Planning Officer; DOA: Director of General Services of the DOA head office, Colombo (formerly the Director of Architectural Conservation)—a position currently held by an architect—Regional Assistant Director (South) and Site Manager of Galle Fort; GHF: Project Planning Officer; GMC: Municipal Engineer; CCF: Project Manager of Galle Project; and external consultants—usually architect Varuna De Silva, attached to the Department of Architecture at University of Moratuwa, or architect Ashley De Vos (who is not often present) as a consultant architect and Secretary to the Governor.

323 Firstly, the Planning Sub-Committee members representing the UDA, DOA and GHF carry out quick site visits of the proposed development sites prior to the Planning Sub-Committee meeting. During the meeting, the UDA present each of the building applications in the form of a Power Point presentation including the building plans and photos. The committee discusses each of the development proposals, and makes its preliminary decision without the presence of the client or the client's architect, who are asked to enter the meeting room only afterwards. The preliminary decision is communicated to each client, followed by negotiations between the two parties. The final decision is made by the chair of the committee (usually the UDA's Southern Provincial Director), which is a collective decision taking into consideration the client's requirements and how these could be facilitated in terms of the Special Regulations, 2009. While the decision is communicated verbally to the client and the architect, it is also sent to the client in writing (personal observations, 30 November 2018).

324 "No existing front verandahs of the buildings be covered or changed, to effect its appearance. Any streets with specific features given for the front of the building as verandahs or row of columns shall be maintained and continued accordingly" Article 70.14 (a), Special Regulations, 2009.

325 Articles 70.17 (a) and 70.18, Special Regulations, 2009.

326 Articles 70.13, 70.21, 70.22, 70.20 and 70.17 of Special Regulations, 2009.

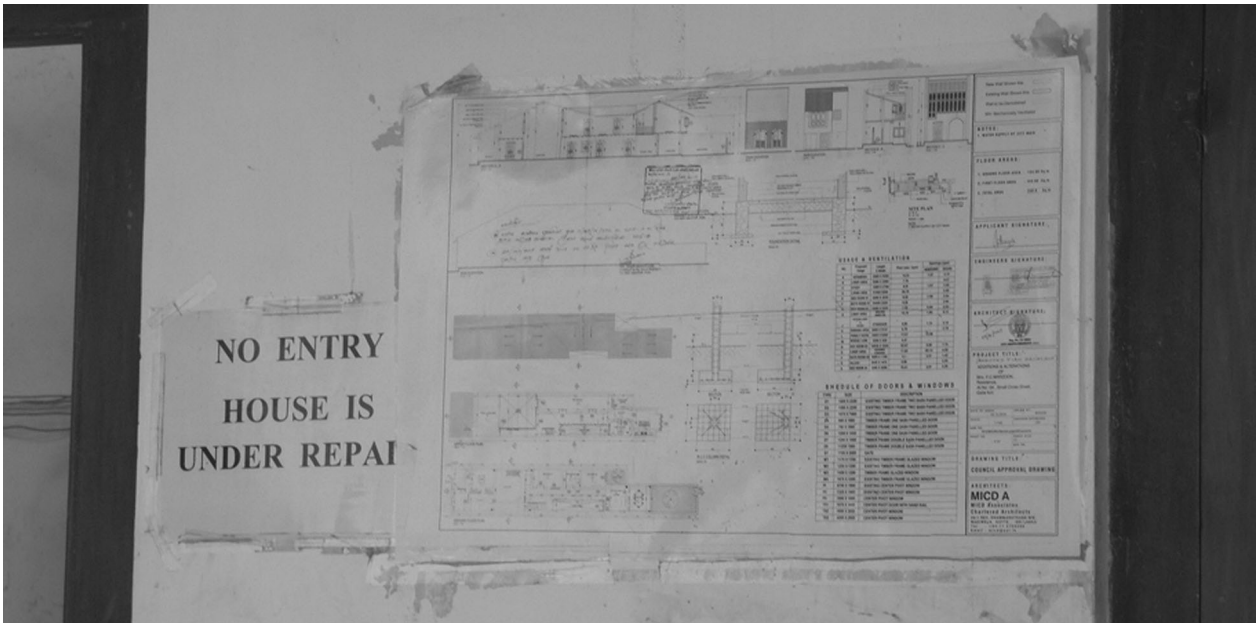


Fig. 38 Preliminary Planning Clearance shown on a house, 2016.

According to the Special Regulations, 2009, any development work in the heritage city must be permitted by the Galle Heritage Planning Sub-Committee and Planning Committee of the UDA in three steps: the Preliminary Planning Clearance, Building Permit and Certificate of Conformity.

a) To obtain the Preliminary Planning Clearance, the applicant must submit a completed application, processing fees and a building plan prepared and signed by a registered architect of the Sri Lanka Institute of Architects, photographs of the façade of the building and the buildings on either side to the UDA, Galle. The Preliminary Planning Clearance will be issued by the UDA within a month of the date of receiving the application, provided that all the requirements are completed.[327] The recommendations of both the UDA and DOA, as representatives of Planning Sub-Committee, are equally important to granting a Preliminary Planning Clearance, while GHF currently also has a strong say in the matter.[328]

b) The Development Permit, which is obligatory for the commencement of any development work, should be obtained from the UDA (until 2015, from the Engineering Section of the Galle Municipal Council) upon the submission of the Preliminary Planning Clearance, building plan and other necessary documents. The Planning Committee of the UDA shall approve the development plan and issue a Development Permit to the applicant to carry out the development if the plans are in conformity with the regulations. A copy of the Preliminary Planning Clearance and Development Permit should be displayed in a prominent place at the proposed site throughout the entire period of the development[329] (Fig. 38).

c) Although not mentioned by the law, a final planning clearance or COC (Certificate of Conformity) should be obtained by the UDA after the completion of the development, which until 2015 was the responsibility of Galle Municipal Council.[330]

327 Section 70.4, Special Regulations, 2009.

328 The Planning Sub-Committee's decision on a house discussed under sub-chapter 7.5.2, is an example of how the UDA and DOA work collaboratively within the committee.

329 Articles 70.6 and 70.7, Special Regulations, 2009.

330 See footnote 320.

Currently, any change of use must also be approved by the Planning Sub-Committee according to the permitted and non-permitted uses introduced by the Special Regulations, 2009. While 13 uses are permitted by the law, which primarily include tourism-related ventures, 12 are not permitted, including use by production industries, state and military institutions and large-scale hotels exceeding 20 rooms.[331] In general, the law indirectly encourages touristic use while discouraging some of the former uses of the fort, mainly administrative and military ones, as discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

4.3.3 GALLE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL

The Galle Municipal Council (hereafter also referred to as "GMC") was established in 1866, under the British colonial occupation, by Municipal Council Ordinance No. 17 of 1865 (replaced by Ordinance No. 29 of 1947) as the third Municipal Council of Sri Lanka (Krishnamohan 2016). The GMC is one of the local government authorities under the Southern Provincial Council administered by the Ministry of Provincial Councils and Local Government.[332]

The Municipal Council is responsible for the control and administration of all matters relating to public health, public utility services and public roads, public prosperity and welfare of the people and the amenities of the municipality, including Galle Fort within the municipal limits. Issuance of the Building Permit and the Final Planning Clearance were the responsibilities of the mayor until 2017, as these powers were delegated to local government authorities by the UDA up to that point. Thus, the "Integrated Management System 2015" mentions that the Special Regulations (Planning and Building) of the World Heritage city imposed by the UDA in 2009 are implemented through the municipality (Mandawala 2015). The regulations are now being implemented by the UDA.

Although the municipality has the legal provision to take legal action against "illegal" developments, this task is mainly handled by the DOA and UDA at Galle Fort. The mayor has the authority to issue a demolition order regarding unauthorized development, and undertake to alter the development or bring it into conformity.[333] However, the GMC, an authority with members elected by public vote, has hardly ever given demolition orders in Galle Fort.

Among the services rendered by the municipality is the maintenance of the Dutch-built sewage system of Galle Fort, which is often criticized by the community.[334] The Municipal Council is also responsible for levying the property tax of the municipality, including the World Heritage city. Due to increasing foreign/local investments in tourism at Galle Fort, Galle Municipal Council conducted a tax assessment at the request of the former Central Government, which has resulted in an increase in tax income.[335]

4.3.4 SUMMARY OF POWERS OVER KEY INSTITUTIONS

The summary of the management powers over the heritage city, as shown by Tables 6 and 7 on the next page, indicate that decision-making power lies with the Urban Development Authority, Department of Archaeology and Galle Municipal Council, while power over regulating the building activities mainly lies with the UDA and GMC. The absence of one central authority to handle heritage management and the lack of power by the GHF can also be discerned.

331 Articles 70.10 and 70.11, Special Regulations, 2009. The establishment not permitted are garage buildings (for parking), motor vehicle repairing garages, motor/auto service stations, fuel filling stations, stores not exceeding 200 sqm, industrial buildings and industries, government institutions and armed forces buildings (Army, Navy, Air Force and Police), quarters for a high security persons, hotels exceeding 20 rooms, new schools or extensions to the existing buildings, super markets and warehouses or other similar buildings (Article 70.11, Special Regulations, 2009).

332 Municipal Councils, Urban Councils and Divisional Councils (*Pradeshiya Sabha*) are the lowest-level local government authorities under Provincial Councils at the second level, while the Central Government is at the first level.

333 The mayor has the authority to send a (written) demolition order to the occupant of an unauthorized building, as well as cause the building to be demolished if the occupant does not comply (Section 42 A (1) and (2), Municipal Councils Ordinance No. 29 of 1947), to alter it or bring it into conformity with related provisions (Section 42 A (2), Municipal Councils Ordinance No. 29 of 1947).

334 Personal conversations with the residents, 2016 to 2017.

335 Personal conversation with a Revenue Inspector (GMC), October 2016.

Task	The Institution				
	DOA	UDA	GHF	GMC	CCF
Impose building regulations	*	Yes	-	**	-
Implement building regulations	-	Yes	-	**	-
Participate in the Planning Sub-Committee	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Issue Preliminary Planning Clearances	-	Yes	-	-	-
Issue Development Permits	-	Yes	-	**	-
Issue Final Planning Clearances	-	Yes	-	**	-
Take legal action against illegal developments	Yes	Yes	-	*	-
Demolish unauthorized buildings	-	Yes	-	Yes	-

*DOA: Department of Archaeology; UDA: Urban Development Authority; GHF: Galle Heritage Foundation; GMC: Galle Municipal Council; CCF: Central Cultural Fund; * has legal provisions to perform the task although not involved; ** had the power until February 2017.*

Table 6 Authority over each institute in the building development procedure for the heritage city.

Task	The Institution				
	DOA	UDA	GHF	GMC	CCF
Prepare state of conservation reports for the property	Yes	-	-	-	Yes**
Declare ancient/protected monuments and archaeological reserves	Yes	-	-	-	-
Declare a control zone around ancient/protected monuments	Yes	-	-	-	-
Declare a Special Regulatory Area	-	Yes	-	-	-
Manage tourist information/promotion	*	-	Yes	-	Yes
Carry out excavations	Yes	-	-	-	Yes**
Undertake conservation/preservation/restoration	Yes	Yes**	Yes**	-	Yes**
Manage research, publications, awareness	*	Yes	Yes	-	*
Coordinate with institutes	-	-	Yes	-	-
Issue permits (video footage, filming)	Yes	-	Yes**	-	-
Provide public utilities	-	-	-	Yes	-
Engage in community work	*	-	Yes	-	-

** Has legal provisions to perform the task although not involved; ** has the power subject to the DOA.*

Table 7 Authority and other practical tasks of each institution.

4.4 OTHER INSTITUTIONS

4.4.1 ICOMOS SRI LANKA

ICOMOS Sri Lanka, established in 1983 as the national committee of the ICOMOS International, made a significant contribution to the World Heritage project at the onset, although its involvement later declined. The most significant contribution of ICOMOS is the formulation of the second policy document, entitled "Conservation and Development of the World Heritage Site of the Dutch Fort in Galle (2002)," which was not fully implemented (discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2). GHF has collaborated with ICOMOS in recent years, especially on awareness projects.[336]

336 Personal conversation with Project Planning Officer of GHF, January 2018.

4.4.2 PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE HERITAGE CITY

The World Heritage city is a separate *Grama Niladhari* or GN Division, the smallest public administrative unit in Sri Lanka, which comprises one, two or a few villages or towns. The public administration of the heritage city is handled by the Divisional Secretariat, a sub-unit of public administration currently under the Ministry of Internal and Home Affairs, Provincial Councils and the local government.[337]

96D Fort GN Division (the World Heritage city) is one of the 50 GN Divisions under the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat. Among the more prominent public services offered by the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat is the issuance of Business Name Registration Permits (except for companies under the Companies Act (7, 2007), which is handled by the Department of the Registrar of Companies), which has an impact on the balance between the residential and commercial use of the World Heritage city. *Grama Niladari*, the public officer appointed by the Central Government to carry out the duties in a GN Division, is responsible for forwarding the business registration applications of Galle Fort to the Divisional Secretariat with the recommendation of the head of the Regional Archaeology Office, Galle.

In addition, a number of government departments and authorities are also engaged in providing public utilities, local development, promotion of tourism and security to the World Heritage property.[338]

337 Formerly under the former Ministry of Public Administration and Home Affairs.

338 Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (currently under the Ministry of Tourism Development, Wildlife and Christian Religious Affairs); National Water Supply and Drainage Board (currently under the Ministry of City Planning, Water Supply and Higher Education); Road Development Authority (currently under the Ministry of Highways and Road Development and Petroleum Resources Development); Sri Lanka Ports Authority and Coast Conservation and Coastal Resource Management Department (currently under the Ministry of Ports and Shipping and Southern Development); Ceylon Electricity Board (currently under the Ministry of Power, Energy and Business Development); and the Sri Lanka Police (under the Ministry of Law and Order).

4.4.3 FUNDING AGENCIES: THE INTERNATIONAL DONORS AND THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT

The key heritage institutions of Galle Fort mainly depend on the funds allocated by the Central Government budget, although some have their own incomes.[339] As a developing country, Sri Lanka has a lack of funds for large-scale conservation projects. Against this background, most of the large-scale conservation efforts in the heritage city have been funded directly by international donors; most significant among these is the financial assistance of the Dutch government, followed by that of other Dutch institutions. While the main field of assistance is conservation, there are also other domains, including research, capacity building and infrastructure development.

Although the Netherlands provides financial assistance to Galle Fort from time to time, the Mutual Cultural Heritage (MCH) Programme, 2009, initiated under the Dutch Common Cultural Heritage Policy (*Gemeenschappelijk Cultureel Erfgoedbeleid*) to preserve "mutual heritage," is the most significant in this regard.[340] The policy (2009–2012) focused on the sustainable maintenance and management of "relics of a past that the Netherlands has shared with others" (Golen 2010).[341] By 2010,

339 The DOA depends solely on the Central Government budget, which is inadequate for its entire needs, and the heritage city is not specifically allocated money; some of the funds allocated to the archeological sites of the Southern Province are also assigned to Galle Fort. These are mainly utilized for the general maintenance of the ramparts, which amounted to 50,000 LKR in financial year 2016, an extremely insufficient amount (interview with the Regional Assistant Director (South), DOA, 2 February 2016). However, the DOA has carried out the conservation of ramparts and some monuments within these budgets even before the World Heritage recognition of the fort. In contrast, GHF has its own income, separate from the government budget, which has mainly been used for awareness and a few small-scale conservation projects. According to the "Integrated Management System 2015," the budget allocated to GHF by the Central Government mainly covers its administrative costs, which was 16 million LKR in fiscal year 2015 (Mandawala 2015). The large-scale conservation projects implemented by GHF are foreign-funded. Conversely, the UDA used its own (government) funds to restore the Dutch Hospital in 2014, a comparatively large conservation project.

340 Locally known as the Netherlands-Sri Lanka Cultural Cooperation Programme.

341 For practical reasons, the policy has been limited to eight (priority) countries in close cooperation with the embassies, namely, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Russia, Sri Lanka, Suriname and South Africa (Golen 2010).





Figs. 39–40 Plaques from the Preservation of Private Houses Project 2006–2009 (left, a house on Leyn Baan Street) and early assistance in 1995 (right, at YWCA, Church Street).

15 "common heritage" projects were completed in Sri Lanka with the assistance of 537 million LKR provided through the MCH, including three conservation projects at Galle Fort: the ramparts, which was the largest expenditure (136.7 million LKR), the Maritime Museum at the former Dutch Warehouse (93 million LKR) and the conservation of nearly 60 private houses (Fig. 39).[342]

Among the early projects assisted by the Netherlands was the renovation of the sewage system between 1992 and 1994 (funded by the Dutch Municipality of Velsen);[343] international assistance provided by the UNESCO/Netherlands Funds-in-Trust in 2002 (WHC 2005); the conservation of the Dutch Reformed Church (completed in 2004 and funded by the Dutch government and HGIS Fund);[344] the Avondster Project (2004, funded by the HGIS Fund, Dutch government, University of Amsterdam and others);[345] maritime research in Galle Bay; and the establishment of the Maritime Archaeology Unit of Galle (1990s to 2004) (Fig. 40).

4.4.4 RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS AND UNIVERSITIES

The involvement of local universities and research institutes are also significant in the fields of documentation, research, conservation and professional expertise on the heritage city. Among these, the contribution of the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Moratuwa has been particularly significant; it includes the systematic documentation of the buildings at Galle Fort (1988–1990), in collaboration with the DOA, and the Dutch government-funded Preservation of Private Houses Project (2007–2009), in collaboration with GHF. In addition, a few senior faculty members have either represented or currently represent the Planning Sub-Committee as the committee's consultant architects. As the only local institution that trains architects, the residents mostly consult the chartered architects who have graduated from or are attached to the University of Moratuwa in preparing their development plans.

In 2015, the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Sri Jayewardenepura carried out the documentation of buildings (on two streets) of Galle Fort with financial assistance rendered by the US Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation 2011. Prof. P. B. Mandawala, the principal investigator of the project, also collaborated in formulating the "Integrated Management System 2015" with the DOA and GHF.

342 Source: Presidential Secretariat, Sri Lanka, available at http://www.info.gov.lk/news_update/Current_Affairs/ca201010/20101005heritage_sites_preserved.htm (accessed 13 July 13 2018).

343 Source: http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Restoration_of_ancient_sewerage_system_in_Galle_Fort (accessed 16 July 2018).

344 (Dutch) Homogeneous Group for International Cooperation, under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Dutch_Reformed_Church,_Galle).

345 Source: http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Avondster_project (accessed 21 September 2018).

Year	Name of the Policy Document	Recommended by	Planning Agency	Implementing Agency	Highlights
1987 and 1992	***The Preservation of the Historic City Centre of Galle***	-	Galle Heritage Committee*	DOA	Conservation and preservation
2002	***Conservation and Development of the World Heritage Site of the Dutch Fort in Galle, 2002***	ICOMOS Monitoring Mission Report 1998; WHC 1999 & 2001	ICOMOS Sri Lanka and UDA	GHF	Guidelines for Developers
2009	***Development Plan for Galle Urban Development Area 2008–2025****	Reactive Monitoring Mission, 2002	UDA	GMC UDA	Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009
2015	***World Heritage Property of Old Town of Galle and its* Fortifications*: Integrated Management System 2015***	WHC 2005, 2008–2014	Ministry of Culture (representing DOA and GHF)	DOA GHF	Empowering Galle Heritage Foundation Boundary/buffer

*DOA: Department of Archaeology; UDA: Urban Development Authority; GHF: Galle Heritage Foundation; GMC: Galle Municipal Council; WHC: Annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee. * The committee elaborated in sub-chapter* 1.3.2 *; ** not specifically a plan for the heritage city.*

Table 8 Institutional policy documents.

4.5 INSTITUTIONAL POLICY DOCUMENTS AND THE DECISIONS OF THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE

The development of local policy documents for the World Heritage city of Galle was largely a result of the recommendations of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee (Table 8). While the annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee and the mission reports commissioned by the World Heritage Centre can be identified as major international policy documents, the following four planning documents serve as significant local policy documents related to the management of the property over the nearly 30 years of the World Heritage project.[346]

4.5.1 THE PRESERVATION OF THE HISTORIC CITY CENTRE OF GALLE, 1987

Background, Aims and Contents

Formulation of this preservation plan in 1987 by the Galle Heritage Committee was elaborated in sub-chapter 1.3.2. The plan identified the uniqueness of Galle Fort, which was the fact that its living community resided in nearly 50% of the total building stock (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987). Thus, the plan aimed to preserve the fort as a living monument that would "permit the residents to live a contemporary lifestyle while preserving the atmosphere, the scale and the streetscape of the original monument" (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 7).

The brief plan consists of a historical background, the main features of the fort including a description, future management strategies for each of these features and a conservation plan with short- and long-term goals. As this plan is an initiative pioneered by Roland Silva, then Archaeological Commissioner (discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.2), some of these proposals were implemented by the Department of

346 The first three institutional policy documents are discussed briefly by Boxem and Fuhren (2010), who identify the first policy document of 1987 as 1992, since it was published in 1992. However, the original proposal was presented to the President of Sri Lanka in 1987, as mentioned in sub-chapter 1.3.2.

Archaeology with the launch of the World Heritage project in 1988. It was also published as an official policy document in the DOA publication *Ancient Ceylon* (No. 15, 1992) entitled *The Conservation of the Galle Fort and its Environs*, a special volume to mark the completion of the first phase of the preservation programme. The highlight of this volume was the systematic documentation of the buildings, which was a long-term goal of the 1987 plan.

Achievements

Although Wijeratne noted that the proposals of this plan were not implemented due to lack of cooperation between stakeholders and inadequate facilities on the part of the implementing agency, the author also acknowledged the systematic documentation of buildings in the fort as the first such detailed record (Wijeratne 2002, 2005). Among some of the important proposals of this plan, which were carried out nearly two decades later, were the conservation of the ramparts and the establishment of the Maritime Museum (former Dutch Warehouse), funded by the Dutch government. The plan also had an impact on the legislative development of the World Heritage city. The ideas and suggestions, such as the preservation of the streetscape and monitoring of colour codes, were also included in the proposed Guidelines for Developers in 2002, which later developed into the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009.

Issues and Failures

One of the major drawbacks of the implementation was the lack of consideration for the fort's urban community. The plan identified the contemporary issues of residential buildings, including lack of maintenance, unauthorized rebuilding and changing facades (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987). The important strategies for motivating the residents to take part in protecting residential buildings as outlined in the plan—such as tax reliefs, free advice on the conservation of private houses and an annual award for the best-preserved building—were not implemented. Although the necessity of educating residents on the preservation of the streetscape was identified, the authorities failed to convince residents of the future benefits of preservation—i.e., the tourism potential. This failure, which increased with not integrating residents into the planning process, as well as prioritizing "residential buildings" over the aspirations of the "residents," created a widening gap between the heritage institutions and residents in the following decades, which ultimately lead to drastic changes in both the urban community and their houses.

4.5.2 CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE OF THE DUTCH FORT IN GALLE, 2002

Background

The second policy document could be seen as an attempt to preserve material heritage in the face of growing "unauthorized" developments in the heritage city. In 1998, the ICOMOS Monitoring Mission Report recommended formulating an overall Master Plan for Galle Fort in order to provide clear guidelines for conservation as well as new developments in the historic city (Nishimura and Wijiratne 1998). Having examined the Mission Report of 1998, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee, in its decisions in the 23rd session in 1999, expressed concern over the state of conservation of the property, and requested that the local authorities halt new construction that could harm the integrity of the site (WHC 1999a, 35). The decisions of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee in the 25th session, in 2001, requested that the local authorities strengthen regulations on building permits and activities within the fortress, as the lack of regulation of building activities and poor maintenance had caused serious deterioration and deformation of the existing cultural-historic fabric (WHC 2001, 41). Against this background, the importance of elaborating a specific "Conservation and Development Plan" was underscored by the Observer of Sri Lanka (WHC 2001, 41). Consequently, the "Conservation and Development of the World Heritage Site of the Dutch Fort in Galle" report was compiled in 2002 by architect Pali Wijeratne, appointed consultant of ICOMOS Sri Lanka. He was also involved in preparing the ICOMOS Monitoring Mission Report in 1998, which first identified the necessity of a master plan. The UNESCO Reactive Monitoring Mission Report of September 2002 provides the following summary regarding the plan:

"This document, prepared by ICOMOS Sri Lanka in commission of the Urban Development Authority, consists of two parts. The first part describes historical, social, environmental, physical, economic and functional aspects of the city; the second part deals with strategies, projects and guidelines for development and conservation. The report makes an inventory of existing problems and of several aspects of the built environment, being land use pattern, buildings related to a time period and roofing materials" (Oers 2002, 10).

Proposed Guidelines for Developers

The introduction of the Guidelines for Developers, formulated by the Urban Development Authority, was the main highlight of the plan, which developed into the Special Regulations, 2009. The plan introduces a "Building Permit"—a written approval from the authorities to start any development work in Galle Fort—and a "Planning Committee," which would be appointed by the Galle Heritage Trust (later Galle Heritage Foundation), consisting of members from the respective statutory authorities and ICOMOS Sri Lanka (Wijeratne 2002).[347] The Guidelines for Developers demonstrated the procedure of obtaining building permits through the Planning Committee, which could be completed within roughly six weeks. According to the guidelines, a building plan, which would be submitted to the Planning Committee, should be prepared by an architect registered with the Sri Lanka Institute of Architects (Wijeratne 2002). A key point for the developments was that the architectural character of the building should be compatible with the architecture of the area (Wijeratne 2002). Moreover, the submission of a Cultural Impact Assessment was required to lessen the impact of possible destructive developments (Wijeratne 2002).

The plan also addressed issues such as the extension of the core zone of the property, environmental management including the Dutch sewage system, the enhancement of tourism potential, creating public awareness and inventorying priority projects (Wijeratne 2002).

Achievements

According to Wijeratne, the major achievement of the plan was regularizing the guidelines for development in a draft form and holding regular Planning Committee meetings to encourage proper development in harmony with the historic fabric of the fort (Wijeratne 2005). However, a draft version of regulations formulated by UDA had been used since 1997.[348] Thus, this policy document went beyond the themes of conservation and preservation 14 years after the inception of the World Heritage project, with practical issues of urban expansion since having arisen. In addition, the author mentions relocating 26 government buildings and garment factories that were unacceptable to the overall integrity of the fort (Wijeratne 2005; SOC 2003). Thus, the plan created the idea of maintaining a stereotypical "colonial landscape" in Galle Fort—which would be promoted by government policies in the coming years—through gradually removing the fort's traditional administrative function while promoting tourism (a recent example is also discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.1).

Issues and Failures

However, the success of the implementation of the "Conservation and Development Plan 2002" remains uncertain, as local authorities had agreed to prepare a management plan as part of the post-tsunami rehabilitation projects proposed by the World Heritage Committee, which undermined interest in the existing plan (Wijeratne 2005; WHC 2005).

The Reactive Monitoring Mission of the World Heritage Committee in 2002, which reviewed the plan, recommended that this plan take into account the relationships between the stakeholders, including an institutional body (which was identified as GHF) and the provincial or national governments as well as the community (Oers 2002). In fact, the plan

347 A development work is identified as a building construction, restoration, change of use, interior or exterior modification, alterations or replacement of any building elements, excavations, demolitions or any other type of permanent, semi-permanent or temporary work (Wijeratne 2002, 56). The Guidelines for Developers do not clearly indicate what statutory authorities are present in the Planning Committee. However, it is mentioned under the section on public awareness that such a committee should consist of the UDA, GMC, DOA, GHF and ICOMOS Sri Lanka (Wijeratne 2002, 54). At the same time, it is also mentioned that the authorities that should grant approval for any development are the DOA and GMC on behalf of the UDA (Wijeratne 2002, 56).

348 Discussed under sub-chapter 4.2.3.

lacks any consideration of the urban community, as the economic ability of the community to afford the proposed, expensive building developments, which required the service of registered architects, was not considered (sub-chapter 7.2 shows how the process became an economic burden to the local community). This indicates the lack of policy assessment in the local system, a typical drawback. Policy assessment seeks to inform decision-makers by predicting and evaluating the potential impacts of policy options (Adelle and Weiland 2012).

The compiling of the plan lacked the necessary institutional backing, since the Department of Archaeology, the key heritage management agency, was not involved in it, and its institutional interests were not considered in the preparation of the Guidelines for Developers.[349] ICOMOS Sri Lanka, the planning institution, had no implementation powers as an NGO. The State of Conservation of the World Heritage Properties 2003 confirms that these proposals would be implemented by the Galle Heritage Foundation, which also lacks implementation powers (SOC 2003). Although Wijeratne (2005) states that the implementation was later entrusted to the Department of Archaeology, there is no such evidence from the DOA's sources.

Although Wijeratne, the author of the plan, states the plan highlighted a developer-friendly climate in 2002, he later acknowledged that the increased political pressure detracted from the smooth functioning of the Planning Committee (Wijeratne 2002, 2005). In addition, another indirect result was the increased demand of foreigners to buy land with the possibility of development, which caused gentrification and social imbalance within the historic city (Wijeratne 2005). Both of these facts are discussed in light of practical cases in chapters 6 and 7.

349 According to the proposed "Integrated Management System 2015" by the Ministry of Culture (also representing the Department of Archeology and Galle Heritage Foundation), the Special Regulations, 2009 prepared by the Urban Development Authority conflict with the expectations of the Department of Archeology, as the Department of Archeology has so far not prepared its own building regulations despite its legal provisions (Mandawala 2015, 39).

4.5.3 DEVELOPMENT PLAN FOR GALLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT AREA (GALLE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL AREA) 2008–2025 (VOLUMES I AND II), 2009

Although this plan, compiled by the Urban Development Authority, is not specifically a management plan for Galle Fort, it is very influential as having introduced Special Regulations, 2009, which was proposed in a draft version by the former policy document of 2002. While the plan mainly focuses on the development strategies of the Galle Municipal Council area as a whole, it also pays special attention to the World Heritage city as a place of "enormous opportunities for tourism" (UDA 2009, 21).

The Special Regulations were implemented in response to the Reactive Monitoring Mission Report, 2002, which recommended the UDA to gazette the guidelines for developments as a law, as introduced in the previous policy document (Oers 2002). In addition, the Mission Report also recommended declaring the city a "Protected Townscape," in connection with the Draft Regional Planning Document that was under preparation (Oers 2002).[350] Accordingly, this plan linked the future development plans for the World Heritage property with the development strategies and plans for the Galle Municipal Council area. As there is no such legal term as "Protected Townscape" nor legal provisions to declare such a designation within the country's current legislative provisions, the fort was declared a "Special Regulatory Area" according to the UDA Act (41, 1978), as mentioned in sub-chapter 4.2.3. This also shows the lack of legislative provisions in preserving historic urban landscapes in the country.

350 "The current initiatives of the Urban Development Authority (UDA) in designing and gazetting its Draft Set of Guidelines for Development, Alterations, Refurbishment and Conservation of Property in Galle Fortified City and it's Surroundings, as well as the Guidelines for Development, Alterations, Refurbishment and Conservation of Property inside Galle Fort of the Department of Archaeology fit within the above objective. It needs, however, to be matched by a legal decree declaring the city a Protected Townscape and be connected to a Conservation Plan for the city. Action by Department of Archaeology and Urban Development Authority jointly. This, then, needs to be taken up in the UDA's Draft Regional Urban Planning Document currently under design to indicate spatial-functional and economic relationships with greater Galle. Action by Urban Development Authority" (Oers 2002, 11).

Issues and Challenges

The Special Regulations, 2009 are highly focused on preserving colonial buildings and material heritage. According to the "Integrated Management System 2015" by the Ministry of Culture, the Special Regulations prepared by the UDA conflict with the expectations of the Department of Archaeology (Mandawala 2015, 39). The DOA has so far not prepared its own building regulations, despite its legal provisions (Mandawala 2015). The Reactive Monitoring Mission Report of 2002 recommended "close working relationships with the Central Cultural Fund and the Urban Development Authority, and to a lesser extent with the Department of Archaeology" in the management of urban heritage (Oers 2002, 20). Therefore, the task was fully undertaken by the UDA, which shows how the international policies engender contradictions between key management institutions.

4.5.4 WORLD HERITAGE PROPERTY OF THE OLD TOWN OF GALLE AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS: INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT SYSTEM 2015

As per the revised version of the Operational Guidelines, which came into effect on 1 February 2005, a management plan or system that specifies how the outstanding universal value of a World Heritage property should be preserved is compulsory for each nominated property.[351] Since this rule was not prevalent when the Old Town of Galle was nominated to the World Heritage list in 1986, the general policy documents of 1987 (also adopted in 1992) and 2002 served this purpose until the state party agreed upon the preparation of a management plan after the 2004 tsunami, as part of the post-tsunami rehabilitation projects proposed by the World Heritage Centre (WHC 2005, 78). However, the state party was very slow in responding to this primary need, such that the World Heritage Committee re-emphasized the matter repeatedly in its annual decisions from 2008 to 2014 (WHC 2008, 96; 2009, 200; 2010, 129; 2011, 127; 2012, 141; 2013, 128-9; 2014, 22). A draft comprehensive conservation plan, which was under preparation in 2009, was handed over to the Reactive Monitoring Mission of 2010 during its visit, and scheduled to be further improved (WHC 2009, 199; 2010, 128; Mandawala 2015, 4-5). Although the state party reported that a comprehensive management system was in place for the property in 2013, the "Integrated Management System" was proposed in 2015, nearly after a decade after the agreement in preparation (WHC 2013, 128).

The implementation of this management system was initiated at the beginning of 2017 by the Ministry of Education (then line ministry of the DOA), with GHF. Although a positive sign in this regard was assessing community opinion prior to implementation, not much progress has been seen in the implementation (March 2019).

Contents

The "Integrated Management System 2015" was proposed by the Ministry of Culture, representing both the Department of Archaeology and Galle Heritage Foundation, in collaboration with Prof. Prashantha B. Mandawala.[352] The primary objective of the plan was to "protect the Outstanding Universal Value of the World Heritage property as well as the locally recognized heritage values, while taking into account the standard of living, safety and economic viability of the community living within the World Heritage property" (Mandawala 2015, 23). The plan consists of three parts. The first part includes the background, an explicit definition of the property and the objectives. Overarching strategies for institutional, legal and economic frameworks are discussed in the second part, highlighting the introduction of a Coordinative Working Committee and empowering Galle Heritage Foundation. The final part is the implementation, discussed under three sub-categories: nationalization, sector-wide coordination and monitoring framework.

351 Article 108, Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005. Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 9 August 2018).

352 Prof. Prashantha B. Mandawala, who was the head of the Department of History and Archaeology at the University of Sri Jayewardenepura during the formulation of the proposed "Integrated Management System 2015," currently serves as the (Acting) Director General of Archaeology of the Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology.

Importance and Highlights

The "Integrated Management System 2015," as the first management plan for the property, mainly addressed the requirements specified by the World Heritage Centre. The proposals have some positive signs of integrating the community into the management of the property, as the Operational Guidelines recommend a participatory management approach (discussed in sub-chapter 2.4.2). The plan introduces a Coordinative Working Committee (CWC) as the key institution for the integrated management of the property, which also includes community representatives (Mandawala 2015). In addition, the plan identifies key issues through stakeholder interviews, including the residents and business community, both locals and expats (Mandawala 2015). Thus, it aimed to prepare development guidelines for heeding community requirements for sustainable development (Mandawala 2015).

Secondly, the proposals addressed empowering Galle Heritage Foundation—which was recommended by the World Heritage Committee in its annual decisions of 2008, 2010, 2013 and 2014—in range of ways, from staffing and funding to further legislative enactment (WHC 2008, 95; 2010, 129; 2013, 129-30; 2014, 23). Weaknesses in the management of GHF in its role as a managing authority were identified by the committee as a factor affecting the property, and therefore the "Integrated Management System 2015" proposed amending the foundation's act (1994) in order to bestow them full management responsibility for the property, as well as to provide human and financial resources for acting as the key management institution. The proposed amendments to the GHF Act (7, 1994) would allow the foundation to prevent unregulated building activities at the fort, implement activities related to development and management plans, coordinate activities, take appropriate action on public property, promote understanding and manage and regulate funds (Mandawala 2015). In practice, the legislative empowering of GHF also requires the amendment of the Antiquities Ordinance, upon which the bureaucrats have not agreed, as discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.1.

Thirdly, the "Integrated Management System 2015" addresses the issue of extending the boundary/buffer, which was urged by the annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee in its decisions from 2008 to 2014 (WHC 2008, 96; 2009, 200; 2010, 128; 2011, 127; 2012, 140; 2013, 128; 2014, 22). The state party did not consider the extension of the boundary/buffer, as the existing 400-yard (365.76-metre) rule implemented in 1971 (elaborated in sub-chapter 4.2.2) acts as a buffer zone of the property (Mandawala 2015).

Strengths, Weaknesses and Challenges

The Coordinative Working Committee ("CWC"), proposed as the key management entity of Galle Fort, is chaired by the head of the World Heritage Section of the Department of Archaeology, which is slated to be established once the Antiquities Ordinance is amended (Mandawala 2015). Against this background, it is not clear whether Galle Heritage Foundation can function as the key management authority of the property, as the decision-making power lies with the Department of Archaeology. Thus, the World Heritage Committee, in its annual decisions of 2016, expresses uncertainty about how the overall strategy for the management of the property, as proposed in the "Integrated Management System 2015," will reinforce the overall management capacity of Galle Heritage Foundation (WHC 2016, 80).[353] The proposed CWC, involving community representatives, can be identified as a positive approach towards a participatory management system, an approach that was not reflected in the former policy documents. However, the CWC has not yet been established (March 2019).

According to the decisions of the World Heritage Committee in 2016, when the proposed plan was reviewed, the management and conservation of the property remains a concern, particularly in view of the lack of information in the state party's report concerning progress on the revision of the boundaries, as well as on the international cricket stadium project, the latter of which is discussed under sub-chapter 7.7.2 (WHC 2016, 80). Furthermore, the plan lacks attention to preserving the intangible values of the urban community, which are significantly threatened by excessive gentrification.

353 "While the Integrated Management System Report contains overall strategies for the management of the property, it remains unclear how and when it will be implemented, how it will reinforce the overall management capacity of the Galle Heritage Foundation, and how far along the process of adopting this system has come—all of which was already requested by the World Heritage Committee at its 38th session" (WHC 2016, 80).

Topics Discussed	Annual Decisions of the World Heritage Committee												
	1999	2001	2003	2005	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2016	2018
Boundary/buffer	■		■		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Development Plan	■	■	■										
Scientific research	■												
Unauthorized building activities	■	■	■		■								
International assistance		■	■										
Maintenance		■											
Conservation/restoration	■	■	■		■	■	■						
Increasing demand for property			■										
Threats to maritime archaeology			■				■						
Building regulations			■										
Museums			■			■							
Tsunami				■									
Management Plan				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Developments in cricket stadium					■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Galle Harbour Development Project					■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Empowering the GHF					■		■			■	■	■	■

Table 9 Major topics discussed by the annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee (based on the available sources from the UNESCO website).[354]

4.5.5 THE ANNUAL DECISIONS OF THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE (1997–2018)

Important topics discussed by the annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee from 1997 to 2018 and related to the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications are shown in Table 9 and Fig. 41.

The graph highlights that the most common factor discussed from 1999 up to the present is the boundary/buffer issue. The matter has been discussed in ten annual decisions, except in 2005, due to the tsunami, which was given prime attention. Besides this issue, the necessity for a development plan and for regulating unauthorized building activities were the main concerns from 1997 to 2002, followed by the preparation of the "Conservation and Development Plan 2002." In addition, conservation and restoration were also discussed during this period. Although the tsunami in December 2005 did not cause much damage to the fort, the annual decisions of 2005 were mainly devoted to this and to the urgency of a management plan. The preparation of the management plan was the second most important topic discussed until 2016, and the "Integrated Management System" was formulated in 2015. 2008 marked the beginning of two frequently discussed, controversial projects in the buffer zone: the Galle Harbour Development Project and the intrusive developments at Galle International Cricket Stadium, which both potentially threaten the physical and visual integrity of the property, as well as its outstanding universal value (discussed in sub-chapters 7.7.2 and 7.7.3). Scientific research, maintenance, international assistance, threats to maritime archaeology and museums were the least discussed topics.

According to Fig. 41, the decisions of the World Heritage Committee were broadly centred on five matters from 2008 to 2016; the buffer/boundary of the property, the intrusive developments at Galle International Cricket Stadium, Galle Harbour Development Project, empowering Galle Heritage Foundation and the Management Plan. While the first two still remain unresolved, the Sri Lanka Ports Authority has scaled down the Galle Harbour Development Project, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.3 (WHC 2008, 96; SLPA 2013, 1). The "Integrated Management System 2015" aims to empower GHF, as discussed earlier, which however is not well founded. However, prioritizing the issues of a buffer zone, especially the first three of the five issues mentioned above have undermined critical concerns for the World Heritage property. The requirements of the urban community were not directly discussed in the annual decisions of the committee, except for the

354 Available at http//whc.unesco.org/en/list/451/documents/ (accessed 9 August 2018).

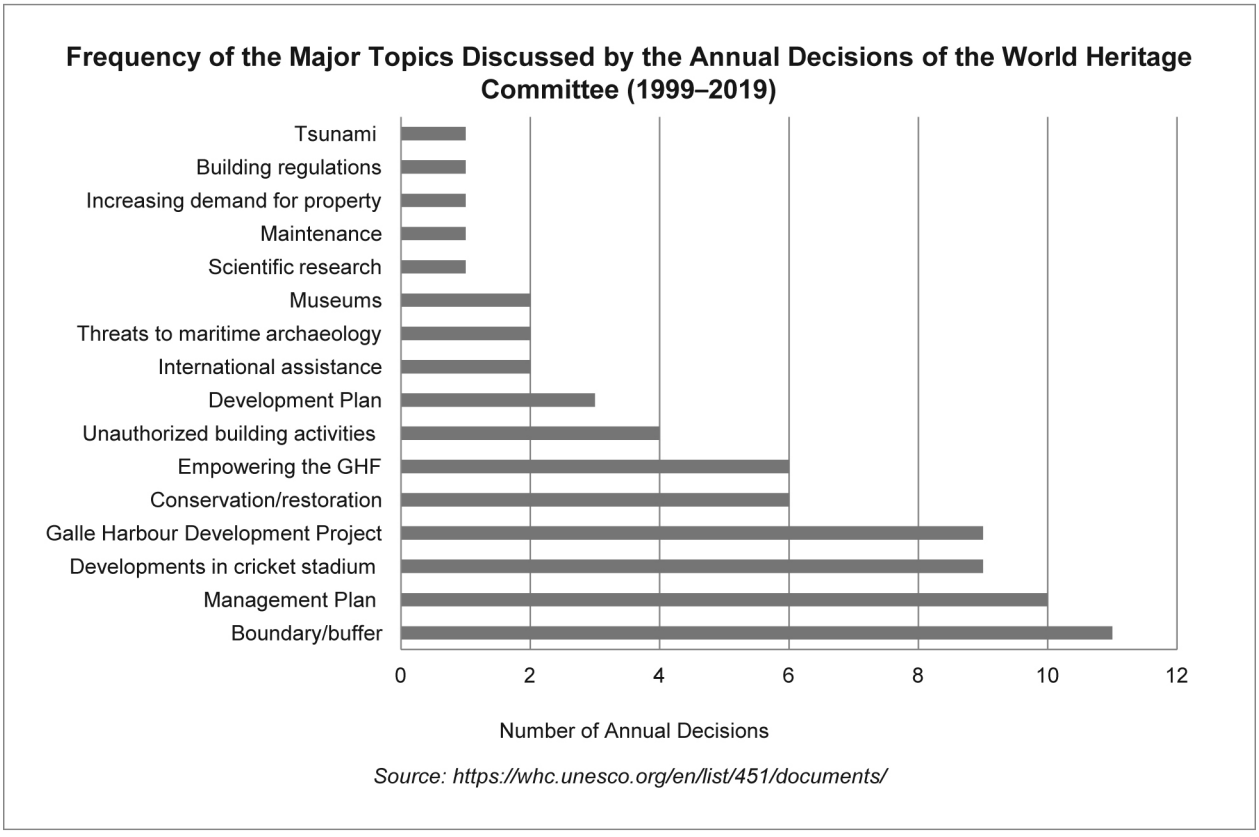


Fig. 41 Frequency of major topics discussed by the annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee (from 1999–2018).

preparation of building regulations, which also aimed at the preservation of material heritage. Furthermore, the discussion of excessive gentrification and threats to intangible values is limited only to academia. Finally, the conflicts between community and heritage authorities over building activities has not yet been given proper attention.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that most of the local institutional policy documents, as well as the Special Regulations, 2009, that were prepared according to the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee, do not consider the aspirations of the local residential community. The absence of one central authority to handle the heritage management of Galle Fort and the lack of power on the part of the GHF can also be discerned.

5. Changes to the Physical Urban Landscape

This chapter focuses on changes in the "material heritage" of the fort in order to identify the extent to which the preservation of the "[Dutch] colonial built landscape" has so far been successful, this being the interest of the heritage institutions. While it focuses largely on colonial townhouses and their changes in the context of the current tourism economy, changes in the overall building stock are also analysed in this chapter.

5.1 THE TOWNHOUSE AS A MICROCOSM/ SIGNIFIER OF THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

According to Meinig (1979, 228), "the elementary unit in the landscape is the individual dwelling … thus in the study of landscape 'first comes the house'" (Meinig 1979, 228). Studying the functional and architectural changes in townhouses, which comprised four-thirds of the total recorded buildings in Galle Fort at the initiation of the World Heritage project, is essential for identifying the changes in the urban landscape as a whole. While the city's living heritage status depends wholly on these houses and their inhabitants, their unique architecture, with an "own garden and an open verandah," is prioritized by the Advisory Body Evaluation of ICOMOS (1986) as "European only its basic design" (as outlined in sub-chapter 1.3.3).

5.1.1 TERMINOLOGY

The houses of Galle Fort have been labelled with different terms by scholars and institutional policy documents, despite generally being referred to as "houses." While Brohier (1978) identifies Dutch-period dwellings as "Dutch houses," the first policy document of 1987 (formally published in 1992) categorizes them as "residential buildings" (Brohier 1978; Wijesuriya and Vos 1987; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992). The term "Dutch houses" was reused by Bandaranayake's short article on the first systematic documentation of the buildings of the fort, carried out by the Department of Archaeology (Bandaranayake 1992). Prof. Samitha Manawadu, the principal investigator of the Dutch government-funded Preservation of Private Houses Project at Galle Fort (2006–2009), was the first to introduce the term "townhouse," which was adopted by Rajapakse (Manawadu 2009; Rajapakse 2013). The term "townhouse," in the traditional sense, has two dictionary meanings: a terrace or linked house in an urban area with two or three floors, or the city residence of a noble whose principal residence was a country house.[355] The use of the term with reference to Galle Fort was mainly due to the city's European urban pattern, with houses sharing common walls, despite the fact they are mostly single-storeyed. Aside from the general term "houses," the "Integrated Management System of 2015" recognized these houses as "street houses." However, "townhouse" or "street house" can only be used for a unit with a residential character, while a substantial number of houses in Galle Fort are currently in use as "shophouses," houses containing a shop on the first floor and residences above.

5.1.2 DATING TOWNHOUSES/BUILDINGS IN GALLE FORT

Although the townhouses of Galle Fort have not been dated specifically, the buildings including the townhouses were roughly dated in the documentations of the buildings compiled by the Department of Archaeology (the majority of buildings recorded in 1992), University of Moratuwa (63 buildings, 2009) and University of Sri Jayewardenepura

355 Available at https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/us/townhouse (accessed 20 March 2019).

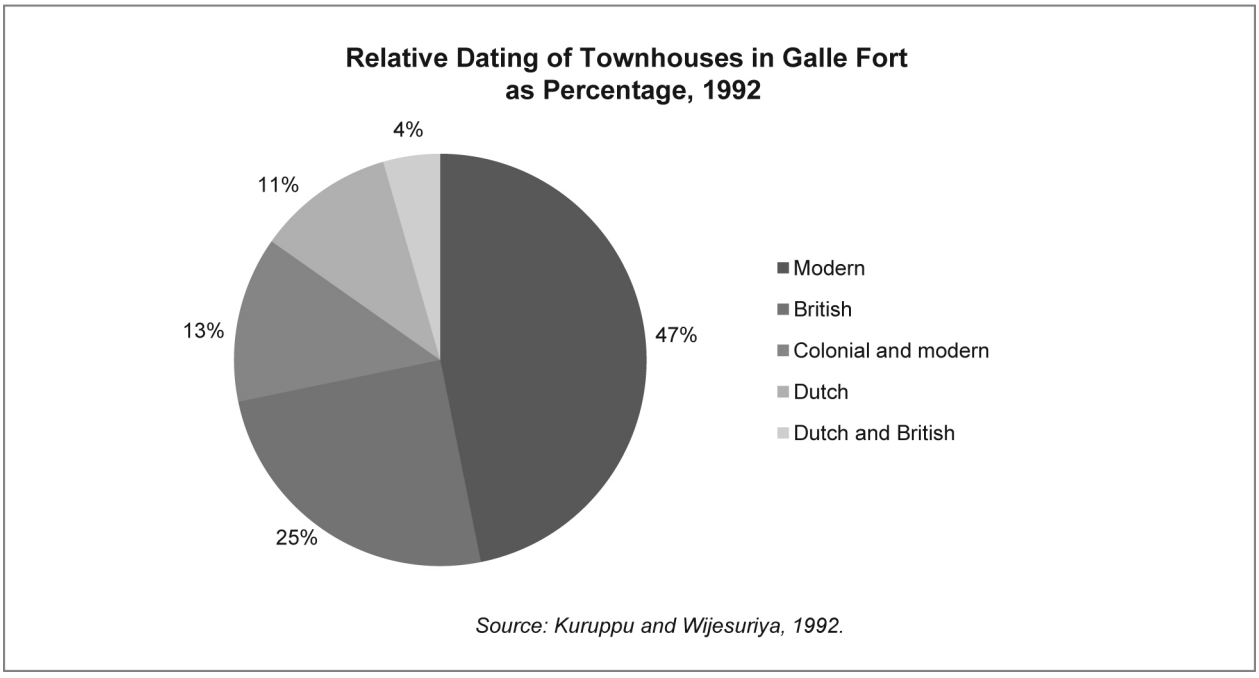


Fig. 42 Relative dating of the townhouses of Galle Fort (as percentage), 1992.

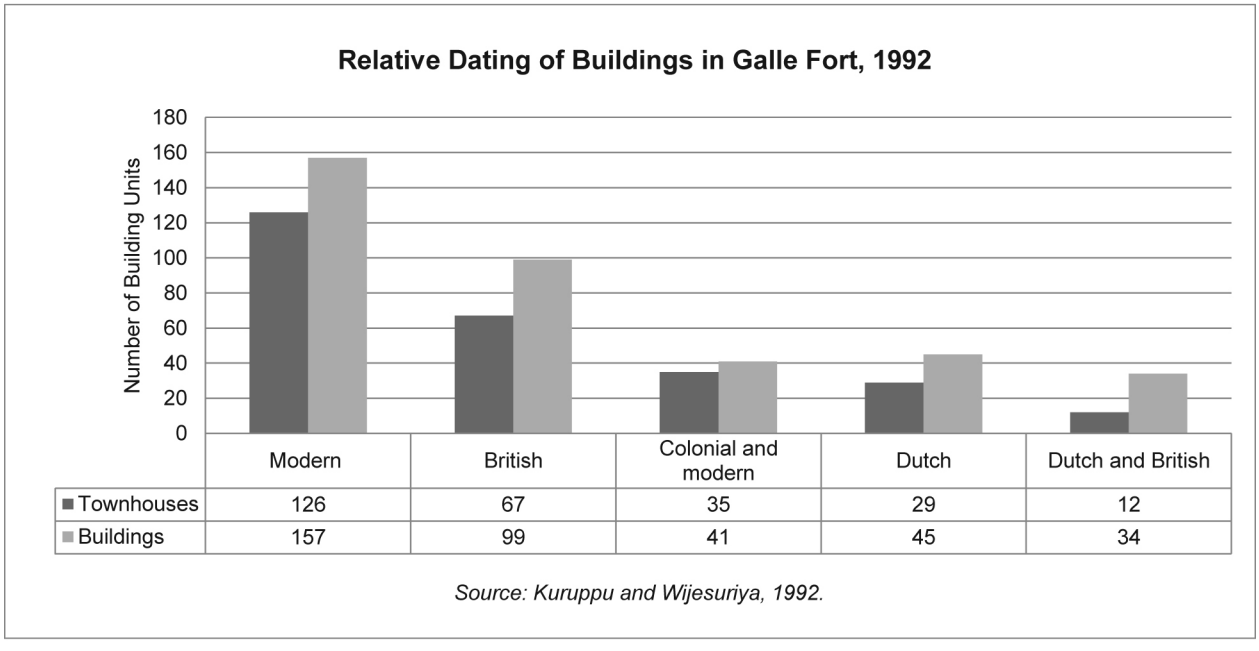


Fig. 43 Relative dating of the townhouses and buildings of Galle Fort, 1992.

(buildings on Church and Pedlar Streets, 2015).[356] In addition, the Social, Economic and Cultural Survey (2009) of Galle Fort, conducted by Galle Heritage Foundation (hereafter also referred to as "GHF"), also includes a basic periodization of the buildings. Both the documentations of 1992 and 2015 roughly identify the colonial or local origin of each building (either Dutch, British or modern) through their architectural styles. An analysis of the 1992 documentation of the buildings by the Department of Archaeology (hereafter also referred to as "DOA") reveals that 72% of the total recorded buildings are houses, contrary to the statement of the first policy document (1987), which states that 50% are residential buildings. The analysis of the DOA's systematic documentation (1992) reveals that nearly half of the buildings bore contemporary architectural features in 1992 (in the fourth year of World Heritage recognition) in their façades despite their colonial origins (Figs. 42–43). However, the buildings bearing Dutch colonial architectural features are the fewest in number compared to those with modern and British elements in their façades (Fig. 43). Conversely, the survey of Galle Heritage Foundation provides contrasting statistics.[357]

According to Manawadu, the architectural features of the fort's townhouses do not correspond to the specific period of their construction, as most of the houses were renovated or rebuilt the course of time, developments that were influenced by the popular architecture of each period (Manawadu 2009) (Figs. 44–45). In evidence of this fact, by analysing the façades recorded in 1992 (in the DOA's systematic documentation), it can be observed that 47% of the houses exhibit contemporary architectural styles of the '80s and '90s in their façades. Thus, features like the central courtyards and verandahs of the late Dutch period were adopted in British as well as modern times. Furthermore, the buildings of the fort belong to diverse architectural styles, with multifaceted appearances characteristic of different political periods (Manawadu 2009). It is a common practice in the country to modify the houses as the owners wish, although this has been difficult in urban areas since the late '70s, with the implementation of urban development laws.





Figs. 44–45 Buildings exhibiting popular architectural styles of different periods, Light House Street.

5.1.3 COLONIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TOWNHOUSES

The specific characteristics of houses of Dutch colonial origin were discussed by Brohier (1978), Bandaranayake (1992), Raban (1996), Temmick Groll (2002), Manawadu (2009) and Boxem and

356 The Dutch government-funded Preservation of Private Houses Project at Galle Fort (2006–2009) was implemented by GHF in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Moratuwa. A detailed documentations of houses on two main streets of Galle Fort was undertaken by the University of Sri Jayewardenepura in 2015, in a project funded by the US Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation (2011).

357 One Portuguese-period building, 225 Dutch, 114 British and 159 modern buildings (Liyana Arachchi 2009, 43). However, this work does not define the criteria used to date the buildings, and the statistics are thus questionable, as nearly half of the buildings bear modern façades, according to the survey carried out in 2016 for the purpose of this study.



Fig. 46 Townhouses in Naarden Fort (16th century), Netherlands.

Fuhren (2010), while Rajapakse (2013) provides a special definition for houses in Galle Fort. A brief but clear statement by Raben on Lankan-Dutch houses, which were the in vogue in the 18th century, states that they are "characterized by a single story house with a gallery in front (verandah), bordering on the road, with a row of wooden or plastered brick pillars in simple Doric style" (Raben 1996, 140). Temmick Groll, who conducted a brief analysis of existing Dutch houses in Galle Fort based on the systematic building documentation of the Department of Archaeology (1992), has a similar idea (Temminck Groll 2002, 265). Heydt's accounts confirm that the houses had one floor during Dutch occupation, including the commander's house (Heydt 1744 [1952], 43).[358] Manawadu identifies the style of these houses as "Dutch hybrid domestic architecture," since it was the product of local workers and craftsmen but based on the requirements of the Dutch colonizers (Manawadu 2009, 3). In contrast, Oers states that the design of Galle Fort houses with a central light has a Portuguese origin as well, as descendants of the Portuguese, besides locals, might also have been employed in building them (Oers

358 "The reader must not be astonished that these buildings, which ought well to be the most splendid, and which are inhabited by the foremost people of the Place, are of one story high only, since it happens here just as in other places on the island, as I already mentioned when describing the city of Colombo, that the buildings may not be made much higher without great danger, owing to the fierce weather" (Heydt 1744 [1952], 43).



Fig. 47 Aerial view of the streetscape of Middle Street, showing the narrow street frontages and deep interiors of houses.

2002, 8).[359] These townhouses, which were built by using the available local materials, were totally different from the contemporary townhouses of the Netherlands or similar ones in the western Dutch colonies, like Curaçao, except for their position facing the street and their common walls (Fig. 46).

Based on the above-cited authors, observations and discussions with heritage officers, the following major characteristics can be identified in Galle Fort houses of colonial origin.

Prominent features of the façade:

- Sharing of common walls
- Narrow street frontage with lofty front verandah
- Central light system (main door and subsequent doors lined up with it, leading to a central courtyard, such as at nos. 85 and 87, Leyn Baan Street)
- Large timber doors and windows
- Ornamental fanlights on the main doorway
- Side passage door to remove night soil from large houses (introduced during the British period for the houses that were difficult to access from back alleyways, such as nos. 23 and 43, Church Street)[360]
- Stable (occasionally)
- Half-round tiled roof

Prominent features behind the façade:

- Central courtyard bordered by verandah (had a well in former times; however, this is very rare nowadays)
- Deep interior and long corridors spanning from the road to the interior (Fig. 47)
- Wide coral walls
- Carved wooden ceilings (occasionally)



Figs. 48–49 Central light penetrates to the courtyard at no. 104, Pedlar Street (2016).

359 According to Oers, the urban pattern of Galle shows a Portuguese origin and adoption of Portuguese building techniques. The Dutch period (1640–1796) saw the adoption of Portuguese building techniques. Both descendants of the Portuguese and locals were employed by the Dutch as workers and craftsmen. The layout of the streets and the pattern of plot division remained unchanged. The courtyard, however, was recast as the focal point of the house, with the rooms arranged around it (2002, 8).

360 The municipality introduced new sanitary measures after 1892. Thus, alleyways were introduced for entering the middle blocks of houses to remove night soil, while a narrow passage leading to the streetfront was introduced to the larger houses that were not accessible through these alleyways (personal conversation with the Project Planning Officer of GHF, 16 April 2018).

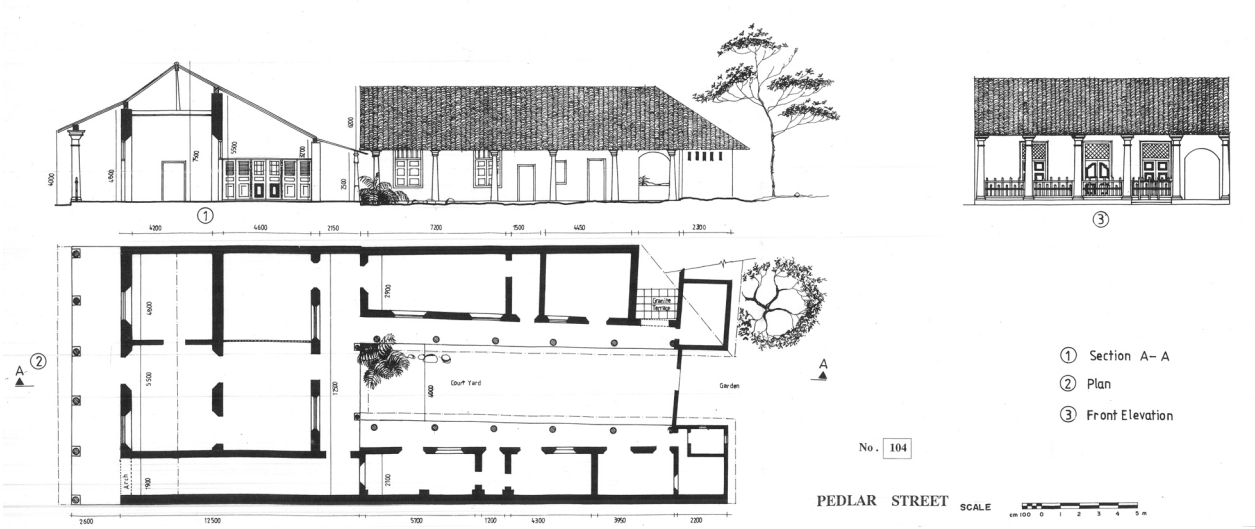


Fig. 50 Ground plan of no. 104, Pedlar Street (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 335).

- Opening at the back to collect night soil
- In addition, back alleyway to remove garbage and night soil

Although more houses had had these features previously, a few examples of the remaining townhouses with one or more of these colonial features are as follows:

- No. 104, Pedlar Street: Single-storey building with front verandah with Doric pillars, central courtyard bordered by three colonnaded verandahs and a stable converted to a restaurant in 2017 (Figs. 48–50)
- No. 28, Middle Street: Single-storey house with front verandah (half-covered by British windows), Dutch-period main doorway with ornamental fanlights and a stable (Fig. 51)
- No. 35, Leyn Baan Street: Single-storey building (renovated after it collapsed and currently used as a private museum) with a central courtyard surrounded by colonnaded verandahs, a well in the central courtyard and a Dutch-period main doorway with ornamental fanlights (Fig. 52)
- No. 3, Church Cross Street: Double-storey house (single-storey façade) with a front verandah half-covered by British windows,



Figs. 51–52 The Dutch-period ornamental fanlights above the doorway at no. 28, Middle Street (above) and no. 35, Leyn Baan Street (below, with a renovated façade).

a stable and a side courtyard
• No. 22, Hospital Street: Double-storey house (single-storey façade) with a timber-pillared front verandah and central courtyard.

Verandah

The verandah, which is the chief visible architectural feature of the colonial houses in Galle Fort, may consist of wooden pillars, masonry pillars or arches (Figs. 53–56). While the original type of support was square wooden pillars, Doric masonry pillars appear in the late Dutch and early British periods, followed by arches, which evolved in the late British period (Boxem and Fuhren 2010, 44). According to Boxem and Furhen (2010), the verandah was a later addition to the houses of the Dutch era, probably from around the late 18th century, and replaced the earlier, higher *stoep* in front of the buildings.





Figs. 53–54 A timber-pillared verandah (above) and a renovated Doric-pillared verandah (below).



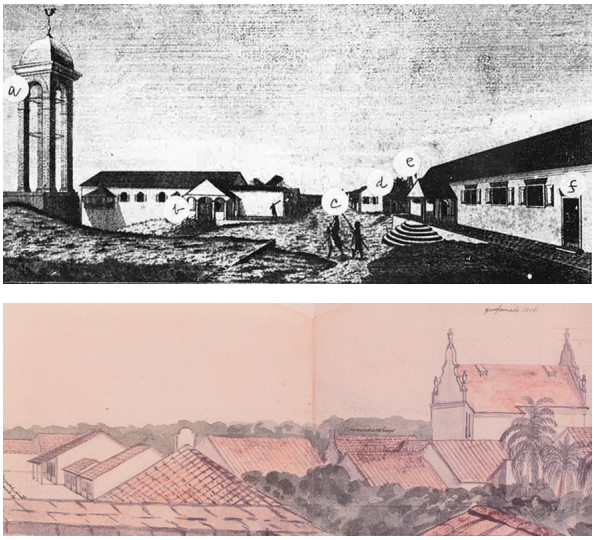


Figs. 55–56 Renovated arched verandahs (above) and a verandah half-covered by glass windows (below).

Boxem and Furhen's (2010) above-mentioned statement is supported by Heydt's engravings of the view of Church Street, featuring two prominent buildings without verandahs, the commander's residence and the house of the assistant writer (the current post office building), in the mid-18th century (Heydt 1744 [1952]).[361] Jan Brandes's 1786 painting, "Town of Galle as Seen by Flagstaff," provides evidence of the presence of verandahs in the late Dutch period (Figs. 57–58).[362] According to Oers, the verandah acts as a filter between the house and the street as well as a social space (Oers 2002, 8).

361 Plate 67 (Heydt 1744 [1952]).

362 *De stad Gale op Ceylon van de vlaggestok af te zien* (The Town of Galle as seen from the Flagstaff) (Diessen 2008, 214).



Figs. 57–58 Heydt's (1744)[363] engraving of the view of Church Street, without verandahs on the buildings (above), next to Brandes's painting (1786), showing the houses with verandahs (below).[364]

Central and Side Courtyards

The central courtyard or "own garden," according to criterion iv of the ICOMOS evaluation (outlined in sub-chapter 1.3.3), could also be identified as an element of local vernacular architecture. Wijetunga's work supports the idea that the interior courtyard was a typical element of elite and sub-elite houses (*walauwe*)[365] during the Kandyan Period[366] (16th century–1815), the country's last kingdom (Wijetunge 2012).[367] Bandaranayake's work shows that the open courtyard was also an element of Buddhist monastic architecture, specifically in refectories, during the Anuradhapura period (4th century BCE–1017 CE), the country's first kingdom (Bandaranayake 1974). However, the courtyards in Galle Fort also have architectural similarities with the medieval *hofjes* (almshouses, literally "small courts") of the Netherlands. These charitable old-age homes had an open, quadrangular, common central courtyard, usually consisting of a bleaching field with a common well, surrounded by small apartments on all sides (Looijesteijn 2010). Although the courtyards in Galle Fort had wells (as discussed later), typical local courtyards had no well, showing the colonial influence on Galle Fort's houses.



Fig. 59 View of the central courtyard, no. 104, Pedlar Street (2015).



Fig. 60 A well in the central courtyard at no. 35, Leyn Baan Street.

363 Plate 67, "view of the Castle of Pinto-Gale, as it appears from within" (Heydt 1744 [1952]).

364 *De stad Gale op Ceylon van de vlaggestok af te zien* (The Town of Galle as seen from the Flagstaff) (Diessen 2008, 214).

365 "The term *walauwe* in Sinhalese carries the connotation for 'aristocratic dwelling' or 'manor house,' was jealously-guarded during the Kandyan period. This not only connoted the dwellings of aristocrats, it was also used to identify the houses of high government officials who were classified under elite ranks earlier (who may or not be aristocrats). However, in certain parts of Kandyan regions, even the houses of sub-elites, later appropriated the term liberally" (Wijetunge 2012, 32).

366 On the Kingdom of Kandy, refer to footnote in 50.

367 According to Wijetunge (2012), Kandyan elite domestic architecture reflected the Kandyan culture, a hybrid of Theravada Buddhist and Hindu cultural influences.

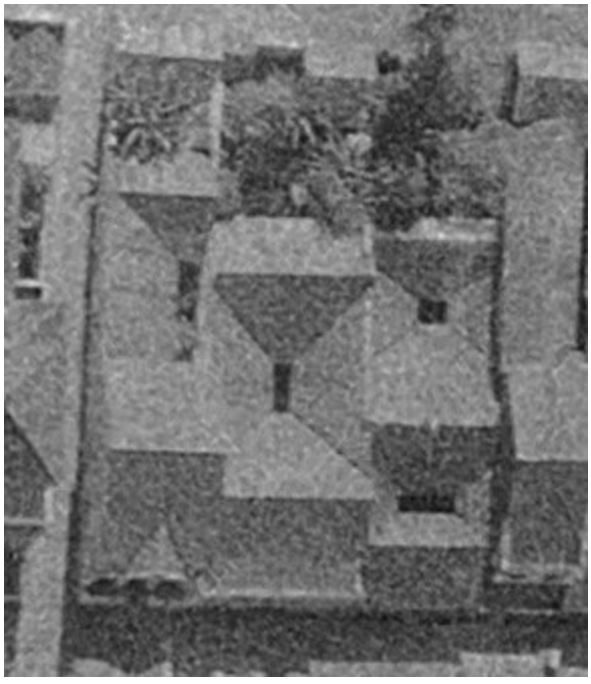


Fig. 61 House with a side courtyard (left), central courtyard (middle) and two central courtyards (right) on Leyn Baan Street in 1965.[368]

The (open-air) courtyards of Galle Fort's houses are generally situated at the centre of each house and surrounded by three or four colonnaded verandahs (Fig. 59). The courtyard was the focal point of the house, with some bedrooms, storage, a kitchen and toilet arranged around it (Boxem and Fuhren 2010; Oers 2002).[369] This feature is also an alternative to the front yard for houses facing the street, and therefore features a garden of flowers and herbs. It had a utilitarian function, serving as a space for drying clothes and spices, while providing light and good ventilation. One doesn't feel the warm tropical sun or the rush of the street from the courtyard, as I experienced at Galle Fort.

Courtyards had wells during Dutch occupation, which continued under British occupation, although the feature is hardly seen today. These wells and the gardens of the fort are mentioned by Dutch chroniclers, namely Baldaeus and Valentijn (Baldaeus 1672 [1960], 127; Valentijn 1726 [1978], 114). A detailed map of the fort compiled by the Survey Department, Galle in 1897[370] shows that many households had wells in their inner courtyards during the British period. One of the few remaining examples of a courtyard with a well is no. 35, Leyn Baan Street (Fig. 60). There are also side courtyards, while some houses contain both central and side courtyards. An aerial photograph taken by the Survey Department in 1965 shows that two central courtyards, a rare feature, also existed in the 1960s (Fig. 61). In the context of Galle, the courtyard was an ordinary element rather than part of the elite domestic architecture, unlike in Kandyan times.

5.1.4 CHANGES IN THE BUILDINGS (INCLUDING TOWNHOUSES) SINCE WORLD HERITAGE RECOGNITION

In sub-chapter 1.3.3, it was elaborated that preserving the (Dutch) colonial architecture of the buildings was the main priority of the World Heritage project. The Special Regulations, 2009, implemented to this end, were discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2; the legal provisions of the Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940), Urban Development Authority Act (41, 1978) and Ceylon Government Gazette No. 14959 (1971) for protecting the colonial fort (including its buildings) were also discussed in chapter 4.

The rest of this chapter analyses the changes in these buildings, both functionally and architecturally, since the World Heritage recognition of Galle Fort in 1988, within this legal framework (specifically with respect to the Special Regulations, 2009, the main building regulation). The comparison of the buildings was based mainly on the first systematic documentation of the buildings carried out by the Department of Archaeology between 1988 and 1990 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992), as further elaborated in sub-chapter 3.3.

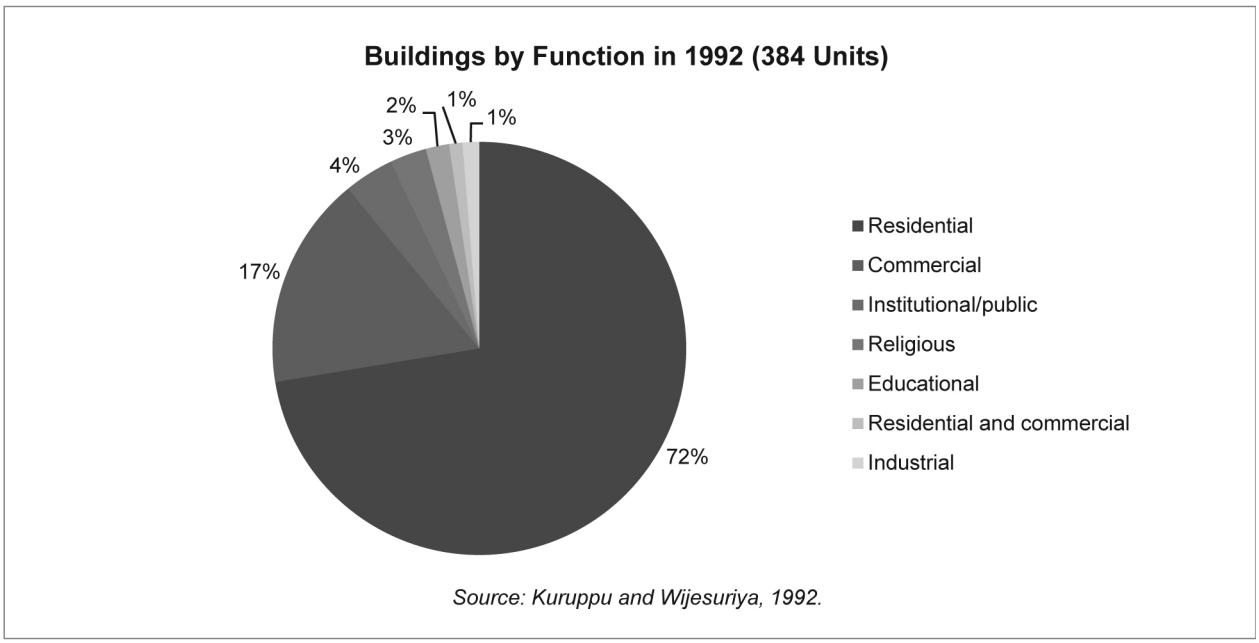
5.2 TURNING THE TOWNHOUSE INTO AN OBJECT OF INCOME GENERATION

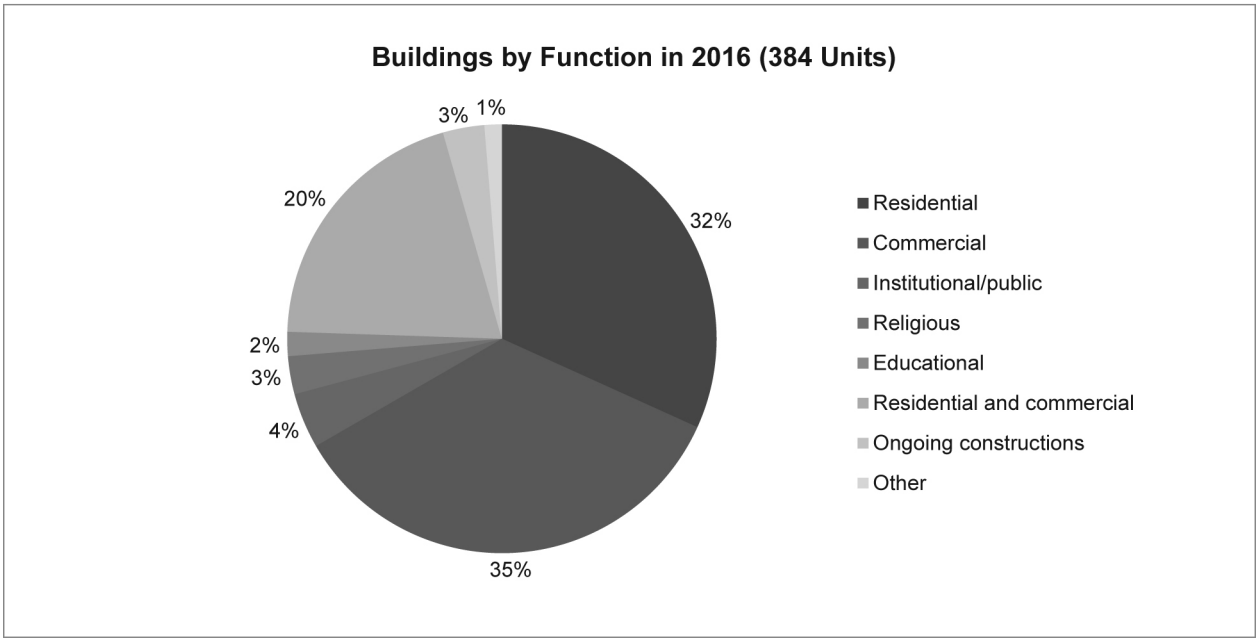
Galle Fort had a primarily residential function in 1992, in the third year of World Heritage recognition, with

368 Aerial photograph 65.05.036 (1965), Survey Department, Sri Lanka.

369 Sansoni, quoted by Boxem and Fuhren 2010, 46.

370 Map reference numbers 1094,1095, 1096,1097 (1897), Galle District Survey Office of the Survey Department, Sri Lanka.





Figs. 62–63 Functional changes in the same buildings from 1992 to 2016.

72% of the recorded buildings being residential (72%, 278 out of 384), followed by commercial (17%, 64), institutional/public (6%, 22), religious (3%, 11) and other uses (Figs. 62–64). The considerable number of public institutions located in the fort during this period indicate the fort's continuity as a residential-administrative centre, which has prevailed since British occupation (discussed in sub-chapter 1.1.4).

