TOURISM PLANNING FOR KANDY, SRI LANKA:

A FRAMEWORK

by

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B.A., University of British Columbia, 1997

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

In

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(School of Community and Regional Planning)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August, 1999

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The School of Community and Regional Planning
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Vancouver, Canada

Date August 25, 1999
ABSTRACT

The city of Kandy, located in the central hill-region of Sri Lanka, is one of the country’s most popular tourist destinations. Both foreign and domestic travelers are attracted to the city’s natural beauty, mild climate, historical and cultural significance, and wide variety of attractions. This thesis develops a framework of recommendations for tourism planning based upon a thorough analysis of the various elements of tourism in Kandy. This is achieved through an examination of the historical, social, physical, economic, political, cultural and institutional dimensions of tourism within Kandy and by exploring the nature of the linkages between these elements. The results of this study are derived from several types of research, including an analysis of statistical sources, a review of the tourism planning literature, participatory observation of the tourist experience in Kandy, interviews with individuals involved in the tourism industry in Kandy, a tourism planning workshop held in Kandy, and a questionnaire given to a sample of tourists.

Tourism development in Kandy has not been accompanied by the anticipated scale and distribution of benefits to the local population. In addition, a number of negative social, cultural and environmental impacts have resulted from tourism which have adversely affected the quality of life of residents. If pursued as it has been in the past, future tourism development in Kandy could result in a magnification of these negative impacts, thereby placing further demands on the natural resources and municipal infrastructure systems, and leading to an increase in undesirable cultural and social change. Without appropriate planning, increased tourism development could result in degradation in the tourism product and a decline in the tourism industry. This thesis argues that if tourism development for Kandy is planned in a manner that balances the principles of economic viability, environmental consciousness, cultural sensitivity, social responsibility and tourist satisfaction, it could potentially lead to minimized negative repercussions, magnified positive impacts, and an improved quality of life for the local population.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the people of Kandy who have contributed to my research process for their time, information, ideas, support, enthusiasm and encouragement. The professors and staff at the University of Peradeniya were extremely helpful and accommodating. A special thanks goes to Dr. Sisira Pinnawala for assisting me with logistics and problem-solving before, during and after my visit.

This thesis is a component of the CIDA-funded Tier 2 program Education for Democratic Planning, a collaborative effort between Sri Lanka and the University of British Columbia’s Centre for Human Settlements. I thank Dr. Aprodicio Laquian for allowing me the opportunity to take part in, learn from, and contribute to this program, and for all of his advice and support throughout the research process. I would also like to thank the committee members, Dr. Basil van Horen, Dr. Barrie Morrison and Dr. Michael Leaf, for their time, interest and contributions.
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Kandy Through the Eyes of a Tourist

The morning heat in Colombo was oppressive on the first day of my stay in Sri Lanka. I was glad to be leaving the coastal capital and heading to the cooler hill-country city of Kandy. On the 116 kilometre, two-hour bus ride I chatted with the two men I was seated between, and by the end of the trip I had received kind invitations to visit each of their families for tea during my stay in Kandy. Upon arriving at our destination, we said our good-byes. I stood in the midst of the ordered chaos of the Kandy bus station, trying to get my bearings. My eyes scanned the signs for any familiar English script indicating a way out of the confusion, but found none. I waved down a three-wheeler taxi driver who said he knew the location of the guesthouse at which I had reservations. We agreed on a price, I climbed in and was confidently whizzed away, dodging obstacles and pedestrians. We buzzed through the downtown, around the lake and up winding pot-holed roads to a place in the hills. There was no indication that our destination was a guesthouse, so I asked the driver to wait while I confirmed my reservation. As it turned out, we were at the wrong place. When I produced my letter of reservation the driver suddenly appeared shaken, apologized profusely and promptly buzzed me off to the right guesthouse. Had he hoped I would stay at the first place in order that he could collect a commission?

The guesthouse I was staying at was tranquil, private, small, and welcoming. It is considered "paying guest accommodation", which means that the guest actually lives in the family’s home and shares their meals. After settling in, I set off on foot to the town centre. Partway there, another three-wheeler driver stopped to offer me a free ride since he was heading in that direction as well. I was a bit suspicious, but accepted his offer. He was friendly and chatty and when he dropped me off, made me promise to look for him if I needed a three-wheeler again. I never did use his services during the rest of my stay, but he always greeted me by name when he drove by and several times he readily gave directions and information.
The place I was dropped off at was near a roadside stand selling irresistible mangos. Two
good-natured vendors cut and bagged my choice of fruit while they joked at their own English
proficiency and encouraged my attempts at their language of Sinhala. I walked further along the
road, and passed heavily secured military roadblocks, erected following the recent bombing of the
city’s centerpiece, the Temple of the Tooth. With rifles slung over their shoulders, army officers
patrolled the area or kept watch from within sandbag bunkers placed strategically on the temple’s
front lawn. Reconstruction of the damaged temple was evidently underway. I continued past and
into the busy town centre where the streets and sidewalks, swept clean by municipal workers
earlier that day, were already collecting litter again. A gaping hole in the sidewalk remained
following an excavation for municipal service repair, and made it necessary to wait in line in
order to negotiate around it. The hole would remain unrepaired until the end of my stay. A stroll
through the markets brought every vendor beckoning to “just look, Madame, no buy.”

I was in search of medicine, as I felt the start of a flu. A gentleman I stopped on the street to
ask directions, rather than simply telling me how to get there, personally escorted me to the shop.
On the way, he asked my impressions of Kandy, beaming with pride to hear that it was my fourth
visit and that I was enjoying my stay. At the pharmacy, he shook my hand enthusiastically and
merged into the stream of passersby. My scratchy throat and runny nose would be unaffected by
the ‘western’ medicine; yet a few days later I was cured almost immediately by a local Ayurvedic
treatment, kindly supplied by my guesthouse hostess.

I left the downtown to continue my walk around the lake in the centre of the city. All of the
traffic that would have passed in front of the temple was now re-routed around the south side of
the lake. The excessive noise and emissions from the vehicles made an unpleasant experience of
what would have otherwise been a relaxing stroll. A number of times young men approached me,
offering to sell me a ticket to that evening’s dance performance, or offering to take me on a tour.
This would become the norm for a few days until it became common knowledge among these
street guides that I was not in Kandy as a tourist. One young man introduced himself as a
university student wishing only to practice English, learn about other countries and make foreign friends. As I suspected, and would discover later, he was a professional street guide and had never attended university. Another young man approached with “Remember me? I work at the hotel where you are staying”. When I replied that I was staying at a guesthouse run only by a man and his wife, he cursed and made a crude comment under his breath as he turned away.

Some of the touts or street guides were extremely persistent, and my firm “No, thank-you” did little to discourage their efforts. It was not until I refused them in their own language that, with a surprised look on their faces, most would apologize, grin and say ‘O.K., see you later’. As a woman alone, I felt somewhat uncomfortable with the stares and whispers, but this was balanced by the frequent friendly greeting of “Hello, what is your country?”

As I continued around the lake, I decided to stop at a number of guesthouses to enquire about their prices and availability, as I planned to sample a number of different types of accommodation during my three-week stay. There was a wide variation in price, size and cleanliness, ranging from rooms that were cheap, tiny, damp, and dingy to spotless, bright, spacious rooms with balconies and incredible views. Most offered meals, if desired, and one recently opened guesthouse even had Ayurvedic massage and sauna available.

Further around the lake, I decided to stop at the Kandyan Arts Association centre to take in the nightly dance performance for tourists. The centre’s capacity is between three- and four-hundred people, but only twenty-six foreigners attended. The dances were beautifully presented, although each was shortened considerably from the traditional form. It was dark by the time the performance had finished and I started back to my guesthouse. Traffic had thinned and the streets were almost empty as most people were already home for dinner. Streetlights were sparse and the shadows deep. I felt vulnerable and unsafe as I turned onto the road to my guesthouse, picking my way between puddles along the dark road. I was glad to finally reach my destination and sit down to a generous meal of rice and curries and the pleasant conversation of my hosts.

Fireflies and mosquitoes kept me company as I sipped my after-dinner tea on the roof patio.
overlooking the bird sanctuary. I reflected on my impressions of Kandy and the visible changes that had occurred since I had first visited over ten years before. The city itself appeared virtually unchanged – it was comforting to find many of the same businesses still prospering and the market overflowing with fresh produce and goods as before. It seems that the homes now stretch further up the hillsides, yet I was still struck by the abundance of greenery throughout. The potential for tourism development seems relatively untapped: I had seen very few foreigners on my walk through the downtown and around the lake, and the guesthouses were relatively empty, most owners anxious for business. The atmosphere surrounding the temple was, of course, much less serene and somewhat unsettling due to the unavoidable presence of the military, a constant reminder of the potential violence and destruction that continues to seethe beneath the surface of this country. The influence of modernization was evident in the proliferation of cell-phones carried like trophies by the affluent, and the undeniable increase in the number of privately owned vehicles adding to the congestion and choking air pollution. I marveled at the contrast between the bustling and noisy downtown of earlier that day and the oasis of serenity in which my guesthouse was situated. As I fell asleep to the sounds of drumming carried through the darkness from the temple, overlaid by the soft voices of geckos and crickets, I looked forward to the next three weeks of gaining a better understanding of the complexities of tourism in Kandy.

Tourism Defined

A universally accepted definition of tourism does not exist. The various meanings of “tourist” and “tourism” will not be disputed here, as numerous detailed discussions of the many interpretations of these terms can be found elsewhere.¹ For the purposes of this study the following broad definition of tourism will be used:

Tourism is the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs. (Mathieson and Wall 1982, 1)

This description is useful because it expresses the complex nature of the industry, incorporating both the social and physical dimensions of tourism, and the domestic as well as the foreign traveler. Unlike many narrower definitions of the term, this one does not automatically exclude business travelers and daytrippers, an artificial omission since “in the course of a journey, a traveler may fulfill several different tourist roles, even if on a ‘business’ trip, and tourist impact may sometimes have less to do with tourists’ motivation than with residents’ perceptions” (Harrison 1992, 2). Such a broad conception is useful for this study which aims to encompass the full range of visitors that ought to be considered when planning for tourism in Kandy.

The Ceylon Tourist Board distinguishes between ‘tourist’, ‘excursionist’ (daytripper) and ‘visitor’ when referring to international arrivals, but these terms are not used to refer to the domestic component (CTB 1997, 51). Such distinctions are not meaningful for this study and will not be used. Instead, the terms tourist, traveler and visitor will be used interchangeably for foreign as well as domestic visitors to refer to anyone “visiting (for less than one year) an unfamiliar community (the host community) from that in which the person normally resides” (Hunter and Green 1995, 2). “Tourism industry” or “tourism sector” will refer to the amalgam of services and resources used by tourists.

Why Tourism Development in Kandy?

Tourism has provided Kandy’s population with a number of benefits, and holds much potential for further positive impacts through development of the industry. Throughout Sri Lanka, tourism development has been pursued by the national government with the intention of earning foreign exchange, providing employment, increasing government revenues through tourism taxes, and serving as a catalyst for expansion of other economic sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing. In Kandy, development of tourism has led to an increase in direct and indirect income-earning opportunities, the improvement of skills, and support for the work of
Figure 1: Map of Kandy

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Explanatory Key to Map on page 6.

Local handicraft, dance and music specialists. Compared with other industries established for the purpose of earning foreign exchange, tourism has proven to be more efficient in generating foreign exchange income (Samaranayake 1993, 16). As a service-based industry, tourism generally involves a low level of pollution compared with other processing and production ‘smoke-stack’ industries. It also requires much less capital investment. Much of the government’s expenditures in the tourism industry go towards improving the country’s basic
infrastructure and, therefore, benefits the local population as well. Projections of world tourism trends indicate that tourist numbers will continue to increase (Inskeep 1991, 13 – 15). Because Kandy is one of Sri Lanka’s prime tourist destinations, assuming that Sri Lanka is able to continue tapping this market, tourism in Kandy will be a stable and growing industry.

Kandy has an indefinable, yet almost tangible atmosphere that is uniquely appealing to visitors. The lively downtown is pleasantly balanced by the serenity of the lake and the flourishing natural environment, further enhanced by the sense of peaceful spirituality imparted by the city’s temples. Numerous and varied attractions and facilities offer the tourist a range of experiences. It is these elements which will continue to attract tourists (see Figure 1).

The local population in Kandy can benefit from expansion of the tourism industry in a number of ways. A multitude of undiscovered possibilities for tourism development in the city could potentially provide economic opportunities for the residents and enhance the experience of visitors. Further tourism development could help justify and pay for improvements to the city’s physical infrastructure such as transportation, roads, sewer, solid waste management and water services. Residents could take advantage of recreational, cultural and commercial facilities and services developed for the tourism industry. In response to tourists’ appreciation of the aesthetic beauty of a location, efforts may be made to protect and preserve the natural and built environments. These assets will be equally enjoyed by local residents. Tourism can also potentially provide the opportunity for a reduction of prejudicial attitudes through positive cross-cultural exchange and enhancement of the local population’s appreciation of their own heritage and culture (Inskeep 1991, 15).

It is these advantages and the potential for future expansion of tourism in Kandy that have led to the support among residents for further development of the industry. A farmer living near Kandy expresses a sentiment generally held by the local population: “Tourism holds the key to development and we are fortunate that they visit us” (Unknown 1993, 24).
Why tourism planning for Kandy?

The full potential benefits from tourism have yet to be attained in Kandy. Until recently, development of the tourism industry in Sri Lanka has been undertaken almost exclusively at a national level through the Ministry of Tourism. It has been primarily regulatory and reactive rather than future oriented, with some efforts put towards marketing, training and improving basic tourism facilities and physical infrastructure. The national-level focus has been on economic gain and, coupled with free enterprise, has led to tourism development that emphasizes financial return to the detriment of other factors (Crick 1994).

In 1993, the United Nations Development Programme prepared the Tourism Master Plan for Sri Lanka which includes general national scale recommendations for tourism strategies and development. To date, however, no coordinated tourism planning specific to the unique context of Kandy has been undertaken. Development of tourism facilities, accommodation, and attractions in Kandy has occurred mainly on a project-by-project basis by private enterprise or through disconnected governmental departments. This has resulted in rather inefficient, inadequate, and fractured tourism development. Benefits to the local population have been primarily economic and limited to a small number of individuals. Undesirable social, cultural and environmental impacts have accompanied tourism development, but until now these impacts have not been substantial due to the relatively low number of visitors to the city. Because Kandy is one of the country’s primary tourism destinations, future projections of increased tourist arrivals to the country, if realized, will result in an equivalent rise in the number of visitors to Kandy. Were its tourism industry to continue to operate as it has in the past, the predicted increase in visitors to Kandy would be accompanied by an increased magnitude of negative impacts, potentially resulting in degradation in the quality of the tourist experience and a decline in the tourism industry.
Effective planning of tourism can optimize the benefits and prevent - or at least mitigate - associated problems:

The experience of many tourism areas in the world has demonstrated that, on a long-term basis, the planned approach to developing tourism can bring benefits without significant problems, and maintain satisfied tourist markets. Places that have allowed tourism to develop without the benefit of planning are often suffering from environmental and social problems. These are detrimental to residents and unpleasant for many tourists, resulting in marketing difficulties and decreasing economic benefits. (WTO 1994, 3)

Tourism planning in Kandy is necessary in order to integrate the elements of the fragmented and multi-sectoral industry, coordinating activities in a manner in which goals can be fairly established and achieved. Effective tourism planning may secure the continued support for tourism by the community, and ensure a vibrant and viable tourism industry in Kandy for years to come.

What Kind of Tourism Planning?

In Sri Lanka, tourism has been pursued as a strategy for development, implemented primarily through economic means in order to achieve economic growth. The assumption underlying this approach is that economic growth equates with an improved quality of life – the ultimate goal of development. This assumption fails to recognize that quality of life also encompasses cultural, social, and environmental dimensions that are not necessarily addressed through economic strategies. As a result of this narrow economic approach, tourism development in Kandy has brought prosperity to a few local entrepreneurs and provided employment to others, but has also resulted in environmental degradation, increased economic disparity, depletion of cultural heritage and the magnification of social problems.

In order to rectify this situation and achieve an improved overall quality of life for the local population through tourism, the approach to developing the industry needs to expand beyond goals of strictly economic growth. Tourism planning should minimize or eliminate negative impacts, optimize the benefits of the industry, and equitably distribute these within the
population. This approach requires an appropriate balancing of five primary elements:

1) *the natural environment:* entails the maintenance of life support systems, protection of biodiversity and the efficient use of resources;

2) *the cultural dimension:* involves the conservation of historical sites, and the preservation and enhancement of diverse cultural elements within an ongoing process of change;

3) *the social dimension:* involves minimizing disharmony in the impacted community, ensuring fair and equitable distribution of the impacts of tourism, and ensuring local support for and control of tourism development through participation in the planning process;

4) *the economic component:* entails sufficient economic gain through development which is equitably distributed and does not violate any of the other elements;

5) *tourist satisfaction:* must be ensured to secure a sufficient volume of tourists to maintain the viability of the tourism industry.

All elements must be given equal and full consideration, but the ultimate emphasis will necessarily involve tradeoffs that reflect established priorities. When considered in relation to the unique features and context of Kandy, these fundamental principles will guide the formation of a framework for tourism planning in Kandy.

The framework presented in this report is not intended to be rigid and inflexible. It is designed to be adaptive to circumstances and to deal with change rather than suppress it. It is hoped that this framework of ideas will provide a foundation and a comprehensive starting point for the generation of specific projects, processes, policies and approaches that are appropriate to the complex particularities of Kandy. The framework offers suggestions of fundamental factors that ought to be given further consideration in the process of tourism planning for the city.

These recommendations are based on my research and analysis. I offer guidelines, suggest approaches and processes, and give specific recommendations based on what I have experienced
and observed of Kandy as a visitor, what I understand of Kandy from secondary sources, and what I have learned through interviews and through feedback from tourists. Although my understanding of the tourism industry and the issues involved is extensive, I do not lay claim to a comprehensive knowledge of all aspects of tourism in Kandy. I firmly agree with Mowforth and Munt's assessment of external tourism 'expertise' that "the idea that a[n outsider] visiting for a short period of time can appreciate, let alone solve, the problems experienced by local communities is rather pretentious and patronizing, and suggestive of neo-colonialist attitudes" (1998, 246). The subtleties and intricacies of relationships, underlying meanings, and unspoken understandings might not be apparent to a visiting researcher, such as myself, but are better understood by those who live their daily lives in Kandy and have had a lifetime of experience with tourism-related issues.

It is the residents who are impacted by tourism - whether they are directly involved in the industry or are affected indirectly. They ought to be the primary decision-makers in tourism planning processes, ultimately determining how and to what extent tourism development will occur. This thesis will provide the framework for an alternative approach to current tourism development which, if appropriately planned and effectively implemented, could lead to a thriving and indefinitely viable tourism industry embraced by residents, enjoyed by tourists and beneficial to all.

This thesis has two distinguishable parts, the first of which – Chapters Two through Four - is devoted to a description and analysis of the historical and contemporary dimensions of tourism in Kandy. Chapter Two examines current and past trends in the tourism industry in order to develop a solid understanding of the broader circumstances which have shaped the development of tourism in Kandy. This is followed, in Chapter Three, by a description and evaluation of the elements of tourism in Kandy. Chapter Four completes this section with a close examination of

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2 Refer to Appendix A for a complete description and analysis of the research methodology. Appendix B includes a copy of the tourism questionnaire, and a compilation of the responses received from tourists.
the economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism in the city.

Chapters Five through Eleven comprise the second portion of this paper. The five guiding principles, introduced above, are elaborated upon in Chapter Five. The remaining chapters of this section apply these principles to the context of Kandy to develop a framework that may guide future tourism planning in Kandy: consideration is given to the planning process, appropriate types of tourism and marketing, institutional elements, awareness raising and training, and the built environment. Chapter Eleven provides a brief summary of the primary issues, concerns and recommendations put forth in the framework.
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY TOURISM TRENDS

The teardrop-shaped island-nation of Sri Lanka lies off the lower tip of India. It measures only 445 kilometres lengthwise and 225 kilometres across, and is densely populated by approximately 18.5 million people. Although its name was changed in 1971 to reflect its pre-colonial identity, Sri Lanka is still known to many as ‘Ceylon’. A cross-section of Sri Lanka would resemble a tiered wedding cake: the coastal areas are surrounded by broad plains which rise into low hills surrounding an even higher mountainous region in the centre (see Figure 2). Kandy is nestled in a triangular valley surrounded by hills near the centre of the country.

As a tourist destination, Sri Lanka offers several advantages. It is very affordable because of its low cost of living relative to that of most foreigners. The climate is favourable for much of the year. Because the country is relatively small and distances are short, a traveler can visit beaches, wildlife parks, scenic locations, major cities, and historically and culturally significant sites, all within a short time span of a few days to a week. The country’s attractions and scenery are diverse, as are its people. The Sinhalese form the majority at 74% of the population. Comprising 12.6% of the population, ethnic Tamils are the largest minority group, followed by Indian Tamils, who form 5.5%. Moors, Malays, Burghers, Veddhas and others constitute 7.9% of the population. Buddhism, primarily practiced by the Sinhalese, is the predominant religion, but there are significant Hindu, Muslim and Christian minorities as well. Sri Lanka’s cultural richness and breathtaking beauty continue to be its primary attractions as a tourist destination.

The political climate of the last decade has been dominated by an ongoing ethnic dispute for self-determination by the ethnic Tamils against the Sinhalese. Although primarily confined to the north-eastern region of the country (now off-limits to tourists) the political unrest has sporadically intensified and spread to other parts of the country frequented by tourists. This has resulted in periods of downturn in the tourism industry throughout the country.

This chapter explores the evolution of the tourism industry in Sri Lanka, and more
specifically, in Kandy.\textsuperscript{3} The trends and dynamics of this background provide a firm foundation on which to construct a comprehensive understanding of the tourism industry and its impacts in Kandy.

\textbf{History of Tourism in Sri Lanka}

Its location off the southeastern tip of India has made Sri Lanka an ideal stopover point along major international trade and travel routes for centuries. It has earned a reputation as an island-paradise through the reports of travelers, religious pilgrims and explorers who have described it with such glowing terms as 'Resplendent Isle', 'Serendipity', 'the Pearl of the Indian Ocean' or in the words of Marco Polo in the 13\textsuperscript{th} Century as "undoubtedly the finest island of its size in all the world" (UNDP 1993). By the 1880s Europeans were arriving in the west coast city of Colombo either as 'holiday makers' or were stopping in \textit{en route} to other destinations.

By the end of the nineteenth century Sri Lanka had become a popular winter resort for moderately prosperous middle-class Europeans, many of whom took a 'round-tour' of the country from Colombo through the hill country, down south and then up the west coast. Annual tourist arrivals\textsuperscript{4} rose from 2000 in 1883 to 6430 in 1905 and annual transit passengers numbered 25,000 (Seneviratne 1993c, 10). Following the opening of the Suez Canal, Colombo became a major port of call for vessels travelling across the Indian Ocean between Europe and the Orient. The first effort to organize tourism and cope with the increasing numbers of international visitors was undertaken in the late 1930s with the creation of the Ceylon Tourist Bureau under the British colonial government (Saleem 1996, 52).

Following national independence in 1948, the Bureau had proven itself to be ineffective in its efforts to encourage development of the tourism industry. It was replaced by the Ceylon Tourist

\textsuperscript{3} This account of tourism focuses on foreign tourists, as virtually no data or information is available regarding domestic tourism.
Board in 1966 - a statutory body with legal powers operating under the wing of the Ministry of State. This body was granted a great deal of financial and decision-making autonomy and was made responsible for promoting, organizing, developing and regulating the tourism industry at a national scale. The Ceylon Hotels Corporation was also established in 1966 and was given the power to regulate tourist accommodations, travel agencies, transportation and shops and to acquire resources such as land for the development of tourism facilities and services. With the assistance of overseas professionals, the Ceylon Hotel School was subsequently created to provide appropriate training for management and personnel in the industry (Crick 1994, 26).

Based on an optimistic outlook for tourism development in Sri Lanka, the first national ten-year tourism plan under the Ceylon Tourist Board was produced in 1967 by foreign experts. It was predicted that developing the tourism industry would result in immediate, considerable and widespread economic benefits, that it would stimulate employment, and would lead to diversification of the economy, while requiring little capital investment or trained expertise. A trend of growing affluence and increased leisure time in the industrialized world seemed to assure an almost limitless tourism market.

Through implementation of the plan, it became clear, however, that the actual benefits were not as substantial as predicted. Although foreign tourist arrivals had increased substantially from 18,969 in 1966 to 118,971 in 1976 (see Table 1), this increase was only a third of that projected by the plan. In addition, it was estimated that in the 1970s approximately one-half of the profits earned through tourism in Sri Lanka left the country for the developed world (O'Hare and Barrett 1994, 49). This foreign exchange leakage far exceeded its forecast of twenty percent. As a result, foreign exchange earnings in 1976 were only half of the level anticipated. Employment and widespread economic benefits from linkages to the rest of the economy also did not

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4 The term 'tourist arrivals' is defined by the Ceylon Tourist Board as “Every single visit (or entry) of a tourist to the country either in the course of the same trip or in the course of different trips is counted as an arrival, provided the visit (or entry) lasts at least one night in the country” (CTB 1997, 52).
materialize to the extent predicted (Crick 1994, 29).

