

HERITAGE CITY, PLACE IDENTITY AND URBAN TOURISM: SUCCESS STORY OF A WORLD HERITAGE CITY•

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ABSTRACT

Heritage-city, Place-identity and Urban-tourism are themes that have become synonymous. Tourism, considered as a windfall gain for bringing extra revenue, reviving cultural activities and shaping positive images, dictates the place management in the heritage-city. As a result, globally-known and universally-appreciated values and activities are enforced on the heritage city, making it kitsch and standardized, thus threatening its unique identity. There are some exceptional cases where the place managers have been able to achieve a balance between place-identity and urban-tourism. By framing the research problem through a literature survey, a morphological analysis of the heritage-city of Kandy in Sri Lanka was conducted, where such a balance has been instigated. It was noted how the tourists use the city, when and where they impact place-identities, and how the city and place managers have responded. The aims were to prepare the grounds to appraise an effective management of heritage, identity and tourism, and to rephrase its success. The impact on place-identity first challenged the evolution of city-life in Kandy, but the management planning eventually changed this impact, giving the place a new lease of life. The adopted land use patterns, development screening and controls, fiscal management and organizational structures struck a win-win-win situation in Kandy.

Keywords: Heritage, Place, Tourism, Culture and Kandy

INTRODUCTION

The intermingling of heritage-city, place-identity and urban-tourism has a history of promiscuous affairs. Initially historicity and tourism found comfort in the company of each other with heritage producers and place managers reveling in the windfall gains. The mutual infatuation helped the heritage producers to find new sources of financial support and quantifiable justifications for their activities that turnstile receipts with tourists paying for the so-called cultural activities such as heritage sites, museums, galleries, souvenir

shops or tills. Tourism industry, on the other hand, found heritage as a new product to satisfy its rather selective, fickle and fashion-prone demand with heritage-city offering ubiquitous, freely accessible and highly diversified alternatives. The heritage city offered a prolonged life to tourism too.

Kandy, with a living population of about a hundred thousand, is enlisted on the World Heritage List since 1988 under the categories IV and VI. The city was built in the 14th century as the seat of the Sri Lankan kingdom in a wooded valley secured by mountain ranges and the longest River, Mahaweli (Figure 1). Since the possession and exhibition of the sacred tooth relics of Buddha was a major responsibility of the then King, the city was planned around the purpose-built Temple and the Royal Palace, juxtaposed in the central urban precinct. The king could paint the image of the caretaker of the tooth relic (Figures 2 and 2a).

The street layout spreads out from the precinct and the spatial clustering attest to the most significant event, carrying the relics in a procession annually as a way of paying homage and a way of showing off its possession. The city accrued further layers with its conversion into the administrative cum commercial centre of the central province during the British rule (Figure 3). Today, Kandy is the most sacred city of the Buddhists, and a place for leisure which is visited by tens of thousands of tourists daily. With its distinctive city plan, land use and built forms, Kandy has acquired its own place-identity and is proclaimed as a cultural heritage site for attesting to a particular cultural evolution pattern for more than 600 hundred years. Its uniqueness is mostly created and protected by the distinctive living traditions the locals are continuously engaged in. Tourism has become an economic boost to those activities and to the continuity of city's place-identity. The heritage-city has its historicity expressed through designation and interpretation with the aim of using tourism to support their revenue bases. Its endowments may have come from a particular past and are projected to an imagined future, but the decision making

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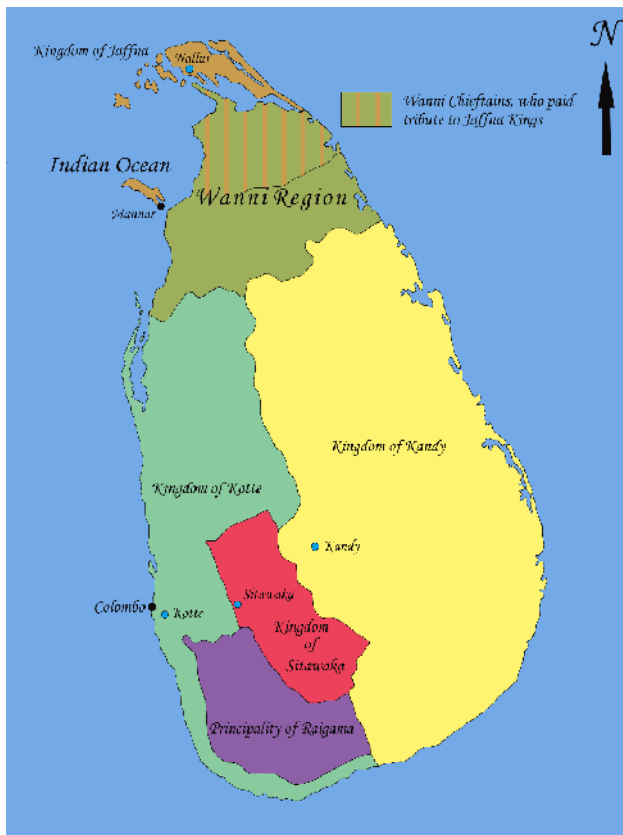


