IHS Occasional Paper Series

Paper No. 9

Policies and Training for Successful Heritage
Programmes in Sri Lanka: Lessons Learnt in the Past
Two Decades

Carla Lepelaars

Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies

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PREFACE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBD	Central Business District
CCF	Central Cultural Fund
DA	Department of Archaeology
DG	Director General
EDI	Economic Development Institute of the World Bank
GHF	Galle Heritage Foundation
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council of Monuments and Sites
IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies
INTACH	Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage
RDA	Road Development Authority
SDA	Southern Development Authority
TCPD	Town and Country Planning Department
UDA	Urban Development Authority
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Associated East-Indies Company of the Dutch in colonial times)
WFP	World Food Programme

ABSTRACT

In the past two decades Sri Lanka has built up extensive experience in the conservation of its cultural heritage. Major sites have been conserved and prepared for local and international visitors. Approximately half of the revenue from ticket sales now pays for the upkeep of the restored heritage sites and the other half will be used for the preparation of the next selection of the country's vast heritage. Some of the projects undertaken so far have created major points of attraction for visitors, and created important employment opportunities for different groups from hawkers to hotel owners.

This paper describes the Sri Lanka setting for heritage development and the diverse activities undertaken to develop human resources in this sphere. The paper also covers two successful attempts at conservation and one that has been less fruitful so far. It discusses how these efforts are characterised by their different contexts, tries to unravel the roles of different actors and to identify results in socio-economic terms. Thus, the paper aims to develop an understanding of factors determining successes and failures, and to examine the directions and mechanisms to facilitate further achievements.

The paper's conclusions and recommendations pertaining to factors determining success focus on the obvious value of working with a strong leading agency; the underestimated use that plans can have to mobilise resources and commitment of stakeholders, especially when prepared with participation of these; the need to think and work interdisciplinarily; the need to acknowledge that there is room for improvement in institutional and individual capacity to deal with upcoming (urban) conservation issues and development opportunities; and the essential difference necessary in approaches to conservation of monumental, solitary buildings on the one hand and complete historic urban areas on the other. The latter is definitely the bigger challenge, combining a far more complex ownership situation with a lower place on the political and public agenda, since it usually concerns colonial instead of indigenous-religious heritage.

1 Introduction

Since 1995, IHS has been involved in the strengthening of Sri Lankan expertise in urban heritage promotion. In 1995 a three-month course took place at IHS, Rotterdam, preceded by a 'pre-course' in Colombo. Early in 1997, an evaluation mission took place, to assess the impact of the 1995 course. In March 1998 a mission took place to select and prepare participants for a second course, to take place in Rotterdam from April through July 1998. Late Novemver 1998, a monitoring/technical assistance phase was executed as follow up of the training activities.

In the courses held, officials from several agencies involved in planning and development in areas with prominent heritage have taken part. The intensive contact with these participants, their superiors and organisations and relevant literature have provided those involved at IHS with a detailed view of the Sri Lankan experience with heritage promotion and the efforts to build capacity in this area. The following paper describes this experience and the lessons learnt from it. Thus, the paper aims to give readers the opportunity to benefit from this experience. As usual, this will not be by a direct transfer of the examples given to their own situation, but by using the information and analysis as reference material, comparing, and drawing conclusions.

Sri Lankan heritage presents familiar challenges to those interested in this field in developing countries. As in many other countries, solving problems in this area is hindered by a combination of limited financial resources, fragmented responsibilities scattered over a great many agencies, political obstruction when vested interests are in danger, and lack of staff capacity of local and regional but also national government bodies. In spite of these obstacles, the country has been able to develop and implement a fairly successful heritage conservation policy over the last two decades. This paper will analyse how this was accomplished in spite of constraints. Apart from highlighting the decisive factors of success, there will also be attention for the heritage efforts that have not (yet) born fruit.

It turns out that the most successful achievements have been made in the area of religious heritage, which still serves a purpose for worship. It has proven more difficult to safeguard colonial heritage, now in residential and commercial use by different social groups. This reflects, on the one hand, the need for public support, that in the first instance may be abundant but in the second is usually weaker. On the other hand, it also reveals that conservation becomes more difficult when restoration activities and the related cost recovery are not within one hand, but concerns many owners. This the case for most of the colonial heritage, that typically consists of whole streets and quarters.

1.1 HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION APPROACHES[1]

Sri Lanka, as most other Asian countries, has a long-standing history of heritage safeguarding. Stupas, dome-like structures built to enshrine the relics of the Buddha, were the earliest buildings considered for preservation by the Buddhist population. Interventions related to existing stupas are found in different forms such as repairs, restoration, enlargements and rebuilding, and they date back to as early as the third century BC.

Since, in the fourth century AD, the Tooth Relic of the Buddha[2] entered the country, the dimension of displaying has existed next to mere enshrining of relics. The last temple built for this purpose, the 18th century temple in Kandy, still houses the sacred Tooth Relic. Today, it has become one of the most popular places to visit in Sri Lanka and a religio-cultural centre of the highest significance (see also Chapter 3).

Responsibilities for protecting religious buildings have always rested with the rulers. This was taken very seriously. The penalty for any damage to monuments was death. There is even a folk tale about King Elara in the 1st century BC who ordered his own death penalty as his chariot damaged a stupa.

A new phase of intervention in the monuments started with interested colonial administrators and professionals. Archaeological activities commenced in the early 1860s . The establishment of the Archaeological Survey Department in 1890, with permanent staff and with the financial support of the government, marked a turning point.

In the attitudes and approaches taken by the Department, the first tendency was scientific interest: efforts were undertaken to excavate, investigate and document, but consolidation of the physical findings, let alone restoration, did not take place. Since most of the monuments of Sri Lanka belong to a living religious tradition, this negligence led to ardent Buddhists forming restoration societies and to campaigns to restore stupas. These initiatives prompted the state to engage in restoration projects, from approximately 1910 onwards. After 1940, the idea was formed that archaeological sites should enable the viewer to understand the buildings and their meaning. It was also during this period that privately owned monuments (which were, in general, standing buildings on private land, contrary to the ruins on Crown land) came under the Antiquities Ordinance (originally from 1910) and under the Department of Archaeology's care (see §2.1. for details). After independence, the desire to understand and disseminate knowledge about monuments and the nation's history became even stronger, and several doctoral theses on ancient monuments were published in this period. It was during this period that the explanation of Sri Lankan monuments and their conservation drew the attention of the international community.

Several sites were submitted for inclusion on UNESCO's World Heritage List. This involved a strategic approach to convince the UNESCO decision makers and

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[1] Based on Wijesuriya, 1996: 2

[2] One of the Buddha's teeth was brought to Sri Lanka and became the most sacred relic.

General Assembly. Lobbying and networking, helped by many glossy pictures promoting the sites in question, were intensive, and in the late 70's the sites were accepted. This led to the so-called Cultural Triangle Programme. This programme covers six sites situated in a triangle between the three cities that each were, at some point in time, the location of the old kingdom's capital: Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Kandy. The programme consists of numerous projects of excavation, conservation and exhibition to the public of monuments of different character and in distinct contexts. UNESCO started a large campaign to raise funds for the safeguarding of Sri Lanka's heritage. UNDP and the World Food Programme (WFP) were the major donors. The International Campaign was started in Sri Lanka on January 1st 1980, with pomp and ceremony to mark the event and, thus, to secure political and public support. Thousands of monks, the full Cabinet of Ministers, 10,000 children dressed in white and many other visitors attended the inauguration ceremony on the tallest stupa, the Jetavana stupa[3].

Nearly 20 years later, most of the projects within the six sites are nearing completion. They have helped to put Sri Lanka on the map as a country with outstanding cultural heritage and environment. In spite of the troubles in parts of the country and the subsequent impact on tourism, the heritage promotion projects in Sri Lanka have attracted a steady stream of foreign visitors. The restoration activities and their results have led to better income opportunities for a number of groups.

The following chapters investigate the success of recent heritage promotion strategies in Sri Lanka and their failures, drawing conclusions and learning lessons for the future and for other countries.

1.2 STRUCTURE OF THE PAPER

Chapter 2, 'Heritage development since the early 80's: the institutional framework and policy issues', will present the context of the various heritage promotion activities undertaken in Sri Lanka, emphasising the institutional and legal framework. Additionally, the approach to the strengthening of capacity for heritage promotion is reviewed and present policy issues are discussed.

In chapter 3, 'Practice of policy implementation: Kandy, Sigiriya and Galle', three examples of heritage development will be described. One concerns the restoration of a temple complex in the centre of a city (the Temple of the Tooth and surroundings in Kandy). The second investigates a conservation example of a rock fortress and gardens near a small settlement, that now attract tens of thousands of visitors every weekend, which entails major opportunities but also problems (Sigiriya). The third example concerns the town of Galle, with a colonial fort that is basically intact and which now houses, amongst others, a strong Muslim community. Plans for capitalisation of tourism and other potentials in this area are abundant, but so far little progress has been made.

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[3] Roland Silva, 1994

Finally, chapter 4, 'Conclusions and recommendations', will draw conclusions from the earlier chapters and discuss the lessons to be learnt.