Tourism Trends in Sri Lanka 1966-82

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Foreign Tourist Arrivals</th>
<th>Revenue $US millions</th>
<th>Average Duration of Stay (in nights)</th>
<th>Average per diem receipts, $US</th>
<th>No. of rooms available (graded)</th>
<th>Direct Employment</th>
<th>Indirect Employment</th>
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<td>23666</td>
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<td>11.0</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>770</td>
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<td>28272</td>
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<td>10.0</td>
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<td>11.87</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>7040</td>
<td>9500</td>
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<td>12.8</td>
<td>10.3</td>
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<td>2468</td>
<td>7134</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>85011</td>
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<td>2905</td>
<td>8551</td>
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<td>22.02</td>
<td>3632</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>118971</td>
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<td>23.75</td>
<td>4581</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>10.8</td>
<td>27.07</td>
<td>5347</td>
<td>15404</td>
<td>20795</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>250164</td>
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<td>11.1</td>
<td>27.97</td>
<td>5599</td>
<td>18472</td>
<td>24937</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>321780</td>
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<td>11.0</td>
<td>31.20</td>
<td>6042</td>
<td>19878</td>
<td>28022</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>370742</td>
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<td>32232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>407230</td>
<td>146.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>36.21</td>
<td>7539</td>
<td>26776</td>
<td>37486</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

Source: adapted from Crick (1994), page 38.

In the late 1970s a change in government accompanied by a greater focus on the tourism industry was translated into market-oriented policies, initiatives, and incentives that were more favourable for the private sector plus investment in tourism infrastructure and large-scale resorts and hotels by the government. This initiated a stage of unprecedented growth in the industry that would continue until 1982, reaching a foreign tourist arrival level of 407,230 (see Table 1).

During this period tourism became the country's fourth largest foreign exchange earner (Crick

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5 This is an average annual increase of 21.9%, which compares favourably to an annual global growth in tourism of 4.2% in the same time period (O'Hare and Barrett 1994, 42)
Less restrictive policies in combination with the rapid influx of foreign tourists meant that the government was no longer able to limit the impact of tourism by confining the tourist presence to beach resorts and enclaves as it had done previously. European package operators who had come to dominate the tour component of the industry, began offering more excursions that took foreigners beyond the beaches to previously relatively unvisited areas of the country. An increased influx of independent travelers provided a wider range of lucrative opportunities for local entrepreneurs (Simpson 1993, 166). By 1982 an estimated three thousand small-scale operators had opened up inexpensive unregistered accommodations which attracted an increasingly larger proportion of the tourist market (Samaranayake 1993, 13). This was seen as a problem by the government because it could not realize tax revenues from these accommodations, nor could it control standards (Crick 1994, 39).

As foreign tourists ventured into new territory, unanticipated negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism became more apparent and pervasive throughout the country: “Sri Lanka had acquired, among other ills, a drug problem, and a reputation for child prostitution” (Crick 1992, 135). ‘Hippies’ were blamed for the spread of these and other social problems and were declared to be of no economic value to the country due to their typically lengthy stays on minimal budgets. In an effort to purge the country of such ‘undesirable’ tourists and the social problems assumed to be associated with them, ‘Operation Overstay’ was launched in 1982 to rid the country of foreign visitors staying in Sri Lanka with expired visas. Raids of places frequented by ‘hippies’ resulted in a number of drug convictions and deportations. Locals were also prosecuted for harbouring visa violators (Crick 1994, 44-45). In 1984, shortly after the crackdown, the ‘Specified Services Code’ was also introduced. It set numerous stringent tourist accommodation standards, compliance with which was far too expensive for all but the most affluent operators. Rigorous enforcement of both the ‘Specified Services Code’ and ‘Operation Overstay’ forced most of the informal and less affluent operators out of business.
As an industry highly sensitive to political unrest, tourism in Sri Lanka began to crumble in 1983 as news of civil disturbance in the country spread throughout the world. Believing the unrest and the drop in tourism to be only temporary, the Ceylon Tourist Board encouraged the continuation of tourism development and promotion. As communal violence escalated, the number of foreign tourist arrivals continued to drop. By 1988 arrivals had fallen as low as only 187,620, less than half the 1982 industry highpoint of 407,230 (see Figure 2). New construction of tourism facilities came to a halt and foreigners were not permitted to travel to the north and eastern regions of the country where the violence was occurring. By late 1988 civil unrest had spread to previously unaffected areas throughout the country, forcing the Ceylon Tourist Board to send foreigners home (Crick 1994, 195-197).

Following a return to a more stable political climate in the latter part of 1989, sustained government support and a successful overseas promotion campaign led the Sri Lankan tourist industry to a remarkable recovery (O’Hare and Barrett 1994, 43). By 1992 foreign tourist arrivals of 393,669 had almost returned to levels achieved in the previous peak year of 1982 (CTB 1997, 12). The government’s commitment to revitalizing the tourism industry was evident in the preparation of the extensive Tourism Master Plan (1993) for the period of 1992 to 2001, which utilized the funding and expertise of the United Nations Development Programme.

The plan analyzes the Sri Lankan tourism industry (international and domestic), addresses general environmental, social and cultural implications of tourism development, and provides broad recommendations and guidelines for improvement, plus specific project proposals. Based on the study’s indication that Sri Lanka has considerable scope to develop its tourism industry, the plan provides a target for optimum tourist arrivals of 874,000 and a doubling of average daily foreign tourist expenditure from US$43 to US$86 by 2001. In order to achieve this, the overall strategy includes diversification of the market mix, increasing tourist spending by developing and upgrading tourism facilities, increasing the emphasis on cultural, natural and other tourist attractions, and creating a positive image for Sri Lanka. The plan recommends that the
government adopt a steady and carefully planned approach in order to "maximize the benefits of tourism – i.e. investment, job creation and foreign exchange earnings – while minimising the negative effects of too-rapid development – i.e. environmental degradation and a social backlash" (UNDP 1993). The plan prepared the foundation from which the Sri Lankan government could direct further tourism development.

Figure 3


Recent Trends in Sri Lanka’s Tourism Industry

Growing optimism throughout the tourism industry in the early 1990s sparked new improvements to tourist services, the construction of new hotels and refurbishment of those that had fallen into disrepair during the downturn in the industry. Isolated incidents of rebel violence in the capital of Colombo in October 1995, and again in January and July of 1996 resulted in an immediate and sustained decrease in tourist arrivals, bringing the total for 1996 down to 302,265, a twenty-five percent drop from the previous year’s total of 403,101 (CTB 1997, 12). Arrivals
rose somewhat in 1997 to 366,165. This was an improvement of less than one percent over 1991 arrivals, yet in the same time period, the total number of rooms in graded accommodation had expanded from 9,679 to 12,370 – an increase of 22 percent (see Table 2).

Accommodation Capacity (Rooms) in Graded Establishments and its Regional Distribution
1991 – 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tr>
<td>Colombo City</td>
<td>2,875</td>
<td>2,828</td>
<td>2,839</td>
<td>2,872</td>
<td>2,817</td>
<td>2,834</td>
<td>2,798</td>
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<td>1,678</td>
<td>1,756</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>1,826</td>
<td>1,935</td>
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<td>3,622</td>
<td>3,702</td>
<td>3,763</td>
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<td>4,247</td>
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<td>High Country</td>
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<td>344</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>385</td>
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<td>Ancient Cities</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>1,574</td>
<td>1,829</td>
<td>1,899</td>
<td>2,048</td>
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<td>All Regions</td>
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<td>10,214</td>
<td>10,365</td>
<td>10,742</td>
<td>11,255</td>
<td>11,600</td>
<td>12,370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2
Source: adapted from Ceylon Tourist Board (1997), page 34.

Meanwhile, the average length of stay in Sri Lanka has remained relatively unchanged at about ten nights per visitor (see Table 3).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>4-7</th>
<th>Nights</th>
<th>15-21</th>
<th>22-30</th>
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<th>Average Stay</th>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>8-14</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1991</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>12.2</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
The expansion in accommodation capacity, coupled with slow overall increase and sporadic drops in foreign tourism arrivals, plus an unchanged rate of average tourist nights has resulted in very low occupancy rates throughout the country. In 1997, the average occupancy rate of graded accommodations was 49.1 percent and for supplementary establishments it was only 27.5 percent (CTB 1997, 49). Hotels have found it necessary to undercut each other in order to attract existing business. Nihal Perera, the general manager of the 94-year-old Hotel Suisse in Kandy said “We are selling what is essentially an eighty-five dollar room for forty dollars and less” (Samarasinghe 1997). This has meant great bargains for tourists, but substantial reductions in income for the accommodation sector.

The prospects for the tourism industry seemed favourable for 1998, as January started the year off with a fourteen per cent increase in tourist arrivals over the previous year (see Figure 4). At the end of the month, however, rebel violence and threats of violence occurred again in areas frequented by tourists. Tourism volume for the next seven months suffered as a result. February saw little increase over the previous year’s arrivals, and arrivals fell for the months of March through August (CTB 1998, 1). By September, tourism volume had recovered and the final four months of the year and January 1999 saw increases as high as twenty per cent over the previous year (CTB 1999, 1). In 1998 the difference between the lowest and highest point in tourism arrivals was greatly widened, making it more difficult for the industry to adjust.

At 64.6% of all tourist arrivals in 1998, Europeans (Western and Eastern combined) constitute the majority of all tourists that visit Sri Lanka (see Figure 5). Seeking an escape from harsh winter conditions to a more tropical climate, most Europeans travel to Sri Lanka during the months of November to March, which makes this the busiest tourism period. Arrivals from Asia

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6 Graded accommodation includes those hotels registered with the Ceylon Tourist Board (CTB) which are considered to meet international standards of operation, including those classified with a Star rating of 1 – 5, and the unclassified hotels. Supplementary accommodation are all the guest houses, resthouses, inns, youth hostels, etc. that are approved by the CTB as being suitable for occupation by foreign visitors. This does not include the numerous and uncountable accommodations that are legally registered with their municipalities, nor those informal accommodations that are neither registered with the CTB nor the
show a less pronounced variation throughout the year (see Figure 6). Thus, the Asian tourism market helps to maintain some relative stability in tourism-related employment and income throughout the year (O’Hare and Barrett 1994, 49).

Compared with earlier years, a much larger share of the economic benefits of tourism is now being retained in Sri Lanka. Although initially owned by the government, much of the tourism industry in Sri Lanka in the 1960s and early 1970s had come under the management and control of foreign interests at which time an estimated fifty percent of the tourism profits were leaving the country. This foreign presence diminished over time as the necessary base of tourism-related knowledge and skills was developed within Sri Lanka and local people gained the ability to effectively and efficiently develop and manage the industry. Presently almost all hotels are built, municipality.
owned and operated by Sri Lankans, a number of locally owned tour companies have emerged throughout the country, and the majority of foreign tourists are carried by the national airline - Air Lanka. As a result of this increased internal control, the bulk of the earnings from tourism now remains within the country: foreign exchange leakage in the tourism sector in 1991 was estimated at only twenty-nine percent - a low rate by international standards (UNDP 1993, 61).

The tourism industry is currently the fourth largest foreign exchange earner in Sri Lanka contributing less than ten percent to the total, following expatriate remittances, garment exports and tea exports (Samarasinghe 1997). The estimated total of tourism related employment in 1997

Figure 5

was 81,614 jobs, including direct and indirect employment. This means that for every nine tourist arrivals, two employment opportunities were created (CTB 1997, 11). The central government receives considerable income through such sources as entry fees to attractions, taxes paid by those in the tourism sector, business turnover tax, airport tax, and import duty. In fact, for every rupee spent by the government through such things as subsidies, tax breaks, and infrastructure development, it receives 1.67 rupees through taxes and charges. The net benefit of

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7 Direct employment accounted for 34,006 of the total. This includes employment in hotels, restaurants, travel and transport agencies, tourist shops, recreational outlets, airlines, national tourist office, provincial offices, etc. Indirect employment is generated in those sectors that supply goods and services to the tourist establishments. Indirect employment totaled 47,608 (CTB 1997, 11). Neither of these categories includes employment in the informal sector. Even rough estimates of such a figure are not available.
sixty-seven cents contributes to the government's general expenditure (Samaranayake 1993, 16). Overall, the contribution of the tourism industry to the Gross National Product in 1990 was only 1.93 percent (UNDP 1993, 61). It is believed that by increasing the number of tourist arrivals and expenditure per tourist - currently an average of US$58.59 per day (CTB 1997, 7) - the economic benefits such as employment opportunities, foreign exchange earnings and the overall contribution to the national income would improve.

Along with economic gain come other effects. There have certainly been negative impacts on the society, culture and environment in Sri Lanka due to tourism. Extremely disturbing is the reputation that the country has gained as a destination for sex tourism and as a haven for pedophile tourists (Crick 1994, 199). This is by far the most harmful side-effect of tourism in the country. Other impacts have generally been minimal compared with other countries, which is due in part to the country's history of sustained opposition to the proposal of potentially harmful tourism projects. For example, the construction of a casino in Colombo was stopped due to staunch opposition from the Buddhist establishment (Crick 1994, 197).

In 1991 non-governmental organizations, local leaders, the Catholic Church, human rights workers and Buddhist clergy joined together in protesting the proposed development of a large luxury hotel north of Colombo which would have involved the eviction of hundreds of local families and was felt it could have potentially led to moral degeneration. The opposition was successful, resulting in the cancellation of the project.

The development of a luxury hotel at Kandalama (near Dambulla and Sigiriya) in a catchment area of a reservoir faced opposition because it would potentially pollute or usurp the water supply of the surrounding villages. The hotel development was also opposed on the grounds that it would expose villagers to the 'moral evils' of foreign lifestyles and multinational capitalism while providing few local benefits. Despite violent threats towards protest leaders, opposition to the project grew, culminating in a non-violent protest by 50,000 people on July 12, 1992 (Crick 1994, 200-201). Despite the opposition to the development, the hotel was built. It
was, however, required to meet strict environmental standards and provide the local communities with improved infrastructure and income earning opportunities. Just as the protesters feared, one of the septic tanks burst recently, contaminating the entire reservoir and the local water supply (Informant 13). The magnitude and fortitude of these protests are evidence of the contentious nature of tourism-related issues in Sri Lanka and the widespread concern of Sri Lankans that development of the tourism industry not be detrimental to their environment, society or culture.

The fact that Sri Lanka has had less damaging impacts from tourism than other similar countries can also be attributed to its comparatively low ratio of foreign tourists to locals: in Sri Lanka there is approximately one foreign tourist arrival per year to every fifty-five Sri Lankan citizens, whereas in countries such as Thailand the ratio is 1:9, in Fiji it is 1:3, and in Singapore it is 1:1 (O'Hare and Barrett 1994, 47, 50). If the Tourism Master Plan's international tourist arrivals target of 874,000 by 2001 is achieved - an increase of 175% over 1991 arrivals - then this increase would almost certainly be accompanied by a higher level of environmental degradation, cultural change and social disruption if no measures are taken to address these impacts. Careful planning may ensure that the economic benefits of an expanded tourism industry are maximized without undue damage to Sri Lanka's natural environment, culture and society.

**Historical Background of Kandy**

The city known today as Kandy was named *Senkandesha Sirivaddhana* when it was founded as the capital of the Sinhalese kingdom in the fourteenth century. With the increasing encroachment of control from the country's periphery by the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century, followed later by the Dutch and finally the British, Kandy became the center of Sinhalese resistance and was able to maintain control of much of the inland region of the island. For over three centuries, attempts by colonial powers to capture the kingdom were successfully resisted. With each attack the city was looted and burned to the ground, only to be rebuilt once the invaders were repelled.
In 1803 the British managed to seize control of Kandy. To avoid its desecration, the Sinhalese set the city ablaze once again. The British were ousted, and from 1809 until 1812 forced labour was used in a massive and extravagant program of reconstruction undertaken by the last Kandyan king, Sri Wickrama Rajasinha. At enormous cost to the people of Kandy, numerous buildings, including the present palace complex and the main structure of the Temple of the Tooth were rebuilt, and the lake in the centre of the city was created (Bradnock and Bradnock 1998, 197).

Figure 7 Temple of the Tooth and Palace Complex

In 1815 another opportunity arose for the British to gain control of the kingdom. Angered by the excesses of the king, the program of forced labour, and actions taken by the king against Buddhist monks and temple property, a group of nobles invited the British to intervene. This
time the British forces met with little resistance and upon capturing Kandy, became the first colonial power to gain control over the entire country, thereby ending a 2,100 year old monarchy, the longest recorded in the world (Domroes 1998, 185). Under British administration the Kandyan aristocracy was allowed to maintain its traditional privileges, the hierarchical social structure remained intact and the kingdom continued to be governed according to customary Buddhist laws and institutions (Blood 1990, 26). However, all was not peaceful between the colonizers and their subjects. Two rebellions - one in 1817 and the other in 1848 - were brutally suppressed by the British, resulting in a great loss of life and massive destruction of crops and homes.

The British turned Kandy into a garrison town; “part of the Temple of the Tooth became a prison, part of the Malwatte monastery became a military hospital, and the Queen’s chambers in the Palace complex became a gunpowder store” (Crick 1994, 72). Land in the surrounding region was expropriated for coffee, tea and rubber plantations. With the construction of the Colombo-to-Kandy road and rail links, Kandy became more accessible. Because the British never completely trusted the Kandyans and because the Kandyans had no previous experience with European ways, positions of responsibility were taken up by members of other ethnic groups who swarmed to Kandy to take advantage of the new opportunities. The population, estimated at 3000 in 1817, had exploded to 16,581 by 1871 (Crick 1994, 76). By 1881 the urban population of Kandy was primarily composed of migrants, and the Sinhalese had become a minority, constituting only 37.9 percent of the population (Nelson 1998, 4).

This ethnic diversity is still apparent in contemporary Kandy, although the Sinhalese now form about seventy percent of the population. Because the Muslims and Tamils had been active in trade since the beginning of the nineteenth century they were able to establish themselves early on in core areas of Kandy where they still dominate in trade and commercial activity (Nelson 1998, 6-7). Overall, the Sinhalese are dominant in trade and commercial activity.

Inter-ethnic relations within Kandy have generally remained harmonious, even when violent
ethnic confrontations have erupted in other parts of the country. Most of the city is characterized by a relatively homogenous mix of ethnic and socio-economic groups, with only a few small pockets of upper-income and lower-income residential areas; however, in recent years there has been a trend towards an increased concentration of more affluent residential areas on the outskirts of the city (Nelson 1998, 3).

The official city limits encompass an area of about twenty-one square kilometres, extending over the steep slopes of the hillsides surrounding the city centre. In 1993 this area supported a population of 114,950 people (UDA 1998, 1). The official municipal boundary has been altered only slightly since 1865 and although much of the city’s growth was in the form of increased density within the limits, the majority of the population now resides outside the formal city limits, but still within two to three miles from the core. Due to the spread of urban functions into the countryside and the engulfment of agricultural land, pockets of rural land-use such as village gardening, cash cropping and paddy farming persist amidst urban activities (Nelson 1998, 2-3).

Kandy functions as an important metropolitan centre. As the gateway to the hill-country, it is the hub of commerce, services, communication and transportation for the region. It acts as the main market for the trade and exchange of the region’s agricultural products – primarily tea, rubber, coconut, cocoa, spices, fruits, vegetables and rice. Craft-villages in nearby rural communities provide a regular supply of metal, rattan, stone and wooden items to shops in Kandy to meet the demand of both locals and tourists. Kandy’s industrial sector is relatively insignificant and consists of only a few small businesses doing minimal processing of raw materials, such as tanneries or batik making. Although these small industries are relatively high polluting, because they are few in number their overall impact on the environment has been low.

Many wealthy villagers commute by private vehicle to Kandy for work each day and take their children to Kandy for school. Affordable and reliable public transportation transports blue-collar workers to Kandy each day plus vendors with agricultural produce to be sold on the streets or in the markets. This amounts to a daily influx of more than 90,000 people (UDA 1998, 2).
Kandy has a large population of professionals due to the city’s close proximity to the University of Peradeniya and its attractiveness as a retirement town (Crick 1994, 76). Although still dominated by agricultural trade, Kandy is becoming more communication and service oriented, and economic activity is becoming more knowledge-based rather than reliant upon the production and processing of primary products, as it was in the past.

Tourism in Kandy

Kandy has long been a holiday destination for foreigners and the country’s elite. The Temple of the Tooth or Dalada Maligawa, which houses the sacred relic of the Buddha’s tooth, imparts a religious significance upon the city that has attracted pilgrims and travelers for centuries. By the end of the nineteenth century Kandy had become well known among British civil servants, merchants, and plantation owners as a prime destination for recreation and relaxation. The incredible scenery of the hill country combined with its temperate climate averaging twenty-five degrees Celsius made Kandy a favorite retreat for the affluent throughout the country, especially those wishing to escape the stifling heat and humidity of Colombo. For foreigners visiting Sri Lanka, beach resorts near the Colombo port were their main destinations, but by the late nineteenth century ample opportunities were available to visit Kandy as part of a country tour. A day tour to Kandy from Colombo was offered by Thomas Cook by 1912 for those travelers in transit (Crick 1994, 77).

Widely admired for the striking beauty and restfulness of its lush surroundings, the city of Kandy itself, however, was often described by visitors of the time as drab and dilapidated (Crick 1994, 74). The periodic sacking of the city by Europeans had left little of the original buildings intact, and most of that which had been rebuilt fell into a state of disrepair under the British. The juxtaposition of new colonial-style buildings with the older Kandyan architecture created what was considered by some to be an unsettling mixture of east and west, while others found it to be charming and intriguing.
Following national independence in 1948, the volume of tourism to Kandy did not significantly increase until the early 1970s when, in response to the Tourist Board's increased promotion of the country, modern mass foreign tourists on ten- to fourteen-day package tours began arriving in greater numbers. At this time several large hotels were built near the centre of the city and in the surrounding hills to meet this new demand. The vast majority of the foreigners on these package tours traveled to Sri Lanka primarily for 'sun, sea and sand', and thus their time spent away from the beach was brief. Typically, they were well off, traveled in groups and stayed in Kandy between half a day to two days.

By the early 1980s Kandy had become a favourite retreat for independent budget travelers who tended to stay much longer than package tourists did. Numerous residents converted their private homes into informal guesthouses to meet the demand for lower priced accommodation at this time. It is estimated that by 1982 there may have been as many as one hundred and fifty of these unauthorized guesthouses in Kandy (Crick 1994, 85). Because they were not licensed with the Tourist Board nor registered with the municipality, these operators did not pay taxes or the commercial rate for services, nor did they bear the extra expenses required to comply with Tourist Board standards. The numerous downswings in the tourism industry in conjunction with the enforcement of 'Operation Overstay' and the 'Specified Services Code' led to a number of these guesthouses closing down; however, there are still many unauthorized establishments operating.

As tourism began to flourish in the 1970s and more independent travelers began arriving, there was a growth in the number of informal street guides and 'touts'.\(^8\) Prior to the ready availability of guidebooks, independent tourists did not have access to an adequate source of information about Kandy; therefore, they very often gladly accepted the services offered by street guides. Tourists would pay the guides to take them on informative tours of various sites, and the

\(^8\) The terms 'street guide' and 'tout' are often used interchangeably by people in Kandy. In this discussion, the term 'street guide' or 'informal guide' will be used to refer to an individual who primarily earns income directly from the tourists for guiding services provided, and may or may not also earn commissions. 'Touts' may also do some guiding, but their income is derived primarily through commissions.
touts would often receive commission from guesthouse owners or shopkeepers to whom they
would bring the tourists' business. Hoping to take advantage of this income-earning opportunity,
others joined the ranks as street guides, most of who lacked the necessary skills and knowledge.
At the same time, comprehensive guidebooks became readily available to tourists, thus making
the information offered by street guides redundant. In addition, the average amount that an
independent traveler could afford to pay decreased considerably during this period as the majority
of the new tourists were travelling on smaller budgets than those before them.

This resulted in a situation in which a plethora of street guides and touts swarmed through the
city, pestered the disinterested tourists who would often become frustrated and even hostile
towards them.

By 1982, for many tourists, the five minutes walk from the railway or bus station
to the cheap cafes in the centre of Kandy, had become an uncomfortable experience
of continuous harassment and bad language. Not only were there the teenage street
guides, there were also numerous young children trying to wrench away one's luggage
in the station carpark to put it into a taxi boot. There were also several middle-aged
professional people — schoolteachers, businessmen and notaries among them — in the
station entrance vying for business among the groups of foreigners getting out of the
train. (Crick 1994, 91)

The business had become so competitive that touts even boarded trains in Colombo, hoping to
capture customers in advance of their arrival in Kandy. Even present-day, some touts will go so
far as to wait at guesthouses in Colombo to befriend travelers heading to Kandy (Informant 14).