Nearly half (45%, 172) of the buildings recorded in 1992 had been subject to functional changes by 2016, and the most heavily affected category was residential buildings, which comprised the majority

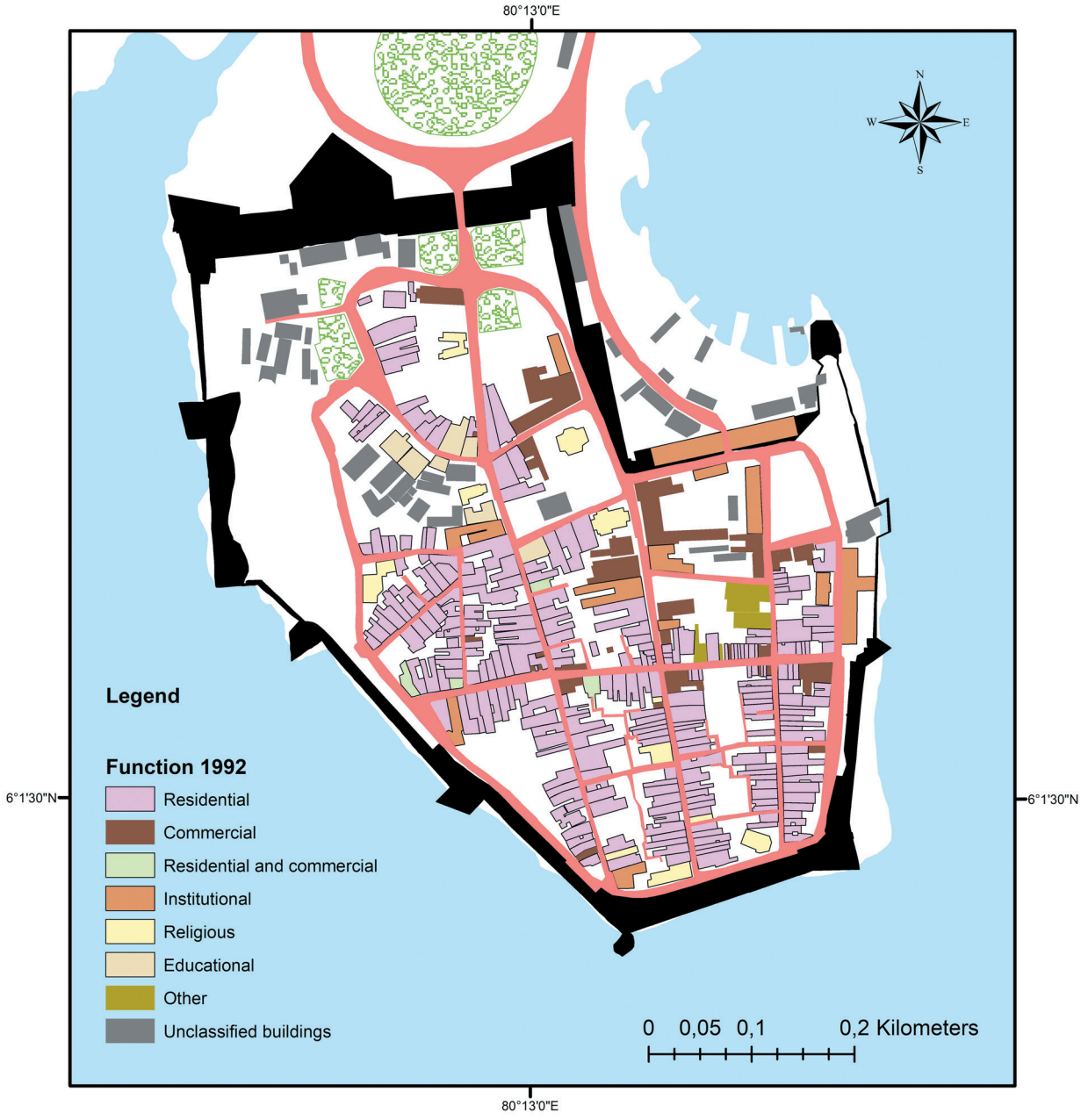


Fig. 64 Functions of buildings, 1992 (source: Kuruppu and Wijesuriya, 1992).

of such changes. A comparison of the same building stock in 2016 shows that the number of residential buildings had dropped by half (32%, 122), with a sharp increase in commercial buildings as the new majority (34%, 134), as shown by Fig. 63 and 65. In addition, the statistics also show how the 2002 heritage policies replaced the industrial function (as briefly outlined in sub-chapter 4.5.2) of the fort with the increasing tourism function, as the few industrial buildings from 1992 no longer exist in 2016.

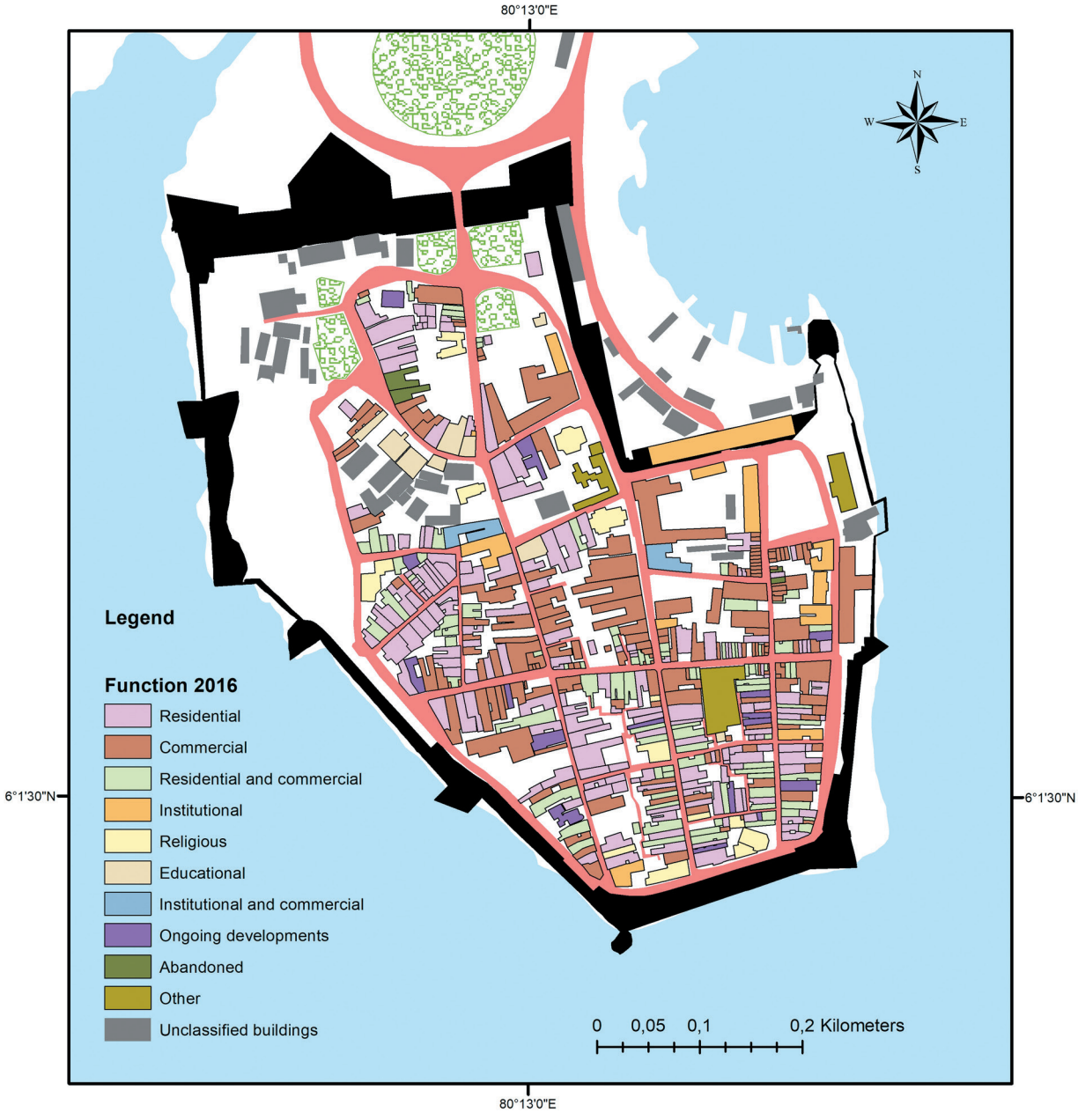
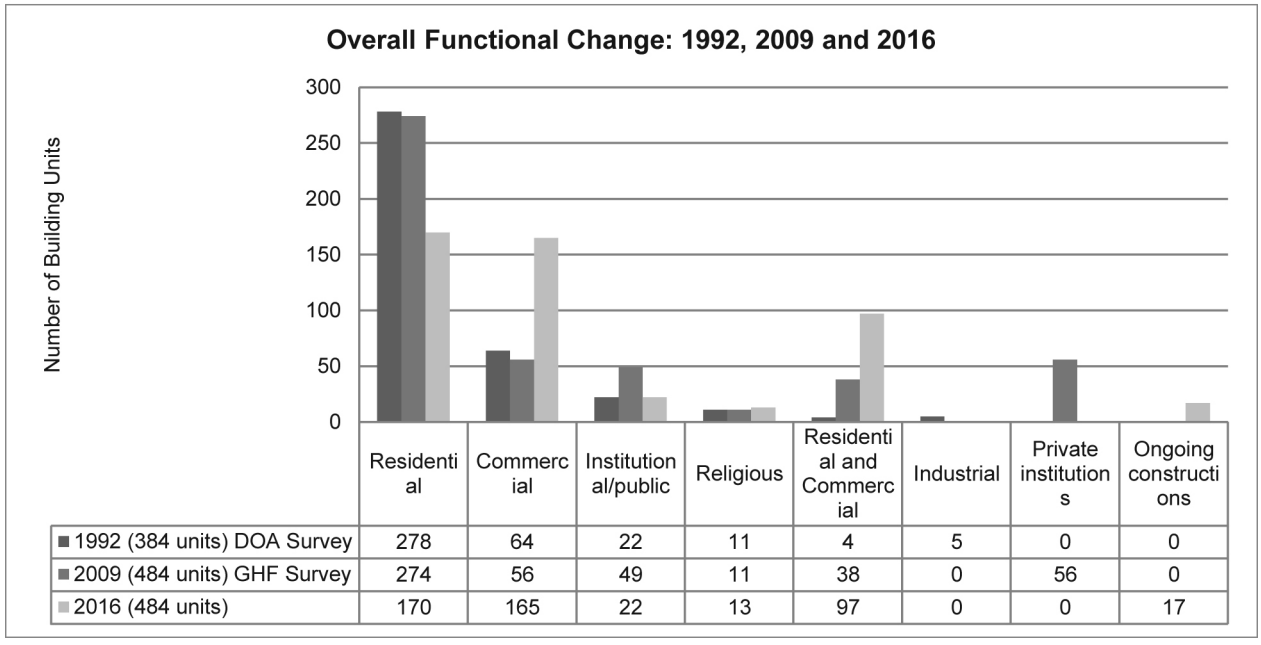
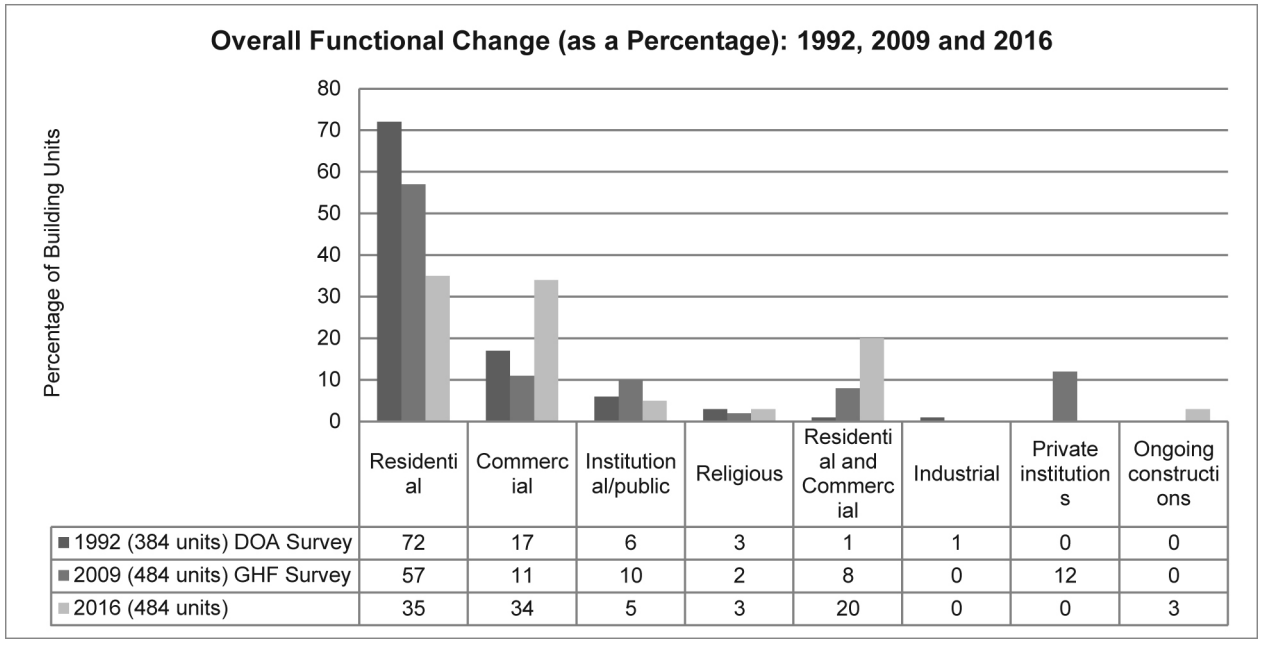


Fig. 65 Functions of buildings, 2016.

5.2.1 TOWNHOUSES CONVERTED INTO VILLAS, SHOPHOUSES AND B&BS

In considering the overall changes between 1992, 2009 and 2016, the gradual decline of residential buildings, and the rise of commercial as well as mixed-purpose residential-commercial buildings can be identified (Figs. 66–67). By 2016, residential and commercial buildings were almost equal in number, at 35% (170) and 34% (165), respectively. Thus, the current situation might pose a threat to the provisions of the Special Regulations, 2009, which require maintaining at least 35% of the total building area for residential purposes (Article 70.10).





Figs. 66–67 Overall functional changes, 1992, 2009, 2016 (as a percentage and number of buildings).

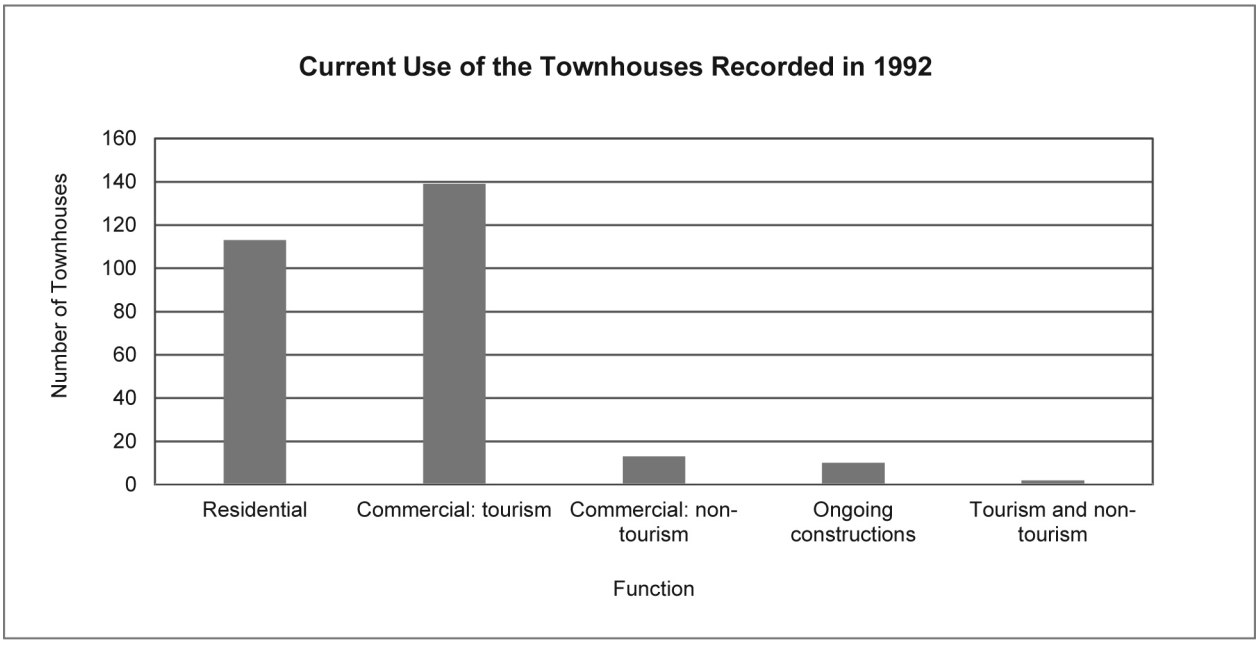


Fig. 68 Current use of the townhouses recorded in 1992.

It can be observed that this drastic functional change in the buildings, including townhouses, is a result of the flourishing tourism industry (Fig. 68), as more than half of the total buildings surveyed in 1992 are currently associated with tourism-related businesses. This includes half of the townhouses recorded in 1992. While 76 households became fully commercial establishments, 64 are associated with home-based businesses, such as bed and breakfast providers (hereafter also referred to as "B&Bs"), gem and jewellery shops, souvenir shops, etc., with the properties either owned or rented (leasing space is currently equally profitable, as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3). Thus, shophouses have become a significant category today, indicating the community's interest in obtaining economic benefits from tourism.

In general, this conversion from residential to commercial purposes includes the introduction of 63 tourist accommodations of various types (24 villas, hotels, guesthouses, B&Bs, etc.), 38 jewellery shops, 19 restaurants/cafes, 13 handicraft/souvenir shops, two spas, two branded clothing stores and three galleries. In addition, there is a considerable number of small-scale B&B providers. The current scenario shows that the conversion of townhouses into income- generating objects correlates with a significant increase in local and foreign investment in townhouses, which is discussed separately in sub-chapter 6.3 (Fig. 69–73). The impacts of these conversions of use (sometimes "unauthorized") and higher levels of commercialization on the historic city's heritage management, especially the living heritage status of the city, as well as the associated social changes will be elaborated in chapters 6 and 7.[371]

371 The conversion of residential unit to a commercial unit did not require the permission of the authorities at the beginning of the World Heritage project. Since commercialization has become a threat to the living heritage status of the city—and because the subsequent architectural changes that occur amid such conversion are sometimes negative—the permission of the authorities is essential for conversion of use today. However, the conversion of use is carried out both legally and "illegally." Conversion of use is not only common in residential buildings; even institutions like the YWCA and YMBA rent space for commercial purposes today, and thereby contribute to the overall conversion of use.

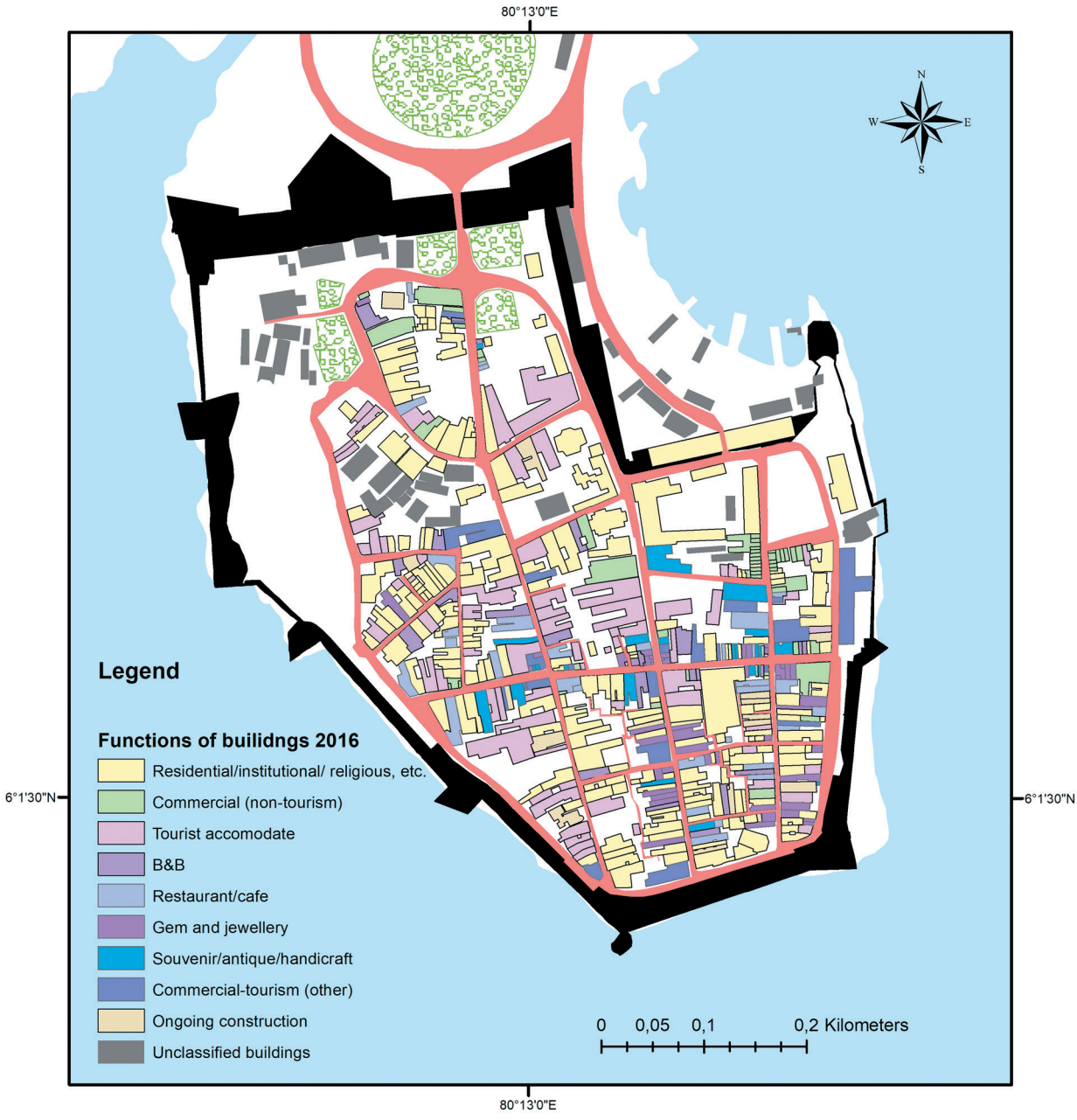


Fig. 69 Townhouse as an income generating object, 2016.

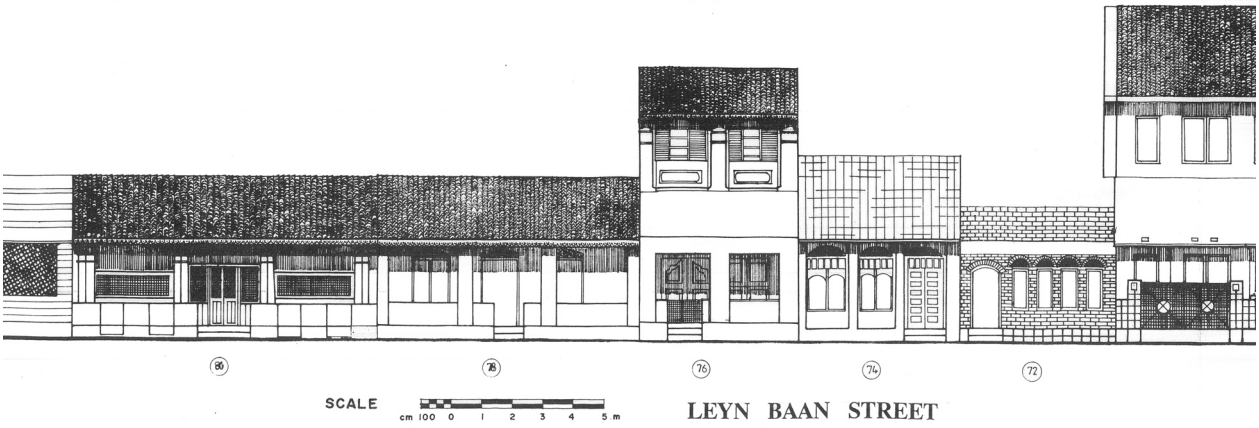
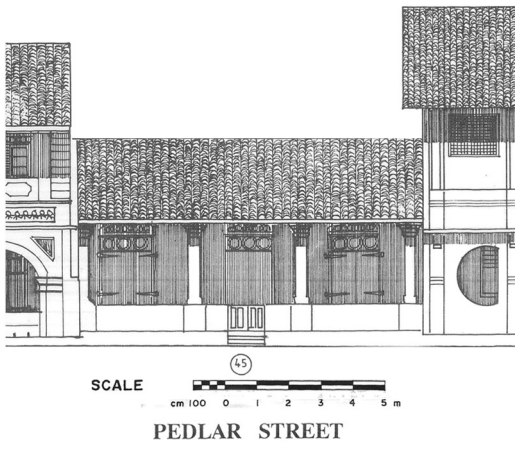


Fig. 70 Four houses (nos. 72–80) on Leyn Baan Street in 1992 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 255).



Fig. 71 The same houses as shophouses and tourist accommodations in 2018: (right to left) no. 72 (a house with a café), no. 74 (a house with a jewellery shop and B&B), no. 76 (a restaurant and accommodation), no. 78 (boutique villa) and no. 80 (a house with a packed tea shop).





Figs. 72–73 A house in 1992 (at left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 157) and in 2018 as a gallery (right).

5.2.2 FUNCTIONAL CHANGES AND ARCHITECTURAL CHANGES

The functional change of the buildings are also associated with architectural changes—which can be both positive as well as negative—compatible with the new function, under the provisions of the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009.

A Positive Aspect of Investment: Development and Amalgamation

In general, approved developments funded by either local or foreign investors, as well as those carried out by residents, yield positive architectural outcomes, as will be elaborated in sub-chapter 5.3. In addition, merging subdivided properties into one large property in accordance with the "colonial architecture" can be also viewed as a positive effect associated with gentrification and foreign investments (Figs. 74–75). Between 1992 and 2016, 19 properties were merged; 12 had a tourism function, and half of them had foreign ownership.

Negative Aspects: "Illegal" Developments and Subdivision

However, functional changes also result in negative architectural outcomes, namely when they are carried out "illegally," as discussed in sub-chapter 7.3, in conflicts with the "colonial architecture." Furthermore, the subdivision of properties is also a threat to inherent colonial features, like verandahs and internal courtyards. Although subdivision





Figs. 74–75 Three subdivided properties in 1992 (at left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 133) and the same buildings merged into one unit as a foreign invested boutique villa in 2016.



Fig. 76 Subdivision of buildings due to commercialization: gem and jewellery shops on Pedlar Street.

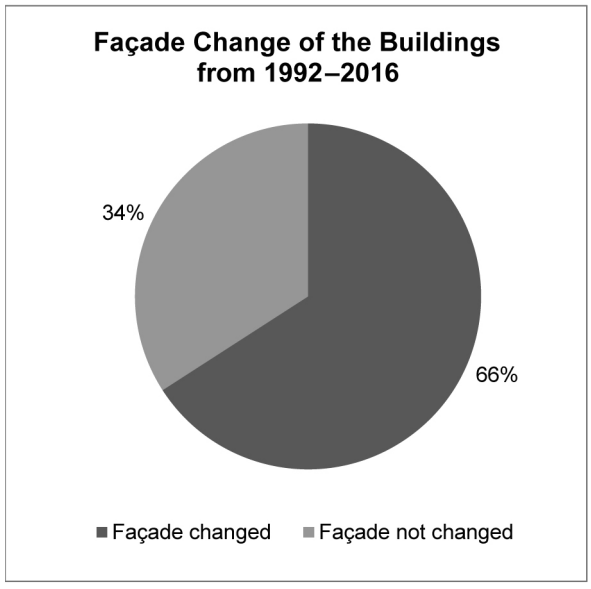
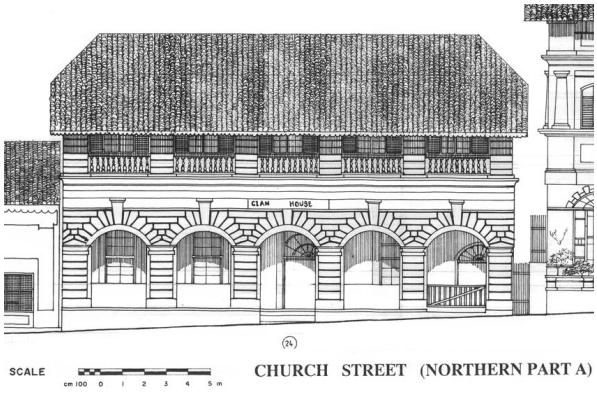
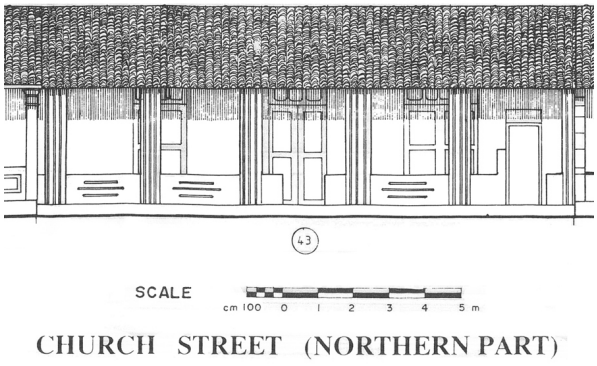


Fig. 77 Changes in building façades from 1992 to 2016.



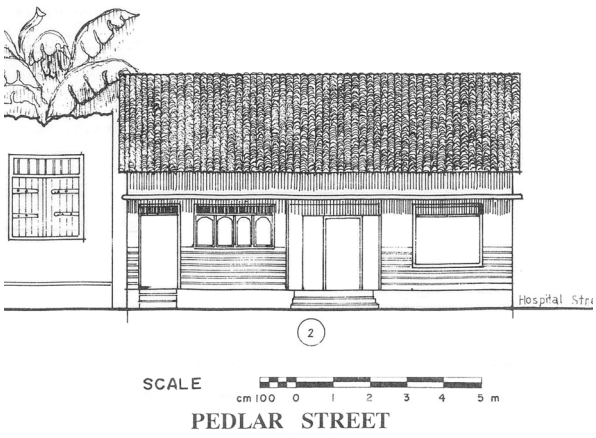


Figs. 78–79 A "contributing" façade in 1992, left (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 225), the same in 2016, right.





Figs. 80–81 A façade classified as "moderate" in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 243) that, by 2016, had changed into a "disturbing" one due to subdivision of the property (right).



was traditionally the result of dividing a property between children, commercialization has become one of the major factors driving this phenomenon today. Of the 50 subdivisions identified, nearly 70% of these (36 out of 50) were created for commercial purposes, especially for gem and jewellery shops, a permitted "change of use" under the Special Regulations, 2009 (Article 70.11; Fig. 76).

5.3 THE COLONIAL FAÇADE: POSITIVE PRESERVATION OF INTERIOR ELEMENTS

A façade with a verandah is the chief element representing the colonial features of a building, and therefore the Special Regulations, 2009 give priority to preserving such façades.[372] A drastic change in the streetscape of the fort could be observed by 2016, with the alteration of 66% (239) of the façades recorded in 1992, leaving only 34% (131) without changes or with few changes, as shown in Fig. 77. The façades were divided into three categories, as contributing, moderate and disturbing (according to their existing colonial features, discussed in sub-chapter 5.1.3) in order to identify the changes in a meaningful way (Figs. 77–83).

372 "Finishes of the Building: All internal and external appearance of the buildings shall be in harmony with the existing historical building within the Galle Fort area. (a) No reflecting or mirrored glass shall be used in the front elevation of the buildings. (b) No approval is granted to cover the front arcade with ceramic tiles, mosaic tiles, and any tiles with colour patches or tiles of any type and inappropriate plaster textures. (c) Façade finishes of the buildings shall be compatible with the environmental characteristics" (Article 70.19, Special Regulations, 2009).



Figs. 82–83 A "disturbing" façade (at left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 145) that changed into a "contributing" façade after an approved development (at right, 2016).[373]

The change in the façades between 1992–2016 is shown as a comparison in Figs. 84–87. Interestingly, the majority of the buildings recorded in 1992 (44%) had "disturbing" façades, which mainly represented the contemporary architectural styles. This confirms a fact mentioned in the first policy document: the "whole of this building stock is exposed to human mutilation, mainly forced upon by lack of maintenance, unauthorized rebuilding of the architectural fabric, and changing of the façade" (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 9; Fig. 88).

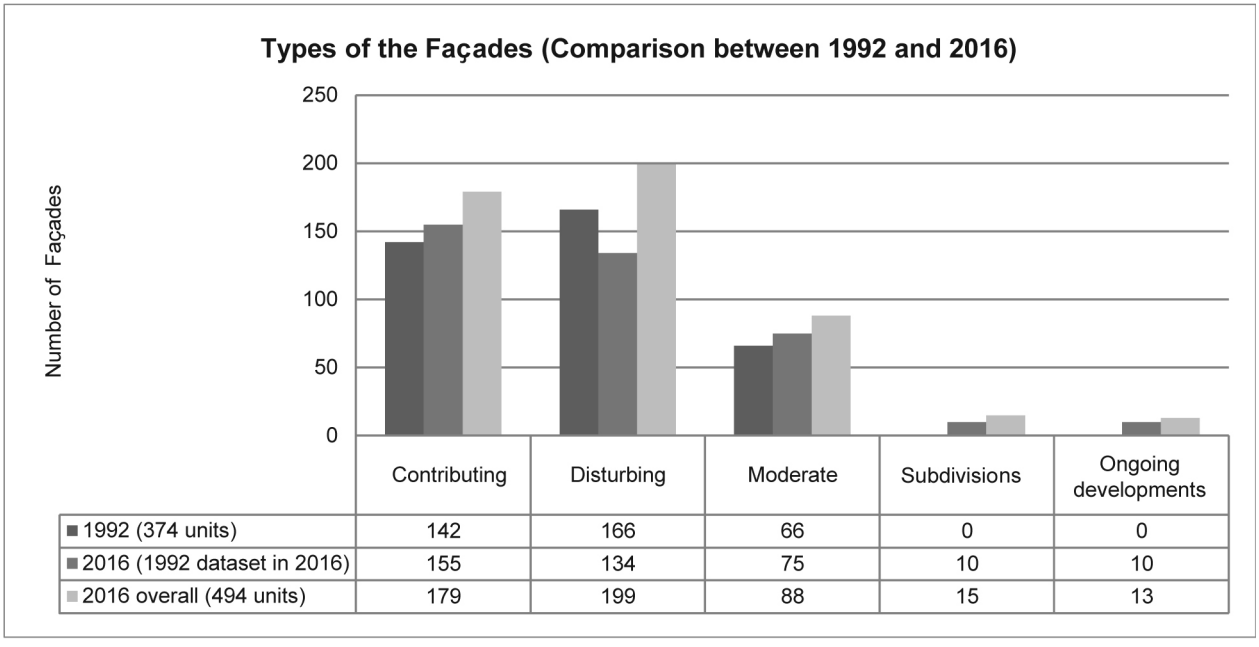
While 40% of buildings bore "contributing" façades in 1992, in between were 17% with "moderate" façades. Interestingly, the change in the same building stock was positive in 2016, with "contributing" and "moderate" façades rising by 5% and 3%, respectively, with an 8% decline in "disturbing" façades. This was mainly due to the Dutch government-funded Preservation of the Private Houses Project (2006–2009; discussed in sub-chapter 1.4.2) and the increasing number of approved developments.

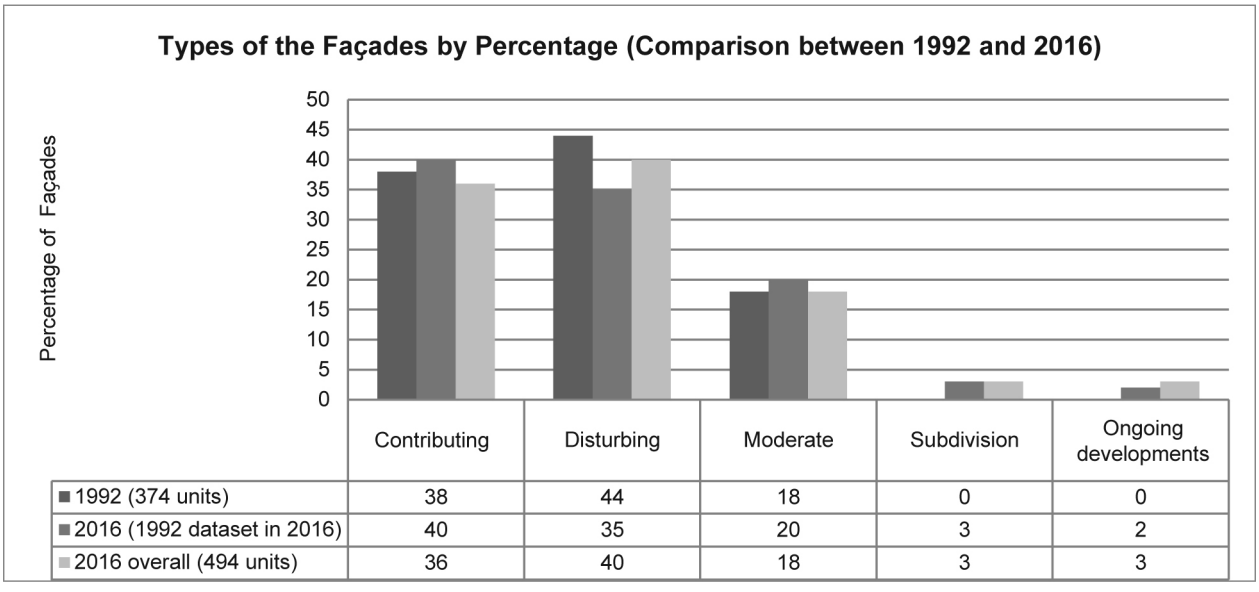
Concerning the total number of buildings with new infill (as well as the unrecorded buildings in 1992) by 2016, the percentage of "disturbing" façades remained at 40% (Fig. 85), although their number is slightly higher than that of the "contributing" façades.

373 This house was also conserved by the Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009) prior to its current development.

Overall, the number of buildings with a "colonial appearance" has increased today when compared to the time of World Heritage recognition, although the buildings bearing incompatible architectural features in their façades have also increased amid the new infill of buildings.

Façade change is also associated with growing tourism, as nearly 60% (140 out of 239) of buildings subject to façade change were associated with tourism-related businesses by 2016, whereas in 1992, 77% (184 out of 239) of these buildings were residential. In general, investments, especially in boutique hotels and villas, bring "contributing" façades. It can be observed that 23 out of 28 villas have "contributing" façades, while the rest are "moderate;" 23 of these represent foreign investments (Figs. 89–92). On the





Figs. 84–85 Changes in building façades between 1992 and 2016.

other hand, tourism-related commercialization has also resulted in "disturbing" façades, including the subdivision of façades (as mentioned earlier) and closing of verandahs for commercial purposes, which is discussed under sub-chapter 5.3.1.

However, it can also be observed that the number of original colonial façades has dropped considerably, while the "contributing" façades newly built in accord with colonial architecture have increased as a result of approved developments. Nearly 80 buildings with "disturbing"/"moderate" façades have adopted "contributing" façades by 2016, while 104 "contributing"/"moderate" façades were turned into "disturbing" façades, which all together comprises half of the buildings in 1992. Therefore, today we see a regenerated "colonial-looking streetscape," compared to the time of World Heritage recognition.

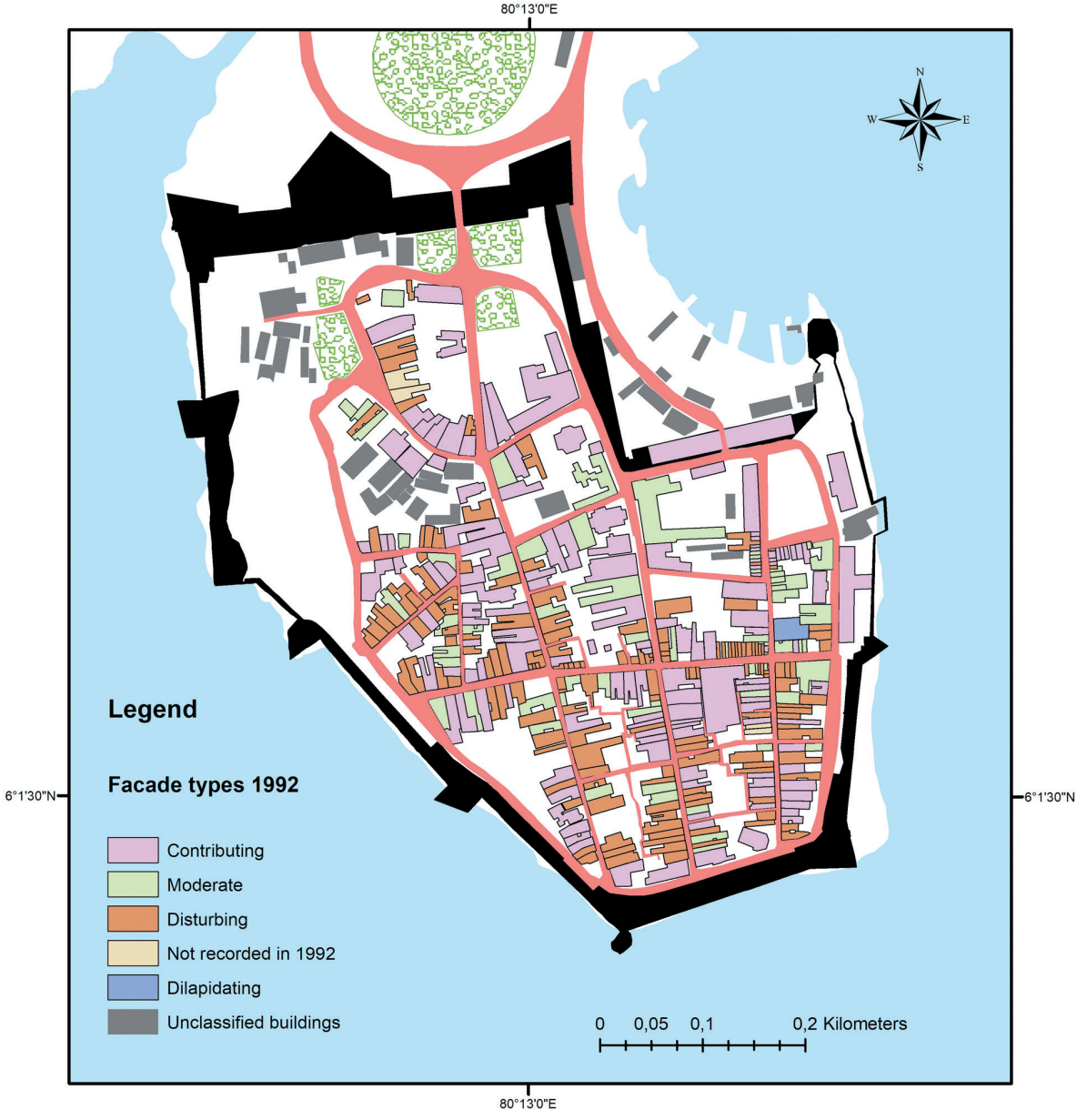


Fig. 86 Façade types, 1992 (source: Kuruppu and Wijesuriya, 2016).

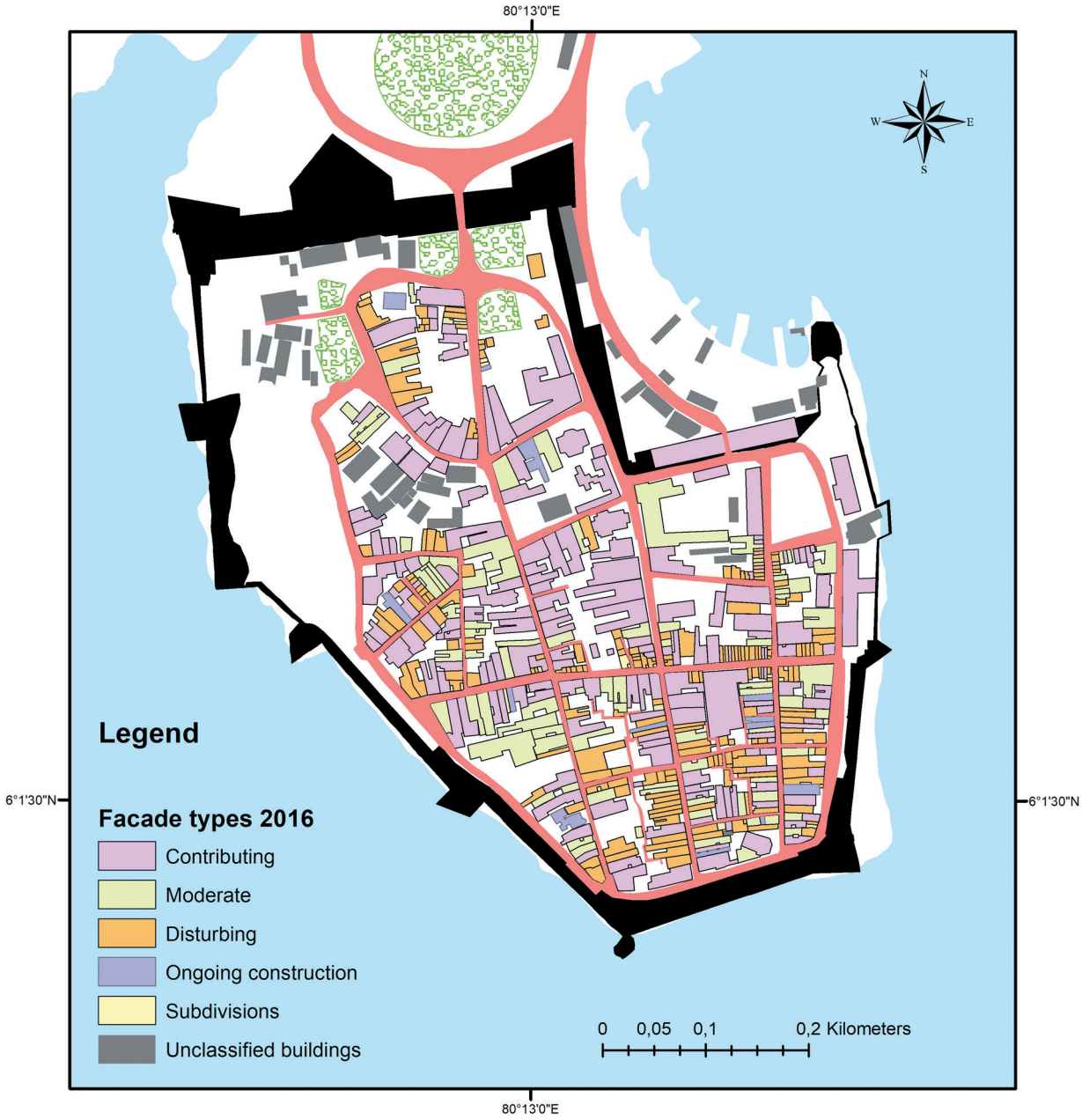


Fig. 87 Façade types, 2016.

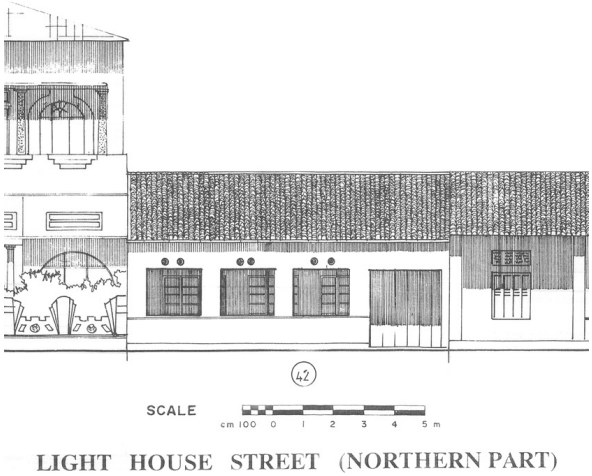


Fig. 88 Street view of Church Street in 1992 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 223). The image shows two buildings with pillared verandahs representing colonial features, with the rest exhibiting contemporary architectural styles in their façades.





Figs. 89–90 An architecturally positive conversion from residential to commercial use in the form of a luxury villa with foreign ownership. The façade is shown in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 85) and in 2016 (right).





Figs. 91–92 A façade after an architecturally positive conversion from residential to commercial use in the form of a boutique villa owned by a local investor. The façade is shown in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 187) and in 2016 (right).

5.3.1 VERANDAHS: "INTRODUCING COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE"

As the most prominent colonial feature, verandahs are protected by Article 70.14 (a) of the Special Regulations, 2009, which state that the existing front verandahs of the buildings cannot be changed or covered (discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2).[374] Introducing verandahs to new buildings was proposed by the draft Building Regulations formulated in the second policy document (2002, discussed in sub-chapter 4.5.2), while compartmentation was prohibited (Wijeratne 2002, 58). In fact, this was initiated with World Heritage recognition to give the buildings a "Dutch colonial appearance." Thus, a few public buildings added verandahs in the early '90s, including the current post office,[375] which originally had no verandah during Dutch occupation (Figs. 93–95), and the National Museum, which had only a half-verandah as of 1990 (Figs. 96–97). An anecdote in sub-chapter 7.4.2 illustrates that Planning Sub-Committee requires residents to have a verandah in their developments, as a compulsory element.

The Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009), administered by GHF and funded by the Dutch government, introduced or developed the existing verandahs as one of the most important elements of the townhouse architecture of Galle Fort, contingent on sufficient evidence and the approval of the owners (Manawadu 2009). According to Boxem and Fuhren, 81% of the participating buildings had a verandah after the programme (Boxem and Fuhren 2010, 90).[376] By 2016, 27 out of 57 participating buildings had verandahs, while three buildings had partly or fully closed verandahs (Figs. 98–101). The project played a vital role in enhancing the importance of the verandah in domestic colonial architecture within the community. It also increased the commercial value of the properties substantially, according to Prof. Samitha Manawadu, the principal investigator of the project.[378]





Figs. 93–94 The post office or House of the Assistant or Writer in the mid-18th century, by Heydt (above),[377] and the same building in 1992 (below; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 229). Neither image shows a verandah.



Fig. 95 The same building in 2018 with a verandah added in the early '90s.

374 "(a) No existing front verandahs of the buildings be covered or changed, to affect its appearance. Any streets with specific features given for the front of the building as verandahs or row of columns shall be maintained and continued accordingly (b) Any new accessories fixed instead of old handrails, carved wooden columns, doors, windows, windows slats, fan lights, or any other special features, such features shall be in conformity with the original plan and it shall be carried out subject to the UDA approval" (Article 70.14, Special Regulations, 2009).

375 House of the Assistant or Writer during Dutch occupation, according to Heydt (Heydt 1744 [1952]).

376 Sixty-two buildings participated in the project. This included three religious monuments, while the rest were private houses. According to a survey carried out for this study, 26 out of the 57 private houses had renovated verandahs even before the project. These verandahs were given a proper colonial appearance by the project, while the feature was newly added to some houses. By 2016, 27 of the private houses restored by the project still had verandahs, three had closed verandahs, one building was undergoing construction and 11 had no verandahs. However, five of the houses improved by the project were later redeveloped by their owners or new owners. Some of these houses have been bought by investors, including foreign ones.

377 Plate 67 (Heydt 1744 [1952]).

378 Interview with Prof. Samitha Manawadu, 22 December 2015.



Fig. 96 Galle National Museum, housed in a Dutch colonial building with a half-verandah, in 1992 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 235).



Fig. 97 The same building in 2016, with a full verandah added in the early '90s.

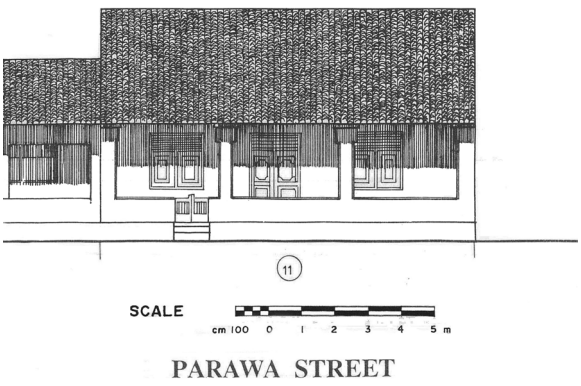
In 1992, 40% (152 out of 384) of buildings had verandahs, including both colonial verandahs as well as those subject to later modifications (as shown by Figs. 102, 103, 104,106 and 107). While 8.8% (34) of the buildings had lost these verandahs by 2016, mainly due to "unauthorized" construction (Figs. 108–109), verandahs were added to 17% (66) of the buildings, mainly due to the Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009) and approved developments (Fig. 103 and Fig. 105). However, a substantial number of these approved developments represented foreign and local investments, including those of local residents (Figs. 110–113). As a result, the percentage of verandahs rose to 47% in 2016. When considering the overall numbers with the new infill (and the data unrecorded in 1992), the percentages of buildings with and without verandahs remain at 42% and 50%, respectively, a slight improvement over 1992 (Fig. 103). However, the closing of verandahs still continues despite the law, which had a primarily residential purpose in the '90s, but currently has a commercial purpose (Figs. 114–117).[379]

379 The closing in of verandahs was practiced especially by the Muslim community of Galle Fort, who preferred more privacy at the initiation of the World Heritage project. In addition, this was also used to increase the floor area of the house. The demand for space was increased by commercialization, as verandahs or parts of verandahs were turned into shops. Gems and jewellery and tea are the most popular products currently sold in verandah shops, as they do not require more space.





Figs. 98–99 A house with a verandah added by the Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009): the same house in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 255) and in 2016 (right).





Figs. 100–101 A verandah improved by the Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009): the same house in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 165) and in 2016 (right).

Although strict laws and conservation projects have stabilized the number of verandahs, authentic colonial verandahs are fewer in number today. What we see today are mostly verandahs restored, modified or newly introduced by conservation projects or new developments; the latter has brought both positive outcomes as well as sometimes totally alien verandahs (Figs. 118–119). Overall, this has resulted in a reconstructed colonial streetscape (Figs. 120–121). Although the statistics show the willingness of a considerable number of property owners to have a verandah, there are exceptions for the occupants of comparatively small houses, as will be elaborated in sub-chapter 7.2.3.

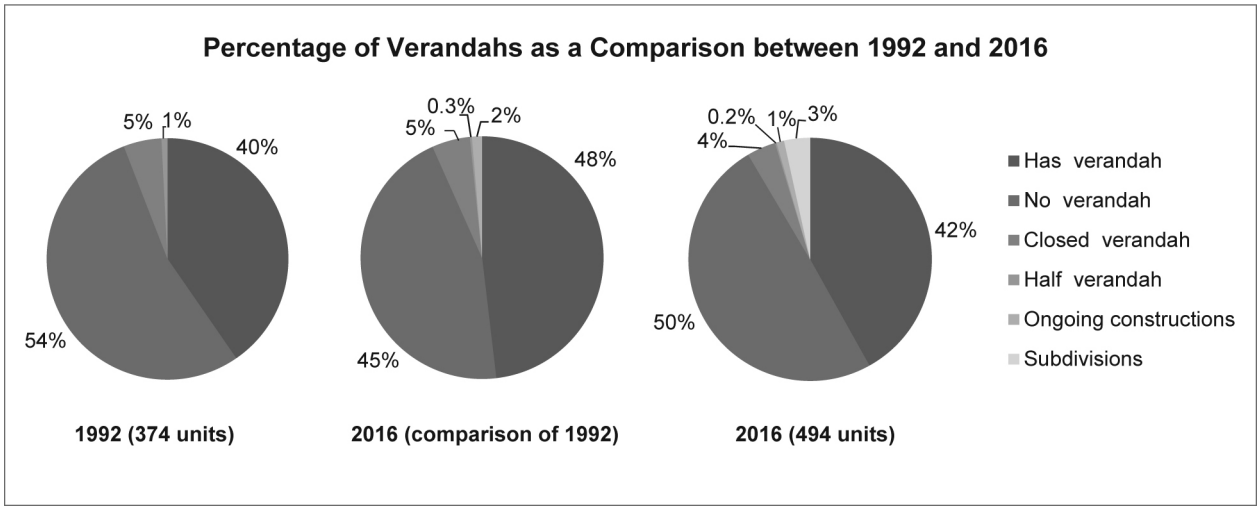
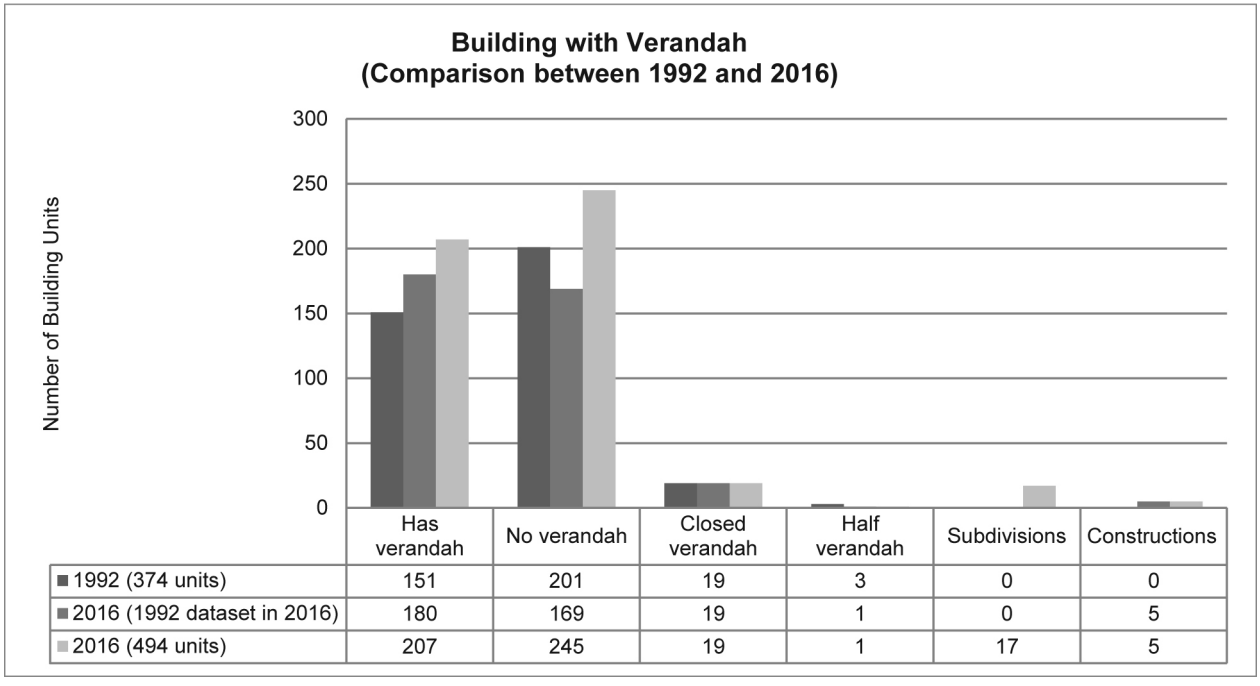


Fig. 102 Percentage of verandahs as a comparison between 1992–2016.



	Has verandah	No verandah	Closed verandah	Half verandah	Subdivisions	Constructions
1992 (374 units)	151	201	19	3	0	0
2016 (1992 dataset in 2016)	180	169	19	1	0	5
2016 (494 units)	207	245	19	1	17	5

Fig. 103 Buildings with verandahs as a comparison between 1992 and 2016.

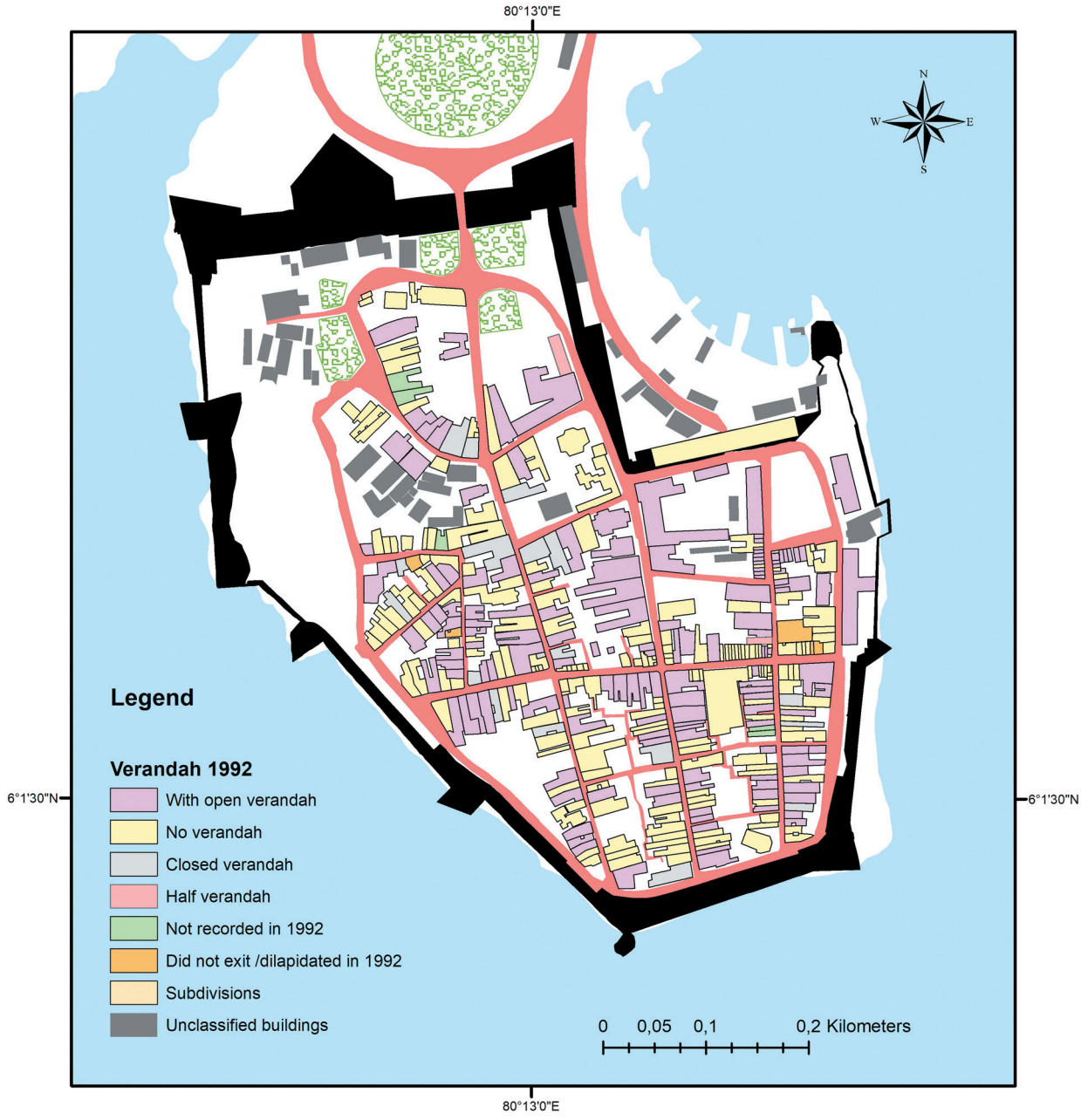


Fig. 104 Buildings with verandah, 1992 (source: Kuruppu and Wijesuriya, 1992).

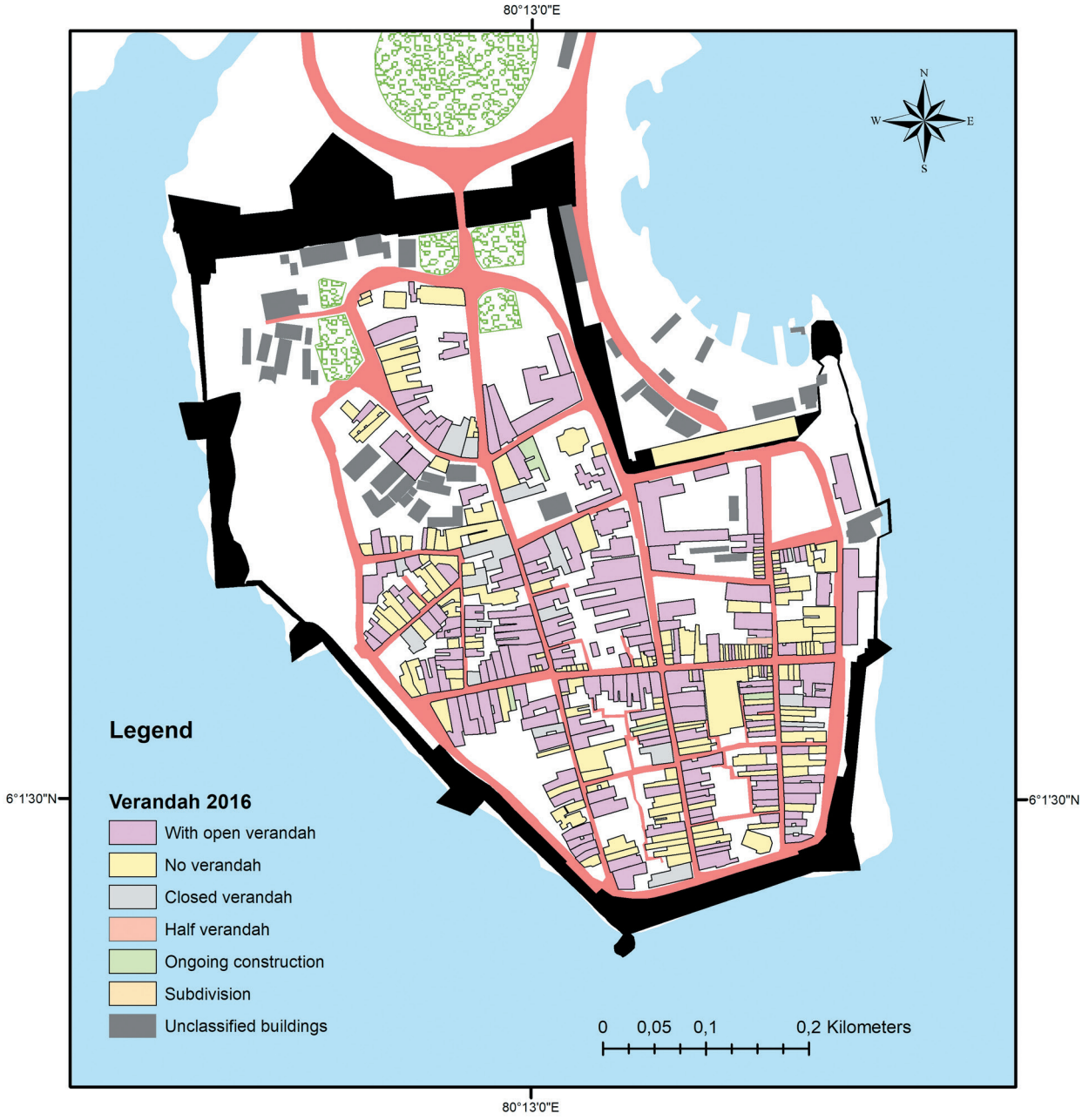
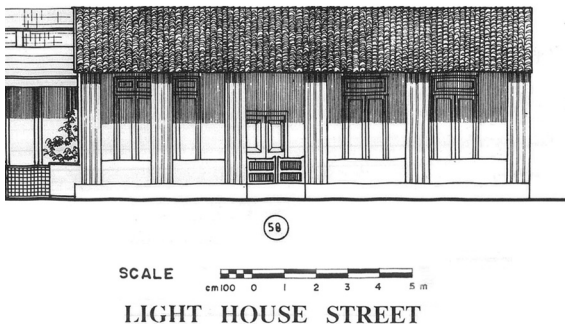
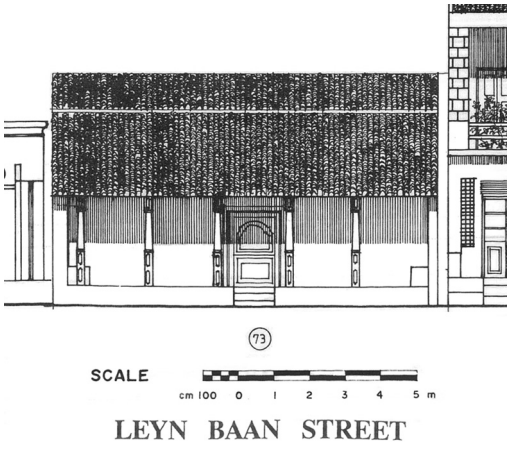


Fig. 105 Buildings with verandah, the same buildings in 2016.



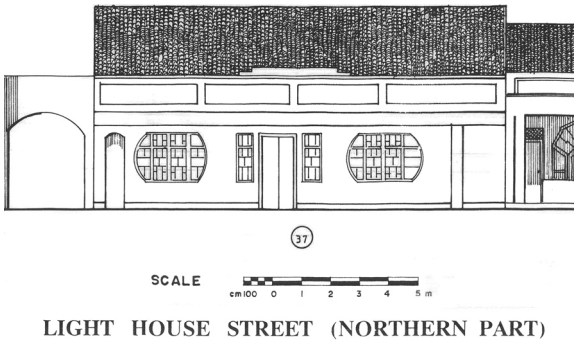


Figs. 106–107 A colonial verandah that had probably been modified even before 1992. The house is shown in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 181) and 2016 (right).



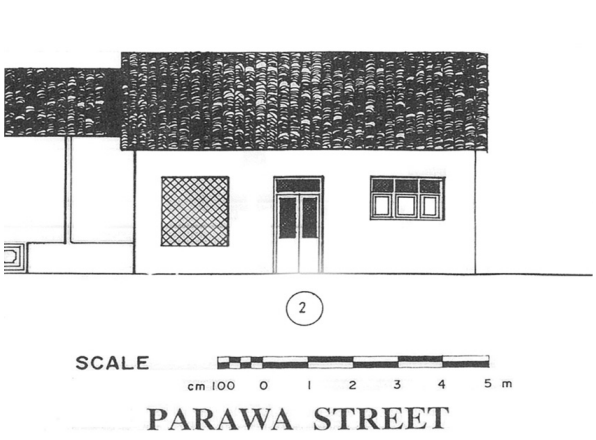


Figs. 108–109 Losing verandahs due to "unauthorized" developments: the same house in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 273) and in 2016 (right).



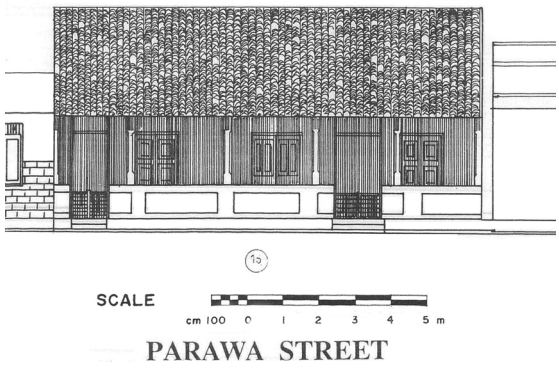


Figs. 110–111 The addition of a verandah due to an approved foreign-invested development: the same building in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 201) and in 2016 (right).





Figs. 112–113 The addition of verandah due to an approved development by a local resident: the same building is shown in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 175) and 2016 (right, as a tourist accommodation).





Figs. 114–115 Closing in a verandah for residential purposes: the same house in 1992 (left; Kuruppu and Wijesurirya 1992, 171) and in 2016 (right).





Figs. 116–117 Verandahs that have been partially and fully closed for commercial purposes.





Figs. 118–119 An alien verandah introduced by an approved development on Middle Street, in 2016 (left) and 2018 (right).



Fig. 120 Original colonial streetscape (Church Street, with British arched verandahs).[380]



Fig. 121 Reconstructed colonial streetscape (Light House Street, with new developments).

5.3.2 BUILDING COLOUR: THE BEST OBSERVED REGULATION

According to Article 70.18 (a) of the Special Regulations (2009), only white, grey and yellow (beige is also accepted in practice) are allowed in Galle Fort.[381] These were the most common colours of the buildings in colonial Galle, especially lime white and yellowish beige, the latter locally known as "Samara." The colours of the buildings as of 2016 were analysed for this study; however, no comparison can be made due to the unavailability of earlier data. Interestingly, nearly 90% of the buildings are painted according to the approved colour scheme (Figs. 122–124). While half of the buildings are painted in white (53%, 261) the rest are painted in beige (26%), yellow (7%), etc., leaving only 8% of buildings with unacceptable colours, such as brown, orange, pink, green (except mosques), black, etc. (Fig. 124–126). At the beginning of 2018, I noticed that some of the latter houses have changed over to the approved colours, showing the willingness of the owners to follow the regulation (Figs. 127–128). Overall, the colour code is the regulation that is best observed by property owners.

380 Both buildings in the first image date back to the British period. At left is the former Oriental Bank (current YWCA), and at right is the building known as the "Clan House."

381 "(a) Accepted colours are white, grey and yellow and no any other colours are allowed. (b) Two storied building shall be painted with a single colour. Light tonal differences are permitted (c) Facades of the building shall be painted with a single colour" (Article 70.18, Special Regulations, 2009).

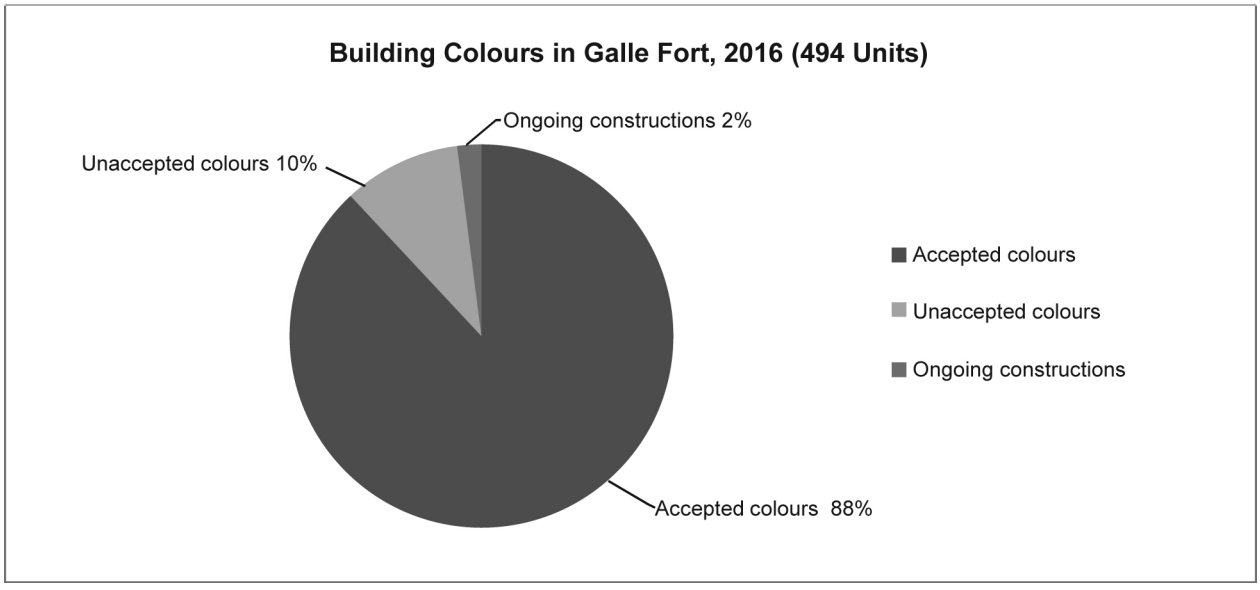


Fig. 122 Building colours in Galle Fort (as a percentage), 2016.

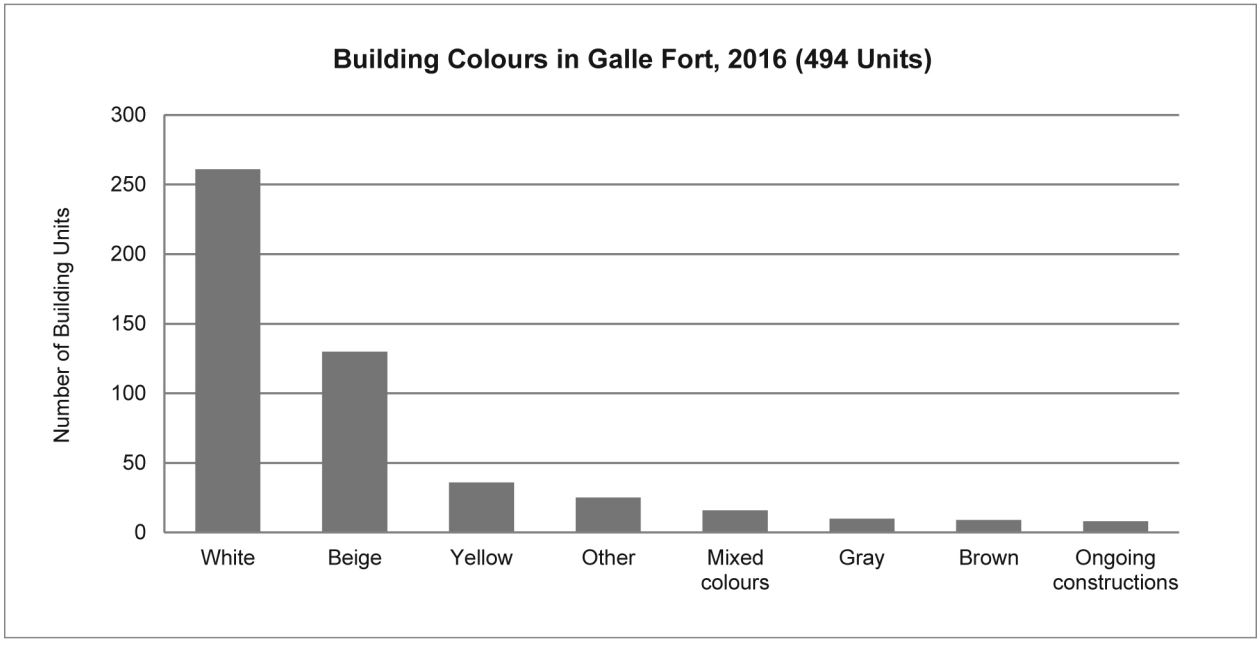


Fig. 123 Building colours in Galle Fort, 2016.