1.3 TERMINOLOGY

Confusion over terms is frequent in an area where people from different disciplines come together and look at issues from different points of view. For clarity's sake, the following terms are defined as used in this paper:

- archaeology: (as used in Sri Lankan practice) discipline dealing with both standing and ruined/excavated monuments

- heritage: physical remainders of the past; buildings and urban fabrics

- heritage promotion: efforts to upgrade both the physical heritage structures and the public notion of its value

- heritage development: what happens to heritage, either positive or negative, either as result of a consciously developed strategy or as a result of autonomous mechanisms

- restoration: the safeguarding of monuments from further decay

- conservation: the safeguarding of monuments from decay including their preparation for functioning one way or another in the present

- heritage management: the directing of activities that need to be undertaken for successful conservation, including cost recovery.

2 Heritage Development Since the Early 80's: The Institutional Framework and Policy Issues

For understanding and assessing the relevance of examples of heritage promotion in Sri Lanka, it is indispensable to first take a closer look at the institutional framework in which these examples were developed. In the next section, §2.1., the legal and policy framework regarding heritage is described. In §2.2. the role of key actors will be analysed. Subsequently, special attention is given to the building of capacity for the heritage sector in §2.3. The end of this chapter discusses present day policy issues (§2.4.).

2.1 The legal and policy framework

2.1.1 Policy

Sri Lanka does not (yet) have one policy document stating the objectives and plans for its heritage. However, the Department of Archaeology (DA) gives some basic premises[4]:
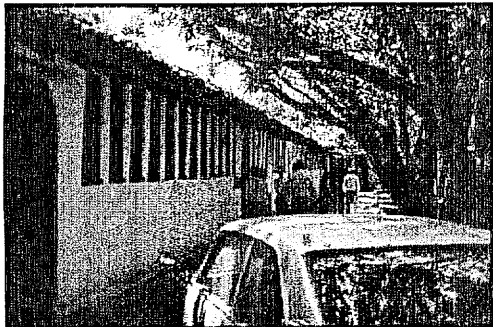
Headquarters of the Central Cultural Fund in Colombo,
Carla Lepelaars, 1997

- Official priority is given as follows: first to identification and documentation, then protection and maintenance, then research, then enhancement of public historic awareness, then human resource development. It is stated that in order to achieve the first four objectives, it may actually be necessary to put human resource development as first priority.

- The Archaeological Department as the body responsible for these priorities, should be a lean body delegating tasks to a whole range of professional institutions and persons, while retaining firm control as to overall quality.

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[4] Siran Deraniyagala, 1996, p.2-3

In addition to this, based upon the author's observations, the following key considerations may also be seen as guiding principles in Sri Lanka (at least for the Central Cultural Fund that has undertaken the most obviously successful conservation work):

- heritage conservation should not be a burden for the Sri Lankan government only; if there is world heritage in Sri Lanka, then the world should contribute

- conservation should not be seen 'as a bottomless pit, but as a gold mine.'[5]; it should generate at least some of the resources it requires.

2.1.2 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

According to Sri Lankan law, in this case the Antiquities Ordinance (last updated in 1956), the Department of Archaeology holds full responsibility for the country's monuments. These monuments, over 100,000 in all, or 'ancient monuments' in the Sri Lankan jargon, are all buildings dating from before 1815, or other buildings from before 1850 as declared by the Minister. Protected monuments are ancient monuments on private land, if declared protected by the Minister. Sites may be declared archaeological reserves with the same status as monuments only if found on state land. It is possible to have the land of a site proclaimed state land by the Minister in charge, if necessary. Conservation of ancient monuments and sites can only be handled by the DA. Protected monuments can be conserved either by the DA or the owners. A permit for restoration is then necessary from the DA. The DA also supervises restoration work. Maintenance is the responsibility of the owners.

The Antiquities Act also allows control of the immediate vicinity of monuments, where, within 400 yards, no construction, mining etc. may take place, unless with the DA's permission. This is to protect the monument both from the erection of unsightly structures, and from possible technical damage. No excavation for the purpose of discovering antiquities may take place except under the authority of the DA.

The Antiquities Ordinance states that anyone who violates this Ordinance, may be fined to a fee of not more than 100 rupees[6], or be imprisoned for not longer than 3 months, or both.

The Town and Country Planning Act is also an instrument in conservation. It states that any area worthy of preservation can be declared as a Sacred Area for which the Department for Town and Country Planning or the Urban Development Authority (see below) can prepare a planning scheme with special regulations to protect archaeological sites and to provide facilities to pilgrims and infrastructure to improve the environment.[7] Most of the monasteries with temples are declared Sacred Areas.

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[5] Roland Silva quoted in Wijesuriya, 1996, p. 107

[6] At the time of writing approximately the equivalent of 1.5 US$

[7] Based on Wijesuriya, 1996, 2

2.2 KEY ACTORS

Sri Lanka's administration is still fairly centralised. All major initiatives concerning the promotion of heritage have come from central bodies. Below the roles of the key actors are described.

2.2.1 GOVERNMENT BODIES[8]

- *Department of Archaeology (DA):* established in 1890 by the colonial rulers, it was first meant to excavate, research and document Sri Lanka's ancient heritage on Crown land. Later, the DA was also given full responsibility for the conservation of ancient monuments and of protected monuments situated on private land. Its responsibilities are to list monuments, inspect, 'conserve, maintain, repair and restore all ancient monuments'[9], and in general, to implement the archaeological policy (see above, §2.1.1.). It resides under the Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs.

  To carry out these tasks, the DA has a staff of 1,800, and is organised in six branches: Architectural Conservation, Exploration and Documentation, Excavation, Chemical Conservation, Epigraphy and General Services (exhibition, library, public awareness). The division for Architectural Conservation is mainly staffed by architects; the other divisions by archaeologists. Due to administrative problems, vacancies for over 60 graduate staff have existed now for several years. A total of over 100,000 ancient monuments have to be taken care of by in total about 12 (!) graduate staff, who can dispose of more ample numbers of technicians and craftsmen (over 100 at the Head Office, about 300 in the Regional Office of the most important Central Province, and 30 or 40 in more 'average' provinces). Smaller archaeological sites are usually looked after (cleaned and checked for encroachments) by a person nominated by the DA for that duty, usually someone living near the site, who is paid a small fee for his services.

  The DA's activities are funded from the Central annual budget allocation.[10] Staff shortages and severe limitations in handling revenues generated have made it difficult, in the past, for the DA to take on its responsibilities properly. To counteract these problems, close co-operation now takes place with the Central Cultural Fund.

- *Central Cultural Fund (CCF):* established by Act of Parliament in 1980 to provide funds for cultural heritage promotion in various areas specified as, inter alia, preserving cultural monuments, developing of religious and cultural activities, and assisting artists, craftsmen etc. engaged in promoting cultural

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[8] Responsibilities are scattered over a great many agencies. The fact that this institutional framework does not perform satisfactorily is illustrated by the fact that recently not only a committee was formed to formulate recommendations for more effective administration at the below-provincial level, but also the right of existence of both the Town and Country Planning Department and the Provinces was questioned by the national government. None of these critical actions has had any outcome (yet), though.

[9] Antiquities Ordinance, 1956 (see annex 1)

[10] Based on Wijesuriya, 1996, 1

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activities.[11] In practice, the CCF is better known as the Cultural Triangle; the programme sponsored and carried out by the CCF in six sites in the middle of Sri Lanka. The Cultural Triangle project is supposed to excavate, conserve and exhibit to the public a great number of individual projects in the six sites in the triangle. These range from palace and stupa ruins in isolated places to inner city temples in daily use.

The CCF has a Board of Governors which seats twelve of the most important actors in the field; i.e., the Prime Minister chairs the Board, the Ministers in charge of Cultural Affairs, of Finance, of UNESCO activities in Sri Lanka, of Tourism, and the Director-General of the DA are all on the Board. Besides these ex-officio members, the Prime Minister appoints two other members of the Board, who can come from the private sector. The quorum for a meeting is four members, which allows for efficient decision-making.
The total staff employed by the CCF is 213 graduates, 364 other staff and 4065 casual workers (1996 figures)[12]. When the six Cultural Triangle projects are finished, it is expected that some of the locally hired casual workers will be retained to help in maintenance and upkeep of the visitors' centres. Higher level staff will be shifted to new projects in other areas.

The CCF can receive donations from local or foreign sources; can hold property and dispose of it as it likes; give grants, endowments or scholarships to further its purposes; enter into agreements and contracts as it sees fit to achieve its objectives; employ and remunerate staff and servants of the Fund according to its own rules; invest money belonging to the Fund and re-invest returns. The Fund does not pay income tax or wealth tax, and donations to the Fund are exempt from gifts tax, and can be deducted from the donors' taxable income.

When the CCF was established, it decided to occupy a quite humble home. With part of the donations coming from individuals trying to make a contribution to their heritage, it did not seem proper to be housed in a luxurious building. In general, the CCF prides itself on using a very low percentage of their budget for overhead: 8%, comparing it to the accepted norm for the public sector, 30% (1996 figures)[13].

The CCF plans its activities in annual work plans. For each of the six sites the local project managers define what activities will be necessary in the next year. The Head Office sets priorities on basis of the site plans. Thus, annual plans are made specifying activity plans as well as budgets per site. In the early years of the CCF's existence, 60% of their revenues came from foreign donors (see below). In more recent years, this share has been reduced significantly. Since 1995, when UNESCO's financial support ended, the CCF has had an annual budget of nearly 400 m. Rs./7 m. US$, of which approximately 15% comes from the Sri Lankan national government, 10% from the Japanese government, 10% from local donations, and 65% from ticket sales.[14] Now that the

[11] Central Cultural Fund Act, 1980 (see annex 2)

[12] CCF, 1997.

[13] CCF, 1997.