Desperate for business, some informal guides began resorting to underhanded methods in
order to gain the trust of tourists - methods such as claiming to be university students wanting
only to practice their foreign language skills. In such a case the tourist might become convinced
that the person is not a guide and then agree to be accompanied, only to later be asked to buy the
guide a meal or for payment for guiding services rendered. Fully aware of which establishments
will or will not pay commission, some touts will take tourists only to those guesthouses or
businesses that are known to pay. If the visitor asks to be taken to a particular establishment and
the tout knows that the place will not pay commission, most touts will not hesitate to say things
such as “That guesthouse/ business has closed down” or “That guesthouse is full, let me take you somewhere else instead” (Informant 2, 3, 14).

By the early 1980s these informal guides and touts had come to be regarded by many as a major menace to the tourism industry. They were labeled along the lines of “semi-literate parasites’ who would fleece tourists, get them into all sorts of difficulty, and even rob them without scruple” (Crick 1994, 101). They became the scapegoats for nearly every tourism-related crime and were frequently harassed by police.

Due to a severe crackdown on the activities of touts and street guides by authorities in recent years, the difficulties many tourists encountered in the past have been reduced. Recent guidebooks continue to warn tourists, as in the following excerpt from the Sri Lanka Handbook:

Warning: you are likely to be hassled by hotel touts on arrival by bus or train. A con-man may also approach you as you step out on the street, saying he recognizes you as he works at your hotel but is off-duty and will be happy to act as your guide. Caught off-guard, you feel obliged to accept his company for exploring the sights (and shops), and so are ripe for exploitation. Decline his offer politely but firmly. (Bradnock and Bradnock 1998, 198)

Despite frequent slumps in visitor numbers and, therefore, the number of potential clients and despite the widespread opposition to their work and methods, touts and street guides still ply their trade on the streets of Kandy. In recent years some of the three-wheeler taxi drivers have also jumped aboard the ‘commission bandwagon’. Some will try to divert tourists to certain guesthouses in order to collect commission. Some may also manipulate tourists to gain their loyalty, and thereby secure their future business (Informant 3).

As elsewhere in Sri Lanka, tourism has not been accepted unconditionally by the residents of Kandy. There is a wide-range of opinions as to whether or not its benefits outweigh its disadvantages. As tourism reached a peak in 1982, opposition to the industry grew stronger in Kandy. Thieves, drug dealers, pickpockets, prostitutes and touts had taken over the lake area after dark each evening. This and the numerous social problems associated with tourism in Kandy were perceived as evidence of the morally corrupt influence of tourism in the city (Crick
There was increased resistance among residents to any tourism-related changes that might have harmful effects to the cultural heritage and customs of the city.

At its peak in 1982, Kandy was well established as a primary tourist destination in Sri Lanka. In addition to the shopping areas in the major hotels, Kandy had over forty gem shops, more than twenty shops selling batiks to tourists, and over thirty shops selling antiques – a very high number of tourism-related businesses for the size of the city (Crick 1994, 79). The civil disturbance in July of 1983 immediately resulted in decreased foreign tourist arrivals: the number of foreigners attending the Kandy Perahera festival dropped from the usual 30,000 to only 2,000 which translated into a substantial drop in incomes to hotels, shops and restaurants (Crick 1994, 195). Some of the industries, such as batik manufacturing, catered so much to tourist demand that as tourist arrivals fell in 1983, the market for their goods disappeared, overproduction caused prices to fall dramatically and many such businesses collapsed.

An accurate estimation of the number of visitors that Kandy hosts each year is difficult to calculate. Several indicators are available, but all are inadequate. The Ceylon Tourist Board office in Kandy keeps a record of the number of tourists that stop for information. Such figures do not equate because very few visitors ever make use of this service. Another often cited, but only partial indicator of visitor numbers is the annual guest nights spent in graded accommodation. In 1997, a total of 238,027 foreign guest nights and 64,226 local guest nights were recorded in graded accommodation in Kandy (CTB 1997, 37).

A great deal is unaccounted for in these figures. First, none of the tourist nights spent in supplementary and unauthorized accommodation are considered, and it is likely that this number - if derivable - would substantially raise the total. Second, interviewees involved in the tourism industry in Kandy indicated that the vast majority of Sri Lankans stay with friends or relatives when they visit the city and would, therefore, not be included in these figures. Finally, many people visit Kandy but do not stay the night, and would not be accounted for in any calculation of guest nights spent in the city. Therefore, the number of guest nights spent in graded
accommodation is not an accurate indicator of the number of visitors to Kandy, as a visitor may spend any number of nights in the city.

The closest approximation to the actual total may be found in the records of the Peradeniya Botanical gardens. It is believed that the majority of people who visit Kandy stop at this attraction, thus the gate admissions can be taken as roughly corresponding to the number of visitors to Kandy. In 1997 the Botanical Gardens recorded 163,494 foreign and approximately 900,000 domestic visitors (Peradeniya Botanical Gardens Library). Despite the dearth of accurate data, the Ceylon Tourist Board estimates that Kandy is second only to Colombo as the most popular destination for foreign visitors (CTB website 1998).

Development of the tourism industry in Sri Lanka has occurred primarily at the national level and has been limited to overseas marketing, the establishment and enforcement of reactive regulations and standards, the provision of incentives to large-scale private developers, and limited tourist information services. It has primarily been directed at foreign package-tourists and has therefore overlooked the needs of the domestic and independent traveler. Growth and expansion of the industry in Kandy has been unplanned and has occurred randomly on a project-by-project basis. It has been oriented primarily to economic gain, with little consideration given to the harmful environmental, social and cultural consequences. These impacts have been minimal to this point due to resistance of locals and low numbers of tourists. If the predicted increases in tourist arrivals are realized in the future, however, equivalent increases in the negative impacts of tourism development could also occur.
CHAPTER THREE: ELEMENTS OF TOURISM IN KANDY

Although main attractions are the features that draw tourists to a location, equally important are secondary elements such as restaurants, accommodation and shopping facilities, which contribute to its attractiveness. Also important are the services and physical infrastructure - transportation, public toilets, postal services, etc. - which support tourism but do not fall solely within its domain (Jansen-Verbeke 1986). Because these elements together form an interrelated ‘bundle’ of services and facilities, it is impossible to identify any single element as the main determinant of the success or failure of tourism.

In analyzing tourism it is crucial to understand that “although some elements may appear dominant (eg. attractions), without a well-developed infrastructure and network of services and facilities for tourists, tourism may fail to develop to its full potential” (Page 1994, 110). Another crucial but intangible element of tourism is the receptivity of the local population to tourism and the people’s interaction with visitors. Supporting these elements of tourism are the institutional components that provide structure to the tourism industry; components such as service training, tourism-related organizations, policy and regulations. These elements of tourism in Kandy are examined in this chapter.

Kandy’s Attractions

Tourists are attracted to Kandy for a number of reasons, high among which are its scenic setting and reputation as a quaint and relaxed town. The trip to Kandy by rail winds along the sides of steep green hills covered alternately with terraced rice fields, tea plantations, coconut groves, and thickly wooded tropical jungle. Travel by road affords similar visual pleasures, enhanced by an endless variety of roadside stands, colourful signage, shops, and homes. Arrival at the rather chaotic bus and train depots in Kandy can be somewhat overwhelming to an uninitiated traveler.
Near the train and bus stations is the lively downtown core of Kandy, a pleasant collage of restaurants, old shops, antique and gem dealers, various retail and service establishments, hotels and markets. The town centre is situated next to a picturesque lake and cradled in a bowl of hills, the high density of population deceivingly obscured by lush and abundant vegetation. Tourism does not dominate Kandy, and therefore the city’s atmosphere remains refreshingly uncontrived. The local population is generally very congenial, seemingly unconcerned with the presence of foreigners in their midst. The hive of activity in the downtown area is slowed only when obstructed by the occasional passage of a lumbering elephant carrying its workload or a bundle of leaves for its lunch.

Tourists, foreign and domestic alike, are also drawn to the richness of Kandy’s history and culture, expressed through its age-old rituals, customs, ceremonies, festivals and monuments.
The distinctive architectural style and physical layout of the city represent the Buddhist worldview of the king and his relationship with the community and the cosmos. As the last bastion of Sinhalese resistance to colonial forces, Kandy is perceived by many to represent and embody Sinhalese Buddhist culture and identity (de Silva 1994, 2). This significance has been internationally recognized with UNESCO’s recent declaration of Kandy as a World Heritage Site.

Figure 9 Temple of the Tooth (Dalada Maligawa)

The historic and religious focal point of the city is the renowned Temple of the Tooth or Dalada Maligawa. This structure houses one of the most important relics in the Buddhist world – the sacred incisor of the Buddha which, according to legend, was smuggled into the country from India in the fourth century, hidden in the hair of a princess. Prior to British control of Sri Lanka, possession of the tooth legitimized the power of the Sinhalese royalty and its leadership of the Kandyan kingdom. The sacred tooth continues to symbolize the essential interdependence
between a strong state and flourishing Buddhism (Crick 1994, 106).

The relic itself is stored under seven golden gem-studded caskets and is never exposed nor removed from its enclosure behind the guarded doors of an inner chamber in the heart of the temple. The temple consists of a number of adjoining structures surrounded by a deep moat. Previously open twenty-four hours a day, it was easily accessible to tourists and the local worshippers.

The bombing of the temple by terrorists on January 25, 1998 inflicted considerable damage to the buildings. Massive reconstruction is currently underway to restore the temple to its previous condition. Since the bombing, the road passing in front of the temple has been barricaded and armed officers patrol the area. One must pass through heavy security, including two thorough body searches, prior to entering the temple. The hours of public access have been restricted. Even behind closed doors, however, rituals venerating the tooth relic continue to be performed three times daily. Although denied access when the temple is closed, locals continue to respond to the sounds of ritual drumming echoing from the temple by stopping on the adjacent road to worship as they pass.

Held in honour of the sacred Tooth Relic, the *Esala Perahera* is a ten-day festival that takes place in Kandy at the time of the full moon in July or early August of each year. Dating back to the second century, the *Perahera* is a tradition which has given expression to and reinforced the caste-based hierarchical ordering of the Sinhalese Buddhist society, reaffirming and validating the kingdom’s social, political, economic and religious systems.

All participants, from ministers at the top to the low castes who performed menial functions were represented, so to say, in their true form, that is, carrying the signs – dress symbol or other markers – of their status, while also taking position in the respective sections of the spectacle according to status. (Senivaratne 1978, 112)

The *Esala Perahera* is possibly the largest pageant in the Buddhist world and attracts religious pilgrims and tourists from around the globe. The lively and colourful procession starts and ends at the Temple of the Tooth and consists of more than one hundred beautifully...
caparisoned elephants, the most elaborately adorned of which is the Maligawa elephant which carries the casket containing a replica of the Tooth relic on its back. As many as 1500 energetic performers including dancers and drummers, flag and torch bearers, whip-crackers and Kandyan chiefs in full regalia accompany the elephants as they wind through the streets after dark each night of the festival. On the final evening there can be as many as “…200,000 onlookers standing ten deep on the pavements the entire length of the route” (Crick 1994, 105).

Such a mass of people requires special transportation and extra police forces for crowd control. The most notorious pickpockets and touts are singled out and put in jail for the duration of the festival, with the intention of ensuring a positive experience for visitors (Crick 1994, 105). Hotel rooms are often fully booked as far as a year in advance, and latecomers pay exorbitant prices if they are fortunate enough to even find an available room. Food prices also skyrocket during the festival, and high prices are charged for prime seats from which to view the procession.

Another central attraction of the city and its dominant feature is the Kandy Lake. The last monarch, Sri Wickrama Rajasinha, created the lake to symbolize the cosmic ocean of milk. The wave-shaped wall surrounding part of the lake represents the waves raised during the churning of the cosmic ocean at the time of creation (Duncan 1990, 89). As many as 3,000 men were forced to build the dam at the west-end, and when several Kandyan chiefs raised objections to the king regarding the cruelty of the forced labour, they were put to death on stakes in the lakebed. The island in the centre of the lake held the king’s personal harem, and was later used by the British as an ammunition store (Wheeler et al 1996, 171). These days a motorboat tour of the lake can be hired for a reasonable price.

The National Museum building to the east of the Temple of the Tooth was once the quarters of the royal entourage. It now houses a collection of interesting, although not well maintained, artifacts from pre-colonial times. Within the vicinity are other palace buildings such as the Queen’s Bath which now serves as army headquarters, the Queen’s Chambers, the King’s Palace,
and the council chambers. Kandy served as an administrative and commercial centre for the surrounding hill country and its plantations during the British period, at which time buildings were constructed to meet the needs of the colonial managers and administrators. Among these are the police station, the railway station, the railway hotel, and the impressive Queens Hotel which all remain significant landmarks in the city.

Kandy is also home to Sri Lanka’s two most important Buddhist monasteries, Malwatte and Asgiriya, the chief incumbents of which are the two most powerful Buddhist monks in the country (Crick 1994, 72). These two temples and the numerous other temples and monuments nearby the city feature intricately carved wood and stone detailing, rare paintings and elaborate frescoes. There are a number of meditation centres in the Kandy area which host foreign visitors wishing to learn about and practice Buddhism, or who are simply needing an oasis of tranquility.

The Elephant baths at the Mahaweli river near Katugastota in Kandy used to be a popular attraction for foreign tourists who visited the spot to watch the mahouts (masters) bathe their working elephants. In recent years this spot has fallen out of favour due to the overcharging of visitors, and now few foreigners are even aware of its existence. Bathing and feeding of baby elephants can be observed at the Pinnawela Elephant Orphanage, about an hour’s travel time from Kandy. This is a government-operated effort to save abandoned or orphaned wild elephants. Despite its commercialization in recent years, which includes charging tourists for every photo taken, it is still a favourite attraction: in 1997 the Orphanage had 565,312 domestic tourists and 159,969 foreign tourists for a total of 725,281 visitors (CTB 1997, 46).

Other interesting attractions are within easy access of Kandy, among which are the spice garden tours at Mawanella and tours of tea factories and plantations at a number of locations surrounding Kandy. Although relatively unknown, hiking tours can be organized to the Knuckles Range (Dumbara Hills), a nature preserve of incredible diversity situated thirty-two kilometres northeast of Kandy. The Peradeniya Botanical Gardens are located in a suburb of Kandy just six kilometres from the city centre. Originally created in 1371 as the site of the royal court, they later...
became the Queen’s pleasure garden. Today the 150 acres of gardens boast an amazing variety of flowers, rare plants, and trees interspersed with expansive lawns and paths. During the height of the tourist season the gardens can become quite crowded. A more peaceful retreat is the Udawattekelle Bird Sanctuary, which stretches north of the palace complex in Kandy. Few tourists know of this pleasant and secluded forest which is the perfect place for an afternoon stroll.

![Figure 10 Shop at Kandyan Arts Association](image)

Craftwork and performing arts were considered necessary components of the social and economic system in pre-colonial times. The artisans and performers were held in high esteem and were well rewarded for their work by the Kandyan royal household (KAA leaflet). Passed down from generation to generation of artisans, the original techniques, style and quality of
craftsmanship still thrive in the Kandy area. Craft villages in the surrounding countryside are home to families engaged in enterprises such as producing ceramics, handmade jewelry, lacquer work, batik, mat weaving, wood carving, and fine metalwork. A trip can be arranged to visit the villages and observe the work in progress. Products may be purchased at shops in the city, at the Laksala - the government handicraft store, or at the Kandyan Arts Association, which supports and markets the work of its members. Part of the Association's building complex is a one thousand seat, two-storey audience hall. Each evening a Kandyan dance performance is given here, as well as at three other locations in the city.

Through the questionnaire, the attractions that foreign tourists stated they were most pleased with were the Elephant Orphanage, Kandyan dance performance, spice gardens, and the local market. Those attractions that were described as most disappointing were the Temple of the Tooth and the walk around the lake. The Temple of the Tooth was considered to be too expensive, too crowded, and lacking information. It was also mentioned that there was too much noise, construction, and security. The walk around the lake was rated low by tourists because it was seen to need maintenance and because of the excessive traffic and pollution.

With such a large number and range of attractions, it is surprising that visitors stay for such a short time in Kandy. Those on package tours are confined to a predetermined schedule that generally allows for only a one- or two-night stay. Most of these tourists visit the Pinnawela Elephant Orphanage and the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens on their way to or from Kandy, then visit the Temple of the Tooth, stop at a popular viewpoint, have a couple of hours allotted for shopping and then take in an evening dance performance. The other attributes of the city remain undiscovered. One would imagine that independent tourists would stay much longer in Kandy and take in more of the sites due to the flexibility of their schedules and their unfettered freedom to explore. The occasional independent traveler may stay as long as two weeks or two months (Informant 2), but informal interviews with numerous independent tourists, interviews with guesthouse owners, and the results of the questionnaire indicate that the independent tourist’s
average stay is only between two and three days. In addition, it seems that they visit basically the same highlights as the package tourists do, with perhaps only one or two additions. This indicates that there is a great opportunity to expand the tourism industry in Kandy by increasing the average length of stay of all visitors.

Tourist Information

Even the most incredible attractions or facilities will not be visited or appreciated if the traveler does not know that they exist, does not know how to reach them or does not understand their significance. Tourists need extensive information and guidance in order to realize their travel objectives and thus maximize their satisfaction. The efforts of the Sri Lankan government to encourage and support the tourism industry have been geared towards the foreign upper-income visitor on a package tour (Crick 1994). The package tourist does not need information to make decisions about where to visit, where to eat, and where to stay, as these are pre-determined in the tour’s itinerary. Transportation is also pre-arranged and tour guides are provided to answer all of these tourists’ more specific questions. The independent traveler, on the other hand, has not been given much consideration in the government’s approach to tourism development. This has resulted in a dearth of adequate information available for the tourist in Kandy.

Although most of the tourists who responded through the questionnaire stated that it was easy to obtain information about Kandy and its attractions, the majority were unaware of a large number of activities and attractions in and around the city. This indicates that the information availability for tourists is inadequate. The focus of tourism promotion is currently on only a few attractions, specifically the Temple of the Tooth (Maligawa), the Elephant Orphanage, the Kandyan dance performance and the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens. If unaware of other attractions, tourists are likely to assume that there is nothing else of interest to do or see in Kandy, and will be inclined to move on to another destination. Other attractions, such as the craft villages, the hike to Knuckles Range, Laksala, and the Udawattekelle Bird Sanctuary are often
overlooked because they are not widely promoted.

The official Ceylon Tourist Board information centre is centrally located at the end of a strip of shops near the Temple of the Tooth. Other than a small letter “i” on a sign propped against the fence, there is no indication that tourist information is provided there. A chalkboard at the entrance indicates the materials available. Inside, it is dark and empty, with a few out-of-date, faded and torn posters adorning the walls. The more recent and colourful posters are stored in a pile on a shelf, accessible only with the clerk’s assistance. A clerk sits behind a desk in the corner and hands out information pamphlets, books, and posters only upon request.

Verbal information is provided reluctantly and with indifference. When I asked what there was to do and see in Kandy, the clerk mentioned only the well-known attractions and produced a less than useful rudimentary and out-of-date “Guide Map of Kandy”. I asked if there were more pamphlets and the clerk handed me another one, which describes a number of the main attractions but does not situate them on a map. After each additional probing for further information, another pamphlet was pulled from beneath the desk as though it were a rare and precious commodity. By the time I left, I had a number of pamphlets about Sri Lanka in my hand, but only two that were specific to Kandy. I left knowing little more about the city’s attractions and amenities than when I walked in the door.

Through casual personal contact and questionnaire responses, it was evident that the vast majority of foreign tourists did not even know that an information centre exists. A few had looked for it but without success. Of the three respondents who visited the centre, only two found it to be useful. Guidebooks are the predominant source of information for tourists about Kandy’s attractions and facilities. Almost every independent foreign traveler carries a *Lonely Planet Travel Survival Kit: Sri Lanka* (6th edition: 1996), often referred to as the ‘Backpacker’s Bible’. It provides extensive information and fairly detailed maps, useful for negotiating the city and finding accommodations and eating establishments. It briefly describes some of the main attractions in and around the city. The heavy reliance on guidebooks for negotiating the city is
understandable given the virtual absence of signage in English or other foreign languages identifying key attractions and facilities, and the inaccessible and insufficient availability of information through the Ceylon Tourist Board information centre. If an attraction or facility is not mentioned in the guidebook, most foreign travelers do not know about it.

Information at individual attractions is also scarce and inadequate. If the visitor is not provided with an understanding of the significance of the attraction and its particular characteristics, that visitor will not fully appreciate it and will leave feeling dissatisfied. For example, when I visited the Dalada Maligawa there was nothing to indicate what I was looking at, or the significance of the different chambers, the frescoes or the rituals being performed. I could not even establish in which chamber the sacred Tooth was kept. The final hall at the back of the Temple complex displays paintings with text, explaining the history of the Tooth. This is helpful, yet inadequate. I left feeling rather unenlightened. Similarly, a trip to the nearby museum left me feeling that it was a waste of time and money spent. There is little indication as to the importance of the various objects displayed or how they fit into their historical context: labels such as “old spoon” or “very old dagger” merely describe the obvious.

The dearth of tourist information in Kandy coupled with tourists’ desire to learn about its attractions has created an income-earning opportunity for a number of local individuals who act as street guides. At both of the above-mentioned attractions informal guides offered their services. Information provided by these guides, however, can often be inaccurate or inadequate if they are not properly trained, a problem which again leads to tourist dissatisfaction. Although not entirely the case, the informal guides encountered at attractions and on the street tend to be overly persistent in their efforts to accompany foreign tourists and will continue to follow and offer information even after tourists make it clear that they are not interested in their services. Of the respondents to the questionnaire, only three stated that they did not feel hassled by informal street guides and these respondents were on organized tours with their own official guides. The independent tourists expressed that they felt ‘harassed’, ‘harangued’ or ‘hound’. Guides were
described by some as ‘a complete nuisance’, ‘annoying’, ‘untrustworthy’, ‘irritating’, and unable to take ‘no’ for an answer. This type of interaction decreases the tourists’ enjoyment of Kandy and may even tarnish the reputation of the general local population.

**Accommodation**

The availability, quality and value of accommodation are crucial to the tourism industry. Accommodation acts as the base for the tourist’s exploration of a destination. When tourists are pleased with it they may be enticed to stay longer; if they are displeased, they may leave prematurely (Page 1994, 78). Accommodation in Kandy covers a broad spectrum in quality, location and price.

Kandy is considered to be the “guest-house capital of Sri Lanka” (Wheeler et al 1996, 178). The least expensive of these are the unauthorized guesthouses, which may provide the visitor with an ‘authentic’ experience of living with a Sri Lankan family in their home. These places are generally rudimentary and often lack many basic comforts. Because they are illegal, they can only be found through word of mouth. Most informal operators rely on the informal guides and three-wheeler drivers to bring them business, for which they are paid an often-significant commission. These guesthouse operators have to be very cautious, as suspicious neighbors may report them to the authorities, which would lead to their operations being shut down (Informant 13).

Authorized guesthouses are not as cheap as those that are illegal, but still range considerably in price and quality. Many owners of these establishments indicated that local authorities allow them to take only foreigners because of past problems with prostitution activities. The municipal authorities regularly check the guesthouse registries to ensure that this requirement is being met. When questioned as to where domestic tourists stay when they visit Kandy, informants indicated that some stay at hotels, but the vast majority stay with relatives or friends, as is customary (Informant 1, 6, 9, 14).
Guesthouse registration with the municipality ensures compliance with basic rules such as guest registration and separate metering of water and electricity services at commercial rates. Minimal quality standards such as adequate water and power supply must be met. Some individuals in the tourism industry have expressed the opinion that the poor standards and service in some of the guesthouses harm Kandy’s reputation. One owner stated that “Too many people think that if you have an extra room in your house you can have foreign visitors, so the quality of many guesthouses is very low. It’s important to have some training about tourism quality and standards” (Informant 14). The types of accommodation of the foreign tourists that responded to the questionnaire ranged from a lower-priced guesthouse (US$4.50 per night-single) to a high-end hotel (US$80 per night-single). All respondents expressed that they were very pleased with their accommodation, the service, quality, cleanliness and price.

On average, the hotels in Kandy are considerably more expensive than guesthouses, although some of the lower-priced hotels are comparable in price and quality to the upper-range guesthouses. Hotels also offer an incredible range in the type of guest experience. Some offer health spa resort activities and holistic health services, others provide an experience that is uniquely Kandyan in every aspect. A true colonial atmosphere is offered by some hotels, while others have a distinctly contemporary feeling.

According to Ceylon Tourist Board (CTB) statistics, of the total recorded foreign tourist nights in 1997 in Sri Lanka, 79.8% were spent in graded hotels, 5.1% in supplementary CTB graded establishments such as guesthouses and resthouses, and 15.1% in other means of accommodation which include ungraded guesthouses registered with the municipal authorities plus unregistered illegal operations (CTB 1997, 6). Although there are no such statistics available specifically for Kandy, these figures provide a general idea that the majority of foreigners stay in graded hotels. This is likely due to the high proportion of visitors on package tours, the operators of which arrange accommodation for the thirty to fifty tourists in the group and, therefore, choose hotels because they have a large enough number of rooms (Informant 1).
occupancy rate of graded accommodation in Kandy in 1997 was only 50.3%. The summer month of June was the lowest at 33.2%, while August had the highest rate at 67.5% due to the Perahera falling at this time. The Urban Development Authority in Kandy has unofficially placed a moratorium on further hotel construction until occupancy rates rise significantly (Informant 16).