5.3.3 ROOFSCAPE: A SUBSTANTIALLY WELL-OBSERVED REGULATION

The roofscape can be identified as a controllable factor, unlike the factors that determine the floor area. Only clay tiles (including half-round tiles, Calicut tiles or other clay tiles) are allowed in roofing by the Special Regulations, 2009, while roof gardens are also allowed (Article 70.17 a). Asbestos or other sheet roofing materials were prohibited by the Draft Building Regulations of 2002 (Wijeratne 2002, 58). Half-round tile was the most common roofing

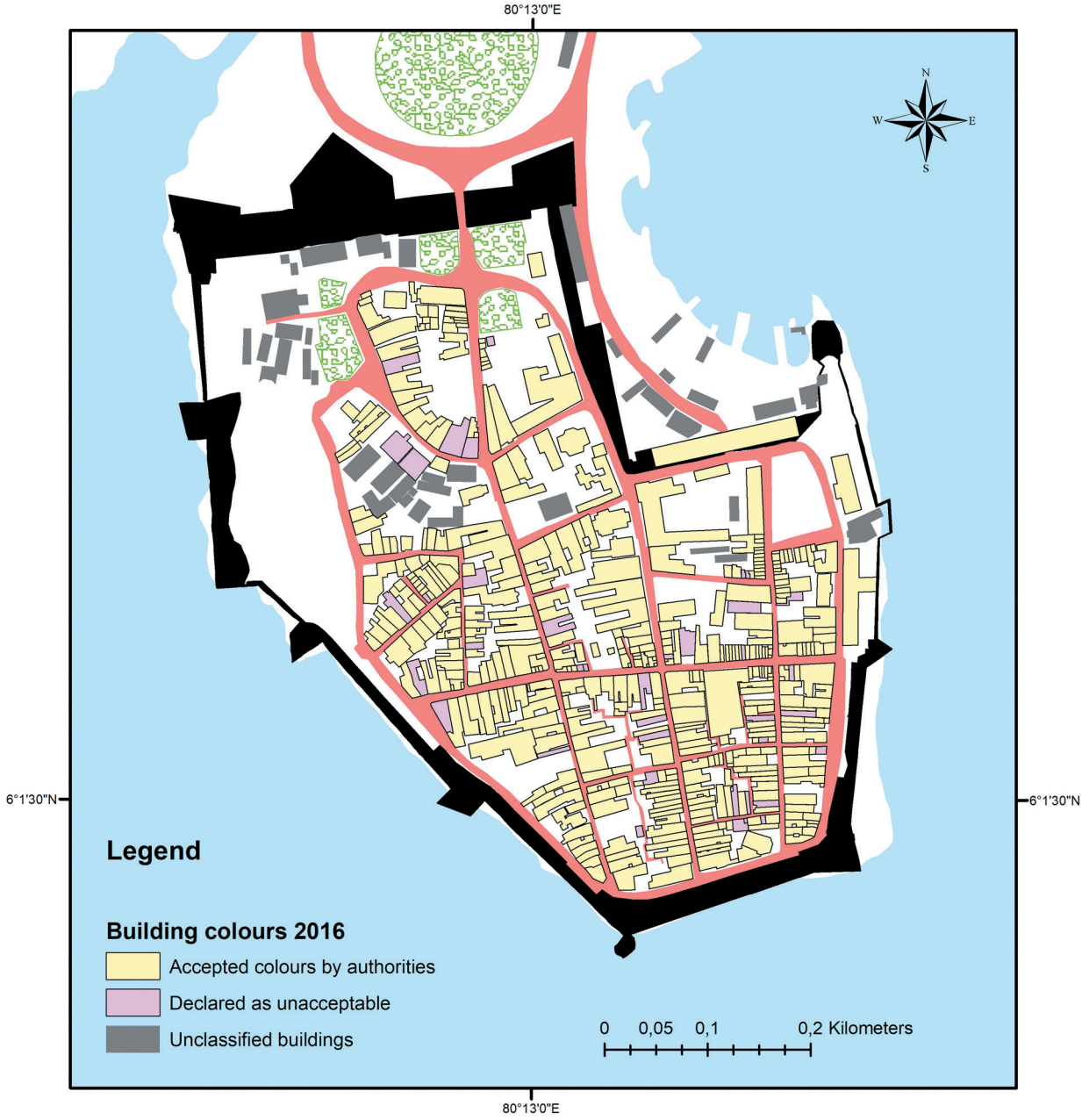


Fig. 124 Building colours, 2016.




Figs. 125–126 Street views of Church Street with buildings in approved colours, 2016 (the green building in the first image is a mosque).




Figs. 127–128 The unacceptable orange colour found on a house in 2016 (left) was changed into an approved colour by 2018 (right).

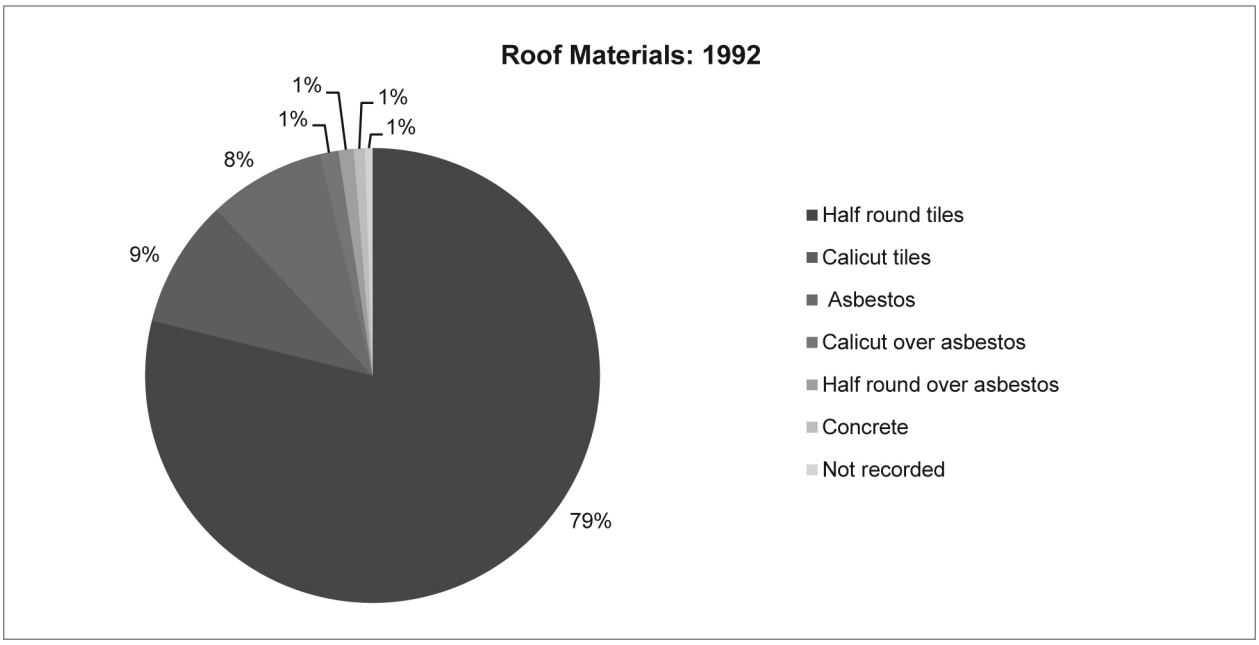


Fig. 129 Roof materials in 1992 (as a percentage).

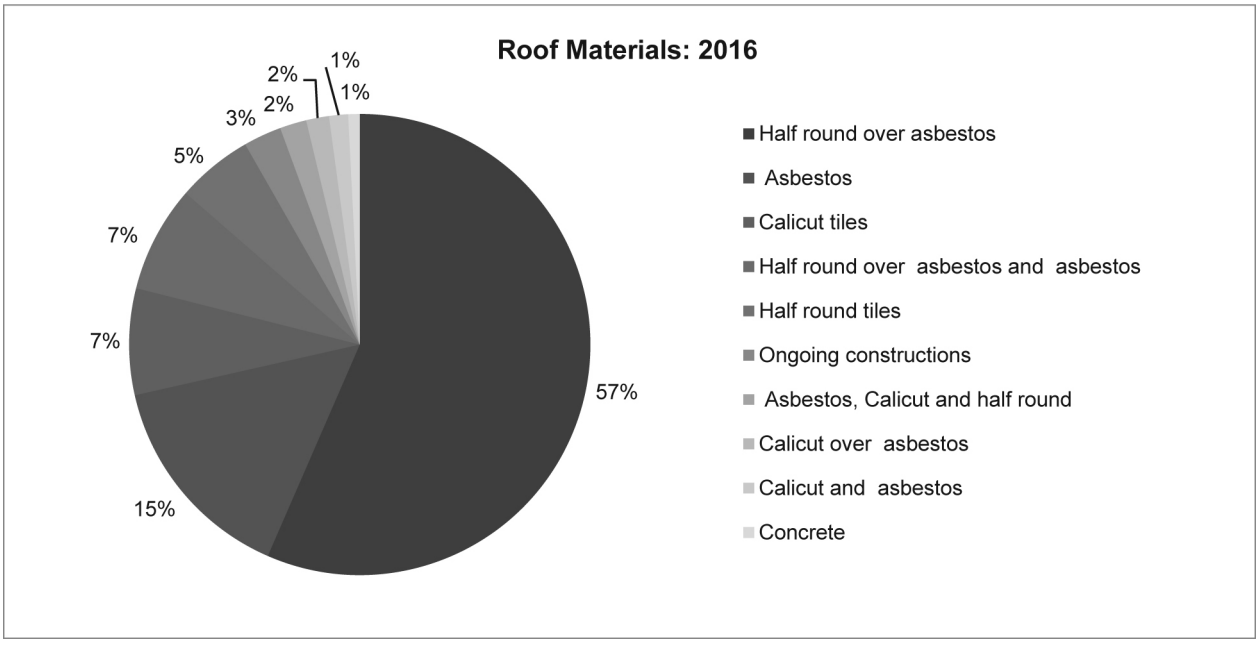


Fig. 130 Roof materials in 2016 (as a percentage).

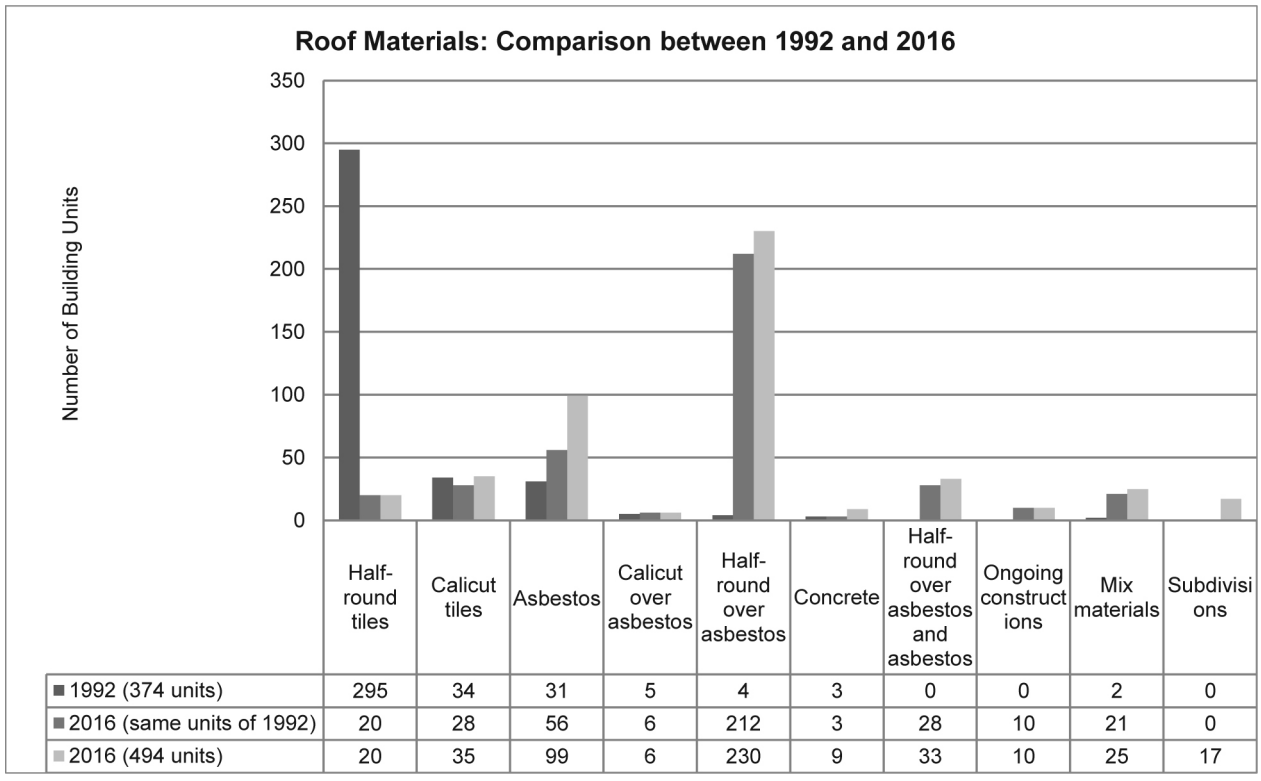


Fig. 131 Comparison of roof materials between 1992 and 2016.

material in the fort during the British colonial period, and even at the inception of the World Heritage project. The material, which was mostly limited to old buildings, was impractical due to frequent leakage, and was thus replaced by Calicut tiles and asbestos. Thus, the Planning Sub-Committee promoted half-round tiles over asbestos, primarily to prevent leaking while also maintaining the typical Lankan-colonial appearance.

In 1992, nearly 80% (295) of houses had half-round tiled roofs, followed by 9% (34) Calicut tiles, a somewhat similar amount of asbestos (8%, 31) and other materials, including concrete (Figs. 129; 131). 82% (316) of these roofs had changed by 2016, with the number of roofs with typical half-round tiles dropping to 5% (25) (Fig. 130; 131). However, nearly 60% of these roofs were covered by half-round tiles over asbestos in 2016, a positive trend usually followed in approved developments as well as ordinary roof renovations (Figs. 130–133). However, a number of "unauthorized" developments still have asbestos (Fig. 134). When considering the overall picture, including the new infill, the majority of roofs remain half-round tile over asbestoses (47%, 230), although there a significant increase in asbestos (20%, 99), which is not permitted (Fig. 131; 135).

It was observed by drone images that a number of buildings have half-round tiles only on the visible areas of the roof, while the rest is covered with asbestos. In addition, nearly 10% of the buildings have solar panels, a positive trend of using clean energy, especially popular with providers of tourist accommodation, both local and foreign.

5.3.4 STABLES AND GARAGES: DISAPPEARING ELEMENTS

Only some houses in Galle Fort had stables, which later turned into garages, as having a horse carriage or car was a luxury in the past. The rareness of the feature resulted in the Special Regulations (2009) identifying the garage as an unnecessary element in townhouses, and thus garages are not allowed in

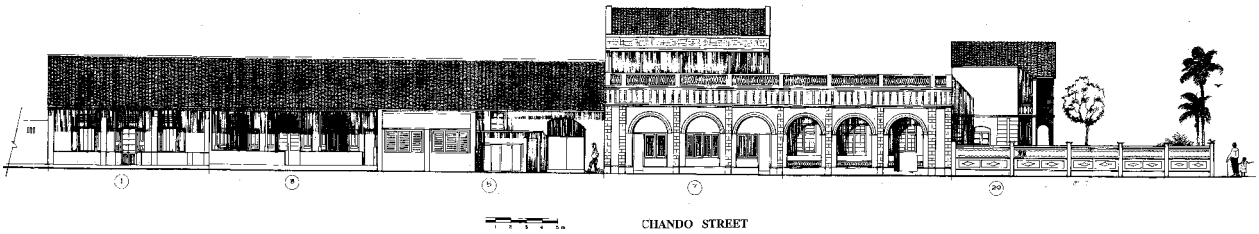


Fig. 132 Roofscapes of a few buildings in 1992, almost all of them covered with half-round tiles (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 123).



Fig. 133 Roofscapes of the same buildings in 2016: four of them are covered in clay tiles, while only one (in the middle) has the prohibited asbestos. Furthermore, approved developments have positively increased the use of half-round tiles over asbestos (extreme right and the second from the left, also with solar panels).



Fig. 134 Difference in the usage of roof materials between approved and "illegal" developments: while half-round tiles over asbestos are used in approved developments (extreme left and right), the rest, in the middle, are covered with the prohibited asbestos.



Fig. 135 The roofscapes in 2016, showing more tiled roofs and a substantial amount of prohibited asbestos.







Figs. 136–138 Three stables in different conditions: unchanged (the first one, on Church Cross Street); renovated with positive changes (the second, on Parawa Street); and an ongoing "unpermitted" change, in December 2017 (the third, on Pedlar Street).

the façades during developments (Article 70.13).[382] Yet the city's economic prosperity due to tourism has resulted in a considerable increase in vehicle ownership, which has currently created huge issues with parking.

Colonial stables can be identified as a disappearing element due to their increasing commercial value as shop spaces. Nine out of 12 stables/old garages are used for commercial tourism purposes, which coincides with mostly discarding their colonial characteristics. While one stable on Parawa Street has been positively converted without much architectural change, alterations in another on Pedlar Street have destroyed the authentic stable, according to the Project Planning Officer of Galle Heritage Foundation (Figs. 136–138).[383]

5.4 BEHIND THE FAÇADE: HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL EXPANSION OF SPACE

As the changes in the façades are satisfactory, it was also decided to explore the changes behind the façade to identify whether the law is also observed in preserving internal features. According to Special Regulations, 2009, "all internal and external appearance of the buildings shall be in harmony with the existing historical buildings" (Article 70.19).

5.4.1 CHANGES IN FLOORS AND DEVELOPMENTS BEHIND THE FAÇADE

The first policy document of 1987 indicates that the interiors of most buildings have remained in their original condition despite changes in the façades (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987). However, the situation has changed drastically today. Despite the contributing "colonial" façades, there are substantial developments behind the façade, both legally as well "illegally" which has mainly been identified through drone images (as discussed under the methods in sub-chapter 3.3.1). Therefore, the statistics may also increase when considering possible unidentified constructions. The constructions, which extend vertically as well horizontally, include the addition of floors, rooftops and even swimming pools, which will be discussed separately.

Nearly half of the buildings recorded in 1992 (47%, 178 units) underwent dramatic changes behind their façades by 2016, as shown by Figs. 139–141. The buildings with the fewest changes or without any change are as few as 12% (Fig. 139). However, a number of these changes could be considered "illegal" within the regulatory context, as is elaborated in sub-chapter 7.3.1. Yet they illustrate the growing requirements of property owners and their eagerness to gain benefits from the booming tourism industry; 117 out of 178 (65%) of the highly changed buildings were associated with tourism-related businesses (Figs. 142–144). Sixty-five buildings provide tourist accommodation, including villas, hotels, guesthouses and B&Bs. Interestingly, 47 (26%) of these highly changed buildings are entirely residential, which shows the residents also require modern living standards.

5.4.2 ADDITION OF FLOORS: THE VERTICAL EXPANSION OF THE CITY WITH TOURISM

The Special Regulations, 2009, which have been in effect since the early 2000s (as draft regulations), states that the height of the buildings "shall not exceed ten metres and only two floors are allowed" (Article 70.12a). According to the first policy document of 1987, high-rise structures were not permitted in the fort (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 10). Upper floors are only permitted in the rear wing, provided that the existing buildings have such floors as well, as per the Draft Building Regulations of 2002 (Wijeratne 2002, 58).[384] Single-storey was the style of a typical Lankan-Dutch house (as discussed in sub-chapter 5.1.3), while two-storeyed buildings and few three-storeyed buildings were introduced during British occupation. The heritage authorities

382 "Any garage, parking or similar use for vehicle, shall not be conducted in front of the building mentioned in the above Section 70.12."

383 Personal conversation, June 2018.

384 According to the Draft Building Regulations of 2002, there is no fixed height within the historic area; the streetscape and compatibility with the adjoining buildings dictates the height of a building (Wijeratne 2002, 59). However, there are guidelines: no upper floors are encouraged in front wing; upper floors are only permitted on streets with other such buildings; no existing single-storeyed building will be permitted to extend vertically. However, construction of an upper floor in rear wing may be permitted (Wijeratne 2002, 58).

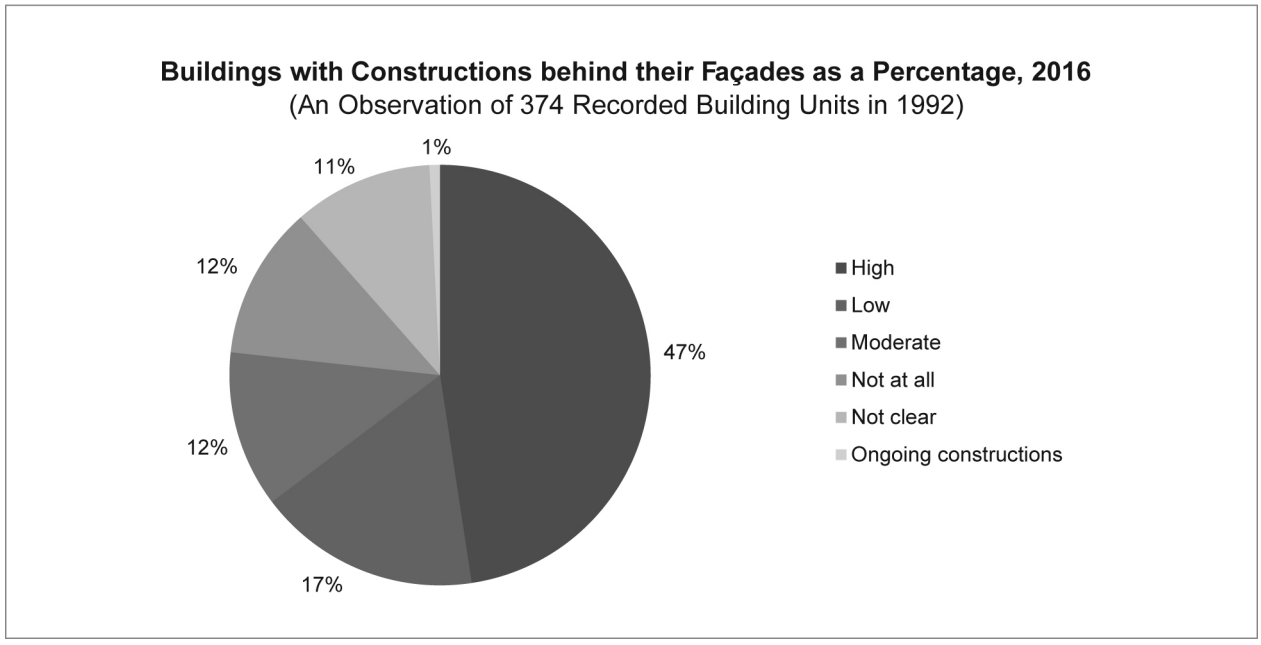


Fig. 139 Buildings with constructions behind their façades in 2016 as a percentage (among the buildings recorded in 1992).

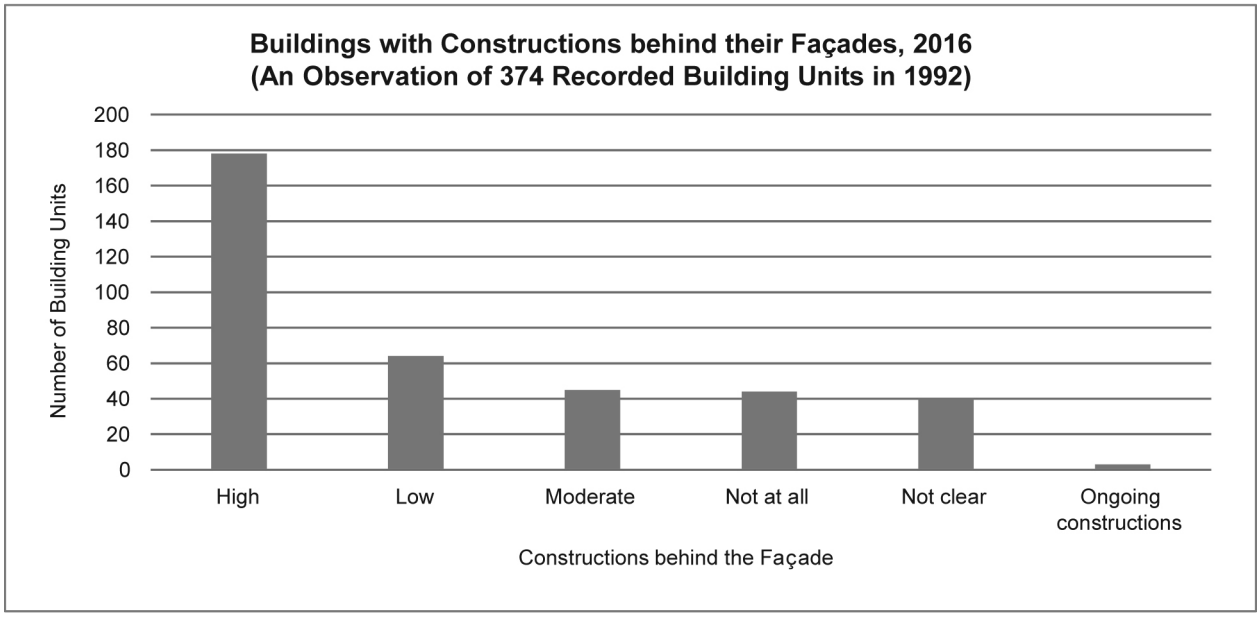


Fig. 140 Buildings with constructions behind their façades in 2016 (among the buildings recorded in 1992).

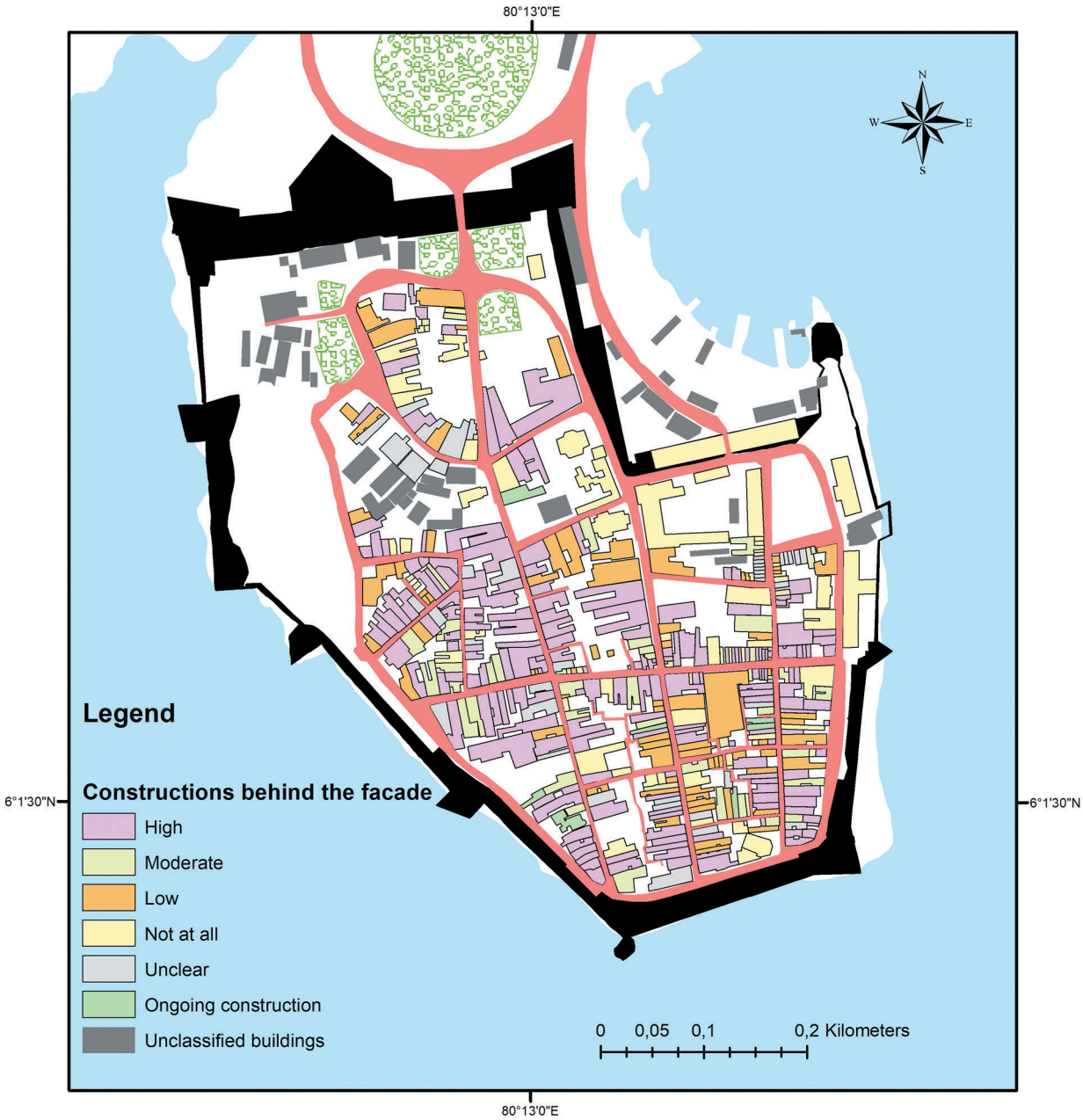


Fig. 141 Buildings with constructions behind their façades, 2016.

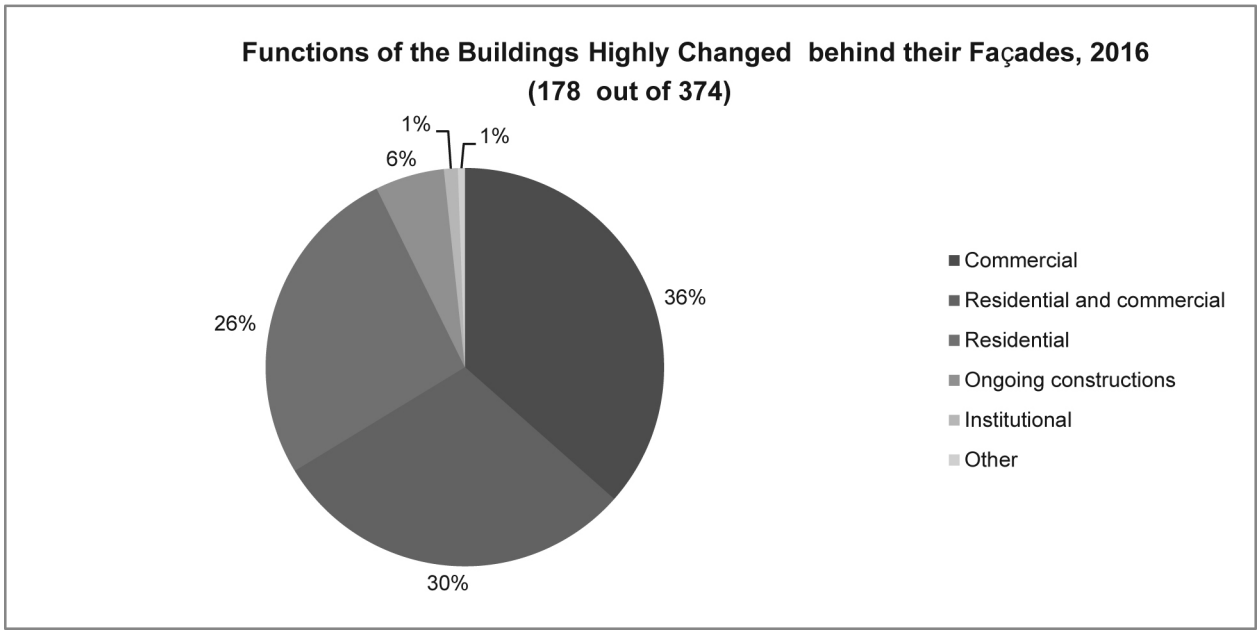


Fig. 142 Functions of the buildings highly changed behind their façades, 2016.



Figs. 143–144 The British façade kept as it is (left) and the aerial view of the development of the same building behind the façade (right), an ongoing approved development of a boutique hotel (2016).

were keen on maintaining the former colonial nature of the buildings.

A comparison of the number of floors between 1992, 2009 and 2016 is shown by Figs. 145–148. In 1992, nearly 70% of recorded buildings (261 units) were single-storeyed, 27% (103) two-storeyed and only 3% (10) three-storeyed buildings, mainly British-period buildings, including the former New Oriental Hotel (currently Amangalla) (Figs. 149–150). The same building stock changed drastically by 2016, with a sharp drop in single-storeyed buildings to almost half of the percentage of 1992 (36%), and the rise of two-storeyed buildings as the largest category (45%). In addition, there is a significant increase in buildings with three floors, totalling 15% (72), which are mostly "illegal."

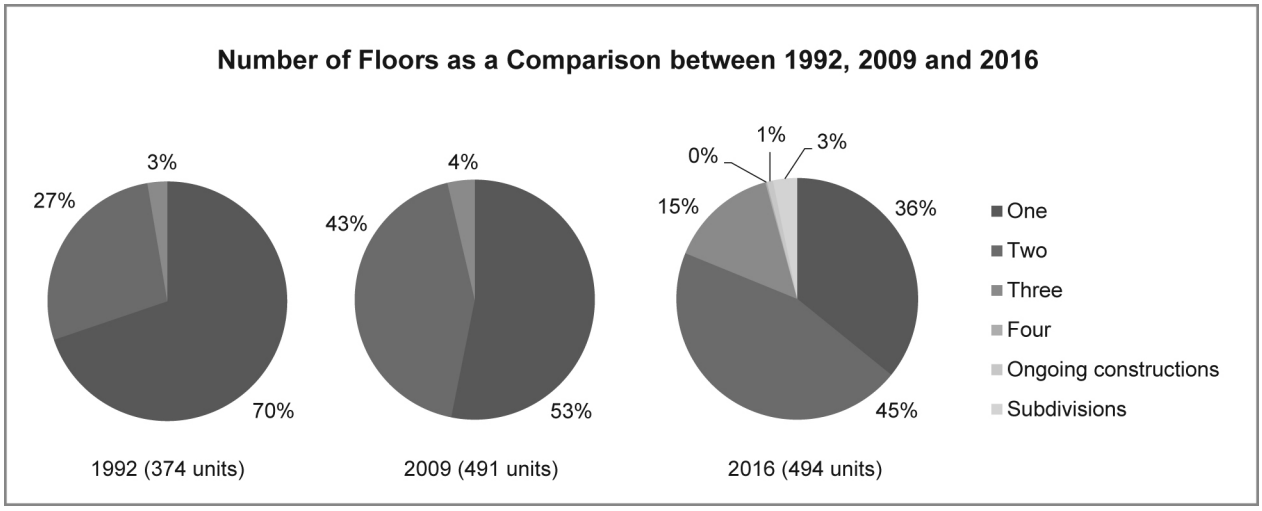
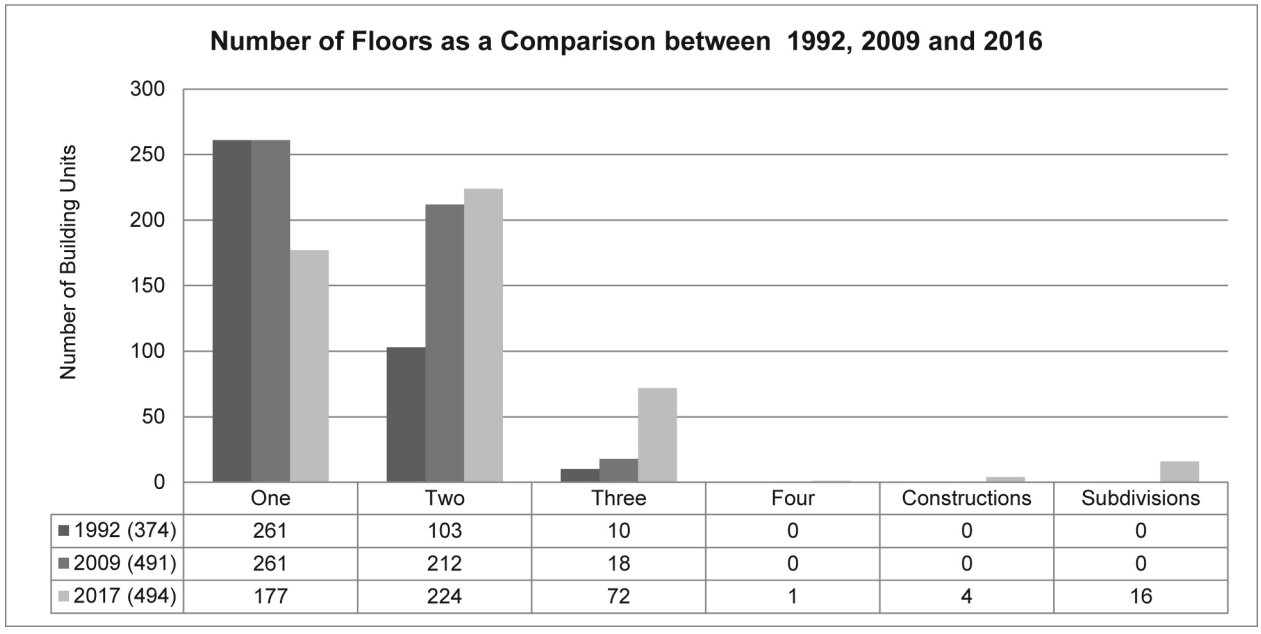


Fig. 145 Number of floors as a comparison between 1992, 2009 (GHF Survey)[385] and 2016.



	One	Two	Three	Four	Constructions	Subdivisions
1992 (374)	261	103	10	0	0	0
2009 (491)	261	212	18	0	0	0
2017 (494)	177	224	72	1	4	16

Fig. 146 Number of floors as a comparison between 1992, 2009 (GHF Survey)[386] and 2016.

While a number of these owners received lawsuits from the Galle Magistrate's Courts and were fined, more than 30 owners will be subject to legal action by the Urban Development Authority, as discussed separately in sub-chapter 7.5.1. There are also approved third floors that are built within the range of 10 metres, as elaborated in the next sub-topic.

385 Source: Galle Heritage Foundation (Liyana Arachchi 2009, 47).
386 Ibid.

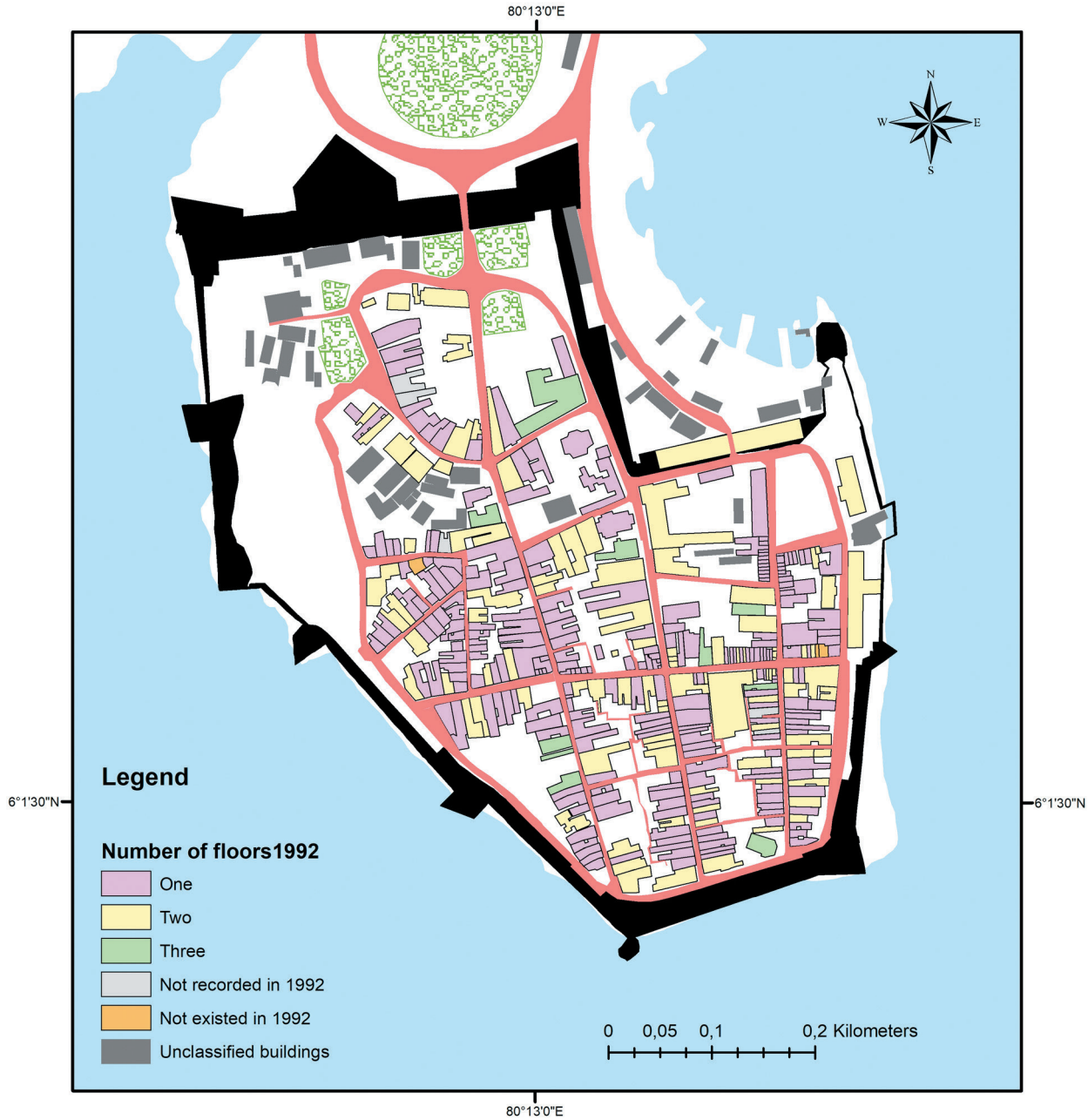


Fig. 147 Number of floors, 1992.

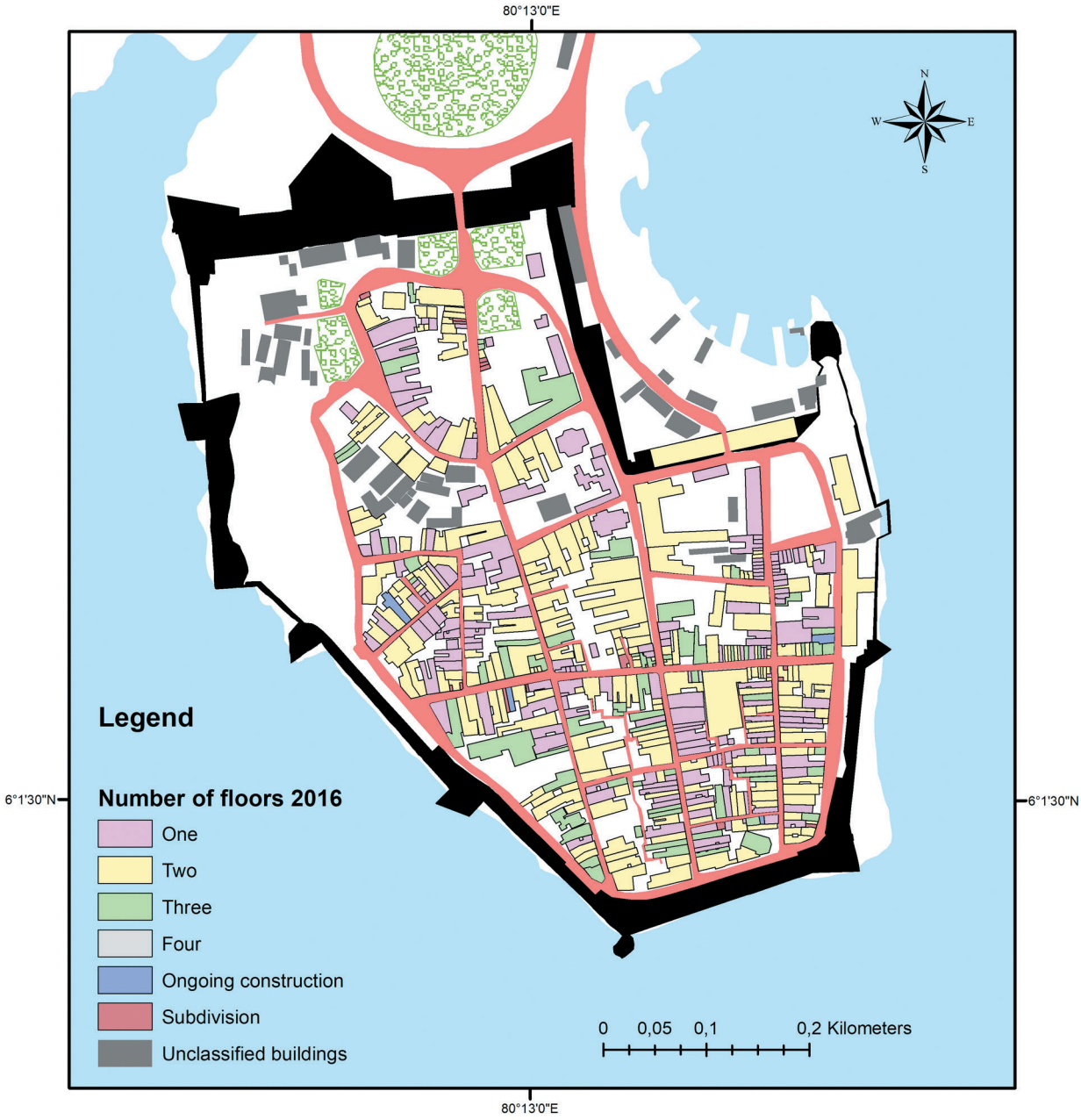


Fig. 148 Number of floors, 2016.





Figs. 149–150 British period buildings originally had three floors: the former New Oriental Hotel (currently Amangalla) and no. 50, Pedlar Street.[387]

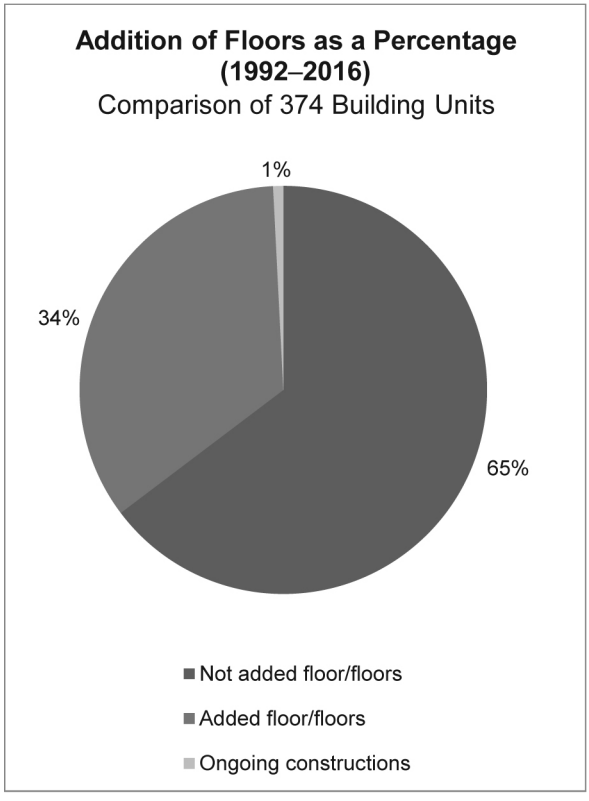


Fig. 151 Addition of floors as a percentage between 1992 and 2016.

Overall, 34% (129 out of 374) of the buildings surveyed in 1992 have added floors (either legally or "illegally") by 2016 (Fig. 151). The most common changes in the number of floors were turning single-storeyed buildings into either double-storeyed (86 units) or three-storeyed buildings (39 units). One hundred ten out of 129 of these buildings with added floors were residential buildings in 1992. The addition of floors is generally spread over the fort equally, the highest incidence can be seen on Pedlar Street, which is currently one of the most commercialized streets in the fort (Fig. 152). This is also linked to tourism-related businesses, as 83 out of 129 buildings that have added floors were associated with such businesses in 2016. Tourist accommodation providers and B&B owners are desperately in need of space, resulting in the "illegal" addition of floors, which was a common issue in Galle Fort and exemplified by an anecdote in sub-chapter 7.4.1 (Figs. 153–154). However, the addition of floors is the only possible way to increase the floor area in most cases, due to small plot sizes (plot sizes are shown in sub-chapter 6.3.4). The commercial, residential and social needs of the expanding community are further elaborated in chapters 6 and 7 from the perspective of the community, and thus sees these requirements in a more balanced view.

387 Currently owned by a leading local entrepreneur and use for commercial purposes.

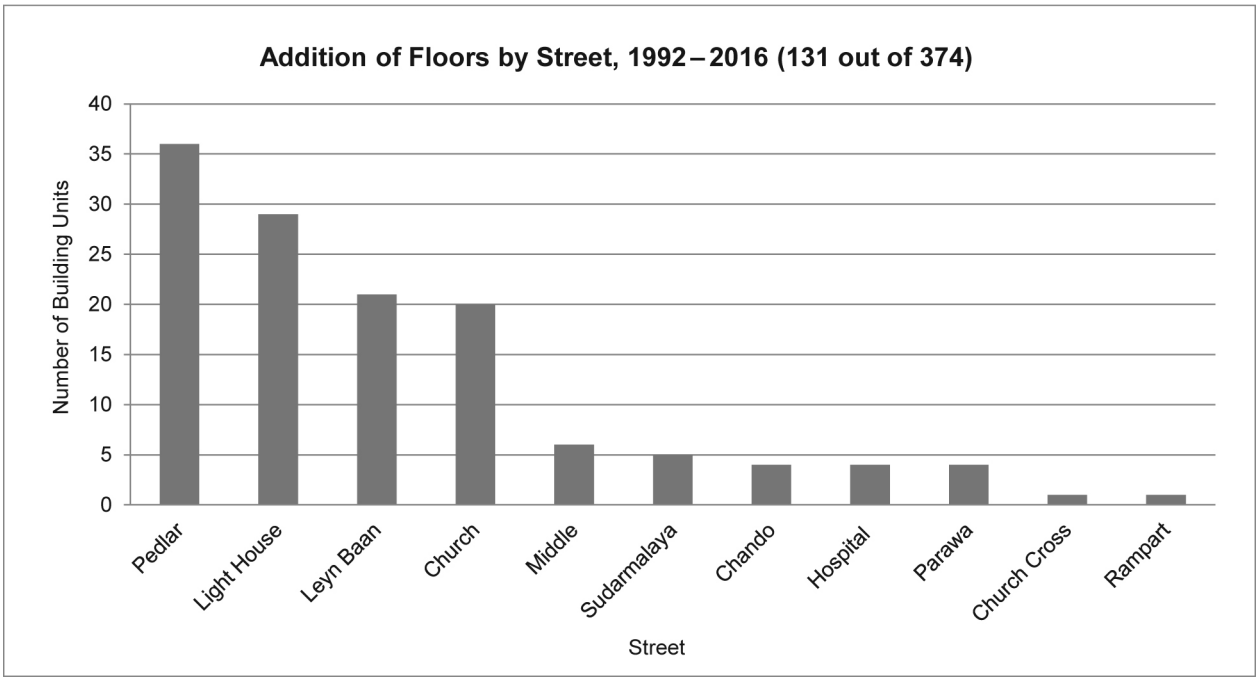
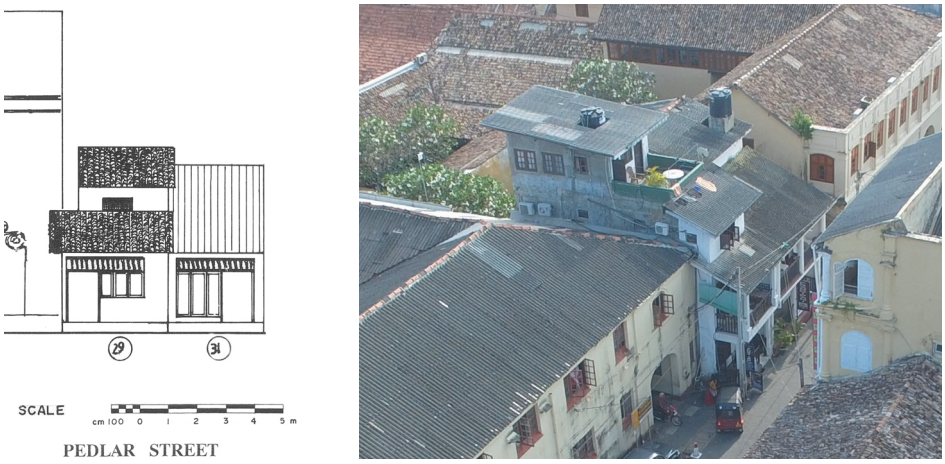


Fig. 152 Addition of floors between 1992 and 2016, by street.



Figs. 153–154 A B&B with third and fourth floors in the historic centre: the house in 1992 (first image; Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 151) and in 2016 (the second image).

5.4.3 HIDDEN FLOORS AND ATTICS: INCREASING SPACE

Generally, added floors are hidden in approved developments in order to maintain the original streetscape. Similarly, developers try to hide the floors when they are added "illegally," as this can often result in legal action against the developer. Overall, the added floors are hidden in 86 out of 131 of the above-mentioned buildings (Figs. 155–157).

Although adding a third floor is strictly prohibited according to Article 70.12 (a) of Special Regulations (2009), in practice, a hidden attic or floor within 10 metres and not visible from the façade is usually



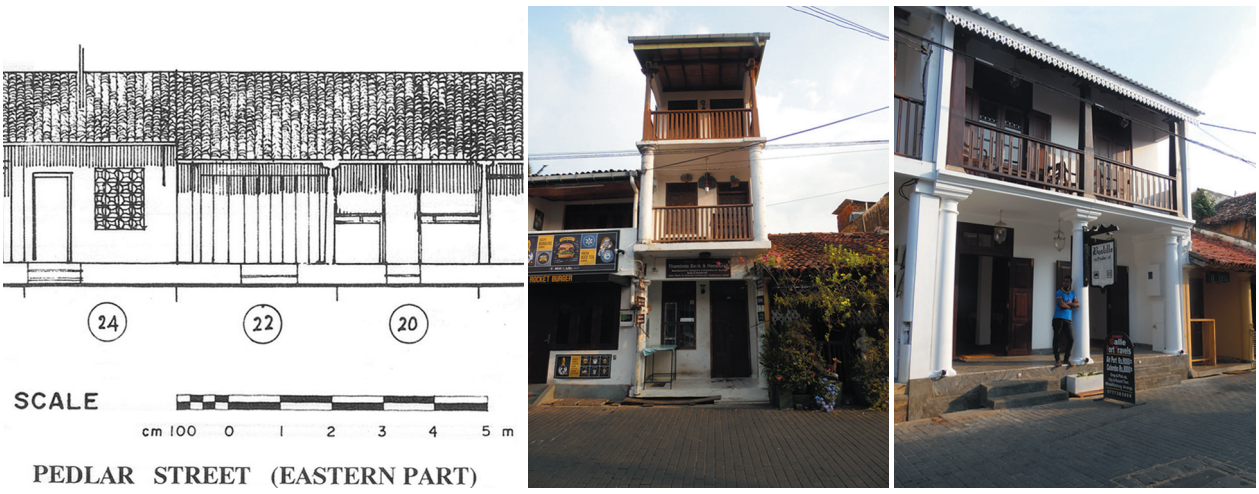
Figs. 155–157 A house in 1992 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 273), currently a boutique villa with a hidden second floor (the middle and right). The approved development has not changed the original streetscape.



Figs. 158–160 A house in 1992 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 93) and part of the same in 2016 (middle) and 2019 (right). This is an approved development of a B&B with a hidden third floor.



Figs. 161–162 A guesthouse, an approved new construction with three floors within 10 metres, however visible in the streetscape.



Figs. 163–165 No. 22 (first image), a small boutique in 1992 (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 141); the same building in 2016 with an "illegal" third floor (middle), and in 2018 (right), after its approved development (which also amalgamated the adjacent property).



Figs. 166–167 Rooftops of B&Bs which do not exceed 10 metres.

approved by the Planning Sub-Committee, depending the streetscape (i.e., provided that the neighbouring properties also have such a character). Currently, there is a significant trend of adding hidden attics and floors, especially in tourist accommodation (Figs. 158–160). However, there are occasions where these attics or third floors are visible from the façade even in approved developments (Figs. 161–162). Furthermore, some local investors have controversially been allowed third floors, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.5.1.

Positively, investment has resulted in removing "illegally" added third floors and developing "colonial-style" buildings, a new trend. In early 2018, I observed that a resident businessman developed a building with an "illegally" added third floor into a colonial-style tourist accommodation with two floors (Figs. 163–165).

5.4.4 ADDITION OF ROOFTOPS: AN ALTERNATIVE SPACE

Although "rooftops" are not mentioned in the Special Regulations (2009), the roofs should be covered with clay tiles, and roof gardens are allowed (Article 70.17 a), which indirectly implies that concrete rooftops are not allowed. Although rooftop gardening is allowed, it is considered "illegal" when the garden is on a third floor and exceeds 10 metres. In practice, it is accepted within 10 metres (Figs. 166–167).



Fig. 168 Rooftops of B&Bs, examples of further vertical constructions halted by the heritage authorities.



Fig. 169 The rooftop as an alternative to a courtyard: rooftop gardening in a B&B run by a retired resident couple who do not have a courtyard.

11% (43) of the total units surveyed in 2009 added rooftops by 2016, including rooftop gardens. Overall, the number increased to 58 (out of 494) with the new infill and the additions to buildings unrecorded in 1992. While 37 of these were in the buildings directly associated with commercial tourism purposes, the rest had a residential purpose. However, some cases in the historic centre feature a rooftop as the result of "illegal" vertical development halted by heritage authorities (Fig. 168).

It was observed that rooftops are used as an alternative space, for buildings that do not have a courtyard or those that have lost their courtyards due to development, for practical functions, such as gathering spaces, gardening, drying clothes, etc. (Fig. 169). Thus, this is an element that is practically useful for both residential and commercial purposes.

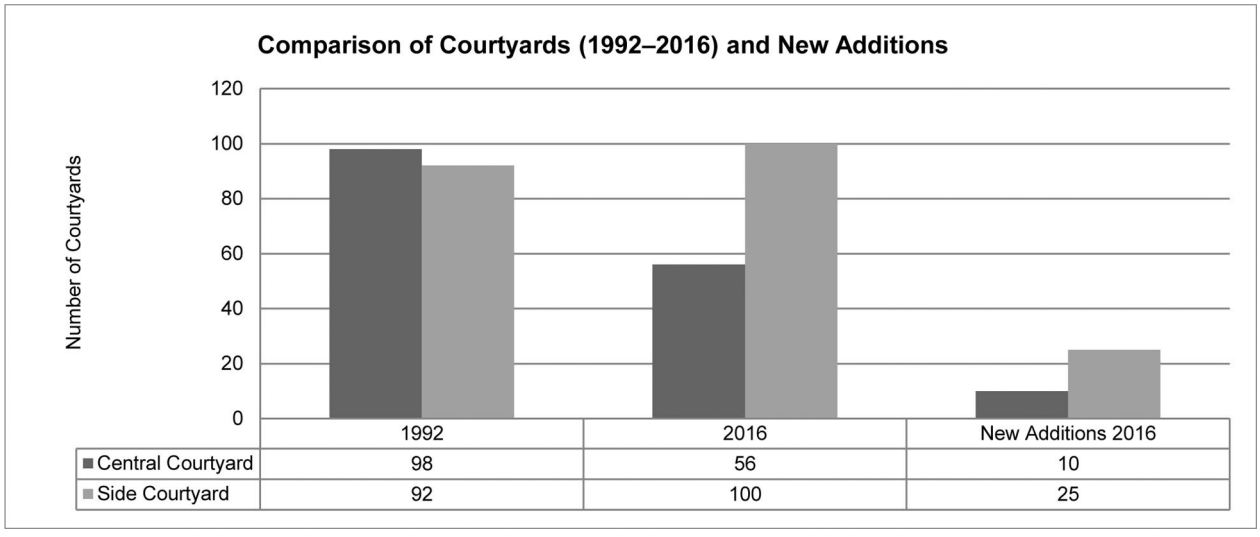


Fig. 170 Number of courtyards as a comparison between 1992 and 2016.

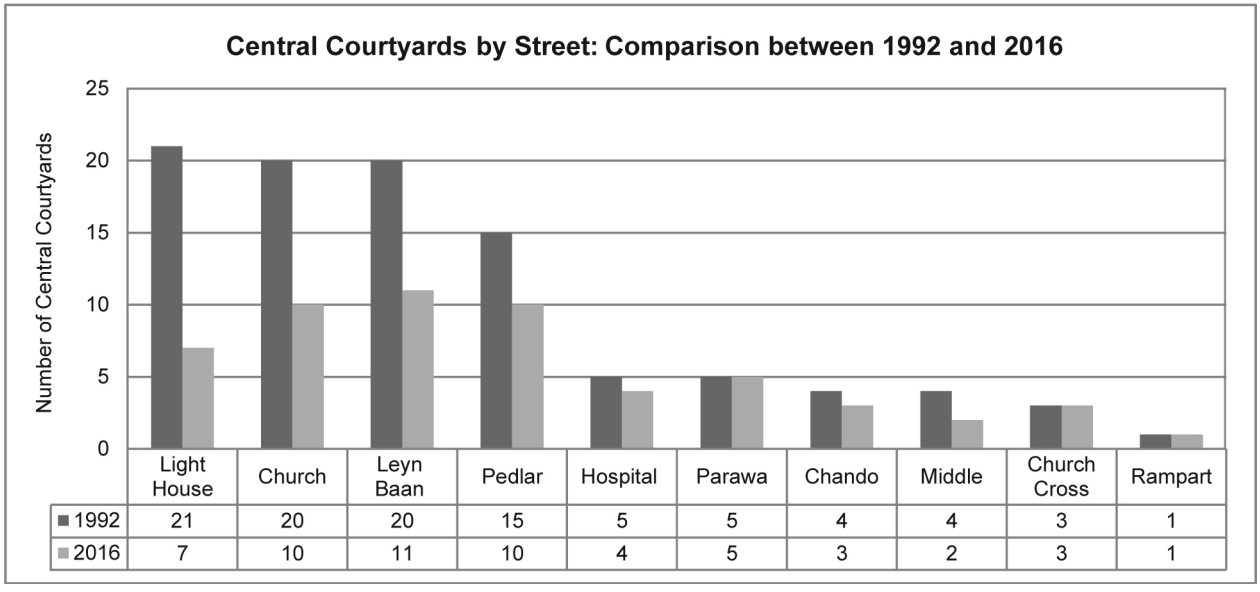


Fig. 171 Central courtyards by street as a comparison between 1992 and 2016.

5.4.5 DISAPPEARING CENTRAL COURTYARDS: COLONIAL FEATURES BEHIND THE FAÇADE

According to the first policy document of 1987 (which also appeared in 1992), the courtyards of most buildings remained in their original condition due to their practicality for daily life at the initiation of the World Heritage Project (Wijesuriya and Vos 1987, 9). However, the current analysis shows that contemporary commercial and residential requirements have drastically changed this situation.

Although one-fourth of the buildings had a central courtyard in 1992 (98), this dropped to 15% (56) by the year 2016, as shown by Figs. 170–173.[388] Generally, the number of courtyards has fallen significantly in three main streets of the fort, which

388 However, the 2009 GHF Survey (Liyana Arachchi 2009) identified 112 central courtyards.

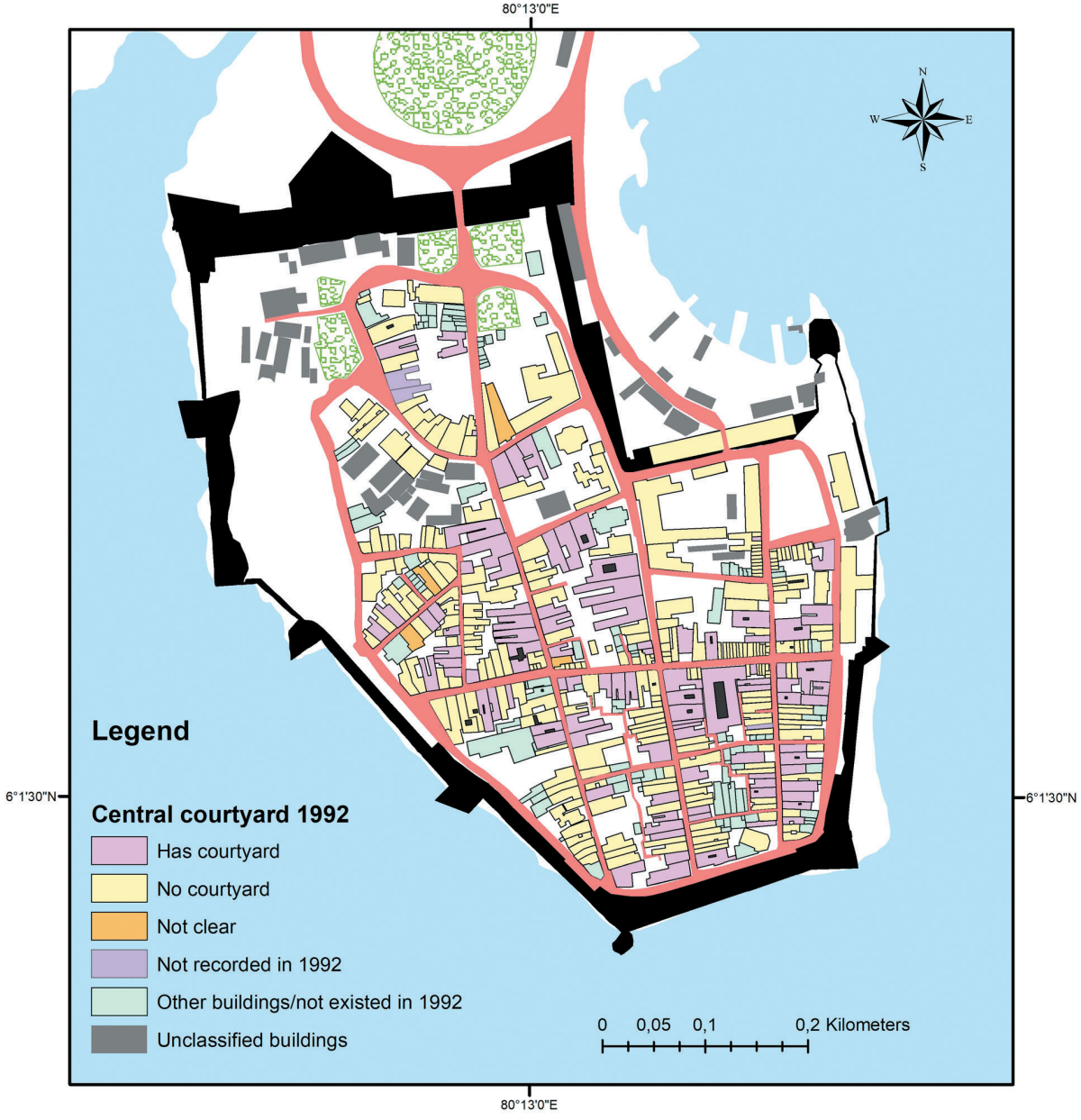


Fig. 172 Building with central courtyard, 1992 (source: Kuruppu and Wijesuriya, 1992).

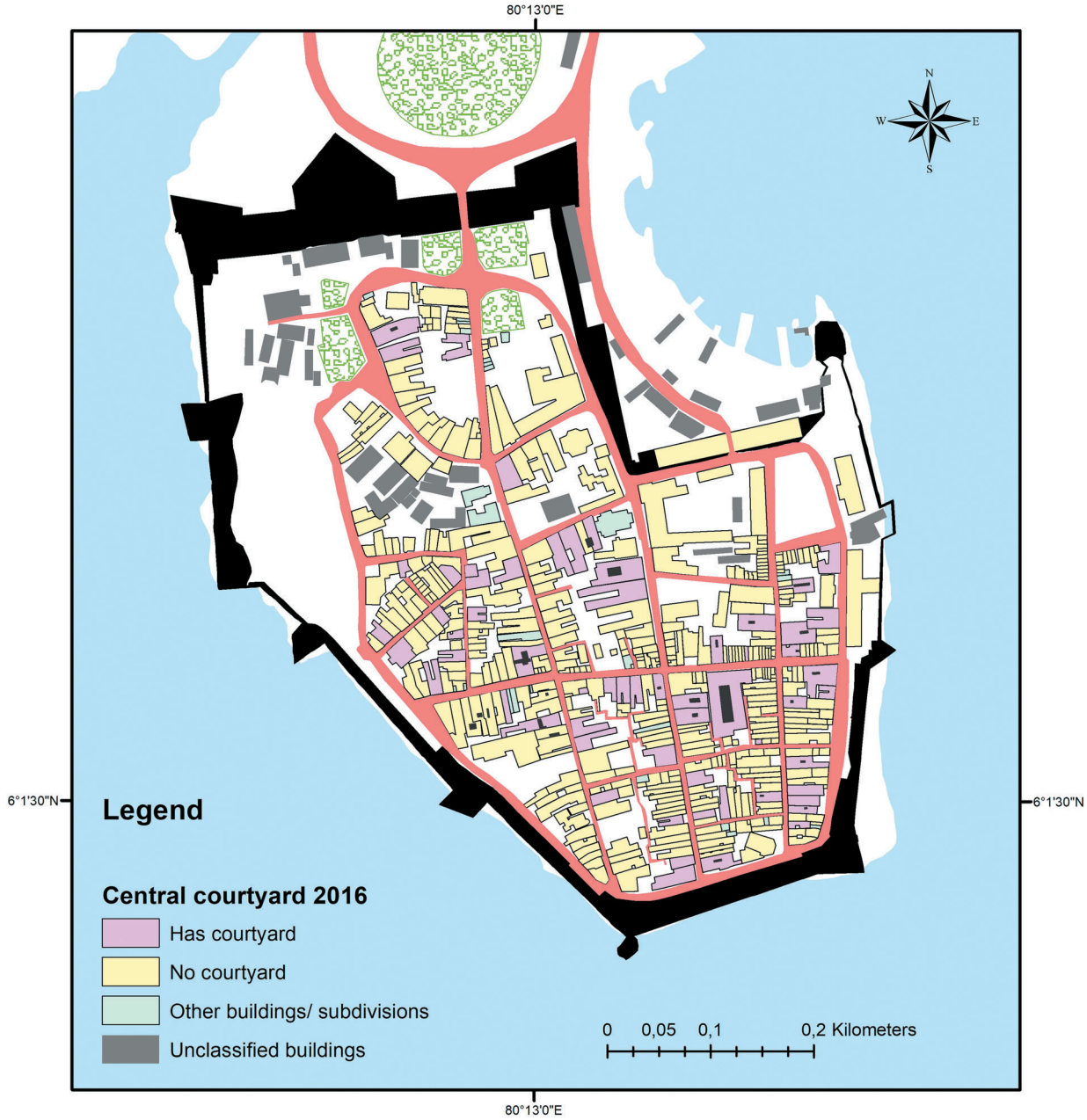


Fig. 173 Building with central courtyard, 2016 (some of the buildings categorized as "no courtyard" in the map show courtyards. In fact, some of these are now converted into swimming pools).



Figs. 174–175 A central courtyard in 1965 (first image) [389] that later turned into a side courtyard in the development of a tourist accommodation.[390]



Fig. 176 Small courtyard in an approved development at left vs. a (renovated) colonial central courtyard with a well at right, showing the change in the utilitarian function of courtyards.[391]

389 Aerial photograph 65.05.036 (1965), Survey Department, Sri Lanka.

390 However, this property is shown as bare land in Department of Archaeology's systematic documentation of buildings (1992).

391 No. 43, Leyn Baan Street is a new development of a preexisting building.



Fig. 177 A central courtyard as interior decoration in a tourist-related business place (January 2019).

had the highest numbers of courtyards at the inception of World Heritage project (Fig. 171). Light House Street is the most significant among them, as it has the highest number of central courtyards in 1992, but currently has the highest number of boutique villas. Interestingly, the number of side courtyards increased by 2% from 1992 to 2016 [24% (93) to 26% (100)]. This could be identified as the outcome of turning the central courtyard into a side courtyard as a result of new developments associated with tourism (Figs. 174–175). According to the observations of drone images, developments have also changed the placement and size of the original side courtyards. In contrast, the addition of central courtyards was not as common as the addition of verandahs, a compulsory element for new developments. On the other hand, central courtyards require more space, which is a financial loss in development due to the high land value. By 2016, only nine central courtyards and 25 side courtyards had been newly added to the units surveyed in 1992. Most of these new central courtyards were comparatively smaller in size and used as interior decoration, rather than their former domestic/utilitarian functions (Figs. 176–177).

Traditionally, the subdivision of houses was the main threat to the central courtyard, as it either divided the courtyard into two side courtyards or destroyed it totally. The demand for more floor area due to commercialization and the expansion of families are the main factors affecting changes in central courtyards today. Functional changes in courtyards, mainly turning courtyards into swimming pools and ponds (mostly "illegally"), have been identified as a threat to these colonial features by architect Ashley de Vos, as is discussed in the next sub-chapter (Vos 2016). Although an approved construction generally tries to preserve this element, some of the newly added courtyards contrast with the original colonial courtyards.[392]

392 Personal observations in 2016.



Fig. 178 A swimming pool in a newly developed villa; the pool replaced the former central courtyard.[394]

5.4.6 SWIMMING POOLS AND RESIDENTIAL TOURISM

Swimming pools were introduced to Galle Fort by foreign investors, the result of residential tourism after World Heritage recognition, but are not permitted as per the Special Regulations, 2009 (Article 70.22). According to architect Ashley de Vos, swimming pools interfere with the authenticity of the fort as they destroy the concept of the open courtyard, which was generally the only existing green space in most of the properties (Vos 2016). In addition, swimming pools also become a breeding place for mosquitoes when they are not properly maintained (Vos 2016). This was identified as a health risk by some residents at the end of 2015, with the outbreak of dengue at the fort (fieldwork observations).[393] According to the Director of Galle Heritage Foundation (2016), the large water consumption of swimming pools is one of the urban issues at Galle Fort that sometimes lead to frequent water cuts, also observed during my stay at Galle Fort.[395]

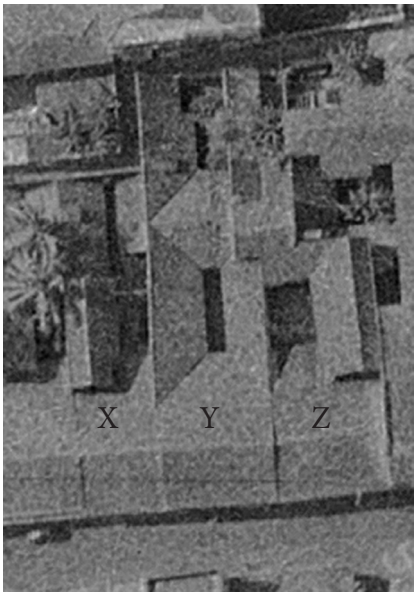
Fourteen and 15 swimming pools, respectively, were recorded by the UDA survey (2016)[396] and GHF survey (Liyana Arachchi 2009, 43). Nineteen swimming pools were identified in this study, including one plunge pool, by the joint use of drone images and websites of tourist accommodations that list their facilities. Sixteen of these pools have fully or partially replaced the courtyards (Figs. 178–181).

393 The fort was identified as a high-risk area for dengue at the end of 2016, affecting the residents, business community and the tourists who were staying at the fort. The major causes identified for the dengue outbreak were the improperly maintained underground drainage system, a large number of construction sites and closed properties where water accumulates and becomes a breeding places for mosquitoes (Public Health Inspector at a community meeting to control dengue at Sri Sudharmalaya Temple, Fort on 25 September 2015).

394 Kuruppu and Wijesuriya record a central courtyard in this building in 1992, which was replaced by the current swimming pool.

395 Interview, 9 March 2016.

396 Data received from UDA (2015), Galle.





Figs. 179–180 Areal views of the same location in 1965 (left)[397] and 2016 (right): the side courtyard was turned into swimming pool (X) and the central courtyard into a pond (Y), while the side courtyard remained unchanged (Z).



Fig. 181 A pond that replaced a central courtyard.

The addition of swimming pools is mostly linked to tourism and foreign investments. Thirteen out of the 19 pools are additions to foreign-invested properties, and 16 of them were additions to buildings recently converted into tourist accommodations. Only one of them had residential-foreign ownership in 2016.[398] Sixteen of these swimming pools were not permitted. However, a few investors were controversially allowed swimming pools, which is discussed separately under sub-chapter 7.5.4.