[14] CCF, 1996 and CCF, 1998

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restoration of the six sites of the Cultural Triangle has been more or less completed, half of the revenue will go to the operation and maintenance of these sites, and the other half will go to new projects. In five years it is expected that some of the new sites will be able to raise income from ticket sales. About 70% of all international tourists visit the CCF sites and buy entrance tickets.

Two of the main advantages that the CCF has over the DA are stated above: it can manage its own financial resources and is in charge of its own work force. This makes it easier for the CCF to operate effectively and to maintain the support of the public. It is, however, interesting to note that, in general, jobs at the DA are more coveted, if harder to get, than the CCF ones. This is due to the status and the benefits coming with a 'real' government job: job security and so called 'pensionability'.

- *The Town and Country Planning Department (TCPD):* The TCPD, a department of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, is responsible for the preparation and approval of development plans for all towns, except for those that have been declared as special areas under the purview of the Urban Development Authority (UDA). The latter areas are growing in number. Most of the bigger cities are under the UDA, as well as other areas where major change is expected (for example, in Sigiriya, see §3.3.).

The TCPD is important in the implementation of Sacred Area Development Schemes (see section above).

- The *Urban Development Authority (UDA):* The UDA was established within the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, with a relationship to the TCPD much as the CCF is related to the DA. Again, the TCPD suffered from bureaucratic difficulties in managing its own human and financial resources. It was neither allowed to purchase land nor buildings on the market. For the UDA, these things are possible, and, moreover, it can make a profit on transactions and reinvest the funds. Its main tasks are the preparation of development plans (more flexible, strategic and integrated than the traditional physical master plans) and regulations for the cities under its purview. The UDA is, to this end, given assignments by the government and paid a fee per project. There are no other allocations from the central government budget.

Apart from these government assignments, the UDA is also a partner for international agencies with a focus in urban areas (e.g., the Asian Development Bank co-operates with a special section within the UDA on a programme to upgrade the capacity in a number of local bodies for environmental management; the Sustainable Cities Programme, preparing strategies for urban environmental management on a local level, has its Sri Lankan chapter with the UDA).

The UDA is the major actor in urban development, and therefore usually also in larger conservation schemes located in urban areas, since it is in charge of the rules and regulations, development plans and the enforcement/implementation of these.

- *Provincial councils*: Provincial councils allocate central government budgets for the local authorities under them on a sectoral basis. Provincial councils play

a role through their Ministries for Tourism or Culture, that have relatively substantial budgets at their disposal.

- *Pradeshiya sabha's*: The areas in between the borders of municipal and urban councils (see section below) are divided into administrative areas called pradeshiya sabha's. These areas are predominantly rural, except for those housing the suburbs of major towns. They are led by an elected chairperson and an appointed secretary. This administrative tier is responsible for physical planning and maintenance of infrastructure, but it does not receive a budget allocation to do so. It may, however, receive funds through its member of parliament, who is given a yearly sum[15] to do some projects for his/her constituency, which s/he may choose to spend through the pradeshiya sabha.

- *Urban and municipal councils*: These are smaller and larger cities respectively. Within the towns, wards have elected leaders, who form the town councils, and from whose midst the mayors or chair(wo)men are chosen. The urban and municipal authorities are involved in preparation of plans by the UDA or TCPD. The local authorities are then responsible for their part of the implementation, mainly the provision of local infrastructure.

  The authorities are funded from central budget allocations, their activities from local taxes and ad hoc grants on the basis of the official plans and programmes.

- *The Southern Development Authority (SDA)*: The SDA is a presidential task force called into being to help solve the problems of the South of Sri Lanka, which faces economic and social hardship. Because of its direct contact with the President, it can outweigh other authorities in the area. However, the role of this relatively new actor on the stage is not completely clear and recent internal changes have affected its focus. Its major task is now to build a large new town and harbour in the South, on a location near one of the less well-known ancient cities.

- The *Galle Heritage Foundation (GHF)*: In 1994, the GHF was established to counteract the problem of too many actors being involved in the development of the monuments in Galle (a large fort area dating from the Dutch colonial time). The GHF brings together on its Board all high-positioned representatives of the main agencies involved (30 members, of whom 14 are ex-officio members). Like the CCF, the GHF can manage its own resources. The tax reliefs and holidays applicable to the CCF and its donors are, however, not in place for the GHF[16].

  It has turned out , unfortunately, that despite its high-level Board, the GHF has not yet been able to come to visible action on the ground (see §3.3. on Galle).

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[15] Roughly the equivalent of 45,000 US$

[16] Galle Heritage Foundation Act, 1994

2.2.2 NON-GOVERNMENT

- The *Universities*: See §2.3. on Capacity Building.

- The *clergy*: Since most of the ancient monuments are religious buildings, the clergy, in this case mostly Buddhist, also play an important role. Many temples, for example, are 'owned' by priest trustees (see example of Kandy, §3.2.).

- The *media*: Occasionally, the CCF's projects are criticised in the press. However, the CCF is using this to keep in touch with the public, and it has more than once adjusted its plans on the basis of the feedback from the media.

2.2.3 INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

- The *United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO)*: UNESCO accepted the six sites (Abayagiriya and Jetavanaya in Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Dambulla, Sigiriya and Kandy) of Sri Lanka's Cultural Triangle for its World Heritage List in 1978. The reason given by UNESCO for recognising these as World Heritage was that they formed the country's historical core and gave expression to its religious values, national identity and artistic creativity; they represented Asian Buddhist tradition and therefore solidarity; and they were seen as an integral part of the indivisible heritage of the world at large.[17]

UNESCO contributed 25 m. Rs./0.5 m. US$ to the project, and its member states, called upon in a large campaign promoting Sri Lanka's heritage, contributed 650 m. Rs/13 m. US$. Together, this accounts for over 56% of the total foreign donations and over 30% of total costs (1991 figures)[18].
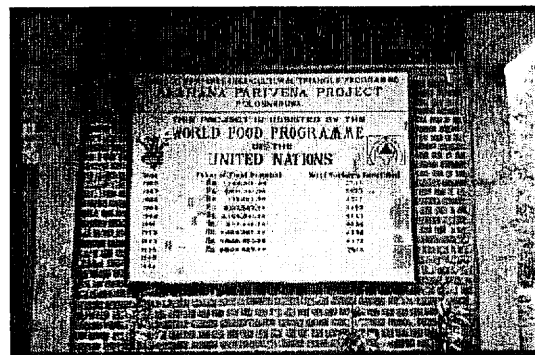

Chart displayed at the Polonnaruwa office, showing World Food
Programme assistance numbers of the years. (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

- The *World Food Programme (WFP)*: The World Food Programme got involved through UNESCO and contributed 17% of the total costs, or the

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[17] Silva and Guruge, year unknown

[18] Silva, 1994

costs of 4,800 workers per day for a 15 year period. This was contributed as food. (1991 figures)[19].

- The *United Nations Development Programme (UNDP):* UNDP made a contribution of 50 m. Rs./1 m. US dollars (1991 figures)[20].

- The International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS): this organisation has been quite important for the networking opportunities it has offered Sri Lanka (see also §2.3 on capacity building).

2.2.4 INDIVIDUALS

An analysis of the key actors cannot be considered complete in mere institutional terms. As in most success stories, here too one person pops up as a decisive figure: Dr. Roland Silva, first director general of the DA, later DG of the CCF and now retired but still, for instance, president of the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). He had a major role in getting the Sri Lanka sites accepted by UNESCO as World Heritage, and later in shaping the CCF organisation and activities.

2.3 BUILDING UP THE CAPACITY OF THE HERITAGE SECTOR

In the context of successful conservation, one of the areas in which training is necessary, is for the craftsmen who are needed to do the work on the ground. For excavation, the CCF is using low-skilled workers, but for the restoration, very specific skills are required that, in some cases, have been lost over time. The DA has an in-house training programme for craftsmen and for technical officers. To overcome staff shortages, it has collaborated closely with other agencies working in its field, and has been so liberal as to see the training of colleagues of these other institutes as a means for reaching its own goals.

Small-scale projects have taken place, like one for the restoration of the pulpit in an old Dutch church in Galle in the South of Sri Lanka. Here a specialised carpenter from the Netherlands came to Sri Lanka and worked on the restoration, together with a local colleague, and transferred skills on the job.

At this moment, an initiative is being taken, by the Netherlands Department of Conservation and its local colleagues, to set up a field school in the same town of Galle so that more exchanges at this and other levels can take place.

Three universities offer undergraduate and post-graduate programmes in archaeology. These are the Universities of Kelaniya, Peradeniya and Sri Jayawardenapura. One university, the University of Moratuwa, offers undergraduate programmes in architecture and a post-graduate course in architecture and conservation. Each year a batch of about 30 archaeologists (BA) leave university. The post-graduate courses deliver another 6 archaeologists and 6 architectural conservators each year.

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[19] Silva, 1994

[20] Silva, 1994

The CCF is oiling its network with the academic world by appointing consultant professors from all these universities for the six Triangle sites.

International courses are also available to Sri Lanka's conservation professionals; annually a number of them are offered a fellowship by the World Heritage Fund to attend courses at the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) in Rome, where 6-month courses are offered on the technical aspects of conservation. The CCF also has its own budget for the training of one or two of their staff to be trained abroad each year.

