

*Assessing community values in the management of
World Heritage : a Case Study from the Old Town of
Galle and its Fortifications, Sri Lanka*

Nuwan Abeywardana, Sarah Court, Jane Thompsan

Abstract

This article uses the example of a recent consultation campaign at the World Heritage property of the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications to discuss the contribution that community values can play in heritage decision-making. This work took place in the context of a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) that was requested by the World Heritage Committee after concerns were raised about the potential impact of a development project at the modern Galle Port. To supplement consultation among institutional representatives, a questionnaire was administered at Galle to understand the range of values held by residents, workers and visitors and their views of development. The results of this campaign showed that many values were connected to the living heritage aspects of Galle and that management considerations needed to support this living dimension in order to safeguard Galle's sense of place.

1. Introduction

World Heritage discourse has changed dramatically over the last few decades and researchers in heritage studies frequently emphasize the importance of community involvement in stewardship of World Heritage (Breen et al. 2015; Brown et al. 2014; Galla 2012; Smith et al. 2003). Initially World

Heritage was considered as a global or a national level experience, whereas many in heritage field now like to describe it as a more locally-rooted experience, thus respecting the varied and place-specific nature of the heritage (Breen et al. 2015; Mydland et al. 2012). International doctrines are now beginning to include references to the importance of including community values in safeguarding heritage; for example, the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society ('Faro Convention'; Council of Europe 2005) and the European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe 2012; Council of Europe 2005; UNESCO 2015) emphasize the importance of having local participation in the decision-making process related to the heritage (Mydland et al. 2012). Again the inclusion of 'Communities' in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, as a one of the Committee's five strategic objectives, reveals a growing recognition of the importance of community involvement in all stages of the heritage management process (UNESCO 2008). There are a range of other emerging issues that are related to the recognition of community connections to World and other heritage, including sustainable development and human rights (Brown et al. 2014), and Member States are encouraged to take necessary measures to involve indigenous and local people when preparing tentative lists and nominations for World Heritage (Wijesuriya et al. 2013).

In this context, built heritage is proving a heritage typology that lends itself more easily to community participation, as often it is a form of 'living heritage' that cannot be conserved without the consent and contribution of the local community. Heritage practitioners have recognized that it can be a vehicle for community identity and a dynamic measurement of urban development, which leads to the preservation of the physical and natural environment, together with intangible cultural aspects (Ashley et al. 2015). Conservation of built heritage has been part of urban development plans, however, sustainable methods for including shared human values in planning and management processes, and stakeholder participation in the heritage

conservation process have not been widespread, despite the integrated approaches towards the preservation of built heritage practiced over an extended period (Chirikure et al. 2010).

In 1992 the ‘cultural landscape’ category was included with the World Heritage framework, which describes the combined works of nature and human which demonstrate a complex interrelationship (UNESCO 2015). The nature of this heritage typology has encouraged heritage professionals to respect human values and indigenous knowledge, as well as to promote community participation in heritage management in order to reduce conflicts between traditional custodians, host communities and legal custodians (Chirikure et al. 2010). There is much to be learnt from this approach that could be potentially applied to other heritage typologies.

These issues will be explored below through the example of the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications. This Dutch fort is one of the cultural World Heritage sites in Sri Lanka and a living urban settlement, it is also considered one of the country’s major tourist attractions. In 2015 a Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA) was carried out by the authors in order to evaluate design proposals to upgrade port facilities for Galle. The evaluation focused on how the changes in Galle Harbour, the natural harbour formed by the bay to the south-east of Galle, foreseen by the port development proposal would impact on the adjacent World Heritage property and its buffer zone. This article will outline this work and the importance placed on incorporating community values into this heritage assessment and their key role in the management and development processes of this World Heritage property.

2. Materials and Methods

2.1 Study site

Galle Fort is located on a natural promontory extending into the Indian Ocean, on the edge of the modern town of Galle (the administrative capital of the Southern Province), located on the southwest coast of Sri Lanka

(Figure:1). There is little archaeological evidence for the earliest phases of human activity in the area, although thanks to its relatively safe, natural harbour Galle attracted international maritime traffic (the first recorded traveler to the Galle is Ibn Battuta; the Islamic traveler, who visited Sri Lanka in 1344; Ellis 2011) and became a major port and settlement from at least the fourteenth century (Siriweera 2013:84). However, Galle reached the peak of its importance during the 16th to 19th centuries when its fort was founded by the Portuguese and then developed by the Dutch, after 1640 it was the second largest fort belonging to the Dutch East India Company and important for their cinnamon trade; (Nelson et al. 2004), later being handed over to the British in 1796 (Bandaranayake 1992:13). Even in the British period, Galle was considered the country's main harbour until the construction of the Colombo harbour in 1873.