5.5 A "TOURISTSCAPE"

5.5.1 THE CONSTANT CHANGE

I observed a constant change in buildings, both functionally as well as structurally, within a short span of time, from 2015 to January 2019, mainly due to tourism-related commercialization. Most of these changes were architecturally positive, albeit with their social impact discussed in chapter 6. While dilapidated buildings turned into commercial places cater to tourists, the recently developed ones have also been redeveloped in an architecturally positive fashion (Figs. 182–187).

Developments (mostly tourism-oriented) are very common in the fort today (January 2019), while 26 (full) developments were observed in 2016. The change of ownership of commercial places (even residential buildings) was very common in the fort in 2016 to 2018, which also brought about structural

397 Aerial photograph 65.05.36 (1965), Survey Department, Sri Lanka.

398 According to the neighbours, ownership of this property changed over to local ownership with the death of the foreign owner in 2018.



Figs. 182–183 A dilapidated building in 2016 (left) and same as a restaurant in January 2019, after its development (right).



Figs. 184–185 A building in 2016 (left) and same one, in January 2018, as a gallery, after its development (right).



Figs. 186–187 A developed building as a shophouse in 2016 (left) and the same redeveloped with multiple businesses in 2018 (right).




Figs. 188–189 Streetscape of a formerly residential street in March 2016 (left) and in January 2018 (right). The formally residential buildings to the left and right have respectively changed into a tourist accommodation and a modest family-run restaurant.




Figs. 190–191 Investments improving the same streetscape on Pedlar Street: 2016 (left) and January 2018 (right).

changes; thus, the streetscapes are continuously regenerating, but towards a "touristscape" (Figs. 188–191). While development (mostly tourism-oriented) is common to most of the buildings, it was observed that ownership disputes are a major reason for buildings to remain unchanged.

5.5.2 ADAPTING "ANTIQUE [COLONIAL]" ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

Adding antique colonial-style architectural elements, especially doors and windows, can be identified as a new trend in developments in order to give buildings an "antique [colonial] appearance." While this was popularized by the Dutch government-funded Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009), the increasing resort architecture has also contributed to this. By 2016, 21% (81) of the total surveyed buildings had added antique-style doors and windows, both legally and "illegally"; this is common in approved developments (Figs. 192–197). While the colonial as well as local vernacular styles prevalent in the fort were respected, there were also instances of incompatible styles (Figs. 198–199). In addition, some developers reused vintage doors and windows removed from old houses outside the fort. However, a decrease in detailed work could be observed in the architectural elements, both colonial and local ones (Figs. 200–201).



Figs. 192–194 Colonial arch-shaped doors and windows: the Dutch warehouse (left), the Dutch-period Galle National Museum (middle) as well as a British-period window in a house on Pedlar Street.



Figs. 195–197 Developments adopting similar shapes and styles: a villa (first) and two houses (middle and right).





Figs. 198–199 Additions of doors of incompatible styles.





Figs. 200–201 Decreases in the detailed work of *wadimbu*[399] designs: an original (left) and a new example (right).

Although it is difficult to analyse the changes in these architectural elements due to the unavailability of previous data, observations revealed that nearly 30% (121) of the buildings still have old doors and windows, in both local and colonial styles (Figs. 202–203). In addition, some households still have intricate wooden carvings, including on ceilings, fanlights and separators (Fig. 204). Not only architectural elements, but everything that gives an

399 A carved wooden panel fixed to the edge of the roof to prevent water leaking in during the rain; it is also used as a decoration.



Figs. 202–203 Original doors with detailed carvings.



Fig. 204 Intricately carved wooden separator (of rooms) in a house.



Fig. 205 Integration of a traditional-style *kavichchi* (a type of sofa) set, with *wangediya* and *mōl gaha* (mortar and long pestle, in the corner)[400] as living-room decor in a B&B—an extremely unusual combination in the local context, as the latter is a traditional cooking utensil.

"antique appearance" that might attract tourists is embraced today to enhance the impression of antiquity, from vintage cars and furniture to traditional local kitchen utensils (Fig. 205).

5.5.3 INHERENT HYBRID COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE VS TROPICAL MODERNISM

It was mentioned in sub-chapter 5.1 that the domestic architecture of Galle Fort is a blend of colonial and local elements. However, new investments, especially boutique hotels and villas, follow Sri Lanka's "tropical modernism" style, an architectural style introduced to the country by Geoffrey Bawa (1919–2003), one of the most influential Asian architects from Sri Lanka.[401] The style, which promotes the indigenized aesthetic as the most appropriate "Sri Lankan" style, proved useful for the identity politics of the 1980s and the cultural themes appropriated

400 Long pestle, or *mol gaha*, made from the *kitul* palm tree (*Caryota urens)*. The literal meaning of *gaha* is "tree."

401 Bawa's "tropical modernism" was influenced by Fry and Drew, and ultimately by the work of Le Corbusier. Available at http://www.geoffreybawa.com/work/beginnings-tropical-modernism (accessed 3 August 2018). According to Pieris (2011), Bawa would abandon tropical modernism in favour of a designed vernacular in later years. Although Bawa's work extended to several countries, it is primarily in Sri Lanka.



Fig. 206 Using blue for an antique style door (in a newly developed villa), an alien colour for doors in colonial Galle, but used in Geoffrey Bawa's estate home, "Lunuganga Gardens."



Fig. 207 The combination of modern art with a colonial house (a newly developed guesthouse).



Fig. 208 The combination of stone-paved, timber-pillared verandah in the local style, Doric pillars and French doors of colonial origin and a modern swimming pool at a tourist accommodation.[402]

by the tourist industry (Pieris 2011). The national parliament and numerous hotels along the southern coastline—the former and some of the latter designed by Bawa—exhibit this style (Pieris 2011). According to Pieris, the style was characterized by a modernist free plan blended with the familiar vernacular forms of pitched roofs, verandahs and courtyards (Pieris 2011). According to Jazeel, Bawa was much more interested in an adaptive approach to opening up the colonial house rather than rejecting it outright (Jazeel 2007).

In the context of Galle, this could be seen as a blend of Dutch colonial hybrid domestic architecture and "indigenous"[403] elements with the modern luxuries of tourism and urban living. The incorporation of swimming pools into colonial townhouses and the use of traditional architectural elements, furniture, modern art, etc. could be viewed in this context (Figs. 206–208). The style is well reflected in the Barefoot Gallery (Pedlar Street) planned by Architect Channa Daswatta,[404] influenced by Bawa. However, the traditional interior of the townhouse has largely changed towards modernist resort architecture due to the new requirements of the tourist economy of Galle Fort (Figs. 209–210).

5.6 STATE-OWNED MONUMENTS AND THE GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE FORT

Despite the drastic changes in privately-owned buildings, state-owned monuments and religious monuments (the latter maintained by societies and the respective religious authorities) are restored and maintained to better standards. A number of major monuments were conserved with the financial assistance of the Dutch government, including the Dutch Reformed Church, Dutch Warehouse and the ramparts (Figs. 211–212).[405] Adaptive reuse was promoted by the restoration of the Dutch Hospital into a shopping precinct, also mentioned in sub-chapter 4.2.3. However, there also some public institutions housed in colonial buildings that are not maintained properly.[406]

Overall, both the general outline of the fort as delineated by the ramparts and the road network remain intact, as determined by comparing aerial photos (1965, 1992) with a recent satellite image (2016, Fig. 213–215). Changes in the shape of the (current) international cricket stadium in the buffer zone can be identified as a substantial visual change,

402 Image source: https://www.booking.com/hotel/lk/taru-villas-rampart-street.en-gb.html (accessed 3 August 2018).

403 The use of the term "indigenous" in the local context is elaborated in footnote 212.

404 Also the former chairman of Galle Heritage Foundation.

405 These conservation projects were discussed separately in sub-chapter 4.4.3.

406 Personal conversations with a Galle-based heritage officer, June 2018.



Fig. 209 Traditional residential interior.



Fig. 210 The modern interior of a guesthouse.





Figs. 211–212 The Dutch Reformed Church, Galle by J. L. K. van Dort, 1883 (De Silva and Beumer 1988, 166), and the same church in 2016, conserved with Dutch financial assistance in 2004.



Fig. 213 Galle Fort, 1965.[407]

and are discussed separately in sub-chapter 7.7.2. Careful observation of the images shows a gradual expansion of the buildings. In addition, paving the roads with cement paving blocks in 2011, a project carried out by Galle Heritage Foundation in response to the strong community request, has created a huge visual change in the fort.

Conclusion

While this chapter argues that strict building regulations have been successful in preserving the colonial façades, drastic changes can be identified behind the façades, indicating the interest of the local community and investors in reaping the benefits of the flourishing tourism industry. Despite the fact that the general outline of the fort remains unchanged, the colonial townhouses have been subject to both functional and architectural changes, turning them into income-generating objects.

407 No. 65.05.36, Survey Department, Sri Lanka.



Fig. 214 Galle Fort, 1994.[408]

408 No. 94.16.092, Survey Department, Sri Lanka.



Fig. 215 Galle Fort, 2016.

6. Socio-Economic Changes in the Urban Landscape

The chapter focuses on the drastic demographic, economic and cultural changes at Galle Fort that occurred in the wake of World Heritage recognition, paying special attention to its urban community.

6.1 WHAT GALLE FORT MEANS TO VARIOUS STAKEHOLDERS

Here I discuss how the various stakeholders identified and experienced the fort based on interviews, personal conversations and my own reasoned observations, giving priority to the voices of local residents.

6.1.1 *GAMA* ("VILLAGE") IN THE EYES OF THE RESIDENTS

In general, most of the interviewed residents (28 out of 33) identified Galle Fort as their home town, indicated by the Sinhala term *gama* (literally "village"), despite the fort being a town with urban features. The idea of *gama* also symbolizes the sense of ownership and self-identity associated with one's birthplace or the place one lives in a local context.[409] Following Pieris (1964, 39), the Sinhala term *gama* (Pali *gāma*, Sanskrit *grāma*), translated as "village," will be understood to connote an inhabited village (Pieris 1956, 39).[410] In certain contexts, *gama* signifies landed property or estate, or can also designate a collection of landholdings.[411] Pieris further mentions that in many villages, there were people who claimed descent from some original ancestor, real or imaginary (Pieris 1956, 39). In the first case, a *gama* could also be identified as a settlement where people with blood relations live, as is also common to many typical Sri Lankan villages. There is a distinction between "native" and other inhabitants (Codrington 1938; Pieris 1956), while the natives develop a sense of belonging to their territorial and social unit (Pieris 1956, 40). The sense of ownership associated with *gama* is implied by two colloquial Sinhala terms—*gankārayō*, the "village inhabitants," and *pitagankārayō*, the typical term for "outsiders," often used negatively.[412] The villagers' ownership of local resources can further be illustrated by the Sinhala saying *gamē väla gamē kaputanta*, "village jackfruits are [only] for the village crows."

Just as the walled city is not an ordinary town with respect to its architecture, I have observed that its residents' relationships with each other are not similar to those of ordinary town dwellers. The households were separated by common walls, and everybody lived in a crowded space, creating more opportunity for interaction with each other. Thus,

409 The phrase *[magē] gama Gāllē,* "[I am] from Galle," as often proudly proclaimed by the people of Galle, shows their self-identity, which symbolises the rigidity and bravery of the Southerners.

410 The idea of an "inhabited village," rather than a "village," is based on the term *olagam*, mentioned in the *vitti-pot* ("books of incidents") and signifying uninhabited villages. The *vitti-pot* are written in colloquial Sinhala prose on palm-leaf manuscripts (Pieris 1956, 39, 269).

411 Pieris (1956) explains this with the contemporary phrase *ūta mama nama dunnā gama dunnē nē*, "I gave him my name, but not my estate." *Nama gama* means name and estate, "the name by which any person of rank is distinguished, and generally known, being that of the village in which his ancestral or principal estates are situated" (D'Oyly (1832, 60) quoted by Pieris (Pieris 1956, 39). Among the other important terms associated with *gama* during the Kandyan Kingdom are: *gabadāgam*, the royal lands directly associated with the crown, and attached to one of the royal storehouses; *vidānagam*, a special type of *gabadāgam*, usually inhabited by low-caste persons engaged in public services of a menial kind; and *nindagam*, certain royal lands (*gabadāgam*) granted to individuals and inscribed in the *lekam miti* or "land rolls"(Pieris 1956). The last category is associated with D'Oyly's above-mentioned idea, and is somewhat prevalent even now. *Vihāra-gam* and *dēvāla-gam*, the villages held by the temples, also belong to this last category (Codrington 1938).

412 In formal Sinhala usage, *gankārayō* is *gam-väsiyō,* while *pitagankārayō* is *pitagamkārayō*. The latter could be translated as "people outside the village" or "people from outside villages" [*pita*, "outside;" *gam*, "villages;" *kārayō*, "people"].

they appeared to know each other as well as in a typical Sri Lankan *gama*, despite their different ethnicities. Besides this, some families have lived there for generations, which has strengthened their community and neighbourhood relationships, while fostering a strong attachment to the landscape. This sentiment was expressed by a retired banker whose family has lived in the fort for generations: "I was born here, lived here, worked here and I want to die here."[413] Mr Fernandopulle, whose family has lived in the fort for several generations, recalled his memories of the mid-'80s, when he knew everyone well and thus could even "go to the other end of the fort without wearing a shirt"—the informal way that men dress at home, among familiar people, and an indication of how the whole fort was like "home."[414] This strong community feeling, a major social aspect of the fort and substantially threated by gentrification, is elaborated separately in an anecdote in sub-chapter 6.6.2. Interestingly, the views of a few senior citizens reflected the colonial nature of the fort. The late Mr Vitanage, a third-generation resident of the fort, used the word "colony" instead of the popular term "the fort."[415] One 79-year-old resident said of the fort, "Our city built by the Dutch."[416]

In general, most of the residents interviewed said they were very happy to live in Galle Fort (30 out of 33). Their satisfaction mainly rested on their birthright, good neighbours, unity and ethnic harmony[417] and better infrastructure, as well as reasons directly associated with the positive socio-economic impact of World Heritage recognition, such as business opportunities, high land value, global experience through tourism, the prestige of living and owning properties in a heritage city, safety and security. Despite the majority of the population being Muslim, there is a sense of unity among the different ethnicities. According to one Malay Muslim resident, "all ethnic problems end at the gateway to the fort."[418] The economic benefits and the prestige of living in Galle Fort, a positive outcome of gaining heritage status, is reflected by the response of Mr Miguel: it is "the place with highest land value in the country."[419]

With the tremendous increase of tourism-related business, Mr Hameed, who runs a café in Leyn Baan Street, saw the fort negatively as a "business city," although he is happy about the "additional income generated." [420] Ms Abbas, who is not engaged in any tourism-related business, unlike the majority of residents, stated that the "environment of the fort is no longer healthy for ordinary people." [421] However, these ideas, whether positive or negative, are not static and change with their day-to-day experiences. Mrs and Mr Rodrigo, who run a B&B, identified the fort as "our beautiful *gama*—the best place to live" in December 2015, but were very disappointed when the UDA notified them to demolish their ["illegally" developed] third floor at the end of next year, and "lost interest in living in the fort anymore."[422] Overall, the commercialization associated with tourism has become a major factor determining the residents' views of their *gama*.

6.1.2 THE RAMPART, THE DUTCH AND THE SEA: LOCAL VISITORS

In the "mental image" of Sri Lankans who visited the fort (both from Galle and outside), Galle Fort could be identified in four words as the ramparts, the sea, the Dutch and tourists (69%, 16%, 8% and 4%, respectively). These four words can be turned into a meaningful sentence, which gives a larger picture of Galle Fort as "(huge) Dutch built ramparts surrounded by the sea and visited by tourists." This also indicates that the local presence of the fort is not as prominent in the general Sri Lankan view of Galle Fort.

Among domestic tourists, the popularity of the notion of World Heritage has eclipsed the fort's colonial origin; nearly 65% of the local visitors surveyed identified the fort as a World Heritage

413 Personal conversation, March 2016.
414 Interview, 29 January 2016. However, nowadays he must wear a shirt to go to the shop at the end of his street, just a few houses away.
415 Interview, 3 March 2016.
416 Interview with Mr Gunadasa, 3 March 2016.
417 As a country that suffered from ethnic conflicts for nearly three decades, ethnic harmony is specifically considered important throughout the country.
418 Interview with Mr Deen, 10 February 2016.
419 Interview, 1 March 2016.
420 Interview, 12 February 2016.
421 Interview, 1 March 2016
422 Interview on 17 December 2015 and personal conversation in January 2017.

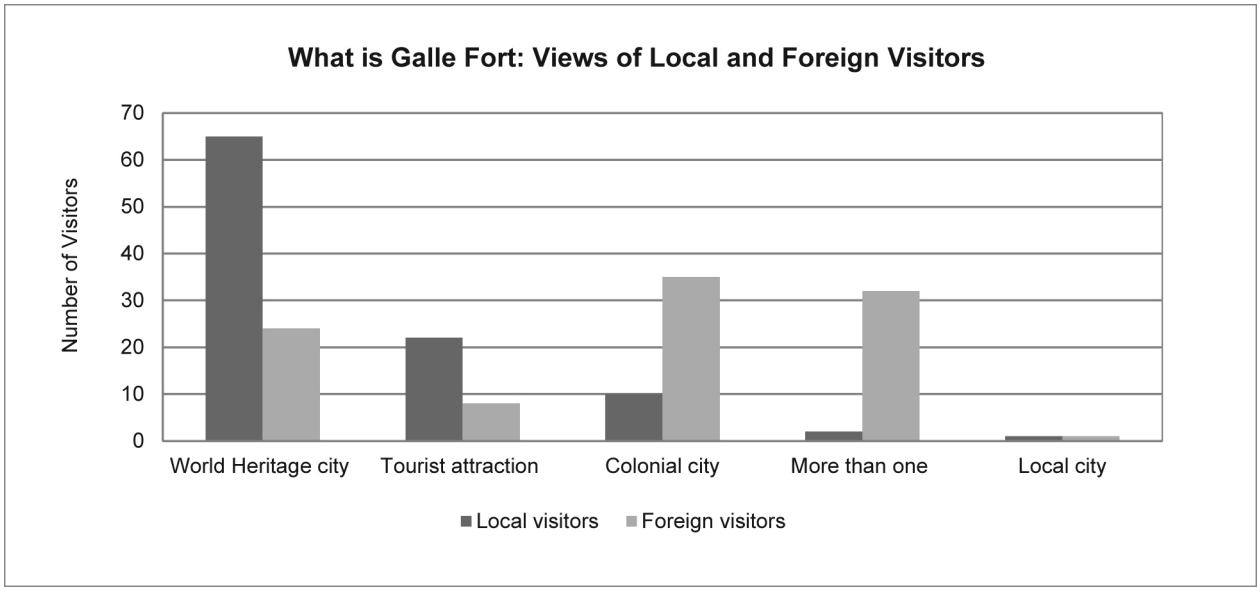


Fig. 216 How local and foreign visitors describe Galle Fort.

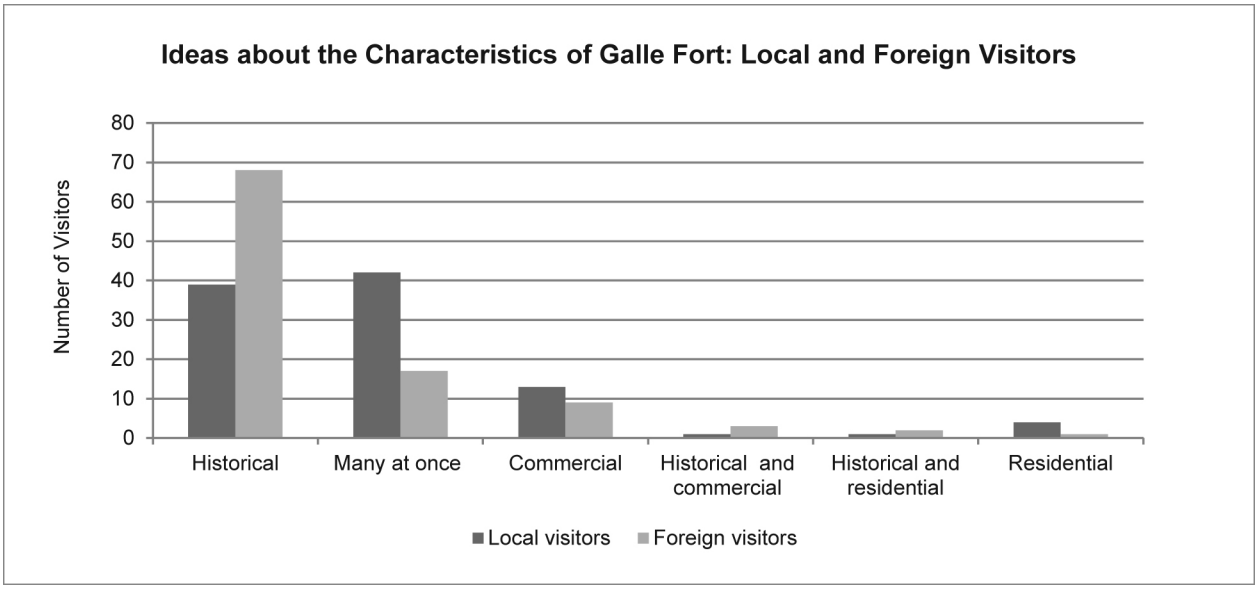


Fig. 217 Ideas of local and foreign visitors about the fort's characteristics.

city (Fig. 216).[423] In contrast, the majority of foreign tourists, of whom a large percentage were Europeans (58%), recognized the fort as a colonial city. However, only one-tenth of the local visitors had the same idea, while hardly any group saw the fort as a local city.

Galle Fort was not merely a tourist destination for some tourists, who demonstrated ownership of the colonial landscape. A note in the visitor's book of All Saints' Church read "… this is the land of my

423 Based on questionnaires given to a hundred local visitors, as discussed under in sub-chapter 3.2.3.

ancestors."[424] Personal attachment to the landscape associated with memories is indicated by another note: "lovely to visit the Church where my parents were married on 14 Aug 1958!!."[425] Each year, a number of tourists request the assistance of heritage institutes (sometimes even residents) in searching for their former ancestral homes or tombs, which also demonstrates their connection to the colonial landscape.[426]

There was a difference between the way both local and foreign visitors identified the characteristics (values) of the fort. While a majority of local visitors (42%) identified the fort as a place with multiple characteristics (including historical, commercial and residential), by contrast, nearly 70% of foreign tourists, most of whom were first-time visitors (93%), gave priority to its historic character (Fig. 217). It was evident that the ideas of locals rested mainly on their day-to-day experience of the fort, as nearly 30% of them were frequent visitors who live close by. In general, the rampart was the most familiar space to these frequent visitors, who come to relax and spend the evening. In general, both local and foreign visitors were very happy to visit Galle Fort, 95% and 98%, respectively.

6.1.3 LOCAL BUSINESS COMMUNITY, HERITAGE OFFICERS AND OTHERS

Half of the local business community, comprised of both residents and outsiders, perceived the fort as World Heritage city (50%); it was viewed to a lesser extent as a *gama* (37%), a city with business opportunities (8%) and a historic city (5%). Interestingly, a businessman identified the fort as "a city that has fallen into the hands of foreigners" a response based on the remarkable foreign direct investments.[427]

The opinions of the heads/relevant officers of public institutions, religious places, museums and banks (20 in total) located inside the fort were also surveyed. In general, these individuals were aware of current trends at the fort, including foreign and local investments. Despite the majority viewing the fort as a World Heritage city, their experiences and interactions with the community led to identifications like "a city with heritage as well as living community" (the head priest of a church).[428] The secretary of one institution called the fort "a foreigners' city."[429] Although almost all of these institutions were located in heritage buildings, not all of them were admired by their users. According to the Registrar of one of the courts located at the fort, the people who come to the courts have greater concerns than appreciating the colonial architecture.[430]

Although the above-mentioned groups are generally happy to live or work in Galle Fort, the heritage officers are something of an exception. There are heritage officers who are not happy to work at the fort, especially the ones who are directly involved in taking legal action against "illegal" developers, and also suffer from these tense situations.[431] One heritage officer stated that "although I am happy to work in Galle Fort, I doubt whether we have followed the guidelines of UNESCO sufficiently."[432] Thus, some of them saw the fort in the context of heritage theories, guidelines and their working experiences, and felt the need for making it a better place. My interaction with them over three years (2016–2018) showed that some of them have gradually developed a feeling of ownership over the landscape from a decidedly professional perspective, which was not much appreciated by the residents, who are attached to the landscape as *apē gama* ("our village").

"The Pride of Galle": A Localized Colonial Monument?

"The huge ramparts of Galle Fort show how much the colonial powers were afraid of the local people of Galle" — Sanjeewa Wijeweera, a local reporter and a resident of Galle[433]

The South (the ancient Kingdom of Ruhuna) and southerners have played an important role in the country's political history. The country's one of the

424 "May the great god walk with you, this is the land of my ancestors," read a note by one foreign visitor, 19 January 2016.
425 Note by a foreign visitor, 5 January 2015.
426 Interview with an Archaeological Research Officer attached to the Regional Archaeology Office (South), at the fort on 5 January 2016; personal communication with Ms Atukorala in December 2016.
427 Based on questionnaires given to 23 business owners (or their staff), March 2016.
428 Personal conversation, March 2017.
429 Personal conversation, March 2016.
430 Personal conversation, March 2016.
431 Personal conversations, 2016–2018.
432 Personal conversation with a key heritage officer of Galle Fort, 2 September 2018.
433 A Facebook post by Sanjeewa Wijeweera (who wished to be named) in July 2018 and personal conversation, 4 March 2019.

most powerful Sinhalese Buddhist king came from the South, and it was the southerners who contributed to the Buddhist revivalist movement in the 19th century, which contributed to Sinhala Buddhist nationalism as well as to the independence movement.[434] In popular belief, southerners bravely took part in national freedom struggles. They were loyal to the Sinhalese King of Kandy even when the Maritime Provinces were under British control (as the last colonial power), despite being located far from the kingdom.[435] Thus, there is no wonder that the three main landward bastions of Galle Fort are the strongest and most impressive, addressing the risk of possible local attacks, with smaller ones to the sea, despite the risk of possible naval attacks from rival European nations.[436] These huge colonial ramparts, which gradually became part of the lives of local people, have become a landmark of Galle despite their harsh colonial associations.

The ramparts of Galle Fort were identified as the "Pride of Galle" by a Galle District parliamentarian during the Parliamentary Debates of 2007; he further stated, "Galle reminds everyone of the historic ramparts," a fact that is hard to deny as a Sri Lankan (*Hansard* 2007, 3268). In general, the frontal view of the [Dutch] ramparts of Galle Fort with the clock tower is seen as the iconic image of Galle, which was featured on the postal stamp issued for the centenary celebration of Galle Municipal Council (1867–1967). In 2018, the new Mayor of Galle used the same view as the background image in his Facebook acknowledgement message, indicating that the fort is currently a localized colonial monument.[437] Not only the politicians, but also the residents of the fort, those who live outside it and those who currently live abroad use the Galle Fort as a background image in their profile photos on Facebook, showing their identity as people of Galle.[438]

434 Anagarika Dharmapala (formerly Don David Hewavitarne, 1864–1933), Rev. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala (1927–1911) and Rev. Migettuwatte Gunananda (1823–1890) were all southerners; they worked together with Colonel Henty Steel Olcott and H. P. Blavatsky's Theosophical Society, which also contributed to this movement.

435 This idea was further elaborated by Obeyesekere (2018).

436 It was mentioned in sub-chapter 1.1.3 that King Rājasingha closely blockaded Galle Fort by land in 1642, soon after its acquisition by the Dutch.

437 Galle Mayor, in a Facebook post dated 23 March 2018.

438 Personal observations, 2017–2019.

6.1.4 GALLE FORT: COLLECTIVE MEMORIES

When three middle-aged women—two who had lived in the fort for several years, and one who currently still lives there—were asked to draw Galle Fort, the first question they asked was whether they should draw the "earlier fort" or the "current fort," showing a clear distinction between the landscape before and after heritage recognition. When they were asked to choose whichever they wished, they opted for the "earlier fort," resulting in the map "Recalling the Galle Fort of Three Past and Present Residents" (Fig. 218).

While they drew the streets first, the urban landscape was then constructed by recalling places and landmarks. Among the places were churches, the temple, mosque, library, lighthouse, clock tower, ramparts, Hayleys Building, Walker Building, E Court's Building, three banks,[439] the post office, army camp, etc. Places of personal attachment were significant, and they gave priority to the YWCA, featured prominently in the middle, as they all were council members there. Although their houses were marked on the map, they had lesser importance, although the houses were important in general. The places or landmarks that were important to one individual were not always important to the others, as I observed several times. The former Hayleys Building was a must-draw for Ms Gunawardene, while Ms Pieris wanted to include the fort's former printing company (currently a boutique hotel).

They recalled important incidents associated with places and the people who lived there as collective memories. For instance, the current Rampart Hotel was Dr Kularatne's bungalow, which firstly reminded them of the tragic murder of the doctor's wife by poisoning.[440] Then they recalled their memories of

439 The Bank of Ceylon, People's Bank and Mercantile Bank (currently Commercial Bank).

440 The famous Kularatne poisoning case of 1976: "Poisoning is rare, and the alleged use of arsenic as a murder weapon made its belated debut in the Kularatne poisoning case of 1967. At the trial, discussed by Alles in his second essay, the prosecution charged Dr Daymon Kularatne, his mother Laura, and their cook Mavelege Sopia with murdering the doctor's estranged wife, Padmini, who was kept a virtual prisoner in an untended garret room of the family residence. After the jury convicted all three defendants, the Court of Criminal Appeal reversed, inter alia, that two Crown scientific witnesses lacked sufficient expertise to support their testimony intended to show that the victim ingested potassium arsenite drawn from the doctor's dispensary," writes Borowitz,



Fig. 218 "Recalling the Galle Fort of Three Past and Present Residents," drawn by Ms Monnina Gunawardene, Ms Mala Buultjens and Ms Surangani Pieris.[441]

the doctor, which were connected to the "place": "my husband still remembers the way the doctor went on horseback" (Ms Gunawardene); "Dr Kularatne had a clinic here" (Ms Buultjens pointed it out in the map); "It was similar to Dr Ginige's" (Ms Pieris); "It was the only place that had air conditioning in those days" (Ms Gunawardene).[442]

In January 2018, Mrs De Silva, who worked in the fort for more than 15 years, also drew a picture of the "current fort (2017)," which she sees as "a busy, commercialized place where lots of activities are going on" (Fig. 219).[443] While most of the picture consists of various commercial establishments and tourists, these differences are further elaborated in the next sub-chapter.

6.2 CHANGES AT GALLE FORT: PERCEPTIONS OF THE RESIDENTS

Here I elaborate on the changes in the fort's urban landscape before and after World Heritage recognition, based on the ideas of the local residents.

quoting *Famous Criminal Cases of Sri Lanka, Vol. 4 of 11 vols*. by A .C. Alles, a former solicitor general and judge of the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka (Borowitz 2002, 45). The appeal was defended by the brilliant criminal lawyer and statesman Dr Colvin R. de Silva, who vehemently opposed the capital punishment.

441 The artists of this image wished to be named.

442 Group conversation, 29 January 2017.

443 Personal conversation, 30 January 2017.



Fig. 219 "The Current Fort [2017]," by Mrs Chandani De Silva.[447]

6.2.1 GALLE FORT BEFORE AND DURING THE INITIAL STAGES OF THE WORLD HERITAGE PROJECT

At the initiation of the World Heritage project, the fort had a residential-administrative character. First, it was a town with a community of nearly 2,000, as well as the institutions and individuals that fulfilled their needs, such as several retail shops, two bakeries, milkmen, door-to-door vegetable sellers,[444] religious places of different faiths, a clinic, salon, etc. Secondly, the number of provincial government departments and institutions, including courts, the post office and the police station, were located in the fort, mainly in the northern part. Although residents saw "white heads" in the early '70s, there were no "Lansi"[445] people by the mid-'80s.[446] According to a resident who is in his mid-'70s, the remaining ones moved to Australia by the mid-'80s.[448] The last Burgher was Ms Buultjens, who died in 2003.[449] Thus, the fort was something of a local space, despite the occasional tourist.[450]

444 This is a common sight, even now.

445 Colloquial term for colonial descendants, derived from the term "Hollandaise" (person or people from Holland).

446 Interviews with Ms Pieris, 2 September 2017, and Mr Gunasekere, 16 March 2016. According to Mrs Paulas, there were ten to 15 Burghers at the fort in the early '60s (Interview, 3 February 2016).

447 The artist of this image wished to be named.

448 Interview with Mr Gunasekere, 16 March 2016.

449 "My mummy (mother-in-law) was the last Burgher lady," Ms Buultjens mentioned, which was confirmed by Ms Gunawardene and Ms Pieris in a group conversation on 28 January 2017.

450 Although the Burghers were officially identified as a local ethnicity, they were rather "people in between" in the local context, which is the common view of other local ethnicities at Galle Fort.

There was a strong community feeling at the fort. Women living on opposite sides of the streets used to sit on the front steps of their verandahs to chat with each other at night.[451] Planter's chairs were kept on the verandahs, where men sat chewing betel leaves and smoking cheroot.[452] Many used to go to the ramparts around 6.30 pm in the evening, including women, where they enjoyed a chat and the sea breeze at sunset.[453] The children went to school together, and it was their duty to distribute sweetmeats among the neighbours during the New Year.[454] As the houses had no yards, the ramparts and the present-day Court's Square served as playgrounds for the children, who bathed in the sea after playing.[455] Sometimes they also played in the roads, which were not busy.[456]

The streets were coated with tar and had potholes and cracks. It was a time when cattle roamed the streets of the fort. The cattle were owned by two families, one which was known as *kiri gedara*, "the milk house" since converted into a boutique hotel.[457] The cattle as well as the beggars rested in open verandahs at night, which caused the owners to close the verandahs, apart from increasing the floor area (as discussed in sub-chapter 5.3.1).[458] *Sara vita*[459] sellers could be found on the road, and bull-driven buggy carts were used as modern-day three-wheeler taxis.[460]

The houses were old, with huge coral walls of colonial origin and leaking roofs that often need repairs.[461] According to a shop owner, a known set of carpenters and roof-repairers were busy throughout the whole year with these old houses.[462] Furthermore, nobody wanted to buy the fort's old houses, separated by common walls, crowded and sometimes partly dilapidated in the '80s, as confirmed by several individuals, including two elderly residents.[463] According to Mr Fowzie, "not even a Muslim bridegroom accepted a house from the fort as a dowry with the high maintenance costs." [464] A higher official attached to a heritage institution decided not to buy the current Rampart Hotel for nearly a half a million rupees—which would have been a bargain at the time—mainly due to its age and the stories associated with the old mansion, such as the well-known tragic murder that took place at the residence.[465] Some houses were dilapidated, and as a child, Ms Pieris believed ghosts haunted the old houses, which looked gloomy at night.[466] Generally, these incidents show that the houses were financially condemned before the World Heritage recognition of the fort, although the occupants enjoyed a peaceful life.

Similarly, the residents were not as interested in developing houses as at present, since it was not profitable in return.[467] According to a long-time resident, although there were laws to protect houses even in the '70s, they were not as strict as they are today, and the Department of Archaeology (hereafter also referred to as "DOA") was the authority responsible, whereas today it is "UDA" (Urban Development Authority).[468] Although people engaged in "illegal" development, unlike today, court cases were not filed.[469] According to Mr Piyasena, the owner of a guest house, there were not many tourists in the '80s, while only two other families beside themselves provided homestay accommodation in the mid-1990s.[470] Ordinary residents regarded it as

451 Personal conversation with Ms Buultjans, September 2017.
452 Interview with Ms Pieris, 2 September 2017.
453 Personal conversation with Ms Buultjens, September 2017; interview with Mr Hassan, 10 March 2017.
454 Personal conversation with Mr Perera, 15 March 2016.
455 Interview with Miss Gamage [undergraduate and formerly a resident], 12 March 2016; "My children played in the rampart; both of them are doctors now. Although we don't have a yard, the road too served as their playground" (Ms Miguel, personal conversation, 27 February 2016).
456 Ibid.
457 Interview with Ms Pieris, 2 September 2017; conversations with Ms Atukorala, 5 December 2016.
458 Interview with Ms Pieris, 2 September 2017.
459 A street food with grated and dried coconut, which is brightly colored, spiced and wrapped in a betel leaf. This was common in the 1970s and '80s.
460 Personal conversation with Ms Pieris, 1 September 2015.
461 Personal conversation with Ms Hewage, 5 December 2016, and further elaborated in anecdote 1 in sub-chapter 6.6.1.
462 Personal conversation with Ms Atukorala, 5 December 2016.
463 Ibid. This was also confirmed by Mr Gunasekere (interview, 16 March 2016) and Mr Piyasena (personal conversation, 10 December 2016), whose house had partly collapsed.
464 Interview, 15 February 2016. Giving a house to the bridegroom as a dowry for a daughter's marriage is a local custom of the Muslims, and is also in practice at the fort.
465 See footnote 440.
466 Interview with Ms Pieris, 2 September 2017.
467 Personal Conversation with Ms Atukorala, 5 December 2016.
468 Interview with Mr Gunasekere, 16 March 2016.
469 Interviews with a few residents, February and March 2016.
470 Personal conversation, 5 December 2016.

a shame to accommodate tourists, except for some affluent families.[471] Unlike today, tourism was not the major source income for the majority of residents, who mostly engaged in outside jobs.[472] Although living at the fort was not considered as prestigious as today, there was a common belief that decent people lived at the fort.[473] Among the fort's natives are some of the country's most renowned doctors and a sports figure.

6.2.2 CHANGES WITH HERITAGE RECOGNITION: PERCEPTIONS OF THE RESIDENTS

Although change is a common process in any city, 31 out of the 33 residents interviewed stated that the fort had undergone a drastic change. As the people who had been living there continuously, the residents were the ones who experienced this transformation the most. Rather than picking one factor, the majority of them (28) stated that "everything has changed," which included even the people themselves.

The reasons for the drastic change, as identified by the residents, includes the World Heritage project (12), the tsunami in December 2004 (9),[474] an increase of tourist arrivals after the end of the war in 2009 (5),[475] and other reasons (7), including property purchases by foreigners, the Preservation of Private Houses Project (2006–2009) funded by the Dutch government and the tourism policies of the former government (2005–2015).[476] According to a resident, the handover of Hong Kong to China by the British government (1997) also caused some Hong Kong-based Westerners to move to Galle.[477] This idea parallels the accounts of Samarawickrema (2012, 111), who identifies one such Hong Kong-based British banker as the second expatriate to buy a house in the fort. While the root cause of the changes is World Heritage recognition, the other factors have also contributed.

Interestingly, the majority of them (21) were both "satisfied as well as dissatisfied" regarding the change. Although the residents are in favour of the positive economic and social benefits of the World Heritage project discussed above, they are disappointed with the negative social, cultural and administrative outcomes, like losing the peace and tranquillity of the city due to commercialization, the difficulty of developing properties under heritage laws, neighbours moving away from the fort due to land sales, lack of safety due to the heavy flow of unknown people/tourists and negative cultural effects.

While 21 of the residents mentioned the fort looks better now than before, the rest were happier with the appearance of the past. However, paving the road network with interlocking cement paving blocks in 2011, which made a huge visual difference, was appreciated by several residents, who said it motivates them to keep the environment in order.[478] Regarding the increase in the development of buildings (either legal or "illegal"), a significant change, mainly associated with the economic benefits of tourism, was noted by the residents, who had different views on the matter. Mr Piyasena saw this positively, as "the fort is more pleasant now; buildings were dilapidated in those days, and even my house had partly collapsed. I was able to renovate and maintain this old building, as I run this guest house." However, the views of Mr Galappaththi, who also runs a B&B, indicates that the fort is not always being used wisely or properly for this very reason: "If there are shops and hotels everywhere, there will be nothing to see in the fort; the oldness will fade away. Every [old] façade is turning into a showroom today. It's time for the government to take the necessary actions to prevent this."[479] Meanwhile, there are people who

471 Interviews with Mr Piyasena, 10 February 2016, and Mr Gunasekere, 16 March 2016.
472 Interview with Ms Pieris, 2 September 2015.
473 Ibid.
474 According to Sanjeewani (2012, 33), after the 2004 tsunami, a substantial number of international NGO's established their offices inside the fort; as it had not been damaged much by the tsunami, it was a practical location for many aid agencies. This very fact promoted the fort as a prime location among foreigners.
475 In 2009, government forces defeated the LTTE, who had been fighting for a separate Tamil state or *Tamil Eelam* for the Tamil ethnic minority in northern Sri Lanka since 1983.
476 The former regime was also responsible for the end of the war. Developing Galle Port as a tourism port (as further discussed in sub-chapter 7.7.3), as part of the development of cultural tourism in the country, and the renovation of Galle Maritime Museum were policy decisions of this regime, as per the election manifesto of former Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa (Ministry of Finance and Planning 2006).
477 Interview with Mr Fernandopulle, 29 January 2016.
478 Personal conversations with Ms Abbas, March 2016, and Ms Hewage, 5 December 2016.
479 Interview, March 2016.

think that the architectural change is in accordance with the law. Mr Gunasekere states "although there are developments, we can still see the oldness in the façades due to the strict laws of UDA, which do not allow the façades to be renovated in modern style."

However, not everybody agrees with this idea, as the new developments have changed the former sense of the place. According to Ms Hewage, "Nowadays the houses have 'an archaeology face' (*purāvidyā moona*)—a face given by the archaeology [institutions], but not the original face."[480] Instead of the term "façade," she uses *moona*, the everyday colloquial Sinhala term for "face," primarily used to identify people. In a way, the statement shows that the development of houses is rather perceived as a change of decades of familiar faces—a testimony to the identification of the historic urban landscape as a "living organism."

The social and cultural issues created by the flourishing tourism industry and gentrification are discussed separately in sub-chapters 6.4 and 6.6. Although the past is nostalgic and the change is drastic, the majority of the residents have forgotten the negative aspects of World Heritage recognition, as the economic benefits are much higher. Thus, some see their *gama* (village) as a "global village."[481]

6.3 GENTRIFICATION: FOREIGN INVESTMENTS AND LAWS

"*Galle is a jewel ... Wandering its rambling lanes you'll pass stylish cafés, quirky boutiques and impeccably restored hotels owned by local and foreign artists, writers, photographers and designers*" (Lonelyplanet.com, 2018).[482]

Lonely Planet's 2018 introduction to Galle Fort, reprinted above, is a clear indication of the gentrification of the fort, which used to be a local space before World Heritage recognition, as discussed above. Samarawickrema (2012) discusses the real-estate boom and gentrification of Galle Fort through the views of the first foreign investors and expatriates; here I discuss the process of gentrification from the views of the local residents.

6.3.1 FOREIGN (AND LOCAL) INVESTMENTS: VIEWS OF RESIDENTS

According to the 33 residents interviewed in 2016, the major reason for locals selling or leasing properties to foreign (and local) investors is the exorbitant land value of the fort. The process has made some residents relocate, while increasing tourism-oriented investments. A similar number believe that the Muslim tradition of giving a house as a daughter's dowry also contributes to this. Although this undoubtedly affects the Muslim half of the fort's population, anecdote 1 shows that not only Muslims but also the Sinhalese sell properties for the sake of their daughters. Thirdly, a property having multiple owners or under co-ownership also leads to its sale and the distribution of the money among owners. However, there are recent examples of investments in such properties by one or more co-owners.[483] The majority of the locals (70%) believe that investors buy or lease properties in the fort due to economic benefits, while they cite an interest in living there, prestige, tax concessions (or the ability to avoid taxes via loopholes), safety and security as other reasons.

6.3.2 LAWS AND POLICIES AFFECTING GENTRIFICATION: FOREIGN PROPERTY PURCHASES AND LEASES

Generally, local laws discourage foreign ownership of property, although investment opportunities are also provided. According to Finance Act No. 11 of 1963, a 100% transfer fee of property tax (equivalent to the value of the property) is charged to transfer the ownership of any property in Sri Lanka to a foreigner (Section 58, Finance Act No. 11 of 1963).[484] Foreign land purchases, especially by Europeans, increased significantly at Galle Fort when the government temporally suspended the above-mentioned 100% tax

480 Personal conversation, 30 August 2017.

481 Interviews with Ms Mahadeva, 19 March 2016, and Rev Hemaloka, the chief monk of the fort's Buddhist temple, 8 September 2015.

482 Available at https://www.lonelyplanet.com/sri-lanka/the-south/galle (accessed 9 August 2018).

483 Personal conversations with residents from 2016 to 2018.

484 "Subject to the provisions of subsection (4), where there is a transfer of ownership of any property in Ceylon to a person who is not a citizen of Ceylon, there shall be charged from the transferee of such property a tax of such amount as is equivalent to the value of that property" [Section 58 (1), Finance Act No. 11 of 1963].

in 2002. The Finance (Amendment) Act No. 8 of 2004 re-introduced the 100% tax on foreigners, namely the individuals or companies incorporated in Sri Lanka under the Companies Act (No. 7 of 2007)[485] with 25% or above foreign shareholding [Section 58 (3A)].

To avoid the 100% tax, foreign property purchases are mostly made by establishing companies incorporated in Sri Lanka under the Companies Act with less than 25% foreign shareholding. This is the responsibility of the Department of the Registrar of Companies, under the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. However, the foreign investors usually take control over the property by gradually increasing the percentage of foreign shareholding, which was a loophole in the law.

The changes in the fort have attracted media attention since the early 2000s. In 2001, the *Sunday Times* reported that the heritage city would soon transform into a "holiday resort."[486] As a consequence of the 2002 policy, the increasing foreign land purchases at Galle Fort were frequently discussed in newspapers, often as a threat to local values and the economy in general. In 2008, both *The Island* and *Daily News* reported that foreign-invested hotels in Galle Fort do not benefit the people or the country through foreign exchange, as they are invoiced overseas by the owners or agents.[487]

In general, the peaceful state of the country after the end of the war in 2009 coupled with economic policies resulted in continuous economic growth while increasing foreign investment.[488] Against this background, the previous regime (2005–2015) introduced a new law by abolishing the freehold of lands and properties by foreigners in order to "protect our land resources from outright transfers to foreign ownership" (Budget Speech 2014, 4).[489] The new law, Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act No. 38 of 2014, banned the 100% tax and introduced a 15% Land Lease Tax for a maximum tenure not exceeding 99 years for foreigners (individuals or companies incorporated in Sri Lanka under the Companies Act with 50% or more foreign shareholding) leasing out land in Sri Lanka [Sections 5 and 6 (2)].[490] Although it is possible to avoid the 15% tax by forming a company with less than 50% foreign shareholding, the new law prohibits changes in the shareholding percentage for 20 years and the increase of foreign shareholding above 50%, which would render the land purchase null and void.[491] Thus, it was difficult to obtain greater legal ownership over a property and still avoid the 15% tax under this law. This resulted in a decrease in foreign investment in the southern coast in general, including Galle Fort.[492] The 2016 budget removed the above-mentioned land lease tax, "which has been an impediment for attracting investments to the country," in January 2016, a result of policy changes by the new coalition government, active since January 2015 (Budget Speech 2016, 27).[493] I observed some of the new foreign-invested ventures at the fort in 2016 and 2017.

485 Formerly the Companies Act No. 17 of 1982.

486 "Galle Fort- an absolutely galling attack," the *Sunday Times*. Available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/030622/plus/1.html (accessed 30 July 2018).

487 "Saving Galle Fort, the 38th World Heritage Site," the *Island*. Available at http://www.island.lk/2008/02/11/opinion1.html; "Galle Fort - 38th World Heritage Site," the *Daily News*. Available at http://archives.dailynews.lk/2008/02/13/main_Letters.asp (accessed 30 July 30, 2018).

488 In 2019, the World Bank reported, "following 30 years of civil war that ended in 2009, Sri Lanka's economy grew at an average 5.8 percent during the period of 2010–2017, reflecting a peace dividend and a determined policy thrust towards reconstruction and growth; although there were some signs of a slowdown in the last few years." Available at https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/srilanka/overview (accessed 6 February 2019).

489 "Similarly, we have formulated laws to protect our land resources from outright transfers to foreign ownership. From this year, foreigners can have access to state and private land only through long-term lease arrangements. As infrastructure development has improved the value of all lands, it is necessary to implement a land lease tax structure to protect long-term value of lands. Hence a 15 percent upfront tax will be imposed in the event of lease of state or private lands to foreigners" Quoted from President Mahinda Rajapaksa's Budget Speech 2014, available at http://www.treasury.gov.lk/documents/10181/440258/budgetspeech2014-eng.pdf/78964dff-3bfa-4645-b808-56501bd88ac6 (accessed 2 February 2019).

490 Article 5 and 6.2 of Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act No. 38 of 2014. As per section 3 of the act, this is not applicable to eight types of land transferred to foreigners, including dual citizens of Sri Lanka, and land transferred by intestacy, gift or testamentary disposition to a next of kin (who is a foreigner) of the owner of the land.

491 Sections 2 (2) (a) and 2 (2)(b)(ii), Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act No. 38 of 2014.

492 Personal conversation with Ms Prabhashwari, Attorney at Law, Galle District Courts, 4 September 2017.

493 "I propose to remove the tax imposed on the leasing of land to foreigners and also to consider the removal of restrictions on ownership on identified investments imposed through the Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act, which has been an impediment for attracting investments to the country" Quoted from Budget Speech 2016, available at http://treasury.gov.lk/documents/10181/28027/Budget+Speech+2016/07f592ff-770f-4d71-8c26-b06de595eab0?version=1.0 (accessed 30 July 2018).

I have noted that forming companies is the most common method for foreigners to purchase or lease properties in Galle Fort. The 2013 cadastral survey of Galle Fort (Survey Department, Sri Lanka) records only six freehold foreign properties, while there are 31 company-owned properties. It was identified that 28 of these were foreign-owned properties in 2016.[494] Marrying a resident Sri Lankan, another way to avoid taxes, is not very common in the fort, although there are a few examples.[495]

6.3.3 THE PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION

The fort's houses did not have much financial value before heritage recognition (as discussed earlier), although there were exceptions in the case of prime properties. In 1970, a resident paid nearly 10,000 LKR for his property (approximately 50 sqm), while another paid 40,000 LKR in 1976 (approximately 150 sqm).[496] In general, houses had limited space, while maintenance was a burden and required frequent repairs.[497] Moreover, development was not encouraged.[498] Against this background, some residents were fed up with living in these houses.[499]

The First Wave of Property Sales

The land value of the fort per perch (25.29 sqm) was 25,000 LKR in the fourth year of the fort's World Heritage recognition—an ordinary price. The value rose eightfold from 1992 to 2000 (Fig. 220), with a gradual demand for fort properties by foreign investors beginning in the late 1990s.[500] The demand increased with the temporary lifting of the 100% tax on foreign property ownership in 2002, which lasted until 2004 (as discussed above). Parallel to this, the (draft) Building Regulations, which came into effect in 2000,[501] allowed for development, which was not quite possible earlier, resulting in a wave of foreign investment. In 2003, the Asia edition of *Time Magazine* reported Galle Fort as South Asia's "latest boom town," with UNESCO World Heritage status attracting foreign investors (Palling 2003). According to Mr Amarasuriya, the foreign investors continued to increase their offers in 2005.[502]

The local residents, who never even dreamed the future tourism potential of the heritage city, took this as an opportunity to sell their properties, which had never been valued before. The traditional Muslim dowry system (mentioned in sub-chapter 6.3.1) largely contributed to such sales, which resulted in the subdivision of houses and associated social problems. During the early and mid -2000s, Muslim bridegrooms preferred properties in Colombo, the capital city, over Galle.[503] Since the early 2010s, the families sold their properties at the fort and subsequently bought a number of houses—corresponding to the number of their daughters—in the suburbs of Galle.[504] In addition, a number of the fort's houses were inhabited on a rental basis at the time of World Heritage recognition.[505] The rental fees were rather low, and some did not even bother paying them.[506] The increasing land value resulted in owners acquiring the properties, and subsequently selling them or investing in tourism-related businesses, which also resulted in residents moving outside the fortress.[507]

494 Three foreign-owned properties belonging to a leading foreign-owned boutique hotel were transferred to a leading local company, which dropped the total number of foreign-owned properties to 28.

495 In this case, a foreigner can buy property in the name of the child, and there are such examples at the fort. The next method, buying the property in the Sri Lankan's name—which depends solely on the trust of the local owner—is said to be practiced in the area, although there is no reliable evidence for this at the fort, as it is usually hidden.

496 Personal conversation with a resident on 19 December 2015, and interview with a resident on 1 March 2016.

497 Personal conversation with Ms Atukorala, 12 December 2016; this factor was mentioned by a number of residents, including Ms Pieris (1 September 2015) and Mr Fowzie (15 February 2016).

498 Ibid.

499 Ibid.

500 Foreign investments began in 1998, according to Ms Pieris (interview, 1 September 2015).

501 According to the Town Planning Officer of UDA (Galle), the Special Regulations were implemented at a basic level from 2000, prior to its formulation as a draft regulation by the Development Plan of 2002 (personal conversation, January 2017).

502 Interview, 3 March 2016.

503 Interview with Mr Fowzie, 15 February 2016.

504 In 2016, a mother of three daughters sold her property on a small residential street and bought properties for her daughters outside the fort (personal conversations, February 2016).

505 Personal conversation with Mr Zoysa, 4 September 2017. Two examples are provided in the chapter, at the end of this sub-chapter and in sub-chapter 6.6.1.

506 Personal conversation with Mr Zoysa, 4 September 2017.

507 Sometimes this has also required court cases, according to personal conversations with residents in 2017.

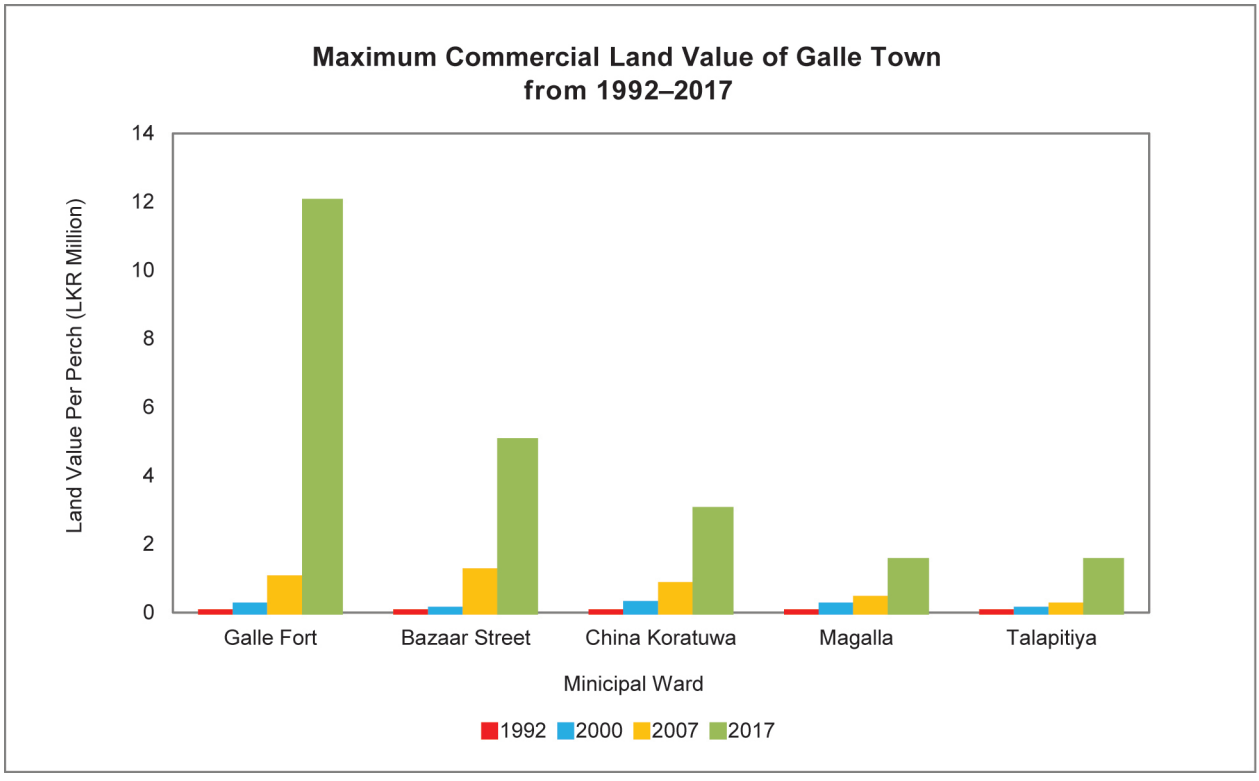


Fig. 220 Maximum commercial land value of Galle Town from 1992 to 2017 (LKR million).[512]

Among the influential foreign investors who took the investment opportunity presented by the 2002 tax concession was the late Karl Steinberg, an Australian. However, the first foreign property purchase, by an American, goes back to mid-'80s, even before the World Heritage recognition.[508] Steinberg, who popularized heritage/boutique hotels, was identified by a resident as the "person who marketed Galle Fort."[509] Steinberg and his Malaysian business partner, Christopher Ong, invested $1 million USD into a partly dilapidated colonial building on Church Street that used to be the family house of Macan Marker, the gem merchants.[510] It was restored in 2004 as the Galle Fort Hotel, a boutique hotel that was awarded the Asia Pacific Heritage Award of Distinction by UNESCO in 2007 and number of other awards (Fig. 221).[511] The local entrepreneurs also invested in the fort during this phase. Local entrepreneur Dominic Sansoni's renowned designing company Barefoot has had a showroom in the historic centre since 2004, which was opened in a restored residential property.[513] Some of these early investors (as well as later ones) invested in more than one property, while a few kept houses as holiday homes.[514] There were a few who claimed they were interested in living in the fort. Among them were luxury hotelier Olivia Richli, the opening manager of Amagalla (2005), an Aman resort, who considers her fort house as her home (2014).[515]

508 [The late] Charles Hulse bought a house in the fort in 1986 (Samarawickrema 2012, 111).

509 Personal conversation with a resident in February 2016.

510 Available at http://www.unescobkk.org/culture/wh/asia-pacific-heritage-awards/previous-heritage-awards-2000-2013/2007/award-winners/2007dt3/ (accessed 30 July 2018).

511 Ibid.; "Sri Lanka's Leading Boutique Hotel" at the World Travel Awards in 2007, 2008, 2010, 2016 and 2017. Available at https://www.worldtravelawards.com/profile-5073-galle-fort-hotel (accessed 30 July 2018).

512 Sources: UDA 2009, personal conversations with the residents of Galle Fort (2015 –2017) and Managing Director, Asian Credit Company Pvt Ltd, Galle (2 November 2017).

513 Available at http://www.barefootceylon.com/shops/ (accessed 30 July 2018).

514 Interview with a property agent in February 2015, and observations of property ownerships and use in 2016–2018.

515 "Interview with Olivia Richli of Aman Canal Grande,



Fig. 221 Façade of the restored main building of Galle Fort Hotel, 2016.

However, the properties sold in the first wave were not highly valued when compared with respect to their later value, while foreign investors also acted as property agents during early 2000s.[516] A property on one of the three main streets was sold for nearly 3.5 million LKR, and the amount was not enough for the owners to buy a house in the suburbs of Colombo, the capital city.[517] However, there were also lucky ones. The next property was sold for 6 million LKR.[518] The former owners bought a house in the suburbs of Galle and a vehicle, and also began cultivating tea, which provides an extra source of income for many locals.[519] Both of the above-mentioned properties were bought by a single foreigner, who also bought the adjacent property, and developed the three into one building with colonial architecture. According to a neighbour, the two-storey building (approximately 400 sqm of land) was on sale for nearly 200 million LKR in 2017, illustrated the "super-gentrification" of the fort (super-gentrification is discussed in sub-

Venice," 5 June 2014.
Available at https://www.andrewharper.com/articles/view/interview-with-olivia-richli-of-aman-canal-grande-venice/ (accessed 30 July 2018).

516 Interviews with Ms Hewage, 24 March 2016, and Mr Fowzie, 15 February 2016. According to Samarawickrema (2012), one of the first expatriates was an agent for a few property sales, including the sale of the locally owned New Oriental Hotel to the multinational boutique hotel chain Aman Resorts, resulting in the opening of Amangalla. According to my interviews and personal conversations with residents (2016), it is well known in the fort that this late expatriate was also a property dealer. Furthermore, another expatriate had a real-estate company at the fort (Samarawickrema 2012).

517 Interview with a resident, 3 March 2016.

518 Ibid.

519 Ibid.



Fig. 222 A property bought and restored by an entrepreneur.

chapter 2.2.4), currently a common scenario.[520] Thus, proper development carried out according to heritage guidelines substantially increases property value, which is far higher than land value.

This process of gentrification had three outcomes; some were instant, others more gradual. The investors (local and foreign) were financially capable of developing properties, which was an expensive process for ordinary locals, and the direct outcome was creating an impression among such locals that the rich and powerful are treated better than them when it comes to building developments (further discussed in chapter 7). Positively, the trend motivated local residents to initiate tourism-related businesses, while negatively resulting in "illegal" developments aimed at this purpose. Finally, it also created a sustainable trend among local residents of following the proper channels to develop properties into villas and B&Bs, similarly to their foreign counterparts.

520 Ibid.

The Second Wave

The land value exceeded one million LKR in 2007, which is just below the value of Bazar Street, the main shopping street of Galle (Fig. 220). Apart from foreign investors, the investments of locals were also significant during this period, including those of entrepreneurs, businessmen, members of political families, popular sports figures and artists (Fig. 222). In addition, some of the properties in foreign hands were bought by local companies and individuals. The above-mentioned Galle Fort Hotel was purchased by Lankem Ceylon PLC, a leading local company, for $7 million USD in 2011, symbolizing "super-gentrification."[521] This trend has continued, and nearly ten properties that are in the hands of foreigners have passed to local investors as

521 "Lankem buys boutique Galle Fort Hotel for Rs. 770 m," available at http://www.ft.lk/article/57770/Lankem-buys-boutique-Galle-Fort-Hotel-for-Rs--770-m (accessed 30 July 2018).





Figs. 223–224 A house for long-term lease in January 2018, and the same as a business place in January 2019.

of 2016.[522] These "gentry," both local and foreign, were capable of following the (expensive) building development procedures of the fort, which was welcomed by the heritage officials, who were fed up with the "wave of illegal renovations" by the local residents in the mid-2010s.[523] In fact, at the time the heritage officials were more interested in preserving built heritage, and did not bother to encourage the local residents to stay in the fort.[524]

While an extremely small number of foreigners (and locals) kept these buildings as holiday homes, the rest were utilized for commercial purposes, especially for high-end boutique hotels, villas, restaurants and cafés. Furthermore, the involvement of local residents as property agents was significant during this phase. According to one of them, among whose clients were one of the country's leading entrepreneurs and a renowned sports figure, the important thing that he tells his clients is that developments are possible in the fort, and two storeys are permitted.[525] Some of the local gentry also considered the "community feeling" of the fort as an added value of the property, which was an assurance of safety within a multi-ethnic community.[526]

Anecdote on Selling Properties [527]

According to a former resident, who is currently in her early 50s, she inherited her parental house, which was bought for nearly 2000 LKR in 1977.[528] Their family has lived in the house on a rental basis so far. The two-perch house (50.58 sqm), which had three-foot-wide coral walls, used to be stables. Back then, the night soil was collected in a bucket, common in Galle Fort and other urban areas in the country.[529] They renovated the house in 2005 by reducing the width of walls, thereby increasing the floor area, and also added another floor. Yet the house was not spacious enough for their family of five. Besides, it had no garden, front or back yard. Therefore, the laundry was hung by the roadside, common at some houses, as I observed (2015–2018). In 2012, they sold the property for a very good price and bought

522 Interview with a local property dealer, 14 February 2016.

523 "Sometimes change of use may be good for this particular building, (and) some of these richer people love these buildings and they tend to renovate them [according to our guidelines]" (interview with higher-level heritage official on 7 September 2017); "Our main goal in the heritage city is preserving its built heritage" (interview with a higher-level heritage officer, 2 March 2016); "there was a wave of illegal renovations in mid-2010 after the tsunami" (interview with Ms Hewage, 24 March 2016).

524 Ibid. Interviews and conversations with heritage officials in 2016–2018.

525 Interview with a local resident who is a property agent, 14 February 2016.

526 Ibid. "He was bit reluctant to buy the property at first [due to the fort's multi-ethnicity]. So I invited him for a morning walk in the fort with me [to show the strong community feeling of the fort despite different ethnicities]. He came one morning and we started the walk in. Everybody—both Sinhalese and Muslims—was wishing me a good morning, and asked my whereabouts, while I too was the same towards them. Soon he touched my hand, stopped and said 'I have decided to buy the house.'"

527 Interview with a former resident, 1 September 2015.

528 "However, 2000 rupees was a lot back then, so my grandmother hid the money inside the pillowcase" (ibid.).

529 "When our grandfather died, we had to ask the night-soil collector to not to come, as we had no back entrance, while grandfather's body was kept in the living room" (ibid.).





Figs. 225–226 Modest restaurants run by Italians and Chinese.

a spacious house with a garden in one of the decent neighbourhoods of Galle.[530] They were also able to save some money, and thus she has been very happy about the decision she made.

The Third Phase

By 2015, the land value per perch reached the extraordinary price of 10 million LKR, while it reached 20 million LKR (approximately 115,000 USD) in January 2019, a direct result of the World Heritage recognition. While buying, selling and leasing properties became very common in the fort, this also resulted in lowering owners' attachment to the landscape due to the properties' constant change of ownership. One house on an inner street, currently owned by a foreigner, has passed between the hands of four owners over the past 13 years.[531] Real-estate agencies, both local and foreign, have replaced individual property dealers today. By the end of 2016, there were four property sales companies in the fort (personal observations).

Interestingly, the residents rarely sell properties now. Instead, they opt to lease properties, partly or fully, the latter of which is more profitable, however again causes residents to move (Figs. 223–224). Even a part of a verandah could be leased for more than 50,000 LKR monthly for a retail space for jewellery, packed tea or souvenirs. Interviews with 33 residents in 2016 revealed that there were two families who planned to move due to leasing out their properties. They proceeded as they planned within one year. Although three of them planned to sell their properties, none of them has yet proceeded to do so. Not only the residents, but in 2015, even Galle Municipal Council has leased one of the council's properties on Pedlar Street to a local company, which planned an investment of nearly 200 million LKR.[532] The deal, which also received criticism from the local community because of the property's heritage value, became null and void due to legal issues.[533]

Large-scale investments were significant during this period, including the high-end boutique hotel Fort Bazar, opened in 2016 by Austin Davies (Pvt.) Ltd., a foreign investment. According to the project manager of a foreign-invested venture, foreign companies are not afraid of large-scale investments, unlike local ones.[534] However, a similar investment was also carried out by Hermitage Hotel (Pvt.) Ltd., a local company. Based on my observations, these two developments were carried out very rapidly, with crew even working during the night to finish before the beginning of the "tourist season" at the end of the year. In general, developments (mostly tourism-oriented) are very common in the fort now, at a high rate uncommon to an ordinary neighbourhood.[535]

530 The exact amount of money has been omitted to respect the owner's privacy.

531 According to a neighbour, March 2016.

532 Personal conversations with residents, heritage officers and an officer attached to the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat, Galle, and personal observations in 2015 and 2016.

533 Personal conversations with residents and heritage officers and personal observations in 2016 and 2017.

534 Personal conversations, 15 December 2015.

535 During April and May 2016, I observed 26 ongoing

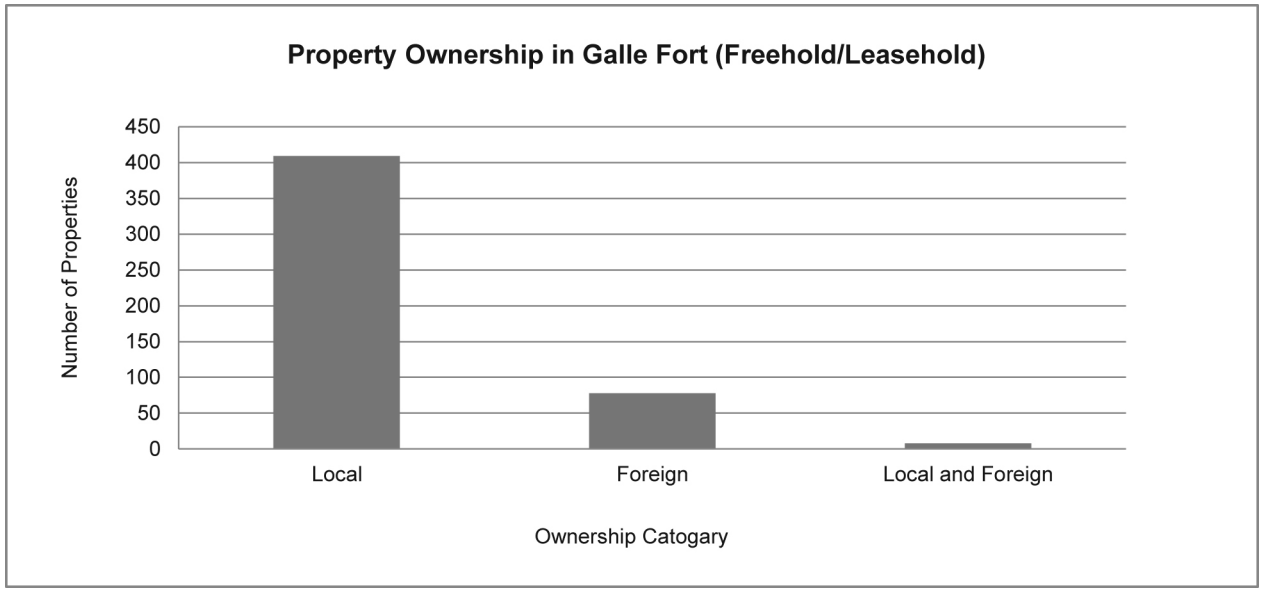


Fig. 227 Property ownership in Galle Fort, 2016.

A remarkable change at this stage was the direct involvement of local residents in tourism-related businesses, as discussed in sub-chapter 6.5.2. Not only companies and wealthy individuals, but also ordinary locals and foreigners moved to the fort and started businesses. Among the latter were Chinese, Russian and Italian individuals and families who invested in cafés and restaurants (Figs. 225–226).

6.3.4 FOREIGN INVESTMENT LEVELS

Foreign property ownership is a hidden phenomenon in Galle Fort, not recorded by most of the local authorities, including the Municipality or the Divisional Secretariat. Most of the properties, including residential ones, are registered as companies (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.2), while 71% of them were converted into commercial places in 2016. According to the GN officer,[536] even the few foreigners who reside at the fort are not registered in the voter's register (which is voluntary), and thus no information could be obtained regarding their residency.[537] According to the Project Planning Officer of Galle Heritage Foundation (hereafter also referred to as "GHF"), the strategic methods for foreign land purchases (discussed in 6.3.2) make it difficult to figure out whether the foreigners have substantially invested in the fort.[538] In fact, very few foreigners are directly involved in these businesses, while the rest are managed by locals.

Foreign ownership of properties was surveyed at the end of 2016, through observing the properties for one year and soliciting the ideas of neighbours and the local staff of the properties. As the fort's properties share common walls, the residents usually know who owns the adjacent property. Thus, 78 foreign-owned properties out of 494 were identified, which is nearly 16% of the overall property ownership (Fig. 227). It was difficult to narrow the ownership type down to freehold or leasehold without information from the actual owners. In addition, there are eight properties with both local and foreign ownership.

This amount is rather low when compared to the 20% to 25% specified by researchers, heritage officials and newspapers.[539] However, 55 out of

developments, which is almost 5% of total property ownership.

536 The public officer appointed by the Central Government to carry out the duties in a GN Division, the smallest public administrative subunit of Sri Lanka.

537 Personal conversation with the GN Officer of the fort, 10 September 2015.

538 Interview with the Project Planning Officer of GHF, 3 September 2017.

539 20% as 60 out of 360 homes (Sanjeewani 2012, 33); over 80 (Samarawickrema 2012, 115); 25% as 90 out of 360 townhouses (Rajapakse 2013, 9); over 100 properties as specified





Figs. 228–229 Prominence of restored architecture: a foreign-owned property during (2016) and after restoration (2017).





Figs. 230–231 Prominence of buildings with a comparatively large size (2016): the foreign-owned boutique hotel, the Fort Printers (left), and another building, an amalgamation of three properties (right).[541]

these 78 properties are either beautifully restored, have been developed in conformity with the colonial architecture or are well-maintained, and thus are more eye-catching than ordinary buildings (Figs. 228–229). In addition, most of these properties (and lands) are relatively large when compared to the majority of the fort's properties (Figs. 230–231). The greater part of the fort properties (35%) are less than 3 perches, mainly due to the subdivisions (Fig. 232).[540] This is followed by properties of 6 to 10 perches (20%).[542] In contrast, in 2013, the majority of foreign-owned properties (recorded in the cadastral survey as companies/freehold and confirmed by fieldwork in 2016) were between 6 and 10 perches, while 62% of them were above 10 perches (Fig. 233).[543] These two reasons make them

by Project Planning Officer of GHF during an interview on 3 September 2017; and 25% according to the *Sunday Observer*, a local newspaper, on 7 February 2016, available at http://archives.sundayobserver.lk/2016/02/07/spe-her-01.asp (accessed 30 July 2018).

540 This analysis is based on the data acquired through the UDA, Galle in 2015.

541 Kuruppu and Wijesuriya (1992, 157) shows three houses here, which have since been replaced by this building.

542 Ibid.

543 However, there are number of examples where foreign businessmen have started up business in small lots. I have observed this a current trend, with ordinary foreigners (as well as locals)

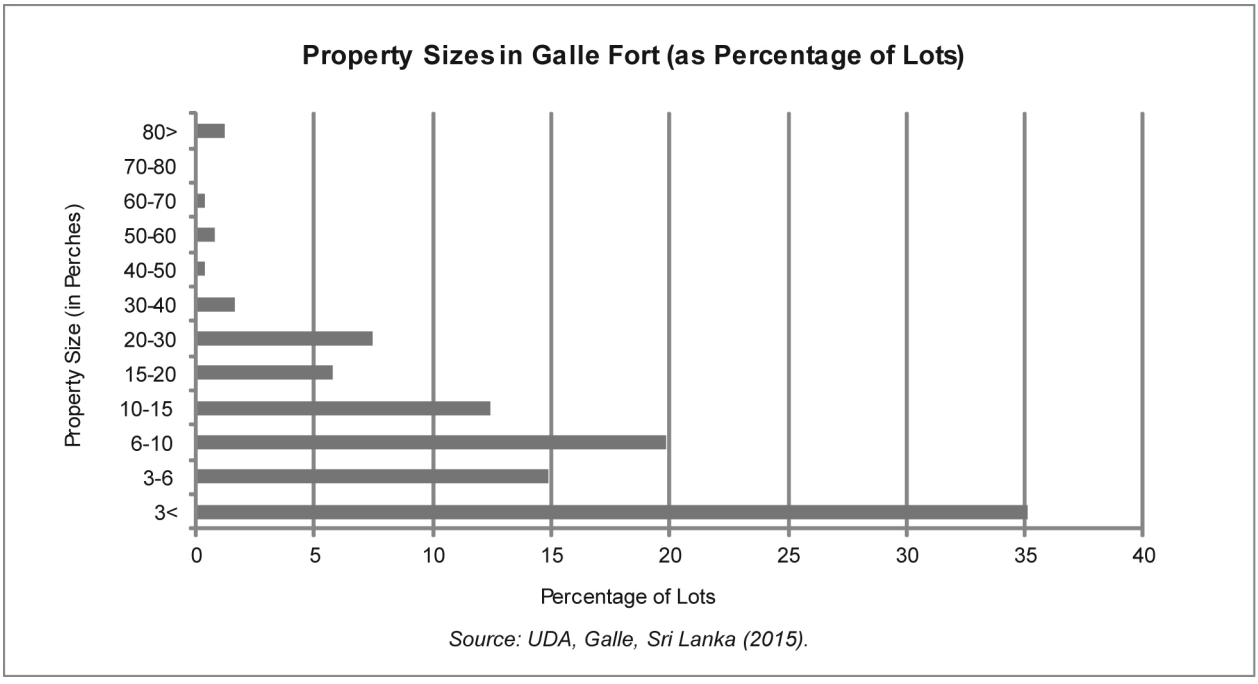


Fig. 232 Property sizes of Galle Fort as a percentage, 2015.