**Eating Establishments**

Restaurants in Kandy received mixed reviews from questionnaire respondents. Because it is included in the deal, those on package tours eat their meals at their hotel. Those respondents expressed satisfaction with the quality and service. Independent travelers indicated that they ate most of their meals in their guesthouses or hotels. Some guesthouse owners offer very low room rates to entice tourists to stay and then make their profits through the provision of meals, which can be quite expensive, often as much as three times the price of a similar meal in a restaurant downtown.

A couple of independent foreign travelers indicated that they ate in the guesthouse because the food was consistently good and because there are few choices or variety in eating establishments. Besides Sri Lankan, there are a number of different kinds of restaurants including Chinese, Japanese, South Indian, North Indian Moghul style, and basic Western food. The problem may lie not in the lack of variety and number, but in the absence of any information about these establishments. I tried a number of different restaurants and found that the food I liked best is found in the dark tiny cafes. These places cater to the average Sri Lankan. I never saw another foreigner in a café, likely because they do not have menus nor speak English, and the food is extremely spicy. The mid-priced restaurants have fairly high standards of hygiene and cater to the tourist as well as the local. Expensive establishments have air conditioning and starched napkins but the food is often no better than in the less expensive places. The UNDP Tourism Master Plan does not give a favourable analysis of restaurant and hotel quality and
service in Sri Lanka:

Hotels and restaurants include a broad band of mediocre establishments, the standards of which are less than adequate and standards of service which at best can be described as 'rustic'. Even in many of the better establishments there is inconsistency of service. The root cause seems to be a general weakness in middle management and supervision, and inadequate training. (UNDP 1993, 66)

I find this judgement to be somewhat harsh, and would question the kind of qualities that were evaluated. Occasionally, I have found service to be slow, but it has always been extremely attentive and genuinely friendly.

Shops and Services

The majority of shops and services in Kandy are primarily intended to serve the needs of the local population, but also contribute to the quality of the tourism experience. The downtown core has an abundance of small shops catering to tourists and specializing in such things as jewelry, books, precious gems, antiques, batiks, carvings, metal work, clothing and other handicrafts. The government operated Laksala and the Kandyan Arts Association are large centres that sell locally made handicrafts at set prices. The Mesna Tea Centre also has set prices. The central market is colourful and clean. It has a few shops catering to tourists but primarily serves the locals with fresh meat, fish, produce, clothing, leather products and household goods.

Whenever foreigners walk past, most shopkeepers in the market will come to the front of their stores, beckoning to them to enter. It can become tiresome to constantly reply. Within the rest of the downtown core storekeepers cater to locals and, therefore, pay little attention to foreigners. Prices are set and service is congenial but not pushy. Prices in the shops in the market and tourist-oriented shops are negotiable. Bargaining for a better deal can be stressful for foreigners who are unaccustomed to this practice. Tension will often exist between the shopkeeper who is trying to make the best profit possible, and the tourist who doesn't know the going rate and may be suspicious that the shopkeeper is trying to take advantage by overcharging. If one is patient and takes the time to talk and develop a rapport with a shopkeeper, prices will
usually drop considerably. Most foreigners do not have enough time to devote to these types of negotiations, and so they may become impatient and frustrated. I witnessed several heated confrontations during my short stay.

Figure 11 Central Market

In the tourism questionnaire, respondents were asked to rate the quality and availability of various services and facilities in Kandy. Retail shops scored only slightly above average. This may be attributed to the deficiencies noted in the *Tourism Master Plan* of shops having
inadequate foreign language abilities, poor shop interior and window display skills, and poor sales skills (UNDP 1993, 66). The banking, postal and communication services were rated very highly by the foreign tourists who answered the questionnaire. These are in ample supply and provide efficient service. There are now shops offering internet and e-mail access, although it is quite expensive. Laundries are few, but most hotels or guesthouses can arrange the service. Sri Lanka has an excellent healthcare system, and in Kandy both Western and local Ayurvedic health services are of a high standard and are accessible to foreigners.

Kandy used to have a special contingent of Tourist Police who would deal exclusively with the concerns of foreign tourists and mediate disputes. This service has been discontinued. Now foreign tourists have to rely upon general policing services. I was curious to find out how foreign tourist complaints are currently addressed, so I visited the police headquarters and asked to speak with an officer in charge of tourists. After forty-five minutes of being shuffled from one person to another, only to be asked each time to wait for the next officer, I finally left. I couldn’t help but think that a foreigner in urgent need of assistance would be extremely frustrated by this type of treatment. A few people in the tourism industry later explained that few police speak English or any other foreign language. When a report is filed by a foreigner, a translator must be found before the problem can be addressed. For tourists who are only visiting Kandy for a day or two, this process is inconvenient and far too time-consuming.

Receptivity to Tourists

The experience of tourists will undoubtedly be enhanced if their encounters with the local population are favourable. If the overall reception by locals is cold and unfriendly or makes the visitor uncomfortable, damage to the tourism industry will likely result. “Tourism is among the most sensitive of industries to ‘atmosphere’, and local hostility is as much a deterrent as political unrest, bad weather, or poor facilities: the word will soon get around, and the inflow of tourists will dwindle” (Bird 1992, 1153).
The opinions and impressions that locals hold of tourism and tourists will be reflected in their interactions with tourists. One owner of a guesthouse in Kandy offers this evaluation of some local people's impressions of foreign tourists:

Many people in Sri Lanka think that all white people are carrying lots of money, and the role of tourism is to get their money. [It's due to a] lack of knowledge. So many people bother tourists to get commissions. Tourism is welcoming tourists and looking after them while they enjoy their stay. Today most people looking only for money.

(Informant 15)

These impressions do not arise from a vacuum, but through observations of the behaviour of foreigners. Through casual conversations with a number of independent travelers, they recounted having witnessed other foreigners pouring off of tour buses at attractions and giving cash to beggars or for the privilege of taking a photograph, without knowing or caring about the high value of the money they were handing out. These types of interactions would certainly contribute to the impression that foreigners are rich and will readily part with their money.

This impression becomes translated into different kinds of interactions with tourists. At some restaurants the items on the English menu given to foreigners are more expensive than on the menu for Sri Lankans (Informant 18). School children may approach foreigners on the street asking for money. Some locals may try to develop friendships only with the intent of later benefiting financially. Three-wheeler drivers and shopkeepers may overcharge the foreign visitor. The admission prices charged to locals and domestic tourists are often only a fraction of those that foreigners pay. Wherever an opportunity exists to earn money from foreign tourists, additional fees are charged; they are frequently asked to pay to take a photograph or are asked for a 'tip' by a local person who has assisted the tourist in finding their way somewhere.

When foreigners feel that they are being taken advantage of, they may become suspicious of any local who is friendly, or start to resent the process of bargaining for a better price. Realizing that some locals are only after their money leaves a very bad impression of the city and its people. Domestic tourists do not face these problems, but neither do they get the preferential service that foreigners often receive. In fact, I heard several accounts of domestic tourists being treated very
poorly while foreigners were readily attended to. There is a general impression that domestic tourists do not have as much money as the foreigners do. This is not necessarily the truth as those Sri Lankans who travel often have more money to spend than the average foreign tourist (Informant 1, 5, 15, 18).

Some individuals in the industry hypothesize that this narrow view of foreign tourists as wealthy and free-spending has evolved because the orientation of tourism in Sri Lanka has only been towards economic development, which has emphasized the need to earn foreign exchange and has targeted the richer foreign tourists on package tours. Malcolm Crick contends that because Kandy is usually the first stop in Sri Lanka for foreigners, they are unsure of themselves, unfamiliar with prices and customs, have unformulated plans and are, therefore, easy to persuade or overcharge (Crick 1994, 84). Touts and informal guides pursue them because they are perceived to be easy targets. Crick notes the negative effect of this on the tourism industry: “During my time in Kandy... I came across a number of tourists cutting their short stay in Kandy even shorter because they simply could not stand this incessant badgering” (Crick 1994, 84).

It seems that the number of positive interactions between foreigners and locals still outweighs the negative. When asked in the questionnaire “What have been your most negative experiences in Kandy”, only two respondents replied that it was being pestered by the street guides. On the other hand, comments regarding foreigners’ most positive experiences were dominated by their high opinions of the local people they met, describing locals as kind, helpful, hospitable, polite, honest, friendly and welcoming.

**Physical Infrastructure**

If a destination’s physical infrastructure is well provided and maintained it will support, connect and complement the other elements of tourism. It can enhance the visitor’s experience by facilitating convenience and ease of mobility and by improving safety and aesthetic appeal. The overall physical appearance of a location can create a lasting impression. Kandy’s built
environment is a pleasant collage of colonial buildings and Kandyan style architecture. The city’s hillsides and lake area provide a beautiful natural environment for visitors to enjoy. The yards of private homes are nurtured into beautiful gardens, blending with the lush surroundings. In the downtown core, however, the element of nature is virtually absent: a few trees can be found struggling to survive by the roadside, while most streets have no greenery at all.

Despite the total absence of garbage receptacles in the town centre, streets are reasonably free of litter. The municipality employs street sweepers who clean the main streets and gutters of the city’s core and around the lake each morning. Garbage containers have been attached to trees at regular intervals around the lake. The majority of these are in need of repair. Those that are in acceptable condition are seldom used. Much of the litter is composed of remnants of lunch packets (rice and curry wrapped in a large leaf and then newspaper). Lunch packets are either brought from one’s home or purchased at a restaurant. It is a Buddhist custom in Sri Lanka to leave the unfinished portions for birds and animals to consume. At festival times, when the number of domestic tourists increases, these leftover packets can be found scattered along the banks and walls of the lake where people have picnicked. This is also a major eyesore on the grounds of the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens.

In residential areas and sidestreets, residents and proprietors take responsibility for ensuring the cleanliness of adjacent roadsides. There is a generally high standard maintained, with a few exceptions. In some cases, people will throw garbage onto unused space, such as streambeds or steep hillsides (see Figure 12). There are cement garbage bins located at intervals throughout residential areas, but these are often in a state of disrepair (see Figure 13). Where there are no bins nearby, garbage is piled by the roadside for daily collection. Besides being malodorous and an eyesore for tourists and residents alike, this method of solid waste management also poses a serious health hazard. When garbage is not properly contained, disease-carrying vectors such as rodents can infest it, plus the soil and groundwater can become contaminated by dangerous leachates.
Figure 12 Garbage dumped on hillside

Figure 13 Residential garbage bin
In interviews, a number of people involved in the tourism industry expressed dissatisfaction with the state of Kandy's roads and sidewalks. Inadequate maintenance by the municipality is attributed to a general lack of political will, lack of project coordination between different municipal departments, lack of responsibility taken to fill holes resulting when pavement is torn up for utility repairs, and insufficient availability of heavy equipment for repairs. For the occasion of the Independence Celebrations earlier in 1998, all of the roads in Kandy were resurfaced and all of the sidewalks were repaired, but a few months later they were again in a state of disrepair (Informant 5, 15). Some streets outside of the downtown area are dangerously pot-holed and washed away, making it extremely difficult for vehicles to navigate.

Figure 14 Unfinished sidewalk replacement following municipal service repairs
Figure 15  Benches on south side of Kandy Lake

Evaluations by tourists in the questionnaire regarding the quality of the roads and sidewalks ranged from poor to excellent, but the average rating was below adequate. In general, I would consider the sidewalks to be fairly acceptable, except for the occasional unevenness of the pavement and gaping holes (see Figure 14). Any tourists with some mobility difficulties, such as the aged or people with physical disabilities, would be unable to use the sidewalks easily. People with mobility difficulties also need places to sit and rest. Around the lake there are many benches
(see Figure 15), but other than in restaurants, there is no place to sit in the downtown area. One cannot even sit on steps, as this is considered highly inappropriate.

Kandy’s piped water is of a high quality. Between eighty and ninety-five percent of the households receive chlorinated pipe-borne water, and as a result there is a very low occurrence of water-borne diseases in the city (Informant 17). The municipality is in the process of establishing an additional water supply because the demand for water now exceeds the supply. This shortage has yet to be felt by tourists. The cement storm water gutters at the sides of most streets would be considered a health hazard if they were to collect fetid water and rubbish. In the central part of the city they are kept dry and clean, but still pose a safety threat, as they would be easy to accidentally fall into. The Meda Ela is a canal that runs from the weir at the western end of Kandy Lake to the Mahaweli River. The sewage from the downtown core and the hospital is dumped into this canal because these parts of the city do not have proper sewage treatment and disposal. This poses a high health hazard for the population living along the canal. In terms of tourism, it is visually unappealing and extremely foul-smelling and detracts from the city’s attractiveness.

An official at the Kandy municipality stated that there are a number of public toilets located around the city. Although I searched, I was unable to find one. Residents told me that I was better off not being able to find any public toilet, since they are not well maintained. The only option for a tourist is to use the toilet facilities of businesses, hotels and restaurants. In general, these can be found by sense of smell alone as they are not kept clean, and very few meet minimal sanitary standards. This is an element not overlooked by tourists. In the questionnaire, the quality and availability of public toilets was consistently given an extremely low rating. One respondent commented that “Decent public toilets are a crying necessity”. I wholeheartedly agree.

Electricity is in ample supply. The only tourism-related issue related to the system is the excessive number of overhead wires impairing the visual quality of the city and spoiling views.
Wherever possible, underground cables are being installed (UDA 1998, 45). Some streetlights have been placed partway along the lake near the Temple of the Tooth, but more are needed. Kandy is not particularly safe at night, especially for unaccompanied women. Some of the residential areas have no lighting at all, and particularly dark roadways leading to guesthouses and hotels have been the location of occasional robberies and violent crime against foreigners.

Transportation services are crucial to the tourist experience because they either facilitate or inhibit the convenience and accessibility of attractions. All tourists on package tours travel in chartered air-conditioned tour buses. If not traveling on a budget, many independent tourists will hire a car and driver. Other independent travelers will generally take buses, trains, three-wheelers, and taxis.

About half of the tourists responding to the questionnaire had come to Kandy direct from Colombo, Negombo or the airport. Although slower than other means, the train from Colombo is relaxing and provides excellent views of the countryside. Bus travel is excellent value throughout the country. For example, an air-conditioned trip by bus from Colombo to Kandy (two hours) is only US$1.75. Non-air-conditioned is less expensive, but tends to be more crowded and slower. The government bus company has recently become privatized, which according to some reports has improved service. The questionnaire responses regarding bus transportation rated it as only mediocre. Part of the problem with bus travel from Kandy, as indicated by one respondent, may be the difficulty in finding out the bus schedules, and where to catch a particular bus, as there are no signs in English indicating this and the bus station is expansive. On the other hand, tourists were extremely pleased with the three-wheeler service. Nine out of ten respondents rated this mode of transportation very highly.

Traffic and pollution were raised throughout the questionnaire as key issues that need to be addressed. In fact, these were top on the list in the response to the question “What have been your most negative experiences of Kandy?” High among suggestions offered by tourists to
improve their experience in Kandy were recommendations that the pollution be decreased, and that efforts be made to minimize traffic congestion and chaos.

**Institutional Structure and Coordination**

Governmental and non-governmental institutions or organizations provide the structures that support and control the other elements of tourism. Activities of these institutions include such things as human resources training, statistics and research, marketing, setting industry standards, encouraging tourism-related initiatives, creating tourism legislation and regulations, developing tourism policy, and providing investment incentives. In Kandy, these activities are undertaken at many levels by a number of different players with various powers to persuade or enforce. These institutions will be examined to determine their role, their contribution to the tourism industry in Kandy, and the links between them.

**Central Government**

Promoting tourism development has been a key component of the Sri Lankan government’s economic development strategy. One of its roles has been to provide financial incentives for large investors in the industry (UNDP 1993, 64). The length of stay for tourist visas, tourist entry requirements and visa renewal processes are determined by the central government. It has also created tourism-related legislation such as that behind ‘Operation Overstay’ and the ‘Specified Services Code’ in the early 1980s. More recently, since 1992 a ‘Children’s Charter’ has been in place which gives legal protection for all youngsters under the age of fifteen, prohibits all work by children under the age of twelve, and prohibits night time work by women and persons under the age of eighteen. It is a measure taken towards reducing prostitution of women and children - part of the dark side of the tourism industry (Black 1995, 70). The Ministry of Tourism is responsible for the more directly related tourism activities and issues. In recent years it has been retreating from direct involvement in tourism projects such as owning hotels and tour companies.
Ceylon Tourist Board

The Ceylon Tourist Board was established for the general purpose of encouraging the growth of the tourism industry and with the specific responsibilities of marketing and promotion, setting taxation levels, research and planning, and the establishment and enforcement of tourism industry standards. All of these impact the tourism industry in Kandy either directly or indirectly. Through my interviews with those who work in the industry, a number of concerns were raised regarding the effectiveness of the Ceylon Tourist Board.

One concern is that the provision of tourist information about Kandy is inadequate. Many informants also mentioned that overseas marketing of Sri Lanka as a tourism destination does not focus enough on the cultural and historical attributes of the country and, therefore, does not adequately promote Kandy. Taxation levels are considered onerous by many of the operators of Tourist Board licensed guesthouses and small hotels that cater to low-budget travelers. Those that are unlicensed but are registered with the municipality only pay tourism taxes to the city.

Virtually every hotel or guesthouse operator I spoke with also mentioned that the standards required by the Tourist Board are unreasonably high. In fact, many of the unlicensed guesthouses have chosen to remain unlicensed because they cannot financially afford to meet even the minimum criteria, such as separate cooking facilities for their guests (Informant 15). For some of the hotels that are licensed by the Tourist Board, the operators refuse the assignment of a rating (one to five stars) because they feel it would not be an accurate or sufficient reflection of the quality of their establishments, and because some of the criteria are unreasonable. For example, in the five-star category, some of the requirements that local operators consider inappropriate to the Kandy context include wall-to-wall carpeting, a telephone in every room, air-conditioned lobby and restaurant, and a twenty-four hour coffee bar (Informant 1, 5, 16). The Ceylon Tourist Board also regulates the price-range for room rates within each category of classification - a decision that many hotel operators feel should be their own. Accommodation that is licensed with the Tourist Board will be listed in the Ceylon Tourist Board accommodation guide, which
brings the establishment more business especially since the guide book is sent to tour agents overseas. A hotel with a high rating generally tends to be more attractive to foreign tourists who must book their accommodation sight unseen. Another advantage of being licensed is that the hotel is allowed duty-free importation of such things as hotel vehicles and kitchen equipment.

Ceylon Hotel School

In 1992 the Ceylon Hotel School established a training centre in Kandy. Its main purpose is to train personnel for the tourism industry to the high standards deemed by the government as necessary to attract tourists and improve the quality of the industry. The school takes seventy-five students, each of who begin a six-month course in one of four areas of study – cookery, front office, housekeeping, and restaurant and bar. Each component is followed by a period of paid practical work experience. Those who choose to finish all four components may enter the next level, which is management training held in Colombo. Each student pays about Rs. 2400 for a six-month period, which is supplemented by Rs. 15,000 paid by the government. Training videos and equipment are supplied by the International Labour Organization. The Ceylon Hotel School’s graduates are in high demand, but the school cannot expand due to a scarcity of teachers, a problem resulting from the low pay they receive.

The Ceylon Hotel School also trains and licenses tour guides. This is offered free of charge to individuals who are already working informally as street guides. National guides are trained in Colombo, whereas training that is specific to the Central Province or to particular sites in the area is provided through the Kandy Hotel School (Informant 1).

The Central Provincial Council

In 1989, the 13th amendment to the constitution decentralized most of the authority for tourism development from the central government to the Provincial Councils. Kandy falls under
the administration of the Central Province. The Central Provincial Council has five ministries, one of which is composed of the Departments of Industry, Trade, Commerce, Livestock Development, Tourism, and Hindu Cultural Affairs. The Department of Tourism receives its funding from the central government, but projects must first pass approval by the Provincial Council. The projects or programs currently undertaken by the Department of Tourism fall into three categories: product development, human resource development, and information dissemination.

Product development projects provide infrastructure facilities, such as roads and site development, for tourist attractions. This category also includes efforts to encourage local governments to prepare tourism development plans in conjunction with the private sector. In Kandy, the Municipal Council and the local development authority, Pradeshiya Sabha, are being encouraged to promote tourism as the main economic activity.

Human resources development comprises a number of different projects. The Department of Tourism works in collaboration with the Hotel School in Kandy, the University of Peradeniya and the Ceylon Tourist Board to provide formal training and licensing for street-guides. It has been suggested that all licensed guides will be listed with the police, and unlicensed guides could then be arrested. Recently, an association of tour guides was formed with the assistance of the Department of Tourism. It is proposed that general guides be on hand at the information office to be hired as needed by tourists. Site-specific guides will be available at their site of specialization, or may be booked in advance.

With the assistance of the Forestry Conservation Department, the Department of Tourism has trained thirty school children to act as volunteer environmental guides in the Knuckles Range. Guesthouse operators are also given seminars and awareness training through the Hotel School. Classes in Japanese, English, French and German are also offered to anyone involved in the tourism industry. An awareness program through the schools targets fourteen to sixteen year-

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9 One US dollar was approximately equivalent to 65 Sri Lankan rupees (Rs) in October 1998.
olds, teaching them the merits of tourism and promoting it as a career option.

Information dissemination is the third category of projects. In cooperation with the Kandy Hoteliers Association, the Department of Tourism is collecting information regarding tourist attractions in the area in order to create a detailed and informative map of Kandy. The Department is also planning to devote the first floor of its building (located between Peradeniya and Kandy) to a tourist information centre and ‘high-class’ restaurant (Informant 12).

The Central Cultural Fund

Although the primary goal of the Central Cultural Fund is not tourism related, its work certainly supports the tourism industry through the restoration, conservation and maintenance of historically significant tourist attractions in and around Kandy. Through the maintenance of Temple buildings it supports the continuation of the Buddhist religious tradition which is the largest and most influential local patron of Kandyan artists, dancers and craftspeople. In this way, the Central Cultural Fund contributes to the development of the artistic as well as the physical aspects of Kandyan history and tradition (Silva and Guruge 1985, 21).

The Central Cultural Fund is one component of the Cultural Triangle Project, a joint initiative between the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). The UNESCO designated World Heritage Site in Kandy includes the Temple of the Tooth, and the area surrounding it, including the museum and the Queen’s Bath and extending west to the street in front of the Queen’s Hotel, plus the four other temples of significance or Devales. The role of UNESCO is not to fund the work directly, but to launch a contribution campaign among its member countries. A cooperative effort has been put towards repairing the damage to the Temple of the Tooth following the bombing. The Central Cultural Fund is restoring paintings on the temple’s walls and providing advice and guidance to other agencies. The Ports Authority, the State Engineering Corporation, and the Archaeological department are a few of the government agencies that are working on the project (Informant 11).
World Heritage City Committee

The Kandy World Heritage City Committee was established as an advisory body to ensure that the city maintains its unique character through the conservation of historically significant physical structures and the perpetuation of Kandyan style architecture. This committee was not established for the purposes of tourism; however, its preservation of the Kandyan character maintains attractive physical qualities of the city that are appreciated by tourists. A conservation zone has been established which roughly corresponds to the inner sacred area zone and the peripheral zone (see figure 16) within which none of the buildings may exceed the height of the Dalada Maligawa and no exterior changes may be made to any of the existing buildings that are deemed historically significant without authorization by the committee. Currently there is no funding available to supplement the higher cost to the private sector of conforming to these standards.

Figure 16 Location of inner sacred area zone and peripheral zone
Those properties outside of the conservation zone are not subject to such strict criteria but must adhere to the Kandyan architectural style. The committee reviews all development proposals and applications for alterations or modifications and recommends acceptance or refusal of permits to Council. It also provides technical guidance, and identifies projects for the conservation of buildings, sites and other structures that are not in use.

**Urban Development Authority**

The Urban Development Authority (UDA) is an appointed statutory board, rather than a democratically elected representative body. As an arm of the central government, it has considerable power. The UDA in Kandy developed the *Kandy Conservation and Development Plan (January 1998)* with input from representatives of the Provincial Administration of Kandy, the Municipal Council of Kandy, the Central Cultural Fund, the University of Peradeniya, the Road Development Authority, the Central Environmental Authority, and the Police Department, plus a couple of journalists and a few prominent members of the public in the city. This plan provides a number of recommendations related specifically to tourism, including the establishment of a cultural complex where the prison is now located, an additional bed tax to be collected from hotels, and a compulsory tourist charge from all visitors to Kandy. Recommendations related to - but not specific to - tourism include improvements to roads, sidewalks, environmental conservation efforts, solid waste management, demolition of wayside structures and boutiques which do not meet the requirements specified by the municipality, and prohibition of pavement hawkers. It is unclear who will implement this plan and how that will occur.