Since that period Galle Fort has lost its defensive role but still remains very much a living town whose inhabitants have diverse socio-economic status and multi-cultural characteristics. According to the government census department few thousands of people inhabit Galle Fort while the district population exceed 1,000,000 people (Thompson et al. 2015). Galle Fort extent to 38 hectares and ten housing units per hectare recorded in 2001. Moreover, a decrease in population density is visible in the census data, and in 2001, it recorded as 52 people for one hectare (Wijayapala 2006).

The ramparts of the fort and some important buildings inside the fort were listed as protected monuments by the national law (*Antiquities Ordinance* in 1971; Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka 2015). Since Galle Fort became a World Heritage property in 1988, it attracts many national and international tourists. It was inscribed on the basis of criterion (iv) ('an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history') due to its well-preserved fortifications and few modifications to the original context. Its well-

preserved urban landscape including ramparts, street grid, the distinct layout of the street facade and, outstanding monuments, like the 17th-century warehouses and Dutch church, combined with the view from seascape, makes Galle Fort an exceptional example of a European urban settlement in South Asia (*Figure:2*).

Analysis of Galle Fort's history led to the emergence of one key factor in the establishment and the development of Galle over the centuries: its location on the sea. The settlement's history has always been intimately connected to the maritime activity that took place in the large bay that forms a natural harbour to the east of the low headland on which Galle Fort is situated (Wagenaar 1994). Galle Harbour has welcomed ocean-going and local seafaring traffic for centuries, enjoying Sri Lanka's 'geostrategic location at the center of the Indian Ocean, at the cross-roads of all the maritime routes east and west' (Fernando 2013:13). Galle Fort, its historic port, anchorage further out into the Harbour, more recent port facilities across Galle Harbour (where the new development project is due to take place) - and indeed the entire coastline - have historically been part of a bustling seascape, acting as a hub between the Indian Ocean and the Sri Lankan interior for arriving and departing traders and travelers. In many ways, port activity is Galle Fort's *raison d'être* and while it has decreased over time, it has never ceased: 'the setting of Galle Harbour is one of cultural continuity in that it has the same natural form and has operated in the same capacity for centuries, from Indian-Arab trading times to the present day' (Anderson, Green & Souter 2007:25).