Figure-1: Map of Sri Lanka
Source: www.wikipedia.org access 3/6/13



Figure-2: Wall painting depicting the arrival of tooth relic
Source: en.wikipedia.org access 3/6/13



Figure-2a: Temple and Palace complex set against the forest range, and the artificial lake that depicts the mythical milky ocean
Source: en.wikipedia.org access 3/6/13

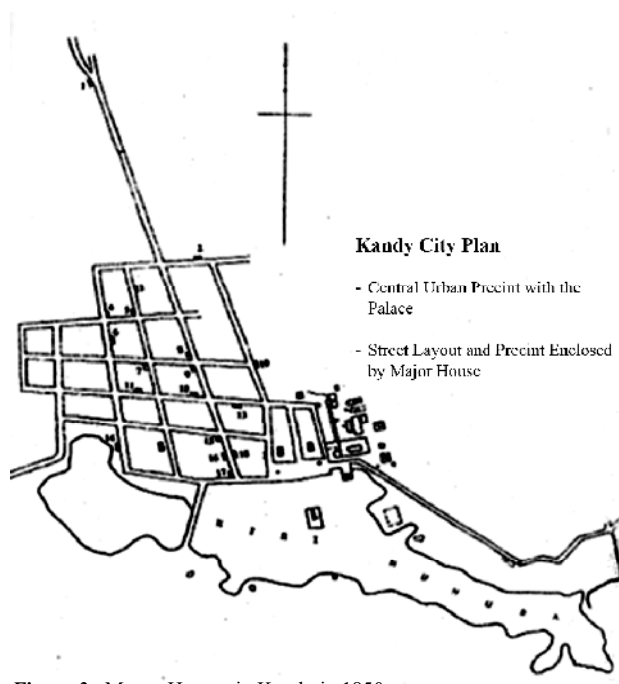


Figure-3: Manor Houses in Kandy in 1850
Source: Central Cultural Fund (1999).

with regards to protection and presentation represents the present-day value system to manipulate the economic role of tourism.

In Kandy, the place managers have noted the sources of economic instruments for their development strategies with tourism offering high return on the existing heritage resources and have made attempts to exploit the additional benefits such as enhanced local identity, social cohesion and favorable image. They make attempts to induce a win-win result by preventing the extra consumption from spoiling the heritage resource and its dependents.

The impact of tourism in any heritage-city varies not only with the magnitude but more significantly with the type. The strength of local tourism, the continuous engagement of locals in cultural activities and proclaiming the city as the pinnacle sacred place of a majority have demanded the shaping of a particular place management. The integration of heritage-city, place-identity and urban tourism in Kandy attests to an instructive case.

The evolving relationships between heritage-city, place-identity and urban-tourism in Kandy with aims to prepare grounds to design a management plan has been studied here, that would protect the heritage-city as a habitat. The data has been collected through literature review, qualitative field research and a morphological analysis.

City and Heritage

City and heritage have had an understanding since the city was shaped as the space of a civilized human. Kandy, the seat of the kingdom also had the specific role to play as the home for the relics of Buddha, and as such was designed and built as a monument. The social structure and the social order, as well as the evolved value system of the society accommodated within the city limits and then in the surrounding villages, and the close links the city builders maintained with South Indians, shaped the unique city and an urban architecture. As an urban space it has contained and nurtured a unique culture, whose evolution is expressed through tangible and intangible heritages. Three basic attributes of the city that have a direct bearing upon creating its heritage value are the size, spatial clustering and urban design. With a critical volume of human interactions occurring in a spatially restricted area, Kandy has become a unique urban space. The demographic concentration and the diversity within a well-defined urban space represent the particular relationship between the tangible society, that is geographically-defined, and the intangible city culture that

is named after the prosperous kingdom. The role of Kandy diversified with its crowning as the administrative and commercial centre during the colonial era. New buildings were added and new spatial orders and land utilization were defined, thus stratifying cultural layers of the city. The ethnic diversity and composition changed during the colonial era, signifying new spatial clustering, built forms, place making and value ascription. The urban form of Kandy, largely determined by geographical restrictions, was diluted as the connectivity to other cities was then given a higher priority. The post-independence developments started sprawling along the main roads and crowding around the main transit points: the bus station and railway station were thus constructed. The city went through a transformation with its heritage values being diversely ascribed and appreciated after inscription on the World Heritage List (WHL).