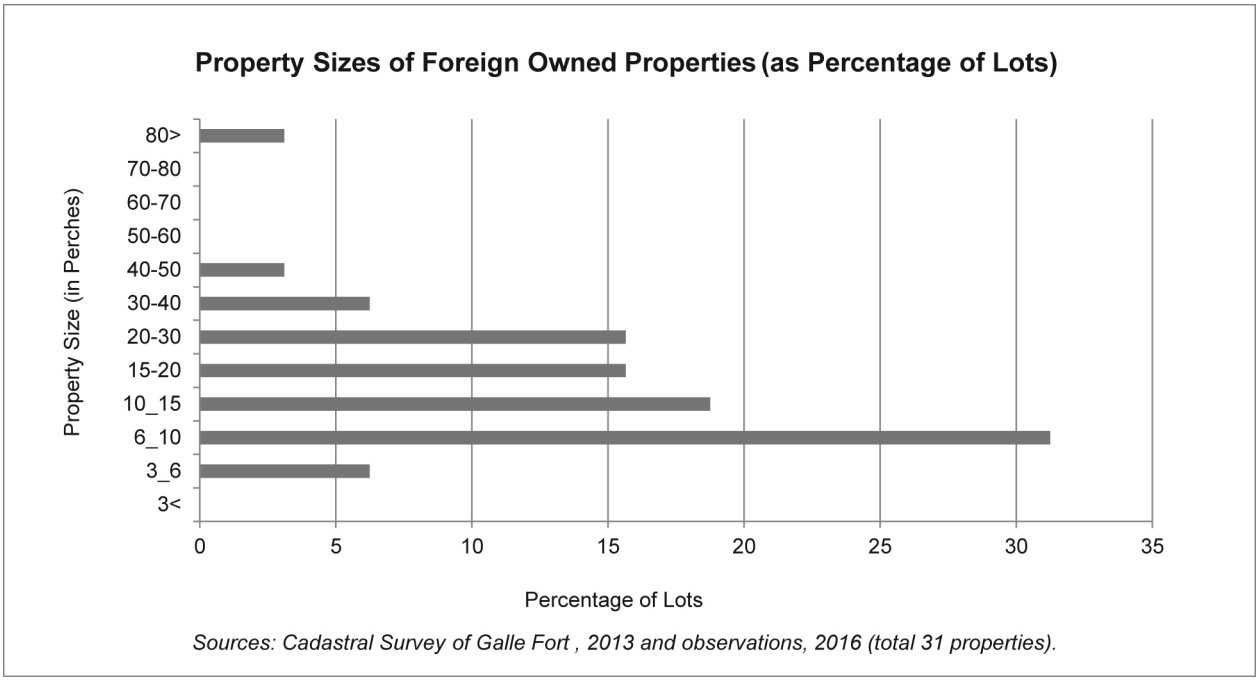


Fig. 233 Property sizes of foreign-owned (freehold/leasehold) properties as a percentage, 2013.




Figs. 234–235 A boutique villa (left) and a house (right), both developed and owned by local investors (2016).

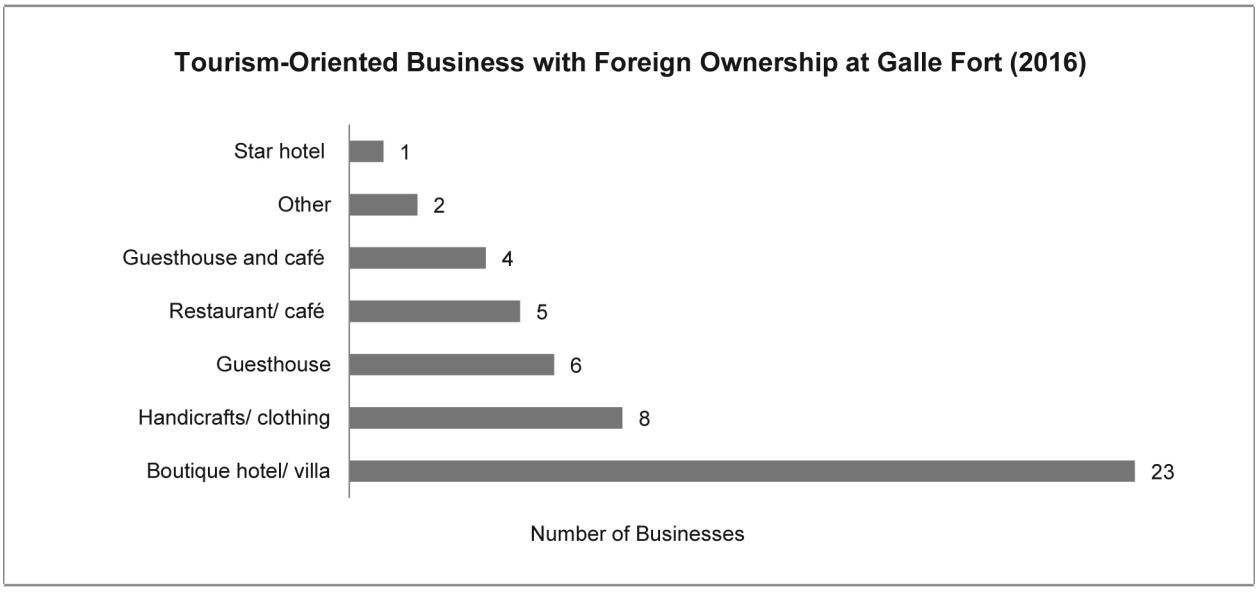


Fig. 236 Commercial usage of foreign-owned properties.

more prominent than others, giving the impression that foreigners own more properties in Galle Fort. In addition, there are a number of properties that have been well restored by local investors, some of which have been leased to foreign companies, and are thus mistakenly identified as foreign-owned (Figs. 234–235).

Nearly 70% of currently foreign-owned properties had a residential function at the initiation of the World Heritage project. In contrast, 71% (56 out of 78) are now catering to tourists, while some are under construction (5), not yet developed or have been abandoned (5; Fig 236). However, very few—less than 10—are residential. The highest number of foreign investments are on Pedlar Street, with 25% (18 out of 71) of the total properties owned or leased by foreigners.

The most common foreign investments are directed to boutique hotels or luxury villas. 23 out of 28 such investments were carried out by foreign companies or individuals in 2016.

starting up businesses in the fort, as discussed in this chapter.

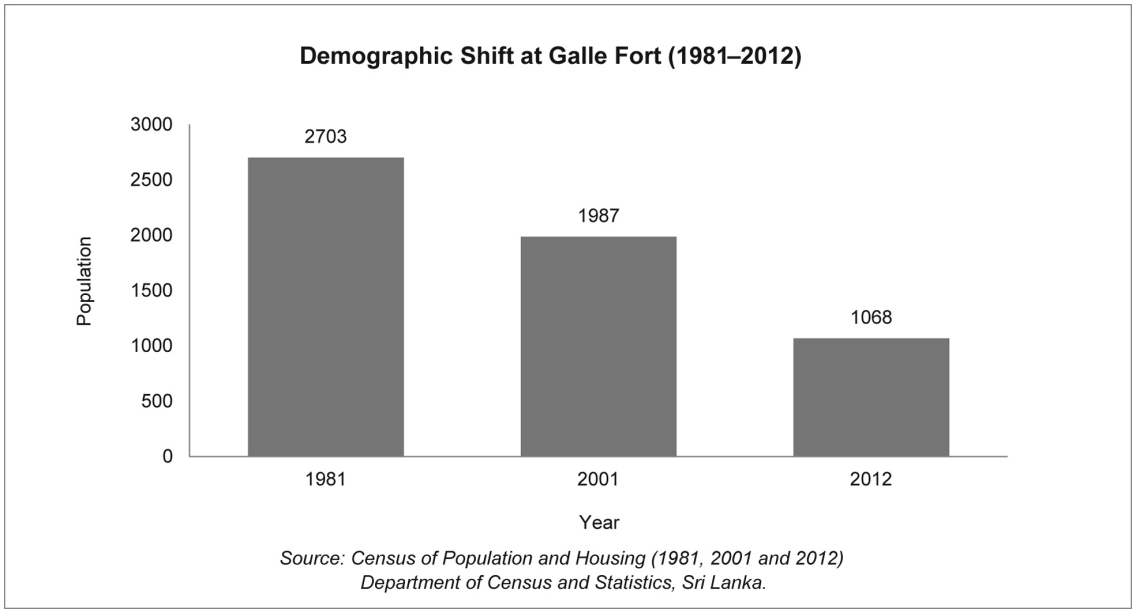


Fig. 237 Demographic shift at Galle Fort (1981–2012).

An Anecdote[544]

An American woman leased a café (formerly a fort bakery) in the middle of the historic centre in 2017; it was run by a local resident. She had formerly worked with restaurants in Singapore and had been travelling to Sri Lanka over the past seven years. She thought that Galle Fort was the "obvious choice" of place to start a business. Besides, the fort is her "favourite part of Sri Lanka, [as it] has all the history and the most beautiful architecture."

6.4 GENTRIFICATION: DEMOGRAPHY AND CULTURE

In this sub-chapter, loss of population is analysed statistically, while the impact of gentrification on the local community is analysed based on qualitative analysis methods.

6.4.1 LOSS OF POPULATION

The gentrification process discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3 created a huge social change in the fort, severely affecting its population. The population of Galle Fort (GN division) was 2,703 in 1981, seven years before the fort's World Heritage recognition. Although a population census is held once every ten years, the next census was held in 2001; the fort's population had dropped by nearly 30% over these two decades. The fort experienced a significant demographic shift in the next decade, with a drop in population by nearly half from 2001 to 2012 (Fig. 237).

Although the proportional population in the fort was estimated at 1,107 by the Galle Branch of the Census and Statistics Department, affiliated with the District Secretariat, Galle, in 2016 (as the next population census falls roughly in 2022),[545] the actual population should be far lower than that, based on my observations. According to the residents, "The ones who have moved are more than the number that stay."[546] Although the number of sale properties has currently dropped, the residents continue to lease and rent out properties, which causes them to move outside the fort, resulting in a continuous drop in population (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3). On

544 Personal conversation with the owner, 2 September 2017.

545 Data acquired from the Galle Branch of the Census and Statistics Department, affiliated with the District Secretariat, Galle, in 2016.

546 Personal conversations with residents, 2017.

the other hand, the newcomers are mostly investors or small-scale businessmen who do not seek residency in the fort, while demonstrating less attachment to the landscape.[547] In contrast, some of the former residents who have moved out of the fort still visit the fort in evenings, showing their attachment to the familiar landscape.[548] While I was talking to a (long-time) local businessman on Light House Street in late 2017, he pointed out a gentleman passing by on a motorbike and said, "That's Mr Buhari, who also sold his house, but still visits the fort in the evening."[549] The scenario seriously affects the "living heritage" of the fort; the intangible values associated with this are discussed in sub-chapter 6.6.

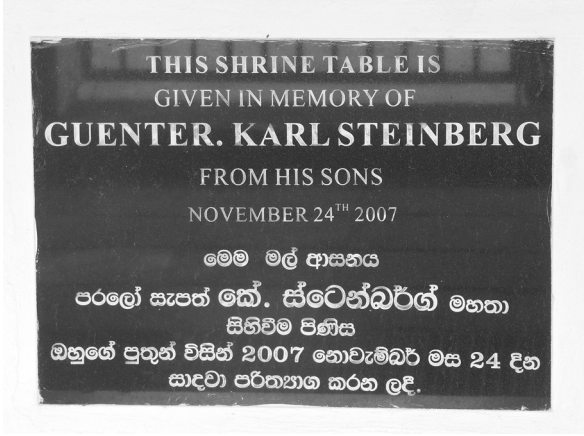


Fig. 238 The plaque of the shrine table at the fort's Buddhist temple dedicated to the late investor Mr Steinberg.

6.4.2 IMPACT OF GENTRIFICATION ON THE LOCAL CULTURE AND WAY OF LIFE

Just as local residents have mixed impressions about foreign/local investments and their impact on their day-to-day lives, culture and local values, the phenomenon has also brought mixed results, both positive and negative. However, the views of residents mostly depend on the individual characteristics of the investors.

The late Karl Steinburg, one of the pioneering investors, is regarded as a philanthropist by some residents; he ensured the welfare of the monks at the Buddhist temple and distributed Christmas gifts among the children.[550] A shrine table at the fort's Sacred Bodhi Tree of the Buddhist temple was dedicated to him by his sons, a typical Buddhist custom and an indication of the first investors adapting local values. The Sinhala translation of the plaque on the shrine table included the typical Sinhala Buddhist term *paralō säpat* ("travelled to the other world") before the name of the deceased—obviously the work of the sculptor—although I have never seen this used for a foreigner outside the faith (Fig. 238). In contrast, sometimes the local culture is threatened by the behaviour of powerful investors. Some of the neighbours of one of the first foreign expatriates said he insisted that they not use firecrackers on Sinhala New Year—a customary local tradition—claiming it disturbs him. Another influential (and politicized) incident was the temporary travel ban of a luxury hotelier and a founder of the fort's literary festival by the Governor of the Southern Province. It is reported that the foreign investor hoisted the Sri Lankan flag with its lion upside down near the Governor's residence just before the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Sri Lanka in 2013, and thereby insulted the country.[551] The alleged same-sex relationships of a few pioneering foreign investors even gained attention in newspapers in the early 2000s, as this is very uncommon in ordinary Sri Lankan neighbourhoods. However, I observed that

547 Observations and personal conversations with residents and businessmen, 2017–2018.

548 Observations and personal conversations with residents, 2017–2018. A few Muslim residents said that their former neighbours and relatives who moved out of the fort still visited in the evenings, even visiting the mosque for certain important events, especially those residents who have settled in suburban areas. On one occasion, I met a Muslim gentleman on Small Cross Street who sold his property years back and currently lives in Colombo, but still visits the fort and stays at one of his neighbour's houses, since he is still attached to the place where he lived. One of the residents, who sold her property in 2016, told me that she will keep visiting neighbours and relatives, and she is sad to miss the fort.

549 Personal conversation with Mr Zoysa, 4 August 2017.

550 Interviews with Miss Gamage, December 2016; Mr Gunasekere, 16 March 2016; and the chief monk of the fort's Buddhist temple, 8 September 2015. In contrast, the heritage intuitions have had some conflicts with the late investor, and thus some heritage officials are not happy with the late investor (personal conversation with a few heritage officers in March 2016).

551 Available at https://www.news.com.au/world/sri-lanka-bans-hotelier-geoffrey-dobbs-for-flying-national-flag-upside-down/news-story/f0a52baec4dbcca47e6b6dc6d5604f50 (accessed 1 February 2019). Although the flag hoisting did not took place at the fort, the investor had businesses in Galle, including the fort and was an active member of the fort's literary festival.

the residents were not as bothered by these things as the newspapers suggested. In fact, Galle Fort did not become a "gay city," as the *Sunday Times* (a leading local newspaper) had predicted in 2001.[552]

The majority of upper-class investors, both local and foreign, who are mostly just occasional visitors, do not maintain relationships with ordinary locals.[553] However, there are a few examples of ordinary middle-class foreigners developing neighbourhood relationships with locals. A foreign family who moved to one of the small inner streets is one such example, according to some of their neighbours.[554] In 2018, Ms Hewage mentioned that the two foreign businessmen who run restaurants in her neighbourhood are "nice and friendly people." [555] Even the young men who work in one of these restaurants call the owner's father *seeyā* ("grandpa"). However, being "nice and friendly" in a local context does not mean that they are integrated into the local culture.

According to Mr Amarasuriya, the foreign businessmen today do not bother to develop neighbourhood relationships with locals. As Mr Mendis states, "the primary aim of these foreigners and local businessmen is earning [profits] as they have to pay huge rentals. So, they don't care about blocking your entrance nor the security issues of neighbours caused by the uncaring individuals they employ."[556] Although residents generally have negative impressions of these employees, there are also exceptions. Ms Mahalingam, a retired banker states that the young men who work at the café across the street are almost like their neighbours.[557] She sometimes asks them for food, such as onions or chillies, when she runs short while cooking. This used to reflect a good neighbourly relationship among the fort's women, as is mentioned by Mrs Gunawardene and Mrs Miguel.[558]

The tourism economy of the fort has resulted in an increase in the value of goods, services and cost of living, and the residents who do not engage in tourism-oriented business are the ones who suffer from this. According to a resident, "Things are expensive in fort now. We buy everything outside. Sometimes we cannot even buy a loaf of bread during the holidays."[559] In general, residents and the locals who work in the fort often criticize the three-wheeler taxi drivers catering only to tourists.[560]

Pitagankārayō: The Outsiders

"*The objection of the 'native' to the acquisition of land in his village by a stranger, even though resident a mile or so away, is still strong in parts of Ceylon*" (Codrington 1938, 1).

My observations in the fort showed that Codrington's above-mentioned idea is somewhat prevalent at the fort, even now within the scenario of the fort being a "tourist city," displacing local residents. Mr Mauroof, a resident in his early 70s, lamented that "the fort has now become a place of *pitagankārayō*"—the colloquial Sinhala term used to negatively denote the outsiders to a *gama* ("village"), mentioned in sub-chapter 6.1.1. Thus, he says, occasions for meeting other residents are "mostly limited to 'the mosque' and 'the temple' now."[561] From the point of view of the natives, there is often a clear distinction between them (the natives) and the local residents who settled in the fort a few decades ago, although both groups identify the fort as *gama*. The second group was well integrated into the culture, and was never known as "outsiders." However, the ones who came after the initiation of the World Heritage project—the *suddō* ("whites") or the foreign investors, local investors, businessmen and business staff—fall under the category of *pitagankārayō* in the local sense. In February 2016, the chief monk of the fort's Buddhist temple expressed his views in this regard at a Security Council meeting at Galle Fort: "Today, the streets are full of uncaring individuals who are engaged in various businesses. They do not even recognize the chief monk of the temple when I am on my way to temple, whereas the residents used to ask my whereabouts whenever they saw me in the street in those days. Now I feel I am a stranger in

552 "Galle Fort- an absolutely galling attack," the *Sunday Times*. Available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/030622/plus/1.html (accessed 1 August 2018).
553 Personal conversations with residents, 2016–2017.
554 Personal conversations with neighbours, January 2017; personal observations, 2017.
555 Personal conversation, September 2017.
556 Personal conversation, March 2016.
557 Personal conversation, March 2016.
558 Personal conversations January 2017 and in September 2017.
559 Personal conversation with Mr Mauroof, 5 September 2017.
560 Personal conversations with residents and people who worked in the fort in 2016–2018.
561 Ibid.



Fig. 239 Pedlar Street at night, January 2019.

another city."[562] Mrs Musthapa, a native and a retired teacher, has the same idea: "When I am in the street, I see lots of unknown people, which gives me the feeling that I am a stranger in my hometown."[563] In 2017, a disappointed resident said, "If there would be an election in the fort, surely a foreigner would be elected."[564]

The city's culture is also changing, similarly to its hybrid architecture. Some of the local visitors see the fort as a "different place" and "a subculture" associated with the tourism economy.[565] Trendy, European-style restaurants have been opened by foreigners, as well as by locals who had formerly been employed in Europe. Tourists eat and drink outside, which is not very common in the local environment, and is seen negatively by some residents. Ms Abbas worries about raising her children at the fort, as they "might consider the way these foreigners dress and behave as part of their own culture." Yet there are always opposing views, like that "the foreigners behave well; it is the locals who do not."[566] The English term "guest" is commonly used to denote tourists by the locals and others who cater to tourists. Restaurants, cafés and shops are open until late at night, also providing a nightlife at the fort (Fig. 239). Tourists wander through the narrow streets of the fort during the night, where earlier the women used to sit on their front steps and chat with each

562 The Security Council meeting was held at the Sri Sudarmalaya Temple on 17 February 2016.
563 Interview, 3 March 2016.
564 Personal conversation with a resident, September 2017.
565 Personal conversations with local visitors in March and April 2016. The term "subculture" was used by a teacher.
566 Interview with Mr. Fowzie, February 16, 2016.

other. I no longer observe the fort's lively residential neighbourhood, mentioned by the residents and discussed in sub-chapter 6.2.1.

An Anecdote: The "Gentry" and the Locals [567]

Mr Gunadasa, a resident in his early 80s who has lived alone since his wife's death, believes that his greatest happiness is living at the fort; as he expresses it, "just being here is heaven." His small, two-storey house (approximately 20 sqm of land) gets a fresh sea breeze and has a modest antique shop on the ground floor. He grows flowers, admired by tourists, on the opposite side of the road. The large property next to his house was bought by one of the country's famed sports figures in the early 2010s, who then began development (with the permission of the Planning Sub-Committee). However, his entrance was substantially blocked by Mr Gunadasa's small house. He told Mr Gunadasa, "Uncle, tell me wherever you would like to have a property in [Sri] Lanka," which indirectly broached his willingness to sell his house. Mr Gunadasa has no intention to move out; however, he admits that his famous new neighbour, whom he has not seen much, is a friendly person.

6.4.3 MITIGATING THE GENTRIFICATION

Gentrification has not yet been identified as a significant issue in Galle Fort by heritage authorities, who have not yet taken the proper steps to mitigate the process. On the contrary, it was evaluated from a material-based perspective. Thus, amid the "change of use" of residential buildings to "permitted uses,"[568] the Special Regulations (2009) recommends that 35% of the total building area should be allocated for residential purposes (Article 70.11).

The analysis of the change of use of residential buildings from 1992 to 2016 reveals the following results:

i. Change of use of the residential building units to a commercial purpose: 15.6%
ii. Change of use of the residential building units to dual-purpose (residential and commercial): 13.6%

Thus, the change of use affects approximately 29.2% of building stock, while the overall percentage of residential buildings has dropped to 35% (discussed in sub-chapter 5.2), resulting in a critical threat to maintaining 35% of the total building area for residential purposes.

The heritage institutions in general focus on materiality, and keep records on the material heritage of Galle Fort; they do not bother to find out whether residents have moved away from the heritage city or the investors have moved in. According to a second-ranking higher official from one of the main heritage institutions (2015), the main objective of the heritage institutions at Galle Fort was preserving its colonial-built heritage, and this goal has been fulfilled to a certain extent.[569] According to the Director General of the DOA (2017), neither the DOA nor any other government institution in Sri Lanka has provisions to control the selling of properties in the World Heritage city, which is the fundamental right of a person.[570] However, the DOA can prohibit the change of use when ownership is transferred,[571] which however has no positive impact on the residential community. In general, there is also the impression among some top-level heritage officials that "elites and the rich love these buildings and they renovate them according to the proper channels"—a material-based view.[572]

However, the middle-level heritage officers at GHF and the DOA at Galle do think about the value of keeping residents in the city to preserve its "living heritage." The exponential land value of the fort is described as "a gem under one's pillow" by the Project Planning Officer of the GHF.[573] According to him, the challenge of the heritage authorities is to convince people how this valuable property can be kept (without selling or leasing it) and its heritage value be used positively.[574] The personal

567 Based on a personal conversation with Ms Gunadasa in September 2017.

568 Tourism-industry-related handicraft showrooms; museums; small-scale hotels without swimming pool or pond; tourist gift centres; ticket-issuing centres; guest houses; small-scale restaurants; appropriate recreational activities; bookshops; small professional offices; art galleries; small shops; gem and jewellery shops; and related cottage industries.

569 Interview with a higher official, 2 March 2016.

570 Interview with the Director General of Archaeology, 12 September 2017.

571 Ibid.

572 Interviews and personal conversations with top-level heritage officials, 2015–2017.

573 Interview with the Project Planning Officer of GHF, 3 September 2017.

574 Ibid.

conversation I had with the late Mr Vitanage, a local resident, while he was passing Light House Street shows that gentrification has been hard to control due to financial factors that affect it directly and substantially.[575]

Q: "Whose houses are these?"

A: "All these have been bought by whites—all whites, no Sinhalese nor Muslims."

Q: "What happened to the locals who lived here?"

A: "They sold their houses and moved; what else they can do? What you need is money."

Q: "Why did they sell their houses?"

A: "You have to ask that to the people who sold them. [They] sold them because they need money; sell the property here, buy property there, buy a vehicle (smiles)."

The Director General of the DOA states that the "Integrated Management System 2015" has taken some steps towards motivating residents at lower economic levels to stay in the fort. While the proposed Conservation Assistance Fund (under GHF) will provide them financial assistance to renovate their houses, there will also be a separate section of GHF for Chartered Architects who can prepare development plans free of charge, which is an economic burden to residents, as identified sub-chapter 7.2.[576] As an initial step, the DOA's Regional Office (South) provided free development plans to a few families in 2016 and 2017.[577]

However, the Project Planning Officer of GHF says that the heritage authorities have so far not given any compensation to residents for the rights to their properties taken over by heritage laws (especially Special Regulations, 2009).[578] Although he believes the community of the heritage city should be given prime attention, the majority of the interviewed residents (23 out of 33) do not feel they are valued by the heritage authorities.

575 Personal conversation, 2 February 2016.

576 Interview with the Director General of Archaeology, 12 September 2017; "Integrated Management System 2005" (Mandawala 2015).

577 Personal conversation with the responsible officer of the DOA, Galle in 2016–2017; personal conversation with two residents who used this service in 2017–2018.

578 Interview with the Project Planning Officer of GHF, 3 September 2017. "For instance, while the people outside the fortress walls can build a number of floors, residents of the fortress have to limit the height of the buildings to 10 meters over two floors."

6.5 ECONOMY AND COMMERCIALIZATION

"*The fort has become a minting machine now!*" — Mrs Musthapa, a local resident[579]

In this sub-chapter, I discuss the commercialization of Galle Fort and how it has affected the local population and their economy, both positively and negatively.

6.5.1 RESIDENTIAL STREETS TO SHOPPING STREETS

The fort's World Heritage recognition in 1988 resulted in a steady increase in tourist arrivals and parallel developments in tourism-oriented commercialization, which offers goods and services required by tourists. Sub-chapter 5.2 shows how the townhouse of Galle Fort became an object of income generation against this background. In general, tourism-oriented commercialization has spread to nearly half of the (45%) of the total properties (2016). Thus, the streets of the fort, which were primarily residential at the initiation of the World Heritage project, have now turned into shopping streets (Figs. 240–241).

In general, commercialization has spread throughout the fort, while the four main streets, Pedlar, Church, Light House and Leyn Baan Streets, show even higher rates (Fig. 242). In addition, Hospital and Rampart Streets, the outer roads, are also commercializing, while the trend has gradually spread to the small, inner residential streets, including Sudharmalaya, Chando and Parawa Streets. These inner streets also feature foreign and local investments as well as the investments of local residents.

Common Investments and Special Regulations, 2009

Generally, the most common tourism business is that of providing accommodation, with nearly 20% of the total properties (97) utilized either fully or partly for this purpose (Fig. 243). By 2009, the fort had 104 rooms that provided tourist accommodation, which increased nearly four times (354) by 2015 (GHF Survey 2009; UDA data, 2015).[580] The current number must be far more than that. The business is handled by international and local hotel chains,

579 Interview, 3 March 2016.

580 Liyana Arachchi 2009; data acquired through the UDA, Galle in 2015.

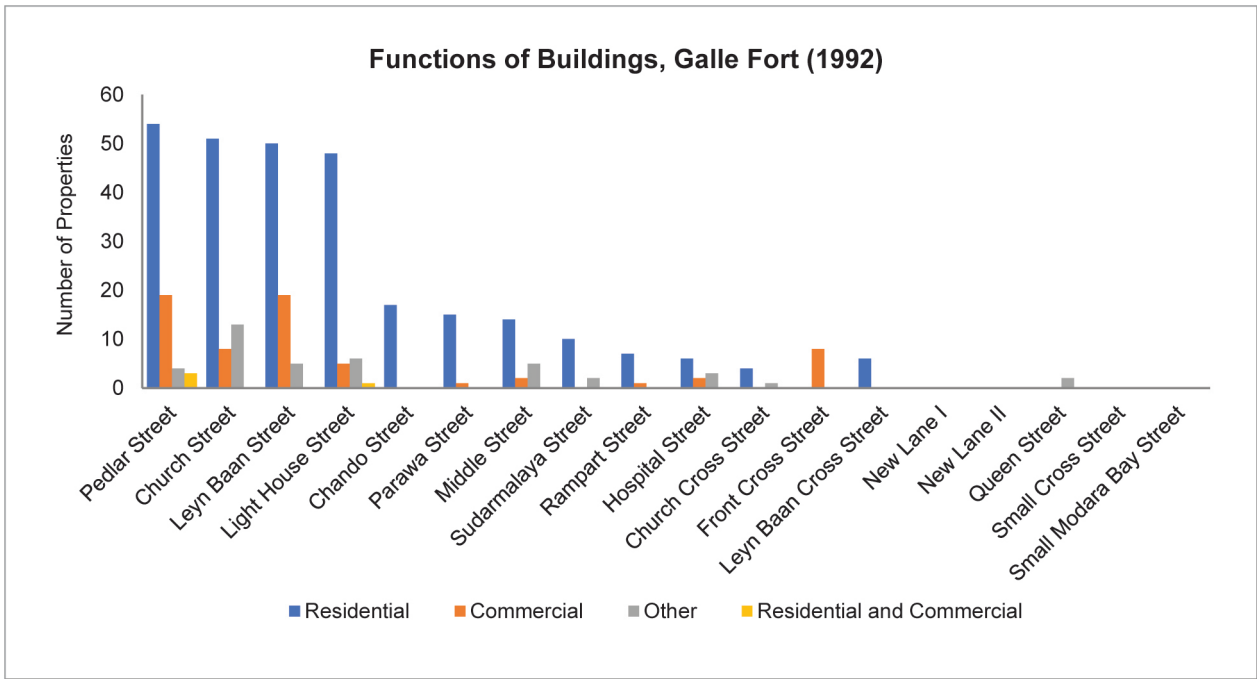


Fig. 240 Functions of buildings by street, Galle Fort, 1992 (source: Kuruppu and Wijesuriya, 1992).

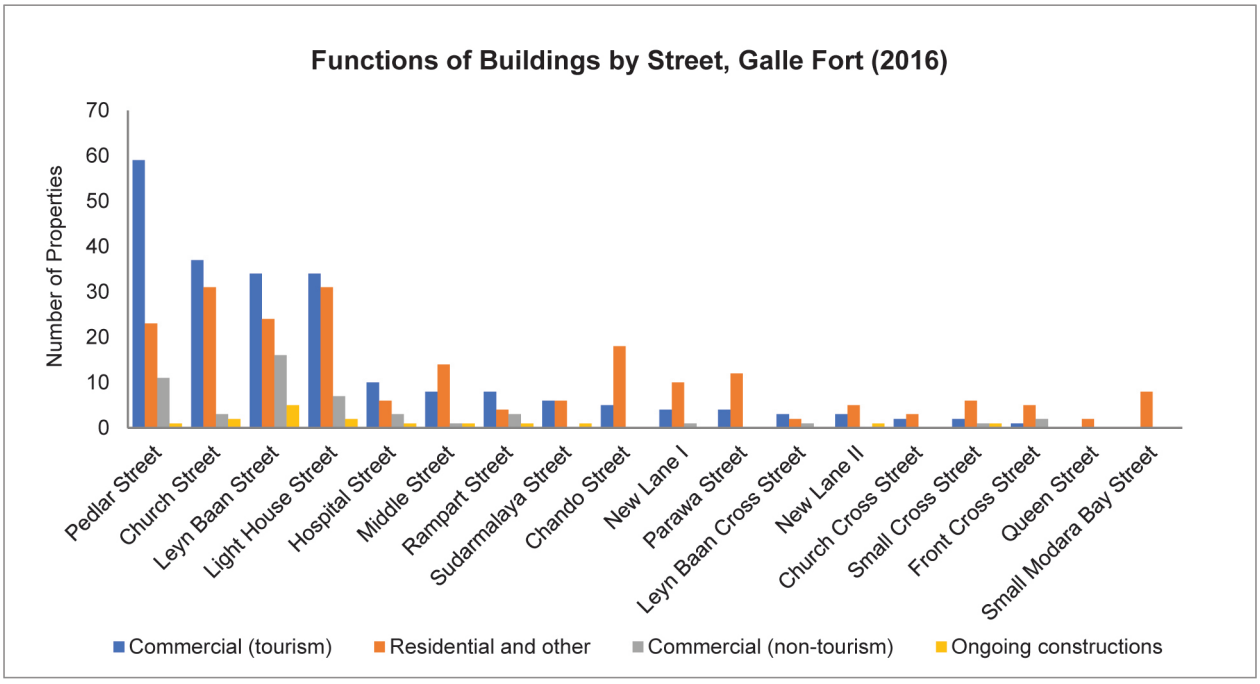


Fig. 241 Functions of buildings by street, Galle Fort (2016).



Fig. 242 Commercialization, Pedlar Street, July 2017.

foreign and local companies, as well as individuals, including the residents.

Hotels that exceed 20 rooms are not allowed in the fort by Special Regulations, 2009 (Article 70.11), except the already-existing NOH (currently the Amangalla). Thus, boutique hotels and villas, a concept that fits well with heritage buildings, was popularized by foreign investors (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3) and also adopted by local companies, individuals and local residents. Some companies and residents of the fort have more than one such venture. While one foreign company runs five luxury villas in the fort, a local one runs two such villas. In general, B&Bs and guest houses have spread to all parts of the fort, including the innermost parts, which were previously known by residents as *watta* and *mukukkuwa*—literally "garden" and "slum," but implying lower economic neighbourhoods in the fort's context—indicating that the "wind of change" blows into all corners of the fort.

The next most popular business is gem and jewellery sales (10% of the total properties), a business run solely by local individuals, both residents and outsiders, who engage in this business on a rental basis more often than the residents do (Fig. 244). According to a resident of Light House Street, the fort previously had two jewellery shops, the Ebrahim and the Casim.[581] As the number of businesses has grown, there is the impression among some businessmen that profits are lower.[582] As a consequence, tea and spice have become popular since

581 Personal conversation with Mrs Nawaz, February 2016.
582 Personal conversations with a few businessmen, February 2016.

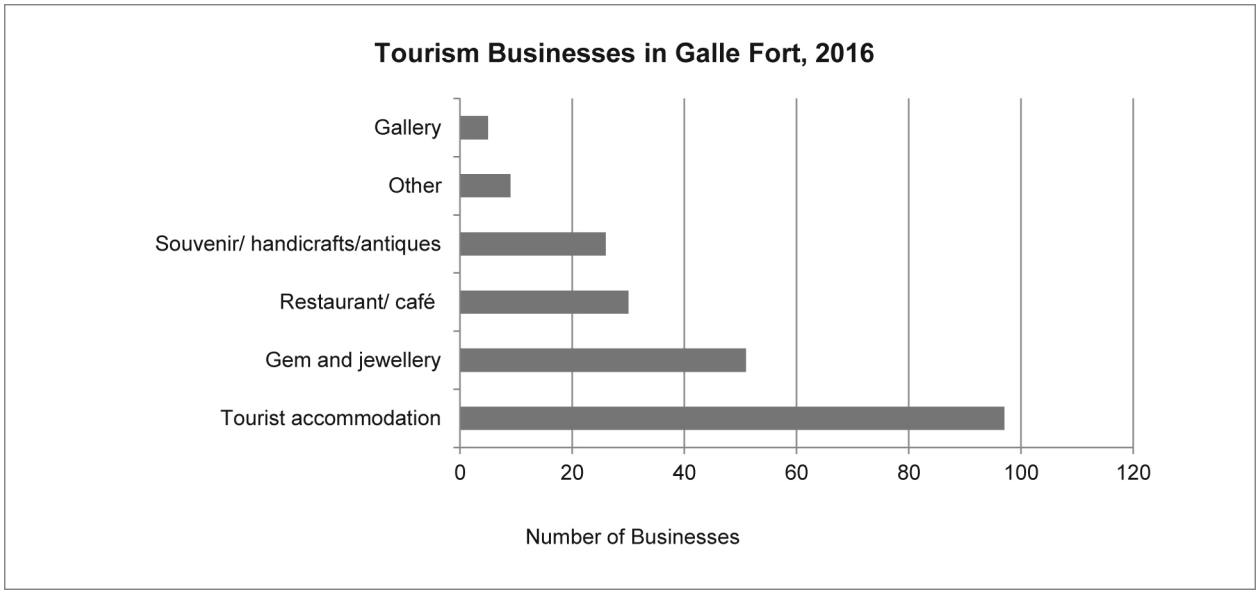


Fig. 243 Tourism-oriented businesses in Galle Fort (2016).

2017. The third most popular business, restaurant/ cafés, are run by locals (residents and outsiders) as well as foreigners. A few locals (both fort residents and outsiders) who formerly lived and worked in Europe have started restaurants in the fort. Among them is one who has formerly worked at restaurants in Belgium, and currently runs the fort's most popular sea food restaurant.[583] Women have also started restaurants, which mainly offer local food as well as cooking lessons. Among them was one who quit her permanent, pensionable job to work at her restaurant full-time, as it was a profitable endeavour.[584] Another who runs a successful restaurant was formerly employed at a foreign-owned restaurant at the fort and decided to start her own business.[585] Souvenirs, handicrafts and antique shops are the next popular businesses, and mostly run by locals, except for a few foreign businessmen and reputed local companies who have recently entered the industry (Figs. 244–246).

These business owners, from companies to individuals, use the fort's "Dutchness" to promote their businesses. Jetwing Hotels Ltd., a leading local hotel chain, opened a villa on Light House Street, advertising it as "a 17th century Dutch colonial home in a bustling UNESCO World Heritage Site."[586] The terms "fort," "*fortaleza*," "Dutch," "*ōlanda*" (the Holland in Sinhala) etc. are common in the names of these businesses.[587] I observed particularly creative shop decor in Sri Lanka at Galle Fort, a phenomenon that is increasing every year and is necessary to stand out among many businesses.

Have the Special Regulations (2009) Indirectly Promoted Commercialization?

In general, the tourism-oriented commercialization of Galle Fort, as shown by Fig. 243, has a correlation with the "permitted uses" introduced by Special Regulation 2009.[588] Five out of the 13 permitted uses—including hotels, guest houses, gem and jewellery shops, restaurants and tourism-related handicraft shops—have risen sharply, indicating that the Special Regulations (2009) have indirectly increased commercialization.

583 Personal conversation with the owner, August 2018.
584 Personal conversation with the owner, 12 January 2019.
585 Personal conversation with the owner, 2 September 2017.
586 Available at http://www.jetwinghotels.com/galleheritagevilla/ (accessed 30 July 2018).
587 For instance, Lucky Fort Restaurant, Fortaleza Hotel, Olanda Antiques, Old Dutch House and Dutch Villa, to name a few.
588 Article 70.10, mentioned in sub-chapter 6.3.3; for a list of "permitted uses," see footnote 568.



Fig. 244 Shop window of a local jeweller.

The Benefits

Despite the large number of tourism businesses at Galle Fort, the registration of business names at the Divisional Secretariat remains low (Fig. 247), as a large number of businesses are handled by companies (foreign or local) that are registered under the Department of the Registrar of Companies. Three out of five high-end resorts/boutique hotels are owned by international, foreign and local companies. In addition, reputed local companies for high-end retail garments, including Barefoot, ODEL and Embark, have opened showrooms in the fort, while Spa Ceylon has also opened a luxury spa in the fort. Thus, a large share of the economic benefits of the World Heritage project goes to local and foreign companies in comparison with the amount that penetrated to the local community, which is discussed separately in sub-chapter 6.5.2.

Despite the boutique hotels and upscale restaurants that target high-end tourists, B&Bs and restaurants catering to ordinary tourists and local visitors have also been established recently, which is a healthy trend; on the other hand, the increasing number of businesses is seen negatively by many local businessmen, as it decreases the number of clients of an individual business and thereby reduces profits.[589]

589 Interviews and personal conversations with over ten local businessmen, 2016–2017.





Figs. 245–246 Antique, souvenir, handicrafts and miscellaneous businesses.

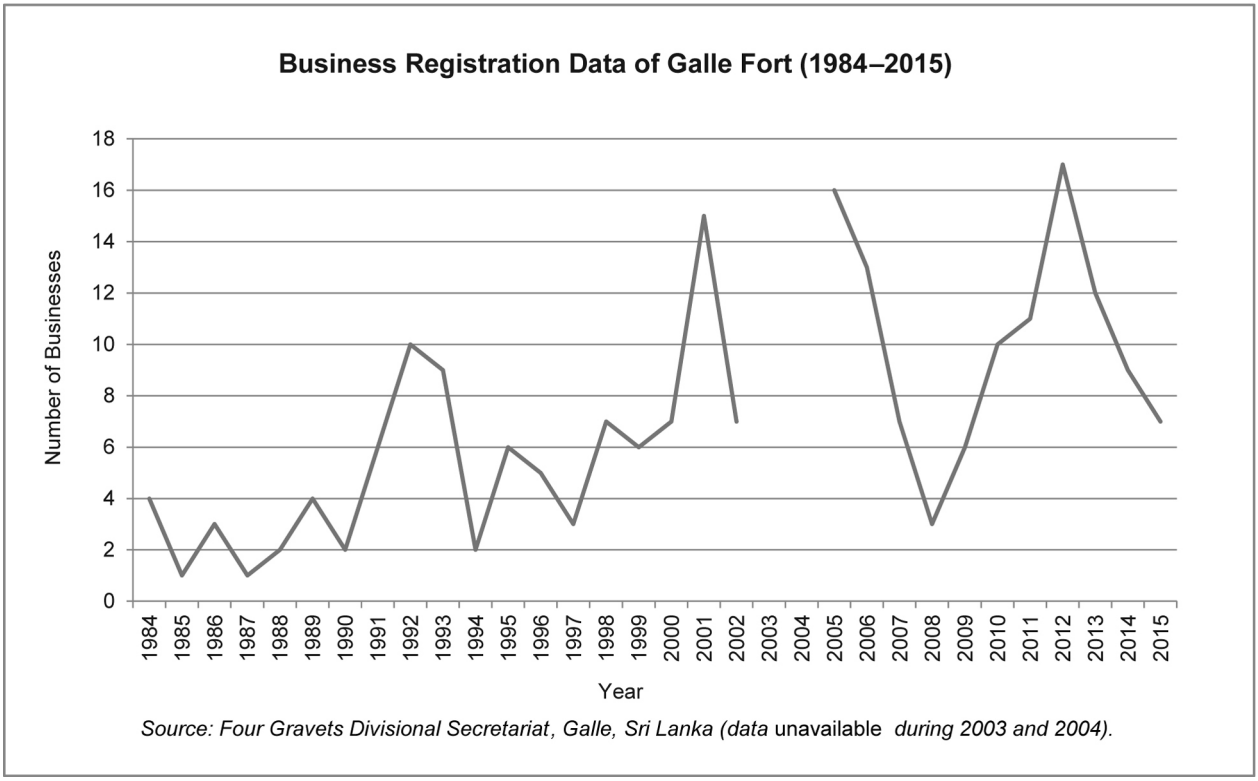


Fig. 247 Business name registrations (except companies)[590] at Galle Fort, 1984–2015.

590 Companies are registered at the Department of the Registrar of Companies, as mentioned in sub-chapter 6.3.2, while small businesses are registered at the Divisional Secretariat.

Towards "Single-Use Tourism"

A gradual increase in the registration of business names at Galle Fort has been observed since the early 1990s, as seen in Fig. 247. According to the data on business name registrations from the Four Gravets Divisional Secretariat, the fort's business name registrations were well balanced until the early 2000s, with a range of businesses that catered to the local community and the government employees who worked in the fort. These businesses included retail, grocery stores, bakeries, ordinary local "tea shops," salons, bridal shops, pharmacies and clinics, photo and video stores, office equipment repair shops and stores selling shoes, gems and jewellery, electronics and computers, "communications"[591] etc.[592] Since the early 2000s, the balance has shifted towards "single-use tourism," with a sharp reduction in businesses that cater to the local community.[593] Some of the categories in the above list are no longer at the fort, including pharmacies, bakeries, shoe, bridal and computer shops.[594] Some of the local "tea shops"(*tē kada*) were also upgraded to suit the need of the tourists.[595] while the residents who have engaged in these businesses have also adapted to the new tourism economy. Thus, one of them closed his photographic studio and started a B&B. Currently, the fort has only three retail shops (Fig. 248). There are no supermarkets, as supermarkets and stores exceeding 200 sqm are not allowed in the fort, according to Special Regulations (2009), negatively affecting the local community and hoteliers as well as tourists.

6.5.2 THE LOCAL COMMUNITY AND THE TOURISM ECONOMY

Although the fort's population has largely declined due to gentrification, the very same reason has led to a substantial improvement in the economy for the majority of the local population that remained in the fort. According to Mr Fowzie, "it was the foreigners who opened the eyes of the locals to the business opportunities at the fort."[596] The majority of the fort's population was engaged in the jobs outside the fort before World Heritage recognition, as mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. On the contrary, a tourism economy prevails in the fort today, in which tourism-oriented businesses have become the main source of income for many resident families. Nearly half of the interviewed residents (16 out of 33) in 2016 were engaged in tourism businesses, while six of them planned to start such a business. It is very uncommon for a fort resident not to start such a business today unless there are property ownership disputes, a lack of business space or other personal issues, or no financial need on the part of the resident.



Fig. 248 A modest and typical village (*gama*) retail shop catering to local residents and, construction workers, as well as the basic requirements of tourists, such as water and soft drinks.

591 Small roadside boutiques that offer stationary, photocopying, printing and telecommunication facilities.

592 Based on the business name registrations of the Four Gravest Divisional Secretariat, Galle.

593 Ibid.

594 Thus, local residents have to go to Galle town for these purposes; however, it is within walking distance.

595 This is also mentioned by Samarawikrema (2012), which I too observed in two cases in 2016 and 2017. Thus, it can be predicted that this category (the remaining two or three businesses) might also disappear.

596 Interview, 15 February 2016.



Fig. 249 A guest house run by a local family (2019).



Fig. 250 Interior of the Pedlar 62 guest house (image courtesy of Mr Ravi Gunasekere).

A Common Investment: B&Bs and Guest Houses

Tourist accommodation, including homestays (B&B), is the most common business among local residents, among whom 33 families operate such a business (Fig. 249). Almost all of these accommodations are managed through websites such as Booking.com, Airbnb.com and Agoda.com.

An Anecdote[597]

Mr Ravi Gunasekere, who is in his early 40s, was formerly employed at the fort's five-star franchise hotel Amangalla. With his experience in the hotel sector, he developed his house into a family-run guest house in the early 2010s and named it 'Pedlar 62' (Fig. 250). His mother prepares authentic Sri Lankan breakfasts for the "guests." However, Ravi is disappointed with the increasing number of accommodations provided today, which has reduced the income compared to the situation a few years back.

Similarly, a retired banker provides homestay accommodation at his British period house, bought nearly 30 years before, which has become popular among tourists and enjoys a high rating on Booking.com. Thus, B&Bs have also become a source of extra income for some retired couples, and also keeps them occupied.[598] In addition, family members who live abroad, especially in Europe, have invested in their parents' properties at a rate that is on par with the villas of their foreign counterparts.[599]

An Anecdote[600]

Pushkin, Chekhov and Gogol are the nicknames of three sons who lived on a small inner street. Although property ownership traditionally passes down to the youngest son,[601] in this case, Gogol, the eldest son, who lives in Europe, was more financially capable of investing in the property. Thus, the family decided to pass the property ownership down to the eldest son, which would yield long-term economic benefits for the family, rather than selling the property. The eldest invested in the property and was also generous enough to buy his younger brother a house outside the fort as compensation.[602] The house was developed into a guest house, which is currently managed by the youngest son. Their mother is proud of her sons, who did what their parents could not do.

Furthermore, many residents who can afford permitted developments have also invested in their properties. Among them is a popular national sports figure and native of the fort who invested in his parental house, which was transformed into a boutique villa in 2018.

Other Businesses

Not only tourist accommodation, but also a number of other businesses, including restaurants, souvenir shops, packed tea shops, gem and jewellery shops,

597 Personal conversation with Mr Ravi Gunasekere and his family in 2016–2018. Mr Gunasekere wished to be named.

598 I met four such retired couples during my stay at Galle Fort.

599 According to my observations and conversations with owners/residents, there are four such properties.

600 Based on a personal conversation with "Gogol" (who wished to use a pseudonym) from 2016–2017 and with his mother in September 2017.

601 This is the traditional custom among Sinhalese. The youngest son inherits the parental house.

602 Ibid.

spice shops, handicraft shops etc. are also run by local families, while renting out spaces is also popular. The local women who engage in these businesses also have other businesses, like cooking classes, clothing shops etc. Local families also offer services such as boat rides, bike rentals and airport drop-offs. The fort's youths have also started businesses, and their professionalism and quality are growing. In 2018, a young native of the fort who studied at the prestigious Ceylon Hotel School and worked with renowned chefs started a modest restaurant in his family home.[603] Similarly, another youth started a family-run restaurant that was rated third out of 116 in Galle on TripAdvisor in 2018.[604] TripAdvisor's tourist reviews show that they select these small, family-run businesses as a way of experiencing local culture, while also paying a reasonable price.[605]

Improving Quality of Life and Social Impact

In general, the whole scenario has improved the lives of the local residents, sometimes equal to or even beyond their foreign counterparts. The following anecdote is one such example among many of the fort's "success stories."

An Anecdote[606]

Mr Silva is an ordinary local who lived in the historic centre before its World Heritage recognition. As a boy, he helped the fort's firewood seller. Firewood was brought in a bullock cart that passed each street, and Silva's responsibility was to distribute the bundles to each house.[607] After the fort's World Heritage recognition, Silva started providing tourist accommodation, which brought him success. By 2017, the family owned a few properties in the fort, including a boutique hotel, and is among the richest local families today.

The tourism economy has resulted in the emergence of a newly-rich group at the fort. Their affluence could can be seen in their investments (increasing property ownership, businesses, developments), luxury vehicle ownership, various donations and sponsorships,[608] travelling abroad for holidays and even "the way they dress."[609] Furthermore, ordinary families who run B&Bs send their children to study abroad, including to Australia, a trend among the middle and upper class.[610] By 2019, one family that became affluent from tourism-related business had moved to Europe. Today the residents are also more concerned about their physical health, another habit of the middle and upper class. Jogging residents are a common sight in the morning. Today, even families with lower economic backgrounds have initiated modest tourism businesses, indicating the benefits of tourism in all strata of society (Figs. 251–252). Positively, residents are gradually realizing the importance of preserving the heritage from which they benefit, and thus in 2018, a young local businessman sponsored the trimming of the trees in the fort, which was carried out by GHF.[611] On a positive note, all strata of the society—from the bottom to the top—today enjoy the benefits of the improving local economy, with professionals, the middle class and the lowest economic groups entering the tourism industry.[612]

However, the positive benefits of the tourism economy are not always appreciated by all residents. One disappointed resident stated that

603 Personal conversation with Mr Cader, who opened the restaurant, 12 January 2019.

604 Available at https://www.tripadvisor.com/Restaurant_Review-g297896-d4766204-Reviews-Lucky_Fort_Restaurant-Galle_Galle_District_Southern_Province.html (accessed 31 July 2018).

605 Ibid. It includes reviews such as the following: "I loved this small family restaurant, the Mum cooks and the daughter runs the place"; "small family-run restaurant inside what looks like their home"; "small family restaurant serving home cooked local dishes homely environment"; "we got excited with each of the curries that were served as it reminded us of home cooked food by my mom"; "excellent food and great value "; "absolutely great value for money" etc.

606 This anecdote is based on personal conversations with a number of residents in 2016–2017; they adduced this as one of the best examples of the local community becoming "richer" through tourism.

607 This was mentioned by number of residents in 2016 and 2017, indicating that he had a hard life as a young boy. In general, Silva is currently identified by local residents as a person "who hasn't changed due to his wealth."

608 This includes donations to religious places, hospitals and heritage institutions for maintenance work on the fort, as I observed. In 2018, a local businessman donated hearing aids to needy people.

609 Sometimes also "by the amount of gold they wear," according to a local resident, although not everybody is a fan of gold (personal conversation with a resident, March 2013).

610 Personal observations, 2015, 2016 and 2017.

611 Personal conversation with a Project Planning Officer of GHF, July 2018.

612 This idea is based on observations from 2015 to January 2019. By 2017, even the lowest economic groups had initiated tourism-related businesses. In 2019, I noticed that even the members of the professional class had started tourism businesses.



Figs. 251–252 A small house—in 2016 (left) and in 2018 (right)—with a modest family-run "juice bar," indicating how the benefits of tourism extend even to the lowest economic groups.



Fig. 253 An unknown author's inscription on the change in the people, who have forgotten the values of humanity.

"some only run after money, as they do are not content with what they have achieved so far."[613] "Business-jealousy" among neighbours can also be observed, which sometimes creates conflicts.[614] In general, these businesses have made residents busier, thereby allowing little time to maintain their former community relationships. In 2016, I spotted the following verses (originally in Sinhala) on a utility pole at the Pedlar–Church Street junction, written by an unknown author, on the change in the people, who have forgotten the values of humanity (Fig. 253):

People have changed by forgetting the values of humanity

Oh, Lord Buddha, why has the world changed?[615]

6.6 CASE STUDIES: INTANGIBLE VALUES OF THE HISTORIC URBAN LANDSCAPE

This final sub-chapter is dedicated to the intangible aspects of the historic urban landscape—the emotional attachment to houses, landscape (sense of place) and neighbourhood relationships—which I discuss by means of two case studies based on the memories of local residents.

6.6.1 ANECDOTE 1: "SELLING THE DOLL HOUSE"

The anecdote focuses mainly on the emotional attachment (sense of place) to a house demonstrated by its former owner and the collective memories of that particular place.[616]

The Shopkeeper and the Changing Neighbourhood

Ms Hewage ran a retail shop on one of the main streets of the fort, which was started by her late father in 1984. Ms Hewage, currently in her late 50s, became the shopkeeper as a young girl, immediately after finishing her schooling. Thus, the shop is still known as *kella kade* ("the girl's shop") among long-time residents. Although her family lived outside the fort, her work as a shopkeeper there for more than two decades virtually made her a fort resident. She knew almost all the residents.

Since the early 2000s, Ms Hewage has been witnessing significant neighbourhood changes due to foreign investments, which have resulted in her neighbours moving outside the fort. Her formerly residential street has gradually turned into a shopping street. The property to her right was bought by a local and leased to three young Australians, who started a clothing store. The property to her left[617] was leased by an Italian woman, who converted the ground floor into a souvenir shop. While the house behind her was leased by a Russian entrepreneur to start a café in 2016, the café across the street (formerly a bakery) was leased by an American woman in 2017. Even the house adjacent to the old bakery was bought and developed by a foreigner.

The Poem [618]

In January 2016, I saw a handwritten poem on Mrs Hewage's table, placed under the table glass and among her collection (Fig. 254). The shopkeeper had copied this poem from a piece of newspaper; it relates a homeowner's painful memory of selling a house to a foreign woman.

Elegant Princess
[You] bought my dollhouse
The palace you built there
More graceful than yourself
Although I cannot afford[619]
How prized the palace is
But how nice if you could return,
My poor past you bought
The half-done sand rice[620] I cooked
And the tears of poorness
That wet children's eyes

613 Personal conversation with a resident, March 2016.
614 Personal conversations with various residents in 2016–2017.
615 *Miniasa miniskama atahāra wenas welā, sambudu piyē äi lōkaya wenas welā.*
616 *Another Story of Galle: A UNESCO World Heritage City*, a short documentary based on this anecdote and produced as part of this study, is available on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-pp7y8tDFsM .
617 Which, however, was a shop in 1988–1990, according to Kuruppu and Wijesuriya's survey (1992).
618 Although identified as a poem by the shopkeeper, according to the author, it is an unsung song (personal conversation with the author on 3 September 2017).
619 *Hewanakata neti muth waram* ("although I don't have a chance to shelter") in the original work has been copied as *gewanataka neti muth waram* ("although I cannot afford").
620 Making *weli bath* ("sand rice"), is a children's game.

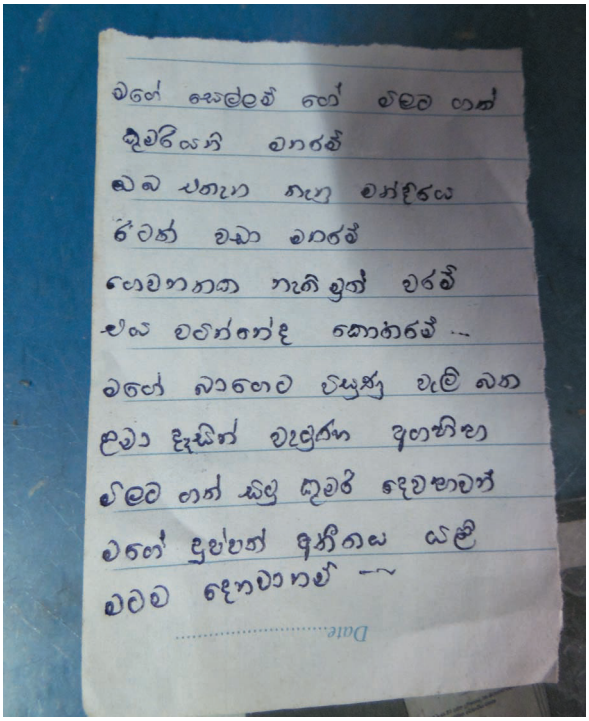


Fig. 254 The poem copied by the shopkeeper, 2016.

According to her, the poem related the experience of a former resident of the street, and one of the most renowned lyricists in the country. The conversation below illustrates the shopkeeper's attachment to the poem.

Q: "Why did you decide to keep the poem with you?"

A: "As I too live in the fort, I felt it was better to keep it."

Q: "Do you feel sad when your neighbours move after selling their properties?"

A: "Yes, yes, we ask them not to go, [we] ask them to stay."

Q: "But they move?"

A: "Yes, they sell properties due to their own requirements."[621]

Ms Hewage has fond memories of the poet's wife, who is one of her frequent customers. During the wave of selling properties to foreigners in the 2010s (discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.3), the increasing offers of foreign investors panicked residents, and many discussions about the opportunity of selling property took place. The poet's wife, who had lived in the fort all her life, used to tell the shopkeeper, "We will never move."

The Poet's Story: The Family and the Old House[622]

The "poem" copied by the shop keeper was originally part of the song *Sellamgeya Vikinīma* ("Selling the Doll House") in *Mal Ahura* ("Handful of Flowers," 2015), written by the country's renowned lyricist and poet Rathna Sri Wijesinghe.[623] The poet came to the fort as a high-school boy, where he met his future wife, who lived in the fort. They soon fell in love, married in the late '70s, and became the parents of two daughters. He started living in his wife's parental house, where the family lived for nearly 70 years on a rental basis. It was a house entrusted to Macan Marker Trust,[624] which owned a number of properties in the fort, in order to avoid the Ceiling on Housing Property Law (No. 1 of 1973), which limited the number of houses owned by an individual. After the marriage, the poet bought the house from the trust by paying a significant amount of money.[625] He had written books to earn the money, while the late Gunadasa Kapuge, one of the country's legendary singers, also donated money.[626]

The fairly big old house (approximately 250 sqm) with 15-metre-high walls was in a dilapidated condition when the poet bought it (Figs. 255–258). It featured "Dutch colonial architecture," to the extent that "even a man on horseback could enter the house through its old main door." Trees were growing into walls that were deteriorating and about to collapse. Therefore, the family lived in a room next to the kitchen, where smoke came inside while cooking. The poet had to cover all his books with polythene when it rained to save them from the water pouring from the leaking roof, covered with half-round tiles.[627]

621 Personal conversation with shopkeeper, 2 September 2017.

622 Personal conversation with lyricist and poet Rathna Sri Wijesinghe, who wished to be named, 3 September 2017.

623 The lyricist wished to be named in this work.

624 An elite family of famous gem merchants who owned several properties in the fort.

625 The exact amount of money has been omitted to respect the owner's privacy.

626 Kapuge, who was affiliated with the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Cooperation (formerly Radio Ceylon), was well known for his songs with a philosophical background.

627 Half-round tile roofs are usually leaking, as also mentioned in sub-chapter 5.3.3.

They had to shift the positions of the beds to get rid of the leaking water, while their children often suffered respiratory problems due to the dust coming from the deteriorating walls. These were common issues in most of the fort's old houses back then. Despite these poor living conditions, the poet enjoyed living in the fort, which he felt was like the "Old City of Jerusalem." His best works were completed during this difficult time, while the fort became the "based on landscape" for most of them.

The poet started renovating the house in the 1990s, with the permission of the [Department of] Archaeology, without changing the interior plan. The height of the walls was reduced, and the work was finished by 1998 (Fig. 259). It became a place where the county's legendary singers, actors and artists gathered; his wife was an extremely devoted woman who treated everyone nicely, including her neighbours.[628]

Selling the Doll House

The poet's personal issues led him to sell the house. His two daughters were married, and one of them lived in a flat in the suburbs of Colombo, which was neither spacious nor comfortable enough. Although the poet wanted to support her by buying her a good house, he "did not have enough money." They saw the exponential land value of the fort as an opportunity to help their daughters, despite their extreme fondness for living in the fort. In 2011, he sold the house to a foreign investor for good money and bought two houses for his daughters.[629] The foreign investor totally demolished the house and developed it into a two-storey building with the permission of the Planning Sub-Committee (Fig. 260). A novelty store owned by three European business partners and run by local staff was opened on the ground floor of the building. Unfortunately, the poet's wife—who had lived in the fort all her life—died soon after their moving, which was a great shock to the poet. With her loss, he felt the importance of the old house, where he had all his nice memories with her, resulting in the unsung song "Selling the Doll House."

The land value of the fort rose by six times over the next six years. According to the poet, "I do not worry about the monetary value [of the house]. But I am sad that all the memories of my love are there. Memories of life are important to a poet. Most of the things I wrote are connected to the fort and my memories there."[630] As a boy, he would lean against the front wall of the house, waiting until "she" came back from her school, Southlands College (at the fort). After some years, his eldest daughter would come home in the same way in the same school uniform, which he captured in one of his lyrics.

The Neighbour's Story

Mrs and Mr Miguel, a retired couple, were the poet's neighbours and family friends. In fact, the poet's wife was the best friend of Ms Miguel. According to Mr Miguel, the two women were almost like "sugar and tea," in that they blended very well.[631] Although they did not visit each other's houses often, they saw each other frequently when they stepped outside the houses, as the two houses were nearly facing each other on the same street. Both shared many things, from food to personal problems. When *kadupul* (queen of the night) flowers[632] bloomed at the Miguels' at midnight, Mrs Miguel used to call her friend, who offered them to *Buduhāmuduruwō* (Lord Buddha).[633] Mrs Miguel often remembers her—every morning, in fact, when she steps out of the house. Although their "big old house that was like a tunnel" is no longer there, the new building that replaced their house "always" reminds her, "My friend lived here [in this place]," which makes her very sad.[634]

The Sense of Place

The poet's emotional attachment to his old house, or sense of place, is connected with the "memories" of his wife, who was "born in the same house, grew old in the same house, became a girlfriend and wife as well as a mother in the same house."[635] Therefore, the fort and the "place" where his house existed have

628 Personal conversations with neighbours, 2016–2017.

629 The exact amount of the money has been omitted to respect the owner's privacy.

630 Personal conversation, 2 September 2017.

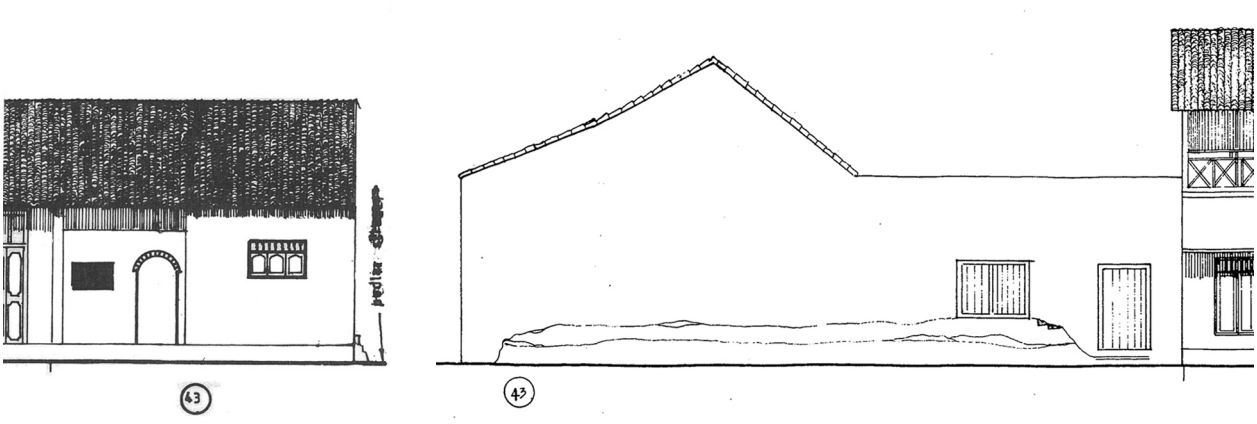
631 Personal conversation with Mr Miguel, January 2018.

632 *Epiphyllum oxypetalum*. As the flower blooms at midnight, it is difficult to offer the flower to Buddha, and this very reason has created the impression among Buddhists that offering this flower is more meritorious.

633 Personal conversation with Ms Miguel, 3 September 2017.

634 Ibid. and personal conversations in January 2018.

635 Personal conversation, 3 September 2017.



Figs. 255–256 The poet's house in 1992: the façade (left) and the wall (right), each facing a different street (Kuruppu and Wijesuriya 1992, 145, 267).



Figs. 257–258 The house during renovation in the 1990s, with the façade (left) and the dilapidated wall (right) each facing a different street (image courtesy of Mr Rathna Sri Wijesinghe).



Fig. 259 The house after renovation in 1998 (image courtesy of Mr Rathna Sri Wijesinghe).



Fig. 260 The building in 2016, after renovation by the foreign owner. The red postbox in the middle of the image is the only visible feature from the 1990s.

now become a painful memory for the poet, due to the demolition of the house (or the physical absence of the house) coupled with the drastic changes in his neighbourhood. The poet says, "The fort has totally changed now. I don't even like to go there. I feel sad to go to the fort. There's a huge, palace-like building there. You can see how different it is from the old house that was there. It's sad—I feel I should cry."[636]

6.6.2 ANECDOTE 2: NEW YEAR TREATS

This anecdote focuses on the weakening neighbourhood relationships on a small (formerly) residential street due to gentrification, based on interviews and day-to-day conversations with Mrs Moninna Gunawardene,[637] her neighbours and my reasoned observations of the place.

Our Neighbourhood: "A House with Several Rooms"

Moninna came to Galle Fort as a banker at Mercantile Bank[638] in 1968. She got married to Ranjith, also a banker and a resident of the fort. After their marriage, Moninna started living in the parental house of Ranjith, located on Parawa Street. They were the fourth generation in the house, which had been occupied by the Dutch (or rather Dutch Burghers) at the beginning of the 19th century.

Her neighbourhood mainly comprises Parawa Street, the next two small streets and the small lane that opens from one of these streets, which has a few houses and is known as a *watta*[639] (Fig. 261). Although she felt odd living in a house with common walls and having no big garden immediately after her marriage, she slowly got used to the environment. Gradually, the neighbours became almost like "family members" and the neighbourhood felt like "one large house with so many rooms," with their house among them. Surprisingly, Ms Miguel, who was mentioned in the previous anecdote, has exactly the same feeling about her neighbourhood, on a main street.[640] They were "quite free to go to any house, at any time, without any notice. The spirit of sharing (giving and receiving) was enjoyed by everybody." Any event, either joy or sorrowful, was shared like a family. It was such fun to celebrate the Sinhala New Year, on which they made visits to each other's houses and the men enjoyed a drink together. While all her neighbours were very friendly, the late Mrs Fernandopulle, who lived next door, looked after Moninna's two children as her own grown children. Thus, her children used to call her *amma*, or "mother" in Sinhala.[641]

636 Ibid.

637 Mrs Gunawardene wished to be named in this anecdote.

638 Currently known as the Commercial Bank.

639 Literally "garden," but implying a lower economic neighborhood in the local context, sometimes conveys the idea of a slum.

640 Personal conversation with Ms Miguel, 2 September 2017.

641 Personal conversations, 31 August 2017.

Changing Neighbourhood Relationships

As the neighbourhood was relatively large, Parawa Street, where the house is located, is mainly discussed here. Despite the commercialization of the main streets, this small street, which had nearly 17 households, still retained its residential character in 2015, which had changed substantially by early 2019.

The left side of the street had eight houses,[642] among which were two family-run restaurants that were started by 2015. One of them was a modest but successful business offering authentic Sri Lankan food. The small street, which could only be passed by one car at a time, became very busy with tourists in the evenings due to the high ratings and reviews on TripAdvisor, particularly by Dutch tourists.[643] One of these eight houses was owned by a Muslim lady and mother of three daughters. She sold the property to a local in 2016 and bought three houses in the suburbs of Galle for her daughters. The house was later converted into a villa. Another house on the street was also sold. Four houses had a more or less totally residential character by 2016, and Monnina's house was one of these. They were very proud of their ancestry in the fort. She has records of the generations that had lived in some houses, as stated by one of her late neighbours, showing their long-time attachment to the landscape. They made some changes in the house, including building a small self-contained upper floor, mainly used by their friends abroad, who often visited Galle. Similarly, one of their neighbours has renovated his house; he has no intention to move out of the fort, despite its decreasing liveability, as it is difficult for his older sister to adapt to a new environment.[644]

The other side of the street also had seven properties; three of them were converted into luxury villas, while two properties were sold, causing the neighbours to move. Two of these villas were run by locals and had frequent "guests," making the street busier. However, these were permitted developments, and contributed to the overall colonial architecture of the fort, according to the standards of the Planning Sub-Committee.[645] In the mid-'70s, a (late) Broadway actor and pioneering author of gay-themed novels in the US and his long-time (late) companion moved to Galle Fort. The foreigners, who initially lived on a close by street, later moved to a house on this small street, which they bought by forming a company.[646] They did not maintain any relationship with the neighbours, and in fact, the neighbours did not know an author lived there. Their house was protected by a guard, an unusual thing in ordinary local neighbourhoods back then, although it is common now in commercial establishments. The neighbourhood of Chando Street also changed, with nearly six properties being bought or leased by foreigners, local purchases and residents relocating (by 2016).

"Plateful of New Year Sweets": A Good Neighbourhood Relationship

As the changes in the neighbourhood were substantial, I asked Moninna how she feels when her long-time neighbours move out of the fort. Her immediate response was, "The first feeling is, it will save another plate of New Year sweets." Sending a plateful of sweets on Sinhala New Year (*Sinhala Aluth Avurudda*)[647] is a long-established custom in traditional Sri Lankan neighbourhoods, which symbolizes goodwill among neighbours yet is currently diminishing. Thus, sending a plate of New Year sweets was considered to demonstrate a "good neighbourly relationship" when determining changes in neighbourhood relationships in Moninna's locality. She remembers the maximum number of New Year plates she distributed as 52 in one particular year, 15 to 20 years ago, including almost her entire neighbourhood. Moninna created a neighbourhood map that includes the houses and their owners; a table was prepared based on the map

642 Additionally, there are another two houses in a small lane opening from this street.

643 In February 2008, a tourist from Leiden posted *Lekkere rice en curry* ("tasty rice and curry"), which is one of more than 700 comments in Dutch on TripAdvisor—the second-highest category after English-language reviews, which numbered more than 1,200. These comments are available on the restaurant's TripAdvisor review (2018), although the name of the restaurant will not be mentioned.

644 Interview with Mr Fernandopulle, 29 January 2016.

645 Yet one of them have an "illegally" added swimming pool.

646 According to some residents (2017), they had already bought a property on Rampart Street prior to that.

647 Sinhala New Year, which is also celebrated by the Tamil people and is the most significant festival/celebration is Sri Lanka, begins when the sun moves from *Meena Rashiya* (the house of Pisces) to *Mesha Rashiya* (the house of Aries), according to local astrology (13 or 14 April).

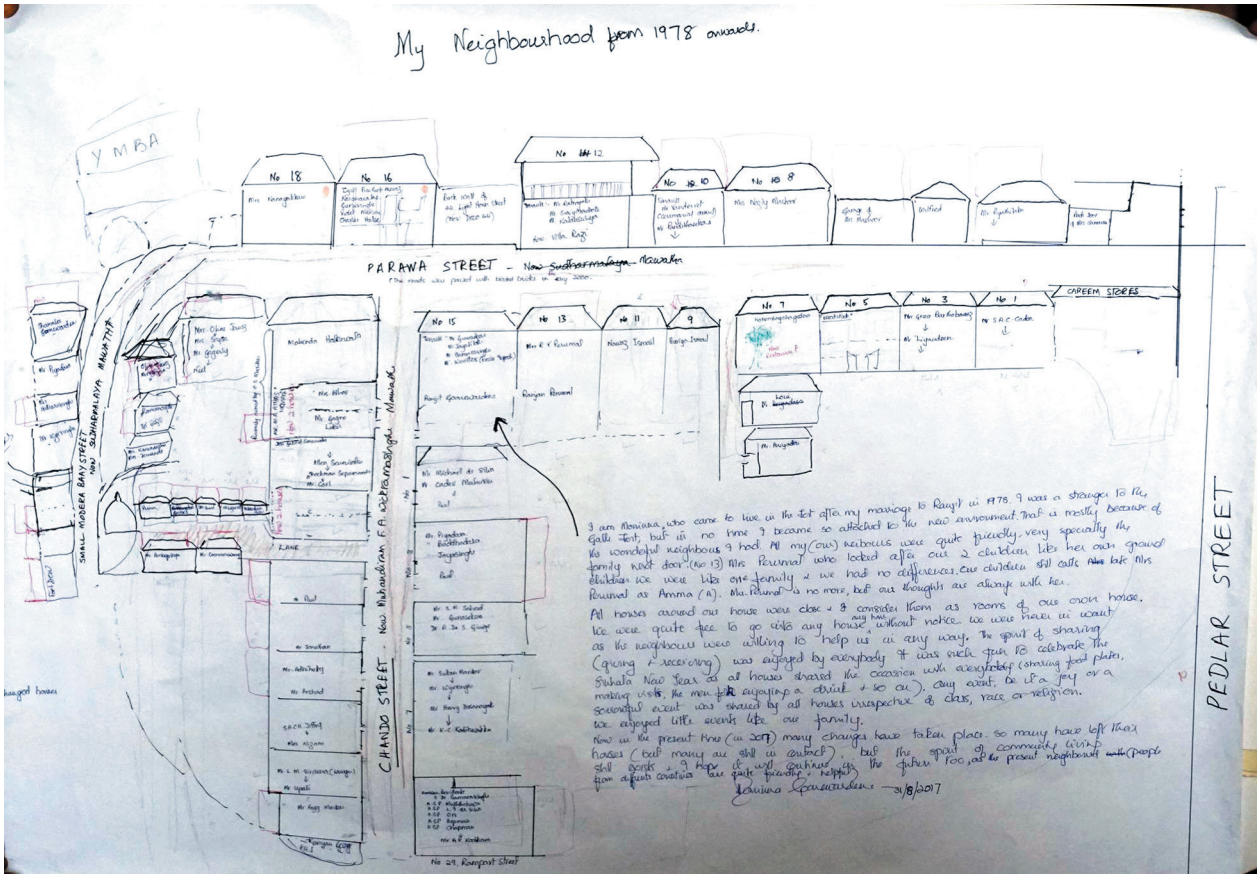


Fig. 261 "My Neighbourhood from 1978," the neighbourhood map drawn by Moninna Gunawardene (2017). Additions of new floors are shown by lines on the tops of buildings, and the number of generations that lived in each house is written inside some of the houses.[648]

(Fig. 261; Table 10). New Year sweets distributed from 1997 to 2002 (15 to 20 years ago, according to Moninna) and in 2017 were marked in the table in order to calculate the differences in neighbourhood relationships. According to the table, it was revealed she generally distributed 47 plates of New Year sweets among her neighbours from 1997 to 2002 (Table 10). In contrast, the number of plates she sent in Sinhala New Year 2017 dropped to 21, thereby reducing the neighbourhood relationships by more than half (Table 10). Losing neighbours by half within two decades is extremely uncommon in general Sri Lankan neighbourhoods. She identifies the reason for this as property sales and commercialization in the wake of World Heritage recognition. While 16 properties were sold, ten of them are currently owned by foreigners, who use them mainly for commercial purposes. Apart from that, another five have been turned into tourist accommodation or restaurants (Table 10).

Thus, the residents who earlier were "quite free to go to any house any time" are now limited to certain spaces. Despite the large decrease in neighbourhood relationships, the remaining residents enjoy the spirit of community to a certain extent, while to a lesser extent they also form new relationships. Moninna's family developed a good relationship with a foreign family that moved to Chando Street, one of the very few residing in the fort. However, many who have left by selling their houses are still in contact with their former neighbours. Moninna hopes that "the spirit of community living shall exist and will continue."