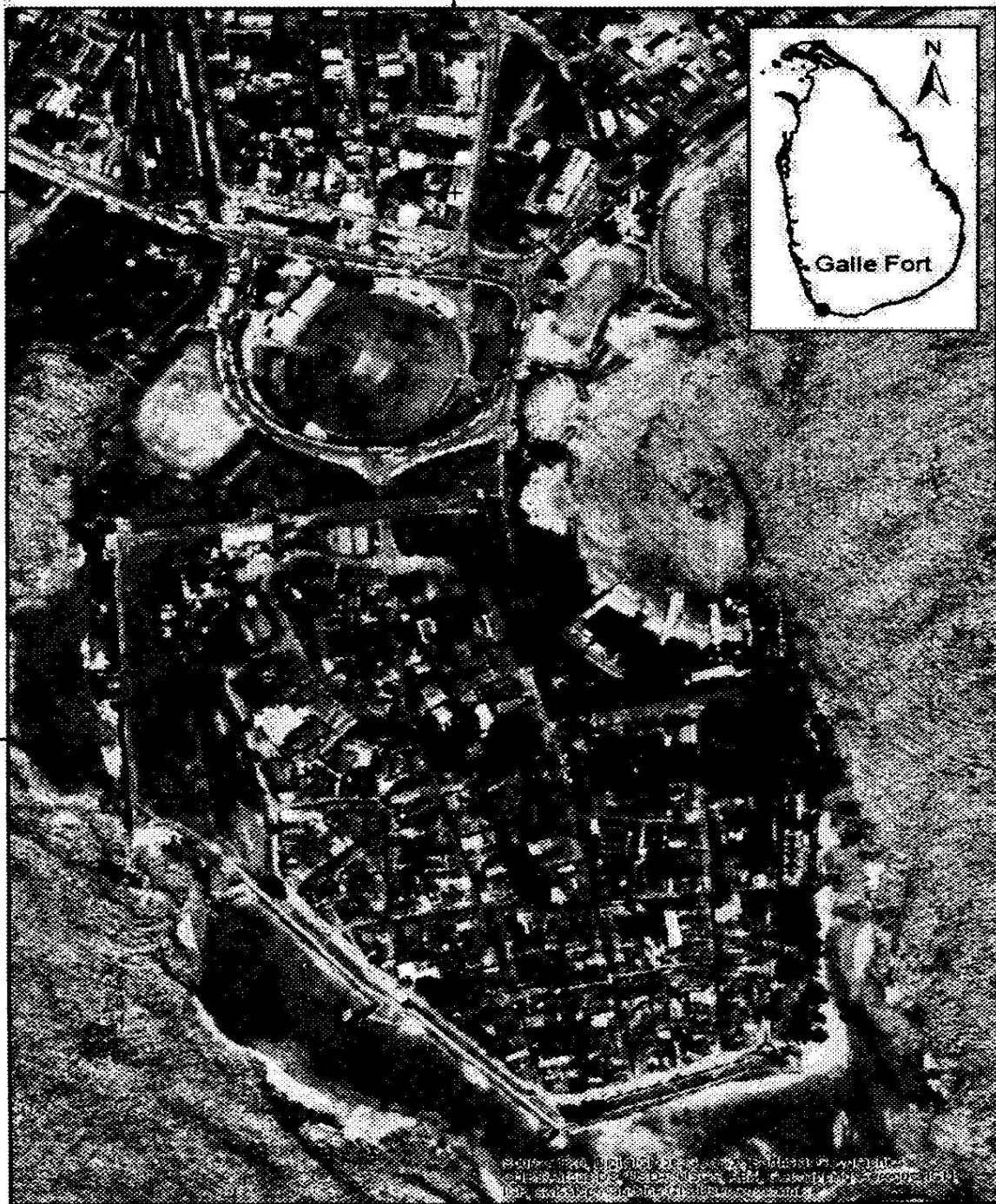


Figure 1: Location of Galle Fort World Heritage Property

2.2 Data collection and sampling design

The public consultation that this article describes took place in the context of a full Heritage Impact Assessment carried out by a multi-disciplinary team. The methodology was largely based on ICOMOS's 2011 *Guidance on Heritage Impact Assessments for Cultural World Heritage Properties* in conjunction with the UNESCO World Heritage Operational Guidelines and, when appropriate, other best practice for impact assessments. A desk-based assessment was carried out to collect and analyse information from published and unpublished materials, including information obtained from the relevant public authorities. In addition, many sites visits were made to understand the attributes of World Heritage property and its underlying values as held by a range of stakeholders.

An important part of this methodology was a consultation process that took place with three key groups in order to gain: a) specific technical and professional feedback from institutional stakeholders, b) public opinion with regard to cultural and other values, existing needs, as well as future risks and opportunities and c) specialist input from the coastal engineering sector. This article focuses on the second group and public consultation took place through face to face interviews in Galle to gain the views of people with a connection to the World Heritage property, in particular, with residents, workers and visitors (both national and international) with regard to the specific plans for the port and increased tourism.

The questionnaire was administered in the early part of 2015 with a sample of 205 people. Due to constraints related to the HIA's timeframes for data collecting and overall scope, convenience sampling was carried out, with an effort to speak to a minimum of 30 people in key stakeholder categories (e.g. residents of the Old Town of Galle; residents of the modern town of Galle; people working within the Old Town of Galle; Sri Lankan visitors; international visitors) in order to respect Sekaran and Bougie's recommendation for minimum samples (2009:296). Closed questions were

used to establish the respondents' relationship to the Old Town of Galle and then to measure attitudes to the existing situation and future developments. The first part of the questionnaire asked questions about the current situation in the Galle Fort, all related to tourism as early analysis of the Galle Port Development Project revealed a limited number of direct impacts but did indicate the potential of large indirect impacts regarding tourism development. Therefore, an aim was to understand the existing situation so that it could then be compared to potential future impacts and to inform recommendations. Another section of the questionnaire looked specifically at the impact of the proposed port development. The HIA team did not offer any details because it would have proved problematic to enter into discussion with members of the public over technical issues and risk the process being misread as a design review. Instead, the focus of new port facilities on tourism was stated and then related issues were explored. A final section asked some simple questions about what secondary developments might take place beyond the Galle Port Development Project if high levels of tourism were attracted (e.g. new infrastructure, hotels, etc.). This sought to identify the potential risks, in particular for secondary development and where good management needs to be guaranteed in advance so as to encourage lasting forms of sustainable development (UNESCO 2016). In addition, some basic information about the respondent was requested while maintaining anonymity so as to allow the answers of different interest groups to be analysed separately and crosschecked.