Heritage conservation emerged in Sri Lanka as a major socio-economic activity with the economic liberalization in 1977 that promoted physical developments in cities. The threat to the heritage city was eminent, but the government established the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) in 1978 to frame a comprehensive approach to protect such cities as Kandy. The CCF developed place management strategies with aims to reaping the benefits of cultural tourism and diverting the income to heritage protection. Its efforts brought successful results in declaring and protecting the heritage-city with its diversity and integrating heritage protection in the development agenda. It also encouraged the involvement of the private sector in heritage management. The enactment of Kandy Heritage Foundation and urban development regulations strengthened the existing law, resulted by the new thinking, supporting the place managers to act in a different scale and context. Most importantly, demarcation of the heritage-city and then, to a great extent, the reclamation of its place-identity are direct results of the establishment of the new foundation. Kandy has become a heritage city by being a setting of an evolving society. All its components possess a heritage value for representing that particular evolution. However, even the new laws do not respect all the layers of the heritage-city but a few selected moments of its history. They seem to have noted the market value of the exotic historicity to promote tourism, justifying its protection with economic benefits. The policies have not tested the strength of heritage in creating employment, enhancing the urban diversity or opportunities and absorbing the private sector which would in return benefit by creating positive presence in the local communities. Heritage values in Kandy are not interpreted for facilitating development and raising living standards to its potentials.

In Sri Lanka, land is managed by the central government and the local authorities have no power on land or the heritage, which is tied with land. The CCF, having its officers stationed at municipality, strengthens this centralized decision making. The municipality is expected to manage the heritage-city but services such as roads, water, energy, transport and communication are provided by centralized authorities that are not answerable to the municipality. The sole income of the municipality is the municipal rate collected from some businesses and residents, whereas the taxes are collected by the central government. With heritage managers pushing for the replacement of commercial activities with cultural activities such as galleries or museums the income of the municipal council may dwindle. The development approvals in the city are permitted by the municipality but the decision making is dominated by the state authorities that represent the central government. The procedure is rather slow and cumbersome as some of the regulations are not development friendly but advocate a freezing of the physical fabric and repetition of building elements in order to enhance the place-identity without studying the evolving morphology of the place and changing demands of social life. The fuzzy interaction of various authorities has messed up place management, functional association and spatial design in the city, making a negative impact on the relationship between city and heritage. The lack of effective positive synergies to facilitate the integration of heritage and its protection in a broader urban design strategy seems to have drawn a clear line dividing a living city and a dead heritage. It is possible to notice the misinterpretation of heritage values and degrading awareness of the cultural significance of heritage as a result of focusing onto one exotic historicity and perfecting that for one fragile market, tourism.

In Kandy, it is proposed to shift the commercial and administrative activities added during the British rule out of the inner city to make it the pure sacred city of the Buddhists. These additions of the British era not only undermine city's present-day cultural significance that evolved with the Temple of Tooth Relic and the pageant, but also cause heavy traffic and air pollution (Figure 4).