**Kandy Municipality**

The Municipality of Kandy cannot act independently in planning and regulatory decision-making or implementation. It is required to follow the directions and guidelines given by the
Central Provincial Council and the Urban Development Authority, and adhere to approximately thirty various parliamentary acts and ordinances directly related to planning. Although the Kandy Municipal Council is a representative body, local level democratic and participatory planning has been crushed by the weight of the massive bureaucracy, making the municipality a “mere signal post of the central government” (de Zoysa 1998, 4). As a result, the Kandy Municipality plays only a small role in tourism development in the city: primarily registering and monitoring guesthouses, which have passed approval by the UDA and the Central Development Authority.10

The Kandyan Arts Association

The Kandyan Arts Association is a lesser player in the institutional structure of tourism because it has no leverage in policy or decision-making. It is important, however, in its role of providing consistently high quality authentic products, organizing and marketing those products, and ensuring the survival of Kandyan arts. Prior to colonial control of the city, Kandyan arts thrived due to their necessary place in the social and economic system of the Kingdom. Following conquest by the British, the support for the artists disappeared and the arts declined as a result. Around the 1830s the Kandyan Arts Association was formed to revive and preserve these dying arts. It started with only 16 members, but now has 153 active artisans who produce sculpture, laquerware, carvings, metalwork, jewelry, and weavings to be sold in the showroom of The Kandyan Arts Association complex.

Demonstrations by artisans at work can be seen here on a daily basis. The complex also houses a restaurant and a cultural centre where Kandyan dance performances are held each evening. It is a non-profit organization and receives no government financial support. Often when the Minister of Foreign Affairs travels abroad, he purchases gifts for his foreign hosts from the Kandyan Arts Association, thereby supporting and promoting Kandyan arts worldwide. The Association has established some broader links to the community and the tourism industry.

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10 Large hotels are not registered as companies in Colombo generally manage them.
through its board which is composed of artisan representatives, prominent citizens, an academic expert, and individuals involved in other aspects of the tourism industry (Informant 8).

Kandy Hoteliers Association

In order to present a strong and united front in opposition to excessive taxation or unfair treatment of an individual hotelier, the Kandy Hoteliers Association was formed. It is part of the national Tourist Hoteliers Association from which it receives guidance and support for its initiatives. The Kandy Association has eighteen members, each of which pay a per-room membership fee and meet the criteria of thirty rooms and approval by the Ceylon Tourist Board. The fees form a fund, which is used to pay for staff seminars, extra training and sporting activities, and may be drawn upon for a staff member emergency such as a family health crisis. It has also been used to provide dinner packets for the performers of the Perehara, to cover the costs of police rounds, and to re-tile the outpatient department of the Kandy hospital. The Association’s primary purpose has expanded to include voluntary activities at a local level such as providing their staff for the annual World Tourism Day cleanup campaign around the lake undertaken in conjunction with the Kandy Lions Club, the Hotel School and staff of the municipality (Informant 5).

The number of governmental institutions involved directly and indirectly in tourism in Kandy is considerable. Other than the Hoteliers Association and the Kandyan Arts Association, there is a conspicuous absence of local non-governmental tourism oriented organizations. There is a plethora of governmental institutions with overlapping responsibilities and activities, such as the provision of tourist information, and no formal structured coordination between the agencies: even the Department of Tourism is not directly linked to the Ceylon Tourist Board, although both are responsible to and receive funding from the Ministry of Tourism. Coordination seems to exist only in specific projects such as the preparation of a tourism map and the provision of training, or
to a limited extent through representation of different agencies on boards or committees.

Because the links between agencies in the industry are weak and insufficient there is little to strengthen the institutional structure supporting the other elements of tourism in Kandy. This has contributed to tourism development that is fragmented and inconsistent in quality. Effective and appropriate planning may lead to a more coordinated tourism industry in Kandy, resulting in a more integrated and high quality tourism product.
CHAPTER FOUR: IMPACTS OF TOURISM IN KANDY

“There is no example of tourist use that is completely without impact” (Cater 1993, 89).

This is an undeniable reality. Ideally the impacts of tourism should all be positive and equitably distributed throughout the population or, in the next best scenario, the benefits should be far in excess of the costs which should be kept within a manageable and acceptable range. It is important to identify and examine the various impacts and the context-specific dynamics of these impacts in order to develop an understanding of the magnitude and breadth of their effects, and to predict how these impacts are likely to occur in the future in Kandy. Through this, planning can work towards altering the structures and processes of tourism in ways that not only avoid further exploitation and potential destruction of physical and personal resources in the future, but also enhance the visitor’s experience plus the local economic, social, cultural, and natural environments.

Tourism related impacts result from the construction and operation of tourism facilities and services and from the activities and behaviour of tourists. It is often extremely difficult to determine causal links between tourism and its effects. Impacts may be acute and immediately apparent, or they may be indirect, subtle and virtually imperceptible, manifesting themselves only over the long term. The nature of tourism itself is very complex. The interlinkage of activities and facilities makes it difficult to attribute any one impact to an isolated element of tourism. Because tourists and locals engage in many of the same activities and use the same services, it is difficult to separate those impacts arising from tourism alone (Hunter and Green 1995, 12). This is particularly true in an urban context where “not only are the impacts of tourism often overshadowed by the impacts of other activities, but they are also often obscured in a volatile urban environment in which change is the norm rather than the exception” (Hinch 1996, 99). Other general forces of change occur concurrently with tourism making it difficult to clearly identify impacts that are specifically attributable to tourism.
Impacts of tourism are categorized in a number of ways in the literature. Some authors present social and cultural impacts melded together and label them ‘socio-cultural’ (WTO 1994; Archer and Cooper 1994). Likewise, economic and social impacts are often amalgamated as ‘socio-economic’ impacts (Ahmed 1986a). Environmental impacts may be defined to include both the natural and built environments (Hunter and Green 1995; Buhalis and Fletcher 1995).

Categorization is artificial as none of the types of impacts are discreet entities, but categories can be useful tools in making sense of the world. With this intent, this chapter divides the impacts of tourism into four types: economic, social, cultural and environmental. Overlaps will naturally exist. For example, although it is obviously economically based, the inequitable distribution of economic benefits will be considered a social impact because of its consequences for the structure of society. Cultural and social aspects will be differentiated in a manner in which tourists generally view them. Cultural impacts will refer to those effects on the more tangible or visible expressions of the uniqueness of Kandyan society, generally rooted in Kandy’s geographical location and its history. This includes such things as dance, festivals, crafts, costumes, rituals, food and the built physical form of the city. Social impacts, on the other hand, will refer to those effects on the less tangible elements of society such as norms and values, social structure, and patterns of relations among the population, and will include what are commonly referred to as ‘social problems’. Environmental impacts will be considered in terms of Kandy’s natural environment.

Economic Impacts

Tourism has been pursued by the Sri Lankan government for the primary purpose of earning foreign exchange, creating employment and increasing the government’s revenue through taxes and fees. As discussed in Chapter Two, these economic goals are being realized, although there is potential for much growth in this area. Figures specific to Kandy are not available to indicate the economic gains of tourism; therefore, national indicators will be relied upon to provide a
broad understanding of these gains.

The 'spin-offs' from employment and income in the tourism industry are considerable. It is estimated that in Sri Lanka, for every one hundred jobs in the tourism sector, there are another one hundred and forty jobs created in other sectors of the economy. This is due to the strong backward linkage effect in Sri Lanka, meaning that the employment generating capacity of tourism is high because most of the input requirements of the tourism sector are produced and supplied locally (Samaranayake 1993, 16). Another indicator of backward linkages is the multiplier-coefficient, which calculates the overall effect on the economy of a unit of tourist expenditure. In Sri Lanka this is relatively high at 1.82, which means that for every rupee that a tourist spends, the gross output in the economy increases by 1.82 rupees. This is a substantial improvement over the 1979 multiplier co-efficient of 1.59, an indication that the economy has become better able to meet the needs of the tourism industry and now relies less on foreign imports (UNDP 1993, 63).

These strong backward linkages to the economy create income and employment for locals, but can also have negative repercussions. Where products are in limited supply, demand from the tourism industry may drive the prices up. In Kandy the prices of fresh produce have risen considerably. For example, an average mango in season cost between five and eight rupees before recent increases in tourism volume, but now sells for no less than twenty rupees (Informant 2). Those in the tourism industry can afford to pay the higher prices, however, these staples are now less affordable to the local population (Informant 1, 2, 6, 15). If tourist arrivals to Kandy increase as predicted, it is likely that produce prices will continue to rise.

Although there are no statistics available, it can be observed that the number of people directly employed in tourism in Kandy is substantial. It cannot be disputed that job creation is desirable, but it is also important that the jobs created be of acceptable standards. Having conducted research on tourism in Kandy in 1982, Malcolm Crick concluded at the time that “the overwhelming proportion of tourism jobs are menial” (Crick 1994, 50). He provides the
following observation:

Hundreds working in menial jobs in shops, cafes and hotels owed their employment to tourism, but again, no large-scale changes were resulting, although in general the tourism industry paid wages somewhat above the norm for other blue collar and service occupations. Occasionally those in the informal tourism sector such as the street guides made windfall gains, but such income was unreliable, the money often quickly spent, and for most of the time such people were living a hand-to-mouth existence. (Crick 1994, 94)

A more recent appraisal of the quality of tourism jobs in Sri Lanka is more favourable. Rohanadeera and Deheragoda state that one of the strengths of the tourism industry is that it continues to offer new employment opportunities at a time when more traditional sectors of the economy are faltering. They assert that although many of the jobs in tourism remain unskilled or low quality seasonal employment, an increasing proportion of employment is financially and professionally rewarding, and is as “demanding, sophisticated and complex as any other specialized branch of the economy” (1993, 149). This seems to indicate that the overall quality of jobs may be improving; however, the jobs mentioned specifically are government positions, of which few are available in Kandy.

Different types of tourism will generate different types of economic benefits for the local population. Through interviews and informal discussions with people involved in the tourism industry, the general perception is that the difference in spending power between independent and package tourists is decreasing. Their observations are that at the height of the tourism industry in the early 1980s the types of tourists generally ranged from extremely wealthy package tourists with a lot of spending money, to ‘hippies’ who stayed for long periods of time and spent very little. This has been changing, bringing us to the current situation in which the range is much narrower. “Hippies” are virtually non-existent because the cost of living for locals and tourists has risen: Sri Lanka is no longer one of the cheapest countries in the world for budget travelers to visit, so it no longer attracts those on an extremely limited budget (Informant 13, 15). Independent travelers generally have larger budgets than before, and some may even be considered relatively well-off, but prefer an alternative experience to that offered by package
tours. The average independent traveler now has more money to spend in the local economy than before.

Due to the decline in the tourism industry since the early 1980s, and due to the recent cheaper rates offered in South East Asia, many otherwise expensive hotels and tour companies have been forced to offer bargain-basement deals in order to attract tourists (Informant 16). This has meant that a package tour to Sri Lanka is now more affordable to people with lower incomes who tend to have less spending money than package tourists previously did.

"Tourists coming on ‘package tours’ and staying in [luxury] hotels have spent nearly everything they will spend, before leaving home" (Crick 1994, 52). Much of the money they spend for their holiday will remain in their home country, kept by the booking agent. The discounted rates have meant that these hotels are receiving less from the overseas booking agent. Even less of this total actually benefits the Kandy economy, as most hotel owners live in Colombo and spend the profits there. Most of the hotels that package tourists stay at import some goods such as furniture, appliances, vehicles and equipment rather then purchasing them locally. This results in less of the profits from these hotels being spent in the local economy. In fact, only a small percentage of the money the package tourist spends on the holiday will actually reach the local Kandy population. In addition to this, some foreign tour companies have been collecting the money in their countries, bringing the tourists, and are then neglecting to pay the local hotels and tour companies the amount they are owed (Informant 1).

Independent travelers, on the other hand make their own arrangements, use local transportation, eat at local restaurants, and tend to stay in locally owned guesthouses and hotels which support the local economy by purchasing locally available goods. The money that independent travelers spend on their vacation in Kandy remains to circulate in the local economy. If these observations are accurate, the conclusion is that the ultimate economic benefits accrued from the independent travelers are increasing on average, while that from package tourists is decreasing. Although there are no figures to confirm this, a number of interviewees expressed
their opinion that, overall, independent tourists are actually a far greater economic benefit to Kandy than are package tourists (Informant 3, 11, 14, 15, 18). The impact of domestic tourists on the local economy is similar to that of independent travelers, because the money spent by a domestic tourist – and this can be considerable – also remains locally.

Social Impacts

In examining the social aspects of Kandyan society, this section will focus on impacts upon the social structure, hierarchies of power and wealth, general interpersonal interactions, values and norms plus those issues which are considered to affect the social well-being of communities, often referred to as ‘social problems’ or ‘societal ills’.

In his book *Resplendent Sites, Discordant Voices: Sri Lankans and International Tourism* (1994), Malcolm Crick looks in great depth at the social aspects of tourism in Kandy. From the results of numerous interviews and questionnaires, Crick determines that it is the older generation and those well-off individuals benefiting through tourism who tend to feel most strongly that tourism has resulted in negative social changes. He observed that most people in Kandy, however, are not involved in the tourism industry, many of them have no interest in tourism and nor do they have any opinions about it. Through my interactions and interviews, these were my general impressions as well.

Although individuals involved in tourism that I spoke with recognize that some social changes have accompanied tourism - and some feel more adamantly than others about these changes - the general overall opinion is that tourism has not had a substantial impact on the social dimension of Kandy. Tourism-related negative social impacts are generally considered to be spatially isolated at an acceptable and controllable level and well balanced with the overall benefits. In casual conversations and interviews, however, there was much concern expressed among tourists and individuals in the industry that if the number of tourists visiting Kandy or the average length of stay per visitor were to increase, then the negative social impacts would also
intensify and would then become a major concern that would need to be addressed.

**Begging**

Begging preceded mass tourism and it remains a common practice for locals to give money to beggars. Some of the interviewees involved in the tourism industry expressed their perception that the generosity of foreigners has led to an increase in begging in Kandy. They are concerned that this creates a bad image of the city, and some feel it should be rectified by ‘cleaning up the streets’ (Informant 3, 6, 13). It would be difficult to determine whether tourism has led to an increase in begging activity. There is a lot of begging activity, although I never experienced, witnessed nor heard of the deliberate targeting of tourists. Most beggars either sit on the sidewalk and ask for money from whoever passes, or they get on the buses at the station soliciting foreigners and locals alike. In my conversations with tourists it was often expressed that they found the presence of beggars to be disturbing, but most seemed to view this as a social problem of poverty and not an impact of tourism.

**Crime and ‘Social Ills’**

The social impacts examined here include activities such as drug and alcohol abuse, gambling, thievery and prostitution. It is generally understood that tourism often contributes to these problems but is not their root cause (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). In Kandy there are four general ways in which this occurs: tourists participate in existing illicit activities, thereby increasing demand which leads to a greater supply; upon observing this behaviour some locals may choose to imitate the tourists; as a way of getting the money needed to imitate the expensive lifestyles of tourists some locals may resort to criminal activities; and, the relative wealth of tourists compared to that of locals makes them targets for thieves who perceive the potential gains to be high and the likelihood of being caught to be minimal (Inskeep 1991, 374).

On the latter point, theft from hotels and guesthouses is frequent but is not made widely
known to tourists. Foreigners are also unaware that they may be targeted after dark as they walk along streets to their guesthouses or hotels. Many foreigners, accustomed to a nightlife, are not familiar with local customs and may make the mistake of being out after dark when personal safety may be at risk. It is important to note that Sri Lankans seldom venture out after nightfall. Some men will go out to have a drink, but it is extremely rare to find a woman out of the home after dark. Single Sri Lankan women will seldom go into public unaccompanied, even in the daytime. A woman traveling alone may find that she receives unwanted advances - foreign women particularly so, as they are also subject to the media-portrayed stereotype of being sexually promiscuous. A foreign woman out alone at night ought to be very concerned for her personal safety.

Although not illegal, alcohol and gambling are strictly controlled in Sri Lanka, but problems with these are increasing among locals due to the increased availability of public drinking and gambling establishments associated with tourism (Ahmed 1986a, 251). Drug consumption and prostitution are strictly prohibited under Sri Lankan law. However, after 7:00 in the evening, ample supply and demand of these can be found around the lake in Kandy. Some of the street guides and three-wheeler drivers are major players in these activities (Informant 13; Crick 1994, 101).

Those informants willing to discuss these issues assured me that accurate knowledge about the extent of drug availability and prostitution for tourists is widespread within the industry, although many people involved in tourism that I spoke with denied the existence of any such activities. Others maintained that tourists have no time to take part in drugs or prostitution because they only stay one or two nights (Informant 5, 16). It is said that some guesthouse owners insist on having prostitution removed from the streets not because they find it immoral, but in hopes of earning extra income by gaining full control of supplying their guests with prostitutes (Crick 1994, 130). Because it is so covert, it is impossible to estimate the percentage of guesthouses involved in or allowing drug and prostitution activities on their premises.
It is often assumed that only independent travelers take part in these activities, because most local people equate the respectability of foreigners with their income level (Informant 13), but through conversations with people that have firsthand knowledge in this area, it was emphasized that all types of tourists are involved (Informant 19, 20). It is not known how prevalent this is among tourists, and it is unclear to what degree these activities have been adopted by the locals due to emulation of tourists. A street guide involved in this area is confident that no such demonstration effect has occurred (Informant 19). Tourism can be linked very indirectly to increased prostitution among the population: job opportunities and higher salaries attract many workers from other areas who, freed from family and community restrictions, will use prostitution services frequently (Informant 1).

Problem of Pedophilia

In terms of social impacts resulting from tourism in Sri Lanka, it is pedophilia which overwhelmingly draws the most vehement exclamations of abhorrence. Tourism is not the cause of the sexual abuse of children, but it is believed that commercial child prostitution “has become the appalling and devastating problem it is in Sri Lanka today as a direct result of the tourist influx in larger and larger numbers in the late 1970s and early 1980s” (Seneviratne 1993b, 46). Sri Lanka has gained a global reputation as a prime pedophile destination (Wimaladasa 1992, 16). It is advertised in pedophile magazines and promoted discreetly through certain tourist agencies abroad (Ranasinghe 1998, 3).

In Sri Lanka, child prostitution is controlled by impenetrable international and national pedophilia rings. Contributions from foreign pedophiles support the operations of so-called ‘safe houses’ and ‘orphanages’, which virtually imprison children, usually boys between the ages of six and fourteen. These children are ‘purchased’ from their parents who, contrary to popular belief, are generally not living in poverty but are instead often upwardly mobile middle-class families who use the money to buy material goods or a better house. These children are often forced to
subject to sadistic ill treatment, only to be discarded when they grow older and lose their appeal. Unable to pick up their lives, these children will usually become drug- or alcohol-addicted and take up a life of crime (Seneviratne 1993b and 1996).

It is not unusual to find single male foreigners spending several months of every year in Kandy either renting a house or staying with a family, during which time they present the outward appearance of generosity by sponsoring families or donating money for community projects. All the while, they are sexually abusing children in the community, the parents of who willfully turn a blind eye, “hopeful of material gain and a ‘chance’ for their children to live ‘better lives’” (Seneviratne 1993b, 49).

Another variation of child prostitution in Kandy involves the short-stay foreign pedophile contacting the local ‘pimp’ who then visits homes and rounds up several young boys, often with the full knowledge of the parents. One, some, or all of these boys will then spend some time or the whole night with the foreign ‘friend’ in exchange for gifts of electronics, toys or money. These children take to prostitution due to the fascination and allure for consumerables, a prominent moral value among the foreigners with whom they interact (Seneviratne 1996, 19). Many guesthouse and hotel operators will not allow such activities in their establishments, but the pedophile can always find an establishment that will look the other way for a generous room payment (Informant 14). Detection of pedophile activity is difficult, complaints are rarely lodged, and successful prosecution is difficult because offenders have the resources to hire skillful legal representation able to find technical flaws and discrepancies (Peiris 1996, 110 - 111)

Equity and Social Structure

In Kandyan society social stratification is based on a number of factors including economic position, social status, caste, ethnicity, political affiliation, occupation, religion, and low- or high-country origin. The way in which these hierarchies structure society is complex: it is expressed in manners ranging from subtle to blatant; it is employed with varying emphasis according to
particular circumstances and traditions; and, the various factors reinforce, intersect, and coincide with each other in a multitude of patterns. Because most of these aspects of social stratification are beyond an outsider’s comprehension, this discussion focuses on the most discernible— the economic element.

The prevailing pattern of economic class stratification in Kandy has not been fundamentally altered through tourism. Despite the wide range of economic benefits accrued from tourism in Kandy, the distribution of these benefits corresponds with the social structure, reinforcing existing systems of inequality and even widening gaps between economic strata. The higher that one is in the social hierarchy in Kandy, the greater the opportunities for making money in tourism. Much of the profit from tourism in Kandy goes to the central government and to the shareholders or owners, most of who live in Colombo. A handful of established wealthy families in Kandy who have had sufficient capital to invest in tourism, have profited substantially through their incomes earned from hotels and the larger guesthouses. Some of the owners of other guesthouses receive moderate incomes, as do the few in hotel management positions. Those guesthouse owners from lower income brackets cannot meet the standards for registration because they cannot afford to upgrade their establishments or obtain loans to do so. The vast majority of those involved in tourism have menial service jobs which do not pay enough to significantly raise their economic status (Crick 1994, 94-100).

The poor in Kandy are not in a position to benefit economically through tourism. Any income they make through such activities as vending or street guiding is minimal. The rising prices resulting indirectly from tourism demand adversely affects their standard of living more profoundly than it does that of others. Improvements to infrastructure for the tourism industry—such as water supply, electricity, sewer systems and solid waste disposal—generally do not extend to the low-income areas of the city. In fact, such improvements may even divert scarce resources from needed improvements to low-income areas (Ahmed 1986b).

There have been very few skilled and fortunate middle-class entrepreneurs who have been
able to earn a substantial income through tourism, and this income has generally not resulted in improved social status. Tourism is an economic activity looked down upon by many of the ‘respectable’ in Kandyan society; therefore, an increased income does not automatically result in an improved standing or respectability within the community (Informant 13; Crick 1992, 146). Economic gain made by some through tourism has led to enormous jealousy among others who are fairly well off (Crick 1994, 99). Subtle changes to power relations within families may occur when younger members take advantage of tourism-related opportunities and earn incomes greater than that of the older male household heads. Greater economic power can result in greater decision-making power, thereby undermining the traditional position of elders (Black 1995, 34).

On a different note, tourism may be perpetuating or even worsening the social standing of ethnic and religious minorities in Kandy. The city has a long history of broad diversity, dating to pre-colonial times. The most distinguishing element of Kandy, however, is that it is considered to be the heartland of Sinhalese Buddhist culture and it is promoted as such in the tourism industry, to the exclusion of all the other religions and ethnic minorities. This may be encouraging a stronger sense of dominance among the Sinhalese Buddhists and could lead to erosion of the power held by minority groups. A more stratified society characterized by increasing antagonism could result.

**Women’s Social Position**

The impact of tourism on women’s position in society has not been significant. Only an estimated ten percent of all employment positions and training opportunities in the industry are held by women (Informant 1), and most of these are commercialized versions of domestic roles, which do not challenge prevailing notions of gender roles and relations. This situation can be attributed to a number of social norms and values. In general, the tourism industry is not considered to be a ‘proper’ area of employment for women. Many of the hotel and restaurant service jobs are considered inappropriate for women because it places them in the midst of
situations involving alcohol consumption, smoking, and dancing - activities that are considered unacceptable for women in Sri Lankan society. Often tourism employment requires working late into the evenings, which is also considered improper for women. Complicating this is the common perception that women are more hospitable and social than men are (Richter 1994, 155).

When combined, these factors have tended to relegate women to primarily frontline positions in tourism such as hotel reception and retail sales. The government Laksala and the Kandyan Arts Association employ more women than men for sales positions. Overall, however, in frontline positions, the ratio of women to men still tends to be low. For example, the only privately owned retail shops catering to tourists in which female salespeople generally outnumber males is in those that sell batiks. Even the informal sector, which includes street vendors, touts, street guides and sidewalk stalls, has a negligible representation by women workers. The only aspects of the tourism-related informal sector that are female-dominated are the home-based production of goods and prostitution.

Very few women hold management positions. This is not unique to the tourism industry. Throughout Sri Lanka, despite the management opportunities available to women, they tend to choose lower level positions that are less demanding and allow them the time and energy to channel towards their household and childcare responsibilities, still shouldered almost exclusively by women: “Women choose to accept lower positions rather than face broken families and an unhappy domestic life, especially for the children” (Iddamalgoda 1991, 69). There are examples of women holding positions of considerable power in the public sector institutions that are involved in tourism. Women also dominate the somewhat less demanding jobs of accounting, secretarial work, and public relations in the larger hotels. The Hotel School makes a concerted effort to raise the percentage of women in management training positions, but it still remains low.

Women benefit through jobs in the tourism industry that conform to traditional cultural roles. Women have customarily played a central role in the gathering of herbs for Ayurvedic medicine and opportunities have recently begun to open up for women to provide Ayurvedic
massage to tourists. Many of the traditional Kandyan and Sri Lankan dances are customarily performed by women; therefore, the dance presentations performed nightly for tourists provides female dancers with regular income. Tourist demand for handicrafts that are traditionally made by women has provided support for their economic activities. Women may work individually, but often form cooperatives to produce arts and crafts such as batiks, handloom fabrics, pottery, embroidery, lacework, rattan weaving and *Dumbara* mat-work.