3. Results

In order to assess any impact on World Heritage and its Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), positive and negative, of changes to the property or its setting, it is important to depart from the attributes that convey that value and allow an understanding of it. Attributes might be physical qualities or fabric but can also be processes associated with a property that impact on physical qualities, such as natural or agricultural processes, social arrangements or cultural practices that have shaped distinctive landscapes

(UNESCO 2015). These are the actual elements or features of a property that are vulnerable to change and hence the focus of protection and management actions, and institutional arrangements. Part of the assessment process of the HIA included identifying the attributes that convey those values. Values were classified into several categories as follows:

- Historic/Archaeological
- Architectural/Urban
- Military
- Maritime
- Economic/Trade
- Political/Administrative
- Transport/Communication
- Landscape/Seascape
- Living Heritage (Continuity)
- Living Heritage (Adaptation over time)
- Social
- Ecological/Natural
- Associative
- Esoteric
- Leisure/Tourism



Figure 2: Remains of Colonial Architecture in Galle Fort

During this significance assessment it became clear how important it was to understand Galle's OUV in context but also of considering values of Galle Fort beyond its OUV. The full attributes/values table that was created indicated that often it was the entirety of Galle Fort as an ensemble in conjunction with its setting, and the forms of continuity and change in use patterns therein, which constituted the attribute expressing or associated with many of the significant cultural values of this property. The HIA team considered this to be a strong justification for assessing impacts of the Port Development Project on all cultural values - in particular, those held by local community members - and not just OUV. The significance assessment also revealed how some values categories were more connected to the experience

of local residents and indeed in some cases their way of life was the heritage attribute.

Table 1: Some values and attributes related to the local community.

Categories	Values	Attributes
Living Heritage 1 (Continuity)	The old town of Galle Fort as a living historic center with a residential community	Colonial houses; streets; shops; residents; etc.
	Continuity of families living within Galle Fort and even within individual houses	E.g. Four generations of Sooriya Markar's at 38 Leyn Baan Street; five generations have lived at 80 Lighthouse Street
	Newcomers from around country and the World regularly renewing the population of Galle Fort	Residents
	Long traditions of small commercial interests in Galle Fort	Gem shops; jeweler making; lace making; wood carving; etc.
Living Heritage 2 (Adaptations over Time)	Galle Fort's buildings of different periods adapted to meet the changing needs of local residents over its long history	Post office/ Arabic College; VOC warehouse/ Maritime museum; Governor's residence /New Oriental Hotel / Amangalla Hotel; etc.
	Dutch colonial houses within Galle Fort now home to residents from Sri	Colonial houses; residents

Lanka and beyond

New arrivals to Galle fort restoring and re-using heritage building throughout history	Governor's residence/ Amangalla hotel; No.75 Lighthouse Street/Thomas Galle International School; No. 28 Church Street/Galle Fort Hotel; etc.
Some of Galle Fort's heritage buildings converted into visitors attractions	Maritime Museum; National Museum; Privet Museums; etc.
Social	Galle Fort as home to a multi-faith and multi-ethnic community
Sinhalese, Tamil, Muslim, Burgher and other residents; MOSque; Galle Muslim Cultural Association; Arabic College; Tomb of Muslim saint Dathini Ziyaram; Sri Dhudharmalaya Temple; Bo tree; Young Men's Buddhist Association; Dutch Reformed Church; All Saint's Church; etc.	
Galle Fort as a place of fusion between cultures	Buddhist temple complex (elements of Buddhist religious architecture (Dutch style); Dutch Reformed Church tombstone (Sinhalese pattern/ Christian iconography); Dutch Reformed Church pulpit (Kalamanda wood with pomegranate tip/Sinhalese style); etc.

Ecological/ Natural	Galle Fort's commerce still encouraging small traders and individual vendors, with few chain stores and no large supermarket within the old town	Small shops; street vendors; etc
	The needs of Galle Fort's residents partly sustained by locally-sourced foodstuffs	Food stuffs such as octopus and lobsters (around Fort); sweet corn; coconuts; fisherman selling catch on beaches from the Fort to the new port; etc.
Associative	Main stopping off point for international visitors coming to Sri Lanka by sea	Galle Port; New Oriental Hotel; archive newspaper, etc.
	Galle Fort's lace production still supplying niche markets, including major film and TV productions	Lace makers; Lace items; films\TV programmes (e.g. Shekhar Kapur's 2007 film <i>Elizabeth: The Golden Age</i> , BBC's 2006 miniseries <i>Jane Eyre</i> and ITV's 2007 television film <i>Persuasion</i>); etc.
Leisure/Tourism	Galle Fort as containing informal areas for sport and leisure	Fortifications as used to view and play cricket; play football; jog; free dive from Flag Rock; swim at Lighthouse Beach; walk; etc.
	Informal meeting place for friends, lovers and families walking and sitting on the ramparts	Fortifications including ramparts and bastions; etc.

Location for contemporary cultural events	Events such as Galle Literary Festival, Galle Music Festival, Galle Art trail, etc.
Galle Fort providing hospitality to travelers over centuries	Guesthouses; hotels; cafes; restaurants; tuk-tuk; etc
Contemporary attraction	visitor Fortification; buildings; monuments; etc. heritage museums;
Calm and relaxing location after the bustle of modern Galle	Galle Fort including ramparts; sea views; cafes; restaurants; heritage buildings; etc.
Location for shopping in antiques shops, galleries, boutiques, gift shops, etc.	Shops; galleries; etc.