Figure-4: Traffic congestion within Kandy

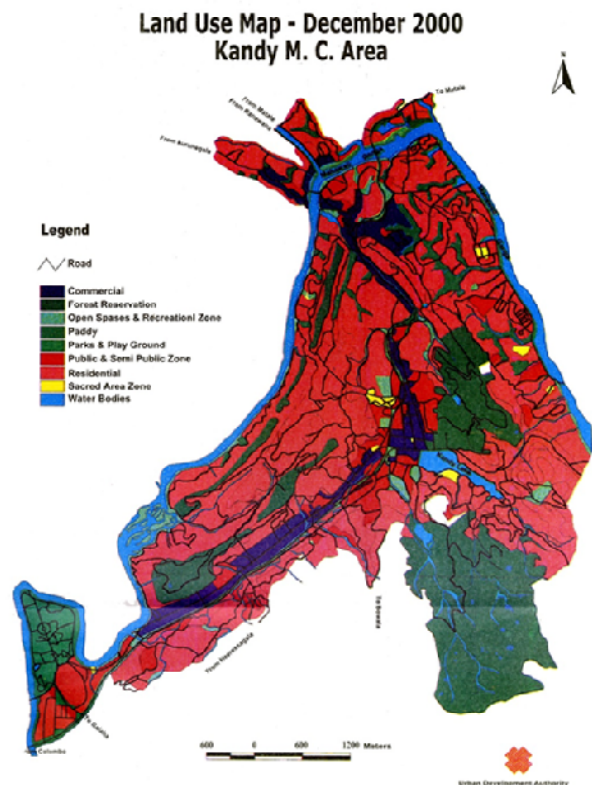


Figure-5: Land use Map - December 2000, Kandy M.C. Area
Source: Urban Development Authority, 2000

Their eviction would leave the city with significant vacuums in the urban form in addition to damaging cultural layers. The Kandy Development Plan (KDP) enacted by the Urban Development Authority (UDA) promotes the city to be developed as a set of mixed use zones and proposes restrictions on type and scale of new developments (Figure 5). By proposing architectural guidelines in those zones with particular land use and built form compositions, the KDP aims at protecting the image of the city (Figure 6). As a whole, this place management document is comprehensive enough to sustain the liveability of the city. Yet, the development plan has not paid due attention to the particular relationship between the city and its heritage, and as such has not addressed the potentials of the city continuing as a heritage-city with a living society (Figure 7). Its architectural guidelines have largely been restricted to building elements and they do not deal with architectural types, spatial orders or morphological compositions. The plan has not paid attention to the multi-ethnic value of the city and how that particular quality itself is an inherent heritage value of Kandy, shaped as a juxtaposition of Sri Lankan and South



Figure-6: Built form within the heritage city of Kandy

Indian urban concepts. The cultural engineering proposed in the plan seems far-fetched but may not create a sustainable city for solely depending on the physical forms and for treating buildings as mere shells.

It must be understood that the city is a living organism and it evolves with its successive societies, thus becoming a heritage. The living society and its activity patterns add layers of existence, diversifying heritage values of the city. A frozen history would discontinue the city life and an empty city without an evolving city life may become a city in extinction. It is essential to develop a clear understanding of how the city has accrued heritage values and whose heritage values should be given priorities managing their future.

City and Tourism

The city has been a tourist destination for a long time. Most tourists visit attractions in the city which are the repository of social and cultural developments. Heritage buildings or districts and cultural events make the city more attractive for tourism. Most cities present their heritage for touristic gains. The urban form of the royal seat of Kandy was originally shaped to enshrine and exhibit the Tooth Relic, and as such was essentially designed to accommodate visitors. Its elevation to the provincial capital and inscription on the WHL further challenged Kandy to accept more diversified visitors. The city is blessed with heritage resources, tangible as well as intangible, to attract and sustain tourism as it occupies a pivotal position in the regional hierarchy. The annual procession of Kandy, arts and crafts that evolved with enshrinement of the relics and the particular way of life and art forms that resulted by the close relationship between Sri Lanka and South India developed during the latter parts of the Sinhalese Kingdom; and have made the multi-functional city to attract multi-motivational visitors. Kandy, with its history, climate, symbols and associations of social and cultural significance is increasingly becoming

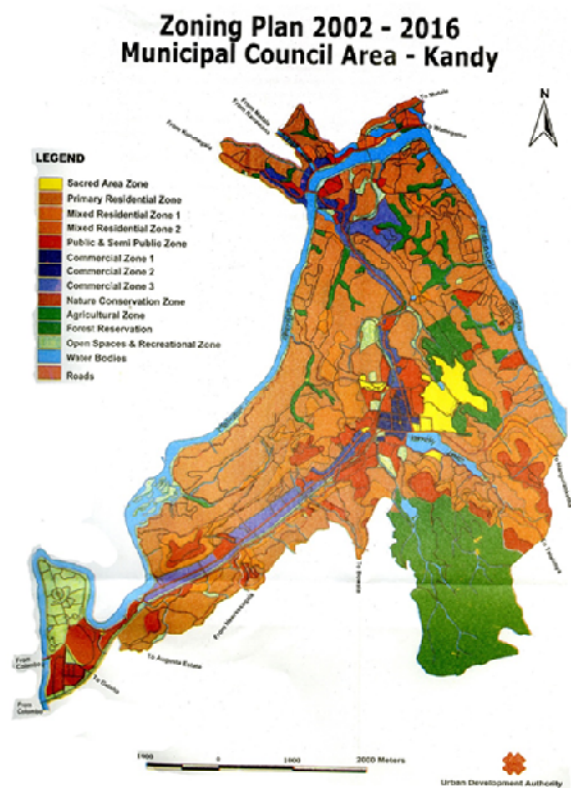


Figure-7: Zoning Plan 2002 - 2016 Municipal Council Area - Kandy
Source: Urban Development Authority, 2000