Some women in Kandy have been able to successfully combine their domestic roles with entrepreneurial economic activities such as operating guesthouses, or through home-based businesses specializing in baking, making lunch and dinner packets, or producing handicrafts. In undertaking such activities women suffer from a lack of capital (Wickramasinghe 1998, 2) and often face considerable difficulties obtaining bank loans, business skills and the blessings of their spouses. It is not considered appropriate for women to do business of any kind, and it may be perceived as reflecting badly on the husband’s ability to support the family (Informant 2). The operation of home-based businesses by women may lead to an increase in their economic and decision-making power within the household, however it does little to challenge the prevailing gender roles in the broader society.

**Interactions between Foreign Tourists and Locals**

Tourism can benefit the local population through interactions with foreigners, which can lead to a greater understanding of different countries and their cultures. In a number of interviews conducted with individuals in the tourism industry in Kandy, informants spontaneously praised tourism for its ability to create links between locals and foreigners, and result in a broader understanding of the world for both parties (Informants 2, 3, 6, 8, 15, 16). Two of the guesthouse operators expressed that they feel it is valuable for their children to be exposed to the ideas and cultures of foreigners (Informants 14, 15). In Malcolm Crick’s study, many of the responses of the young adults surveyed indicated an appreciation of this aspect: among the benefits of tourism,
they listed "international cultural exchange, the importance of Sri Lankan culture being better known to outsiders and the value of knowing about other cultures" (Crick 1994, 131).

Negative perceptions of foreign tourists and tourism can also occur. In part, this is due to the nature of the type of tourism that has dominated in Kandy. The often brief and superficial interaction between foreigners (especially package tourists) and locals doesn't allow time for adequate communication, which can also be tainted by any suspicions foreigners may have, and further complicated by language difficulties (Unknown 1993, 23). This can lead to misunderstandings.

The presence of foreigners may be considered a threat by some residents. Because they are 'outsiders' by definition, to some locals foreigners represent the dominant Western force of consumerism and 'neo-colonialism' perceived to be threatening the stability and well-being of the vulnerable Kandyan culture (Crick 1994, 117). A foreigner's very presence in Kandy indicates that the visitor can afford to travel internationally and take time away from work - luxuries that are unattainable by most locals. The comparative wealth of tourists is resented by some of the locals (Informant 1). This is especially true in terms of the rich package tourists.

The prevalent image of foreign package tourists is not a favourable one in Kandy. Among locals these tourists tend to be characterized as exploitative, indulgent, anxious, and always in a rush (Informant 1, 5, 14, 15, 19). During the one or two days that package tourists spend in Kandy they are taken from sight to sight in groups of thirty to fifty in air-conditioned buses, keeping to a tight schedule that leaves virtually no time to interact with locals. The reactions of locals to this type of tourism ranges from feeling sorry for the foreigners because they are herded around like cattle, to attitudes of disdain at the perceived arrogance and elitism of the tourists. Some express disappointment that these tourists do not have the opportunity to truly experience and understand Kandyan culture and hospitality. Others seem to feel that local people are being taken advantage of and objectified by the tourist who is satisfied with drawing conclusions from distant observation without actually getting to know those being observed. All expressed the
opinion that there is no advantage to this kind of tourism, other than the money they spend.

Although independent travelers on average may spend only a day or two more in Kandy than the package tourists do, they enjoy a more positive image with the local population. Independent travelers tend to be much more relaxed and easy-going, and interact with Kandyans in their everyday activities, whether it be while eating at restaurants, waiting at the bus station, shopping at the market, asking directions, or simply walking from place to place. These interactions between locals and foreigners traveling independently tend to be positive and usually include mutual learning. There is always the potential for conflict, however, for “it is when the tourist penetrates into the daily lives and homes of the hosts that real exposure of cultural and social differences between the two groups emerge, and problems may occur” (Archer and Cooper 1994, 82).

Despite the differences in the manner of interaction with locals, all types of foreign tourists may actually share the same concerns regarding social impacts of tourism in Sri Lanka. In his study, Sadrudin Ahmed postulates from his findings that

... one may speculate that the tourists in Sri Lanka, by and large, are respectful of the country’s rich cultural and religious tradition and deal justly and respectfully with the Sri Lankans. Such tolerant tourist behavior may also have contributed to limiting the negative impact of tourism on Sri Lanka. (Ahmed 1986a, 251)

Domestic tourists may have some negative social impacts, but because there are so few differences between domestic tourists and the local population in Kandy it is likely that these impacts would not be noteworthy. The same applies with respect to cultural impacts.

Cultural Impacts

Kandy has a long and rich cultural history expressed through such things as music, dance, crafts, rituals, festivals and architecture. Ahmed (1986a) states that it is the strength of the culture which has enabled it to withstand the pressures for change brought through colonialism and, more recently, tourism. Despite this cultural fortitude there have been some negative impacts resulting
from tourism. In the final assessment, however, these effects have been minimal and are outweighed by the cultural benefits of tourism. One of the ways benefits are accrued is through the reinvestment of much of the income earned from tourism by the central government into the preservation, restoration and development of different dimensions of the culture.

Tourism is extremely influential in the determination of the cultural identity of a destination. In his study of the impact of tourism on a group of ritual specialists in Sri Lanka, Simpson (1993) asserts that foreign tourists are not drawn to the everyday and mundane, but to the extraordinary, obscure and exotic. Very often it is the margins of society which provide these features, which are then appropriated as 'tradition'. In Sri Lanka, it is the lively and colorful masks and dances of a marginalized lower caste which have captured the tourists' interest the most. Otherwise viewed with ambivalence by the middle class Sinhalese Buddhists, this caste and its traditions have become elevated through tourism to a position of greater status. In this way tourism has actually altered the local perceptions of cultural production and their producers, redefining the parameters of legitimacy and cultural authenticity (Simpson 1993, 168 – 171).

Fine arts, crafts, dance and music have enjoyed a revitalization throughout Sri Lanka due to tourism, evident in the large number of handicraft shops, batik shops, and performing music and dance groups that have arisen since the advent of increased tourism. It is believed that, if not for tourism, some of these traditions would have died away due to lack of patronage (Samaranayake 1993). The Kandyan Arts Association has been pivotal in supporting the local producers of arts and crafts and connecting them with the tourism market. The Association maintains the continuation of the ancient Kandyan hereditary village-based system within which the craftspeople are organized. One of the Association’s primary purposes is to ensure authenticity by insisting upon the use of traditional methods and colour, and continued attention to quality and detail (Informant 8).

This kind of dedication to authenticity is not found among all artisans. Arts and crafts have become altered and tailored to meet the aesthetic demands of tourists. The quality of the
workmanship may also suffer, as is evident in the following quote from a Kandyan brass and
copper worker lamenting a drop in tourist arrivals: “I was making good money on my plaques and
trays. The tourists bought souvenirs. I did not have to work very hard. They are not particular
about quality” (Unknown 1993, 24).

When elements of culture not intended for mass consumption become available for purchase
by the foreign tourist, the impact of this commoditization of the product can reverberate through
other aspects of the culture and social order. This has happened in Sri Lanka in the example of
masks which have customarily been carved by the dancers who wear them, and used exclusively
as one component of a performance that is a powerful vehicle for the expression of ideas and
beliefs about deities and demons within the Buddhist cosmology (Simpson 1993, 168). The
specific detailed features of the masks indicate the particular family of performers. In the past,
these masks were made infrequently, and exchanged only within a restricted system of
reciprocity. When the masks are sold to tourists in mass quantities, it is more often the aesthetic
qualities of the mask, which are of importance to the tourist, rather than the cultural meaning.
The color, dimensions, motifs and decoration have become altered to meet tourists’ tastes to the
extent that the demons depicted can no longer be precisely identified. Over time, the authentic
style and meaning within the object is forgotten.

The caste, which makes these masks, is situated at the bottom of the social order. The
considerable income earned through the mass production of masks for tourist consumption has
resulted in an improved standard of living for those involved and for some, has raised their social
status. Mask makers have customarily undertaken a number of other duties and tasks which
rooted them through cooperation and interactions within their communities. Mass production of
masks has meant that the individual no longer contributes to the community-wide division of
labor. This poses a threat to the fabric of a community bound by mutual exchange, cooperation
and complementary relations (Simpson 1993).

Although it is recognized among those in the tourism industry in Kandy that tourism has
been beneficial in preserving dance traditions, it is also widely understood that the dances have been shortened and altered considerably for tourist consumption, to the point where many of the performers no longer know the complete traditional dances (Informant 1, 5, 13). To improve its appeal to foreigners, “culture must be made available and presentable; packaged for consumption into easily digestible and, preferably, photogenic chunks” (Simpson 1993, 166). In order to achieve touristic appeal traditions are subjected to a process of selection, exclusion, condensation and amplification. For example, what has come to be known as the ‘Devil Dance’ is merely an extraction and recombination of different elements from a lengthy ritual that was never intended for entertainment purposes. This dance has become central to tourism performances because:

The visual and ecstatic mode of presentation, the dancing, masking, drumming, and costume provide a suitable typification for the exotic and mysterious (words much in vogue with the tourism brochures). The tourist can step back into a world seemingly both wild and primitive. (Simpson 1993, 167)

Dances lose their meaning as elements are removed from their context. Evidence of this process of commodification can be found in the dance presentations given for tourists each night at various locations in Kandy.

The Kandy Perahera has not yet been subject to fundamental alterations to increase its appeal to the foreigner, although a number of people in Kandy have expressed a fear that it might in the future. Some foreign and modern elements are said to have crept in, about which concern has been expressed. Bright electric lights are beginning to replace candle and lamplight. Performers previously participated as part of their duty in an ongoing reciprocal patronage relationship with the Dalada Maligawa, but as these occupation-based ties are broken by the monetary economy, performers are demanding payment for their services instead. Prime seats are being sold at high prices to foreigners as a way of funding the cost of the festival. Tourism seems to have played a small role in these changes, if any.

Many of the temples and monasteries visited by tourists may be considered ‘living sites’ which means that they are used on a daily basis by the local population. Foreign visitors may act
in a manner that is invasive or insensitive, interfering with locals who are worshipping and performing rituals. The mere act of observation of the worshipper by the tourist can minimize the effect of the local believer’s ritual act (Amasekera and Navaratne 1993). The Malwatte and Asgiriya monastic complexes welcome foreign visitors, but the appropriateness of their presence has been called into question. These monastic centres are not generally used for worship by locals, but rather deal with administrative and doctrinal matters in a manner that is shrouded in mystery. The exposure of these rituals to an unappreciative foreign outsider can put the mystery at risk, and could potentially damage the legitimacy of the function of these monastic centres (Amarasekera and Navaratne 1993, 2).

Crick notes that in 1982, there was concern that historical buildings were being used as tourist facilities. The Queen’s Bath has served at various times as a batik shop, Tourism Information Office, office of the Central Cultural Fund, and now is the army headquarters. Informant 11 put forth the view that “now there are mostly economic tourists, not culturally inclined tourists, so they do more damage to places of archaeological importance, because they are unaware or do not care about the consequences.” Crick suggests that Kandy’s religious aura and cultural pride have inhibited further inappropriate transformation of sites for tourist use (Crick 1994, 74). Finding new uses for historical buildings, however, is not necessarily negative. For example, a colonial hotel constructed by the French was slated for demolition until the Ceylon Hotel School purchased it. The structure is ideal for their teaching purposes and a great deal of restoration work has been done to it since they took possession, restoring its sense of grandeur.

The efforts of the Central Cultural Fund have resulted in considerable preservation and restoration of a number of buildings in Kandy, the funding for which is derived primarily through income earned from admission charges to attractions. Despite the high degree of reliance upon tourists for this income, the projects undertaken are not geared towards tourist use at all, but rather are restored or conserved for their historical value and cultural significance alone. The
requirements and standards set out by the Kandy World Heritage City Committee will certainly contribute to maintenance of the Kandyan atmosphere through the perpetuation of traditional architectural details, which tourist facilities, hotels and guesthouses must adhere to.

In Kandy, there is very little evidence of the 'demonstration effect' whereby members of a host community begin to emulate the lifestyles of foreign tourists. A small number of youth have become involved in drugs and prostitution, and there has been a trend in the society overall towards increased materialism and consumerism, however local informants attributed these changes to forces of modernization. Western styles of dress are becoming more popular in Kandy, but only those which remain within the acceptable cultural norms of modesty. Some foreign foods are available in restaurants and specialized grocery stores, but locals tend to favour Sri Lankan cuisine. Some locals, however, have begun to eat Western style food at home, especially for breakfast, due to its comparatively convenient preparation – Sri Lankan rice and curries can take hours to prepare. Western medicine is increasingly being relied upon and is replacing the herbal remedies of traditional Ayurvedic medicine (Informant 1). It is difficult to determine the degree of influence tourism has had in bringing about these changes. In fact, people that I questioned about these changes attributed them far more to the influences of Western media and movies. There are concerns that with the predicted increase in the volume of tourism the demonstration effect of tourism will take hold.

**Environmental Impacts**

A basic requirement for the long-term viability of tourism is the preservation of the quality and quantity of natural resources at levels acceptable to tourists. Yet, tourism itself can result in degradation of the natural environment through direct contact such as the trampling of vegetation and disruption of faunal habitats by hikers, and indirectly through consumption patterns and generation of waste. The impacts of tourism on the environment in Kandy are so inextricably interwoven with impacts of other urban activities that in most cases only speculation is possible
regarding tourism-related impacts. The effects on the environment of most activities often manifest themselves over long periods of time, making it particularly important to identify and mitigate potential effects before they are detectable.

The projected population of Kandy for the year 2000 is 136,193, but the maximum population that can be viably accommodated without irreversible environmental damage is estimated at only 130,000 (UDA 1998, 2 - 3). In addition to population growth, tourism arrivals are predicted to increase substantially, intensifying the pressure placed on the city’s environmental resources. During the time of the Perahera each summer, the environmental impacts are undoubtedly enormous, as it has been estimated that the population of Kandy shows a two-to-three fold increase at that time as a result of visitor influx (Weerasooriya et al 1982, 240). Once the effects of tourism on the environment are identified, then steps may be taken towards minimizing or eliminating these impacts.

As the population of the city continues to grow the availability of land is becoming increasingly scarce, forcing people to build at higher elevations and on steep hillsides. Construction on this fragile terrain results in soil erosion, the destruction of vegetation, depletion of ground water resources, loss of scenic beauty and dangerous landslides (UDA 1998, 12). The siltation of the lake is increasing due to the washing of eroded soil down the hillsides. Many holiday homes, guesthouses and hotels have been constructed high in the hills surrounding Kandy because foreign and domestic tourists prefer to be away from the street noise and polluted air, to be surrounded by natural beauty and a panoramic view (Informant 10). The Urban Development Authority and the Municipality prohibit all development above 545 metres (1800 feet) and have strict regulations regarding any construction on steep slopes; however, powerful developers are often able to find ways of circumventing these restrictions (Informant 4, 9, UDA 1998, 24).

Most interview informants were unable to identify specific impacts of tourism on the environment in Kandy. The majority expressed that they do not feel that a tourist has any greater impact than an average local resident, but a couple of differences were mentioned: the average
foreign tourist tends to use more water than an average local person does, they purchase a lot of water in bottles which are not recyclable, and they rely heavily upon three-wheeler taxis - a highly polluting form of transportation (Informant 10, 15).

Few tourists visit natural attractions, such as the Udawattekelle Bird Sanctuary and the Knuckles Range, so the direct impact in these areas is minimal. The Botanical Gardens at Peradeniya have a high volume of tourist traffic, and as a result soil erosion is occurring due to damage caused by careless visitors. An unusual impact of tourism in the Gardens noted in a guidebook is that “Sadly, some staff appear to be more interested in photo opportunities in the hope of a tip, than upkeep of the gardens” (Bradnock and Bradnock 1998, 188).

The kind of environmental impacts of tourists in Kandy are generally indirect and are determined to a great extent by the type of accommodation chosen. Those visitors staying in guesthouses generally live in a manner similar to that of local residents and, therefore, do not create negative impacts greater than those of locals. Those who stay in more expensive accommodation, especially the upper-range hotels, partake in a much more environmentally detrimental lifestyle, generally characterized by higher consumption of energy and resources, and greater generation of waste.

The types of materials used in construction of accommodation have different impacts on the environment. For example, “...there is a real threat of species extinction as a result of large scale logging for valuable cabinet wood, paneling and antique style architecture used to adorn the tourist hotels” (Peiris 1993, 44). Guesthouses generally use much more modest materials that do not have such damaging impacts.

In Sri Lanka, serious concern for the state of the natural environment and the concerted efforts at finding solutions to problems are relatively recent phenomena (Nanayakkara 1991, 47). In terms of tourism-related environmental impacts, most of the attention has been directed towards the coastal areas where the high density of tourism activity in the fragile environment has led to considerable deterioration of natural resources. Environmental concerns regarding the
Impact of hotel construction and operation in the central area of the country came to the forefront with the development of the Kandalama Hotel near Dambulla in 1992 (see Chapter One). Since that time, the Kandy municipality and UDA have developed stricter environmental regulations for all hotels (Informant 1, 13).

These requirements, coupled with increasing demands from foreign tourists for more environmentally friendly accommodations, are leading to a shift in the manner in which hotels are operated. Because an extensive understanding of environmental issues and solutions has yet to be developed and because the kinds of changes required are substantial, most of the efforts to date have been superficial. The stage achieved in this shift varies among hotels. Some are using recycled paper and are involved in community-level environmental programs. Other hotels have switches in each room that automatically turn the power off when the guest leaves. According to informants, due to the inconvenience of accessing a supply, none of the hotels use unleaded fuel for their vehicles, nor do they maintain the vehicles' emission-control systems or take steps to improve the fuel efficiency (Informant 5, 6, 16). A number of other simple and often economical measures have not been taken to ensure more minimal environmental impact.

Although all large hotels are now required to have their own waste treatment plants and monitor the emissions, some informants expressed doubts regarding the effectiveness of these systems and the side-effects of the release of the treatment chemicals. All guesthouses use a system of a septic tank plus biological treatment and seepage pits. The overall standards and upkeep of this system are good; however, there have been general concerns expressed among informants that instead of paying the municipality to empty the septic tanks, some guesthouses are secretly draining them directly into streams and canals leading to the lake (Informant 4, 14, 15, 17). Many local informants and a few tourists expressed the concern that the lake is becoming contaminated, but studies indicate that the water quality is well within an acceptable range (Informant 17). It is believed that the prolific population of fish plays a significant role in the ecological recovery of the lake.
This overview of tourism impacts indicates that the negative social, cultural, environmental and economic impacts of tourism in Kandy have not been extensive to date. In light of future growth in the tourism industry, however, a few areas of concern have been identified that will deserve particular attention. Primary among these are increases in social problems such as drugs, prostitution and pedophilia which are aggravated by tourism; a predominance of Sinhalese Buddhism to the detriment of the social status and culture of minority populations; higher prices for local produce; negative interactions between package tourists and locals; diversion of public funds from general development to improvements made to tourism infrastructure; reinforcement of gender roles which allow limited economic opportunities for women; commodification of cultural traditions leading to a loss of cultural meaning; the threat to fragile natural areas by the construction of hotels; and damage caused by tourists indirectly to the environment when they choose upper-scale accommodation. Tourism development in Kandy has been accompanied by beneficial impacts as well. These include increased direct and indirect employment; the revival and strengthening of cultural traditions; support for historical conservation projects; and the adoption of a few environmentally friendly business practices by some hotels.

This is not meant to be a comprehensive compilation of all impacts. Undoubtedly tourism has resulted in a number of other more subtle and complex economic, social, cultural and environmental changes in Kandy. This discussion has examined the most obvious direct and indirect effects of tourism, which will provide a useful starting point from which to think about the repercussions of the tourism industry and formulate a framework for tourism planning in Kandy.
CHAPTER FIVE: PRINCIPLES FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN KANDY

Tourism in Kandy has resulted in a number of positive outcomes, and further expansion of the industry holds much potential for increasing the magnitude and the scope of beneficial impacts. However, increased tourism development, if pursued as it has been in the past, could also result in a magnification of tourism’s undesirable impacts on the overall quality of life for the local population, possibly leading to decreased tourist satisfaction and a decline in the volume of visitors. In order to maximize the positive impacts and minimize the negative repercussions of tourism on the well-being of the local population in Kandy and to ensure tourism’s continued viability in the future, changes are needed in the way in which tourism development is undertaken. The changes necessary to achieve these goals will not occur spontaneously; therefore, tourism planning is needed to bring about desired results. The direction and outcome of tourism planning is dependent upon the principles on which it is based. A review of the tourism planning literature indicates that an improved overall quality of life for the population of Kandy would be best accomplished by planning tourism that is environmentally conscious, culturally sensitive, socially responsible, economically viable and enjoyable for visitors. These five principles are expanded upon in this chapter.

**Environmental Consciousness**

The approaches that are suggested for addressing environmental concerns associated with tourism development vary greatly within the tourism planning literature. The extreme resource preservationist position maintains that because any tourism activity will in some way reduce the quantity and quality of natural resources somewhere, tourism development should be kept to an absolute minimum and economic growth related to tourism should be discouraged. At the opposite end of the range is the view that tourism development should be allowed to expand unfettered through free-market principles with full exploitation of natural resources, the limits of
which can be expanded through economic growth and technical innovation (Hunter 1997). The first position may be criticized for denying certain sectors, especially the poor, an opportunity of meeting basic needs through economic growth. The second position overlooks the uneven distribution of socioeconomic and environmental costs and benefits and the social costs of tourism to the ‘commons’ (Hunter 1997, 852 - 853). A more moderate position, which is taken in this thesis, views the environment as intrinsically valuable and not to be compromised by short-term considerations, but also recognizes that protection of the environment cannot be undertaken to the detriment of the local population’s long term social, cultural and economic well-being.

Economic growth that accompanies tourism development is not necessarily at odds with conservation of the environment. It is in the best economic interest of the tourism industry to maintain a healthy environment, as the overall attractiveness of a location and most of its tourist sites often depend upon or are enhanced by the area’s natural beauty. Tourists prefer to visit places that are attractive, clean, lush and unpolluted. The tourism planning literature indicates that environmental considerations are increasingly influencing tourist’s choice of destinations; therefore, a tourism approach that is environmentally conscious will appeal to these potential visitors. If tourism is planned and developed with the health of the environment in mind, it can provide the incentive and finances for the indefinite enhancement of environmental quality, maintenance of ecological life support systems, protection of biodiversity, and the efficient use of natural resources (WTO 1994, 7).

Cultural Sensitivity

Tourism can potentially lead to inalterable changes in the culture of the host population: “The relationships within that society, the mores of interaction, the styles of life, the customs and traditions are all subject to change through the introduction of visitors with different habits, styles, customs and means of exchange” (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 109). Although tourism can,
at times, act as an external negative influence on the culture of a host population, it can also have benefits. For example, local residents may enjoy the cultural facilities developed for tourism. Also, when residents observe visitors appreciating elements of the local culture, it can renew local people's sense of pride in their own culture (WTO 1994, 35). Tourism can also help justify and pay for the conservation of culture. In some cases "... tourism can be the impetus for revitalizing cultural patterns which might be disappearing" (WTO 1994, 35). Cultural elements are often part of an area's appeal, the loss of which could lead to a decline in the industry.

The support that tourism can give to cultural preservation, however, does not necessarily contribute to the maintenance of elements that fully and accurately represent the unique identity of the host population. In general, tourists tend to demand a simplified, aestheticized, and appealing presentation of selective aspects of culture. Thus, rather than strengthening the authenticity and integrity of the culture, "tourism demand tends to destroy genuine cultural traditions by turning them into commodities" (Getz 1994, 315).

Tourism demand also tends to paralyze living cultural traditions, which can cause the dynamic and innovative nature of culture to become stifled and unable to effectively react to external forces of change. As the rest of society shifts and adapts, cultural elements that have been frozen in time lose their meaning within the transforming local context (Baswedan 1992). This does not mean that all change should be welcomed: "There are significant differences between a change that takes place within the dynamics of the society itself and by the decision of that society, and the type of change that is imposed on the culture by external forces" (Baswedan 1992, 45). Therefore, there is a need for the local population to question the direction of change, the way in which it takes place, the rate at which it occurs, and why it happens.

Many societies want to experience some positive change and participate in the benefits of modern development. The approach that they often wish to take is to be culturally selective. They want to keep the best of their traditions that give them a distinctive cultural character, but adopt the best of the changes that will make their lives more comfortable and interesting. Each society must decide on what approach is most suitable for their people when making choices about their tourism development patterns. (WTO 1994, 37)
Culture is not an unchanging entity, but rather a dynamic process undergoing constant alterations and adaptations. Tourism planning that is culturally sensitive will, within the ongoing process of cultural change, allow the local population to identify, retain and adapt those aspects of their culture which are meaningful and reflect their distinguishing characteristics and unique identity. “Deliberate use of tourism as a technique of cultural conservation can greatly help in reducing its negative impacts on the culture” (WTO 1994, 37).