Values and the attributes mentioned in the Table No.1 clearly demonstrate the community stakeholders' link with the property be it their home, their place of work (e.g. craft people, fishermen, commercial vendors) or in the form of local visitors. However, the conservation approaches during last few decades, driven by the archaeologists and conservation specialists, mainly concentrated on the physical fabric of the site, prioritizing historical/archaeological and architectural values, with little awareness of how community values and use patterns were inseparable from the cultural significance of Galle. This oversight is not a problem unique to Galle but a challenge facing cultural heritage practitioners worldwide. In the case of Galle, it also resulted in difficulties regarding the management of those heritage values which also depend on Galle's wider setting, natural and cultural values. The large coastal and maritime landscape has undergone changes and modernization that at times have had negative repercussions on

heritage values, although measures have been established in recent times to overcome this trend by working with all stakeholders.

Already prior to the HIA, particular effort by the heritage authority has been taken to ensure community involvement as part of preparations for a management plan for Galle Fort with regard to problems that were faced by those who lived and worked there. The recent HIA process was able to build on this and the public consultation helped to understand the community perception of proposed port development project and regarding values of the place, existing needs, as well as future risks and opportunities. Analysis of the questionnaire results revealed the following views (Table 2).

Table 2: Results of the public consultation: key concerns

Views on	Key concerns
<i>Galle Fort and its heritage</i>	<p>The majority of respondents enjoy Galle Fort</p> <hr/> <p>Residents of modern Galle were the least enthusiastic group in terms of enjoying spending time in Galle Fort, being mildly positive or neutral;</p> <hr/> <p>96% of respondents stated that they enjoyed looking out from Galle Fort at the views over the sea;</p> <hr/> <p>Being able to see daily life on the streets of Galle Fort was significant to 71% of respondents and was particularly important to foreign visitors, 93% of whom agreed or strongly agreed that they liked observing real life in the Old Town.</p>
<i>the port development project</i>	<p>Overall the respondents showed solid agreement with the statement that a port development project would bring advantages to the community;</p> <hr/> <p>While there was majority support for a port development to encourage increased tourism, 80% of respondents were</p>

in favor of a development that would attract visitors to Galle by boat, while a significant 20% fewer respondents believed that cruise tourism would bring advantages to the community;

Specific advantages that are expected from the port development project are increased tourism, business opportunities, economic improvement and urban development

It is interesting to note that the advantages expected from the cruise industry, although still thematically similar, were on a smaller scale e.g. job opportunities rather than business opportunities and improved living standards rather than urban development.

*the existing
tourism*

The pOSitive view of the port development project seem to be based on the existing experience of tourism within Galle Fort, as a similar number of respondents (78%) believed that tourism already brought advantages to the local community, with 90% of examples given related to economic and employment benefits;

While there is general support for tourism, nearly half of all respondents were able to identify disadvantages that came with it, with concerns raised about crime, loss of traditional lifestyles, damage to heritage, problems for local residents (property prices increase, overcrowded town, infrastructure problems, etc.);

However, some specific groups, such as those working in the tourism sector, were neutral on the subject of disadvantages from tourism - and both foreign and Sri Lankan visitors are almOSt as unaware of potential problems;

Residents of the modern town of Galle currently seem largely unaffected by tourism, perceiving neither

advantages nor disadvantages, suggesting that benefits related to heritage are not being gained by the wider community;

Foreign visitors and those working in the tourism sector are more confident than other stakeholders that tourism brings benefits to Galle, perhaps suggesting that beyond simple economic transactions, few other benefits are currently being perceived.

*secondary
development
issues*

Fort residents and those who work in the Fort are those most concerned about the impact of tourism on traditional life but only mildly so;

Concerns relating to the impact of increased tourism on traditional life included: crime, drugs, overcrowding, financial difficulties for those wishing to live in the Fort, inappropriate social behavior, loss of culture, damage to heritage, loss of authenticity

Most people were neutral/undecided on the subject of Galle being ready to host more tourism, although those working in the tourism sector had slightly higher confidence in the readiness of Galle to develop in this direction;

Roughly a quarter of respondents thought it was necessary to have more hotels/restaurants, both in the Fort and at the port in order to accommodate more tourism; an eighth of respondents thought it would be useful to have a new boat service to allow movement across the harbour;

There were perceived needs for an information center, diving centers, more recreational activities, supermarket and improved transportation at the Fort;

Suggestions for development around the port included shops (including crafts, souvenirs, etc.), an information

center, health facilities and improved transportation;

Suggestions to distribute visitors to Galle around the wider area included the need for direct connections to tourist attractions at Hikkaduwa, Unawatuna, and Hambantota.