648 The author wished to be named in in this image.

Street	House No.	Neighbour	1997	2017	Reason	Current Owner
Malay	x	Mrs Cader	1	0	Sold	Unknown
	x	Mr Majeed	1	0	Sold	Unknown
	x	Mr Faizal	1	1		
	x	Mr Abayakoon	1	0	Restaurant	
	x	Mr Tabrew	1	0	Moved	
	x	Mr Piyarathna	1	0		
	x	Mrs Iftekhar	1	1		
	x	Mr Isadean	1	1		
	x	Mr Fenandopulle	1	1		
	x	Our house				
	x	Mr Paranagama	1	0	Villa	
	x	Mr Cooray	1	0	Moved	
	x	Mrs Thajudeen	1	0	Moved	
	x	Mr Samarakoon	1	0	Villa	
	x	Mr Karunasekere	1	0	Villa	
	x	Mr Samarasuriya	1	0	Foreigner	Late Mr Hunter
	x	Mr Navaratne	1	0	Moved	
Chatham	x	Mr Cassim	1	0	Foreigner	Mr Smit
	x	Mr Jayatillake	1	0	Foreigner	Mr Smit
	x	Dr Guruge	1	1		
	x	Mr Katugahalanda	1	1		
Bastion	x	Mr Subasinghe	1	0	Sold	Unknown
Chatham	x	Mr Haturusinghe	1	1		
	x	Mr Junaid (subdivided)	1	1		
	x	Mr Junaid (subdivided)	0	0	Foreigner	Mr Bruno
	x	Mr Alwis	1	0	Foreigner	Mr Thomas
	x	Mrs Rifnas (subdivided)	1	1		
	x	Mrs Rifnas (subdivided)	1	1		
	x	Mr Mohammed	1	0	Foreigner	Mr Walker
	x	Mr Manamperi	1	0	Foreigner	Mr James
	x	Mr Asraff	1	1		
	x	Mrs Navavi	1	1		
	x	Mr Upasena	1	1		
	x	Mr Raheem	1	0	Foreigner	Unknown
	x	Mr Illangakoon	1	1		
Chatham (1st Lane)	x	Mrs Gamage	1	0	Sold	Unknown
	x	Mr Fonseka	1	0	Sold	Unknown
	x	Mr Navaratne	1	1		
	x	Mr Cabraal	1	0	Sold	Unknown
	x	Mrs Nanda	1	1		

	x	Mr Chetty	1	0	Foreigner	Unknown
	x	Mr Abewardena	1	0	Hotel	
Shravasti	x	Mr Almeida	1	1		
	x	Mrs Rajapaksa	1	0	Villa	
	x	Mr Costa	1	1		
	x	Mrs Ekanayaka	1	1		
	x	Mr Liyanage	1	1		
	x	Mrs Jayawickrama	1	1		
	x	Mr Paranavitana	1	0	Foreigner	Unknown
	x	-	0	0		
	x	-	0	0		
	x	-	0	0		
	x	-	0	0		
Total	**52**	**48**	**47**	**21**		

1: Households that were given New Year treats; 0: households that were not given New Year treats. Due to the privacy, all personal names and street names have been allocated pseudonyms.

Table 10 New Year sweets distributed 20 years ago and in 2017.

Conclusion

The chapter discusses the strong indications of excessive gentrification at Galle Fort, which has substantially reduced the local population while weakening neighbourhood relationships. Despite the fact that the largest proportion of economic benefits of World Heritage recognition goes to local and foreign investors, the economy of the remaining community has improved remarkably, and they have mainly forgotten the negative impacts of heritage recognition.

7. Laws in Practise and Perceptions of Justice

The chapter focuses on how legislation is applied to Galle Fort, based on the legislation analyzed in chapter 4, in order to identify why it is challenging for heritage institutions to manage the drastic landscape changes. While the first part deals with the general legislative application, the second part focuses on how the country copes with UNESCO's guidelines and local heritage laws in making critical decisions that affect the cultural landscape of Galle Fort.

Part I

7.1 HERITAGE LAWS AND CONFLICTING INTERESTS

This sub-chapter analyses the community awareness and perceptions of the prevailing heritage laws, while identifying how the laws have created conflicting interests among stakeholders.

7.1.1 DO THE RESIDENTS KNOW THE LAW?

It was identified that the majority of the interviewed residents (72%, 24 out of 33) were not familiar with the heritage laws by name. Some identified the laws as the "Archaeology Law" (Antiquities Ordinance of the Department of Archaeology) or "UDA law" (Special Regulations, 2009 or the building regulations of Urban Development Authority) by their respective implementing institution. In fact, only one had a proper idea of both these laws, as he had explored them when he was accused of "illegal" development.[649] Further, only one of them had an idea about the 400-yard law (365.76-metre) implemented by the Department of Archaeology (hereafter also referred to as "DOA"), discussed in sub-chapter 4.2.2.

Twenty of the 33 (60%) interviewed residents stated that they did not receive sufficient information on the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009. However, five of them stated there was an awareness programme some years back, which was also confirmed by the Regional Assistant Director (South) of the Regional Archaeology Office, Fort.[650] Interestingly, 27 out of 33 (81%) of the interviewed residents mentioned that it is useful to know about heritage laws, especially the Special Regulations, 2009. In fact, two of them requested copies of the Special Regulations, 2009 during the interview.[651] However, informal conversations with a number of residents proved that some of them are well aware of heritage laws, including lawyers and some regarded as community leaders.[652]

Despite their responses asserting a lack of awareness, it was revealed that nearly half of the interviewed residents had a general idea about the building regulations of the fort. When they were asked what kinds of developments are allowed without the permission of the heritage authorities, half of them correctly answered that none are permitted. However, a substantial number mistakenly thought that some exterior changes are allowed without permission. Day-to-day informal conversations with residents proved that almost all knew it was necessary to obtain a development permit for a development.

649 Interview with Mr Rodrigo, 9 September 2015.

650 Interview with the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Galle Fort, 2 February 2016.

651 The two residents were later provided with these copies.

652 I.e., residents who have a voice in the community; generally, these are the ones who represent different groups within the community, such as the Muslim community, Sinhalese community and local business community.

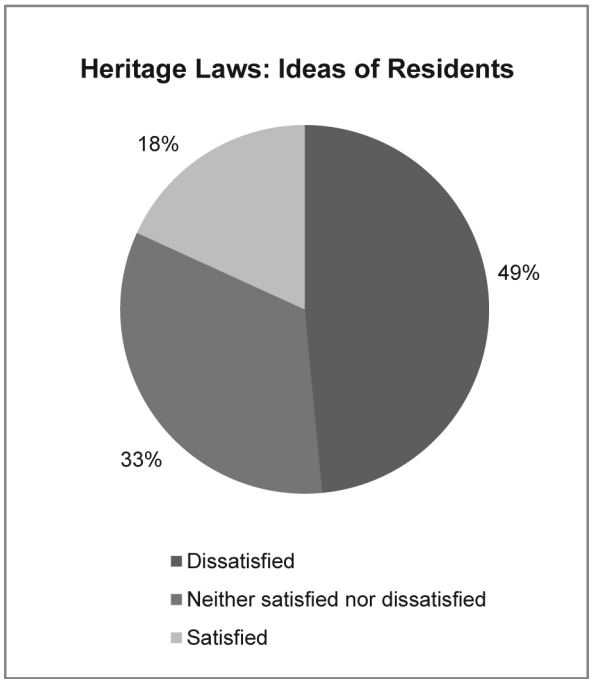


Fig. 262 Ideas of residents on heritage laws.

7.1.2 PERCEPTION OF HERITAGE LAWS: "THE LAW IS NOT EQUAL TO ALL"

Informal conversations with the community (both residents and the business community) revealed that they show a strong dislike of the heritage laws (especially on building regulations, the Special Regulations, 2009) and the officers who implement the law, as well as heritage institutions. However, only half of the interviewed residents (16 out of 33) mentioned they were dissatisfied with the heritage laws, while 11 were neutral. Interestingly, there were six who expressed satisfaction with the law (Fig. 262). Although a larger majority of them (27 out of 33) think that heritage laws are useful in preserving the fort's heritage, only 19 of them think it has succeeded in practice so far.

The reason for this lies in the practical issues of implementing the law. The majority of residents stated that "although the law is good, it is not equal to all" (Fig. 263). This idea is mainly related to the building development procedures, and thus this matter is elaborated separately in sub-chapter 7.5.

Moreover, there are a number of residents who believe that the laws, especially the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009, are too strict regarding private properties. According to Mr Rodrigo, "a monumental law has been enforced for privately owned residential properties in the fort."[653] In addition, some are disappointed with the inability of heritage laws to fulfil the modern living and business requirements of the community. Mr Marikar, a young businessman who runs an exquisite tea and spice shop, states, "The Archaeology Law is 100% a colonial law." According to him, the requirements of the heritage institutions, as manifested in the heritage laws, and the aspirations of the community goes in two different directions, which he expressed with the Sinhala saying *ela harakai, mī harakai wagē* ("like the mismatch between a dairy cow and the buffalo").[654] The idea is better expressed by Mr Miguel, who states, "the heritage authorities expect to maintain the old conditions [of the buildings] rather than the comforts of the people."[655] Thus, a conflict of interests can be identified between the development needs of the community and those of the heritage institutions, as further elaborated in sub-chapters 7.1.4 and 7.1.5.

7.1.3 THE HERITAGE INSTITUTIONS, OFFICIALS AND COMMUNITY EXPECTATIONS

In general, the majority of the interviewed residents expressed their satisfaction with Galle Heritage Foundation (43%), were neutral towards the Department of Archaeology (43%) and had no specific idea about either the Urban Development Authority or Galle Municipal Council (46% and 37%, respectively). The interviews revealed that the popularity of Galle Heritage Foundation

653 Interview, 9 September 2015.

654 Ibid. This expression also illustrates how the Moor community of the fort uses the Sinhala language almost like native Sinhala speakers, which I noticed often. These Moors, who live within a Sinhalese community (unlike the Moors of the eastern part of the country), have mostly studied in prestigious Sinhala-medium schools in Galle. In general, the upper and middle class are trilingual, fluent in Tamil, Sinhala and English. As one of them mentioned one morning, showing me his newspaper: "We read either the English or Sinhala newspaper; this is the difference with the Moors of the fort."

655 Interview, 1 March 2016.

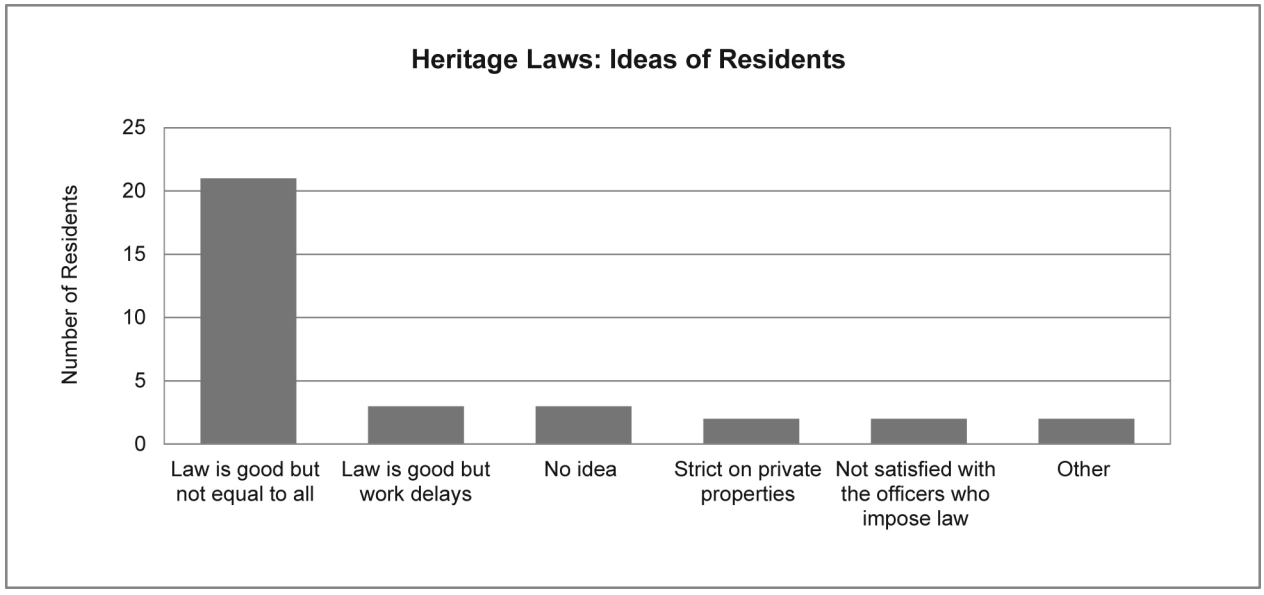


Fig. 263 Ideas of residents on heritage laws.

(hereafter also referred to as "GHF") is mainly due to the Preservation of Private Houses Project, funded by the Dutch government and carried out by GHF (2006–2009).[656] In contrast, there were also residents who demonstrated a certain level of suspicion towards the finances of GHF. This was highlighted by a resident at the Village Security Council meeting, held at the fort's Buddhist temple in February 2016: "We have to request a percentage of the money earned by GHF from the fort for the benefit of the community."[657] At this juncture, a community member negatively mentioned that a higher official affiliated with the GHF recently received a large pay raise, indicating that heritage officers benefit from their resources.[658] One heritage officer agrees with these views of the community members, insofar as "the foundation has large sums of money that it could have utilized for the benefit of the community."[659] However, GHF has legal provisions to invest and save money.[660]

Similarly, the Urban Development Authority (hereafter also referred to as "UDA") and the DOA were also criticized for being partial to certain developments handled by the Planning Sub-Committee, in which they are key members (as discussed separately in sub-chapter 7.5).[661] In general, the behaviour of these institutions in the heritage city is not much appreciated by the community, although they expressed different ideas during a formal interview.

The respective middle-level officers of these institutions who handle development procedures were either criticized heavily or appreciated, depending on the personal experiences of the community members with their developments. When one of these officers was transferred from

656 Also mentioned in chapter 5. The project was administered by GHF in collaboration with the Faculty of Architecture, University of Moratuwa. It gave a colonial appearance to or enhanced the colonial appearance of nearly 60 private houses. Introducing or enhancing the verandahs was the major aim of the project.

657 A resident at the Village Security Council meeting, held at the fort's Buddhist Temple on 17 February 2016.

658 Discussion at the Village Security Council meeting, held at the fort's Buddhist Temple on 17 February 2016.

659 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, June 2018.

660 "…to invest any moneys belonging to the Foundation including any unapplied income, in any security in which, under the provisions of section 20 of the Trusts Ordinance (Chapter 87) or of any other written law, it is lawful to invest trust moneys or to invest any such moneys in the purchase of immovable property in Sri Lanka or vary such investments or to place in fixed deposit in any bank any portion of such moneys not required for immediate expenditure" (Sec 4 k, Galle Heritage Foundation Act, No 7 of 1994).

661 This is the general idea of community as expressed during informal conversations; however, this changed totally during the formal interviews, where the residents were more polite.

Galle to another location in 2017, several residents expressed their happiness, as the officer was "too strict and had no cordial relationship with the community."[662]

Some of these officers were criticized vehemently for being partial to and having a bias towards certain investors and residents. In 2017, a foreign investor complained to the Director General of Archaeology about the "unjustified attitudes and biased decisions" of an officer.[663] However, the DOA's Regional Assistant Director of the Regional Archaeology Office (south), Fort claimed that the officer was impartial.[664] The long-term work of one officer at the fort, who had never been transferred, was also criticized by a community member, as it led to his building relationships with some residents and forming a bias in favour of them.[665] In addition, heritage officers were also alleged to have taken bribes regarding building developments, although there is no satisfactory evidence to prove this so far. In contrast to these negative criticisms, there are also a number of cases where these officers have supported the local community in their developments, as elaborated in sub-chapter 7.6.

In general, the residents expected the heritage institutions to support their developments (33%, 11 out of 33). This included the expectation that the institutions would "approve our plans," "allow us to change our houses as we wish," "give priority to long-term residents with respect to developments," "consider our development needs" and "allow us to live peacefully by processing our plans."[666] One of them stated, "The fort is almost completely changed; why we are not allowed to change our houses as we wish?"[667] Furthermore, the residents expected the heritage officers "to be fair to everyone," "to cooperate with the community [on developments]" and "not to be corrupt." There was also one who expected financial support for house repairs.[668] The cleanliness of the fort and maintenance of the underground drainage system were also expected, which are the responsibilities of Galle Municipal Council (hereafter also referred to as "GMC"); however, residents were generally not happy about their work.

662 Personal conversations with four residents, 2017.

663 Letter from a foreign businessman to the Director General of Archaeology on "Complaint Against [name not mentioned]," Divisional Archaeology Office Fort, Galle, 28 June 2017.

664 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Galle Fort to the Director General of Archaeology on "Complaint Against [name not mentioned]," Divisional Archaeology Office Fort, Galle, 4 August 2017.

665 A criticism expressed during an interview with a resident on 14 February 2016.

666 Interviews with residents, during January, February and March in 2016.

667 Interview with a resident, January 29, 2016.

7.1.4 CONFLICTING INTERESTS: DEVELOPMENT VS. PRESERVATION

"*We can keep our façades as they are, but we should be allowed to make interior changes as we wish. These are our houses and we are the owners. But heritage officers talk about our houses as if they own them!*" — Ms Azeez, a resident[669]

The main conflict between the community and heritage institutions could be identified as reconciling development needs with the preservation of privately owned properties. Not only the residents and the business community, but also several other institutions (including the public) have similar needs, as discussed in sub-chapter 7.1.5. These development needs are due chiefly to the reasons below, according my reasoned observations, interviews and conversations with the community:

- the age of residential buildings and the requirements of modern living standards;
- the limited space in the majority of houses and requirement of more space with family expansion;
- requirements of space for the purposes of lucrative tourism businesses;
- houses/buildings not being compatible with the required business purpose;
- institutional requirements and institutional expansion (especially for schools);[670] and
- typical Sri Lankan desires of building a new house.

Repairs due to the age of the houses are very common in the fort. Many residents request permission from the Regional Archaeology Office for minor repairs, especially the repair of deteriorated or dilapidated

668 Interviews with residents, during January, February and March in 2016.

669 Personal conversation, 13 January 2016.

670 A short case will be discussed under the next sub chapter.

old walls. In February 2016, a resident requested the DOA's permission to repair his collapsed kitchen.[671] In the Sri Lankan context, it is very common that people prefer to build their own new, houses, as living in old houses is not much appreciated. Although this way of thinking and the age of the houses have had an impact on the increasing developments, it is the fort's flourishing tourism that has most remarkably increased the developments.

Although building developments is one of the primary interests of the institutions, sometimes they have different requirements that are not directly related to the larger category of developments. One of the regiments of the Sri Lanka Army located in the fort requested the permission of the DOA to build a cricket pitch on the regiment's grounds in 2015.[672]

The Conflicting Building Development Needs and the Special Regulations (2009)

Against this background, the Special Regulations, 2009 have become the main obstacle to the much-needed developments, the latter being the priority of the community. Firstly, any development requires a permit, which is expensive in addition to requiring a long bureaucratic process, as elaborated in sub-chapter 4.3.2. An applicant has to deal with two main institutions, representing the Planning Sub-Committee–Urban Development Authority (Galle) and Galle Municipal Council, in clearing their plans. The situation has changed as of February 2017, with the UDA handling the clearance process without the involvement of GMC.[673] The high cost of the process is discussed separately in sub-chapter 7.2.1.

Secondly, one cannot build a house according to their wishes, due to the legal restrictions discussed in sub-chapter 4.3.2. The most critical issue is the difficulty of increasing the floor area, a much-needed desideratum for both residential and commercial purposes, due to height restrictions. It was discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.4 that the majority of the fort's houses are less than 3 perches (75.88 sqm), and the only possible way to increase the floor area is by vertical expansion, which is restricted to two floors depending on the streetscape. This means that a resident can only add another floor if the neighbouring house had two floors at the time of the fort's World Heritage recognition. The DOA usually cross-checks the information provided by the applicants with its building documentation from 1992.

Mr Rahman, who required another floor, went to Planning Sub-Committee more than 15 times with his building plan.[674] He was allowed a hidden floor, as the neighbouring houses were single-storeyed. Mr Rahman was not happy with the decision, as the floor was small and did not have enough ventilation.[675] Thus, it is common that the recommendations of Planning Sub-Committee conflict with the requirements of the residents. However, in practice, three floors within the space of 10 metres are allowed (depending on the streetscape): two floors and a hidden attic. In contrast, in some cases, the third floor is not hidden, as discussed in sub-chapter 5.4.3.

These development restrictions directly lead to social issues in the fort. The majority of the fort's residents are Muslims with extended families, who desperately need to increase the floor area, especially for dowry purposes upon a daughter's marriage. According to one architect, whose client's daughter was set to marry, he tried for nearly nine months to get the approval for the second floor; the architect stated, "I fear that my client will have a heart attack at any moment." This, together with the high land prices, has led the Moors to sell properties and move out of the fort, as in the short example provided in sub-chapter 6.6.2.

The addition of a verandah, which is usually mandatory (as a colonial feature), has also become a burden to the smaller property owners, as it requires a certain amount of space. Yet, controversially, some developers are allowed not to have a verandah.[676] Parking, another restriction, has created another serious issue for the present-day community, since garages are not allowed by the Special Regulations,

671 Letter from a resident to the Assistant Commissioner, Department of Archaeology, Fort, Galle, "Regarding the Collapsed Kitchen," 23 February 2016.

672 Letter from the Acting Commanding Officer of the 2nd Gemunu Watch Regiment, Fort, Galle to the Assistant Director (South), Department of Archaeology, Fort, Galle, "Requesting Permission to Construct a Cricket Pitch," 15 December 2015.

673 Until February 2017, the UDA was only responsible for granting Preliminary Planning Clearance, while the rest was the responsibility of the Planning Committee of Galle Municipal Council, since these powers of the UDA were delegated to local government authorities back then.

674 Personal conversation, 20 January 2018.

675 Ibid.

676 Examples will not be provided due to privacy concerns.

2009, and a majority of the fort's houses did not originally have garages. However, vehicle ownership has increased considerably due to the tourism economy of the fort. While some households have more than two vehicles, the vehicles of the employees of growing businesses have contributed substantially to the issue. As yet, there has been no satisfactory solution to this issue.

Although it is not mentioned in the law, air-conditioned rooms are not allowed for residential purposes (but they are allowed for commercial purposes).[677] A large number of families provide homestay accommodation nowadays, and thus this is a must for them in the tropical climate of Galle. Similarly, the business community also has similar conflicts of interests over developments. Having swimming pools, which is not allowed by the law, is discussed separately under sub-chapter 7.5.4.

As the decisions of Planning Sub-Committee mostly conflict with the expectations of the community, the community requested the ministry responsible to allow them to have a community representative in the Planning Sub-Committee (2017) in order to ensure their voices are heard.[678] When this was requested of a heritage authority in 2018, the response was that the matter has to be addressed within the prevailing law, which, however, does not make such provisions.[679]

Conservation Priorities and the Community Needs

When compared to the conflicts of interest over developments, the rest seems minor. One such contradiction is the conservation priorities of the heritage institutions versus the community; the following is an example. [680]

677 Interview with architect Mahesh Arunadeva, 14 February 2016.

678 A letter from Additional Secretary (Development and Planning), Ministry of Education to the Director General of Archaeology and Director General of the Central Cultural Fund, "Facts Discussed at the Meeting to Obtain Community Ideas on the Proposed Action Plan Formulated According to the Management Plan of the World Heritage City of Galle Fort," 8 March 2017.

679 Personal conservations with a Galle-based heritage officer, June 2018.

680 Observations from the meeting held at the Information Centre of GHF on community's awareness of the "Galle Fort Rampart: Sky Walk Way Improvement" project proposed by the UDA and the line ministry, Ministry of Megapolis and Western Development, 26 November 2015.

The Sky Walkway Project, 2015

On 26 November 2015, the UDA, together with the DOA and GHF, called a meeting to apprise community representatives of the World Bank-funded rampart improvement project ("Sky Walkway Improved Project," by SCDP, the Strategic Cities Development Project). Some of the community representatives strongly indicated that the conservation priority should be the Dutch-period sewage system, whose ill repair contributed to the risk of dengue, and thus mentioned that the project only addressed the needs of tourists while neglecting the requirements of the residential community.

Another criticism of the project by the local community was not including residents as stakeholders in the project's introductory leaflet. Some community representatives were unhappy that their ideas were not surveyed in the planning process; Mr Fowzie indicated this has also negatively affected the community in previous projects.

Strengths: As the community pointed out impractical features of certain proposals of the project, the UDA agreed to make amendments accordingly.

Pitfalls: While a community representative later mentioned he was happy with the project, he was silent amid the strong voices of the powerful representatives, an indication that neither the voices of the powerless nor the overall community were represented.

Challenges: Practically, reaching a solution that makes everyone happy is also difficult.

Lessons: Try to survey the overall views of the community prior to decision-making, which is expensive, and thus a challenge!



However, making decisions based on the community will so as to avoid conflict is also risky, as pointed out by the Project Planning Officer of GHF.[681] The officer identified one such unsuccessful project as the paving of the fort's roads with interlocking cement bricks (to replace the former tar roads), carried out by Galle Heritage Foundation in response to the strong community request (2011).[682] It made a substantial visual difference, yet conflicted with the fort's earlier appearance.[683] Despite the appreciation of some of the community, a number of community members are now unhappy about the project.[684] The interlocking cement paving blocks substantially increased the warmth of the environment, while it led to floods in certain places where the road level is higher than the ground level.[685]

Promoting tourism also creates conflicts over the social life of the residents, despite its economic benefits. Some feel that the rampart—their former playground—has been taken away from them, as one resident complained during the Village Security Council meeting in February 2016.[686] Pointing out one incident, another resident mentioned, "The rampart is part of *apē gama* ("our village"). Our children cannot play in the rampart now; the police chase them away."[687] In 2017, a devout Catholic lamented, "I wonder how they built big hotels close by the church."[688]

Outcomes of Conflicts

Conflicts over developments are the most significant disagreements at the fort, and result in negative outcomes for both parties. The most common reaction of heritage officers to conflicts is taking legal action, which is discussed separately in sub-chapter 7.4. The reactions of the community include "illegal" development, verbal insults, "bribes" (although not proven), complaints against heritage officers, attempts to influence officers, threats to heritage officers and legal actions. Most of these are discussed in the following sections, while "illegal" development, the most common outcome, is discussed separately in sub-chapter 7.3.1. In June 2015, a resident complained to the President of Sri Lanka about the heritage officers granting permission to demolish her common wall with a foreign neighbour.[689] Although verbal insults are not very common, DOA officers were severely insulted by a professional over an "illegal" development in his house at the end of 2014; he later apologized to the officers for the inconvenience caused.[690] In a few cases, the officers responsible for developments have been threatened by developers.[691] Recently, in a few cases, conflicts over developments have led to disciplinary action against heritage officers.[692] Against this background, officers are not happy to handle developments in the heritage city; they follow the law strictly so that they cannot be charged.[693]

681 Personal conversations with the Project Planning Officer (GHF), June 2018.
682 Ibid.
683 Ibid.
684 Interviews and personal conversations with nearly ten residents in 2016.
685 Personal conversations with at least five residents in 2016.
686 Statement of a resident at the Village Security Council meeting, held at Sri Sudharmalaya Buddhist Temple on 17 February 2016. It was mentioned in sub-chapter 6.2.1 that the rampart and the current Court's Square served as children's playgrounds.
687 According to the resident, the children used play football by the lighthouse in the ramparts, until a policemen asked them to not to play there, indicating that they might disturb the tourists. The children were urged to play at the shore, which was not safe. The disappointed parents went to complain at the Archaeology Office, but the "boss" was not there. So they went to the "Galle Heritage" [Foundation's information centre]. The person who was there told the parents that the children cannot play. As they felt that the person was not the responsible officer, the parents went to the "big office" [of GHF]. The officer there told them that the children can play in the ramparts. The resident further mentioned, "This is how things are happening now. If the children throw a ball at a tourist by mistake, they won't mind it. Sometimes they even play with our children" (personal conversation with a resident, December 2015).
688 A Catholic and a native resident, referring to the two newly constructed high-end boutique hotels close to All Saints' Church; personal conversation, January 2018.
689 Letter from a resident to the President on "Opposing the Decision to Grant Permission to Demolish the Common Wall," 22 July 2015 (copy of the letter received to the DOA by the President's Office on 5 August 2015).
690 Personal conversation with the Site Manager of Galle Fort (DOA), 23 January 2018.
691 Personal conversations with officers of the UDA, GHF and DOA in 2016 and 2018; interview with an officer responsible for developments, 9 March 2016.
692 Personal conversations with heritage officers and observations in 2017, 2018 and early 2019.
693 Ibid.

7.1.5 CONFLICTING INTERESTS: THE BOUNDARY WALL OF A PRESTIGIOUS SCHOOL

Although the conflicts between heritage authorities and the community over developments are very common at Galle Fort, (powerful) public institutions are no exception. One such significant institution is one of the most prestigious schools in Galle, located in the historic centre since the British occupation. The school authorities have been subjected to more than five police investigations on behalf of the Department of Archaeology for "illegal" developments.[694]

The most controversial of these cases was that of the school's boundary wall, constructed in January 2011. In 2010, the principal of the school submitted a proposal to the Planning Sub-Committee to build a wall at its boundary, facing one of the fort's outermost streets.[695] Boundary walls are a common requirement for schools, public institutions and residential properties in the local context. However, they are not permitted in the fort as per Special Regulations, 2009, although walls not exceeding one metre are permitted by the law in certain cases.[696] Thus, the school was recommended to build a one-metre-high wall, similar in shape to the wall of the neighbouring property,[697] which had the typical shape for the boundary walls in Galle (Fig. 264). The decision was conveyed to the principal, indicating that a development permit should be obtained from the municipality prior to the development.[698] Apparently, the school's demands were not fulfilled by the decision. The school authority started constructing a wall higher than two metres without obtaining the development permit;[699] this was carried out at night over a long weekend, and the DOA claimed the shape of the wall "conflicts with the historical value of the fort."[700]

The DOA notified the principal to stop the construction, both verbally and in writing, which she did not agree to, causing the DOA to file a case against the principal.[701] Subsequently, one of the leading Galle district parliamentarians requested a speedy solution to the matter before the court hearing.[702] Furthermore, the Governor of the Southern Province organized a meeting regarding the matter with all stakeholders, including the School Development Board.[703] However, the decision of the Planning Sub-Committee did not change, as the school authorities were again informed. The Director General of Archaeology firmly stated "I did not allow that wall" during an interview in 2016.[704]

At this juncture, the school authority demolished the wall by using bulldozers, and carried out a media smear campaign indicating that the Department of Archaeology carried out the demolition.[705] However, the Antiquities Ordinance has no provision to make demolition orders, and no demolitions have been ever carried out in the fort by either the DOA or UDA. Although the DOA advised the School Development Board to submit a request to the Planning Sub-Committee to build a temporary wall until the permit to build a permanent wall was granted, this advice was not followed by the school authorities.[706] A chain-link fence of nearly 2 metres high replaced the demolished wall (Fig. 265).[707] At the end of 2013, a march was organized at the governor's residence by

694 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

695 Interview with architect Prof. Samitha Manawadu, who was a member of the Planning Sub-Committee and a former President of ICOMOS Sri Lanka, 1 March 2016.

696 "No boundary walls are permitted in front of the buildings facing the roads; only boundary walls, fence or live fence are permitted (on either sides of the buildings) not exceeding one meter in height" (Article 70.21 Boundary (a), Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009).

697 Interview with architect Prof. Samitha Manawadu, 1 March 2016.

698 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Fort, Galle to the Director General of Archaeology on "The News Reported by *Dinamina* Newspaper on Minister of Education Take Steps to Build the Collapsed Wall of Southlands College dated 20.01.2015," 21 January 2015.

699 Ibid.; Interview with architect Prof. Samitha Manawadu, 1 March 2016.

700 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Fort, Galle to the Director General of Archaeology on "The News Reported by *Dinamina* Newspaper on Minister of Education Take Steps to Build the Collapsed Wall of Southlands College dated 20.01. 2015," 21 January 2015.

701 Ibid.

702 Ibid.

703 Ibid.

704 Interview with Director General of Archaeology, 26 April 2016.

705 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Fort, Galle to the Director General of Archaeology on "The News Reported by *Dinamina* Newspaper on Minister of Education Take Steps to Build the Collapsed Wall of Southlands College dated 20.01. 2015," 21 January 2015; personal conversation with the officer responsible for developments (DOA) who handled the matter, January 2017.

706 Ibid.

707 Observations, December 2015.



Fig. 264 Wall of the neighbouring property, showing the typical shape of the walls of Galle (right), and the chain-link fence of the school at left (2016).

supporters of the school from Galle town, defaming the DOA.[708] On 17 April 2014, the DOA withdrew the case against the principal at Galle Magistrate's Court.[709]

When the new regime came to power in 2015, a local newspaper blamed the "[then] powerful politicians of the South and the governor" for their influence on demolishing the school's wall, "permitted by the Planning Sub-Committee."[710] Furthermore, it reported that the new Minister of Education has realized the need for a boundary wall at the school, which is the "only girls' school located within a World Heritage city."[711] In response to the information provided by the newspaper, the DOA's Regional Assistant Director (South) reacted the following day by requesting the Director General of Archaeology to inform the new Minister of Education on the matter;[712] the latter also happened to be the minister then responsible for Archaeology. The continuous attempts to rebuild the boundary wall have so far failed.[713]

708 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Fort, Galle to the Director General of Archaeology on "The News Reported by *Dinamina* Newspaper on Minister of Education Take Steps to Build the Collapsed Wall of Southlands College dated 20.01. 2015, " 21 January 2015.

709 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

710 "Minister of Education Take Steps to Rebuild the Collapsed Wall of [name of the school will not be mentioned]," *Dinamina* Newspaper, 20 January 2015.

711 Ibid.

712 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Fort, Galle to the Director General of Archaeology on "The News Reported by *Dinamina* Newspaper on Minister of Education Take Steps to Build the Collapsed Wall of Southlands College dated 20.01. 2015, " 21 January 2015.

713 There were discussions regarding this matter at the District Coordinating Committee meetings at the Galle District Secretariat in 2016. Thus, the Director (Planning) of the District



Fig. 265 The chain-link fence with the school in the background, 2016.

7.2. SPECIAL REGULATIONS, 2009: A BURDEN FOR ORDINARY LOCALS?

In this sub-chapter, I explore whether the building regulations of Galle Fort have become a burden to the ordinary local community, based on input from the community, practising architects, heritage officers and my own reasoned observations.

7.2.1 THE HIGH COST OF CHARTERED ARCHITECT'S SERVICES

"*The law is good, neither strict nor simple, but the architect's service fees are too high.*" — Mr Vidanage, a resident and businessmen[714]

Through interviews and informal conversations with residents, it was determined that obtaining the services of Chartered Architects, which is obligatory in the preparation of building plans per the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009 (Article 70.4 (3)), has become a financial burden to the ordinary locals, especially to the poor. In fact, the interviews showed that this is well known to heritage officers, professionals and heritage policymakers.[715]

In the Sri Lankan context, the majority of residents hire draughtsmen's services for the preparation of building plans, which is less costly. According to the architect Mahesh Arunadeva, who has prepared approximately 40 plans for Galle Fort, "nearly 5% of the people in Colombo take

Secretariat raised the possibility of getting the approval of the Department of Archaeology to build the wall of the school in his letter to the Regional Assistant Director, Regional Archaeology Office, Fort, Galle, on "Forwarding the Proposals Submitted to the District Coordinating Committee to Take Future Actions," on 25 June 2016.

714 Interview, 10 November 2015.

715 Interviews with Prof. P.B. Mandawala, who collaborated in formulating the Integrated Management System 2015; Director General of Archaeology, 12 September 2017; Director of Galle Heritage Foundation, 9 March 2016; Regional Assistant Director (South), Department of Archaeology, 2 February 2016; Project Planning Officer of GHF, 9 March 2016; and architect Mahesh Arunadeva, 14 February 2016.

the service of a Chartered Architect, which has however become obligatory in an outstation like Galle Fort. This is a lifelong grievance for the poor class of the community, who could not even retain an architect."[716] However, a leading conservation architect who represented Planning Sub-Committee and also prepared a number of building plans for the fort has an opposing view. According to him, the residents are affluent and capable of affording such services due to the lucrative tourism industry, despite "professionalism being expensive."[717] Although this is partly true in the current context, there are a number of resident families who do not engage in tourist-oriented businesses. In fact, half of the interviewed residents (15 out of 33) did not engage in such businesses (2016).

Upon the introduction of the Special Regulations (Planning and Building) 2009, a few pioneering conservation architects dominated the field (private consultation); these individuals also represented the Planning Sub-Committee. This created the impression in the community that the building plans prepared by them would be approved by the committee. On one occasion, a local resident questioned the ethics of having such architects in the committee and, as a result, one of the architects opted for private practice.[718] Thus, one local resident has ironically stated that "the architects realized private consultation is more profitable than sitting for the committee."[719] According to a Galle-based heritage officer, these renowned conservation architects no longer dominate the field. The heritage officers realized the disadvantages of this strategy and encouraged local residents to retain the services of other architects they recommended, and who charge relatively less compared to the more reputed architects.[720] It can be observed that the majority of local residents prefer the architects who charge comparatively less. In contrast, the elites usually retain the services of more reputed architects and architectural firms.

In practice, the Planning Sub-Committee discusses the submitted building plans with the applicants and their architects, and usually recommend making changes in order to adhere to building regulations, which sometimes requires amendments in the plan. Thus, the applicant has to pay again, which is financially unmanageable for some residents. In January 2018, a resident explained her financial difficulties to the DOA officer responsible for developments with regard to amending the plan she submitted:[721] "I need more money get the signatures of Chartered Architect, Structural Engineer and the Technical Engineer after the proposed amendments. I am unable to afford any more, and I feel I should sell my house."[722] Thus, obtaining approval for their plans was delayed until they submitted the proposed amendments. In contrast, the investors, both local and foreign, are capable of finalizing such amendments quickly, creating the impression that they are treated better than ordinary locals in the development procedure.

According to architect Mahesh Arunadeva, although some of the heritage institutions employ their own architects, none of these institutions has seriously considered providing their services to the community at a reasonable price, as well as free for the poor.[723] A number of residents stated that such a service would be a relief to them.[724] In 2017, the DOA prepared free building plans for three families with lower incomes. Ms Zubair, a fort resident who received the service, said, "I told the [Department of] Archaeology that I am unable to afford this." In 2017, the Director General of Archaeology stated there would be such a service under the Galle Heritage Foundation in the future, as proposed by the new "Integrated Management System 2015."[725] This is an initiative under of the proposed Conservation Assistance Fund (Mandawala 2015).

716 Interview, 14 February 2016.
717 Interview with a leading conservation architect, 12 February 2015.
718 Interview with Mr Fowzie, 16 February 2016.
719 Ibid.
720 Interview with a Galle-based heritage officer, 8 March 2016.
721 Observations at the Regional Archaeology Office (south), Galle Fort with the consent of the officer responsible, 25 January 2017.
722 Ibid.
723 Interview, 14 February 2016.
724 Interviews with residents Mr Hussain, 16 February 2016, and Mr Gunasekere, 7 January 2016.
725 Interview with Director General of Archaeology, 12 September 2017.

7.2.2 DELAYS IN THE PROCESS AND PARTIAL DECISIONS

Delays in the building development procedure are generally criticized by the community. In 2016, a major criticism of applicants was the absence of the Department of Archaeology's representative at the Planning Sub-Committee, who has to come to Galle from Colombo and whose consent is essential to the committee.[726] This usually delays the processing of the plans by one month, as the committee meets monthly. The other members of Planning Sub-Committee are based in Galle.[727] However, this has since improved (March 2019). In addition, the lack of participation of the heads of these institutions (which are also based in Colombo) in the Planning Sub-Committee also delays decisions on critical issues for which their presence is an essential, according to heritage officers.[728]

Although some members of the committee agree with this first criticism, they state that there are also reasons for delays on the part of the community. The absence of the architect/ applicant at committee meetings or the presence of a junior architect instead of the senior architect who planned the building, the land right disputes of the applicants and being late to submit the proposed amendments (as elaborated above) are common reasons.[729] Positively, the Planning Sub-Committee considered the community's criticisms of the delays in the process, and started showing a genuine interest in clearing the plans more quickly by early 2019.[730]

Among the 33 individuals interviewed (2016) were nine residents who have applied for building developments. Five of the nine said that the process took more than six months, while two succeeded in less than six months; the rest were unable to succeed. Among them was one applicant whose plan was cleared within two months; he was, however, a "special and privileged" person.[731] Thus, a resident stated that the plans of ordinary people are not cleared,[732] while some claim that on unusual occasions, some plans clear very quickly.[733]

There is also the criticism that the UDA grants permission for certain developments without considering the decisions of the Planning Sub-Committee, and UDA's head office (Colombo) is said to be responsible for this.[734] This was also made known to the responsible ministry by the local community during a meeting in 2017.[735] Referring to the building approval for a foreign-invested venture, a heritage officer negatively stated that "it has bypassed the regular channel."[736]

7.2.3 REJECTION OF BUILDING APPLICATIONS

Although residents have managed to submit their building applications despite these difficulties, some could not succeed, which is another criticism of the system. The number of building permits granted by the municipality[737] is lower than the number that is preliminarily cleared by the UDA (upon the recommendation of the Planning Sub-Committee), despite there being a significant and positive increase in the community's following the proper channel over the last 15 years (Fig. 266). However, there are also a number of disappointed applicants.

726 Interviews with at least five residents who applied for building developments 2016; personal conversations with at least five residents in 2016; and personal conversations with three Galle-based heritage officers in 2016.

727 This includes the representatives of Galle District Office of UDA, DOA's Southern Regional Office, GMC and GHF.

728 Personal conversations with two Galle-based heritage officers in February and March 2016.

729 Interview with the responsible officer on 3 February 2016 and personal conversions in 2017.

730 My personal observations of the Planning Sub-Committee meeting in 30 November 2018 and personal conversations with a few Planning Sub-Committee members in January 2019.

731 Person will not be mentioned in order to respect their privacy.

732 Identified as the general impression of ordinary residents in day-today conversations; interview with resident and businessmen Mr Vidanage, 10 November 2015.

733 Day-to-day personal conversations with residents in 2015 and 2017; interview with businessman Mr Lafir, 18 December 2016.

734 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, March 2016.

735 Letter from the Additional Secretary (Development and Planning), Ministry of Education to Director General of Archaeology and Director General of the Central Cultural Fund on "Facts Discussed at the Meeting to Obtain Community Ideas on the Proposed Action Plan Formulated According to the Management Plan of the World Heritage City of Galle Fort," March 2017.

736 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, December 2016.

737 Since 2017, the UDA resumed issuing building permits.

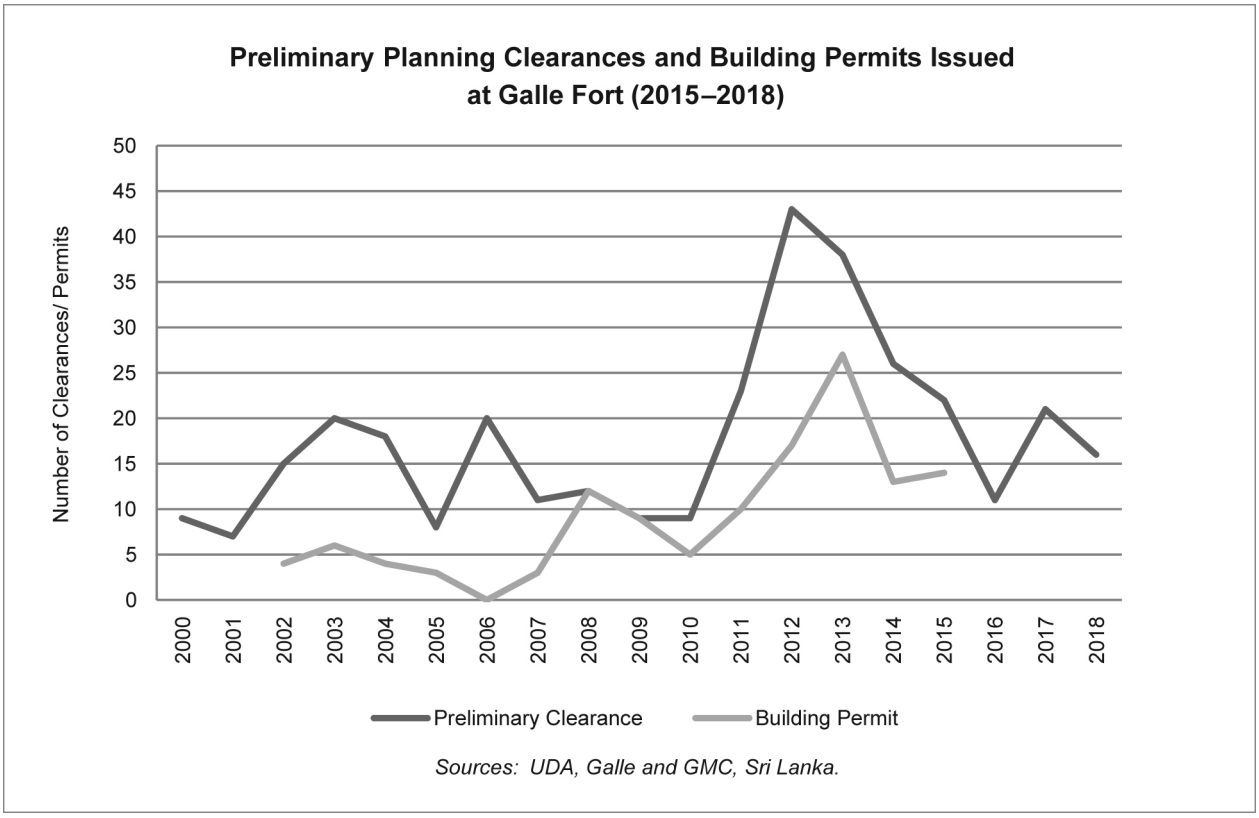


Fig. 266 Number of preliminary clearances and building permits granted at Galle Fort, 2000 to 2018.[738]

According to the DOA officer responsible for developments (2016), there are several reasons to reject an application, including it being incompatible with building regulations (especially violations of streetscape characteristics), not having a clear deed for the property and proposing a development for land of less than one perch.[739] The UDA's general Planning and Building Regulations (1986) stipulate that lands of less than 6 perch cannot be developed.[740] According to architect Ashley De Vos, a heritage policy maker, the law has to be strictly followed, otherwise it might incentivize residents to subdivide properties into small blocks due to the high land value, which could result in the degradation of the original colonial architecture of the building.[741] However, the majority of the fort's properties are less than 3 perches (as discussed in sub-chapter 6.3.4), and thus the rule at the fort is regarded as one perch in practice. However, the more powerless and economically disadvantaged residents of the community are the most significantly affected by the law, as illustrated in the following example, pointed out by a Galle-based heritage officer.[742]

738 Since 2017, the UDA resumed issuing building permits, which had previously been the responsibility of GMC. However, the applications already submitted to GMC were processed in 2017 and 2018, resulting in both the UDA and GMC issuing building permits. While GMC's data from 2016–2018 could not be retrieved, the UDA issued three and six building permits in 2017 and 2018, respectively.

739 Interview, 3 February 2016.

740 Amendment of regulation 61 of the Urban Development Authority Planning and Building Regulations, 1986 by Extraordinary Gazette No 1957/8, 17 April 2009: "61 A. The provisions of regulation 61 shall apply to all premises within any local authority area, declared as Urban Development area under the Law. Provided that the above provisions shall not apply in respect of premises falling within any local authority area, where the size of the premises is less than 6 perches (150m^2)."

741 Letter from architect Ashley De Vos to the Director (Architectural Conservation), Department of Archaeology on "Houses on Land Extents of Less than Five Perches," 27 July 2015.

742 Interview with the responsible officer on 3 February 2016.

The Law over the Powerless

Ms Latheef is a Samurdhi[743] beneficiary of lower income who lived in a small house with modest living conditions. In late 2013, she wrote the DOA's Regional Assistant Director of Regional Archaeology Office (South) at the fort, requesting permission to renovate the house with a plan prepared by a draughtsman instead of a Chartered Architect, as they were unable to afford that service.[744] Furthermore, she mentioned that they are also unable to keep 6 feet of rear space, according to the UDA regulations, as the land is less than one perch, and thus it substantially reduces the space of the house.[745] Subsequently, there was a joint site observation by the partner heritage institutions.[746]

The next year, she again wrote the Regional Assistant Director of Regional Archaeology Office (South) at the fort, as no progress had been made in the matter:

"Nine members of our big family live in a small house at the above-mentioned address. We wrote to all the relevant institutions, including Galle Heritage Foundation, to obtain permission to build a new house. Although this matter was discussed occasionally, we have not yet been given a satisfactory solution … We feel all privileges in Galle Fort are only for the rich …

"We humbly request you to grant permission to approve our plan, which allows us to live in a modest way instead of living in this dilapidated timber house, which even destroys the beauty of Galle Fort.

"So, we humbly request you to simplify the heritage laws of Galle Fort for the poor like us."[747]

The family members often met with the relevant heritage officers regarding the matter,[748] while they participated in Planning Sub-Committee meetings for six years without reaching a satisfactory solution.[749] The DOA and GHF officers urged that the matter should be looked in a sympathetic way; however, the UDA officer could not proceed, as the applicant did not have a deed to the particular property.[750] The house was built on land owned by a mosque, which later distributed it among a few lower-income families. The family had lived there for 60 years.[751] Although the mosque agreed to the development of the house and provided them with a letter of consent, the UDA required a clear deed to process the building development application according to the formal procedure.[752] Besides, the family could not afford a Chartered Architect. Consequently, the respective officers made a joint effort to provide a free plan by a Chartered Architect for the family. As a result, the matter, along with the requests of several other such cases, were discussed at the UDA head office, Colombo during a meeting on amending building regulations in late 2015.[753] It was suggested that they provide free "combined building plans" (two or three subdivided small houses sharing the same façade characteristics) to a few lower-income families; Ms Lateef's family was among them.[754] Somehow, the family did not receive the plan until January 2019, while others succeeded earlier.[755]

The family feels that some heritage officers are unable to understand the requirements of the poor, despite others being very helpful.[756] According to architect Mahesh Arunadeva, the officers have to find ways to fulfil the requirements of the residents within the restrictions, rather than simply saying no.[757]

743 Samurdhi is a major social assistance programme implemented by the Sri Lankan government in 1995 to alleviate poverty.

744 A letter from Ms Lateef to the Southern Provincial Assistant Director of Archaeology (no subject), 1 December 2013.

745 Ibid.

746 This was conducted as per the request of the Chairman of Galle Heritage Foundation (personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, December 2016).

747 A letter from Ms Latheef to the Reginal Deputy Director, Regional Archaeology Fort (no subject), 18 September 2014.

748 Personal conversation with a family member, November 2015.

749 Ibid.

750 Observations and personal conversations with the officers responsible at the UDA, GHF and the DOA in 2015 and 2016.

751 Personal conversation with a family member, November 2015.

752 Ibid.; personal conversations with the officer responsible at the UDA, December 2016.

753 Letter from the Regional Assistant Director (South), Regional Archaeology Office, Galle Fort to the Chairman, Galle Heritage Foundation on "Preparation of Building Plans through Institutional Intervention," 3 August 2016.

754 Ibid.; personal conversations with the officer responsible at the DOA, December 2018.

755 Personal conversation with family members in January 2019.

756 Personal conversations with family members on various occasions from 2015 to 2018.

757 Interview, 14 February 2016.

7.3 "ILLEGAL" BUILDING ACTIVITIES: "NOCTURNAL ARCHITECTURE"

Here I discuss what constitutes "illegal" building activities, the reasons for "illegal developments" and why they continue to take place in the historic centre. "illegal activities" have been identified as a continuing major threat affecting property by both the World Heritage Committee (2008–2018) and local authorities.[758] Although they are deemed "illegal," some of them are simply requirements of the community, despite not being properly facilitated by the heritage laws. Thus, it is questionable to call them illegal; therefore, the term "illegal" with inverted commas is used in this study, depending on the context.

7.3.1 WHAT IS AN ILLEGAL BUILDING ACTIVITY?

In a legal context, building activities that breach the heritage laws applicable to Galle Fort (discussed in chapter 4) are identified as illegal building activities. While breaching the UDA's Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009, results in an "illegal development," breaching DOA's Antiquities Ordinance and related laws may lead to both "illegal development" as well as the "destruction of antiquities." Some of the major illegal building activities are discussed here, according to the respective laws.

Breaches of the Special Regulations (Planning and Building) 2009

1. Any development without a development permit

It can be observed that although minor and partial developments still continue illegally the development of a whole building is usually undertaken with a building permit.

2. Any development outside the approved building plan

It is very common in Galle Fort to carry out developments beyond the scope of the building permit. Some of these additions have been identified through the inspections of ongoing developments by the officials of the Planning Sub-Committee. In February 2016, the management of a foreign-invested high-end boutique hotel was recommended to remove the developments that had been undertaken outside the approved building plan.[759]

The residents state that only the rich can afford such expensive changes when they are not in accordance with the standards of the Planning Sub-Committee.[760] In contrast, the heritage officials allege that some deliberately do whatever they wish after obtaining the building permit.[761] Yet this becomes an issue when obtaining the final clearance or Certificate of Conformity (COC).[762] In 2016, a local family who developed a guesthouse had such an issue.[763] As a solution, some of these additions are done after obtaining the COC. The addition of a swimming pool in a villa in the historic centre is one such example.[764]

3. Unauthorized change of use (functional change)

This is common in the fort, including the "springing up" of the commercial places over the weekend. In 2014, part of a building in Light House Street was converted into a jewellery shop illegally, and the owner later agreed to legalize the building according to the building regulations.[765]

4. Buildings exceeding two floors and 10 metres

This can be identified as the most common

758 Cited as a factor affecting property in the years 2008 (WHC 2008, 94), 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016 and 2018 (UNESCO). Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/683 (accessed 25 July 2018); data from the year 2015 courtesy of the "Integrated Management System 2015" (Mandawala 2015, 44).

759 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

760 Interviews and personal conversations with residents from 2016 to 2017.

761 Interviews and personal conversations with Galle-based heritage officers from 2016 to 2017.

762 Interview with architect Prof. Samitha Manawadu, 22 December 2015.

763 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, December 2016.

764 Observation of a meeting with the new owner of the property and the DOA officer responsible with the consent of the officer, Regional Archaeology Office (South) Galle Fort, January 2017.

765 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

illegal development activity; examples are provided in sub-chapter 5.4 and 7.5.1. In addition, controversies over the law are elaborated in sub-chapter 7.5.1. However, two floors and a hidden attic are permitted within 10 metres in some cases.

5. Changing existing verandahs without permission

This mainly refers to the converting verandahs into shops; examples are provided in sub-chapter 5.3.1.

6. Addition of swimming pools, garages and boundary walls

While the first is discussed in sub-chapters 5.4.6 and 7.5.4 the latter is discussed in sub-chapter 7.1.5.

7. Using colours, roof materials or floor materials not permitted by the law

In general, colour code and roof materials are the most followed guidelines, as analyzed in sub-chapters 5.3.2 and 5.3.3.

Breaches of the Antiquities Ordinance and Ceylon Government Gazette (14959) 1971

1. Any unauthorized development

This also comes under the first category of the above.

2. Destruction of antiquities

Demolition of parts of or complete colonial buildings leads to the "destruction of antiquities." A foreign investor who leased a house on Pedlar Street submitted a building development application to change the façade as well as to change the use from residential to commercial.[766] In October 2015, the Planning Sub-Committee refused the application, stating that the building is one of the unique houses in the fort representing Dutch colonial architecture with a central courtyard.[767] The foreign lessee demolished part of the verandah in January 2017 and rebuilt the façade. Therefore, he was charged with both "destruction of antiquities" as well as "illegal development."[768]

3. Unauthorized excavation

An example of unauthorized excavation is discussed in sub-chapter 7.5.3.

4. Minor building changes without permission

Although minor unauthorized building changes are very common in Galle Fort, there are a large number of residents who seek the permission of the DOA regarding this.[769] In November 2015, I observed "unauthorized" changes in the floor of a foreign-owned property in the historic centre. According to the construction supervisor of the local company who handled the task, the existing cement floor easily became damp. Apparently, the owner preferred a tiled floor, which is not allowed (though permitted in certain places).

In general, "illegal developments" are the most common illegal building activity, according to the cases recorded by the Regional Archaeology Office (South) at the fort; this also illustrates the conflicting development interests of the community (Fig. 267). While the number of unrecorded "illegal" building activities is far higher than that, some are indeed recorded by the UDA. In addition, some cases are handled by the Special Police Unit for the Prevention of Destruction and Theft of Antiquities (Galle Division), an entity affiliated with the DOA in collaboration with the Police Department.

7.3.2 THE REASONS: IDEAS OF RESIDENTS AND HERITAGE OFFICERS

In general, the residents were reluctant to speak about "illegal" developments during interviews, as a number of them had already carried out such activities. Twenty one out of the 33 (21%) residents interviewed cited some reasons for "illegal" development, namely "required development contradicts with the law" (7) followed by "expenses and the delay in the process" (5). The others included "weaknesses in heritage laws" (2), "need modern living standards" (2), "economic benefits" (2), "being unsuccessful in obtaining the approval" (1), "competition" (1) and "carelessness" (1).

766 Letter from an officer to the Regional Assistant Director, Regional Archeology Office, Galle Fort on "Illegal Development at [address will not be mentioned]," 10 February 2016.

767 Ibid.

768 Ibid.

769 Personal conversations with residents and observations at the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort from 2016 to 2017.

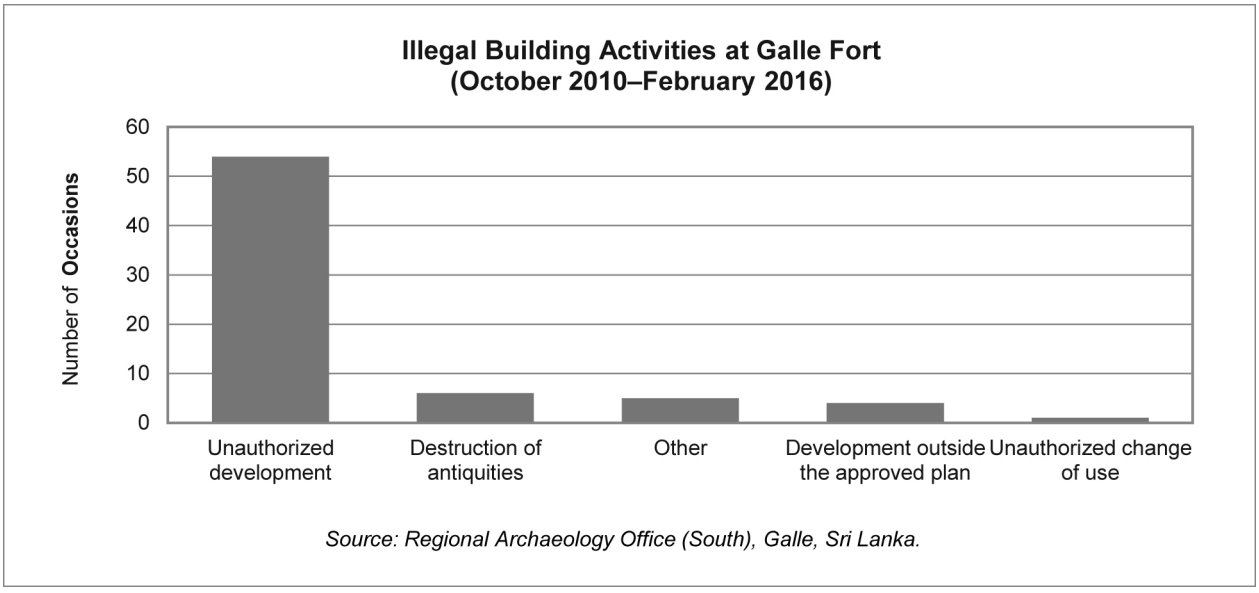


Fig. 267 Types of illegal building activities recorded by the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

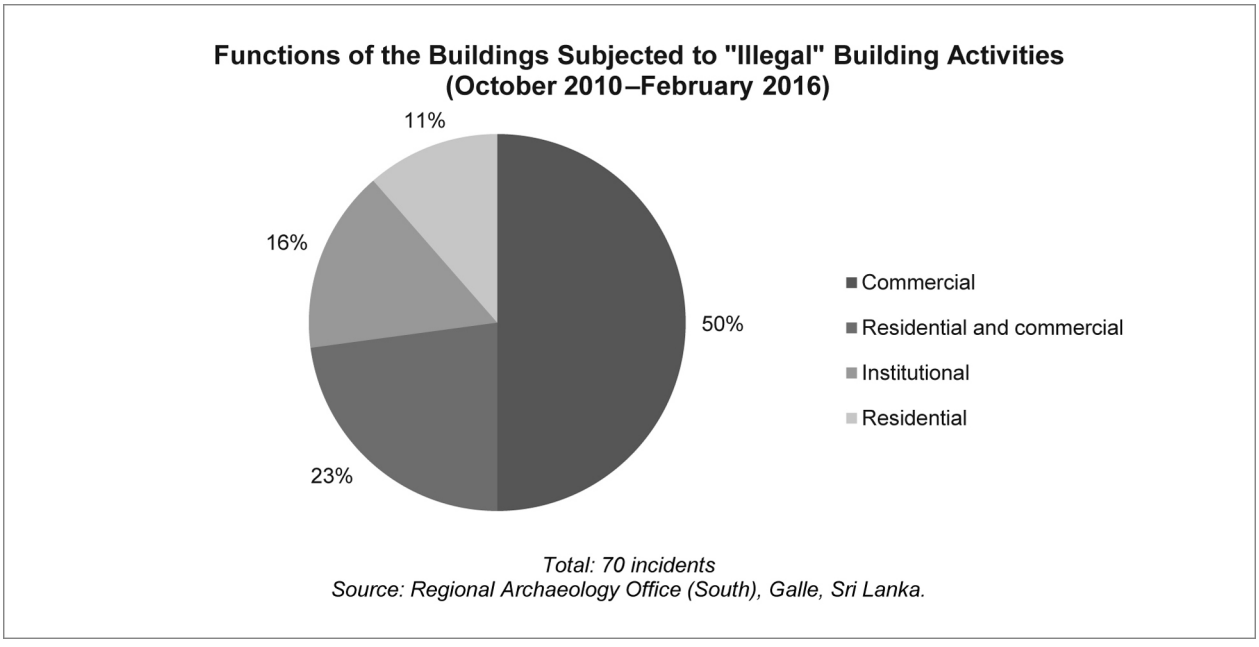


Fig. 268 Purposes of "illegal" building activities.

Some of the residents frankly mentioned their "illegal" developments; among them was a resident who had totally renovated his house, with the addition of a second floor, without permission.[770] However,

770 In this case, none of his neighbours complained about him to the heritage officers. While he is on good terms with all of his neighbours, the house owner also believes the major reason for not complaining was that the development was only carried out for residential purposes. As mentioned in the next sub-chapter, the residents usually tip off the heritage authorities when a development is carried out for commercial purposes (interview with a resident, 28 January 2016).

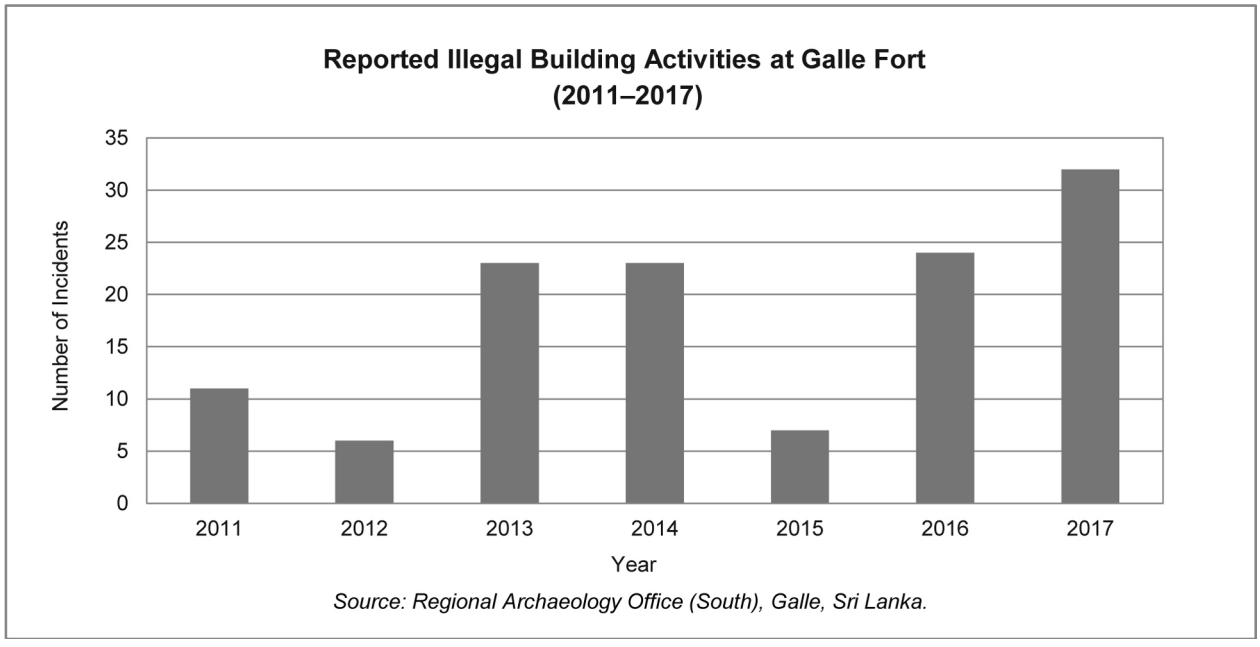


Fig. 269 Major illegal building activities recorded (2011–2017).

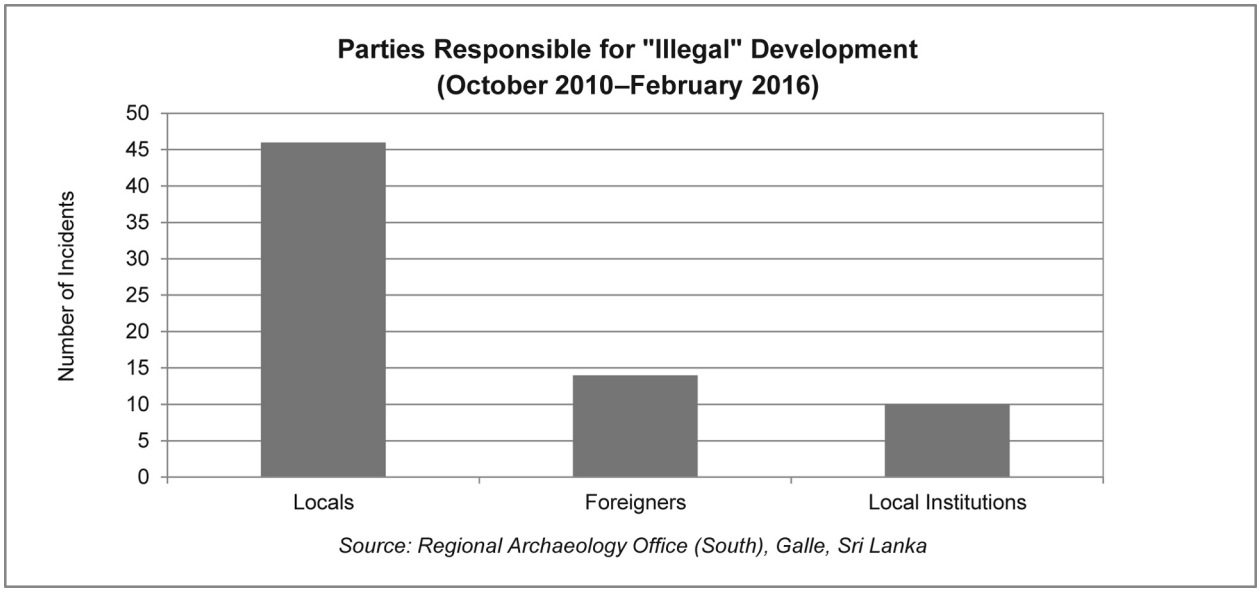


Fig. 270 Parties responsible for illegal developments.

he wanted to give an "antique" finish to the house to conceal its "unauthorized" development. Thus, he used arch-shaped doors and windows that were thrice as expensive as normal ones. None of his neighbours complained about him to the heritage authorities due to the community feeling in the neighbourhood. He feels that ordinary residents should also be allowed to develop houses as they wish, just like the rich and the politically powerful are able to.[771]

However, the residents were more open in day-to-day conversation, where the majority asserted

771 Ibid.

that the heritage laws are too strict.[772] According to Mr Warnasuriya, "I don't like when we are too much restricted in anything, especially in developing our houses; more restrictions lead to more illegal developments."[773] Architect Mahesh Arunadeva also supports this idea: "when the law is not practical, people opt for illegal developments."[774] A heritage officer sees another disadvantage: "when there are more restrictions, people sell houses and the investors buy."[775] A number of disappointed residents have the same idea.[776] However, the DOA officer responsible for developments has a different view (2016). According to the officer, the main reasons for illegal development are a lack of vigilance by the heritage authorities, insufficient fines for illegal developments and the commercial interests of the community, which do not coincide with preservation goals.[777]

The (major) "illegal" building activities recorded by the Regional Archaeology Office (South) supports this idea, as they have been carried out primarily for commercial purposes (50%), while residential purposes are the least common reason (Fig. 268). Although the DOA's Regional Assistant Director (South) claims businessmen "who moved to the fort with the aim of achieving business profit," are mostly responsible for this, observations show that the residents, who have the same business interests, have contributed equally to the issue.[778]

Nearly 60% of the interviewed residents (19 out of 33) stated that they see "illegal" developments in their neighbourhoods, while 11 mentioned there are no such activities, as more residents follow the legal procedure. In fact, there is a higher likelihood of obtaining building permits now, and full-scale development is rarely carried out without a permit. Half of the interviewed residents think that "illegal" developments are increasing, while one-third think they are not. The (major) cases reported to the Regional Archaeology Office, Fort demonstrate that "illegal" building activities are increasing (Fig. 269). However, these are either partial or minor developments or developments outside a permit.

Generally, "illegal" building activities are common to all groups: the residents (ordinary residents, professionals, elites), the business community (local and foreign investors, from small- to large-scale), expats and public and private institutions.[779] While 68% of the above activities were carried out by the locals, foreigners (with 16% total property ownership) are responsible for 20% (Fig. 270). The rest were undertaken mainly by institutions.

Ironically, Galle Heritage Foundation, the very institute established to preserve the fort's heritage, has also carried out three unauthorized building activities so far.[780] However, these were either removed, stopped or changed to proceed according to the recommendations of the Planning Sub-Committee.[781]

7.3.3 ANOTHER DIMENSION OF "NOCTURNAL ARCHITECTURE"

The exponential commercial value of space in Galle Fort has adversely contributed to efforts to increase the space in "illegal" ways. Architect Mahesh Arunadeva expresses the situation as "the one who has more rooms is the winner."[782] It was observed that this situation also creates jealousy as well as conflicts among neighbours, as violation of the rules negatively affects neighbouring properties that share common walls. Therefore, it is also common among neighbours (both locals and foreigners) to tip off heritage officials about "illegal" developments, especially when they are carried out for commercial purposes. However, residential purposes that are not profitable form an exception.

The Head of the Regional Archaeology Office received a letter from "neighbours" in February 2016 mentioning the addition of a floor to a particular house.[783] A resident who visited the DOA office

772 Personal conversations with residents, 2016.
773 Personal conversation, February 2016.
774 Interview, 14 February 2016.
775 Personal conversation with an official affiliated with the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort, January 2017.
776 Personal conversations with residents, 2016□2018.
777 Interview, 3 February 2016 and personal conversations in 2015, 2016 and 2017.
778 Interview, 2 February 2016; observations made from 2015 to 2018. Documents on illegal developments from the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort indicate that number of residents have carried out "illegal" developments.
779 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.
780 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.
781 Ibid.
782 Interview, 14 February 2016.
783 An undated latter from "neighbouring residents" to the Commissioner, Regional Archaeology Office, Southern Province, Galle (no subject), received 9 February 2016.

in December 2016 informed them that one of his neighbours had been engaging in illegal construction since the previous night.[784] A heritage officer responsible for developments personally received several telephone calls during the permitted (but controversial) construction of a third floor in one of the boutique hotels.[785] In contrast, almost all of the interviewed residents said they were "unlikely" to tip off heritage officers. This situation has also created distrust among neighbours and threatens the neighbourly atmosphere.[786]

Against this background, the sudden visits of heritage officers during "illegal" developments are also common. In addition, the Regional Archaeology Office has also employed a guard to monitor the fort daily. Therefore, the majority of these activities are carried out at night and on weekends and public holidays. Thus, Mr Fowzie identified these constructions as "nocturnal and weekend architecture."[787] Generally, it is expected that the work will be finished before the heritage officers can interfere, as it is possible to pay the fine later on; this is relatively small and discussed in the next sub-chapter.

In January 2016, a resident stated that his foreign neighbour boarded up façade and illegally changed it within one day.[788] In September 2017, a resident wished to inform the Archaeology Office that his (local) neighbour had turned part of the house into a commercial site over the weekend without permission.[789] In February 2016, the DOA's Regional Assistant Director (South) stated, "It is difficult for us to control these, as some are done within one night; besides, we don't have enough staff to monitor the whole fort. Sometimes there is only the wet plaster the following morning to indicate that an illegal development has been carried out."[790]

The sudden visits by DOA's officials during such activities is highly criticized by the community, who state that "heritage officers play the role of the police." In fact, sometimes the DOA accompanies police (Special Police Unit of Prevention of Destruction and Theft of Antiquities, Fort**)** when they are not allowed to enter the private properties that are developed "illegally." Some residents complain that their privacy is violated by these visits.[791] According to Ms Musthapa, DOA officers suddenly came when they were repairing an almirah, which had mistakenly been reported as an "illegal" construction by a neighbour.

According to residents, carrying out an "illegal" development is also a difficult task. A resident who renovated her kitchen "illegally" during the night stated that she had to spend more for construction workers to work at night.[792] However, she had to do it, as processing a building permit is more expensive. A house owner who added two more floors "illegally" mentioned they could not build the house as they had expected, since the construction had to be finished as fast as it could.[793] "Illegal developers" also face difficulties in finding construction workers who are willing to carry out "illegal" construction, as most of them are reluctant to work without a building permit nowadays.[794]

7.4 REDUCING "ILLEGAL" DEVELOPMENTS: IDEAS OF HERITAGE OFFICERS

This sub-chapter discusses how far the steps taken by heritage institutions to reduce "illegal" building activities have succeeded.

7.4.1 THE CONVENTIONAL METHOD

The Department of Archaeology took action against 70 illegal building activities reported to the Regional Archaeological Office (South), Galle Fort from October 2010 to February 2016.[795] 51 police

784 Personal conversation with the resident, December 2016.
785 Personal conversations with the heritage officer, January 2016.
786 Personal conversations with residents from 2016 to 2017 and observations.
787 Interview, 16 February 2016.
788 Personal conversation with Mr Fonseka, 27 January 2016. Consequently, a police investigation was launched against the owner by the DOA in February 2016.
789 Personal conversations with a resident, 9 September 2017.
790 Interview, dated 2 February 2016.
791 Interview with Ms Musthapa, March 2016.
792 Interview with a resident, 17 February 2016.
793 Personal conversation with a resident, March 2016.
794 Personal conversations with at least five residents in 2016.
795 Documents related to illegal developments from the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

investigations were launched during this period, followed by 28 court cases.[796] 21 cases had taken place by the beginning of 2016, with the defendants pleading guilty and subsequently paying the fine.[797] The majority were fined 50,000 LKR, the lowest amount according to the Antiquities Ordinance. In addition, 11 unauthorized constructions were removed before a case was filed, mostly following negotiations.[798]

By 2016, the DOA's officers were disappointed with the provisions of Antiquities Ordinance, as the "illegal" constructions remain even after the fine, due to the law's inability to issue demolition orders or require the owners to reverse the changes.

An Anecdote

A resident owned a single-storey house that did not feature any colonial architecture at the time of heritage recognition.[799] Later on, the house owners started a B&B by "illegally" adding two floors to the house. The Head of the Regional Archaeology Office (South) at the fort notified the owner to cease construction several times in mid-2013, yet the owner continued. The Department of Archaeology filed a case against the owner for "illegal development" based on the following wrongdoings:[800]

i. development without a building permit;
ii. violation of height restrictions (having a third floor);
iii. violation of streetscape characteristics by changing the façade; and
iv. not having proper ventilation.

According to a family member, they carried out the development without permission as "it was difficult within the legal procedure," or rather not allowed when proceeding through the proper channels.[801] The family thinks that heritage laws should be formulated to support the residents' gaining the benefit of the numerous tourism opportunities at the fort.[802] According to their neighbours, the business improved the family finances significantly.[803]

The case finished in October 2013, with the defendant pleading guilty and receiving a fine of 50,000 LKR. However, the development still remains. Therefore, the DOA officer who handled the case is totally disappointed with the law (2016): "The house owner showed us that they can do whatever they wish. It seemed he wanted us to file a case as soon as possible and then pay the fine. Only the poor who cannot pay 50,000 LKR listen to us."[804]

At the end of 2017, the Urban Development Authority also notified the owner to remove his "illegal" third floor; he was one of 36 building owners in the fort to have such an "illegal" floor. In fact, the UDA also filed court cases against "illegal" building activities, and thus some individuals have been charged with the same offence by both the UDA and DOA.

Mr Manamperi, a lawyer and a fort resident, has appeared in nearly ten cases on "unauthorized" developments at the fort, and pleaded guilty at the Galle Magistrate's Court, located within the fort.[805] His clients, who are mostly residents, were fined but their illegal developments still remain. The lawyer pointed out a three-storey house, belonging to another homestay provider, in close proximity to his office: "I appeared for that case too!"[806]

Thus, there is the impression among the community that "illegal" development has no serious legal impact, as it is possible to keep the new construction even after paying the fine. Further, the fine is relatively low compared to the profits of the lucrative tourism businesses at the fort. The DOA's Regional Assistant Director (South) states, "Some people blame us for encouraging illegal developments deliberately, but it happens due to the limitations of the law [and is not our fault]."[807]

796 Ibid.
797 Ibid.
798 Ibid.
799 According to the survey of Kuruppu and Wijesuriya (1992), who recorded the house, the façade did not have any colonial features in 1992. However, the page number will not be mentioned and no image will be provided to respect the owner's privacy.
800 Personal conversation with the heritage officer responsible at the DOA, Galle who handled the matter, November 2015.
801 Personal conversation with a family member, February 2016.
802 Personal conversation with a family member, February 2016.
803 Personal conversations with neighbours, February 2016 and observations in 2015–2018.
804 Personal conversation with the heritage officer responsible at the DOA, Galle, November 2015.
805 Interview, 31 December 2015.
806 Ibid.; Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort. This third floor is not visible from the façade (observations, 2015).
807 Interview, 2 February 2016.