a destination in the global tourist map. Among the reasons for its new-found significance are the surrounding regions known for various arts and crafts, their celebrations in festivals and their unique place-identity.

Heritage managers attempted to clear the post-royal additions and to enact laws to regulate the external shells of buildings to strengthen the exotic place identity of Kandy (Figure 8). The CCF initiated the restoring of historic splendor of royal-cum-religious precinct by cleaning up its irrelevant additions. This was a justified correction of the urban image, but extending such cleaning up all over the city to complete a tourist-oriented museum-city may cause the loss of city image. The emergence of heritage centers, galleries, museums and souvenir shops as well as the new buildings wrapped in colonnades and pitched roofs are the advocated management tools that exclusively aim at promoting the market values of Kandy as a tourist product. The Kandy Arts and Crafts Centre is among the most tangible witness to converting city's life into a tourist product. These institutions disassociate tangible products of the place-



Figure-8: Will the tourists or city managers want hardware, paint, wholesale groceries or even steel furniture? The traffic is mostly created by the impractical and unsuitable land use



specific ways of life from their true cultural significance in order to promote tourism. The most disturbing in this is the friction created between the dominating local attachments to the heritage-city and the tourism that is only considered for financial gains. The streamlined focus of financial gains through tourism has obscured Kandy's heritage value. It is essential to study the potentials of tourism in enlarging heritage awareness, diversifying values and supporting the continuity of activities and living patterns, which are the intangible aspects of heritage.

Kandy receives more day visitors. Thousands of local tourists visit the Temple of Tooth Relic daily and over 90% of them spend all their time in the religious-cum-royal precinct. It is found that around 80% visit only the temple and not any other historic buildings even in this precinct. The locals spend the nights during the annual pageant but hardly use hotels or other such facilities as they enjoy the pageant related activities throughout the night. The foreign tourists sometimes spend a night either to watch the pageant or while transiting. They also consider the temple as the main attraction but do consume the rest of the city beyond the central precinct. It is a fact that the rest of the city could attract the visitors if those other city quarters are better presented. Our data suggests that even the locals could be encouraged to visit these quarters and spend a night if at least the urban precincts that are in close proximity to the central core are well maintained and managed as a part of the heritage-city. For example, Colombo Street that is filled with hardware shops, furniture shops, etc., creates heavy traffic and nuisance. It could be reinterpreted as a heritage zone with its historic buildings conserved and re-purposed for activities that

represent Kandy's historic values. In addition, such an urban zone would diversify the city and facilitate possible public-private partnerships for heritage conservation and sustainable development in Kandy.

The local pilgrims enjoy the free ridership to the temple though they make generous donations. These donations are not diverted to manage or conserve the premises and as such the local tourism makes no financial contribution to the management of the heritage city. Yet, their visits make the city alive and demand the continuity of city's living traditions, and therefore make an indirect contribution to city's socio-economics. The only income earned by the Kandy Municipal Council (KMC) from their visits is through the parking tickets. The KMC has built a multi-storey parking facility, which is used heavily throughout the day. This facility has brought much needed parking space to Kandy and added diversity as the upper floors of this building facilitates more functions. The proposal to add a convention center on the top most level will enhance city life and improve tourism. With the colonial period prison about to be moved out of the city center, the KMC will get another opportunity to add a facility to strengthen city's livability and economic performance. Since urban tourism in Kandy has activated the regional economy and the job market, it is justified to make this facility a more tourist oriented one.

Place managers often believe that tourism is the single social and economic trend that justifies heritage protection. Silberberg (1995) has illustrated how the tourist preferences in heritage sites have changed in North America. He documents a visible shift from 1980s focus on escapism

typified by luxury expenditures, to 1990s focus on enrichment reflected in the consumption of historical, cultural or even spiritual places. Kandy is able to cater to these changes but the place managers have not responded to the needs or trends. The supply of historicity is usually less responsive to tourism demands in Kandy than to wider social needs. It is therefore not explicable with growing foreign tourist arrival. There, the tourists are attracted to the sense of place itself, composed of many broadly defined cultural attributes that may not be known to them. They are only attracted to the tangible by-products of those cultural activities.