4. Discussions

It is important to always understand a management culture by looking at institutional traditions and legal frameworks. This is particularly important for sectors dealing with a collective interest and a shared responsibility like

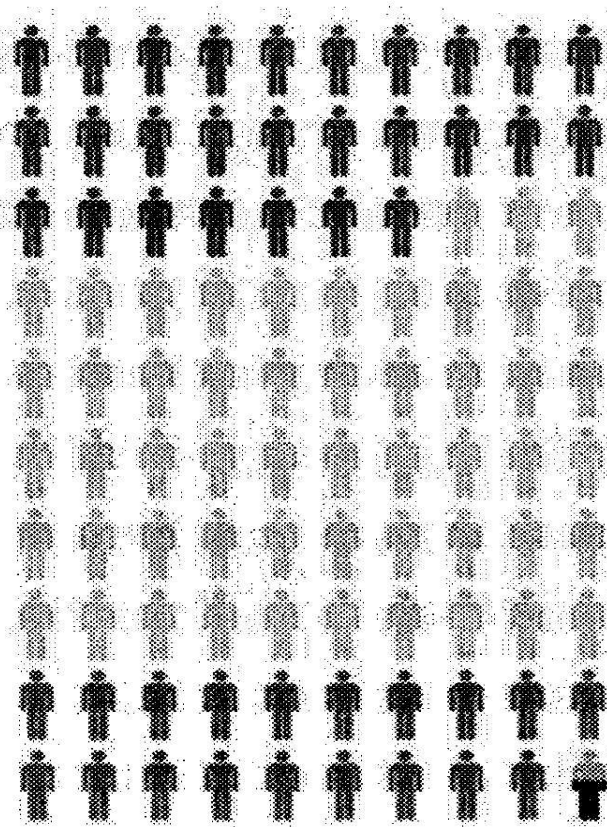


Figure 3: A large majority of the public agreed (light green) or strongly agreed (dark green) with the statement: 'Developing the port to encourage more visitors to come to Galle by boat would bring advantages'. A small group neither agreed nor disagreed (grey) and only one person disagreed (orange) and strongly disagreed (red).

Image: Sarah Court.

heritage. Sri Lanka today still works with the solid but at times overly rigid laws and centralized institutional framework to protect the archaeological heritage of the country inherited from very different eras. The Department of Archaeology, which has founded in 1890 under the colonial government, is the apex institution for protection and management of archaeological heritage in Sri Lanka. In addition, the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) was established in 1980 as a semi-government institution with the aim of carrying out archaeological research, conservation, interpretation and site presentation, and management of principle heritage sites, including the cultural World Heritage properties. The primary legislation for the protection of Sri Lanka's estimated 200,000 sites and monuments is the 1940 Antiquities Ordinance (amended in

1998). This legislation protects the island's archaeological sites and monuments with two measures: i) site- and monument-specific protection; and ii) protection of the setting/landscape within which a site is located (Government of Sri Lanka 1940).

Besides the Antiquities Ordinance, there are a range of other laws and regulations concerning protection and management of natural and cultural heritage properties (e.g. the Cultural Property Act of No: 73, 1998; the Archaeological Sites of National Importance Act, No:16, 1990; the Town and Country Planning Ordinance, No:13, 1946 revised Ordinance No:49, 2002; the Urban Development Act, No:41 of 1978; the Tourist Board Act, No: 14, 1968; National Environment Act, No: 47, 1980; Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance Act, No: 19, 1931; Fauna and Flora Protection Ordinance, No: 49, 1993; Irrigation Law; Antiquities Ordinance of 2000 [Archaeological Impact Assessment]).

Although Sri Lanka established its legislative and institutional framework for protecting archaeological heritage more than a century ago, as in many countries, there are still challenges for the preservation and management of the cultural properties, especially in living heritage areas. As mentioned above, archaeological heritage management was introduced to Sri Lanka in the British colonial context, meaning that Western conservation philosophy and international values were promoted, rather than allowing community values to continue to be a driving force for archaeological heritage management (Ndoro 2005).

Sri Lanka is a country with a diverse range of cultural and natural heritage, which has survived for more than two millennia. It had a well-documented, organized traditional management system that has continued through centuries and was largely based on a non-materialistic spirituality (Wijesuriya 2005). However, in the colonial period, this traditional system was superimposed with more rigid legislation, institutions, and the

professionalization of heritage, with little or no community involvement (Wijesuriya et al. 2013). Since then cultural heritage has been largely managed with regard to its material attributes, even if on a few occasions heritage managers have tried to engage community values into conservation process (e.g. the conservation project for the Temple of Tooth Relic in Kandy after a terrorist bomb attack, which involved different stakeholders, such as religious community and the political authorities: Wijesuriya 2000).