Social Responsibility

There are two aspects to socially responsible tourism. The first involves the direct interaction between tourists and residents. Tourists may bring worldviews, manners of communication, behaviour, social standards and values that differ from those of the general host population. These differences may lead to misunderstandings and conflict. Tourism that is socially responsible will minimize disharmony between hosts and visitors. Social problems within the host community, such as prostitution and drugs that are generally intensified with increasing tourism volume will be kept to a minimum when tourists act responsibly and choose not to participate in these socially damaging activities.

If the interactions between hosts and tourists is of a type that strains the limits of hospitality of the host population, eventually the hosts may lose their enthusiasm and interest in dealing with tourists. Support within the local population for tourism may decrease, as will their hospitality towards visitors. Socially responsible tourism involves a predominance of interactions between hosts and visitors that are mutually beneficial experiences, enhancing the positive perceptions of each other and resulting in cross-cultural learning (Hinch 1996, 99). Relationships between locals and tourists improve and support among the local population for tourism is strengthened.

The second aspect of socially responsible tourism involves the way in which tourism development is planned and structured. The very process of tourism planning and implementation holds within it the potential to alter unjust social structures, empower the socially
marginalized, and distribute the costs and benefits of tourism more fairly throughout the population. Tourism that is socially responsible employs planning processes and implementation strategies that contribute to social equity, a term that "implies attempting to meet all basic human needs and, perhaps, the satisfaction of human wants, both now and in the future...This means the avoidance of development which maintains, creates, or widens spatial or temporal differences in human well-being" (Hunter 1997, 851). Socially responsible tourism contributes to a redistribution of power and resources in a manner that gives all local residents not just a voice, but real and equal control over matters that affect their lives (Gonsalves 1993, 74). Ultimately, this can lead to greater social cohesion as various parties involved in the process of planning work to resolve conflicts in a collaborative manner and act as equal partners in decision-making processes.

An equitable process of tourism planning and development can benefit women in a number of ways at various levels. Tourism can provide women with employment and increased economic power if opportunities for training and employment in all areas of the industry are made readily available to them, and measures are taken to encourage women to take advantage of these opportunities. "Where women are able to shed customary controls which previously deprived them of entry to the wider society, this may be seen as a triumph of female empowerment" (Black 1995, 83).

Transcendence of traditional gender norms by some women can pave the way for more women to do the same. However, this is not a solution, but only a valuable first step in women's empowerment. Simply changing the gender division of labour is a minor victory if what women do in society is still undervalued: "Empowerment is not just about women acquiring something, but about those holding power relinquishing it" (Young 1993, 159). The social structures which support women’s disadvantage must be dismantled, and this will necessitate fundamental changes to ideological value systems, socialization processes, systems of thought and a wholesale re-negotiation in all aspects of social structure in the public and private spheres of society.
Socially responsible tourism can play a part in this transformation toward a more gender equitable society by going beyond simply including women, by placing them in central positions of power and authority in all realms of tourism planning and development. The very structures of the process and the administrative, legal, religious and financial structures and institutions associated with tourism development need to be transformed so as to not place women at a disadvantage (Perera 1987, 20). These types of changes would undoubtedly be opposed by some, as "...any attempt to bring about a redistribution of benefits to women meets with resistance from men, loath to lose traditional privileges, and those women who have a stake in existing male privilege" (Young 1993, 151). Socially responsible tourism cannot bring about all of the changes to social structures in society needed to empower women; however, through more equitable planning and development processes, it can contribute to broader social change.

**Economic Viability**

Economic growth is very often the dominant, if not only, imperative in tourism development (Gunn 1994, 434). In a tourism approach that aims to improve the overall well-being of the entire host population, economic gain is still a central component, but is kept in balance with the other principles which also contribute to an improved quality of life. Mowforth and Munt state that sustained economic viability in a balanced system of tourism requires at the very least

...a level of economic gain from the activity sufficient either to cover the cost of any special measures taken to cater for the tourist and to mitigate the effects of the tourist’s presence or to offer an income appropriate to the inconvenience caused to the local community visited – without violating any of the other conditions. (1998, 111)

In order to compensate the local community for any costs it bears from tourism development, the economic benefits accrued through tourism need to remain within that community. Tourism may be planned and implemented in a manner that achieves this.

The economic benefits to the community may be increased through strengthened local control over the industry, through the creation of local employment and entrepreneurial
opportunities in the tourism industry, and through the improved linkages to other sectors of the local economy. Indefinite viability of these economic benefits from tourism, however, relies upon tourist satisfaction and undiminished social, cultural and environmental resource bases.

Tourist Satisfaction and the Quality of the Tourism Experience

"Visitor satisfaction plays a vital role in continuing to attract tourists to a destination in order to fulfill the foregoing aim of achieving improved living standards of the host population" (Cater 1993, 87). Some of the factors that may determine visitor satisfaction include a feeling of safety, positive interactions with locals, a pleasant environment, uncorrupted historical heritage and cultural patterns, value for money, sufficient information, ease of access, and a wide range of experiences that are unique, memorable and perceived as authentic (Getz 1994, 316; WTO 1994, 7; Inskeep 1991, 13).

All other goals of tourism development will be unattainable if tourists are dissatisfied with their experience. When tourists have not enjoyed their visit, they may cut their visit short and tell others about their unpleasant experience, causing those who may have considered visiting the same destination to become convinced to travel elsewhere instead. Travel agents who receive negative reports from tourists may be less inclined to recommend the destination to other clients. Travel articles in newspapers, magazines and guidebooks may also give poor reports about the destination, further dissuading potential tourists from visiting. Bad reports by any or all of these sources may result in a decrease in the number of tourists visiting the destination, and a consequent decline in its tourism industry.

On the other hand, when tourists have enjoyed their experience, they may be enticed to stay longer than originally intended, may return again in the future, and will likely tell others of their positive experiences. This may persuade others to visit. Tourism volume then increases, the industry thrives, and if tourism development has been undertaken in a socially responsible, environmentally sensitive, economically viable and culturally sensitive manner, it would follow
that the associated benefits to the local population would also increase.

It is not always possible to maximize the attainment of each of these five principles in every aspect of tourism development. In fact, there will be many instances in which these principles will conflict and will require trade-offs. Different circumstances will require different sets of trade-off decisions (Hunter 1997, 855). Maintaining a balance between these principles will ensure the overall well-being of the community. At times, one or more principles may take priority over the others; however, none should be allowed to dominate to the detriment of any of the others. For example,

Economic vitality is essential in order to combat poverty, improve the quality of life and drive the process of environmental protection. However, balances have to be struck in order to ensure that growth does not make excessive demands on natural resources. (Owen, Witt and Gammon 1993, 463)

If tourism development is pursued in Kandy in a manner that balances the principles of economic viability, environmental consciousness, cultural sensitivity, social responsibility and tourist satisfaction, it could potentially lead to minimized negative repercussions and magnified positive impacts and an improved quality of life for the local population.

The remainder of this thesis explores primary areas of focus in planning tourism for Kandy, including the planning process, types of tourism and marketing, institutional elements, awareness raising and training, and the built environment. Each of these areas is examined to determine the extent to which the above principles have been incorporated to date in tourism development in Kandy. This reveals opportunities for the application of planning processes and strategies that would lead to further improvements in the environment, society, culture and economy of Kandy. Ideas are drawn from the tourism planning literature, supplemented by my personal observations and suggestions by tourists and local informants in the formulation of recommendations of how these principles may be applied through tourism planning in Kandy. This develops a general framework that may be used to guide future tourism planning in Kandy.
CHAPTER SIX:
THE PLANNING PROCESS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN KANDY

The effectiveness of tourism planning in Kandy will depend upon the process employed. An inappropriate or inadequate planning process could result in problems such as a loss of public support, unresolved conflicts, lack of focus on ultimate goals, inattention to differing needs within the community, lack of creativity in the generation of solutions to problems, lack of attention to constraints and opportunities, unsuitable decisions and inadequate implementation. The issues addressed in the tourism planning process and the ultimate outcomes are important, but equally important is the very manner in which planning is conducted. The process itself has impacts on the community (Boothroyd 1991, 8). An effective planning process is appropriately responsive to the needs of those who will be impacted by its outcome, and results in the satisfaction of their objectives.

Participation in the Planning Process

In the past, tourism development decisions in Sri Lanka have been primarily made by officials of the central government on a national scale with little regard to the particular needs and characteristics of specific localities. These decisions have often been inappropriate or inadequate for the particular needs of Kandy. At a local level, tourism development decisions have occurred on a project by project basis by individual entrepreneurs or organizations, or by the Urban Development Authority when particular issues have been given brief consideration as part of general planning. There has been no significant coordinated tourism planning exercise specific to Kandy. This piecemeal method of tourism development has involved only a small number of individuals representing very few interests of the local population.

It is clear from a review of the literature that the success of planning may well be determined by whether or not the local population is involved in the process: "The failure of many
development plans and... projects, has been blamed on a planning process which neither involves people in the decision-making process nor in the identification of their own needs” (Young 1993, 148). The planning literature indicates that involving stakeholders in the planning process will bring about commitment to the goals of the planning project. A stakeholder is any individual who has an interest in, or will be affected by, the outcomes of tourism development. In Kandy, this includes those directly involved in the industry, such as owners of tourist shops, three-wheeler drivers, guesthouse and hotel operators, tour companies, street guides, managers of attractions, and representatives of different levels and arms of government, plus those less directly involved such as non-profit organizations, centres of research and expertise relevant to tourism-related issues, and community residents representing the full range of local interests and points of view. The participants of the tourism planning workshop held in Kandy indicated a desire for greater participation in and control over the tourism planning and implementation processes by the local population.

Cater (1997) points out that the involvement of the local population is particularly important in terms of identifying local tourism-related issues, generating appropriate and creative solutions to problems, providing sustained support for the planning process, and ensuring its implementation. Because communities may lack a realistic understanding of the impacts of tourism and what is involved in achieving tourism development, encouraging participation from the early stages of planning can help residents to have realistic expectations (McIntyre 1993, 28). Participation of residents may also result in a greater proportion of the positive aspects of tourism development benefiting the local residents rather than outsiders (WTO 1994, 8). Lynn concludes that direct and equitable involvement by residents in informed decision-making processes is crucial to ensuring that their needs and concerns are fully expressed and addressed. When this occurs, residents tend to be more satisfied with the planning process and more supportive of tourism development in general. This may be reflected in a more positive attitude towards visitors, which in turn may result in improved visitor satisfaction (Lynn 1992, 374).
Because the local population has a longer time perspective, residents will be more likely to be concerned about the conservation of resources than outside entrepreneurs who tend to be overly concerned with quick profits. It is the residents' home environment that will be impacted by tourism development; therefore, by involving them, the preservation of the natural, social, economic and cultural resource base may become more of a priority in the tourism planning process (Cater 1997, 79; WTO 1994, 8).

It is important that social equity in tourism development occur not only in the distribution of the benefits of tourism, but also in the process itself. Far too often, in processes involving participation of the local population, the process organizers assume that the community is a homogenous entity with one set of concerns and needs (Lee 1993). If the issue of power hierarchies within communities is not addressed, the influential and wealthy elite may appropriate the element of participation for their own benefit (de Kadt 1992, 73). They may present themselves as being the legitimate spokespersons for the entire local population, while actually representing only their own self-interests. In such a situation, the needs and concerns of all other groups within the population are ignored. The process may lose legitimacy and support if the general population recognizes that it has become a mere tool to promote the interests of the elite. The imbalance of power in the process could result in inequitable distribution of benefits, thereby reinforcing economic disparity (Mowforth and Munt 1998, 278).

This appropriation of the community participation process may be averted by ensuring that the full range of interests within the local population are accurately represented in all decision-making by members of the various groups themselves. Mowforth and Munt recommend that the distribution of power within the local population be clearly understood in order to ensure that all necessary players come to the table, especially those that are traditionally marginalized (1998, 259).

Some of the primary groups in the complex hierarchy of power in Kandy that have been marginalized include women, the poor, people from lower castes, youth, ethnic and religious
minorities, and those having low status occupations. Society is stratified in numerous ways. These and other factors combine differently according to the situation to produce a complex system of social status determination. For example, women are generally considered to be a marginalized group, however, an older rich upper-caste Sinhalese Buddhist woman will have considerably more power and influence than a young, poor, lower-caste Tamil-speaking Muslim man. The complexity of social stratification complicates the determination of who can legitimately represent a particular group, making it virtually impossible to achieve accurate and full representation of all marginal groups (Young 1993, 148 - 149). It is an ideal to be strived for, however, and any efforts in that direction will be a step towards more meaningful participation in tourism planning.

Accurate and full representation is a first step, but in itself is not sufficient to achieve an equitable decision-making process. From my observations, attendance at meetings is often assumed to be synonymous with participation. If the voices of those at the table are not heard, however, then it is unlikely that their concerns and needs will be known and addressed. The structures of power within the community will seldom be automatically left at the door. For example, “women, particularly if they are from a different class, caste or community segment than the planners or their researchers, may well be very reticent about their needs because of fear of offending powerful persons as much as of negative or unsympathetic male reaction” (Young 1993, 148).

Eliminating or at least minimizing the undue influence of the more powerful participants in the planning process may not be an easy task. Encouraging the traditionally disadvantaged and less influential participants to express their ideas, putting them at ease to do so, and giving equal consideration to their ideas in decision-making can contribute to a more equitable planning process. In many cases, however, the socialization of marginal groups will be such that they may not even have a sense of having rights or needs.
In such instances,

Powerlessness not only impedes the powerless from getting their demands placed on the agenda, it often makes articulating such demands unimaginable. A first step has to be creating the conditions which enable such demands to be imagined and then expressed. (Young 1993, 148)

Achieving efficient, equitable, and effective participation of the local population in tourism planning is often very time-consuming, but the time and effort invested in the beginning to establish the necessary structures and processes – such as organizing communities and designing consultative mechanisms that work - will often result in long-term benefits (Kiss 1990, 11).

Simply getting the public involved in Kandy may not be possible if the decision-making process is perceived to be secretive and pre-determined, or if there is no sense of responsibility for the ultimate outcome; therefore, accountability and transparency in decision-making are important if people are to be encouraged to participate in planning (Hunter and Green 1995, 115).

Involving the public is not simply a way of gaining the support of the local population for the tourism planning process by “...responding to pressure groups, but (more positively) of recognizing that local people are expert in their own areas and have much to offer in the understanding of local situations and activities” (Hunter and Green 1995, 111). In the example of historical conservation,

Consultation with local communities or individuals can use local knowledge to understand the value of a site, a building or objects of cultural interest, or to get the views of the local population on ways the conservation of the cultural heritage will affect their lives. (Kiss 1990, 11)

However, de Kadt has observed that, in general, local knowledge of the specifics of tourism issues is usually lacking. This leaves the local people reliant upon, and largely at the mercy of ‘experts’ who may or may not have an unbiased stake in the outcome (de Kadt 1992, 73). It is clear, therefore, that efforts should be made to ensure unbiased information on which crucial decisions will be made, and to balance ‘expert’ opinions with the practical wisdom of local people. Because the local participants need information to base decisions upon, being well-informed could lead to a greater understanding of their community and culture, and a greater
appreciation of their heritage, culture and environment which may help develop and sustain their identity and these elements in Kandy.

There are no universally appropriate techniques for involving the local population in planning processes. Generally, a combination of different types of public involvement will provide a more accurate and representative range of input. Popular techniques include opinion surveys, individual interviews, informal preliminary interest-group meetings, consultation through formal general public meetings, and active participation of individuals in idea generation sessions and on advisory committees dealing with specific issues. Mowforth and Munt (1998) stress that the techniques chosen should not be so radically different from traditional forms that the participants question their utility, but they should be chosen with the intent of maximizing participation. For example, in Kandy, public meetings are a common tool for involving the general population. These meetings are often held in the evenings, which precludes the participation of women. Scheduling meetings during the day and arranging appropriate free childcare can facilitate - although not guarantee - greater participation by women.

The degree of involvement of the local population and of external control in planning can range from manipulative participation, in which virtually all of the meaningful decision-making power lies outside of the local community, to self-mobilization, in which the local community has power and control over all aspects of planning and implementation. A detailed typology of participation has been developed by Jules Pretty (see Table 4). Much as full-scale community-based planning would have its advantages, Mowforth and Munt point out that it could also face very real limitations such as lack of resources, skills, finances and access to beneficial extra-local networks and infrastructure (1998, 242).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Characteristics of each type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Manipulative participation</td>
<td>Participation is simply a pretence: 'peoples' representatives on official boards, but they are unelected and have no power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Passive participation</td>
<td>People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened: involves unilateral announcements by project management without any listening to people's responses; information shared belongs only to external professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Participation by consultation</td>
<td>People participate by being consulted or by answering question: external agents define problems and information-gathering processes, and so control analysis; process does not concede any share in decision making; professionals under no obligation to account for people's views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Participation for material incentives</td>
<td>People participate by contributing resources (eg. labour) in return for food, cash or other material incentive: farmers may provide fields and labour but are not involved in testing or the process of learning; this is commonly called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Functional participation</td>
<td>Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs: people may participate by forming groups to meet project objectives; involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents; at worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Interactive participation</td>
<td>People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals; the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and use systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Self-mobilization</td>
<td>People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems: they develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use; self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Self-mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power</td>
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</table>

Hunter (1997) states that a balance is needed between the responsibilities of government and the rights of individuals and groups. This may mean that different levels of community involvement are more appropriate to different issues and at different stages in tourism planning decision-making (Hunter 1997, 864). The literature indicates that tourism planning in Kandy would be more effective if the local residents have a voice in, contribute to, and have control over the decisions that will affect their lives.

The Planning Method

It is generally accepted that effective planning will bring about desired outcomes; therefore, it is important to invest time and effort into establishing a fair and appropriate process before undertaking decision-making. A thorough, well thought-out and methodical planning process may seem time consuming and frustrating, but the ultimate outcomes will be more creative and richly satisfying than those outcomes of a more haphazard approach. A proper planning process is comprehensive, and allows for full consideration of pertinent elements and impacts based on a firm understanding of issues. Prior to beginning, the method for achieving an efficient and effective planning process should be discussed and agreed upon by the stakeholders.

When deciding on specific mechanisms to be used, it is generally acknowledged that individuals come to the planning process with different communication styles and levels of comfort. An effective planning process will be flexible enough to accommodate these differences. In tourism planning for Kandy, factors influencing communication style and level of comfort include such things as caste, class, religion, gender, age, ethnicity plus personal differences, and may be complicated by a combination of these factors. Establishing an atmosphere that is comfortable for all participants may facilitate more open participation. Communication that is based on mutual respect can provide a safe environment for the expression of ideas, but it should not be so polite that useful critiques of ideas are withheld. Active voluntary
participation within a process free of coercion and harsh criticism and not dominated by any one individual or group, can result in the open and creative expression of ideas and lead to effective problem solving and desired outcomes.

Decision-making by consensus may help to maintain the support for planning of those involved in the process. It is not always possible to achieve consensus, and in order to avoid unnecessary conflict, in such cases it may be necessary to fall back on a previously agreed upon alternate form of decision making. Using a majority vote to determine decisions may not be the best alternative. Voting often tends to take place prematurely, before all concerns and issues are on the table. In some situations, it may be used by the majority to override the concerns of minorities. Consensus takes more time, cooperation and creative thinking to achieve, but coming to agreement on an issue can result in less conflict and increased support for the process and its outcome in the long run. Time, energy and resources should still be used efficiently, but not at the expense of valuable input and discussion.

Periodic reflection and evaluation of the process, with the identified goals in mind, can help ensure that the process is comprehensive and remains on track. A flexible process will allow for iteration to any step in the process whenever necessary in response to new information, ideas or changing circumstances. By considering the means of implementation, constraints and opportunities throughout the process, the outcome will be more realistic to achieve and feasible to implement. An effective, efficient and fair process that brings about the desired outcomes can inspire confidence and strengthen support in the planning exercise, thereby decreasing resistance and facilitating further planning.

A number of authors have proposed a process of sequential steps that can be used in planning (Boothroyd 1991; Boothroyd and Eberle, 1990; McIntyre 1993; Inskeep 1991). These sequential steps may be useful for planning tourism in Kandy at any level, be it small community-based projects, municipal-level policy creation, or broader integrated and coordinated programs. The following process is a useful, logical, straightforward method which, if followed in sequence with
everybody on the same step at the same time, can lead to creative, consensual and realistic plans and can achieve desired change.

Step 1: *Identify the task at hand.* This simply ensures that everyone is clear about what it is that is being planned, and helps to avoid any later frustrations from misunderstandings on this point. All that is usually necessary at this step is a quick and straightforward statement followed by any needed clarification.

Step 2: *Identify the goals to be achieved by the planning process.* All of the general aims are clearly and concisely established at this point. For example, the goals for tourism planning in Kandy should include the overall desired results in terms of minimizing negative effects and maximizing the benefits. These can be specific or general, but must be confined to end results, and should not, at this step, include any means of achieving those ends. These goals may conflict, but these contradictions will be balanced later in the process when negotiating necessary trade-offs. Clearly defined goals, which are understood by all of the participants, give the planning process its necessary focus and direction.

Step 3: *Identify and analyze opportunities and constraints.* This stage involves the gathering and compiling of all relevant information. For planning specific projects, for example developing strategies for addressing tourism-related drug use in Kandy, the research necessary will not be as extensive as that needed for a higher level comprehensive planning process. In the latter case, research and analysis will be needed regarding all aspects of tourism including its evolution, its specific and unique elements, and impacts (as discussed in chapters two through four). A thorough analysis of the opportunities and constraints for overcoming problems and reaching community goals is crucial to developing strategies and approaches that are creative, effective and realistic.

Step 4: *Generate specific concrete ideas for action to achieve the goals.* These ideas for

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11The terms 'goals', 'objectives' and 'aims' are sometimes differentiated, but will be used interchangeably here.
strategies, projects and general action are informed by the information gathered and are focussed on the desired end results. At this stage it is important that the generation of ideas be uninhibited and free of analysis or criticism. In allowing free thought to flow, ideas that might not be useful in themselves may spark other creative and more effective ideas, which can in turn generate yet more useful ideas. Stopping to analyze ideas at this step can stunt this creative process and discourage people who may fear criticism from introducing ideas that could ultimately be useful. This method is called ‘brainstorming’ and it encourages people to be “intellectually cooperative and mutually reflective” (Boothroyd 1991, 8).

Step 5: Assess the ideas that were generated for their effectiveness and efficiency in achieving the goals. At this step, those ideas that are compatible and are not mutually exclusive are then bundled into packages that together can achieve a broader range of goals. This creates a more manageable set of choices or alternatives that can be more easily evaluated. Finding a set of ideas that can achieve all of the goals, or a ‘win-win’ situation, is most desirable and should be strived for. When this is not possible, trade-offs will be necessary in the degree to which different aims are met. Often at this step, in the process of organizing and evaluating alternatives, further ideas for ways to achieve the goals will be generated. These ideas should be welcomed and incorporated.

Step 6: Decide on and prioritize action. Decisions need to be made regarding where combined efforts will best be put to use and in what order they should occur, keeping in mind constraints and opportunities, and the end goals to be achieved. Implementation of ideas takes place at this stage. Gradual implementation for tourism development will allow for the local population to become familiar with the projects and programs, adapt to any changes, and learn how to participate in its benefits. Gradual change also allows for proper monitoring and provides ample opportunity to make adjustments that may be needed to achieve the goals.

Step 7: Establish methods for monitoring and evaluating the actions undertaken. During implementation, unforeseen problems may occur which prevent the achievement of goals. Ongoing monitoring and evaluation is necessary in order to identify problems before they become unmanageable. Once problems are detected, remedial measures can be taken to put
implementation back on track. If crucial circumstances change, such as market trends or volume of visitors, it may be necessary to make adjustments to the original ideas in order to ensure that goals are met.

Monitoring and evaluation depend upon the identification of specific indicators and the availability of appropriate and comparable data. Information gathered in Step 3 provides the base against which progress towards achieving goals can be measured. The more accurate and comprehensive the data, the more effective the evaluation and monitoring will be. Gathering and analyzing information can be expensive and time-consuming. Kandy is fortunate to have approximately sixty research organizations (Informant 11), including the Institute of Fundamental Studies and the University of Peradeniya, which may be encouraged to participate in tourism-related research. Reisinger recommends that priority be given to conducting periodic surveys of international tourists to determine their expectations and levels of satisfaction with all elements of tourism because it is crucial to have satisfied visitors in the current highly competitive global tourism industry (1997, 132). Likewise, it is also important to understand the domestic tourist market in order to develop elements of tourism in Kandy that will appeal to Sri Lankans as well.

Also important is regular monitoring of the environmental, economic, social, and cultural impacts of tourism, assuming that these are identified as areas of concern related to the goals. Knowledge of the number and characteristics of tourists is important in determining whether marketing is effective and whether the volume of tourism is nearing the limits that the area can support. In order to compare the various stages in tourism development, it would be useful to establish a data bank of tourism-related information.

Planning is not a single event. It is a continuous, cyclical process of establishing strategies and projects for implementation, evaluation, and information gathering which leads to new understandings, adjustment, and identification of new opportunities for achieving goals. Establishing an equitable, participatory and straightforward planning process at the outset of tourism planning for Kandy can contribute to the effective achievement of an improved quality of life for the local population.
CHAPTER SEVEN:
APPROPRIATE TYPES OF TOURISM AND MARKETING FOR KANDY

Different types of tourists will have different impacts on the destination and its population, and will require different types of facilities and infrastructure. One of the first steps in planning for tourism is to determine the types of tourists that will be most compatible with the local population, will most appreciate the attractions and characteristics of the destination, and whose lifestyles as tourists will best coincide with the principles and goals established for tourism development.