Heritage tourism in Kandy is essentially both a special interest and place specific, but only accounts for a part of each of those categories. The growth of tourism as such has enhanced the heritage discourse of Kandy, diversifying the heritage-city and its values and enlarging heritage awareness among the locals. The universal proclamation and the new cultural facilities promote more local visitors too. Yet, the place managers' promotion agenda of the city as a heritage destination does not accommodate these locals, most of whom are of a lesser buying power. These locals should be encouraged to enjoy their visit, more than just visiting a museum to look at an artifact kept in a concealed enclosure, making an impact on the heritage discourse or the socio-economic discourse.

Urban tourism is place-specific and includes a range of cultural attractions as a result of an urban way of life, thus representing the place too. Jensen-Verbeke (1997) classifies cultural tourism into three categories; as culturally motivated, inspired or attracted, emphasizing the essential vagueness of the idea of cultural tourism. Kandy is instructive in explaining these three distinctions of urban tourism with closer overlaps among them. It is important to note that those art forms evolved with the traditions of paying homage to the enshrined relic have become a heritage in Kandy thus promoting all three types. The place managers seem to have misinterpreted this place specific nature of the arts and buildings in such a way that they have encouraged the imitation of their tangible components rather than facilitating cultural continuity (Munasinghe, 1988). They stress that the modern art and architecture do not fit comfortably into their heritage tourism agenda, thus they advise the developers to repeat historic typologies and building elements. The result has been the death of creativity and loss of continuity. In Kandy, it is argued that built forms are conserved for their historic significance or associations, but the aesthetic quality of their historic charm takes precedence when it comes to decision making.

In the inner city, the remodeling of the place-identity takes place in a substantial scale to attract more affluent consumers. The exploitation of resources and free ridership has made to cast off tourism as an irresponsible exploiter, degrader and a heritage-polluter. Many residents complain about visual intrusion of the tourists and limitless enforcement of unbearable restrictions on their habitat by the authorities. The psychic damage of authenticity, integrity or perceived qualities of the city as a habitat is growing in the fort city, losing its living society as the end result. The heritage producers are aware of the spatial and functional selectivity of tourism, but have not been cautious enough to balance costs and benefits in the allocation of local costs.

The resources used in the production of heritage tourism have four characteristics; variety, ubiquity, shared-demand and marginality (Ashworth, et.al. 2007). The tourists consume a wide variety of heritage goods and services whether they are intended for them or not. An inevitable incomplete inventory of such resources includes not only the most patronized facilities but also more commonplace facilities, that nevertheless are seen by the tourists as an important part of the experience. The best example is the much hyped columned pitched roof in Kandy that has been re-used in an increasingly segmented 'niche' market. The heritage is a ubiquitous resource associated with a particular historical era and a circumstance in both cases. Their ubiquitous resource endows everywhere with the possibility of producing heritage products on a tourism market. As the opportunity for entry increases so the chance of success of any one place narrows. The demand for heritage goods and services is shared between tourists and a wide variety of others in Kandy. In particular this shared-demand has an important task of socialization, identification and political legitimating as noted by Graham, et.al. (2000). Tourism, making use of resources which were not originally produced for the market and which are currently owned and managed by those who are unaware of that particular use, eventually marginalize the weaker. Kandy attests to this marginalization and a form of disinheritance as a result. For example, the art forms that were meant for paying homage have been assigned higher values unaffordable to the locals. Yet, Kandy with its cultural significance is able to withstand these currents created by tourism.

Heritage-Tourism and Place-Identity

It is a fact that the growth of heritage-tourism took off with globalization. Evans (2000) finds that there has been a noticeable growth in heritage visits, cultural performances and the sale of cultural goods in the last 30 years. Kandy