The World Heritage property of Galle Fort is a living heritage site and has direct links with the tourism industry. For years, heritage management at Galle Fort has faced many difficulties due to a lack of coordination with the local communities and other stakeholders, resulting in a new government institution called the Galle Heritage Foundation. This was established in 1994 to oversee management and conservation programmes, coordinate and engage with community stakeholders and bridge between other relevant authorities (Government of Sri Lanka 1994). However, site management still often takes a more material-based rather than a values-based approach and community perspectives are rarely integrated into management planning. It has also proved difficult for the existing management system to consider the setting of the heritage, as in the case of the proposed port development across Galle Harbour. What emerged from the HIA process was that from physical connections to intangible connections, the Old Town of Galle cannot be disassociated from its coastal setting. As a result, it is difficult to draw physical boundaries around all those factors that affect attributes within the World Heritage property area contributing to OUV with potential threats to some of its values, integrity and authenticity coming from outside its confines, even from beyond those of the current buffer zone and the immediate management system. However, in the same way this area of influence also brings significant opportunities for the protection and enhancement of values. In addition, these connections mean those attributes conveying cultural values of national importance could also contribute significantly to any sustainable tourism strategy, thereby potentially bringing

economic benefits to the local community. Significantly, results from the consultation programme confirmed remarkable consensus among the full array of stakeholders regarding these issues.

For this reason, the final HIA report recommended that the modern port facilities in Galle should be upgraded so as to ensure continuing activity within Galle Harbour, which is in many ways has been the *raison d'être* of Galle Fort for centuries, although a thorough technical review was requested to optimize the design to better harness pOSitive impacts and minimize potential negative impacts. It was highlighted that the implications for the long-term protection of the World Heritage property's OUV and other cultural values and for the wider socio-economic improvements and forms of wellbeing that good decision making can secure for the local community and visitors alike could not be underestimated. It was suggested that the institutional and community consensus regarding the importance of upgrading Galle's port facilities that emerged from the HIA public consultation campaign should be harnessed to sustain the extra time and resources required to ensure the right design solutions would be implemented.

This discussion of the specific HIA community consultation is worth considering in the light of other long-term management issues, for example the conservation and appropriate management of thOSe properties within the World Heritage property which have maintained residential use. The narrow street houses with frontal verandahs and internal courtyards constitute a significant attribute of the World Heritage property and private owners own approximately fifty percent of these buildings; which have high economic value. Over the last decades, the Department of Archaeology has listed few of these houses as protected monuments and, yet to gazette and conserve the rest. Lack of communication has led to conflicts on some occasions as local community members and the authorities have different interests and priorities, this is at times exacerbated by socio-economic values, as well

as materials-based conservation approaches. The protection measures fail to acknowledge this is heritage where cultural practices (improvement of dwellings) are a part of Galle's identity since its first heyday in the 14th century. The results of this can be seen in two ways: the many abandoned buildings within the Fort; buildings in the Fort that have undergone inappropriate modifications by residents. Both are a result of the local community not finding institutional representatives for heritage management able to accompany measured change to facilitate modern ways of life without eroding cultural values.

As a living heritage place, Galle Fort has needed to change according to the requirements of the inhabitants as well as preserving its OUV and other values. Participatory methods and community involvement in management process will open new frontiers in the management of the property and hopefully identify solutions that bring benefits to both heritage and community alike.

5. Conclusion

The Galle HIA case study demonstrates a recent effort made to engage local communities in a decision-making process for heritage and the importance of their perspective on it. During the assessment, community members highlighted some key points which are a testimony to how their contribution need to play a part in any decision-making process for Galle. A first example is the economic benefits of tourism industry within the area not being distributed among the residents. The importance both visitors and the community gave to enjoying the view of the sea from the Fort was significant and should encourage developers to concentrate on values of seascape and landscape. The public consultation also revealed the importance of preserving authentic use patterns and livelihoods within the Fort for visitors and community members alike, and managing possible adverse impacts on these ways of life due to the explosion of the tourism industry. Other World Heritage properties which are historic urban centers

show how easy it is to get the balance wrong and lose community identity and related cultural values.