In 1995, and again in 1998, the Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) organised, in co-operation with the Netherlands Department for Conservation, three-month Dutch government funded tailor-made courses for Sri Lankans on the subject of Urban Revitalisation and Heritage Management. Here, the focus is rather on the broader question of integrating heritage development in urban planning and management. The courses specifically targeted a cross-section of planners/developers on the one hand, and conservators on the other, in order to address their conflicts, which are understood as crucial to the issue of integrated heritage development. Heritage promotion is argued not only to serve the preservation of cultural relics of the past, but also to tackle more down to earth aspects of economic development and poverty alleviation.

A very specific factor of success has been the involvement of key Sri Lanka decision-makers in the selection of participants and in the shaping of the programme. Preparatory phases took place in Sri Lanka to allow for their input, and to conduct an introductory pre-course for the participants. In the 1998 programme, in addition to the pre-course and training, a technical assistance phase was also offered in order to further promote application of newly gained skills in practice. It is felt that this type of programme has an impact much beyond what training of individuals in courses open to participants from a multitude of countries can do.[21]

International capacity building has also included a number of PhD's being written on Sri Lankan heritage by Sri Lankan experts attached to Western universities. These have been, and are, of major importance to the understanding of the country's history and its remainders, and therefore have had a major influence on the restoration of monuments to a state close to their original. In addition, the knowledge transfered by these PhD's and other research work lays the foundation for public historical awareness, if disseminated well.

In addition, seminars have played an important role in the sharing and developing of knowledge on the subject of heritage conservation and for the international networking and lobbying needed to promote the subject. In 1978, UNESCO held an Educational Conference in Colombo. This was when the question of accepting the Cultural Triangle sites as World Heritage was first tabled (though not of obvious direct relevance to the subject of the conference).

More recently in 1993, ICOMOS held its 10th General Assembly in Colombo. In 1995, a conference was held in Colombo with representatives of countries with heritage dating from the colonial rule of the Dutch. Here the concept of 'Heritage

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[21] Lepelaars and Attema, 1997

with Dual Parentage' was developed as a framework for addressing issues concerning heritage dating from colonial times.

For late 1998, a seminar to be held in Galle is being prepared by the DA and its Dutch counterpart, looking into the aspects of maritime heritage.

These seminars function as means of furthering the international exchange of concepts, principles and examples. The linking of experience of the different continents on such conferences helps to build capacity for heritage promotion by enlarging the knowledge of experts; by bringing together key actors and offering opportunities to network; by increasing visibility of the issue and therefore political and public awareness, and by reinvigorating professionals who may have gotten frustrated by the muddle of daily work through new ideas.

2.4 PRESENT POLICY ISSUES

As the six major sites in the Cultural Triangle project approach the end stage of restoration, a number of issues arise that warrant new skills and attention:

- In cases where heritage is situated within cities, and is being used for everyday functions like residences and shops, the heritage conservators are faced with problems which have until now been beyond their means to solve. When determining permitted and non-permitted building activities, a variety of interests are at stake, and basic needs like shelter and income generation are often perceived as endangered by conservation requirements. This seriously reduces public as well as political support. Furthermore, generating income from ticket sales is not an option here, as it is in cases of individual monumental buildings open to the public.

- The opportunities for partnerships with the private sector are being tentatively explored by the UDA. For the Colombo Central Business District (CBD), plans have been developed that give opportunities to the (international) private sector to invest in real estate and to establish offices. This concerns the old colonial fort area. These plans take into account the historic fabric, while, on the other hand, they try to make the most of the high land prices (relative to elsewhere in the capital and in the country). One or two projects within these plans have been realised, but the regular bomb attacks in the area, as well as the recent blow to local Asian investment power, are slowing developments down.

- Related to the previous issue is the question of the incompatibility of motorised traffic, coming with modern urban activities and land uses introduced into historic areas. This question becomes all the more pressing when high rise development occurs in or near the historic area. Investments in ring roads and in public transport, that may help relieve the pressure, are until now beyond the authorities' planning, let alone investment horizon.

- An on-going, if not very outspoken, debate concerns the question of equal accessibility to the major sites for local inhabitants as well as to tourists. Though ticket prices are kept low for local visitors, prices of publications are invariably high and out of the reach of even middle-income groups. There are also occasional examples of preferential treatment for foreigners, who are, for instance, allowed to enter premises closer to the main attraction point, and

provided with facilities such as better public toilets, though for a fee that locals do not pay.

- The Sri Lankan attempts at devolution/decentralisation have been very slow. Furthermore, competencies are divided over numerous government tiers and agencies, which leads to unclarities and co-ordination entailing a lot of extra work for all parties concerned.

It is clear that local bodies will be given more authority in the future. The question is how their capacity, both in quantity and in quality can be improved. Knowledge and skills in the field of heritage management and promotion will need to be part and parcel of any capacity building efforts in most Sri Lankan towns and cities.

3 PRACTICE OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: KANDY, SIGIRIYA AND GALLE

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and therefore this chapter explores the implementation of heritage conservation plans in three very different circumstances. In the first section, the restoration of a temple complex in the centre of a city, Kandy, is analysed; in the second, the rehabilitation of an ancient Rock fortress and gardens complex situated near a small settlement, Sigiriya, is reviewed, and in the third and last, the conservation of a colonial fort area at the edge of a city, Galle, is studied. For all three cases the efforts undertaken so far are described, as are the roles of different actors, and the positive and negative effects of the developments.

3.1 KANDY

Kandy is a city of about 120,000 inhabitants, situated in the middle of Sri Lanka. The last king had his palace there. The Portuguese and the Dutch, the first two colonisers, never penetrated all the way to Kandy. Their main interest was trade, and for this it sufficed to occupy the edges of the country. The English however, did take over the whole island and conquered Kandy.

Kandy has a pleasant climate and was, and remains, attractive to settle. It still functions as the religious and cultural centre of the country. Every August, the city attracts tens of thousands of visitors, who attend the procession that takes the Sacred Tooth Relic around the city on the back of an elephant.

Kandy is situated on an artificial lake and is surrounded by hills. The triangle-shaped valley accommodates a densely built-up area, the centre of which was redeveloped by the British on a grid pattern initiated by the last Kandyan king. Right in the middle of the city is the Temple of the Tooth complex. Besides the Temple itself, the Royal Palace still stands; the Audience Hall is still used for ceremonies; a number of other places of worship can be found (including those of other religions), and across the road, at the edge of the lake, the Queen's bath house is still another place of interest. The grid roads in the vicinity of the Temple Complex feature colonial architecture now put to commercial use. Most of them are heavily used. In the forest hills around Kandy, a number of important monasteries can be found.

Interior of the Temple of the Tooth (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

Part of the Temple Complex area in the heart of Kandy (Carla Lepelaars, 1997)
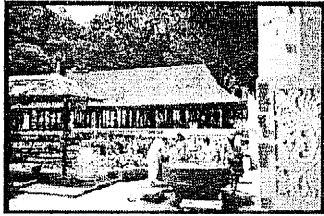
Part of Temple Complex (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)
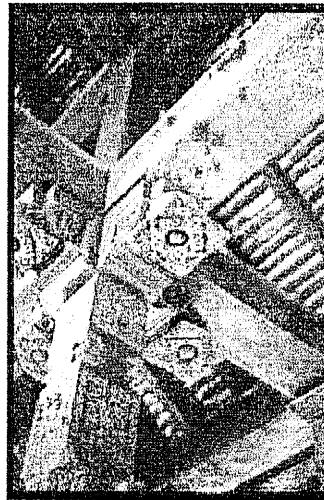
Detail of woodwork of the Council Chamber in the Temple Complex (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

High Court in Kandy near the Temple Complex (Carla Lepelaars, 1997)
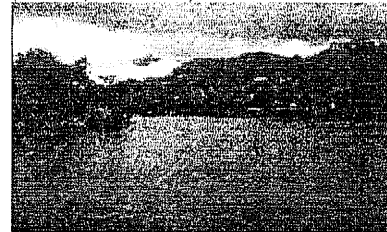
View of the man-made lake that borders the Kandy city centre and the hills surrounding the town (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)
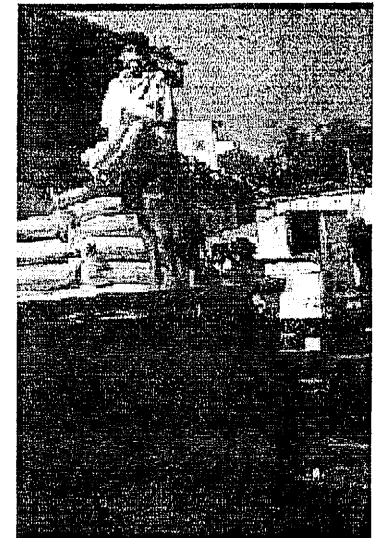
Congested street in Kandy city centre (Carla Lepelaars, 1997)

Panoramic view of part of Kandy, from one of its hills (Carla Lepelaars, 1997)
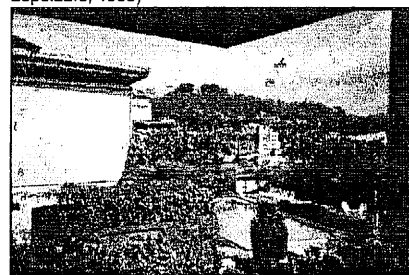
Panoramic view of part of Kandy, from hotel in the city centre (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

Street in the Kandy centre, designed on a grid pattern (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

3.1.1 HERITAGE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN KANDY

When in 1981 the CCF took on the task of bringing the Temple Complex back to its former glory, the area was encroached upon by modern structures. While the environment suffered from faulty garbage collection, the condition of the monuments themselves was, in fact, not so bad in terms of technical decay. They were 'looked after and maintained although the enthusiasm of the lay and pious extended beyond the realms of conservation'.[22] The CCF aimed to restore the monuments according to professional conservationist standards.