Officers from both the DOA and GHF assume that the UDA and GMC's inability to grant demolition orders is one of the main reasons for the increase in "illegal" developments.[808]

However, heritage officers and professionals, including the Director General of Archaeology, and practising architects at the fort think that the condition is better now than previously, as many now follow the proper channels (Fig. 266).[809] It was observed that the number of buildings (especially tourism-oriented ones) developed according to heritage laws have increased over the past three years, and were beautifully planned by architects in a tropical-modernist style (discussed in sub-chapter 5.5.2). Even the local residents who were capable of investing developed their houses and invested in tourism businesses. This, together with the prompt legal action taken against illegal developments, has resulted in the gradual decline of "illegal" large-scale developments, despite the increasing partial and minor developments.

However, the DOA's officials, including its lawyers, have put more weight on increasing punishments as a solution for reducing illegal developments. Meanwhile, some of the DOA officials feel that the DOA lawyers who handle the cases at Galle Fort should try to convince the judges to give the maximum fine, which is a half-million LKR.[810] Up to now, the maximum fine given to an offender has been 0.4 million LKR (2018), followed by 0.2 million LKR (2012), one time each.[811]

Amending the Antiquities Ordinance to empower the DOA to rectify inappropriate changes made to the historic buildings was a main interest of the new "Integrated Management System 2015." In 2017, the DOA proposed amendments to increase the fines to a maximum and minimum of 2.5 and 0.5 million LKR, respectively (the proposal was mainly due to the increase of treasure-hunting in the country).[812] Furthermore, requiring the owners to restore the monument to its former appearance is also included in these proposals.[813] However, the challenge in this regard is the lack of proper, detailed documentation of buildings; as pointed out by the Project Planning Officer of GHF, "It is not clear how the court can identify exactly which part was added illegally; besides, we have not even graded our monuments."[814]

7.4.2 THE CURRENT TREND: NEGOTIATION AND FREQUENT MONITORING

Galle-based officers of the Department of Archaeology who have realized the limitations of the Antiquities Ordinance in addressing the matter have devised a clever way to deal with "illegal developers," based on negotiations since 2016.[815] Since the end of 2017, the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Fort started giving one-month grace periods to "illegal developers" in order to provide an opportunity for them to apply for a development plan, while the "illegal developer" was convinced of the benefits of proper development. The case was tried after one month, only if the "illegal developer" did not comply. According to the DOA officer responsible, this was successful, as a number of illegal developers decided to apply for building development permits, while some willingly removed the "unauthorized" additions.[816]

An Anecdote [817]

A professional who owned a property in the historic centre is one such person who decided to apply for a development permit after negotiating with DOA.

808 Ibid.; Interview with the Project Planning Officer (GHF), 9 March 2016.

809 Interviews with the Director General of Archaeology, 26 April 2016; Regional Assistant Director (South), DOA, 2 February 2016; and architect Mahesh Arunadeva, 14 February 2016.

810 Personal conversations with Galle-based heritage officers, January 2018. There have been occasions when 25,000 (2013) and 10,000 LKR (2004 and 2011) were fined, which are relatively very low amounts (documents related to the illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South) Galle Fort). According to an officer, "Giving the minimum fine is almost like saying we support illegal developers." However, one of the lawyers responsible has a different view; as he points out, "Judges are reluctant to go for the maximum fine" (personal conversations in January 2018).

811 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

812 The proposals originally appeared at the end of 2013 (personal conversation with two legal officers of the DOA, January 2018).

813 Ibid.

814 Interview, 9 March 2016.

815 Personal conversation with officer responsible, January 2018; observations from September 2015 to January 2018.

816 Personal conversation with the consent of the officer responsible at the DOA, Galle, January 25, 2018.

817 Observations at the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort with the consent of the responsible officer, 25 January 2018.

Although the owner submitted a development plan with the removal of the "illegally" added portion, the Planning Sub-Committee proposed opening the closed verandah. The DOA officer also encouraged it; "this will increase the heritage value and thereby the commercial value of your house." The owner was having financial issues with repaying the architect: "I've already spent a lot on the plan; fortunately the architect was a friend of mine. I am unable to spend more than that at this moment." At this juncture, the officer suggested the possibility of approving the plan under the condition that the owner open the closed verandah later on, provided that the owner gives a letter of consent. The owner agreed, yet the high cost of Chartered Architect services is a main constraint, even in this matter.

Regular Site Monitoring

In 2018, the DOA's Regional Office at the fort initiated a programme to monitor the fort on the weekends—as most of the "illegal" developments were carried out over the weekend—along with the regular monitoring on weekdays. Thus, a guard made a site visit every Saturday while an officer was on duty.[818] According to one of the officers responsible, this initiative was highly successful, despite working weekends being a burden to the officers. However, the external pressure on officers had increased by January 2019, causing disappointment to the officers.[819]

7.5 IS THE LAW EQUAL TO ALL? THE NEGATIVE ASPECT

"*The fort is a place where long-time residents face the maximum injustice*" — Ms Musthapa, a resident and a retired educationalist [820]

The new property owners of the fort—international hotel chains, foreign companies, renowned local companies, the country's renowned entrepreneurs, sports figures, members of political families, etc.—are powerful, both economically and "politically," in the local sense. Between 2015 and 2018, ordinary residents expressed the criticism that these people are treated better than them with respect to the building development procedure.[821] This is further discussed here, while providing examples that support this assumption.

The Local Community's Response

In 2016, the President of the Senior Citizen's Committee of Galle Fort drafted a letter to the Director General of Archaeology, addressing this matter.[822] Since the law is implemented by the officers, the "officers" involved in the development procedure were criticized more than the "institutions" with which they were affiliated. A local resident stated, "I am not happy with the way that the officers treat people; one group is treated as VIPs, while the rest are ordinary."[823] A key heritage officer who handled developments was heavily criticized by the local community for the same issue.[824] Interestingly, a heritage officer confirms, "Some of our officers try to show their bureaucratic power over the powerless, while the powerful are treated better."[825] The differing treatment has also contributed to some residents appreciating certain heritage officers.[826]

7.5.1 THE HEIGHT RESTRICTIONS: INVESTORS VS. RESIDENTS

According to Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009, the "height of any building within Galle Special Regulatory Area shall not exceed ten metres and only two floors are allowed" (Article 70.17a), which is strictly maintained by the Planning Sub-Committee. It was elaborated in sub-chapter 5.4 that there are also several occasions on which the Planning Sub-Committee has approved a third floor as a hidden attic within 10 metres. Both the DOA as

818 Personal conversations with an officer responsible, January 2019.
819 Personal conversations with an officer responsible, January 2019.
820 Interview, 2 March 2016.
821 In general, this was a common impression among ordinary residents, as discerned from day-to-day personal conversations and interviews from 2016 to 2018. As mentioned in subchapter 7.1.2, two-thirds (out of 33) of the local residents interviewed think "the law is not equal to all."
822 The letter prepared by the president of the Senior Citizen's Committee, who showed me the letter on 27 January 2016, reads: "The law should be equal to all to the ordinary people, as well as powerful local and foreign persons."
823 Personal conversation with a resident businessman, January 2018.
824 Personal conversations with over ten residents, 2016–2017.
825 Personal conversation with a heritage officer, 24 January 2018.
826 Personal conversations with over six residents, 2016–2017.

well as the UDA have filed cases against a number of residents for "illegal" third floors, which are mostly over 10 metres and are clearly visible from the façade. At the end of 2017, the UDA notified 36 residents to remove their "illegally" developed third floors, followed by filing cases against the owners who did not comply.

Controversially, a local company was permitted to develop a boutique hotel with a third floor, clearly visible from the façade, in the historic centre. The construction was heavily criticized by the community.[827] According to then Director General of Archaeology (2016), the DOA was not solely responsible for this decision, as it was a collective decision made by the Planning Sub-Committee, including the UDA, GMC and GHF.[828] According to a Galle-based officer, the third floor was built within the 10-metre limit;[829] this, however, is uncertain. The officer further stated that it was permitted as compensation for respecting the "archaeologically sensitive land," that the Planning Sub-Committee recommended keeping vacant.[830]

When the development was proposed, a GHF officer representing the Planning Sub-Committee recommended carry out an Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) prior to the developing the property, even according to procedure, indicating that the oldest Dutch cemetery was located on those grounds.[831] The cemetery was recorded on a map drawn by the Survey Department (Galle) in 1893, as pointed out by the AIA (2012).[832] In addition, a map by Johannes Vingboons (1665–1670; Fig. 8, chapter 1) showed a church on this land. An excavation conducted in line with the AIA in November 2012 revealed skeletal remains, and proved that the land was indeed the old Dutch cemetery (AIA 2012). Therefore, the AIA carried out by the DOA recommended identifying part of the land as a "highly sensitive area" (AIA 2012). Although some heritage officers proposed to conserve the cemetery with the financial assistance of the developer, somehow this did not proceed.[833]

Architect Prof. Samitha Manawadu, who represented the Planning Sub-Committee as the President of ICOMOS Sri Lanka when the project was initially proposed, mentioned that "the project was halted temporarily until the AIA was conducted; however, the developer can't go beyond two stories."[834] The local residents felt the decision to approve the building plan with a third floor was made under the influence of a high-ranking political authority.[835] Yet an officer who represented the Planning Sub-Committee thinks approving the plan was the fault of the committee, as it was prepared by an influential professional who also represented the Planning Sub-Committee. In fact, some of the Galle-based heritage officers are disappointed with the committee's decision.[836]

Against this background, some of the residents accused of "illegal third floors" by UDA allege that the UDA is partial to the powerful.[837] Adding to the controversy, some of the house owners with "illegal third floors" were not included in the UDA's list of cases to file.[838] When the relevant authorities were asked about this at the end of 2017, they responded that this was only the first list, and another list would also be produced.[839] Subsequently, some of the accused residents organized themselves and approached the political authority responsible for the matter.[840] According to one of them, they received

827 Personal conversation with over twenty residents, a foreign businessman and a few local businessmen in 2016–2017.
828 Interview with the Director General of Archeology, 26 April 2016.
829 Personal conversation with a Galle-based officer, January 2017.
830 Personal conversation with a Galle-based officer, January 2017.
831 Interview with the Project Planning Officer (GHF), 9 March 2016.
832 This archival map is available at the Galle district office of the Survey Department, Sri Lanka.
833 Personal conversations with a Galle-based heritage officer, January 2017.
834 Interview, 22 December 2015.
835 Personal conversations with over fifteen residents in 2016–2017. Not only the residents, but also an official affiliated with GMC had the same idea in 2016.
836 Interviews and personal conversations with at least five Galle-based heritage officers in 2016–2017.
837 Personal conversations with some of the residents, December 2017–January 2018.
838 Personal conversations with the residents, including the ones accused by heritage authorities (December 2017 –January 2018).
839 Personal conversations with officers responsible, December 2017.
840 Personal conversation with a community member who approached the political authority, 5 January 2018. However, this was an open secret at the fort at the end of 2017, and even known to the heritage officers.



Fig. 271 Permitted building with a third floor, during the construction of its second floor in 2016.



Fig. 272 The same building after the completion of the work in 2018.

a favourable answer.[841] Despite their positive expectations, the UDA proceeded, and nearly ten of them were charged by December 2017.[842]

In parallel to this effort, the chief monk of the fort's Buddhist temple wrote to the Director General of Archaeology in September 2017, indicating that taking legal action against the residents would motivate the few remaining residents to move out of the fort, thereby threatening the fort's "living heritage."[843] The letter was copied to a number of related institutions, including the Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO. Furthermore, the letter mentioned that some building owners are allowed to have third floors (Figs. 271&272), including the above-mentioned one and another boutique hotel, owned by a local, which I noticed also has a small fourth floor.[844] The building plan for the latter was permitted by the authorities in 2008, before the gazette notifying the Special Regulations in 2009.[845] However, the law went into effect in 2000, and third floors have been strictly banned since then.

7.5.2 DEMOLITIONS: INVESTORS VS ORDINARY BUSINESSMEN AND RESIDENTS

The Special Regulations (2009) do not allow for the demolition of buildings that have an "archaeological value."[846] In practice, this includes "colonial buildings," and thus the Planning Sub-Committee has recommended that a number of residents keep the "old [Dutch] walls" in their developments while also preserving the interior plan, which has somehow become a burden to the owners.[847] One resident has complained, "My sister has 20-inch thick walls in her house, which we were not allowed to demolish during the development"; this was observed during the development in 2017.[848] In contrast, a foreign company was allowed a total demolition of a British-period building to build a high-end boutique hotel, which, however, followed heritage regulations. According to a representative for the construction company, the interior plan remained the same despite the demolitions and new additions.[849] Although part of the old building was single-storeyed, two floors are allowed for the new one, depending on the streetscape.[850]

A resident of the historic centre was allowed to add a second floor to his house by the Planning Sub-Committee, although it was recommended that he keep the old walls on the ground floor and maintain a single-storey façade. In August 2017, the owner demolished the whole house except the façade with heavy machinery, by violating the recommendations[851] The DOA filed a case against the owner, who received the highest fine ever given, which was 0.4 million LKR.[852] The owner requested the Planning Sub-Committee to process the building plan approved earlier, as he had already been fined. At this juncture, the committee, headed by the UDA, decided that the final decision should be made by the DOA, as the owner had violated the Antiquities Ordinance.[853] The matter was forwarded to an advisory committee including a leading conservation architect, an academic in architecture and DOA officers.[854] The advisory committee decided that the owner should not be granted permission for any development, as a monument

841 Personal conversation with a community member who approached the political authority, 5 January 2018.

842 Personal conservations with residents and heritage officers, January 2018.

843 "The majority of the residents have left the fort due the high property value. Therefore, steps should at least be taken to keep the remaining few residents in the fort. The church, mosque and temple remain due to them. Therefore, residents should live in the fort to protect the fort's living heritage status." Letter from the Chief Incumbent of the Buddhist Temple, Galle Fort to the Director General of Archeology on "The Management Plan of the World Heritage Galle Fort," 22 September 2017. In general, Buddhist monks still have a strong voice in Sri Lanka. It was mentioned in the first chapter that Buddhism was given special recognition in the constitution.

844 Ibid.

845 Observations, 2018.

846 "Approval shall not be granted to demolish any buildings which have archeological value" (Article 70.8 (d), Special Regulations (Building and Planning), 2009).

847 Personal conversations with three residents in 2016. However, there was also a resident who was proud to have a huge wall inside his developed house that showed the age of the house.

848 Personal conversations, March 2016.

849 Interview, 15 December 2015.

850 Ibid. and observations. "Following the streetscape" means that two storeys are allowed if the neighbouring building/ buildings are also double-storeyed. In this case, one of the neighbouring building was two- storeyed, and the new building also followed the façade characteristics of that particular building.

851 Personal conversation with the heritage officer responsible, March 21, 2018. Photos of the house will not be provided here in order to respect the privacy of the owner.

852 Ibid.

853 Ibid.

854 Ibid.

cannot be reconstructed, leaving the owner only one option, which was to sell the property; this was also uncertain, as the land could not be developed.[855] The committee wanted this to be a lesson to future "illegal developers."[856]

Ms Bellucci is a European businesswoman who started a restaurant on a small residential street in 2017. As the space was not sufficient, she affixed a wooden plank to the wall without the permission of the heritage institutions.[857] Heritage officers who had been tipped off by one of their neighbours came and requested that she remove the wooden plank within three days; she was further informed that legal action would be taken against her unless she complied.[858] The official said she had damaged the old wall by nailing it in two places.[859] The owner removed the wooden plank; however, she is disappointed with the law, which is "not the same for all." Ms Bellucci pointed out a development by a local investor at the building across the street: "huge old walls were broken in that building." Similarly, the head of an institution who was charged with "illegally" removing the old tiles in an institution-owned British-period building also expressed her disappointment; referring to a high-end boutique hotel, she said, "they worry about our floor, but they are allowed to demolish a whole building [to build a new one]."

Against this background, some nevertheless find ways to fulfil their building requirements.

An Anecdote

When a foreign business owner wanted to renovate a toilet in a restaurant, it was carried out on a weekend, without permission, as the proper channel seemed a "difficult and long procedure."[860] Although "a heritage person" who had been tipped off by a neighbour came to inspect, the local staff "bribed the heritage person" without the owner's involvement.[861] The construction was completed smoothly.[862]

855 Ibid.
856 Ibid.
857 Interview with Ms Bellucci, 24 January 2018.
858 Ibid.
859 Ibid.
860 Conversation with a foreign businessman, January 2018.
861 Conversation with a foreign businessman, January 2018.
862 Ibid.

7.5.3 POWERFUL INDIVIDUALS AND PARTNER INSTITUTIONS

Powerful Individuals

At the Galle Magistrate Courts in 2014, the DOA filed a case under the Antiquities Ordinance against a fort native who is a highly reputed professional in the country for "illegally" developing a third floor.[863] Subsequently, the defendant filed an appeal at the Court of Appeal, directed against a number of respondents, including all heads of heritage authorities.[864] The Attorney General's Department appeared for the case on behalf of the public institutions. The case is still pending at the Court of Appeal, and thus I avoid discussing it here. According to heritage officers, discussions with the professional took place at a heritage institution in 2017 in order to reach a settlement, with the involvement of a higher-level political office.[865]

Partner Institutions

A museum within the historic centre needed to double their inadequate office space by building a two-storey wooden cell in the single-storey office space. The construction was started in November 2015, resulting in numerous anonymous calls to the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Fort about an ("unauthorized") excavation inside the building.[866] This was proved by a pile of earth on the front verandah that had been removed to plant the iron beams (Fig. 273).[867]

When the Regional Archaeology Office asked the museum officer responsible whether the museum had been granted permission to carry out the development, the officer submitted a "letter of approval" provided by the relevant authority in 2011.[868] However, a "building permit" is necessary for such development for general public; this is only valid for one year and needs to be renewed each year.

863 Personal conversation with a legal officer at the DOA, 2017–2018; personal conversations with Galle-based heritage officers in 2017–2018.
864 Ibid.
865 Personal conversation with heritage officers, both Galle-based and Colombo-based, November 2018.
866 Personal conversations with Galle-based heritage officers, November 2015.
867 My observations in November 2015.
868 Personal conversation with the DOA officer responsible, 7 November 2015.



Fig. 273 Excavated pile of earth on the verandah (November 2015).

During the interview, the officer responsible stated that they were late to commence the work due to the delay in obtaining funds, which he assumed to be a failure of the public institutions.[869] According to his knowledge, a development permit is required to carry out a new development, but not for a change in an existing building.[870] The officer did not consider it is important to inform the Regional Archaeology Office before commencing the development, nor before commencing the excavation, which is the norm. However, an excavation cannot be carried out in the historic centre without the clearance of the DOA, according to Special Regulations (Planning and Building), 2009.[871]

In this case, the letter of permission issued three years before was accepted by the authorities. According to an officer responsible for development, this decision was made as the museum was one of their "partner [public] institutions."[872]

869 Interview with the officer responsible, 11 November 2015.

870 Ibid.

871 "No excavation within this site can be carried out without a clearance from the Archeological Department" (Article 70.8 (a) of Special Regulations (Building and Planning), 2009). "Under Section 6 of the Antiquities Ordinance (Chapter 188), the developer shall inform his intention on site preparation for development to the Archeological Office at Galle. All excavation shall be carried out under the supervision of Archeological Department and be completed within 30 days of granting the approval. If not, the sub-committee may extend the validity of the permit considering the appeal for further period of not exceeding 14 days. Thereafter, the Department of Archeology should complete the supervision and submit a report to the sub-committee" (Article 70.8 (b) of Special Regulations (Building and Planning), 2009).

872 Personal conversation a Galle-based heritage officer, November 2015.



Fig. 274 Swimming pools, permitted (left) and not permitted (right).

7.5.4 SWIMMING POOLS: WHY ARE SOME ALLOWED?

As discussed in sub-chapter 5.4.6, swimming pools are not allowed in Galle Fort, despite their growing number (Fig. 274). Architect Ashley De Vos identifies "political patronage" as a reason for this (Vos 2016). A pioneering foreign investor who started an award-winning high-end boutique hotel was allowed a swimming pool in the early 2000s. Referring to this, a heritage officer stated, "The investor showed any investor can do whatever they wish in Galle Fort [despite the law]."[873] Although this incident happened in the early 2000s, the Planning Sub-Committee recently managed to close a swimming pool in another foreign-invested high-end boutique hotel. The five-star franchise hotel Amangalle, currently owned by Aman Resorts International, is allowed to have the largest swimming pool, which is located separately and thus does not violate the authenticity of the British-period building. The owners of a foreign-owned villa in the historic centre were also allowed a swimming pool, agreeing with the Planning Sub-Committee to remove it whenever they are requested to.[874] In November 2017, another foreign investor, who was charged by the DOA with developing an "illegal" swimming pool, went to the higher courts, and the defendant was exonerated at the advice of the Attorney General, after the case was tried in higher courts.[875]

873 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, June 2018.

874 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, February 2016.

875 "The defendant was released upon the advice provided by the Hon. Attorney General's letter, 11 July 2017" (the documents related to illegal developments from the Regional Archaeological Office (South), Galle Fort). The Attorney General serves as the chief legal advisor to the government.

7.6 IS THE LAW EQUAL TO ALL? : THE POSITIVE ASPECTS

In order to provide a balanced view, here I shall discuss a few cases in which the law was implemented equally for both powerful and ordinary residents. In addition, there are also cases in which ordinary residents, both local and foreign, have been supported by heritage "officers" (here I use the word "officers" instead of "institutions") in their much-needed developments, despite their being "illegal," in the eyes of the law.

7.6.1 FOREIGN INVESTORS: THE POWERFUL AND THE ORDINARY

Although local residents claim foreigners and powerful locals are treated better, 11 cases were filed against foreigners between 2010 and 2016 for "illegal" building activities.[876] Among them was a pioneering foreign investor (2012) and the owner of a high-end boutique hotel (2014).[877] In addition, two renowned local entrepreneurs were similarly subject to legal action for their "illegal" building activities in 2013 and 2015, respectively.[878]

The Ordinary Foreign Investors

In contrast to the case of Ms Bellucci, here I elaborate the case of Mr Mikhailov, an ordinary foreign businessman who was supported by heritage officers (the term "ordinary" is used here to differentiate from the large-scale investors). Mr Mikhailov leased a house in the historic centre to open a restaurant in 2016. He wanted to make a few structural changes in the house in order to make it more compatible with his business. He did not seek the permission of the heritage institutions, as the building owner—a fort resident and a professional—assured him that the house had no heritage value, though he advised him to "carry out the repairs silently."[879] Yet Mr Mikhailov was polite enough to apprise his neighbours of possible noise from the planned construction.[880] As soon as the first window was removed, officers from the DOA appeared, having been tipped off by neighbours.[881] Mr Mikhailov was told that a police investigation would be launched against him for the "illegal" development, and he could also be taken into custody, causing him fear.[882] Therefore, he submitted a letter to the DOA indicating his consent to follow the proper channels in developing properties.[883]

Back in 2016, the officers of the UDA, DOA and GHF supported each other in critical cases, and in fact, made collaborative decisions as a result of their mutually positive relationships. Officers of the DOA and GHF held a meeting with Mr Mikhailov, in which he was able to convince the officials that he was cheated by the building owner.[884] The officers, who had also had previous issues with the owner, knew the house had three floors, and thus was already an "illegal" development.[885] When they scrutinized the building plan, they found, to their surprise, that the building plan with three floors had been permitted by the planning authorities.[886]

Mr Mikhailov told the officers that he had sold his apartment at St. Petersburg to start this business, and needed to start the business as soon as possible as he had to pay a huge monthly rental fee.[887] The officers were sympathetic towards him. They explained to Mr Mikhailov that applying for a building permit would not help him in this context, as the Planning Sub-Committee would recommend to legalizing the whole building, which would be very expensive.[888]

876 Documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort.

877 Their names will not be revealed in order to respect their privacy (documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort).

878 One of them was requested to remove the developments outside of the approved plan, which he agreed to, and thus no case was filed. In August 2015, another was requested to change the prohibited colours used at a new showroom; this entrepreneur also agreed and complied; thus no case was filed. Their names will not revealed in order to respect their privacy (documents related to illegal developments, Regional Archaeology Office (South), Galle Fort).

879 Personal conversation with Mr Mikhailov, 2 March 2016.

880 Ibid., personal conversation with a neighbor, 3 March 2016.

881 Personal conversation with Mr. Mikhailov, 2 March 2016.

882 Ibid.

883 Ibid.

884 Observations of the meeting, 3 March 2016.

885 Ibid.

886 Ibid. This was permitted prior to the implementation of the Special Regulations (Building and Planning) in 2009. However, the draft building regulations had been in effect since the end of 2000s, and regular Planning Sub-Committee meetings were held after 2002 (Wijeratne 2002); thus, third floors could not have been permitted.

887 Ibid.

888 Ibid.

Besides, Mr Mikhailov had a ten-year lease. The officers advised him to restore the house to how it was earlier and start his business.[889] He proceeded as told and no action was taken against him. I have observed that his restaurant became popular among tourists over the next two years. However, the UDA included the house in its list of cases to file against "illegally" constructed third floors in 2017.

7.6.2 THE LOCALS: THE ORDINARY AND THE "FRIENDS"

Here I elaborate one of the few occasions on which heritage officers have supported the local community's development requirements. Ms Kodikara, a fort resident, badly needed to renovate her old kitchen, which was not up to modern living standards.[890] She knew it would be expensive following the proper channels, and therefore did it at night, without permission.[891] Unexpectedly, a DOA officer, apparently tipped off by a neighbour, appeared in the daytime.[892] At this juncture, she was able to convince the officer that they were unable to afford a proper development.[893] The officer advised her to finish the work as soon as possible, and no action was taken against her.[894] In general, minor renewals like this could be carried out with the permission of the Regional Archaeology Office (South), Fort, without applying for a building permit. However, some avoid it, as they have to carry out the renewal according to the regulations, which mostly conflict with their expectations. It was observed that larger parts of the house had been developed from time to time (without permission), however, with the addition of a modest verandah. Ms Kodikara stated, "I was bullied by our schoolmates for living in an old house, but in contrast, living in the fort has become prestigious today. However, everybody likes to live in a beautiful house. I don't want my children to have the same experience I had."

The Anecdote of *Machaň* ("the Buddy")

In November 2018, an architect proposed a plan on behalf of his client in the Planning Sub-Committee, namely to keep a third floor that he had been requested to remove by the UDA.[895] The head of the Planning Sub-Committee, who personally knew the architect well, called the architect "Machaň,"[896] commonly used by men to address friends in an informal way, and said, "Ask anything, but not this third floor, which is impossible."[897] At this juncture, the officer who represented GHF in the committee further stated, "We regret when a professional like you forwards a proposal like this; instead, people like you have to support us to preserve the fort's heritage."[898]

889 Ibid.
890 Interview, 2 March 2016.
891 Ibid.
892 Ibid.
893 Ibid.
894 Ibid.

895 Observations of the Planning Sub Committee meeting, 30 November 2018.
896 *Machchan* in Tamil means "brother-in-law." This is the most common term used by men to address each other informally in Sri Lanka.
897 Observations of the Planning Sub Committee meeting, 30 November 2018.
898 Ibid.

Part II

7.7 POLITICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC WILL

"*Both the private parties and the state entities have carried out these illegal developments [at Galle Fort]. Apparently, the removal of almost all illegal developments carried out by the private parties is now complete [while the illegal constructions undertaken by state entities are still existing]*." — Dr Wijeyadasa Rajapakshe, Minister of Higher Education and Cultural Affairs during Parliamentary Debates on 20 July 2018 (*Hansard* 2018, 611).

The second part of this chapter critically discusses whether the law is equally applied to government institutions in the same way that it is applied to the community. The discussion is based on three initiatives led by public institutions in the fort and its buffer zone, including two development projects. I try to provide a balanced view here by not avoiding positive cases, and thus I include the Galle Harbour Development Project. In addition, these cases also demonstrate the challenges of managing a World Heritage historic city, while also achieving the overall economic development goals of Sri Lanka, a developing nation in the lower-middle-income category.[899]

7.7.1 MOVING GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS OUT OF GALLE FORT

On 19 November 2017, the *Sunday Times*, a leading local newspaper, reported, "The order to give up 15 buildings in the fort was issued by Law and Order and Southern Development Ministry Secretary early last month. But it was done without consulting the Department of Archaeology, the Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO and the Ministry of Education under whose purview these listed sites fall."[900]

These buildings, owned by various public institutions, are an integral part of the fort's living heritage. Among these were Galle Fort Post Office, All Saints' College, Galle Magistrate's Court and (the Dutch-government-funded) Maritime Archaeology Unit;[901] the first two were gazette-notified as ancient monuments by the Department of Archaeology in 2017.[902]

The Cabinet Paper and the Response of the Sri Lanka National Commission of UNESCO

This initiative was undertaken in accordance with the decision made by the cabinet (Cabinet Paper No. 17/1759/702/002-XIX on 8 August 2017).[903] The *Sunday Times* referred to the letter of Secretary of the Ministry of Law and Order and Southern Development, which implied that these buildings would be removed according to the UNESCO guidelines.[904] The owners of the buildings were requested to vacate them by 31 December 2017, [905] further creating chaos among inhabitants.[906]

The Secretary General of the Sri Lanka National Commission of UNESCO (hereafter also referred as "SLNCU"), who regretted the decision, addressed the Director General of Archaeology regarding the above-mentioned letter, and asked to take the necessary steps to preserve the World Heritage status of the property.[907] As the Secretary General confirmed, "UNESCO has never recommended

899 Source: the World Bank, available at https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/srilanka/overview#1 (accessed 19 February 2019).

900 "Controversy in Galle Fort: Several Govt. Institutions Told to Move Out," the *Sunday Times*, 19 November 2017. Available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/171119/news/controversy-in-galle-fort-several-govt-institutions-told-to-move-out-269442.html (accessed 24 July 2018).

901 Ibid.

902 *Gazette Extraordinary of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka*, No. 2011/7, 20 March 2017.

903 "Controversy in Galle Fort: Several Govt. Institutions Told to Move Out," the *Sunday Times*, 19 November 2017. Available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/171119/news/controversy-in-galle-fort-several-govt-institutions-told-to-move-out-269442.html (accessed 24 July 2018) ; letter from the Additional Secretary (National Heritage) of the Ministry of Education to the Secretary General of Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO on "Vacating of Properties in Galle Fort," 8 November 2017.

904 "… is currently in the process of being carefully developed under the guidance of UNESCO to protect its living heritage, with added measures to improve its conservation and protection" ("Controversy in Galle Fort: Several Govt. Institutions Told to Move Out," the *Sunday Times*, 19 November 2017. Available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/171119/news/controversy-in-galle-fort-several-govt-institutions-told-to-move-out-269442.html; accessed 24 July 2018).

905 Ibid.

906 Observations, January 2018.

907 Letter from Secretary General of the Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO to the Director General of Archaeology on "Vacating of Properties in Galle Fort," 8 November 2017.



Fig. 275 All Saints' College (to the right, with Southlands College to the left) at a busy hour.

the removal of the institutions mentioned from the fort and some of these properties are part and parcel of the living heritage of this important World Heritage site" (Fig. 275). In parallel to this attempt, the Additional Secretary (National Heritage) of the Ministry of Higher Education and Cultural Affairs, the responsible ministry of the DOA, also addressed the Secretary General of SLNCU, indicating, "the banks,[908] post office and magistrate courts are the symbols of living heritage. To my knowledge, UNESCO has not recommended moving these buildings."[909]

Protests

The parents of All Saints' College staged a protest against the government's decision to move the school,[910] which was founded by the British in

908 Southern Provincial Office of the Bank of Ceylon, one of the leading state-owned commercial banks, was proposed to be vacated, while its Super Grade Branch, located on another street, would not be moved.

909 Letter from the Additional Secretary (National Heritage) of the Ministry of Education to the Secretary General of Sri Lanka National Commission for UNESCO on "Vacating of Properties in Galle Fort," 8 November 2017. This letter was written in response to a letter from the Secretary of Ministry of Law and Order Southern Development dated 3 October 2017) to the Secretary of the Ministry of Education and the Director General of the Central Cultural Fund, which requested that All Saints' College (under the Ministry of Education) and the Maritime Archeology Unit (under the Central Cultural Fund) be moved "according to UNESCO's guidelines."

910 "Parents Protest Over School Relocation Plans," *Daily News*, 2 November 2017. Available at http://dailynews.lk/2017/11/02/local/133271/parents-protest-over-school-relocation-plans ; "Controversy in Galle Fort: Several Govt. Institutions Told to Move Out," the *Sunday Times*, 19 November 2017. Available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/171119/news/controversy-in-galle-fort-several-govt-institutions-told-to-move-out-269442.html (accessed 24 July 2018).

1867 and is "majestically located in the uniquely glorious ancient Dutch fortress, presently hailed as a World Heritage site by the UNESCO" (the official website of the school).[911] The protest was conducted in response to the media briefing by the Chairman of Galle Heritage Foundation on vacating the buildings.[912] GHF was then under the Ministry of Law and Order and Southern Development, and thus was more responsible for the decision.

Why Vacate Buildings?

The GHF planned to introduce "adaptive reuse" under a "careful conservation plan" for each building, as some of the current users have destroyed the heritage value of these buildings.[913] According to an officer who handled the project, these government institutions, which have more staff than their carrying capacity allows, could render better service to the public if they were located outside the fort with proper infrastructure.[914] However, some government institutions would be kept in the fort to represent the fort's administrative function (which emerged under British occupation, and is discussed in sub-chapters1.1.4 and 1.1.5).[915]

Subsequently, a survey was carried out by the DOA's Regional Office at the fort to identify which buildings from the initially proposed list should be vacated. As a result, five buildings were recommended to be kept in the fort, including All Saints' College and Galle Fort Post Office. However, GHF continued negotiating with the authorities of All Saints' College to move the school, based on the argument that school could relocate to a more spacious venue where expansions were possible, which would be difficult at the fort given the prevailing heritage laws.[916] A number of the fort's residents who were unhappy with the decision indicated that the fort would be only a "tourist place," while one stated that "the courts add value to the fort."[917]

However, the planning authority had a somewhat different view initially, according to some heritage officers.[918] Non-profitable (government) institutions are not capable of maintaining their monumental buildings, and thus these buildings should be given (leased) to the "commercial sector" in order to maintain them to the required standard.[919] This initiative also created a public opinion towards "selling heritage."[920] The project is currently in progress (March 2019).

7.7.2 INTRUSIVE DEVELOPMENTS AT GALLE INTERNATIONAL CRICKET STADIUM

Galle International Cricket Stadium is located right across the British-built northern entrance of the fort (between the Sun and Moon Bastions), and thus falls inside the 400-yard (365.76-metre) control zone of the Dutch ramparts implemented by the DOA in 1971. It was the ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Report, 2002 that first underscored the importance of controlling building activities at the stadium.[921] According to the Operational Guidelines (2017, Article 104), the buffer zone "is an area surrounding the nominated property which has complementary legal and/or customary restrictions placed on its use and development to give an added layer of protection to the property."[922]

911 Available at http://allsaintscollegegalle.com/en/history.php (accessed 24 July 2018).

912 "Parents Protest Over School Relocation Plans," *Daily News*, 2 November 2017 Available at http://dailynews.lk/2017/11/02/local/133271/parents-protest-over-school-relocation-plan (accessed 24 July 2018).

913 Personal conversation with a heritage officer responsible for handling the project, 1 March 2018. For instance, the Dutch-period use of the current Magistrate's Court as a Malay soldiers' barrack will be highlighted in its conservation plan.

914 Personal conversation with a heritage officer responsible for handling the project, 1 March 2018.

915 Ibid.

916 Ibid.

917 Personal conversations with over fifteen residents in 2017 and 2018; personal conversation with a resident in September 2018. However, the relocation of the courts had been proposed a few years earlier due to inadequate space, and the new court complex is under construction.

918 Personal conversation, in March 2018, with three heritage officers, who assume these buildings will be leased to the commercial sector.

919 Ibid. This is the idea of the political authorities, according to heritage officers.

920 The general public opinion of fort residents regarding the matter in 2017 and 2018.

921 "The control and careful guidance of planning and building activities need to extend also outside the Fort's ramparts, such as the former Esplanade in front of the Fort" (Oers 2002). The area was known as "the Esplanade," as mentioned below.

922 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2017. Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/ (accessed 19 February 2019).



Fig. 276 The stadium (2016), flanked by the Indian Ocean and the Dutch ramparts (left), turning it into one of the most picturesque cricket grounds.

An "Iconic Stadium" in a Colonial Landscape

Cricket, the country's most popular sport, was introduced to Ceylon by the British. Galle International Cricket Stadium, originally built as a racecourse in 1876, was known as "the Esplanade" and officially declared a cricket stadium in 1927, prior to the country's independence in 1948.[923] The grounds, which also housed Galle's public playground, was temporarily leased to Sri Lanka Cricket—the highest national body for the administration of cricket under the mandate of the Ministry of Sports—by Galle Municipal Council in December 1998 (*Hansard* 2007, 3265).[924] As per the lease agreement, any construction on the grounds should be preliminarily cleared through the municipality (*Hansard* 2007, 3265). According to Sri Lanka Cricket, the ground was later upgraded to international cricket standards, and the first Test Match was played on the ground in 1998.[925] In 2016, the ICOMOS Advisory Mission Report identified the stadium as a popular venue for club matches and Test Matches, attracting as many as 10,000 local cricket fans and a substantial international audience at significant matches,[926] a fact well known to locals. In 2018, *BBC News* reported that Galle is an "iconic stadium" famed for its "stunning views of the Indian Ocean and the nearby 17th-century Dutch fort," while the *Telegraph* (2016) rated it as one of the ten best cricket stadiums (Fig. 276).[927]

923 Official website of Sri Lanka Cricket, available at http://www.srilankacricket.lk/grounds (accessed 24 July 2018).

924 The ten-year (lease) agreement constituted only three pages, according to Galle District Parliamentarian Vajira Abeywardena, as recorded in the *Hansard* (*Hansard* 2007, 3260-1).

925 Available at http://www.srilankacricket.lk/grounds (accessed 24 July 2018).

926 "Report on the ICOMOS Advisory Mission to Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications (Sri Lanka)," 11 to 15 July 2016. Available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451/documents/ (accessed 20 February 2019).

927 "Sri Lanka v England: Galle's Last International Cricket Match?," *BBC News*, 5 November 2018, available at https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-asia-46071069/sri-lanka-v-england-galle-s-last-international-cricket-match (accessed 20 February 2019); "The 10 Best Stadiums in Cricket," the *Telegraph*, 1 April 2016, available at https://www.telegraph.co.uk/cricket/2016/03/31/the-10-best-stadiums-in-cricket/galle-cricket-stadium/ (accessed 20 February 2019).

Renovations: Opposition by Heritage Institutions, Politicians and UNESCO

The development of the cricket stadium, an initiative of Sri Lanka Cricket, was rejected by the Urban Development Authority in April 2004 due to a number of issues, including the restrictions of the Antiquities Ordinance and the Coast Conservation Act (*Hansard* 2007).[928] The UDA planned to move the international cricket stadium, while continuing keeping the space as a public playground (*Hansard* 2007). The stadium was devastated by the tsunami in December 2004, and renovations commenced in May 2006; these included a new pavilion and media centre as well as increasing the seating capacity.[929] The President of ICOMOS Sri Lanka and the Chairman of Galle Heritage Foundation addressed the violations of regulations in writing to the President of Sri Lanka in September and October 2007 (*Hansard* 2007, 3265).[930] According to the GHF Chairman's "highly urgent" letter, which requested the President to intervene in the matter, the Antiquities Ordinance was been violated by the construction.[931] Furthermore, the new pavilion was too high, and thus it blocked the view of Galle Fort from the Colombo-Galle main road (a major threat to its visual integrity); this was a violation of the agreement entered into with the GHF and authorities during initial discussions about the project.[932] In September 2007, the President of ICOMOS Sri Lanka, informed the Director of the World Heritage Centre about the violation of regulations.[933] In November 2007, UNESCO Italian-Funds-in-Trust, the first mission, was carried out, and as a result, it was agreed that the newly built pavilions would be demolished after the Test Match between Sri Lanka and England had concluded (*Hansard* 2007, 3270; WHC 2008, 94).[934]

According to the *Sunday Leader* (2008), a leading local newspaper, the undertaking was ordered by the Urban Development Minister, as the "country feared a possible de-listing of the site, an indignity that no state would wish to suffer."[935] The matter was discussed during the Parliamentary Debates on 11 December 2007, where the majority of parliamentarians opposed the intrusive developments due to the potential delisting of Galle Fort (*Hansard* 2007).[936] The Urban Development Minister stressed:

"I have clearly informed the Mayor of Galle that, if the law is violated, the powers [over building activities] delegated [to the municipality] by the UDA will be revoked. I have never made a decision that would adversely affect the development of Galle. … We can play cricket after saving the World Heritage [city of] Galle" (*Hansard* 2007, 3269).

According to the *Sunday Leader* (2008), the minister "submitted a cabinet paper seeking UDA approval to suspend the building permit issued by Galle Municipal Council (GMC). As the plot thickened, an inquiry got underway against GMC for using a permit in stark violation of the law. Initially, the UDA suggested makeshift buildings, which was the norm followed in other countries without putting

928 Sri Lanka as an island nation has a powerful Coast Conservation Act (No. 57 of 1981 and the Amendment Act of No. 49 of 2011), which provide legal provisions for the Director General of the Coast Conservation Department to demolish any unauthorized structures in the Coastal Zone that are not taken down within the prescribed time (Article 31 of the Coast Conservation Act, No. 57 of 1981). According to the *Hansard*, the development of the stadium was never permitted by the Director General of the Coast Conservation Department (*Hansard* 2007).

929 Official website of Sri Lanka Cricket, available at http://www.srilankacricket.lk/grounds (accessed 24 July 2018). According to the *Daily News*, this pavilion provided seating for up to 500 VIP guests and contained a media centre that could hold 150 media personnel. "Uncertain Future for Galle International Cricket Stadium", 19 July 2018; available at: http://www.dailynews.lk/2018/07/19/sports/157345/uncertain-future-galle-international-cricket-stadium (accessed 13 August 2018).

930 Personal conversation with Prof P.B. Mandawala, then President of ICOMOS Sri Lanka, 25 February 2018; the letter to the Hon. President from the Chairman of the Galle Heritage Foundation on "Developments of the Galle International Cricket Stadium," 3 October 2007, as recorded by the *Hansard* (*Hansard* 2007, 3265).

931 The development should be preliminarily cleared through the Director General of Archaeology, as it lies within the 400-yard (365.76-metre) control zone of the Dutch ramparts implemented by the DOA in 1971, according to the provisions of the Antiquities Ordinance (the law elaborated in sub-chapter 4.2.2).

932 The letter to the Hon. President from the Chairman of Galle Heritage Foundation on "Developments of the Galle International Cricket Stadium," 3 October 2007, as recorded by the *Hansard* (*Hansard* 2007, 3265).

933 "Uncertain future for Galle International Cricket Stadium", the *Daily News*, 19 July 2018. Available at http://www.dailynews.lk/2018/07/19/sports/157345/uncertain-future-galle-international-cricket-stadium (accessed 13 August 2018).

934 "World Heritage Tampered at Will," the *Sunday Leader*, 21 September 2008, available at http://www.thesundayleader.lk/archive/20080921/issues.htm,http://www.thesundayleader.lk/archive/20080921/issues.htm (accessed 13 August 2018).

935 Ibid.

936 Parliamentary debate on "Suspension of Construction in Galle Public Playground" in the *Hansard* of 11 December 2007 (*Hansard* 2007, 3260-76).



Fig. 277 The stadium (2016) with the new pavilion to the north.

up permanent structures during the English cricket series. Nevertheless, Sri Lanka Cricket has put up permanent structures costing Rs. 40 million with the blessings of the Galle MC."[937]

The decisions of the World Heritage Committee in 2008 established that the constructions were illegal, as they had "never been given final approval by the planning authorities" (WHC 2008, 95).

Cricket, Heritage and the Political Will: The Stadium Reopens

Despite these controversies, the cricket stadium was declared open by President Mahinda Rajapaksa on 17 December 2007, and the venue hosted a Test Match between Sri Lanka and England on the same day.[938] This did not become known to the World Heritage Committee until 2010: "… but there is no intention to demolish the dominant Mahinda Rajapraksa Pavilion or other buildings. The pavilion was built after the 2004 tsunami and opened in December 2007 by the President of Sri Lanka, whose name the pavilion bears" (WHC 2010, 127; Fig. 277-278).[939] The Department of Archaeology sought the advice of the Attorney General's Department (in taking legal actions) regarding the matter, which was the norm; somehow, the matter was later settled out of court.[940]

A letter addressed to the Ambassador Extraordinary and the Plenipotentiary of Sri Lanka to France (also the Permanent Delegate of Sri Lanka to UNESCO) by the Director of the World Heritage Centre on 14 December 2007, just few days prior to the re-opening of the stadium, encouraged the local authorities to submit a revised boundary and buffer zone for the World Heritage Property including the

937 Ibid.

938 Official website of Sri Lanka Cricket, available at http://www.srilankacricket.lk/grounds (accessed 24 July 2018).

939 It is not uncommon to name the International Cricket Stadiums after presidents in the local context, as three out of five such stadiums bear the names of presidents. Khettarama Stadium (until June 1994) in Colombo, the country's largest cricket stadium, was named after former President R. Premadasa; the stadium was identified by Sri Lanka Cricket as the "brainchild of the late Sri Lanka President Ranasinghe Premadasa." There is also a stadium named after former President Mahinda Rajapaksa at Hambantota (2011), his home town, erected as "part of the government's programme to develop sports in the Southern Province." Available at http://www.srilankacricket.lk/grounds (accessed 24 July 2018).

940 Personal conversation with a legal officer affiliated with the DOA, 25 February 2018.



Fig. 278 Mahinda Rajapaksa Pavilion (January 2019).

"area presently threatened by the cricket stadium" (coupled with the ancient port).[941] This was not agreed upon by the state party, based on well-founded arguments provided years later.[942]

The decisions of the World Heritage Committee in 2008 expressed serious concern about the matter, followed by the decisions of the mission in 2007 (WHC 2008, 95). It was recommended to move the stadium from the buffer zone to an alternative location, offered by the Urban Development Authority together with Galle Municipal Council, in two stages, short-term and long-term (WHC

941 "I encourage your authorities to submit a revised boundary and buffer zone for the site (possibly through a re-nomination) to include the ancient port and the area presently threatened by cricket stadium, as suggested by the world heritage committee." Letter from the Director, World Heritage Center to the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Sri Lanka to France (Permanent Delegate of Sri Lanka to UNESCO) on "Old Town of Galle and Its Fortifications (Sri Lanka)," 14 December 2007.

942 Initially, the extension of the buffer/boundary was not properly addressed by the state party. The annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee from 2008 to 2014 continuously pointed out and revisited the issue of the buffer/boundary (WHC 2008, 96; 2009, 200; 2010, 128; 2011, 127; 2012, 140; 2013, 128; 2014, 22). The "Integrated Management System 2015" of the state party explained the reasons for not considering an extension of the boundary of the property: "at this moment the state party is of the opinion that the boundary of the World Heritage Property at the time of declaration should not be modified to include the maritime archeology remains in the bay as they are already being protected under the Antiquities Ordinance as a separate entity" (Mandawala 2015, 22). Further, it elaborates that 400-yard (365.76-metre) control zone that was applied to the "Dutch ramparts" of the fortress in 1971 acts as the buffer zone of the property, while according to this law the boundary of the fortress is legally considered to be the ramparts (Mandawala 2015).

2008, 95).[943] Although the state party reported the demolition of a building owned the by Galle Municipal Council (not the main one) in the following year, it was not clear to the committee which plan was followed, either the short-term or the long-term one (WHC 2009, 198). The government agreed to make the required changes by December 2019[944] and not to carry out any further developments.[945]

In 2009, the Minister of Urban Development took steps to gazette-notify the Special Regulations (Planning and Building) as per the recommendation of UNESCO's Reactive Monitoring Mission, 2008,[946] which contained an article that read, "The physical features of the buildings in the International Cricket Complex should be maintained in conformity with the environmental features and the appearance of the fort area" (Article 70.36).

Chaos over the Decision to Relocate the Stadium

The mater remained unsolved until the beginning of 2017, despite the continuous recommendations of the World Heritage Centre from 2009 to 2016 and, ironically, the provisions of the Special Regulations (2009), as mentioned above (WHC 2009, 198; 2010, 127; 2011, 127; 2012, 140; 2013, 128; 2014, 22-3; 2016, 80). Meanwhile, the change of regime in early 2015 resulted in strong criticism towards the large-scale public-sector investments of the previous regime.

In early 2017, the DOA sought the possibility of taking legal action against the "illegal" developments in the cricket stadium, since "UNESCO has drawn attention on the matter."[947] The influential Galle-based heritage officers who took advantage of the country's changing political environment, negotiated with the political authorities and "played their trump card" in mid-2018, emphasizing the previous government's agreement with UNESCO to make changes to the stadium by 2019.[948] In July 2018, local (and international) media variously reported that the government would demolish or relocate the cricket stadium. The news sparked huge chaos in the country, including a protest against the decision organized by Galle Municipal Council; this was also supported by some of the parliamentarians.[949] A slogan at the protest read "Dear UNESCO!!!, this cricket ground enhances the beauty of the fort, not the other way around."[950] The GHF planned to convert the cricket stadium into Galle Public Playground (its immediate former use) by demolishing the illegal developments, also allowing the public to play cricket there.[951]

As a public playground, it contributed to producing some of the best cricketers in the country; among them is Champaka Ramanayake, a fort native (*Hansard* 2007, 3262). According to a native, it was "the Heart of Galle—a lifeless entity, but gave breath to all of Galle," where people from different strata of society played together, and it contributed to creating a greater sense of community in Galle.[952] A Galle District parliamentarian who

943 The short-term plan was to remove "illegal" buildings, followed by the long-term plan of removing all the buildings and restoring the Esplanade to an earlier stage for future archaeological investigations (WHC 2008, 95).

944 "We have to report this in 2019," stated the Minister of Sports at the Parliamentary Debates, July 20, 2018 (*Hansard* 2018, 614); "UNESCO has given December 2019 deadline to make those necessary changes," reported the Secretary General of the Sri Lanka National Commission of UNESCO (reported by the *Sunday Times*, 22 July 2018, in "Galle Stadium Conundrum: The Inside Story", available at http://www.sundaytimes.lk/180722/sports/galle-stadium-conundrum-the-inside-story-303413.html (accessed 25 July 2018). According to a Galle-based heritage officer, this agreement was based on "Galle Fort World Heritage, Reactive Monitoring Mission" (2008), by Nicole Bolomey, Programme Specialist, UNESCO Delhi office (personal conversation, June 2018). The mission report is not available on the UNESCO website.

945 Minister Gamini Lokuge, then Minister of Sports, during the Parliamentary Debates, 20 June 2018 (*Hansard* 2018).

946 Personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, 23 July 2018.

947 "The Director General of Archaeology has requested to take legal action against the illegal constructions in the cricket stadium," reads the letter from Regional Assistant Director (South) of the Regional Archaeology Office (South) to the Legal Officer, Department of Archaeology on "Illegal Developments on Galle Public Ground," 26 April 2017.

948 Personal conversations with a Galle-based heritage officer, June–July 2018.

949 "Uncertain Future for Galle International Cricket Stadium," the *Daily News*, 19 July 2018, available at http://www.dailynews.lk/2018/07/19/sports/157345/uncertain-future-galle-international-cricket-stadium; "Future of Galle Intl. Cricket Stadium Uncertain", *Hiru News*, 18 July 2018. available at http://www.hirunews.lk/sports/195444/future-of-galle-intl-cricket-stadium-uncertain; "Sri Lanka's Galle Cricket Stadium Risks Being Demolished," *BBC News*, 21 July 2018, available at https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-44911225 (accessed 25 July 2018).

950 Available at http://www.adaderana.lk/news.php?nid=3300&mode=head (accessed 25 July 2018).

951 Personal conversation with an officer attached to GHF, 23 July 2018.

952 Extracted from a poem on *gālu mahajana krīdāṅganaya*

also played there stated that it was also the place where many came to rest after a busy workday (*Hansard* 2007, 3261-2). Thus, in 2007, Galle District parliamentarians wanted the grounds to be a public playground from which residents and the school pupils of Galle could benefit (*Hansard* 2007).[953] However, a healthy link between cricket and heritage could have been formed, according to a Galle-based heritage officer,[954] while some of the fort's residents viewed having an international cricket stadium as a sign of prestige.[955] One homestay provider stated that he had twice hosted an Australian cricket fan, who preferred staying with them during cricket matches.[956]

Parliamentary Debates

While the issue drew much attention in the country, it was discussed at the Parliamentary debates on 20 July 2018.[957] At the discussion, Dr Wijeyadasa Rajapakshe, Minister of Higher Education and Cultural Affairs, underscored the importance of maintaining the county's World Heritage sites according to UNESCO's guidelines, which is economically beneficial to the country; he further expressed:

"We have to consider whether to demolish that illegal pavilion—the Mahinda Rajapaksa Pavilion—to stay on the World Heritage list, or keep Mahinda Rajapaksa Pavilion and face the delisting [of Galle Fort] from the World Heritage list" (*Hansard* 2018, 612).

At this point, the former Minister of Urban Development explained that the pavilion was not built by the former President, and urged them to "handle what is heritage with care" (*Hansard* 2018, 612).[958] The *Island*, a popular newspaper, stated that the former President's name was strategically used to save the pavilion, which a Galle-based heritage officer agreed with.[959] Minister Arjuna Ranatunga, under whose captaincy Sri Lanka won the Cricket World Cup in 1996, agreed with the former Minister of Urban Development, and emphasized that both the World Heritage status of Galle Fort and the cricket stadium—"a lucky venue for Sri Lanka"—are equally beneficial to the country (*Hansard* 2018, 616).[960] The Minister of Sports emphasized that a decision should be made in the best interest of the country, instead of using the issue as a political stage, implying that the stadium would not be relocated (*Hansard* 2018, 614).[961] Opposition from the public, leading figures in cricket and the media contributed substantially to this decision. The discussion regarding the demolition is ongoing; however, nothing has changed as of March 2019.

("Galle Public Playground") posted on Facebook by A. Samarasekra, a native who currently lives abroad, 19 January 2017. The poem, which recounts the author's memories of the playground as a place where all strataums of society played together and thereby contributed to creating a greater sense of community, was admired in a large number of positive comments from the people of Galle.

953 Allowing the schools of Galle to continue their annual sports meets and matches on the grounds was one of the clauses of the initial agreement between the SLC and GMC (*Hansard* 2007), which has not yet been violated. As international cricket matches are not played often, the grounds are free most days.

954 Personal conversations with a Galle-based heritage officer, July 2018.

955 Personal conversations with at least five residents, 2017.

956 Personal conversation with a resident, January 2017.

957 "Unauthorized Construction in Galle International Cricket Stadium: Statement by Minister of Higher Education and Cultural Affairs" in the *Hansard* in 20 July 2018 (*Hansard* 2018, 609-17). Available at https://www.parliament.lk/business-of-parliament/hansards (accessed 20 February 2019).

958 "I was the Urban Development Minister then. When UNESCO initially raised this issue, we discussed the matter. This was not done by Hon. Mahinda Rajapaksa. This was the initiative of another group" (*Hansard* 2018, 612).

959 "Galle's strongman Warnaweera may have his faults, but he is a practical man. Sensing trouble, Warnaweera overnight gave a name to the pavilion. All dissidents turned a blind eye from thereon. What was the name that Warnaweera gave? He named the facility Maninda Rajapaksa Pavilion and the critics disappeared" "Hands off Galle International Stadium," the *Island*, 21 July 2018; available at http://www.island.lk/index.php?page_cat=article-details&page=article-details&code_title=188294 (accessed 22 February 2019); personal conversation with a Galle-based heritage officer, July 2018.

960 Minister Arjuna Ranatunga reported, "It was requested that the pavilion be demolished after its unacceptable construction. It was then named after Mahinda Rajapaksa. Then it was not demolished" (*Hansard* 2018, 616).

961 The Minister of Provincial Councils, Local Government and Sports stated, "Hon. Deputy Chairman of Committees, we have to protect the World Heritage site. We also have to be conscious of the fact that the Sri Lankan cricket team has done well at Galle Cricket Stadium. Taking all these interests into consideration, a Ministerial Committee was appointed. Unfortunately, certain Members of Parliament are using this as a political stage" (*Hansard* 2018, 614).

7.7.3 GALLE HARBOUR DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The development of Galle Port as a multipurpose port for regional needs is an important, 150-million-USD project, financed with a loan from the Japan Bank for International Cooperation and jointly proposed by the Sri Lanka Ports Authority (hereafter also referred to as "SLPA") and Japan International Cooperation Agency ("JICA") in 1991 (Franco 2007; WHC 2008; SLPA 2013). The first feasibility study and the first Environmental Impact Assessment of the project were completed in November 2000 (Franco 2007; WHC 2008).[962]

At the end of 26 years of armed conflict in 2009, Sri Lanka showed high growth, driven by strong private-sector demand in both consumption and investment, while the public sector contributed to large infrastructure projects (the World Bank).[963] The policy decisions of the government as per the election manifesto of former Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa (2005–2015) prioritized port and aviation development in order to position the country as the "leading navigational, trading and commercial centre in South Asia" (Ministry of Finance and Planning 2006). The manifesto proposed to decongest Colombo Port—primarily a container port and the country's main port—by developing the Southern Ports of Galle and Hambantota (Ministry of Finance and Planning 2006).

Concerns of Local Heritage Authorities and UNESCO

The eastern part of Galle Fort directly faces Galle Harbour, where the development was proposed. The Department of Archaeology expressed its concern over the project, while UNESCO was mainly concerned with possible changes in the underwater currents, which could have an adverse effect on the stability of the fortress rampart.[964] This was mainly due to the proposed dredging of the harbour. Although the proposed development lay outside of the 400-yard (365.76-Metre) buffer zone, nearly 20 important shipwrecks lay in the harbour, and some were threatened by the development.[965] The World Heritage Centre organized an expert mission to Galle in November 2007, undertaken by an expert in port development projects and underwater currents.

Negative Visual Impact

The Evaluation Report of the 2007 mission revealed that the proposed harbour development would create a strong negative visual impact on the existing landscape of Galle Fort (Franco 2007, 3):"The beautiful views from the fort ramparts and from Rumassala hill on the opposite side will be strongly affected by the new artificial infrastructure, which is jutting out into the middle of the bay with its sharp intrusive shape and its modem industrial appearance" (Fig. 279).

In addition, a number of Archaeological, Environmental, Cultural and Maritime Archaeology Impact Assessment Projects were carried out by both local and foreign experts on this project, commissioned by the SLPA and DOA. The Galle Harbour Maritime Impact Assessment (2007), commissioned by the DOA and conducted by the Department of Maritime Archaeology at the Western Australian Maritime Museum, identified that the proposed project would create threats to the VOC shipwrecks, including Hercules (Anderson, Green, and Souter 2007). Based on these findings, the above-mentioned Evaluation Report (2007) recommended relocating the constructions away from the shipwrecks (Franco 2007). It was also recommended to provide toe protection against wave action at the eastern ramparts by means of permanent rock breakwaters (Franco 2007).

Although the Evaluation Report of 2007 recommended reconsidering the feasibility of the

962 Conducted by the SLPA in conjunction with Japanese consultants and Sri Lankan Engineering Consultants Limited (WHC 2008, 95).

963 Available at http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/srilanka/projects (accessed 25 July 2018).

964 "At the time the main concerns regarding the project were the possible changes of the underwater currents, which could have an adverse effect on the stability of the Galle fort ramparts," reads the letter from the Director, World Heritage Center to the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Sri Lanka to France (Permanent Delegate of Sri Lanka to UNESCO) on "Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications (Sri Lanka)," 14 December 2007.

965 Ibid.: " … historic harbor area in which there are more than 20 important shipwrecks …" The Department of Archaeology recorded 18 shipwrecks in the harbour, together with seven sites including other archeological material (iron anchors, ceramics, etc.), in its report, which appeared as part of the "Integrated Management System 2015" authored by Mandawala (2015).

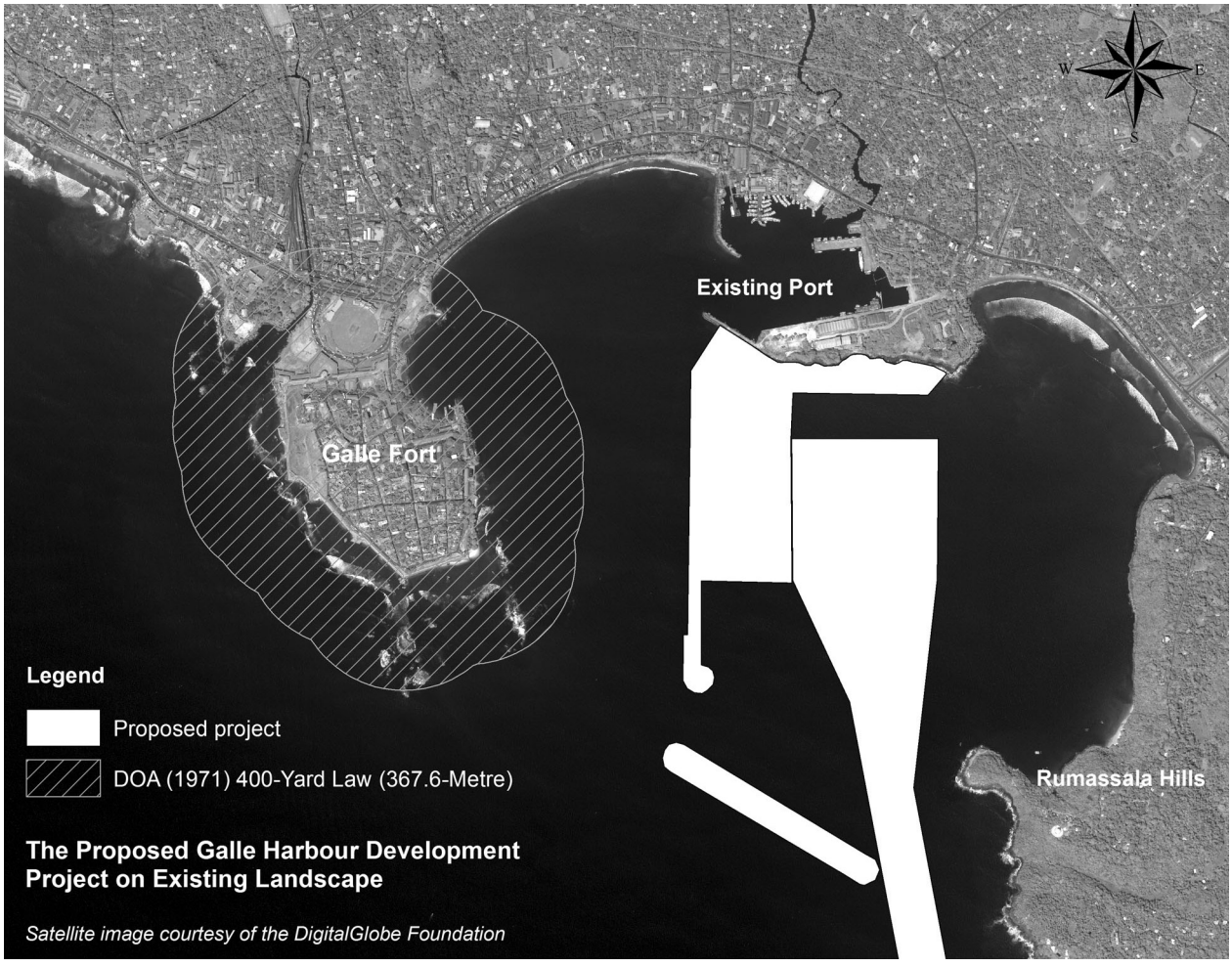


Fig. 279 The proposed project on the existing landscape (the proposed project area as shown by SLPA's Report (2013)).

whole project, considering the general national and regional economic interests of the development plan, an alternative was also provided, which proposed modifying the port layout and introducing some design changes to reduce negative impacts (Franco 2007). Based on this advice, in 2008, the World Heritage Committee recommended either abandoning the current port development project or scaling it down and modifying the port layout and design with respect to the sensitive environment and its integrity (WHC 2008, 96).

A Revised Plan: SLPA Agrees with the DOA

In September 2009, the Department of Archaeology granted conditional approval for the proposed project based on nine recommendations, including "modifying the port layout and introducing some design changes to reduce negative impacts" according to the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee in 2008.[966] The annual decisions of the World Heritage Committee in 2009 reported the project had been "downscaled through several actions including the reduction of roads and reclamation area" (WHC 2009, 199) (Fig. 280 and 281). In 2013, the SLPA introduced a revised plan, which mainly aimed to develop the port as a "commercial leisure port" and provide optimum transportation in

966 Letter from the Archaeological Director-General to the Chairman, Sri Lanka Ports Authority on "Galle Port Development Project-Archaeological Impact Assessment" 9 September 2008.



Fig. 280 The initial plan of the Galle Harbour Development Project (SLPA 2013).

Southern area as per the port policy documents and *Mahinda chintana idiri dekma* ("Mahinda's Vision for the Future"), the election manifesto of former President Mahinda Rajapaksa, 2010 (SLPA 2013).[967] Thus, the project's initial aim of regional economic development shifted towards "preserving the heritage value of the Old Galle city by attracting more tourists and providing necessary infrastructure facilities" (SLPA 2013, 3). The plan rerouted the initially proposed road and sea wall, avoiding the Hercules shipwreck and providing a 50-metre buffer zone as requested by the Director General of Archaeology's (above-mentioned) conditional approval (Figs. 281).[968] The Preliminary Report of the Heritage Impact Assessment 2015, commissioned by the SLPA, identified the above plan as a revised and more modest version of the original proposal, and would also have positive impacts, including reduced marine erosion, reduced tidal movement around shipwrecks and possible socio-economic development in the region (Thompson 2015).

967 Former President Mahinda Rajapaksa's election manifestos (2005 and 2010) included three large port development projects: Southern Port Hambantota, Colombo and Galle; the first phase of the Hambantota port was completed in 2010 (Ministry of Finance and Planning 2006).

968 "A realignment of the road and sea wall that would leave the Hercules site outside the development zone" (Galle Harbour Maritime Archaeological Impact Assessment Report for Sri Lankan Department of Archaeology by Anderson, Green, and Souter 2007, 28–30 pages). "That the Hercules site is left untouched by port development and a 50-m buffer zone is established around the site (as per option 1)" (letter from Archaeological Director-General to the Chairman, Sri Lanka Ports Authority on "Galle Port Development Project-Archaeological Impact Assessment," 9 September 2008). The Galle Port Development Project Revised Plan states, "As per the recommendations made by the Archaeology Department, a realignment of the road and sea wall that would leave the Hercules site outside the development zone (i.e. option 1) has been selected as possible alternative, and it would leave the Hercules site untouched by the port development and establish a 50-metre buffer zone around the site" (SLPA 2013, 6).



Fig. 281 The revised plan with the proposed new road (in orange), which replaced the initial one (in green) to avoid the wreckage of the East Indiaman Hercules (SLPA 2013).

SLPA Waits for UNESCO's Clearance

The SLPA states that it is awaiting UNESCO's clearance to commence the second phase of the project after the completion of the basic design.[969] The state party's State of Conservation Report, 2017 confirms this by mentioning that the SLPA has made a policy decision to temporarily defer the commencement of the project.[970] According to the SLPA, the second phase includes a breakwater of 900m long, a multipurpose berth of 300m long and recreation facilities, such as whale/coral watching, a boat service, restaurants and hotels, etc.[971] According to SLPA, the 125-million-LKR first phase of the project was completed in 2015,[972] however, it was not clear whether it was cleared by UNESCO. The first phase included the development of basic facilities for the yacht marina, with berthing facility for 22 yachts as well as service facilities and a repair workshop.[973]

Conclusion

This chapter provides strong examples to prove that the law is not equally applied in Galle Fort, a major criticism of the system by the community. It argues that the currently practised building regulations have become a burden on the community. The second part of the chapter shows that although the critical heritage decisions affecting the fort's landscape have been politicized, the country fears losing the heritage status, which is strategically used by heritage officers to achieve their goals.

969 Official website of the Sri Lanka Ports Authority, available at http://portcom.slpa.lk/galle_regional_port.asp?chk=4 (accessed 25 July 2018).

970 Available at http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/451/documents/ (accessed July 25, 2018).

971 Official website of the Sri Lanka Ports Authority available at http://portcom.slpa.lk/galle_regional_port.asp?chk=4 (accessed July 25, 2018).

972 Ibid.

973 Ibid.

8. Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter concludes the book, and addresses the main questions raised in chapter 3: what changes has Galle Fort undergone since the initiation of the World Heritage project, and why are these changes difficult to manage amid the prevailing heritage regulations of Sri Lanka? It also provides recommendations in order to find a more equitable solution for Galle Fort.

CONCLUSION

This 0.3 sq km patch of earth surrounded by the Indian Ocean and secured by 17th-century Dutch ramparts—which we call Galle Fort, a World Heritage city but a *gama* ("village") to its local resident community—continues to be a prime location. It is a place over which battles were fought by colonial and local powers in order to gain control, and where investors today part with millions of dollars to gain possession of a few square metres of it! Just as the colonial powers secured it with strong rampart walls, strong regulations are implemented today to secure its Dutch colonial architecture, which primarily contributed to its prestigious World Heritage status in 1988.

This study has dealt with the World Heritage recognition of Galle Fort, a colonial fortified town in a South Asian country, within the scope of the modern discourse on urban heritage conservation that underscores maintaining the balance between material preservation and the aspirations of an urban community. It has illustrated how Galle Fort changed within three decades of its World Heritage recognition—from a small walled seaside town with a local community living in dilapidated colonial houses, to a tourist hotspot and prime real estate site with increasing tropical modernist architecture, attracting visitors, tourists, investors and even researchers from within and beyond the borders of Sri Lanka. Although "change" is an ordinary process in any city, this study has shown that Galle Fort's change has been drastic and constant in every respect, according to the findings—its buildings, demography, economy, urban culture and way of life: a strong testimony to how World Heritage affects the historic city as a monument and its urban community in both positive and negative ways.

The conventional urban conservation approach, which was practised at Galle Fort over the last three decades, could be also viewed as analogous to the Hindu trinity of supreme divinity. In Hinduism, three main cosmic forces that create change are personified by the Trimūrti—Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver and Shiva, the destroyer; in the context of Galle Fort, if viewed conservatively, this could symbolize past generations as the "creator" of urban heritage, the experts as the "preserver" and, ultimately, the current urban community as the "destroyer." Yet based on the research findings, the residential urban community should rather be seen as "the preserver."

First, this research has provided substantial evidence to prove that a local community has lived in the fort since it was used as a "fortified town" by the Portuguese—the founders of the fort; this community continued and thrived after independence with the relocation of the Burghers. This local community, which cultivated strong neighbourhood relationships, created a *gama* ("village")—a typical social and territorial space for themselves—within the colonial walls. The research has argued that while the fort's Dutch colonial architecture is the most prominent piece of material heritage in Galle Fort, its essence lies in its local community, which has turned the fort into a "living town." In fact, through the continuous use of the fort by different groups, it has primarily been the local community that has contributed to its long-term existence and preservation—not the "expert preservation," a fact

not realized by experts. While the larger majority of uninhabited colonial forts in Sri Lanka are in a ruined state, Galle—a fortified town, colonial port city, administrative centre and *gama*—became an exception, and was elevated to World Heritage status as the "the best example of a fortified city built by Europeans in South and South-East Asia" (UNESCO) thanks to the care of the people who continuously inhabited this urban landscape. It was the local people of Galle who saved the Dutch ramparts from being dismantled by the British government and turned them into the "Pride of Galle." The people of Galle were accepting towards the former colonial landscape, which became part of their daily lives, despite harsh colonial memories. It was the place where you were born and bred, played and walked; you eventually love it and tend to protect it! Thus, I argue that the residential urban community should be seen as "the preserver."

It was the inhabitants who preserved their town until 1971—until the implementation of a 400-yard (365.76-metre) rule by the Department of Archaeology. Interestingly, the immediate reason for implementing the law was not because the residents destroyed their town's heritage, but that "state agents" (the military) did, namely during the insurgency of 1971 (as discussed in sub-chapter 1.3.1). This research has shown that the expert preservation of Galle Fort, which specifically began in 1988 with World Heritage recognition and continues to this day, is largely focused on material preservation. This is evident from the results of 30 years of "expert preservation" attempts geared towards the "Dutch colonial landscape" at Galle Fort, which however is heavily influenced by numerous uncontrollable effects of heritage recognition, both local and global.

Second, based on these findings, I argue that the material preservation goals of the experts are only partially fulfilled at Galle Fort, while the socio-cultural values of the fort's residential urban community, which was not given proper attention in heritage practice, have sharply declined. Galle Fort's material heritage comes under two categories within the scope of local heritage legislation—state-owned and privately-owned—and the latter largely comprised private houses at the time of World Heritage recognition. The monuments owned by the state—including the Dutch ramparts, the main physical feature of the fort—are well preserved and even successfully used for adaptive reuse projects, fulfilling the goal of material preservation. As argued in chapter 4, this shows the influence of the Antiquities Ordinance, the national (colonial) heritage law, on state-owned monuments.

By contrast, the privately-owned buildings, which make up the majority, comprising more than 500 individual units, have been altered throughout the passage of time by their owners, who were naturally inclined to change their "homes" mostly as they wished. Since the late 1990s, maintaining these buildings' "Dutch colonial character"—with a colonial verandah, no more than two floors and half-round tile roof—was of the utmost importance for the World Heritage project, while the previous practices of the local community no longer met World Heritage standards; these changes were identified as "illegal developments" and "destruction of antiquities" by the heritage laws. The introduction of building regulations in 2009—the Special Regulations (Planning and Building), which had prevailed since 1997—at the recommendation of the World Heritage Committee created a constant struggle between community and heritage authorities, giving rise to "illegal" developments. Research findings also show that the community has now adapted to the situation after two decades, also proving their "adaptation to the environment," a very natural phenomenon.

The study has critically questioned the success of the practical application of the Special Regulations 2009, an initiative of the experts. Although the law is successful insofar as it preserves the features of the building façades—colonial verandahs, building colour, roofscapes, etc.—the changes to the internal features behind the façades—such as the addition of third floors not visible from the façade, swimming pools and rooftops, all "illegal"—are drastic. This scenario also shows that the wishes of the urban community— who naturally hope for some economic benefits from World Heritage recognition— are not properly facilitated by the law. The findings clearly indicate that the aspirations of the users of heritage determine the direction of "urban landscape change" as much as the law does. The community has strongly supported certain articles of the law that are easy to follow, such as maintaining the building colours and roof materials, while substantially violating the height

restrictions, which bar a much-needed possibility for terraced houses with limited space. This could also be viewed within the remarkable vertical development of the city over the past 30 years, as analysed in chapter 5; 70% of single-storeyed buildings at the time of heritage recognition have since turned into double-storeyed buildings, with a substantial number of these buildings containing "illegal" third floors.

The former colonial townhouse—in which residents lived for generations and to which they demonstrated a strong emotional attachment—has become an object of income generation today, gradually turning the former residential streets into shopping streets and ultimately the whole fort into a "touristscape." Such single-use tourism is also promoted by heritage and state policies that gradually remove the fort's administrative function, also creating threats to its "living heritage" by the decisions to remove public institutions, including a school. An increasingly large number of approved developments, oriented towards tourism and guided by building regulations, has brought tropical modernist and resort architecture to the fort, as argued in chapter 5, which also questions preservation standards.

Galle Fort, like many other World Heritage-recognized historic Asian cities, had experienced the most common unavoidable outcomes of heritage recognition—global tourism, foreign direct investments, real estate pressures, continuous urban regeneration and gentrification—which directly affect its residential community, both negatively and positively. This research has argued that the rapidly increasing commercial land value, coupled with foreign investment opportunities provided by (changing) laws and policies, has ultimately contributed to the decline of the fort's local community to one-third of its original occupancy over the past 30 years. The fort has undergone higher levels of gentrification, with 16% of properties owned by foreign investors (2016) and a substantial number of local investors and businessmen taking over the spaces of the former local residents. "Super-gentrification" and "commercial gentrification" have become common today at the fort. This research also argues that loopholes in laws and overall policy decisions on boosting foreign investment in the country have been undertaken without considering how, in special cases such as Galle Fort, these policies have negatively affected its population and led to gentrification.