is experiencing an unprecedented growth of tourism after the conclusion of ethnic war in 2009. Among the reasons for this growth of interest in heritage is the consumption of culture as part of the lifestyle of a distinctive stratum in society, a reaction to the standardization of globalization. Heritage is seen by such segments as the pursuit of a social taste formed by the elite minority, equipped with the skills and experience as cosmopolitans (Urray, 1994). The place managers found the place-identity strengthened by heritages as an attraction to lure this particular social class. Ashworth and Turnbridge (1990) map out the profile of an average heritage tourist as aged 40-60, having above average income and education, are child free and relatively experienced in such holidays. These generalizations do apply in Kandy but with different capacities as there has been an inconsistency between supply and demand of heritage resources. The richer tourists visit Kandy during the pageant, spending a night or two while visiting other cultural sites around the historic city. They wish to identify with the city as the center of one cultural era and like to experience its surroundings in relation to that image. Those concerned with the preservation of heritage have widened the role of their responsibilities, successively seeking out new markets, using new techniques of promotion and presentation. Urban tourism is not confined to high art of the established classics but shows interest in a widening range of products, including the everyday heritage of ordinary people, for example, the food and culture of the ordinary. This trend can be defined as heritage tourism that strengthens both tourism and heritage.

However, the tourist use of heritage is highly selective and significantly different from other users in Kandy. It has been found that they make an intensive use of only an extremely limited number of buildings and sites. It is noted that larger, exceptional and spectacular monuments and dramatic events are preferred by most tourists who are aware of the heritage value of the place. They also visit smaller, domestic and more commonplace monuments. It is rather important to notice that most of the local tourists do not visit the historic sites in Kandy but only the temple. The place managers are challenged to enlarge heritage awareness by presenting the city with its region and people, thus dispersing crowds and designing sustainable development in the region (Figure 9). It is also noted that such an attempt would bring more long-lasting public-private partnerships to improve the socio-economic conditions and livable spaces in Kandy. The responsibility of managing the entire place has an impact on those popular sites. Also, tourists are rather unpredictable and as such they may appreciate other segments or precincts too. The selectivity of tourism can be explained by knowledge, expectation and time-space constraints of the



Figure-9: Renovation of Wooden building is an essential feature

tourist. This is why place management shall be intertwined with enhancement of awareness among tourists. In the city quarters where there is no such monumental architecture, the so-called everyday architecture is sacrificed. The place managers find the lack of monumental architecture as a drawback and try to crown few selected buildings, temples, churches, schools, etc. They have failed to understand the dominating feature, the everyday architecture as the major attraction of the fort city.

As far as heritage-tourism is concerned there is a need to find answers to the question, whose history and whose heritage is being consumed? The place manager's concern has been to help the tourist recognize the heritage as relevant.. The different consumption between foreign tourist and the locals has been a dilemma as the foreigners have different or limited knowledge of the place, but a better purchasing power. This lack of knowledge on the other hand allows the foreign tourist to be more open minded. It has been found that not many tourists are keen to respect the local values but make attempts to ascribe a different value on artefacts. It is thus important for place managers to include the practice of the particular value system along with the presented heritage to diffuse possible conflicts over selection, use and interpretation of heritage, especially because these items have religious and cultural values. On the other hand, such an integration supported by decentralized local activities

that have evolved with the particular heritage-city will enhance more tourism as the tourist makes a visit for the exotic nature of the heritage-city. However, the domination of universal inscription and international funding for protection of heritage has resulted in conservation and presentation of this heritage city in a manner with which the tourist is familiar.

The place managers have failed to grasp the swift consumption of the heritage city and Kandy's particular capacity to continuously supply heritage events for the tourism market. Despite the growth in interest for heritage and the widening variety of heritage products, any specific heritage-city is consumed within hours or a day, though the time taken to present it would have been much longer. The average length of stay of a visitor in Kandy is day long but the diversity of the city encourages the tourists to return to experience a new aspect of the heritage city. It is a fact that no heritage-city can be totally dependent on tourism as the sole economic platform. The place managers should design projects, large or small, that are able to absorb tourism with its fragility.

Discussion: Heritage, Tourism and Managing City

The impact of tourism on the economics of cities is well-investigated but the economics of heritage is largely under-researched (Graham et.al, 2000). In Kandy, the generalised versions of so-called success stories of other cities are grafted without assessing their suitability to the context. The strength of Kandy as a religious city is not paid due attention in bringing tourist development. Among the most significant factors that determine economic benefits are overnight stays and the economic links between heritage facilities and secondary services. Kandy primarily is a day excursion site and does not earn such a significant income through overnight stays. It has not explored the potentials of presenting itself as a congress or commercial venue. Its economic costs and benefits tend to be both spatially and functionally limited in its impacts. Besides the direct role as a commercial activity in itself, heritage tourism can play a number of less direct but equally important roles in their local economies. Tourism is one use of heritage but it can enhance its secondary economic significance by enhancing performances, museums or monuments that already exist for other purposes and for locals. The new facilities created for tourists could be used by the locals enjoying the improved livability of the heritage-city. The possibility of enhanced values of heritage products, properties, etc. as a result of tourism as well as the strengthened production process of some place-specific products is an economic benefit too. A proper heritage



Figure-10: City accessible to everybody

interpretation could enhance property values in Kandy. Although, the economic impact of this exchange of ownerships is yet to be quantitatively assessed, this will result in grafting a more comprehensive stewardship for the historic dwellings in those properties.