The CCF cleared the Palace Complex of incongruous edifices; documented mural and other paintings; worked and still works on excavations and restorations in the Palace area and on several religious artefacts in the Kandy hills (shrines and monasteries); installeded flood lighting in the Palace Complex, and produced, together with the UDA and the provincial and local authorities, a plan (not yet approved) for the 'inner city sacred area' of Kandy. In addition, a strategic plan was prepared for the entire city and surroundings. With development regulations, the plan tries to prevent further construction on the hills, since this would damage the green forest hills so characteristic of the much praised Kandy scenery. Similarly, regulations are already in place for the streets in the colonial grid, of which an inventory was made to assess the condition and historic value of the buildings. In addition, the CCF offers free architectural services for those who want to change their buildings, in order to ensure that the modifications are in line with historic standards.

A tourist information centre has been set up. The Palace houses a modest museum and the Kandy National Museum. On locations in the hills at a short distance from the Palace, there are a number of craft centres where locally manufactured souvenirs are sold.

In January 1998, a bomb exploded right in front of the Temple of the Tooth. It blew up part of the entrance and heavily damaged some other structures. Restoration work is still going on at the time of the preparation of this paper, as the CCF comes to agreement with the priest trustee 'owners' of the Temple about the attitude to be taken towards conservation issues.

3.1.2 ROLES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS IN KANDY

There are a number of important actors active in heritage conservation in Kandy. Their roles are outlined below.

- *Main initiator*: The CCF leads the conservation work in the name of the DA.

- *Donors*: Donations by UNESCO, the WFP and the Japanese Government have been important, as have been those of the general public. Foreign tourists contribute through their round-trip tickets (for all CCF sites), which in 1998 cost 50 US dollars.

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[22] CCF, 1994

- The *clergy*: Owners of buildings are of course major actors. In the case of the Temple of the Tooth, two chief incumbents or priests are the trustees/owners. There is also a lay custodian. Disagreement usually takes place on the topic of 'purity' of the restorations. The CCF prefers to use originals, even if damaged, whereas the interest of the owners is rather to have unscathed, technically sound copies. Issues like these get solved in negotiations in which the CCF uses the fact that its their funds that pay for the restoration.

- *Private individuals:* For the historic parts of the city adjacent to the Palace Complex, and for the surrounding hills, the CCF has drawn up development regulations in co-operation with the UDA. These areas have turned out to be much more difficult to manage than the Palace Complex itself. Owners of shops along historic roads and developers of, for instance, hotels on the hills, have individual interests that do not coincide in the short run with the heritage related goals set by the CCF and UDA. So far, little use has been made of the free architectural services that are offered by the CCF for restoration or reconstruction plans. Either the initiative is not known to the public, or the potential 'clients' fear too much meddling with the involvement of the CCF architects, which they expect to result in delays and cost increases. Potential beneficiaries are informed about the initiative when they apply for a building permit at the municipal council. However, only a fraction of those with reconstruction plans apply for a permit.

- The *World Heritage City of Kandy, Master Plan Committee*: This Committee, consisting of representatives of the CCF, UDA, and the provincial and local authorities, first prepared a document stating conservation priorities and strategies. This led to the 'inner city sacred area' plan, used, as was mentioned previously, as an input to the strategic plan for the whole city. Preparing both the inner city plan and the strategic plan, however, is proving to be a difficult job. It is taking, as official plans usually do, a lot of time to prepare and get approved. In the meantime, action on the ground for conservation in the area outside the Palace Complex is negligible, whereas a lot of construction work is going on.

  The UDA is now proposing to improve urban infrastructure services in the immediate vicinity of the city, so that the pressure on the centre can be redirected. The first attempt will be to shift some administrative functions westward. Already the court, presently situated just north of the Temple of the Tooth, has consented to move.

3.1.3 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EFFECTS OF THE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN KANDY

The efforts to bring back the Palace Complex to its former glory, have been very successful. Kandy again has a city core which does it proud. The Complex has become an extremely attractive area - clean, well structured and accessible. The temple is visited by approximately 1000 per day.

The restoration projects themselves have offered work to 350 manual workers (locally recruited) and 20 graduate staff, for a period of over 15 years.[23]

The conservation project has also offered increased job and income generation opportunities, though the drop in tourists, ascribed to the troubles with the Tamil Tigers, has reduced this effect considerably. For visitor's guides and helpers, hawkers as well as the more formal traders, hoteliers and hotel personnel, craftsmen making souvenirs, taxi drivers and operators of boating facilities, the attractiveness of the environment has improved income opportunities, although hawkers are now prevented from practising their trade in the Palace Complex, which is controlled for reasons of proper appearance as well as security. In addition, visits to tea plantations and spice gardens in the neighbourhood have increased. Cultural shows are performed nearly every day in Kandy, which has increased the chances of employment for traditional dancers and other folk art and music groups. Finally, the small scale brick manufacturing centres, which were set up to supply the conservation activities with bricks, now also sell their building material to other sectors.

One problematic effect, if one wants to attribute it to the CCF project, since it has enhanced Kandy's attractiveness, is that the population and number of enterprises in Kandy is growing in spite of the physical limitations to further expansion of the city and is stretching the city's carrying capacity beyond its limits.

3.2 SIGIRIYA

In Sigiriya a quite unusual site can be seen. On top of a rock 200 m. high, a palace complex is found, with water and boulder gardens leading up to the rock. An ancient, ingenious hydraulic system provides water to ponds and fountains, influencing favourably the environment and climate. The major remnants date back to the fifth century AD, when for a brief period Sigiriya was the capital of Sri Lanka. In several places, high quality mural paintings can be found. The CCF has counted as many as 50,000 visitors (mostly local) in one weekend to the Sigiriya rock in its restored form[24].
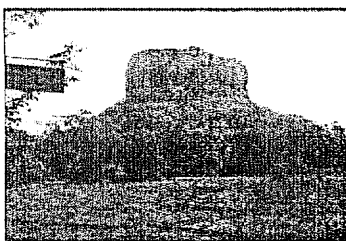
View of Sigiriya Rock (Max Jeleniewski, 1980)
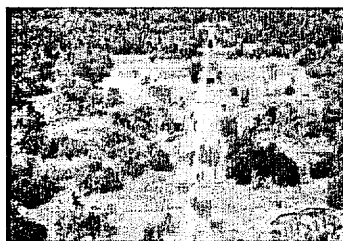
View of Sigiriya water gardens from the Rock (Max Jeleniewski, 1980)

The Lion's Staircase at the Sigiriya Rock (Max Jeleniewski, 1980)

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[23] Source: Hemantha Kumara Balachandra of the CCF

[24] On average, numbers would turn out lower, but still impressive. Students doing a survey in October 1998 found an average of about 8,000 visitors per weekend (including Fridays) in a slow period (source: D.P. Chandrasekara of the University of Moratuwa).

3.2.1 HERITAGE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN SIGIRIYA

The Sigiriya area and its surroundings were declared a protected area, a type of sacred area scheme, to be administered not by the Town and Country Planning Department, but by the Urban Development Authority, to ensure integrated planning. In total, about 6 sq. km. are affected; 12,500 acres of jungle have been declared a wildlife sanctuary and 400 acres are occupied by the rock and its gardens.

The major tasks that were undertaken, within a higher-level planning framework, are the excavation and restoration of the moats and the water and other gardens, the restoration of the palace and the stairway between the two; the relocation of settlers to outside the protected area; the development of a herbal garden and arboretum for research and display to the public; wildlife protection; the improvement of infrastructure and management of visitors' flows, and the implementation of a community development programme combining social development with natural and cultural protection.[25]

The rehabilitation initiative has turned the precinct into such an attractive spot, that large numbers of people visit the area, especially on weekends. Local visitors pay an entrance fee of 10 Rs (about 0.20 US$); foreign visitors enter with the CCF 50 dollar round trip ticket, or a 12 dollar single ticket.

For security reasons, the whole area within the outer moat has been closed to vehicles. Buses and cars park near the official entrance to the area, which leaves a walk of about one km. through the water gardens to the boulder gardens. Facilities for selling drinks and souvenirs were originally offered at the parking lot where visitors used to alight from their transport. For this purpose, small scale shaded places, designed and built by the CCF to fit the landscape, were rented out to traders. However, since the main entrance point has moved to beyond the outer moat, a larger complex of facilities was created at that location. These include parking spaces, explanatory signs, shops and public toilets.

The CCF also has built some temporary structures accommodating the Sigiriya office and small laboratories. These will be used, within the near future, as a tourist information centre. In a few places along the route from entrance to summit, explanatory signs have been provided.

As has been mentioned previously, an area of 400 yards wide around a conservation site is also protected. Within the Sigiriya protected area, a limited number of people live to the south of the Rock, whom the CCF has tried to relocate. This was deemed necessary partly to protect the appearance of the site, partly because excavations were planned on the sites occupied by these settlers.

To make resettlement attractive to the dwellers, the CCF offered them brick houses to the north of the outer moat, where they constructed a new road to direct most of the traffic from the traditional road. The relocatees now have better access to infrastructure facilities than they used to, and their chances of work have improved since they are now at the road along which the visitors arrive. However, most of them are now further from amenities offered in the nearest settlement (shops,

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[25] CCF, 1994, p. 52

schools). One or two of the settlers who are still to be relocated, have delayed the process by demanding direct access to water in their new house. Contrary to the earlier relocatees, they hold a title to the land that they now occupy, and therefore are able to increase their demands.

