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

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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).

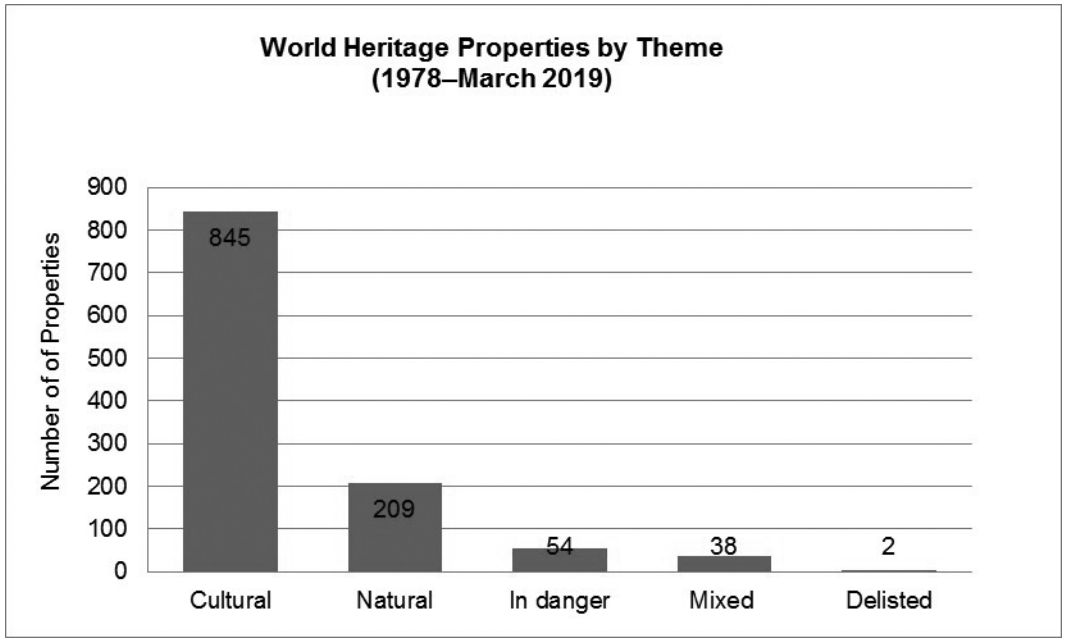

Fig. 25 World Heritage properties by theme (from 1978–March 2019).[153]

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).