These impacts on the fort's residential community have been both positive and negative, as identified by the research. Although residents still call the fort a *gama* ("village"), their traditional neighbourhood—"one large house with so many rooms"—has changed substantially due to decreasing neighbourhood relationships and sense of place amid the process of tourism-oriented commercialization, gentrification and foreignization of land. Although the residential community itself has also contributed to this, there are also residents who value their attachment to the local landscape more than money, and continue to live in the fort. The local community, which naturally has priority over the local amenities of their *gama* ("village") within the local context, are somewhat dissatisfied with their own amenities being enjoyed by others, while their wishes are being neglected. Alongside these negative impacts, it is also the case that the tourism economy, coupled with gentrification, has caused a remarkable improvement in the socio-economic level of the local population, who are now on par with their foreign counterparts, resulting in the rise of the middle class and thus creating social change in the fort. Positively, the benefits of tourism have reached all strata of society, and Galle Fort has achieved the economic goal of the modern people-centred approach, a sustainable trend in which the local community benefits from heritage. By contrast, its social goal has failed, as they could not enjoy the landscape as before, which has become a place for "outsiders" by displacing the residents in their own city.

Third, the research has identified the above changes as a number of interconnected outcomes or impacts, both positive and negative, which also translate into threats and challenges in managing the World Heritage property. These interconnected impacts affect each other at different levels, while the same impact may contribute to both positive and negative outcomes, an indication of the complex nature of urban heritage management, which only allows for mitigating the negative impacts rather than eliminating their root causes. For instance, gentrification has positively contributed to uplifting the local economy, while it has negatively created

a social imbalance at the fort. The interconnected critical issues within and outside the fortress walls (buffer zone) have ultimately created an entangled mass—commercialization and gentrification, "illegal" developments, a drop in the local population and their intangible values, threats to "living heritage," intrusive developments at buffer zones, threats to the colonial architecture and the visual integrity of the landscape—all of which recalls the famous Pāli stanza commonly used in the country: *anthō jatā bahi jatā [jatāya jatithā pajā]*, "entangled inside, entangled outside [and all together]."

Fourth, this research has identified why it is challenging for the country's long-established national heritage institution, empowered by a strong (colonial) legislation, to manage this small patch of land—less than one square kilometre—with other partner intuitions, while it has continued to manage the country's monumental heritage successfully for over a hundred years. The research recognizes a number of limitations in conventional management/regulatory systems and heritage institutional structures. Local heritage practice, heavily influenced by Western schools of thought and guided by conventional Western material-based preservation approaches, leaves no room for the community or its needs, as argued by the research. Against this background, managing a "dynamic city" with heterogeneous urban communities—local and foreign, residential and investor, state and institutional—with diverse needs, has become a challenge at Galle Fort.

The management of the World Heritage city is a matter handled collaboratively by a few state institutions, with a top-down management practice that has left no space for the community until very recent years. A number of cases discussed in this research show that collaboration within institutions is largely a matter of personal relationships between officials, while there are also conflicts of interest and power struggles among institutions for supremacy over each other. Furthermore, the (local) institutional management plans and building regulations of the World Heritage city have primarily been formulated according to the recommendations of the World Heritage Committee. The research argues that these policies and laws represent the preservation interests of UNESCO as seen by local policymakers, but not the requirements of the community—the real users of the urban landscape. Adding to the complexity, heritage decisions since the mid-2000s have tended to be politicized. Furthermore, empowering Galle Heritage Foundation as the key heritage management institution, as recommended by the World Heritage Committee, is weakly supported by heritage bureaucracy, and still remains vague. Weak decision-making power on the part of Galle Heritage Foundation, coupled with the personal power of officials, incentivizes the foundation to rely on political authorities to gain power, which will only sustain the politicization of heritage decisions in the future. Against this background, the overall management of the heritage city—with less integration of its community—remains a concern. This research questions the capability of Galle Heritage Foundation in managing the property without a serious structural and legislative revitalization, including expertise, financial transparency and the integration of the community into its management structure.

The major limitation of the Antiquities Ordinance (9, 1940), the most powerful (colonial) heritage legislation in the country, is identified as not having provisions to deal with (living) historic cities and historic buildings, which has also become a major obstacle in managing Galle Fort. Thus, the fort has been declared a "Special Regulatory Zone" within the provisions of the Urban Development Authority Act (41, 1978), a designation specifically focused on developments within the fort.

Chapter 7 provided strong examples to prove that the law is not implemented equally in the heritage city, i.e. between ordinary inhabitants and powerful investor/businessman, which is a strong criticism against the system by the local community. The chapter also shows that the attitudes of the heritage officers are the most important to the legislative process, rather than the equity of the law itself. Furthermore, the building development procedures, as currently practised under Special Regulations, 2009, have become a burden to ordinary residents, both financially and bureaucratically, while they have indirectly contributed to an increase in tourism-oriented commercialization.

The research has identified "materiality" as the priority of both the community and heritage institutions, however, aimed towards two different

goals—development needs versus preservation requirements. This has contributed to a major conflict of interest at Galle Fort. Both groups are eager to assert their needs and are mostly reluctant to compromise in many cases, highlighting the need for dialogue between stakeholders. The lack of negotiation and compromise between parties has created a contested landscape at Galle Fort, and ultimately a widening gap between the heritage institutions and the community.

The research has argued that bureaucratic and political will has played an important role in shaping the World Heritage project. As argued in the first chapter, the World Heritage recognition of Galle Fort was entirely an expert effort, supported by local politicians. "A Monument of Dual Parentage," a strategic phrase used in the preservation campaign, killed two birds with one stone by gaining the support of the country's highest political authority to list the country's largest colonial fort, and that of the Dutch donors, who financially supported the quest to preserve its "Dutchness." The strong economic interests behind this process have since grown, while the "Dutchness" of Galle Fort has become a central branding feature today, used in the same measure by the state, investors and the local community. The state always fears the possible delisting of the World Heritage city—a blessing, as also exemplified by the parliamentary debates regarding Galle International Cricket Stadium—tactfully used by the heritage officers of this generation in achieving their preservation goals within the political agenda. Thus, it is possible to negotiate with the state as shown by Galle Harbour Development Project, a positive example, which indicates that even firm political agendas can change in order to maintain World Heritage status, a "prestige" apart from its economic benefits.

Fifth, the research highlights the importance of the intangible values of the urban landscape, especially a sense of place on the part of the inhabitants. The anecdote on the poet's house in chapter 6 is an example that proves Lynch's (1975) idea of sense of place—which is created by memories associated with human activities in a particular place. The importance of "place" is further shown by three women's collective memories of the "earlier fort" (chapter 6); they recalled their memories of particular events merely by seeing that "particular place" on the map they created, despite the fact that the building associated with their collective memory was not physically there anymore. Their collective memories also show that place attachment differs from one person to the next. Adding to the complexity, the absence of a physical structure in the place creates more memories. Mrs Miguel regularly remembers the poet's late wife even when she sees the new building that replaced the former house, while the case is mostly the same for the poet. Furthermore, the research shows that the social capital of the city—the urban culture, the community feeling and shared customs—is dynamic amid the regenerating urban landscape and thus a challenge to preserve.

Despite these changes, critical issues and challenges, 30 years of the World Heritage project at Galle Fort have yielded significant positive achievements, including the remarkable improvement in the quality of life of the remaining local community, mentioned above. The preservation of material heritage has currently improved to a larger extent despite questions about conservation standards. Gradually, the community is recognizing the positive benefits of preserving material heritage, a matter largely associated with the economic benefits of World Heritage recognition. Most importantly, the former material-based preservation approach is slowly changing towards a participatory approach, while trust, dialogue, negotiation, cooperation and support are slowly progressing. Similarly, scientific research and capacity-building have improved substantially, mainly due to projects funded by Dutch donors.

Finally, the research argues that in spite of the best practices of participatory and people-centred approaches developed and promoted at the international level, they are slow to be implemented at the local level. The research has shown that urban materiality and the urban community who create or use this materiality and its memories cannot be separated from each other. The findings strongly emphasize the need for the "harmonious coexistence" of the urban community and its historic urban landscape, which are interdependent, in order to survive as a "living historic city." Thus, Galle Fort requires a well-balanced urban preservation approach that gives equal importance to fulfilling the aspirations of the "current urban community" and preserving

the "former colonial landscape." The research has also shown that urban heritage management is complex, challenging and also a sacrifice, as it is practically difficult to fulfil both the aspirations of the community and the experts, or all stakeholders, while also achieving the ideal "expert preservation" goals. I conclude that World Heritage recognition of the historic city should optimistically be seen as a new phase, rather than judging it as having failed or achieved success through its visible changes, which are heterogeneous, as seen at Galle Fort.

As expressed by a popular Sinhala saying, Galle Fort should not be *lōketa parakāsē, gedarata maragāthē*, "glory to the world, but a burden at home." World Heritage should be an instrument that can be used positively for the creation of a sustainable local community at Galle Fort, who could contribute to the posterity of their "*gama*" ("village") by continuing to exist as the "Pride of Galle."

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are provided based on the research findings in order to foster a participatory and people-centered urban management solution (discussed in sub-chapter 2.4.2) for Galle Fort with a greater consensus amongst stakeholders, especially the local community. Some of these recommendations also aim to increase the community's sense of belonging to the historic urban landscape as their *gama* ("village").

i. It is advisable to implement the two proposals in the "Integrated Management System 2015" to "harness the community in participation in the management of the property."[974]
   a. Establish the Coordinative Working Committee (CWC) with community representatives.
   b. Integrate community groups within the middle-level management structure of Galle Heritage Foundation.
ii. Consider having at least three community members—two for the residential community and one for the business community—in the Board of Management of Galle Heritage Foundation to improve collaborative and non-hierarchal decision-making, specifically in the decisions affecting the community. It is also recommended to consider the local community's request to appoint a community member in the Planning Sub-Committee.[975]
iii. Maintain close cooperation and collaboration with essential stakeholders in planning, decision-making and implementation processes that affect them. Apart from the proposed CWC and community groups, public participation methods such as stakeholder dialogue sessions, round-table discussions, etc. could also be used. Rather than sticking to a bottom-up or top-down management approach each time, it is advisable to use both in a complementary manner in each specific case.

> Stakeholders: local residents, local business community, foreign businessmen (and expats), public institutions located within heritage city, religious authorities, heritage institutions, policymakers, public institutions affiliated with the World Heritage city in various ways (e.g. Sri Lanka Cricket, Sri Lanka Ports Authority, etc.), political authorities, investors (local and foreign), etc.

iv. The above-mentioned recommendations could also be strengthened by appointing a public relations officer at the Galle Heritage Foundation (GHF) and thereby encouraging community dialogue.
v. Provide support (institutional and financial) for long-term residents in undertaking the development procedure.[976] It is recommended to provide a free consultation service (e.g., monthly) at the GHF and to make a chartered architect's services available for a nominal price through GHF, either by collaborating

974 p. 24, "Integrated Management System 2015" (Mandawala 2015).

975 As mentioned in sub-chapter 7.1.4.

976 As requested by the community and outlined in chapter 7.

with the heritage institutions that currently offer this or by appointing their own chartered architect. It is also recommended to continue the ongoing free service for families with a lower income. This would ensure a level of fairness for residents burdened with the excessive costs of the building development procedure.

vi. Provide technical booklets in order to help building owners and developers comply with development guidelines.[977]

vii. Apart from decision-making, it is also recommended to include community members (i.e. volunteers, schoolchildren, etc.) in archaeological initiatives in the heritage city, such as conservation projects, museum work, site monitoring, etc., and thereby to increase the community's sense of ownership of the historic urban landscape.

viii. Encourage and support (with expert/financial assistance) the local community in establishing a museum on their *gama* ("village"), managed by the community, which presents their shared customs, collective memories, stories, etc. in order to increase their sense of belonging to the *gama* as well as to promote valuing and preserving these assets.[978]

ix. Share necessary information with the public, including the fort community, with standards, specifically the laws, institutional policy documents, heritage decisions, projects planned and implemented in the heritage city and the annual finances of GHF, preferably through the official website of GHF.

x. Increase consciousness towards the practical uses of participatory management and best practices among stakeholders, including the community, heritage practitioners, officials, policymakers, bureaucrats, etc., preferably through workshops, social media and the official website of GHF.

977 This was a practically successful initiative in the urban renewals of Singapore in the early 1990s, carried out by the Urban Redevelopment Authority of Singapore (Kong 2011). An another example is "Heritage Homeowner's Conservation Manual Series" available at https://bangkok.unesco.org/content/heritage-homeowners-conservation-manual-series (accessed 20 March 2019).

978 A somewhat similar project that showcases the local community's presence in Galle Fort is currently being proposed by Dutch donors in collaboration with Galle Heritage Foundation.

Acknowledgements

Sitaron se aage jahan aur bhi hain, "There are yet more worlds beyond the stars"
— Dr (Sir) Muhammad Iqbal, the Poet of the East

Here I am in Leiden, wrapping up four years of a hard but much-enjoyed work. I came to Leiden in October 2014 in search of the "worlds beyond the stars." On my journey, there were many who supported me generously—some who are here today and others who are in the "worlds beyond the stars"—and whom I continue to remember with gratitude.

First, the late Prof. dr. Willem J. H. Willems, my initial supervisor, deserves deep acknowledgement. Prof. Willems, who was enthusiastic towards my PhD proposal on the World Heritage city enclosed by Dutch walls at Galle, supported my NUFFIC Fellowship application. Prof. dr. Maarten E. R. G. N. Jansen assumed my supervision within two months after I started, according to the wishes of Prof. Willems, who was kind enough to find new supervisors for his PhD students before his death. I profoundly acknowledge Prof. Jansen for his kindness and for "guiding the ship safely into the harbour," in his own unforgettable words. Prof. Jansen's involvement narrowed the research focus to Galle Fort's local community, which inspired me to discover their roots inside the colonial walls and their sentiments about their everyday landscape. Dr Amy Strecker and Dr Till F. Sonnemann, my co-supervisors, are gratefully acknowledged, as their contribution—through their expertise in law and analysis methods, respectively—has been equally significant to my research. During the final phase of this study, I knocked on Dr Strecker's office door almost every day (Dr Sonnemann was lucky that he was away at Bamberg University!), and she was kind enough to help "anytime," even correcting the English in the text.

I am very grateful to the Dutch organization NUFFIC for generously funding my project, which also afforded me a memorable time with an inspiring academic community in the beautiful Netherlands. I highly appreciate the ideas that Prof. dr. Ian A. Lilley and Prof. dr. Ana Pereira Roders offered during the initial stage of my study. At Leiden University, the late Dr Johanna Stöger, Dr Monique van den Dries, Dr Genner Llanes Ortiz and Dr A. T. Antczak are thanked for their ideas and encouraging words. My colleagues from East to West—from Japan to Mexico—who made my stay in Leiden happy and enriched my project with their ideas are also sincerely appreciated: Tomomi, Sony, Angus, Natalia, Krijn, Arnout, Maria, Eldris, Jana, Miyuki, Osiris, and Omar. I could not forget Kristen, for copy editing, and also my good landlords, Esmeralda and Teo Zee.

In Sri Lanka, I am very grateful to my employer, the Director General of Archaeology at the Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology—formerly Dr Senarath Dissanayaka, and currently Prof. P. B. Mandawala—for their considerable official support, from recommendations to providing permission for fieldwork in a World Heritage city. Mr Bernard Wasantha de Silva, then Additional Secretary to the Ministry of National Heritage (and currently the Secretary) deserves thanks for supporting my NUFFIC Fellowship application locally with his optimistic prediction: "anything signed by my [good] hand works out." Dr Jagath Balasuriya, the former Minister of National Heritage, is also thanked for generously granting the final approval for my four years' foreign study leave.

Among the number of public institutions who supported my fieldwork at Galle Fort are the Department of Archaeology, Galle Heritage Foundation and Urban Development Authority; they deserve deep acknowledgement, specifically their respective heads/officers: Ms Wasanthi Alahakoon, Mr S. L. Gunawardana, Ms Lakmini Hettiarachchi, Mr Tharanga Liyana Arachchi, Ms Priyadharshani Kariyawasam and Ms Manjula Bulathsinghala.

I sincerely acknowledge the community of Galle Fort—both the residential and business communities—from whom I gained much knowledge. To name some individuals to whom I am very grateful: Ms Chandani Atukorala, Ms Moninna and Mr Ranjith Gunawardana, Ms Alice and Mr B. Ruben, Mr Rathna Sri Wijesinghe, Ms Uresha and Mr Priyantha Perera, Mr Ravi Gunasekere and family, Ms Najia Sheriff, Mr Nasser Hussain, Mr Mohammed Kaleel, Mr Ranjan Perumal and the late Mr Vitanage Senake. In fact, they were the main contributors to my study, together with the heritage officers. I am especially thankful to the YWCA, my home at Galle Fort, including Ms Dora Samuel and Ms Chandani De Silva.

In Sri Lanka, I am also grateful to Prof. N. D. K. Dayawansa and Prof. Gananath Obeyesekere. My friends—Chiranthi, Lakmini, Kalyani, Darshani and Vasana—are thanked sincerely for being with me. My family is appreciated greatly for their love, care and dedication: my husband—a banker who sent his newly wedded wife to a faraway land for long-term study; my father—who raised two children and will see both of them receive PhDs; and my [late] mother—who had the great courage to live until I finished my secondary school exams; my brother and his wife Harsha; Apu; and finally our grandmother.

I dedicate this book "To Three Men"—Jinadasa, Ranjith and Rasika—my father, husband and brother.

March 2019, Leiden

Appendix: Inventory of Buildings in Galle Fort (2016)

No.	House_No.	Recorded_1992	Building Name	Street
1	CD_1	Yes	no	Chando Street
2	CD_2	Yes	no	Chando Street
3	CD_3	Yes	no	Chando Street
4	CD_4	Yes	no	Chando Street
5	CD_4A	No	no	Chando Street
6	CD_5	Yes	no	Chando Street
7	CD_6	Yes	no	Chando Street
8	CD_7	Yes	no	Chando Street
9	CD_8	Yes	no	Chando Street
10	CD_8A	Yes	no	Chando Street
11	CD_12	Yes	no	Chando Street
12	CD_14	Yes	no	Chando Street
13	CD_16	Yes	no	Chando Street
14	CD_18	Yes	no	Chando Street
15	CD_20	Yes	no	Chando Street
16	CD_22	Yes	no	Chando Street
17	CD_24	Yes	no	Chando street
18	CD_8/1	No	no	Chando Street
19	CD_8/2	No	no	Chando Street
20	CD_8/3	No	no	Chando Street
21	CD_8/4	No	Chinese Garden	Chando Street
22	CD_8/5	No	no	Chando Street
23	CD_10/2	No	no	Chando Street
24	CC_1	Yes	no	Church Cross Street
25	CC_1A	Yes	Araliya Guest	Church Cross Street
26	CC_3	Yes	no	Church Cross Street
27	CC_5	Yes	no	Church Cross Street
28	CC_9	Yes	Fortaleza	Church Cross Street
29	CH_2	No	Sports Club	Church Street
30	CH_3	No	Police Quarters	Church Street
31	CH_4	Yes	Galle National Museum	Church Street
32	CH_8	Yes	Amangalla	Church Street

33	CH_12	Yes	Dutch Reformed Church	Church Street
34	CH_14	Yes	Library	Church Street
35	CH_18	Yes	Post Office	Church Street
36	CH_20	Yes	All Saints' Church	Church Street
37	CH_21	Yes	Queens's House	Church Street
38	CH_22	Yes	Commercial Bank	Church Street
39	CH_23	Yes	YWCA	Church Street
40	CH_24	Yes	Clan House	Church Street
41	CH_26	Yes	Fort Bazaar	Church Street
42	CH_27	Yes	Hermitage Villa	Church Street
43	CH_28	Yes	Galle Fort Hotel	Church Street
44	CH_30	Yes	Galle Fort Hotel	Church Street
45	CH_31	Yes	Fort Kids	Church Street
46	CH_33	Yes	Coop Shop	Church Street
47	CH_33A	Yes	Dutch Gallery	Church Street
48	CH_35	Yes	Stick No Bills	Church Street
49	CH_36	Yes	Exotic Roots	Church Street
50	CH_37	Yes	Fashion Jewellery	Church Street
51	CH_38	Yes	Crisolite	Church Street
52	CH_39	Yes	Anha Jewellery	Church Street
53	CH_39A	Yes	no	Church Street
54	CH_40	Yes	Chambers	Church Street
55	CH_41	Yes	no	Church Street
56	CH_42	Yes	Lanka Gems & Jewellery	Church Street
57	CH_43	Yes	no	Church Street
58	CH_44	Yes	Mosque	Church Street
59	CH_45A	Yes	no	Church Street
60	CH_45	Yes	Cara Jewellery	Church Street
61	CH_46	Yes	no	Church Street
62	CH_47	Yes	Ibrahim Jewellery	Church Street
63	CH_48	Yes	no	Church Street
64	CH_49	Yes	no	Church Street
65	CH_50	Yes	no	Church Street
66	CH_51	Yes	no	Church Street
67	CH_52	Yes	no	Church Street
68	CH_53	Yes	The Stairway	Church Street
69	CH_54	Yes	Galle Fort Boutique	Church Street
70	CH_55	Yes	no	Church Street
71	CH_56	Yes	no	Church Street
72	CH_57	Yes	no	Church Street

73	CH_58	Yes	no	Church Street
74	CH_59A	Yes	no	Church Street
75	CH_59	Yes	Spa	Church Street
76	CH_60	Yes	Arabic College	Church Street
77	CH_61	Yes	no	Church Street
78	CH_62	Yes	no	Church Street
79	CH_62A	Yes	no	Church Street
80	CH_63	Yes	no	Church Street
81	CH_64	Yes	no	Church Street
82	CH_65	Yes	no	Church Street
83	CH_66	Yes	no	Church Street
84	CH_66A	Yes	Multi Gems	Church Street
85	CH_67	Yes	Star Gallery	Church Street
86	CH_67A	Yes	Saga Gallery	Church Street
87	CH_68	Yes	no	Church Street
88	GH_67B	No	no	Church Street
89	CH_68A	No	no	Church Street
90	CH_69	Yes	Dairy King	Church Street
91	CH_70	Yes	no	Church Street
92	CH_70A	Yes	no	Church Street
93	CH_71	Yes	no	Church Street
94	CH_72	Yes	no	Church Street
95	CH_73	Yes	no	Church Street
96	CH_74	Yes	no	Church Street
97	CH_75	Yes	Jasmine Villa	Church Street
98	CH_76	Yes	no	Church Street
99	CH_78	Yes	no	Church Street
100	CH_80	Yes	no	Church Street
101	CH_82	Yes	no	Church Street
102	CH_84	Yes	no	Church Street
103	FC_1	Yes	no	Front Cross Street
104	FC_1A	No	No 1A Court Square	Front Cross Street
105	FC_3	Yes	no	Front Cross Street
106	FC_5	Yes	no	Front Cross Street
107	FC_7	Yes	no	Front Cross Street
108	FC_9	Yes	no	Front Cross Street
109	FC_11	Yes	Pradimini Communication	Front Cross Street
110	FC_13	Yes	no	Front Cross Street
111	HS_4_6	Yes	no	Hospital Street
112	HS_8	Yes	Police Barracks	Hospital Street

113	HS_12	Yes	no	Hospital Street
114	HS_10	Yes	no	Hospital Street
115	HS_14	Yes	no	Hospital Street
116	HS_20	Yes	Bank of Ceylon	Hospital Street
117	HS_22	Yes	no	Hospital Street
118	HS_X	Yes	High Courts	Hospital Street
119	HS_XX	No	Dutch Hospital	Hospital Street
120	HS_24	Yes	Premadasas's	Hospital Street
121	HS_26	No	Kamu	Hospital Street
122	HS_28	No	no	Hospital Street
123	HS_28A	No	no	Hospital Street
124	HS_30	Yes	Laksana	Hospital Street
125	HS_32	No	Villa Aurora	Hospital Street
126	HS_34	No	no	Hospital Street
127	HS_40	No	no	Hospital Street
128	HS_42	No	no	Hospital Street
129	HS_42A	No	Lihiniya Gems	Hospital Street
130	HS_44	No	Light House View Inn	Hospital Street
131	LB_2	Yes	Magistrate's Courts, Galle	Leyn Baan Street
132	LB_6	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
133	LB_8	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
134	LB_9	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
135	LB_10	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
136	LB_11	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
137	LB_12	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
138	LB_13A	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
139	LB_13B	Yes	Wanigasekara Stores	Leyn Baan Street
140	LB_14	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
141	LB_15	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
142	LB_16	Yes	Riyad Café	Leyn Baan Street
143	LB_17	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
144	LB_18	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
145	LB_19	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
146	LB_20	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
147	LB_21	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
148	LB_21A	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
149	LB_22	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
150	LB_23	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
151	LB_24	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
152	LB_25	Yes	Baan 25	Leyn Baan Street

153	LB_26	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
154	LB_27	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
155	LB_28	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
156	LB_30	Yes	Olanda Antiques	Leyn Baan Street
157	LB_32	Yes	Mansion Villa	Leyn Baan Street
158	LB_34	Yes	Mansion Café	Leyn Baan Street
159	LB_35	Yes	Historical Mansion Museum	Leyn Baan Street
160	LB_36	Yes	Lily	Leyn Baan Street
161	LB_38	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
162	LB_40	Yes	Han Gems	Leyn Baan Street
163	LB_42	Yes	Dr. Gem & Jewellers	Leyn Baan Street
164	LB_43	Yes	The Three by TPV	Leyn Baan Street
165	LB_44	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
166	LB_48	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
167	LB_50	Yes	Galle Fort Fifty	Leyn Baan Street
168	LB_51	No	Prasanna Gems	Leyn Baan Street
169	LB_52	Yes	La Clochette	Leyn Baan Street
170	LB_53	Yes	Carrousel de Galle	Leyn Baan Street
171	LB_54	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
172	LB_55	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
173	LB_56	Yes	Situvili	Leyn Baan Street
174	LB_57	Yes	Casim Gems and Jewellery	Leyn Baan Street
175	LB_58	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
176	LB_58A	No	no	Leyn Baan Street
177	LB_59	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
178	LB_60	No	no	Leyn Baan Street
179	LB_61	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
180	LB_62	No	no	Leyn Baan Street
181	LB_63	Yes	The Spice Shop	Leyn Baan Street
182	LB_64	No	Inn 64	Leyn Baan Street
183	LB_65	Yes	Serendipity Arts & Café	Leyn Baan Street
184	LB_66	No	no	Leyn Baan Street
185	LB_67	Yes	Road Passenger Authority	Leyn Baan Street
186	LB_68	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
187	LB_69	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
188	LB_70	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
189	LB_71	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
190	LB_72	Yes	Royal Dutch Café	Leyn Baan Street
191	LB_73	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
192	LB_74	Yes	Fish Spa	Leyn Baan Street

193	LB_75	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
194	LB_76	Yes	Mama's Rooftop Restaurant	Leyn Baan Street
195	LB_77	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
196	LB_78	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
197	LB_79	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
198	LB_80	Yes	Tea Boutique	Leyn Baan Street
199	LB_81	Yes	Galle Fort Jewellers	Leyn Baan Street
200	LB_82	Yes	No	Leyn Baan Street
201	LB_83	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
202	LB_84	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
203	LB_85	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
204	LB_86	Yes	Jewel Craft	Leyn Baan Street
205	LB_86_2	No	no	Leyn Baan Street
206	LB_87	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
207	LB_88	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
208	LB_89	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
209	LB_90	Yes	no	Leyn Baan Street
210	LBC_3	No	Mango House	Leyn Baan Cross Street
211	LBC_4	No	no	Leyn Baan Cross Street
212	LBC_6	No	no	Leyn Baan Cross Street
213	LBC_8	No	no	Leyn Baan Cross Street
214	LBC_10	No	Galle Fort Guest House	Leyn Baan Cross Street
215	LBC_14	No	New White House	Leyn Baan Cross Street
216	LH_1/2	No	no	Light House Street
217	LH_2/2	No	no	Light House Street
218	LH_3	No	no	Light House Street
219	LH_3B	No	Lanka Travel Crafts	Light House Street
220	LH_4	No	Avery Galle Branch	Light House Street
221	LH_5	No	Queen's Building	Light House Street
222	LH_6	No	no	Light House Street
223	LH_7	No	Oriental Traders	Light House Street
224	LH_8	No	no	Light House Street
225	LH_8/1	No	no	Light House Street
226	LH_9	No	Anura's	Light House Street
227	LH_10	No	National Tea Room	Light House Street
228	LH_11	No	Anura's	Light House Street
229	LH_14	No	P.G.S. Tea Room	Light House Street
230	LH_16	Yes	St Joseph's Chapel	Light House Street
231	LH_23	Yes	no	Light House Street
232	LH_26	Yes	no	Light House Street

233	LH_X	Yes	Methodist Church	Light House Street
234	LH_XX	Yes	Southlands College	Light House Street
235	LH_30	Yes	no	Light House Street
236	LH_31	Yes	no	Light House Street
237	LH_33	Yes	Embark	Light House Street
238	LH_35	Yes	no	Light House Street
239	LH_36	Yes	YMBA	Light House Street
240	LH_37	Yes	no	Light House Street
241	LH_38	Yes	Southlands College	Light House Street
242	LH_39	Yes	no	Light House Street
243	LH_40	Yes	no	Light House Street
244	LH_41	Yes	no	Light House Street
245	LH_42	Yes	Taru Villas	Light House Street
246	LH_43	Yes	Muhusin Villa	Light House Street
247	LH_44	Yes	Deco on 44	Light House Street
248	LH_46	Yes	Old Dutch House Guest	Light House Street
249	LH_47	Yes	no	Light House Street
250	LH_48	Yes	no	Light House Street
251	LH_49	Yes	no	Light House Street
252	LH_50	Yes	Fortaleza	Light House Street
253	LH_50A	Yes	Exotic Roots	Light House Street
254	LH_52	Yes	Fort 52	Light House Street
255	LH_53	Yes	Barista Lavazza	Light House Street
256	LH_53A	No	no	Light House Street
257	LH_54	Yes	no	Light House Street
258	LH_54A	Yes	Spa Ceylon	Light House Street
259	LH_55	Yes	no	Light House Street
260	LH_56A	Yes	Pedlar’s Inn Gallery	Light House Street
261	LH_56	Yes	56 by Deco	Light House Street
262	LH_57	Yes	no	Light House Street
263	LH_58	Yes	no	Light House Street
264	LH_59	Yes	no	Light House Street
265	LH_60	Yes	Ambassador’s House	Light House Street
266	LH_61	Yes	Orchid House	Light House Street
267	LH_62	Yes	no	Light House Street
268	LH_62A	Yes	no	Light House Street
269	LH_62B	Yes	Pedlar’s Inn Hostel	Light House Street
270	LH_63	Yes	no	Light House Street
271	LH_65A	Yes	no	Light House Street
272	LH_65	Yes	Beach Heaven	Light House Street

273	LH_67	Yes	no	Light House Street
274	LH_68	Yes	no	Light House Street
275	LH_69	Yes	no	Light House Street
276	LH_70	Yes	Tembili House	Light House Street
277	LH_71	Yes	Galle Heritage Villa	Light House Street
278	LH_72	Yes	Albert Fort	Light House Street
279	LH_75	Yes	no	Light House Street
280	LH_76	Yes	no	Light House Street
281	LH_77	Yes	Mosque	Light House Street
282	LH_78	Yes	no	Light House Street
283	LH_79	Yes	no	Light House Street
384	LH_80	Yes	Ocean View	Light House Street
285	LH_81	Yes	Tea Development Authority	Light House Street
286	LH_82	Yes	no	Light House Street
287	LH_84	Yes	Fort Bliss	Light House Street
288	LH_86	Yes	no	Light House Street
289	LH_88	Yes	no	Light House Street
290	MD_1	No	Forteleza	Middle Street
291	MD_3	Yes	no	Middle Street
292	MD_5	Yes	no	Middle Street
293	MD_7	Yes	no	Middle Street
294	MD_13	Yes	no	Middle Street
295	MD_15	Yes	Dissanayake Building	Middle Street
296	MD_17	Yes	no	Middle Street
297	MD_19	Yes	no	Middle Street
298	MD_20	Yes	no	Middle Street
299	MD_21	Yes	New Old Dutch House	Middle Street
300	MD_22	Yes	no	Middle Street
301	MD_23A	Yes	no	Middle Street
302	MD_23	Yes	Sun Set Fort	Middle Street
303	MD_24	Yes	All Saints' College	Middle Street
304	MD_26	Yes	All Saints' College	Middle Street
305	MD_28	Yes	no	Middle Street
306	MD_30	Yes	K.M.P.G. Chartered Accountants	Middle Street
307	MD_32	Yes	no	Middle Street
308	MD_34	Yes	Elita Restaurant	Middle Street
309	MD_36	No	no	Middle Street
310	MD_38	No	no	Middle Street
311	MD_40	No	no	Middle Street
312	MD_42	Yes	no	Middle Street

313	NL1_1	No	no	New Lane I
314	NL1_3	No	Antik	New Lane I
315	NL1_4	No	Star Jewellery	New Lane I
316	NL1_5	No	no	New Lane I
317	NL1_6	No	no	New Lane I
318	NL1_6A	No	no	New Lane I
319	NL1_7	No	no	New Lane I
320	NL1_7/1	No	no	New Lane I
321	NL1_7/5	No	no	New Lane I
322	NL1_9	No	no	New Lane I
323	NL1_18	No	no	New Lane I
324	NL1_X	No	Viru Kekulu Preschool	New Lane I
325	NL1_53/3	No	no	New Lane I
326	NL1_53/2	No	no	New Lane I
327	NL1_53/1	No	Dudley and Sons Gems	New Lane I
328	NL2_1	No	no	New Lane II
329	NL2_3	No	no	New Lane II
330	NL2_4/2	No	Secret Palace	New Lane II
331	NL2_4/3	No	no	New Lane II
332	NL2_7	No	no	New Lane II
333	NL2_7A	No	no	New Lane II
334	NL2_7/1	No	Fort Haven	New Lane II
335	NL2_15	No	no	New Lane II
336	NL2_17	Yes	no	New Lane II
337	PR_1	Yes	no	Parawa Street
338	PR_2	Yes	no	Parawa Street
339	PR_3	Yes	no	Parawa Street
340	PR_4	Yes	no	Parawa Street
341	PR_5	Yes	no	Parawa Street
342	PR_6	Yes	no	Parawa Street
343	PR_7	Yes	Lucky Fort	Parawa Street
344	PR_8	Yes	no	Parawa Street
345	PR_9	Yes	Fort Rope Restaurant	Parawa Street
346	PR_10	Yes	no	Parawa Street
347	PR_11	Yes	no	Parawa Street
348	PR_12	Yes	no	Parawa Street
349	PR_13	Yes	no	Parawa Street
350	PR_15	Yes	no	Parawa Street
351	PR_18	Yes	no	Parawa Street
352	PR_16	Yes	Hulse Interior Decorations	Parawa Street

353	PD_2	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
354	PD_5	Yes	Sandaken	Pedlar Street
355	PD_6	Yes	Pearl Properties (Pvt) Ltd	Pedlar Street
356	PD_7	Yes	Gems Gallery	Pedlar Street
357	PD_8A	No	no	Pedlar Street
358	PD_10	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
359	PD_12	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
360	PD_13A	No	Inter Lanka Gems	Pedlar Street
361	PD_13B	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
362	PD_14	Yes	South Lanka Property Consultants	Pedlar Street
363	PD_15	Yes	Janahita	Pedlar Street
364	PD_16	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
365	PD_17	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
366	PD_18	Yes	Tea Boutique	Pedlar Street
367	PD_19	Yes	Decorista	Pedlar Street
368	PD_20	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
369	PD_21	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
370	PD_22	Yes	Taminda Batik	Pedlar Street
371	PD_23	Yes	Chic and Boheme	Pedlar Street
372	PD_24	Yes	The Original Rocket Burger	Pedlar Street
373	PD_25	Yes	Topaz Gem and Jewellery	Pedlar Street
374	PD_26	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
375	PD_27	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
376	PD_28	Yes	Designer Gems	Pedlar Street
377	PD_31	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
378	PD_32	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
379	PD_33_35	Yes	Frangipani Motel	Pedlar Street
380	PD_34	Yes	Elite Boutique	Pedlar Street
381	PD_36	Yes	Lasal's Souvenirs	Pedlar Street
382	PD_37	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
383	PD_38	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
384	PD_39	Yes	The Fort Printers	Pedlar Street
385	PD_40	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
386	PD_41	Yes	Barefoot	Pedlar Street
387	PD_42	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
388	PD_43	Yes	Baary Villa	Pedlar Street
389	PD_45	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
390	PD_46	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
391	PD_47	Yes	South Sri Lanka Property	Pedlar Street
392	PD_48	Yes	no	Pedlar Street

393	PD_49	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
394	PD_50	Yes	Chas Phayley & Co Ltd	Pedlar Street
395	PD_51	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
396	PD_52	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
397	PD_53	Yes	Heritage Café	Pedlar Street
398	PD_54	Yes	The Fort Printers	Pedlar Street
399	PD_56	No	no	Pedlar Street
400	PD_58	Yes	Multi Gems	Pedlar Street
401	PD_58A	No	Seylan Jewel Arts	Pedlar Street
402	PD_60	Yes	Bouganvila Guest	Pedlar Street
403	PD_60A	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
404	PD_60/1	No	no	Pedlar Street
405	PD_60/2	No	no	Pedlar Street
406	PD_60/3	No	no	Pedlar Street
407	PD_60/10	No	Nisala Guesthouse	Pedlar Street
408	PD_61	No	Pedlar’s Inn Gelateria	Pedlar Street
409	PD_62	No	IQRA Fashion	Pedlar Street
410	PD_62B	Yes	Pedlar 62	Pedlar Street
411	PD_62/4	No	no	Pedlar Street
412	PD_62/6	No	no	Pedlar Street
413	PD_63	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
414	PD_64	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
415	PD_64A	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
416	PD_65	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
417	PD_66	Yes	Koccoriko	Pedlar Street
418	PD_66A	No	no	Pedlar Street
419	PD_67A	No	no	Pedlar Street
420	PD_67	Yes	Shoba Traveler’s Tree	Pedlar Street
421	PD_69	Yes	Malabar House	Pedlar Street
422	PD_70	Yes	Atukorala Stores	Pedlar Street
423	PD_71	Yes	KK	Pedlar Street
424	PD_72	Yes	SALT	Pedlar Street
425	PD_73	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
426	PD_74	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
427	PD_74A	Yes	Aurora	Pedlar Street
428	PD_75	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
429	PD_77	Yes	The Living Room by TPV	Pedlar Street
430	PD_78	Yes	Jo Jo	Pedlar Street
431	PD_79	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
432	PD_80	Yes	Abrakadabra	Pedlar Street

433	PD_82	Yes	Super Jewels	Pedlar Street
434	PD_90	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
435	PD_92	Yes	Pedlar's Inn Café	Pedlar Street
436	PD_94	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
437	PD_96	Yes	Raux Brothers	Pedlar Street
438	PD_98	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
439	PD_100	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
440	PD_100B	No	Kareem Stores	Pedlar Street
441	PD_100A	No	Litro Gas	Pedlar Street
442	PD_102	Yes	Mrs Kalid's Guest House	Pedlar Street
443	PD_104	Yes	Veltevreden	Pedlar Street
444	PD_106	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
445	PD_108	Yes	no	Pedlar Street
446	RP_1	Yes	no	Rampart Street
447	RP_2	Yes	Bank of Ceylon	Rampart Street
448	RP_3	Yes	no	Rampart Street
449	QN_X	Yes	Maritime Museum	Queen Street
450	QN_3	Yes	Department of Archaeology	Queen Street
451	RP_7	Yes	no	Rampart Street
452	RP_7A	No	no	Rampart Street
453	RP_9	Yes	no	Rampart Street
454	RP_13	Yes	People's Bank	Rampart Street
455	RP_19A	No	De 19A	Rampart Street
456	RP_19B	No	Sea Green Guest House	Rampart Street
457	RP_23	No	no	Rampart Street
458	RP_25	No	Taru Villa	Rampart Street
459	RP_29	Yes	East India House	Rampart Street
460	RP_31	No	Rampart Hotel	Rampart Street
461	RP_35	No	no	Rampart Street
462	RP_37	No	Rampart View	Rampart Street
463	RP_47	No	Galle Muslim Cultural Association	Rampart Street
464	SCS_1	No	Salon Sanda Roo	Small Cross Street
465	SCS_1A	No	no	Small Cross Street
466	SCS_2A	No	no	Small Cross Street
467	SCS_2	No	no	Small Cross Street
468	SCS_3	No	Mosque	Small Cross Street
469	SCS_4	No	no	Small Cross Street
470	SCS_5	No	no	Small Cross Street
471	SCS_6	No	no	Small Cross Street
472	SCS_8	No	no	Small Cross Street

473	SCS_X	Yes	Mama's Rooftop Café	Small Cross Street
474	MB_1	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
475	MB_1/2	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
476	MB_2	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
477	MB_3	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
478	MB_4	No	Casa Bella	Small Modara Bay Street
479	MB_6	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
480	MB_8	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
481	MB_10	No	no	Small Modara Bay Street
482	SD_1	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
483	SD_2	No	Dutch Villa	Sudarmalaya Street
484	SD_3	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
485	SD_3A	No	no	Sudarmalaya Street
486	SD_4	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
487	SD_5	Yes	Yellow House	Sudarmalaya Street
488	SD_6	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
489	SD_7	Yes	Sri Sudharmalaya (Buddhist) Temple	Sudarmalaya Street
490	SD_12	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
491	SD_14B	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
492	SD_14	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
493	SD_16	Yes	no	Sudarmalaya Street
494	SD_22	Yes	Fort Dew	Sudarmalaya Street

No.	House_no	Period_1992	Fnction_1992	Function _2016	Commercial_type
1	CD_1	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
2	CD_2	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
3	CD_3	British	Residential	Commercial	Villa
4	CD_4	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
5	CD_4A	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
6	CD_5	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
7	CD_6	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
8	CD_7	British	Residential	Residential	Homestay
9	CD_8	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
10	CD_8A	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
11	CD_12	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
12	CD_14	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
13	CD_16	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
14	CD_18	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
15	CD_20	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
16	CD_22	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa

17	CD_24	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
18	CD_8/1	NR	NR	Residential	Null
19	CD_8/2	NR	NR	Residential	Null
20	CD_8/3	NR	NR	Residential	Null
21	CD_8/4	NR	NR	Resi & com	Guest house
22	CD_8/5	NR	NR	Residential	Null
23	CD_10/2	NR	NR	Commercial	Guest house
24	CC_1	British	Residential	Commercial	Null
25	CC_1A	British	Residential	Resi & com	Homestay
26	CC_3	Dutch/British	Residential	Residential	Null
27	CC_5	Dutch/British	Residential	Residential	Null
28	CC_9	Dutch/British	Educational	Commercial	Hotel and restaurant
29	CH_2	NR	Educational	Educational	Null
30	CH_3	Post-Independence	Residential	Residential	Null
31	CH_4	Dutch	Institutional	Institutional	Null
32	CH_8	British	Commercial	Commercial	Hotel
33	CH_12	Dutch	Religious	Religious	Null
34	CH_14	Dutch/British	Public	Public	Null
35	CH_18	Dutch/British	Public	Public	Null
36	CH_20	British	Religious	Religious	Null
37	CH_21	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Hotel
38	CH_22	British	Commercial	Commercial	Bank
39	CH_23	British	Institutional	Ins & Com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
40	CH_24	British	Commercial	Commercial	Null
41	CH_26	British	Institutional	Commercial	Hotel
42	CH_27	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Hotel
43	CH_28	Dutch/British	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
44	CH_30	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
45	CH_31	Dutch	Institutional	Institutional	Null
46	CH_33	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Retail
47	CH_33A	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Antique
48	CH_35	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Posters
49	CH_36	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
50	CH_37	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
51	CH_38	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
52	CH_39	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
53	CH_39A	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
54	CH_40	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
55	CH_41	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
56	CH_42	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery

57	CH_43	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
58	CH_44	Modern	Religious	Religious	Null
59	CH_45A	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
60	CH_45	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
61	CH_46	British	Commercial	Commercial	Null
62	CH_47	Dutch/British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
63	CH_48	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
64	CH_49	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
65	CH_50	Dutch/British	Residential	Residential	Null
66	CH_51	British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
67	CH_52	British	Residential	OC	OC
68	CH_53	British	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
69	CH_54	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
70	CH_55	British	Residential	Residential	Null
71	CH_56	British	Residential	Residential	Null
72	CH_57	British	Residential	Residential	Null
73	CH_58	British	Residential	Commercial	Tea & jewellery
74	CH_59A	British	Residential	Residential	Null
75	CH_59	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Spa
76	CH_60	British	Religious	Religious	Null
77	CH_61	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
78	CH_62	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Tea & jewellery
79	CH_62A	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
80	CH_63	British	Residential	Commercial	Café
81	CH_64	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
82	CH_65	Modern	Religious	Religious	Null
83	CH_66	British	Residential	Residential	Null
84	CH_66A	British	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
85	CH_67	British	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
86	CH_67A	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts and homestay
87	CH_68	British/Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
88	GH_67B	NE	NE	Commercial	Homestay
89	CH_68A	British/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
90	CH_69	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
91	CH_70	British	Residential	Residential	Null
92	CH_70A	British	Residential	Resi & com	Jewellery and homestay
93	CH_71	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
94	CH_72	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
95	CH_73	Modern	Residential	OC	OC
96	CH_74	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery

97	CH_75	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
98	CH_76	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
99	CH_78	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
100	CH_80	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
101	CH_82	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
102	CH_84	British	Religious	Religious	Null
103	FC_1	Dutch/Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Real estate
104	FC_1A	Dutch/Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Villa
105	FC_3	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
106	FC_5	Dutch	Commercial	Residential	Null
107	FC_7	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
108	FC_9	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
109	FC_11	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Stationery
110	FC_13	Dutch/Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
111	HS_4_6	Modern	Residential	Institutional	Null
112	HS_8	British	Institutional	Institutional	Null
113	HS_12	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
114	HS_10	Modern	Residential	Institutional	Null
115	HS_14	Modern	Residential	OC	OC
116	HS_20	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Bank
117	HS_22	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
118	HS_X	British	Public	Public	Null
119	HS_XX	Dutch	Institutional	Commercial	Shopping mall
120	HS_24	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
121	HS_26	NR	NR	Commercial	Restaurant
122	HS_28	NR	NR	Residential	Null
123	HS_28A	NR	NR	Commercial	Tea shop
124	HS_30	Dutch/Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
125	HS_32	NR	NR	Commercial	Villa
126	HS_34	NR	NR	Resi & com	Antique
127	HS_40	NR	NR	Residential	Null
128	HS_42	NR	NR	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
129	HS_42A	Subdivision	NR	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
130	HS_44	NR	NR	Resi & com	Guest house
131	LB_2	Dutch	Institutional	Institutional	Null
132	LB_6	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
133	LB_8	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
134	LB_9	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
135	LB_10	Dutch/British	Commercial	Residential	Null
136	LB_11	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office

137	LB_12	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
138	LB_13A	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
139	LB_13B	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Stationery
140	LB_14	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
141	LB_15	British	Residential	No function	Null
142	LB_16	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Tea shop
143	LB_17	British	Residential	No function	Null
144	LB_18	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
145	LB_19	British	Residential	No function	Null
146	LB_20	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
147	LB_21	British	Residential	Commercial	Lawyer's office
148	LB_21A	British	Residential	Commercial	Lawyer's office
149	LB_22	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Gallery
150	LB_23	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
151	LB_24	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
152	LB_25	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
153	LB_26	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
154	LB_27	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gallery
155	LB_28	Dutch/British	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer's office
156	LB_30	Dutch/British	industrial	Commercial	Antique
157	LB_32	Modern	industrial	Commercial	More than one
158	LB_34	Dutch/British	industrial	Commercial	Restaurant
159	LB_35	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Museum & jewellery
160	LB_36	Dutch/British	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
161	LB_38	Dutch/British	Residential	Residential	Null
162	LB_40	British	Commercial	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
163	LB_42	British	Commercial	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
164	LB_43	British/Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
165	LB_44	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Null
166	LB_48	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
167	LB_50	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Hotel and restaurant
168	LB_51	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
169	LB_52	Dutch/British	Residential	Resi & com	Hotel and restaurant
170	LB_53	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
171	LB_54	British/Modern	Residential	OC	OC
172	LB_55	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
173	LB_56	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gallery
174	LB_57	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
175	LB_58	NR	Residential	Residential	Null
176	LB_58A	NE	NE	Residential	Null

177	LB_59	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
178	LB_60	NR	Residential	OC	OC
179	LB_61	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
180	LB_62	NR	NR	OC	OC
181	LB_63	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Spice
182	LB_64	NR	NR	Commercial	Guest house
183	LB_65	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
184	LB_66	NR	Residential	Residential	Null
185	LB_67	British	Residential	Institutional	Null
186	LB_68	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
187	LB_69	British	Residential	Residential	Null
188	LB_70	British/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
189	LB_71	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
190	LB_72	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
191	LB_73	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
192	LB_74	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Jewellery and homestay
193	LB_75	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
194	LB_76	Post-Independence	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
195	LB_77	British	Residential	OC	OC
196	LB_78	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Villa
197	LB_79	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Villa
198	LB_80	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Tea shop
199	LB_81	British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
200	LB_82	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
201	LB_83	British/Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
202	LB_84	British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
203	LB_85	British	Residential	Residential	Null
204	LB_86	British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
205	LB_86_2	Subdivision	Subdivision	OC	OC
206	LB_87	British	Residential	Residential	Null
207	LB_88	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
208	LB_89	British	Residential	Residential	Null
209	LB_90	British	Religious	Religious	Null
210	LBC_3	NR	NR	Commercial	Villa
211	LBC_4	NR	NR	Commercial	Lawyer’s office
212	LBC_6	NR	NR	Residential	Null
213	LBC_8	NR	NR	Residential	Null
214	LBC_10	NR	NR	Commercial	Guest house
215	LBC_14	NR	NR	Resi & com	Guest house
216	LH_1/2	NR	NR	Residential	Null

217	LH_2/2	NR	NE	Residential	Null
218	LH_3	NE	NE	Commercial	Bookshop and homestay
219	LH_3B	NE	NE	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
220	LH_4	NR	NR	Resi & com	Closed shop
221	LH_5	Modern	NR	Commercial	Dispensary
222	LH_6	NR	NR	Resi & com	Leather products
223	LH_7	Subdivision	NR	Commercial	Retail
224	LH_8	Subdivision	Subdivision	Resi & com	Homestay
225	LH_8/1	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Leather products
226	LH_9	Subdivision	NR	Resi & com	Restaurant
227	LH_10	NR	NR	Commercial	Tea shop
228	LH_11	Subdivision	NR	Resi & com	Restaurant
229	LH_14	NR	NR	Commercial	Tea shop
230	LH_16	British	Religious	Religious	Null
231	LH_23	British	Residential	Residential	Null
232	LH_26	British	Residential	Residential	Null
233	LH_X	British	Religious	Religious	Null
234	LH_XX	Modern	Educational	Educational	Null
235	LH_30	Modern	Commercial	Institutional	Null
236	LH_31	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
237	LH_33	British	Residential	Residential	Branded handloom etc.
238	LH_35	British	Resi & com	Residential	Null
239	LH_36	British	Institutional	Ins & com	More than one
240	LH_37	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
241	LH_38	Dutch	Residential	Institutional	Null
242	LH_39	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
243	LH_40	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
244	LH_41	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
245	LH_42	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
246	LH_43	Modern	Residential	Residential	Homestay
247	LH_44	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
248	LH_46	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Homestay
249	LH_47	British	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
250	LH_48	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
251	LH_49	British	Residential	Residential	Null
252	LH_50	Dutch/British	Residential	Commercial	Villa
253	LH_50A	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
254	LH_52	British	Residential	Commercial	Villa
255	LH_53	British	Commercial	Commercial	Café
256	LH_53A	British	Commercial	Commercial	Retail

257	LH_54	Modern	Commercial	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
258	LH_54A	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Spa
259	LH_55	British	Residential	Residential	Null
260	LH_56A	Dutch/British	Residential	Commercial	Gallery
261	LH_56	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
262	LH_57	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
263	LH_58	British	Residential	Residential	Null
264	LH_59	British	Residential	Residential	Null
265	LH_60	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Villa
266	LH_61	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
267	LH_62	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
268	LH_62A	Dutch/Modern	Residential	OC	OC
269	LH_62B	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
270	LH_63	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
271	LH_65A	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
272	LH_65	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Homestay
273	LH_67	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
274	LH_68	British	Residential	Residential	Null
275	LH_69	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
276	LH_70	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
277	LH_71	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
278	LH_72	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
279	LH_75	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Null
280	LH_76	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Null
281	LH_77	Modern	Religious	Religious	Null
282	LH_78	Modern	Residential	Commercial	OC
283	LH_79	Modern	Residential	Religious	Null
384	LH_80	British	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
285	LH_81	British	Institutional	Institutional	Null
286	LH_82	British	Residential	Commercial	Villa
287	LH_84	British	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
288	LH_86	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Guest house
289	LH_88	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
290	MD_1	NE	NE	Commercial	Villa
291	MD_3	Modern	Commercial	OC	OC
292	MD_5	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
293	MD_7	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
294	MD_13	Dutch/British	Educational	Educational	Null
295	MD_15	British	Educational	Educational	Null
296	MD_17	British	Educational	Educational	Null

297	MD_19	Modern	Residential	Educational	Null
298	MD_20	Dutch/British	Residential	Commercial	Villa
299	MD_21	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
300	MD_22	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
301	MD_23A	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
302	MD_23	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
303	MD_24	Dutch/British	Educational	Educational	Null
304	MD_26	Dutch/Modern	Educational	Educational	Null
305	MD_28	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
306	MD_30	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Accountants
307	MD_32	Dutch/British	Residential	Commercial	Villa
308	MD_34	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
309	MD_36	NR	NR	No function	Null
310	MD_38	NR	NR	No function	Null
311	MD_40	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
312	MD_42	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
313	NL1_1	NR	NR	Residential	Null
314	NL1_3	NR	NR	Commercial	Guest house
315	NL1_4	NR	NR	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
316	NL1_5	NR	NR	Residential	Null
317	NL1_6	NR	NR	Residential	Null
318	NL1_6A	NR	NR	Residential	Null
319	NL1_7	NR	NR	Residential	Null
320	NL1_7/1	NR	NR	Residential	Null
321	NL1_7/5	NR	NR	Residential	Null
322	NL1_9	NE	NE	Residential	Null
323	NL1_18	NR	NR	Commercial	Restaurant
324	NL1_X	NR	NR	Educational	Null
325	NL1_53/3	NR	NR	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
326	NL1_53/2	NR	NR	Residential	Null
327	NL1_53/1	NR	NR	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
328	NL2_1	NR	NR	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
329	NL2_3	NR	NR	Residential	Null
330	NL2_4/2	NE	NR	Commercial	Guest house
331	NL2_4/3	NR	NR	Residential	Null
332	NL2_7	NR	NR	OC	OC
333	NL2_7A	NR	NR	Residential	Null
334	NL2_7/1	NR	NR	Resi & com	Guest house
335	NL2_15	NR	NR	Residential	Null
336	NL2_17	NR	NR	Residential	Null

337	PR_1	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
338	PR_2	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
339	PR_3	British	Residential	Residential	Null
340	PR_4	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
341	PR_5	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
342	PR_6	Dutch	Commercial	Commercial	Null
343	PR_7	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
344	PR_8	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
345	PR_9	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
346	PR_10	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
347	PR_11	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
348	PR_12	British	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
349	PR_13	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
350	PR_15	Modern	Residential	Residential	Homestay
351	PR_18	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
352	PR_16	British	Residential	Residential	Null
353	PD_2	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
354	PD_5	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
355	PD_6	NE	NE	Commercial	Real estate
356	PD_7	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
357	PD_8A	NE	NE	Residential	Null
358	PD_10	British	Residential	Residential	Homestay
359	PD_12	British	Residential	Residential	Homestay
360	PD_13A	Subdivision	Commercial	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
361	PD_13B	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
362	PD_14	British	Residential	Commercial	Real estate
363	PD_15	Modern	Commercial	Resi & com	Tea shop
364	PD_16	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Small boutique
365	PD_17	Modern	Residential	Residential	Homestay
366	PD_18	British	Commercial	Commercial	Tea shop
367	PD_19	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
368	PD_20	British	Commercial	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
369	PD_21	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Lawyer’s office
370	PD_22	British	Commercial	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
371	PD_23	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
372	PD_24	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant
373	PD_25	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
374	PD_26	British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
375	PD_27	British	Public	Public	Null
376	PD_28	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Gem & jewellery

377	PD_31	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Homestay
378	PD_32	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
379	PD_33_35	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Homestay
380	PD_34	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
381	PD_36	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
382	PD_37	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Tea shop
383	PD_38	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
384	PD_39	British	Commercial	Residential	Hotel
385	PD_40	British	Commercial	Residential	Null
386	PD_41	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Branded handloom etc.
387	PD_42	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Café
388	PD_43	British	Residential	Residential	Homestay
389	PD_45	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
390	PD_46	Modern	industrial	Commercial	Ice cream
391	PD_47	British	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
392	PD_48	British	Residential	Residential	Null
393	PD_49	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
394	PD_50	British	industrial	Commercial	Cloths
395	PD_51	Modern	Resi & Com	No function	Null
396	PD_52	British	Residential	Commercial	Homestay
397	PD_53	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Restaurant
398	PD_54	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Hotel
399	PD_56	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
400	PD_58	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
401	PD_58A	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
402	PD_60	British	Residential	Resi & com	Homestay
403	PD_60A	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Tea shop
404	PD_60/1	NE	NE	Residential	Null
405	PD_60/2	NE	NE	Residential	Null
406	PD_60/3	NE	NE	Residential	Null
407	PD_60/10	NE	NE	Resi & com	Guest house
408	PD_61	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Ice cream
409	PD_62	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Gem & jewellery
410	PD_62B	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Guest house
411	PD_62/4	NR	NR	Residential	Null
412	PD_62/6	NR	NR	Resi & com	Guest house
413	PD_63	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
414	PD_64	British	Commercial	Commercial	Proposed boutique hotel
415	PD_64A	British	Residential	Residential	Null
416	PD_65	Dutch	Residential	OC	OC

417	PD_66	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Guest house
418	PD_66A	NE	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
419	PD_67A	Subdivision	Commercial	Commercial	Gallery
420	PD_67	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
421	PD_69	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
422	PD_70	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Retail
423	PD_71	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
424	PD_72	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Cloths
425	PD_73	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
426	PD_74	Modern	Commercial	Residential	Null
427	PD_74A	Modern	Commercial	Resi & com	Handicrafts/ souvenir
428	PD_75	British	Residential	Residential	Null
429	PD_77	Dutch/Modern	Institutional	Commercial	Hotel & restaurant
430	PD_78	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
431	PD_79	British	Residential	Residential	Null
432	PD_80	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Handicrafts/ souvenir
433	PD_82	Modern	Commercial	Commercial	Gem & Jwelry
434	PD_90	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
435	PD_92	British	Residential	Commercial	Café
436	PD_94	Dutch	Residential	Residential	Null
437	PD_96	British	Residential	Commercial	Café
438	PD_98	British	Residential	Residential	Null
439	PD_100	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
440	PD_100B	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Retail
441	PD_100A	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Gas
442	PD_102	Modern	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
443	PD_104	Dutch	Residential	Commercial	Guest house
444	PD_106	Modern	Residential	No function	Null
445	PD_108	Modern	Resi & com	Commercial	Restaurant
446	RP_1	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Restaurant
447	RP_2	Post-Independence	Commercial	Commercial	Bank
448	RP_3	Modern	Residential	OC	OC
449	QN_X	Dutch	Institutional	Institutional	Null
450	QN_3	Dutch	Institutional	Institutional	Null
451	RP_7	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Gem & jewellery
452	RP_7A	Subdivision	Subdivision	Commercial	Real estate
453	RP_9	Modern	Residential	Residential	Homestay
454	RP_13	British	Residential	Residential	Bank
455	RP_19A	NE	NE	Commercial	Guest house
456	RP_19B	NE	NE	Commercial	Guest house

457	RP_23	NR	NR	Residential	Null
458	RP_25	NR	NR	Commercial	Villa
459	RP_29	British	Residential	Residential	Null
460	RP_31	British	Residential	Commercial	Restaurant/Gem & jewellery
461	RP_35	NR	NR	Residential	Null
462	RP_37	NR	NR	Commercial	Guest house
463	RP_47	NR	NR	Religious	Null
464	SCS_1	NR	NR	Commercial	Salon
465	SCS_1A	NR	NR	Residential	Null
466	SCS_2A	NR	NR	Residential	Null
467	SCS_2	NR	NR	Residential	Null
468	SCS_3	NR	NR	Religious	Null
469	SCS_4	NR	NR	OC	OC
470	SCS_5	NR	NR	Residential	Null
471	SCS_6	NR	NR	Resi & com	Homestay
472	SCS_8	NR	NR	Residential	Null
473	SCS_X	Subdivision	Subdivision	Resi & com	Restaurant
474	MB_1	NR	NR	Residential	Null
475	MB_1/2	NR	NR	Residential	Null
476	MB_2	NR	NR	Residential	Null
477	MB_3	NR	NR	Residential	Null
478	MB_4	NR	NR	Residential	Null
479	MB_6	NR	NR	Residential	Null
480	MB_8	NR	NR	Residential	Null
481	MB_10	NR	NR	Residential	Null
482	SD_1	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
483	SD_2	Modern	Public	Resi & com	Homestay
484	SD_3	Modern	Residential	Resi & com	Villa
485	SD_3A	NE	NE	OC	OC
486	SD_4	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
487	SD_5	British	Residential	Resi & com	Homestay
488	SD_6	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
489	SD_7	British	Religious	Religious	Null
490	SD_12	Modern	Residential	Residential	Null
491	SD_14B	British	Residential	Residential	Null
492	SD_14	British	Residential	Resi & com	Villa
493	SD_16	Dutch/Modern	Residential	Commercial	Villa
494	SD_22	Dutch	Residential	Resi & com	Hotel

(OC: ongoing development; NC: not clear; NE: did not exist in 1992; NR: not recorded in 1992; Resi & com: Residential and Commercial)

Chando Street



CD_1



CD_2



CD_3



CD_4



CD_4A



CD_5



CD_6



CD_7



CD_8



CD_8A



CD_12



CD_14



CD_16



CD_18



CD_20



CD_22



CD_24



CD_8/1



CD_8/2



CD_8/3



CD_8/4



CD_8/5



CD_10/2

Church Cross Street



CC_1 & 1A



CC_1A



CC_3



CC_5



CC_9

Church Street



CH_8



CH_12



CH_22



CH_23



CH_24



CH_26



CH_28



CH_30



CH_31



CH_33



CH_35



CH_36



CH_37



CH_38



CH_39



CH_41



CH_43



CH_44



CH_45A & 45



CH_46



CH_47



CH_48



CH_49



CH_51



CH_52



CH_54



CH_56



CH_57



CH_58



CH_59



CH_59A



CH_61



CH_62



CH_63



CH_64



CH_65



CH_67



CH_67A



CH_68



CH_69



CH_70A



CH_71 & 73



CH_72



CH_74



CH_75



CH_76



CH_80



CH_82



CH_84

Front Cross Street



FC_1 & 1A



FC_3



FC_5



FC_7



FC_9 & 11



FC_13

Hospital Street



HS_4 & 6



HS_8



HS_10



HS_12



HS_14



HS_20



HS_22



CH_24



HS_26



HS_28 & 28A



HS_30



HS_32



HS_34



HS_38



HS_42 & 42A



HS_44



HS_X



HS_XX

Leyn Baan Cross Street



LC_3



LC_4



LC_6



LC_8



LC_10


LC_12


LC_14

Leyn Baan Street


LB_2


LB_8 & 6


LB_9


LB_10


LB_11


LB_13A


LB_13B


LB_14 & 12


LB_16


LB_17


LB_19


LB_21



LB_21A



LB_23



LB_24, 22 & 20



LB_25



LB_25 & 27



LB_28 & 26



LB_32



LB_34



LB_35



LB_36



LB_38



LB_40



LB_42



LB_43



LB_44



LB_48



LB_50



LB_51



LB_52



LB_54



LB_55



LB_56



LB_57



LB_58



LB_59



LB_60



LB_61



LB_62



LB_63



LB_64



LB_65



LB_66



LB_67



LB_68



LB_69



LB_70



LB_71



LB_72



LB_73



LB_74



LB_75



LB_76



LB_77



LB_78



LB_79



LB_80



LB_81



LB_82



LB_83



LB_84



LB_85



LB_86



LB_87



LB_88



LB_89



LB_90

Light House Street



LH_3



LH_3B



LH_4



LH_8, 6 & 4



LH_7,9 & 11



LH_10



LH_14



LH_16



LH_22



LH_23



LH_26



LH 31



LH_33



LH_35



LH_36



LH_37



LH_38



LH_39



LH_40



LH_41



LH_42



LH_43



LH_44



LH_46



LH_47



LH_48



LH_49



LH_50



LH_50A



LH_52



LH_53



LH_53A



LH_54



LH_54A



LH_55



LH_56



LH_56A



LH_57



LH_58



LH_59



LH_60



LH_61



LH_62



LH_62A



LH_62B



LH_63



LH_65 & 65A



LH_67



LH_68



LH_69



LH_70



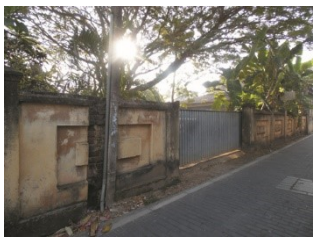
LH_71



LH_72



LH_73



LH_75



LH_76



LH_77



LH_78



LH_79



LH_80


LH_81


LH_82


LH_84


LH_86


LH_88


LH_X

Middle Street


MD_1


MD_3


MD_5


MD_7


MD_13


MD_15


MD_17


MD_19



MD_20



MD_21



MD_23



MD_23A



MD_24



MD_26



MD_28



MD_30



MD_32



MD_34



MD_36



MD_38



MD_40



MD_42

New Lane I



NL1_1



NL1_3



NL1_4



NL1_5



NL1_6



NL1_6A



NL1_7



NL1_7/1



NL1_7/5



NL1_9



NL1_18



NL1_53/1



NL1_53/2 & 53/3



NL1_X

New Lane II



NL2_1



NL2_2



NL2_4/2



NL2_4/3



NL2_7 & 7A



NL2_7/1



NL2_17 & 15

Parawa Street



PR_1



PR_2



PR_3



PR_4



PR_5



PR_6



PR_7



PR_8


PR_9


PR_10


PR_11


PR_12


PR_13


PR_15


PR_16


PR_18

Pedlar Street


PD_2


PD_5


PD_6



PD_7


PD_8A


PD_10


PD_12


PD_13A & 13


PD_14



PD_15



PD_16



PD_17



PD_18



PD_19



PD_20



PD_21



PD_22



PD_23



PD_24



PD_25



PD_26



PD_27



PD_28 & 30



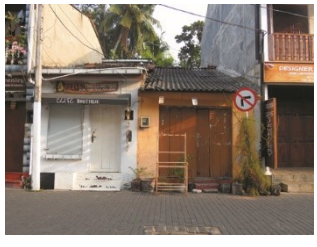
PD_31



PD_32



PD_33 & 35



PD_34 & 32


PD_36


PD_37


PD_38


PD_39


PD_40


PD_41


PD_42


PD_43


PD_45


PD_46


PD_47


PD_48


PD_49


PD_50


PD_51


PD_52

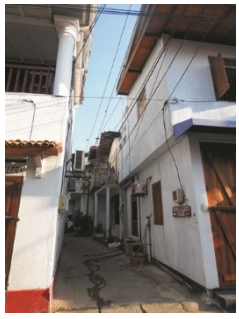

PD_53



PD_54



PD_58



PD_60/1, 60/2 & 60/3



PD_60



PD_60A



PD_61



PD_62B



PD_63



PD_64



PD_64A



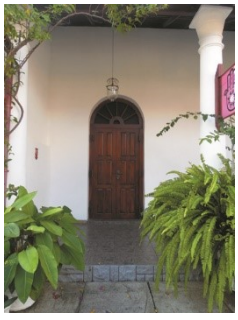
PD_65



PD_66



PD_ 67A & 67



PD_67A



PD_69



PD_70



PD_71



PD_73



PD_74



PD_74A



PD_75



PD_77



PD_79



PD_80



PD_82



PD_82, 80 & 78



PD_84



PD_90



PD_92



PD_94



PD_96



PD_98


PD_100


PD_100A


PD_100B


PD_102


PD_104


PD_106


PD_108

Queen Street


QN_3


QN_X

Rampart Street


RP_1


RP_2


RP_3


RP_7



RP_7 & 7A



RP_9



RP_13



RP_19A & 19B



RP_23



RP_25



RP_29



RP_31



RP_35



RP_37



RP_47

Small Cross Street



SC_1



SC_1A



SC_2



SC_2A



SC_3



SC_4



SC_5



SC_6



SC_8



SC_X

Small Modara Bay Street



MB_1



MB_2



MB_3



MB_4



MB_6



MB_6, 8 & 10

Sudharmalaya Street



SD_1



SD_2



SD_3



SD_3A



SD_4



SD_5



SD_6



SD_7



SD_12



SD_14



SD_14B



SD_16



SD_22

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
AIA	Archeological Impact Assessment
B&B	Bed and Breakfast or homestay accommodation
c.	circa
CWC	Coordinative Working Committee (in "Integrated Management System, 2015")
DOA	Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology
ELC	European Landscape Convention
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
Fig.	Figure
Figs.	Figures
GHF	Galle Heritage Foundation
GMC	Galle Municipal Council
GN	*Grama Niladhari* (either the GN officer or GN Division, the public administrative sub-unit)
HGIS	(Dutch) Homogeneous Group for International Cooperation
HUL	Historic Urban Landscape
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICCROM	The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites

ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
JAICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LKR	Sri Lankan rupee
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MAU	Maritime Archaeology Unit (Galle)
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration, United States
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OC	Ongoing Constructions (in Galle Fort)
OG	The Operational Guidelines of the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention
SLPA	Sri Lanka Ports Authority
UDA	Urban Development Authority, Sri Lanka
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund or United Nations Children's Fund
VIP	Very Important Person
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)
WHC	World Heritage Committee
WHO	World Health Organization
YMBA	Young Men’s Buddhist Association (Galle Fort)
YWCA	Young Women’s Christian Association (Galle Fort)

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Summary

Changes in the Cultural Landscape and their Impacts on Heritage Management: A Study of Dutch Fort at Galle, Sri Lanka

This study has dealt with the World Heritage recognition of Galle Fort ("Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications," 1988), a colonial fortified town in Sri Lanka, within the scope of the modern discourse on urban heritage conservation that underscores maintaining the balance between material preservation and fulfilling the aspirations of the urban community. The main research question explores two major aspects of the "changes" caused by the 30-year World Heritage project in Galle Fort: how it affected the local urban community, who had created a *gama* ("village")—a typical social and territorial unit—within the Dutch colonial walls, and how it affected the historic city as a "living monument."

The research findings, based on both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods, including SPSS and GIS techniques, shows Galle Fort's change is drastic and constant in every respect—its buildings, demography, economy, urban culture and way of life: a strong testimony to how World Heritage affects the historic city as a monument and its urban community in both positive and negative ways. The research argues that the material preservation goals (or the preservation of the colonial architecture and landscape) of the experts are only partially fulfilled at Galle Fort, while the socio-cultural values of the fort's residential urban community have sharply declined, which has not been afforded sufficient attention under local heritage practices. The research shows that common and unavoidable impacts of the World Heritage recognition of historic cities—global tourism, foreign direct investments, gentrification and foreignization of land, real estate pressures, tourism-oriented commercialization and continuous urban regeneration—are clearly visible at Galle Fort, as at a number of other World Heritage-listed historic cities in Asia. This study has critically analyzed how these impacts directly affect the residential community and historic city, both positively and negatively, indicating the complex nature of urban heritage management.

The research argues that in spite of the best practices of participatory and people-centred approaches developed and promoted at the international level, they are slow to be implemented at the local level. This study has shown that urban materiality and the urban community that creates or uses this materiality, as well as its memories, cannot be separated from one another, a fact that should be reflected in urban heritage conservation. It has critically analyzed the unique challenges of urban heritage management in the South Asian context—the conflicting interests of community aspirations and preservation goals, perceptions of justice in legislative application and political agendas—and thereby indicates that urban heritage management is complex, challenging and also entails a sacrifice, as it is practically difficult to fulfil both the aspirations of the community and the experts, much less all the stakeholders, while also achieving the ideal "expert preservation" goals. While the research highlights the idea that World Heritage recognition of a historic city should optimistically be seen as a new phase, it strongly emphasizes that Galle Fort requires a well-balanced urban preservation approach that gives equal importance to fulfilling the aspirations of the "current urban community" and preserving the "former colonial landscape."

Nederlandse Samenvatting

Veranderingen in het Cultureel Landschap en hun impact op Erfgoedbeheer. Een studie van het Nederlandse fort in Galle, Sri Lanka

Deze studie onderzoekt het erkende Werelderfgoed van Fort Galle ("Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications," 1988), een versterkte stad in Sri Lanka uit de koloniale tijd, binnen het kader van het huidige discours over stedelijk cultureel erfgoed dat het handhaven van het evenwicht tussen conservering van het materiaal en het nakomen van de wensen van de lokale stadsgemeenschap benadrukt. De belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag verkent twee voornaamste aspecten van "veranderingen" die veroorzaakt zijn door het dertig jaar oude Werelderfgoedproject in Fort Galle: hoe deze de lokale stadsgemeenschap hebben beïnvloed die een gama ("dorp") hebben gecreëerd – een typische sociale en territoriale eenheid – binnen de Nederlandse koloniale muren, en hoe deze gevolgen hebben gehad voor de historische stad als "levend monument."

De onderzoeksbevindingen die gebaseerd zijn op zowel kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve data analysetechnieken, inclusief SPSS en GIS technieken, laten zien dat Fort Galle's veranderingen drastisch en constant zijn in ieder opzicht – de gebouwen, demografie, economie, stedelijke cultuur en manier van leven: een sterke getuigenis hoe Werelderfgoed de historische stad als monument en zijn stedelijke gemeenschap in zowel positieve als negatieve manieren beïnvloedt. Het onderzoek beargumenteert dat de doelen van conservering van het materiaal (ofwel het behoud van de koloniale architectuur en landschap) van de experts slechts deels verwezenlijkt is in Fort Galle, en tegelijkertijd de socio-culturele waarden van de in het fort wonende stedelijke gemeenschap sterk verslechterd is. Deze gevolgen hebben niet voldoende aandacht gekregen van de plaatselijke erfgoedpraktijk. Deze studie toont aan dat de veelvoorkomende en onvermijdelijke impact van Werelderfgoederkenning van historische steden – wereldwijde toerisme, directe buitenlandse investeringen, gentrificatie, verbuitenlandsing van land, druk op onroerend goed, toerisme-georienteerde commercialisering en voortdurende stedelijke vernieuwing – duidelijk zichtbaar zijn in Fort Galle, alsmede in een aantal andere historische Werelderfgoedmonumentsteden in Azië. Deze studie heeft op kritische wijze geanalyseerd hoe deze positieve en negatieve invloeden een directe weerslag hebben gehad op de inwoners en historische stad, dat duidt op de complexe aard van stedelijk erfgoedbeheer.

Dit onderzoek beargumenteert dat ondanks beste praktijken van democratische en mens-centrale aanpakken die ontwikkeld zijn en bevorderd worden op internationaal niveau, deze langzaam worden geïmplementeerd op lokaal niveau. Deze studie laat zien dat stedelijke materialiteit en de stedelijke gemeenschap die deze materialiteit maakt of gebruikt, incluis het geheugen, niet los van elkaar kunnen worden gezien, een feit dat overdacht moet worden in stedelijk erfgoedbehoud. De studie kijkt kritisch naar de unieke vraagstukken van stedelijk erfgoedbeheer in de Zuid-Aziatische context–de tegenstrijdige belangen van de gemeenschapswensen en conserveringsdoelen, percepties van rechtvaardigheid in wettelijke toepassingen en politieke agenda's–die weergeven hoe complex en lastig stedelijk erfgoedbeheer is. Het vergt ook concessies omdat het praktisch gezien moeilijk is om zowel de belangen van de gemeenschap als de experts, laat staan die van alle stakeholders, te behartigen, terwijl ook het ideale doel "de vakkundige conservatie" verwezenlijkt moet worden. Hoewel

het onderzoek accentueert dat de erkenning van een historische stad als Werelderfgoed optimistisch gezien als een nieuwe fase beschouwd zou moeten worden, benadrukt het ook sterk dat een goed gebalanceerde aanpak van stedelijke conservatie een vereiste is voor Fort Galle, dat evenveel belang hecht aan het naleven van de wensen van de "huidige stadsgemeenschap" alsmede het behoud van het "voormalige koloniale landschap."

Curriculum Vitae

Uditha Niroshini Jinadasa was born in Bulathkohupitiya, Sri Lanka on 2 February 1979. Uditha finished her secondary school education at Girls' High School, Kandy in 1998; Kandy is a World Heritage-recognized city. In 2005, she completed a bachelor's degree in archaeology with First Class Honours at the University of Peradeniya. Since its completion, she has worked in the local and national heritage sector and trained as a researcher at the Central Cultural Fund, the country's second most important heritage institution, which manages its state-owned World Heritage-listed cultural sites. In 2009, she completed a MSc in GIS, GPS and Remote Sensing at the University of Peradeniya. In the same year, she joined the Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology—the country's national archaeology institution—as a research officer. Uditha started her PhD in October 2014 at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, funded by the Dutch organization NUFFIC. She continues to serve the Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology since the completion of her PhD.