These relocation efforts seem to have been more successful than at other sites. For example, in Anuradhapura, the number of people to resettle was much larger (the sacred area being in close vicinity to a city) and the area for resettling further away from opportunities for work. Also, skills for developing plans with a participatory approach were not (yet) well developed in the Anuradhapura case. For years the main effect that the excavation projects had on the settlers was that they used construction materials meant for the restoration of stupas and other monuments for the strengthening of their doomed homes.

The enormous number of visitors has necessitated an extensive garbage collection scheme. This is implemented by the CCF in co-operation with the hoteliers of the area, whose hotels and rest houses are concentrated in a settlement just to the south of the Sigiriya rock. These accommodations offer places to stay next to the rock attraction, in a rustic area quite distinct from the bustle of Colombo and the other cities, as well as from the beaches.

3.2.2 ROLES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS IN SIGIRIYA

As with Kandy, there are a number of different actors involved here, the roles of whom are outlined below.

- *Main initiator*: The CCF. Sigiriya is the most successful project within the Cultural Triangle Programme, especially if measured by the generation of revenues (estimated at roughly 4-500,000 US dollars on an annual basis). The CCF has taken over responsibilities from other government agencies. The new road constructed, for example, should have been under the authority of the Road Development Authority (RDA). However, the CCF constructed it itself, since it was not prepared to wait for the RDA. The CCF does hope that the RDA will reimburse it for the costs of the road, nevertheless. The regulations for development of the area have been drawn up in collaboration with the UDA. They are enforced with the help of locals who have an interest in keeping the place attractive (e.g., the hoteliers involved in keeping the site clean).

- *Visitors*: Though Sigiriya attracts visitors from all over the world, the bulk of the visitors are Sri Lankans who keep returning to the site. Also, groups of school children are well-known visitors. For them, an excursion is an exciting trip, and it is edifying in the sense that it teaches history and raises awareness about cultural heritage at an early age.

3.2.3 SECONDARY EFFECTS OF THE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN SIGIRIYA

Obviously, accommodating thousands of visitors affects an area of small settlements in many ways.

The environment does not seem to suffer. On the contrary, steps are taken to protect not only the built heritage, but also the surrounding jungle. Solid waste management on the site is well in hand. The presence of the CCF has led and will continue to lead to infrastructure improvements in the surrounding areas, which is expected to have a multiplier effect of its own.

Employment has gone up since the rock and gardens have been opened for display. The opportunities here are comparable to those in Kandy, and the restoration projects have offered work to 600 manual workers (locally recruited) and 20-40 higher level staff, for a period of approximately 17 years.

3.3 GALLE

Galle is a city in the south of Sri Lanka, with about 90,000 inhabitants. Economically speaking it has not developed well. As a result (and as a cause), there is a quite significant brain drain from the south to the western province, i.e. Colombo. The centralised administration system keeps most of the interesting jobs in and near Colombo. Many workers commute from Galle to Colombo each day, which means they spend over 6 hours on transport daily.

Galle has a Dutch fort on a stretch of land protruding into the ocean, which is largely intact and from which commercial activities have been banned. It now accommodates some government institutions such as the court, a museum, a hotel and residences. It is not a very lively area, though the ramparts do attract visitors who enjoy a quiet walk along the ocean. The residences are mostly occupied by a Muslim community. Many of the public buildings in the area are in need of conservation, and in some cases of new uses. The ramparts are in poor condition at some spots. The residential houses are, in general, well-looked after, but their appearance is changing as the present occupants modify them according to their needs and taste.

While the Galle Fort has been declared a World Heritage Site like the above two examples, it is not a part of the Cultural Triangle Programme.

3.3.1 HERITAGE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN GALLE

It is generally accepted that the Galle Fort provides interesting potential for tourism. There is a large area that has remained as it was hundreds of years ago, that offers a pleasant environment with panoramic views, that has in its harbour area shipwrecks of centuries ago, that is near enough to the major beaches in the south to attract tourists who need a break from the beach. The ingredients are all there, and a great many plans have been prepared over the last decade to make the best of them. However, so far only isolated projects have been implemented. The integrated, participatory planning and implementation needed to capitalise on the full potential of Galle, have not yet materialised.

The projects that have had impact are the restoration of the pulpit in an old Dutch reformed church in the Fort and an underwater archaeology initiative that has been going on since 1992. Diving is taking place to research the wrecks of VOC-ships (the Dutch East-Indies Company that exploited the colonies for trade) and others found in the area. Both projects involve local craftsmen/archaeologists, in order to secure an exchange of knowledge and skills.
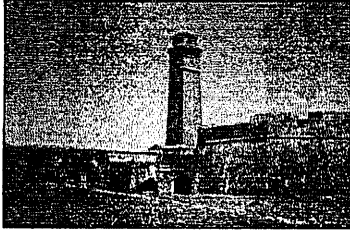
Part of the Dutch Fort (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)
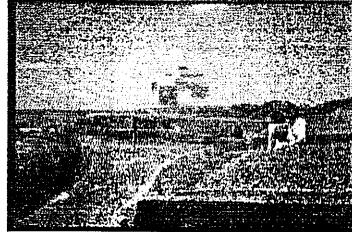
Part of the Dutch Fort (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)
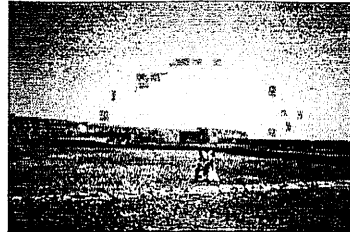
Part of the Dutch Fort (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

The New Oriental Hotel from the English period, situated in the Dutch Fort (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)
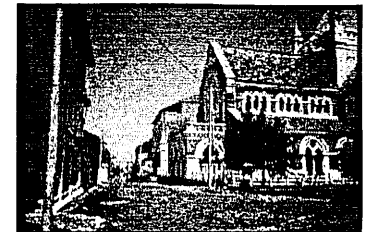
Church in Galle (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

Part of Galle outside the Fort area (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)
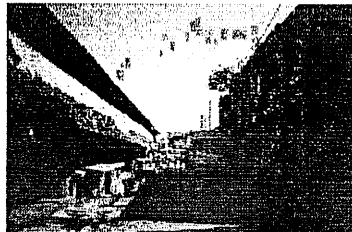
Old fish market in Galle, outside the Fort (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

Interior old food market in Galle, outside the Fort (Max Jeleniewski, 1984)

Exterior old food market in Galle, outside the Fort (Max Jeleniewski, 1984)

The Court building in the Galle Fort (Max Jeleniewski, 1984)

Entrance to Galle Fort (Max Jeleniewski, 1980)

View of the ocean from Galle (Carla Lepelaars, 1995)

Newly renovated food market, built in the Dutch period (Prasad Amarasooriya, 1998)

Other plans (from the construction of a playground in the Fort area to the conversion of Black Fort, one of the bastions and now residence of the Chief of Police, to a visitor's centre) are still only on paper. This seems to be mainly due to the great number of stakeholders involved (UDA, DA and local authorities, residents, etc.), the absence of a strong shared vision, and the fact that only very limited numbers of staff actually work in Galle.

3.3.2 ROLES OF DIFFERENT ACTORS IN GALLE FORT

There are many different actors involved in Galle. An explanation of their roles follows:

- The *Department of Archaeology* is responsible for the conservation of monuments in the area. It prepared an elaborate inventory in 1989 to take stock of the structures within the Fort. There are permanent staff, located in an office within the Fort, but they have to look after all sites in the Southern Province, and are heavily burdened.

- The *UDA* is in charge of building and development regulations in the Fort. Enforcement of these rules is weak, however. Alterations are made to buildings on the weekends or overnight, when inspectors are absent. This happens so frequently that suing those who violate the regulations can not keep up with the offences, and, in fact, hardly anything is ever done.

- The *local authorities* are also involved in the development of plans and enforcement of regulations. The UDA/Municipal Council's combined effort is, however, not sufficient. In fact, the protection of the monuments does not get enough priority to enable actual enforcement. High municipal officers residing in the Fort have been known to break the rules, which is a bad sign concerning their commitment, as well as a bad example for other residents.

- The *public*'s opinion of the heritage of the Galle Fort is not high enough to secure their support for protection. The colonial heritage is not so close to the people's heart as their ancient Buddhist heritage, despite the invention of the term 'heritage of dual parentage'. The interests of individuals does not correspond with that of the collective: each house owner wants to alter his building as he wishes, but is not necessarily in support of all his neighbours doing the same. In addition to these two explanations for the difficulties arising in the protection of the Fort area, there is also the Muslim residential culture which differs from Dutch customs and traditions. On the other hand, the Sinhalese culture is also different, as is the present day Dutch culture, so this difficulty would need to be faced in any case. What does play a role is that the Muslim community is seen as a very different one, and a closed one at that. Therefore the relations between the administration that is mostly Sinhalese and this minority is not always easy.

- The *Galle Heritage Foundation (GHF)*, as described earlier, was established to bring together the different agencies with some authority or stake in the Galle Fort development, to co-ordinate efforts, to combine forces in the mobilisation of resources, to provide a body authorised to raise and manage its own funds. It was expected that this would solve previous problems and pave the way to

action on the ground. However, the fact that 1) the GHF has too many members and has difficulties even achieving a quorum, 2) its members are high-positioned and therefore not available to do the daily work needed, 3) most of its members are stationed in Colombo and only visit Galle for the GHF meetings, and that 4) the GHF had until recently only a chief executive officer who worked on a voluntary basis, have kept the GHF highly ineffective in producing positive changes in heritage promotion for the Galle Fort.