The results of the HIA public consultation supported and echoed many results of the analysis of values at Galle and the potential impacts of a port development in the Harbour. The HIA team concluded that developing the modern Galle Port would be an extraordinary opportunity for sustainable tourism which could bring benefits to the World Heritage property of the Old Town of Galle and its Fortifications, the residents of the new town of Galle and indeed the entire Southern Province. However, this opportunity can only be seized if there is effective planning, together with balanced decision-making, for Galle's port facilities involving all relevant stakeholders at local and national levels. Galle has the potential to become a leading example of sustainable development that draws on its heritage while protecting cultural and natural values, sustaining and enhancing them long into the future. Galle raises many of the management and conservation challenges being faced by World Heritage properties worldwide and could provide an international model. A sensitive port development project taken forward within the context of a well-coordinated sustainable tourism agenda could see Sri Lanka becoming an international benchmark for the use of heritage assets to gain social and economic benefits for its citizens, while guaranteeing international standards in heritage management. By improving understanding in this area, Galle could become much more than a seafaring hub between the Indian Ocean and the Sri Lankan interior, by becoming a vehicle for greater international cooperation regarding the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development.

Acknowledgements

The HIA described in this article was carried out as part of a consultancy agreement between Jane Thompson and the Sri Lanka Ports Authority, with the approval of the Ministry of National Heritage, and formed part of the State Party's response to the World Heritage Committee regarding the

proposed port development project. The authors would like to recognize the contribution of all institutional representatives in the process and would like to thank all those residents and visitors to Galle who gave their time. Nuwan Abeywardana coordinated the administration of the questionnaire with the assistance of Duminda Laksiri. In addition to the authors of this article, the HIA included contributions from Ascanio D'Andrea and Leopoldo Franco.

References

- Ashley, K.S., Osmani, M., Emmitt, S., Mallinson, M., & Mallinson, H. 2015. Assessing stakeholders' perspectives towards the conservation of the built heritage of Suakin, Sudan. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21(7): p.674–697.
- Breen, C., Reid, G., & Hope, M. 2015. Heritage, identity and community engagement at Dunluce Castle, Northern Ireland. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21(9): p.919–937.
- Brown, J., Hay-Edie, T., & UNESCO. 2014. Engaging local communities in stewardship of world heritage: a methodology based on the COMPACT experience. UNESCO World Heritage Centre.
- Chirikure, S., Manyanga, M., Ndoro, W., & Pwiti, G. 2010. Unfulfilled promises, Heritage management and community participation at some of Africa's cultural heritage sites. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16(1-2): p.30–44.
- Council of Europe. 2005. Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society. Available at: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680083746>.
- Council of Europe. 2012. European Landscape Convention: Florence, 20 October 2000. London: Stationery Office.
- Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. 2015. Summary of the State of conservation report by the State Party / Résumé du Rapport de l'Etat partie sur l'état de conservation.
- Ellis, R. 2011. *Sri Lanka*. Bradt Travel Guides.

- Government of Sri Lanka. 1940. An Ordinance to provide better preservation of the antiquities of Sri Lanka.
- Government of Sri Lanka. 1994. An Act to Provide for the Establishment of Foundation Called the Galle Heritage Foundation, to Specify its Objectives and Powers; and to Provide for Matters Connected.
- Mydland, L., & Grahn, W. 2012. Identifying heritage values in local communities. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18(6): p.564–587.
- Ndoro, W. 2005. *The preservation of Great Zimbabwe: your monument, our shrine*. ICCROM. Available at: <http://www.bcin.ca/Interface/openbcin.cgi?submit=submit&Chinkey=234774> [Accessed February 24, 2016].
- Nelson, W.A., & De Silva, R.K. 2004. *The Dutch forts of Sri Lanka: the military monuments of Ceylon*. Sri Lanka-Netherlands Association.
- Smith, L., Morgan, A., & Meer, A. van der. 2003. Community-driven Research in Cultural Heritage Management: the Waanyi Women’s History Project. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9(1): p.65–80.
- Thompson, J., Abeywardana, N., & Court, S. 2015. Heritage Impact Assessment: PropOSed Port Development near to the World Heritage Property of Old Town of Galle and its Fortification. Sri Lanka Ports Authority.
- UNESCO. 2015. Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Available at: <http://www.whitrap.org/themes/69/userfiles/download/2015/8/7/n3anbhrlo2mnjno.pdf> [Accessed February 14, 2016].
- UNESCO. 2016. Policy for the Integration of a Sustainable Development Perspective into the Processes of the World Heritage Convention (adopted by the 20th General Assembly of the World Heritage Convention). Available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1387>.

- Wijayapala, S.L. 2006. Urban Governance Support Project, City Profiles: Galle. Ministry of Urban Development & Water Supply, UNDP, UN Habitat.
- Wijesuriya, G. 2000. Conserving the Temple of the Tooth Relic, Sri Lanka. *Public Archaeology* 1(2): p.99–108.
- Wijesuriya, G., Thompson, J., & Young, C. 2013. Managing cultural world heritage. Paris: Unesco world heritage center.