Tourism uses heritage with four main consequences for management. First, although such heritages as resources are rarely in the absolute fix supply, these resources can be depleted or damaged. Space for example is obviously finite, and it may be damaged indirectly through visual intrusion, presence of the wide variety of secondary accommodation or transport support facilities required by tourists (Ashworth, 1995). In Kandy, it is noted that subtle damages detract user experience and space transformation disturbs other spaces. Secondly, heritage resources and products have the characteristics of public goods, managed and financed by the public sector for the common good as they are usually freely accessible. Tourism uses such resources competing with their other uses/ users. The management of such universally accessible multi-sold, zero-priced, public goods presents fundamental difficulties for policy makers, particularly in the case of heritage-city of the developing world (Figure 10). Thirdly, the location of the heritage



Figure-11: City to continue as a living and working place.

resources being largely outside the system of tourism accounting creates externalities, thus demanding a supplementing of the flows of costs and benefits between producers and consumers, especially the opportunity costs of alternative forgone developments. Equally external benefits accrue through indirect taxation, supplemented amenity facilities, improved place promotional images and many more. This raises the question of sector, spatial and temporal equity, namely whether a tourist or other users are the free-riders in the system, whether the external costs and benefits are accruing to the same individuals, agencies and places and whether the timing of the incidence of receiving costs and benefits is the same. Fourthly, and resulting largely from the above, are organizational difficulties. In simple terms, the historic city has been protected and is currently managed by several agencies and local authorities. Their own goals, organizational structures, management instruments and working practices and struggles to implicate others in decision making have resulted in the failure of developing a comprehensive protection for the heritage and exploring the potentials of tourism in strengthening the economies of the heritage-city.

The development of a diversified tourism product line could benefit the economic wellbeing of the heritage-city (Figure 11). The idea that there exists a universal harmonious symbiosis between these parties is assumed rather than explained. The relationships between heritage, tourism and place, pose more questions and create more complexities. Why, and how, do tourists make use of heritage? What are the implications for heritage of its additional tourism use? What roles does heritage play in places and particularly what are the impacts on places of use of local heritage by tourists? The effective management of heritage tourism for

local development goals depends on sustainable answers to these questions.

The religious significance of Kandy dominates the management of its place-identity. The place managers have made attempts to replace the commercial layers of the colonial and post-independent periods with more cultural activities after realizing the tourism demands of the entire city, but at the same time improving its place-identity. The current land use pattern and built forms attest to a cultural discontinuity and obstruct smooth functioning of the heritage-city, but replacing them with historicity-oriented images may damage the authentic evolution of the cityscape if it is not attended to carefully. As it is a fact that by removing the patina of a sculpture, one may not recover the original surface but rather damage the present state of the original surface (Munasinghe, 1988).

CONCLUSION

Heritage interests of foreign tourists and local tourists are different in Kandy. Thus assessing the diversity of tourist consumption in conserving and presenting heritage to balance the requirements of lucrative foreign tourism and the locals is the starting point of understanding what to conserve and how to interpret. The cultural significance of Kandy shows such diversity very clearly. Heritage tourism needs the varied resource values of the heritage-city as it is a useful marginal economic activity yet may become the main support for local economies. In Kandy, tourism has the potential to become a leading economic sector once listed as an economic imperative with an array of alternative options, a surplus capacity especially of land, labour and supporting services, a set of resources capable of being commoditized into products relevant to specific markets, a fortunate location relative to that market and also probably in the timing of the initiative. Such a checklist of preconditions for an excess of economic benefits over costs explains why failure in local tourism development is more likely than success.

If urban-tourism is to be managed in the heritage-city to the satisfaction of all those involved, we need a thorough understanding of the relationships, establishment of goals and priorities, and an array of instruments of intervention such as land-use and development control, or local economic and fiscal management, and the organizational structure capable of performing such tasks. One may argue that Kandy does not have any of them, but an optimistic vision is that they could be created in the heritage city which has loads of potentials.

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