It is hoped to tackle some of these problems by appointing a project co-ordinator, who will be, at least most of the time working, in Galle itself, and who will be given an office in the Fort once the dilapidated former post office has been restored and converted into office space.

- There is a quite active group of *Dutch and Australian conservators* in Galle. People from the Netherlands Department for Conservation, from the Amsterdam Historic Museum, and from the University of Amsterdam, as well as from their counterpart institutions in Australia, are initiating small scale research, training and restoration activities, and they hope to set up a field school for the exchange of heritage conservation-related experience. Low-profile seminars are held in Galle in co-operation with the DA, in order to prepare plans and involve stakeholders.

- The *CCF* is expected to turn its attention to the Galle Fort now that the sites in the Cultural Triangle are nearing completion, and which afterwards will require only operation and maintenance.

3.3.3 SECONDARY EFFECTS OF THE CONSERVATION EFFORTS IN GALLE

Since very few plans have materialised as yet, effects have been small. The restoration of the pulpit in the Dutch Reformed Church, for instance, was an interesting project regarding the exchange of technical restoration experience, but was too small and isolated a project to attract more tourists on its own. It failed to win favour of a larger group for heritage conservation, since the church does not have a constituency. Therefore, beneficiaries, so to speak, were non-existent.

It is expected that, in the future, a combination of the maritime heritage (one or two items to be displayed above water in the Fort) and the potential of the Fort itself will lead to improved heritage protection and tourist promotion. However, this will depend on the co-ordination of management effort and the question of whether a critical mass of all of this will be established. Political and public support will be difficult to gain. The municipality will have an indispensable role to play since it is closest to its inhabitants and therefore best-placed to involve them in the planning process. The co-ordination of the interests of all different stakeholders will require quite advanced management and planning skills.

4 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

From the Sri Lankan experience, conclusions can be drawn concerning the factors for success as well as insights about areas where there is still room for improvement. These conclusions will be discussed below, in sections on institutional arrangements (§4.1.), political support and public awareness (§4.2.), financial sustainability and replicability (§4.3.), income generation and development (§4.4.), capacity building (§4.5.). Recommendations are incorporated in these sections, except some concrete ones for Galle (§4.6.). The chapter and paper end with a summary of key-findings (§4.7.).

4.1 INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS: PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION

4.1.1 CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS

From the above discussion, it is clear that a well-orchestrated, well-targeted effort, with a strong lead agency, can have a highly positive result in terms of conservation of heritage, as well as in terms of socio-economic development. Both in Kandy and in Sigiriya, the Central Cultural Fund was able to rehabilitate the nation's heritage, to contribute to the nation's self esteem, to provide an attractive environment and to create (directly and indirectly) jobs and income opportunities.

The fact that the activities were assisted by the international community with quite substantial funds does not diminish the local achievement; without the strong vision and implementation effort of the CCF and the support of other organisations, the donor funds could just as easily have gone to waste.

The crucial role played by the first chairman of the CCF needs emphasis; both the securing of international attention and the establishment of and the development of a clear vision for the CCF bear his stamp. One person can go very far with enthusiasm, charisma, and a strategic vision.

One lesson to learn here for the donor community is that long-term and consistent commitment is necessary for large scale projects. UNESCO played a pivotal role in the Cultural Triangle programme, campaigning and collecting funds. This meant that the CCF could be fairly sure of long-term funds and concentrate upon the execution of its programme. In a more fragmented context, where a lot of individual donors contribute perhaps the same total amount, but, divided in smaller sums for different small scale projects, it would have been much more difficult to attain the, now, remarkable achievement.

4.1.2 ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

In addition to the success of the well-focused activities of the CCF, numerous stumbling blocks for successful heritage promotion are also apparent. Most of these relate, on the one hand, to the lack of co-ordination or co-operation between agencies and government tiers, and on the other, to the meagre influence that urban plans have on reality.

Explanations are plentiful:

- Responsibilities of the different agencies are not clearly delineated. The numbers make this virtually impossible.

- The sheer number of agencies and government tiers involved is so high that co-ordination cannot be other than insufficient.

- Most decision-making power (including decisions about allocation of the budget) is still vested with central government agencies, that tend to be large and bureaucratic, and not always fully in touch with problems and opportunities as they occur in the field.

- Political power is often wielded for prestige and to stay in power rather than to serve the common good; this leads, for instance, to major upheavals in the public sector every time another party wins the elections and changes a fair share of high-level staff. This leads at best to vast losses of time and therefore of money, and at worst to nepotism, corruption and total negligence of the people's needs. Another common issue occurs when political leaders choose to please their constituency with short-term solutions, rather than supporting long-term plans for the benefit of the whole population.

- Most of the plans made by the public sector do not take into account the availability of financial resources. Therefore a great many objectives set by plans are not achieved. Some are, but since there is no proper mechanism to set priorities, these are usually not the most strategically important ones.

- Apart from financial resources, support can also be a significant resource. There are no mechanisms in place to make sure this resource is identified and tapped.

- There is a lack of a multi-disciplinary tradition to deal with problems. Economists and social scientists are marginal in the major planning or conservation agencies, whereas socio-economic issues are of utmost importance in any kind of development. Financial experts are needed to help develop, for instance, loan schemes for private conservation.
Similarly, conservation programmes are still dealt with separately from physical planning issues, and neither has been paired yet with environmental programmes, though the potential for cross-fertilisation is definitely there.

- Another point that should be better developed is the willingness to try creative approaches beyond traditional tasks. For example, in addition to documenting the architectural features of historic dwellings, looking for a banker with a soft spot for heritage, who is willing to make available small, short-term loans to individuals who want to upgrade their houses, would be highly conducive to the actual conservation of the buildings.

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- Most agencies are facing either quantitative or qualitative capacity problems, or both. Central bodies are prone to keep staff in the head office and, thus, even regional offices of a national body like the Urban Development Authority, are often understaffed, to say nothing of the local authorities.

4.1.3 LONG-TERM IMPROVEMENTS

It is to be hoped that the devolution effort will be taken much further. Decentralisation of decision-making will make it easier to address problems at the levels at which they occur. What is essential is that together with responsibilities, financial resources or sufficient competence to generate these are also decentralised. Delineating tasks of the several government agencies more clearly, so that they can focus better, is also a major necessity to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the institutions.[26] Furthermore, a strategy to strengthen the capacity of the newly to be empowered bodies will be necessary (see §5). The importance of these requirements can hardly be over-emphasised.

4.1.4 SHORT AND MEDIUM-TERM IMPROVEMENTS

The above solutions, however, are far beyond the control of planners and conservationists working on heritage promotion. A few improvements that are within easier reach are increasing the number and use of multi-disciplinary approaches; allowing the main stakeholders to participate in the planning and/or formulation of projects; facilitating access to support from private sector parties by having, for instance, the Chamber of Commerce on the Board of a Galle Heritage Foundation, and to make better use of the plan as management tool. Plans are now supposed to present a desirable future state of a city or a district, the direction which development will have to take place. In many cases, such plans are never even *seen* by some of the departments responsible for part of the implementation.

Plans can play a much more useful role and have a much larger impact on reality when they are understood as management tool, that allow discussion between different departments, agencies and groups, and that, in their final form, represent an understanding that all these parties have agreed to and have committed themselves to.

4.2 POLITICAL SUPPORT AND PUBLIC AWARENESS

In the conservation of stupas and temples, monuments to the country's major religion, support is ample. This has been a major factor of success throughout the Cultural Triangle Programme. Political representation on the Board of the CCF, importantly, guaranteed direct access to the highest political level. Support from the public was enhanced by offering work to people living near sites and by keeping an open mind to suggestions from the public, using the press as intermediary.

In contrast, the experience in Galle inevitably leads to the conclusion that the heritage of everyday life, of whole areas or districts, is not given priority, neither

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[26] See for a more elaborate treatment of this topic: World Bank, 1997

by politicians, nor by the public. This is perhaps not surprising, considering that this type of heritage is mostly constituted of what is left from colonial periods, and is not so dear to the people's hearts. In addition, conservation is made more difficult because the heritage is still in use and owners, tenants and other users all have their own interests at stake.

Daunting as the challenge of conserving whole historic urban neighbourhoods may be, it still remains worthwhile. Neighbourhoods have a distinct advantage over the one-building monuments or the ruins of cities that have been excavated; the historic districts still standing provide a more complete picture of the past. Furthermore, a (colonial) conservation district would make an important addition to the diversity of conservation sites on offer to the tourists.

The above implies that conservation efforts undertaken by those who *are* interested first will have to invest in public awareness programmes to strengthen support, both active and passive, and both at individual and political levels, for conservation activities. Furthermore, conservation efforts will have to make sure that these types of neighbourhoods are not destroyed altogether to make room for new developments. Thirdly, participatory planning methods will have to be adopted so as to come to a vision for heritage promotion that is shared by all concerned. Depending on whose support needs to be secured, it may be advisable to name 'environmental improvement' or 'infrastructure upgrading' or 'income generation opportunities' as the main aim of the plan. If necessary, trade-offs can be used (for example, infrastructure repairs in exchange for the use of certain materials for roof maintenance on individual houses), or partial relaxation of the regulations to do with conservation (for example, to allow minor alterations to buildings or 'illegal' activities, such as hawking or squatting, to a certain extent). Finally, financial incentives are indispensable.

4.3 SUSTAINABILITY AND REPLICABILITY

When it comes to financial management of heritage, a division is necessary between individual monumental buildings that can be opened to the public and raise revenue through ticket sales, and the conservation of larger districts, which still accommodate residents and other users in their historic buildings.

4.3.1 INDIVIDUAL MONUMENTS, OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

As has been described earlier in this paper, the CCF has been successful in becoming, to a large extent, independent from donors. In order to sustain the six Triangle sites upon completion of the major restoration works, donors are no longer needed. The costs for maintenance and upkeep of services to the public are recovered from the resources generated through entrance fees and local donations. It is not quite clear if and how the CCF uses rent fees for space for selling beverages and souvenirs on the premises, or taxes on tourism-based business like hotels, but these revenues can also be taken into account.

The CCF allocates half of its funds for the operation and maintenance of the six old sites, and half to new capital investments for excavation, restoration and landscaping of new sites. The initial grants to the CCF should be seen as seed money for a revolving fund. From this seed money, six major sites have been

converted into 'major sights'. Now that these initial projects have been completed, they are starting to pay back into the revolving fund, so that means become available for new projects. Of course, donations and government subsidies still have a role to play to help the fund revolve faster. In addition, now that the CCF has proven to be solid, loans from banks should be possible, especially if the government can assist with guarantees. Taking this concept further, 'winning' projects can make money not just to pay for operation and maintenance and to pay back for the initial capital investments, but also they can generate resources for other future projects that stand a lower chance of being financed. To a certain extent, this already happens, but a strategy does not yet exist.

4.3.2 HERITAGE DISTRICTS

The conservation of heritage districts, as in Galle, has not been very successful. Apart from lack of support for this, there is no doubt that the more problematic issue of cost recovery in this situation is to blame. Conservation costs in the case of whole districts of heritage cannot rely on entrance fees of visitors as, for example, the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy and the Sigiriya Rock Fortress. Though entrance fees to the occasional museum or taxes levied on hotel profits may be channelled back (partly) to the upkeep of public space in the area, the conservation of private buildings in a heritage district is inconceivable without the willingness of individual owners to invest in the preservation of their property.

Apart from awareness of the historical value of the buildings, financial and other incentives are indispensable. Access to subsidies and/or soft loans should be improved. These should be concentrated in an area where they can make a visible difference; having ten houses restored in one street will make average property prices rise much more than when ten houses in ten different streets are upgraded. Rising prices are in themselves incentives to invest (as much as decreasing prices are a disincentive). Betterment taxes can be levied when land values rise.
When such a strategy works, a remaining point for attention should be to make sure the weaker inhabitants of the heritage district will be able to share in the prosperity, instead of being forced out by the rising prices. Their participation in planning for heritage conservation activities is therefore indispensable.

4.4 EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME GENERATION

The CCF offers employment to thousands of manual workers and to hundreds of skilled workers and graduate staff. There are no figures available about the work that they generate indirectly, but judging from the numbers of visitors to the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy (1000/day) and to Sigiriya (tens of thousands in good weekends), substantial opportunities can be expected for amongst others: vendors of drinks, foodstuff and souvenirs; operators of boating facilities or transport services; owners and staff of hotels, rest houses and restaurants; manufacturers of building materials for restoration, and travel agencies.

In addition to the benefits of these developments in terms of employment, income generation opportunities and poverty alleviation, it should be noted that, in as much

as these activities are formal, the taxes levied on income and value added flow back to the government.[27]

4.5 STRENGTHENING THE CAPACITY FOR SUCCESSFUL HERITAGE PROMOTION

In the above discussion, a great may suggestions have been made to improve performance in heritage promotion. Implementing suggestions like these requires the recognition that institutional and individual capacity for such improvements is not always in place. When faced with complicated and constantly changing issues, it is therefore advisable to be prepared and develop a strategy to strengthen the capacity for new challenges.

In conclusion, the main prerequisites for preparing effective capacity building strategies are given below:[28]

1. Since the idea of capacity building does not lead directly to visible results, it is likely to be disregarded when it stands on its own. It is better to incorporate it directly into a programme or project of urban or heritage development. Thus, the programme will 'save' the capacity building efforts, as they in turn will help the programme.

2. Like any other strategy meant to be implemented, capacity building strategies need to be developed with the participation of all major stakeholders.

3. For large scale capacity building efforts, for example, in order to enhance a whole sector's capacity, apart from a long-term strategy, long-term funding will also be necessary. National governments and international donors should be prepared to commit. Of course, checks and balances should be in place to monitor developments during implementation.

4. The absence of the previous condition should not stop capacity building efforts. On a smaller scale than the sector, a lot of meaningful capacity building can still be accomplished. Starting from a concrete problem (or area of related problems) encountered in the field, objectives can be established to solve it (or them), and the capacity needed to achieve these objectives analysed. A capacity building strategy can then be designed to fill the gap.

5. Capacity building efforts should make the most of learning opportunities offered by the exchange of experience of colleagues - albeit from neighbouring towns or from different continents. Exchanges with professionals from so-called developed countries are not necessarily the most valuable. They can be inspirational or can serve to provide a note of caution: more advanced countries have tried more approaches and made more mistakes, teaching how *not* to tackle certain problems. Exchanges between developing countries can be

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[27] There are no figures available about this effect in Sri Lanka, though this would be of great interest. In the Netherlands it has been shown that subsidies for restoration of monuments are recovered easily through this effect. See: Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 1995

[28] See also IHS, 1998

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easier, since the 'translation' is easier and the relevance more directly recognisable.

6. Capacity building efforts should promote multi-disciplinary approaches and address a wide range of target groups. Beyond traditional target groups, 'new' ones like political representatives or beneficiaries of projects should be considered.

7. Finally, when using the services of capacity building institutions, clients should make sure these institutions understand the demand for capacity building and that these institutions involve the client in developing the curriculum of training courses.

4.6 FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GALLE

To enhance further Sri Lanka's attractiveness to tourists, it is advisable to concentrate now on promotion of colonial heritage rather than on opening up an additional ancient, religious archaeological site. Diversifying the sights on offer will be important for the country's tourism sector. Therefore, the paper ends with suggestions on the topic of colonial heritage, in this case Galle.

A very concrete recommendation for heritage promotion in Galle, is to establish a multi-disciplianry working group, of about three persons under the GHF board. These people should be able to develop and initiate implementation of a strategy for the Galle Fort area, integrating economic considerations with conservation interests. Possibly, these staff members could be 'borrowed' on a long-term loan from agencies participating in the GHF. This group then will be able to take on the daily tasks necessary to come to action. This GHF Working Committee would need would need an extent of independence, to prevent bureaucracy and slow decision making. The GHF board should agree on the Working Committee's terms of reference, and then give it considerable freedom. It could start by making a short term action plan, using it to develop, in co-operation with all stakeholders, a common understanding of the problems and their roots, as well as better working relations.

During the implementation period of the short term action plan, or following it, the Working Committee and the Board could then focus on acquiring funds for further activities. It would be advisable in first instance to use funds available not for the restoration of monuments, but as seed money for a revolving fund promoting the upkeep of privately owned historic buildings in the Fort. Through participatory techniques priorities of the conservationists, the local population and potential investors would need to be matched. Only if all actors can find enough benefit in the proposed plans, measures and programmes, can success be attained.

Another possibility is for the CCF to get involved in Galle, and take the leading role. It would be very useful for the CCF to now focus on a different type of heritage, from a more recent period. However, it should be recognised that the approach needs to be different from earlier CCF sites. Therefore, besides the regular CCF officers, urban planners need to get involved; housing agencies will have to play an important role as housing upgrading will be one of the main activities; local government and citizens will be essential stakeholders since economic development and people's livelihood will be directly affected. The CCF will need to develop its capacity to work in this new environment.

If the CCF, either as partner in the GHF Board and in the Working Committee or as leading agency, can build up experience in the conservation of historic areas as well as single sites, Sri Lanka will have a very strong actor for further promotion of its enormously rich heritage and tourism potential.

4.7 SUMMARY OF LESSONS LEARNT

Six Do's and Don'ts summarizing the Sri Lanka experience in heritage promotion:

1. **Do not** apply heritage conservation rules so strictly that nobody can adhere to them. These rules should not act as a disincentive to the implementation of heritage policies.

2. **Do** create a critical mass of responsibilities, financial means and human resources in one strong, non-bureaucratic lead agency.

3. **Do** be careful about creating new government agencies for each newly recognised task; this will confuse responsibilities and add to co-ordination problems, and therefore lead to extra costs. Rather, establish task forces within existing organisations for specific activities, and dissolve them after their mission has been accomplished (or proved impossible). **Do** follow the subsidiarity principle: decentralise to existing lower-tier agencies as much as possible.

4. **Do not** tell people what to do; instead, devise a strategy together with them, that will empower them to do it.

5. **Do** allow those actors (inhabitants, elected and appointed officials, the commercial sector) whom you want to invest in conservation to benefit from conservation projects or programmes. For instance: maximise the opportunities for income generation and housing and environmental upgrading. Advertise all these achievements widely, not only the conservation-related ones.

6. **Do** use plans and planning as management tools to promote communication between government departments and tiers, disciplines and those affected by the planned interventions; **do** make sure that everyone gains insight in the resources necessary versus those available; then tap the brains of all stakeholders to solve problems. Believe in the theory that conflict creates creativity....

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