Any tourism activity will have some impacts in a region, but not all types of tourism will have the same impacts. The lives of residents of Kandy may be enriched by tourism and the tourism industry can remain viable into the future by selecting forms of tourism that bring more environmental, social, cultural and economic benefits than harm to the local community. Selective marketing can then target tourists who will gain the most from their experience of Kandy’s particular attributes, will be respectful of social and cultural traditions, and will be aware of and concerned about the impact of their presence and behaviour. The advantages of ‘alternative’ tourism (independent, South Asian, domestic and special interest tourism) are argued below.

The Package Tourist versus the Independent Traveler

Carrying capacity, in the context of tourism, is the maximum level of development or number of tourists that a particular area can absorb without resulting in serious and irreversible social, economic and cultural problems, damage to the environment, pressures on infrastructure, or decline in the quality of the visitors’ experience (WTO 1994, 15). It is extremely difficult, and perhaps impossible, to calculate the exact carrying capacity of an area (McMinn 1997), but estimating what is acceptable in terms of absolute limits is an important exercise in the process of
planning indefinitely viable tourism development in Kandy.

The tourism carrying capacity of Kandy will depend not only upon the volume of tourism traffic, but also the type of tourists that visit. Although there is a wide variety and range in types of tourists that visit Kandy, the respondents in the tourism industry in Kandy generally divide foreign tourists into two distinct categories: independent travelers and package tourists. Below is a summary of the impacts of these two types of foreign tourists as discussed in chapter four.

In general, package tourists stay only one or two nights, see very few of Kandy's attractions, interact minimally with the local population, and gain little appreciation of the culture. The local population benefits little from cultural learning due to their minimal interaction with the package tourists, yet residents of Kandy experience the effects of negative social, environmental and cultural impacts. Package tourists spend a considerable amount of money for their vacation, only a small portion of which actually benefits the local population of Kandy. These financial benefits generally line the pockets of the already financially well-off, reinforcing social structures of economic inequality. An individual package tourist has a more negative impact on the environment than does an average local resident.

Independent tourists, although generally on smaller daily budgets, tend to spend a longer period of time in Kandy and could potentially spend more time if enticed to stay. Their overall spending may not be as substantial as that of package tourists, but virtually every rupee spent by independent tourists stays in the local economy, thereby resulting in greater economic benefits overall. In general, independent tourists are more interested in interacting with local people and in gaining an understanding of the local culture and history. Their impact on the environment is considered to be comparable to that of local residents. They also tend to have a greater interest in environmental preservation and cultural conservation. Because independent tourists patronize establishments of a smaller scale, their spending generally benefits a larger number of locals from lower and middle economic classes, thereby leading to a more equitable distribution of economic benefits.
When the average impacts of the foreign independent and package tourist are compared, the overall economic benefits are similar; however, it is believed that the amount of money that stays locally is greater for the average independent tourist. Other positive impacts of the independent tourist are also greater than those of the package tourist. Plus, the negative impacts of an independent traveler are substantially less than those of a package tourist. In the final analysis, this means that the city of Kandy can viably absorb a greater number of independent tourists than package tourists without exceeding limits of carrying capacity and with greater overall benefits accrued. A local strategy for tourism planning should, therefore, be geared towards independent travelers in order to maximize the benefits and minimize the negative effects of tourism in Kandy. It is important, however, to keep in mind that even the most non-invasive forms of tourism will have impacts and, therefore, will have limits to the volume of tourists that Kandy can support.

By tapping into global tourism trends, the tourism industry in Kandy could improve its future viability. In recent years interest has been growing globally in types of travel that provide alternative experiences to those of sun, sand and sea offered by mass tourism. People worldwide are increasingly wanting to actively engage in experiences in which they can develop specialized interests in such things as history, architecture, culture, wildlife, festivals, performing arts, archeology, religion, and outdoor recreation, to name a few (Inskeep 1991, 13-14). Kandy is ideally suited for this type of tourism as it offers a broad range and richness of just such opportunities.

Krippendorf (1987) characterizes this type of 'post-industrial tourist' as being "motivated by a search for fulfillment in all of life's sectors which includes broadening one's horizons, learning and communication with other people, a return to simpler things and nature, a creativity and open-mindedness and a readiness to experiment" (37). A small portion of this tourism is undertaken in the package tour format of luxury hotels, air-conditioned tour buses and little contact with locals. Generally, however, post-industrial tourists are more likely to be interested not only in pursuing their specific interests, but also tend to choose to interact more closely with
locals and experience the culture directly. Most post-industrial tourists arrange their travel independently and stay in guesthouses or with local families. Kandy has a broad range of well-established small-scale accommodations, ideally suited to this type of tourist. Some guesthouses have already begun to cater to special interest travelers such as bird-watchers, academics or history buffs. By encouraging and supporting these types of accommodation as a central component in tourism planning, Kandy can cater to the post-industrial tourist.

The global post-industrial tourism market is large and growing. Krippendorf (1987) estimates that it will constitute between thirty and forty-five percent of the tourism market worldwide by the year 2000. Because Kandy has the resources, facilities and attributes to cater to this alternative tourism, and because this tourism tends to be undertaken independently - and thus has the impacts of general independent travel discussed above – tapping into this global market would be in keeping with the established principles and goals of tourism planning for Kandy.

Shifting the focus in tourism development to target independent travelers rather than package tourists holds several potential advantages for Kandy. Because independent travelers tend to be looking for an ‘authentic’ experience, expensive and luxurious facilities are generally not desired. The types of tourism facilities in demand for independent tourism tend to be small-scale, locally owned, low-cost and modest. These require lower capital investment from entrepreneurs, meaning that people of lesser economic means can invest and benefit. This can potentially lead to a wider and more equitable distribution of economic benefits accrued through tourism, thereby reducing economic disparities among the residents of Kandy. Government infrastructure expenditure needed for developing independent tourism is also less extravagant and expensive than that demanded by package tourists (de Kadt 1992, 72). Because independent tourists integrate much more into the local society, the infrastructure provided for independent tourism is

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12 This figure is supported by examples of growth in new forms of tourism given by Mowforth and Munt (1998, 99).
of a type that will also benefit domestic tourists and the local population.

During downturns in the tourism industry - as have been frequent in Sri Lanka and may occur again in the future - the facilities and infrastructure developed for independent foreign travelers can be easily adapted for other uses. Smaller scale tourist accommodations are also more resilient in times of industry downturn than large hotels because they have lower overhead, lower debt ratios and generally do not depend entirely upon tourism for their income (Informant 15). Having opted for luxury tourism, during past downturns in the industry in Sri Lanka, it was found to be virtually impossible to convert deserted tourist facilities because they were too lavish, energy dependent and costly to maintain (Richter 1992, 37). Local level, smaller-scale development geared to independent travelers also presents the opportunity for greater local public involvement in tourism development, which could potentially result in greater social equity, and tourism that is more appropriate for the local context than that controlled by external investors.

November to March is the high tourist season in Sri Lanka - that is when foreigners with one-to-two week winter vacations travel, usually on package tours. Independent tourists tend to be on longer journeys within which Sri Lanka is one destination of many; therefore, seasonal variations in their visits are less pronounced. Attracting a larger percentage of independent tourists would mean that the magnitude of seasonal fluctuations in tourist arrivals would decrease, and would result in a more stable industry throughout the year.

This would translate into more constant incomes for those directly and indirectly involved in the industry. Tourism then could become viewed as a profession and not merely as temporary employment, and employers would be better able to find and keep staff. Training and capital output would become more solid and worthwhile long-term investments. With decreased seasonal fluctuations, it would become more lucrative for local suppliers to increase their production because the demand by the tourism sector would remain relatively stable. Backward linkages to the economy could potentially become strengthened as other sectors receive more permanent and stable economic benefits. This could result in more locally available products and
less reliance on imports. In addition, when the number of tourists visiting an area is more evenly distributed throughout the year, environmental problems related to overloading of the infrastructure and overuse of facilities and attractions during the peak season may be avoided (WTO 1994, 34).

Independent tourism and post-industrial tourism may be much more compatible with and less damaging to Kandy’s society, culture and environment. This does not mean, however, that there is no room for improvement to the facilities that currently cater to independent tourists, and neither does it mean that package tourism and its luxury facilities should be abandoned altogether. In Kandy, much investment has already been placed into the facilities that cater to package tourists; investment that would be lost were package tourism to be abandoned altogether. Just as it has not been wise for the central government to focus overwhelmingly on package tourism, it would also be unwise to limit the potential market for Kandy to only independent travelers. Although independent tourism is growing globally, not everyone prefers this type of travel: package tourism will continue to constitute the majority share of the global tourism market (France 1997, 5; Hunter and Green 1995, 47; Butler 1992, 44). An acceptable balance between independent and package tourism must be found in order to ensure that the tourism industry in Kandy will not collapse if one type of tourism were to decline in popularity.

Package tourism and its facilities, although they tend to have considerable negative impacts, are not completely without merit, and do hold potential for change in a direction that is more beneficial and less damaging. The large enterprises associated with package tourism often offer more rewarding and challenging employment than do smaller-scale operations associated with independent tourism. The jobs in large hotels, for example, often offer skills training, higher rates of pay, advantageous working conditions and employment benefits plus opportunities for advancement. Sinclair also notes that these opportunities tend to benefit more of the previously disadvantaged groups than do those opportunities provided by smaller enterprises which can often incorporate patriarchal relations of production and reinforce traditional patterns of social inequity.
in power, status and rewards (1997, 233).

Although it seems to be true that, on average, package tourists are less concerned with their environmental, social, economic and cultural impacts than are the independent tourists (Cater and Goodall 1997, 87), it must be recognized that there are always exceptions. In fact, ethical concerns regarding tourism impact, particularly in terms of the environment, are becoming more widespread. At the same time, however, “the trend towards indulging in pleasure and enjoyment and living life to the full continues virtually undiminished” (Muller 1997, 32). In light of this, it is unlikely that those accustomed to luxury will opt for more ‘rustic’ travel alternatives. Luxury accommodations will remain in demand. Travel agents and package tour operators are beginning to recognize this trend and are marketing tours as ‘eco-friendly’ so as to satisfy the package tourist with concerns for the environment. Often times, the marketing does not coincide with the product, a fact that does not escape the notice of the tourist and does not please them.

In the interest of tourist satisfaction, and in order to improve the balance between negative and positive environmental, social and cultural impacts of tourism in Kandy, several alterations to package tourism can be made. Reisinger recommends a few simple changes:

Less rigid travel arrangements that would give tourists more discretionary time and opportunity to interact with native hosts, group activities that would assist in reducing cultural distance between tourists and hosts, and smaller size tour groups that would give more independence should be offered to tourists. (Reisinger 1997, 133)

Despite a continued need for some package tourism in Kandy, over reliance on this type of tourism within a more planned and controlled socially, environmentally, and culturally sensitive form of development should be avoided because:

Desirable objectives such as gradual growth, indigenous tourism, local production, and appropriate marketing, for example, may add up to little more than a signal to tour companies to shift their own promotion to other countries where there is less government intervention and the possibility, therefore, of greater profits. (Lea 1988, 75)
South Asian Tourists

Targeting foreign tourists from South Asia may also be a good planning strategy because they may have a less damaging impact upon the host culture than tourists from ‘Developed’ countries. They are also more likely to be accustomed to the level of standards and types of amenities common within Sri Lanka, are “less likely to demand luxury accommodations and are more likely to come in larger numbers because of proximity and convenience” (Richter and Richter 1985, 209). Also, tourist arrivals from South Asia vary little throughout the year (CTB 1997, 17); therefore, by increasing the number of South Asian foreign tourist, seasonality of the tourism industry in Kandy can be reduced.

Domestic Tourists

Recognizing the value of the domestic tourism market and catering to it could contribute to the achievement of the ultimate goal of long-term viability of the tourism industry in Kandy. Although domestic tourism does not bring foreign exchange into the country, it does offer a number of other benefits. Domestic tourism is a stabilizing force for the industry. While foreign tourist numbers drop due to changes in airline schedules, international marketing or international tourist trends, domestic tourism remains unaffected (Richter and Richter 1985, 208). Domestic tourism is much less affected by politically unstable conditions than international tourism is (Kamp 1995, 146). The volume of domestic tourism tends to remain fairly steady throughout the year compared to the highs and lows of international tourism. One indicator of this is found in the number of guest nights in graded accommodation establishments in Kandy. In 1997 the month with the highest number of foreign guest nights was 156% greater than that of the lowest month, while for domestic guest nights it was only 88% higher (see Figure 16). Lower seasonal fluctuations result in a more economically stable tourism sector.
In general, the impacts of domestic tourism are similar to those of independent travelers. Domestic tourists tend to patronize local establishments and have social, cultural, and environmental impacts similar to those of the local population. A large number of domestic visitors to Kandy stay with friends, but many – particularly the business travelers - also stay at the smaller local hotels. The amount of money that a domestic tourist will spend in Kandy is often considerable, in fact a representative of the Kandy Hoteliers Association commented that “The local tourist is often underestimated: they often spend more money than foreigners do” (Informant 5). The benefit of inter-cultural learning when foreign independent travelers interact with locals does not occur with domestic tourism; however, studies have shown that a strong domestic component to a country’s tourism industry can foster national integration and a sense of national pride (Richter and Richter 1985, 208). Further development of the domestic component
of the tourism industry for Kandy would have many advantages, especially given the unresolved ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka which may severely cripple the foreign component of the industry again in the future.

Kandy is already a popular destination for domestic tourists, especially during festivals and religious holidays. Using visitor figures from the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens as a general indicator of visitor numbers to the Kandy area, it appears that the number of domestic tourists is more than seven times that of foreigners. This sizeable segment of the market has been virtually ignored in the central government’s tourism development strategies. The very lack of data on domestic tourists is an indicator of the degree to which it has been overlooked.

Not only are domestic tourists not catered to, but also in the case of the requirement of guesthouses in Kandy to take only foreigners, it could be perceived that domestic tourists have actually been discriminated against. This policy was intended to discourage prostitution activities in the guesthouses, but I doubt its efficacy and suggest that it be reconsidered in order to make the more affordable small-scale accommodations available to the domestic tourist. Allowing domestic visitors to stay in guesthouses would also increase the earnings of the operators. The hotels have been able to capitalize on the domestic component of the market, and are able to increase their low season incomes by offering a lower local rate for Sri Lankans at that time (Informant 5). Guesthouses could also benefit from this opportunity to decrease seasonality in their income if allowed to accept domestic tourists. In addition, having domestic and foreign tourists stay at the same accommodations would also increase the opportunities for cultural learning to occur – a valuable benefit of tourism.

**Tourism Marketing**

Marketing is a crucial component of the tourism industry. In Sri Lanka, the Ceylon Tourist

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13 As mentioned above, in 1997 the Botanical Gardens recorded 163,494 foreign and approximately 900,000 domestic visitors (Peradeniya Botanical Gardens Library).
Board (CTB) has been solely responsible for the marketing of the country and its destinations overseas and domestically. Due to the limited resources at its disposal and a decline in tourism as a result of political unrest, the CTB has been unable to fulfill its marketing role (WTO 1994, 201). Its limited efforts have been deliberately aimed at affluent foreign package tourists. Because the central government has not yet recognized the advantages of ‘alternative’ tourism - a term which will be used to include independent, South Asian, domestic and special interest tourism - there have been few efforts made to target these types of tourists in its marketing campaigns. The recent UNDP Tourism Master Plan (1993) also overlooks the value of alternative tourists. Instead, it recommends targeting higher spending tourists and emphasizes the development of facilities for foreign package tourism.

In general, the purpose of marketing is to inform prospective tourists about a destination’s attributes, and to entice them to visit. Marketing may be a useful tool in reducing the negative effects of large seasonal fluctuations by encouraging tourists to visit throughout the year. It can also be successful in increasing the average time visitors spend at a destination by persuading people to book longer-than-usual holidays. Through the provision of information about the full range of attractions and activities at a destination, marketing may also entice visitors to extend their stay once they have arrived. In these ways, marketing is essentially used as a tool for increasing the volume of tourism with the intention of increasing tourism’s benefits to the host destination. Increasing the volume of tourism, however, may also result in an amplification of negative repercussions; an important point often overlooked in the narrow sighted drive to increase economic gains.

Appealing to the Appropriate Type of Tourist

Because different types of tourists will have different impacts, selective target marketing of the appropriate type of tourist can contribute to the benefits of tourism in Kandy while limiting the costs to the host population. It has been established above that the types of tourists that have
the least detrimental effects and the most benefits overall in Kandy are alternative tourists. However, it must be noted that not all of the tourists that fall into these categories will be environmentally, socially and culturally responsible. For example, it is possible that an independent traveler with a special interest in the local culture might choose to stay at an expensive hotel that overuses resources without regard to environmental repercussions, or a domestic tourist might choose to partake in drug and prostitution activities. This may be avoided if Kandy is marketed in a manner that appeals to not only the general categories of tourists, but even more specifically to those tourists who will be concerned about their impacts on the local population and environment. In this way the benefits can be maximized and the costs to the local population may be minimized.

By establishing a tourism marketing committee for Kandy that represents a full range of relevant expertise and interests of the local community, creative and appropriate promotion strategies may be developed. The committee could include individuals with expertise in marketing and with expertise regarding the particular attributes and attractions of the city, representatives from relevant government bodies and private sector associations, and interested members of the public. One informant suggested that the creative ideas of the local population could be maximized through contests such as the best marketing slogan, photos of the city, descriptive writing, or artistic representations of Kandy (Informant 3). Public involvement in the development of marketing strategies can provide residents with the opportunity to ensure that the culture is being represented accurately and in a manner that meaningfully presents those aspects of the culture and history that reflect the unique Kandyan identity.

The participants of the tourism planning workshop recognized the limitations of strictly localized promotion efforts and, therefore, decided that collaboration between a Kandy tourism marketing committee and the Ceylon Tourist Board (CTB) would be the best approach, and one that could benefit both parties involved. This strategy is also recommended by the World Tourism Organization as an effective method of tourism promotion (WTO 1994, 47). The CTB’s
efforts could be enhanced and their workload reduced by cooperating with a Kandy tourism marketing committee. In return, the committee could have access to the CTB’s resources, including expertise and established domestic and overseas promotion networks. For example, the marketing committee could update, modify and produce new brochures, maps and pamphlets and assume responsibility for the Kandy page on the CTB website - which is currently only one paragraph in length.

In order to contribute to the goals of tourism development in Kandy, marketing strategies could be established for maintaining the desired rate of growth, minimizing seasonal fluctuations in the industry, and ensuring that Kandy’s tourism carrying capacity is not exceeded. Privately owned transportation and accommodation enterprises in Kandy may offer discounted rates during the low period to help reduce seasonal fluctuations, a marketing strategy which has already met with some success. In the tourism planning workshop held in Kandy, participants stated that offering discounts for holders of International Student I.D. cards may help attract youth who tend to travel independently and usually prefer a direct experience of the local culture. It was also suggested that the promotion of ‘working holidays’ might attract individuals who are interested in the well-being of the local community and whose stay will have beneficial outcomes. The tourism planning literature provides numerous other examples of useful marketing strategies - which generally fall into the categories of advertising, publicity, public relations, and incentives - that may be adapted to the needs of tourism development in Kandy.

Statistical information gathered by the Ceylon Tourist Board can provide a starting point for understanding current and future general tourism trends for the country, but additional research may be needed to determine global trends and those trends specific to tourism in Kandy. Extensive research is necessary in tourism planning, as has been demonstrated in many
developing countries where

...marketing is sometimes undertaken without the necessary rigorous, in-depth research to guarantee its effectiveness. This can lead to ineffective policies, as the authorities tend to expect the market to accept their offerings rather than analyzing the market in order to shape the country’s products and policies to meet the ever-evolving demands of international tourism. (Nuryanti 1992, 5)

The segment of the market that prefers to travel in order to pursue their specific interests in such things as history, culture, religion, or the natural environment is growing. Kandy’s attributes are ideally suited to appeal to this type of tourist. By attracting tourists that are interested in what Kandy already has to offer, tourism development would be less disruptive to the local population and would require lower capital investment than for tourism development that requires major alterations. This market segment may be attracted through a promotional campaign that highlights the city’s unique and relevant features.

Increasing numbers of visitors are also becoming concerned with their impacts on host destinations and are looking for the type of travel that will allow them to minimize the adverse impacts of their presence. To some extent, this is available in Kandy at the present, and will certainly be more prevalent with successful implementation of development that provides opportunities for low-impact tourism. The image to be conveyed through marketing must be accurate and honest: it cannot promise amenities, attractions, facilities and responsible business practice unless they already exist (Gunn 1994, 76). If Kandy were misrepresented, tourists could potentially be disappointed with their stay and then advise others to not visit. It could also result in “…unfavourable publicity in the public media of the market source countries” (WTO 1994, 47), which could be devastating to the local industry.

Global trends in tourism that are compatible with the general goals of tourism planning in Kandy can be effectively captured through effective promotion. For example, “the populations of many of the major market countries are aging, and the senior citizen and retired persons tourist market is becoming a substantial one” (Inskeep 1991, 13). This is a growing potential market that may be compatible with the goals of tourism in Kandy. Retirees can travel throughout the year
and “often prefer the less congested destination environments that are available during the low season” (WTO 1994, 28). Therefore, targeting older tourists during the low season would help to reduce seasonality. Retirees also tend to have more flexible time frames, which means that they would generally be able to stay longer than the average tourist whose length of stay is limited by allotted vacation time. Appealing to an older market segment may be an approach that could help achieve the goals of tourism in Kandy. This would require facilities and services to be developed that accommodate the particular needs common among older people. If not appropriately catered to, targeting retirees could result in tourist dissatisfaction. Marketing to particular types of tourists “...must, of course, be coordinated with corresponding changes made in the tourism product of attractions, facilities and services” (WTO 1994, 46).

Information Availability in Kandy

An important aspect of marketing is the provision of information to tourists after they arrive at their destination. If information is accessible, comprehensive, accurate and meaningful then visitors may be made aware of facilities, activities and places of interest and how to find them (Inskeep 1991, 444). This could facilitate their access to these opportunities, thereby making it more likely that the visitors will take advantage of them, and more likely that the visitors will have interesting and pleasant experiences. In knowing the full range of attractions, activities and facilities available, visitors may be more inclined to extend their stay or return again to experience all that Kandy has to offer.

In Kandy, there is currently a dearth of up-to-date information regarding the city and its attractions, services and facilities. In the absence of adequate or accessible information, independent tourists are forced to rely on other sources such as street guides, recommendations from other travelers, or guidebooks. Almost every independent traveler carries a copy of the *Lonely Planet Travel Survival Kit for Sri Lanka*. The information that this guidebook provides about Kandy is not always current nor is it comprehensive. A few local people have been
consulted in the process of researching the book, but ultimately the authors control the information.

Because of the over-reliance of tourists on guidebooks, experience has shown that if a particular attraction is not mentioned in the book, then it is not widely visited, and if a guesthouse is not noted, it receives very few patrons. Such dependency on outside forces removes some of the control over tourism from the local population. By taking responsibility for providing comprehensive and quality information for tourists, the local population could regain control of this aspect of tourism marketing in Kandy. The compilation and provision of information may be accurate and comprehensive if it occurs in a collaborative fashion that includes a wide range of interested and expert individuals including members of the general public. Tourist information may also be used as a tool to achieve the established goals of tourism in Kandy through raising the awareness of visitors, a point that is discussed in greater detail in chapter nine.

One element of information provision that holds many opportunities for improvement in Kandy is the Tourist Information Centre. Its location near the Temple of the Tooth is central and accessible, but its services and information are highly inadequate. One step towards improving it may be to persuade the Ceylon Tourist Board, which operates the Centre, of the potential value of the service.

The Central Provincial Council is in the process of creating a Tourist Welcoming Centre on the outskirts of Kandy on the Colombo road which will offer tourist information, a restaurant, the sale of local crafts and entertainment. I predict that this Welcoming Centre may receive very few visitors, as its location is extremely inconvenient for independent travelers who use local transportation that takes them directly into the heart of Kandy. It seems unlikely that most travelers would consider it worthwhile to catch a bus back out to the Welcoming Centre. Package tours are also unlikely to stop because their tourists are already provided with information by the tours’ own guides. In addition, the Welcoming Centre has poor signage to notify people of its existence, and there is almost no parking space available, making access extremely inconvenient.
Thus, it seems that it may be best if the tourist information services remain at the present central location in downtown Kandy. In discussions with informants and during the tourism planning workshop, several suggestions were put forth for basic changes that could be undertaken to improve the Tourist Information Centre. A couple of large, yet unobtrusive signs could make the Centre more readily identifiable and easier for tourists to find, thereby increasing the number of tourists using its services. The Centre's hours of operation are currently only from 8:30 to 4:30 and it is closed for an hour at lunch. It is not open at all on weekends or holidays when the greatest number of domestic tourists visit the city. In order to better serve the needs of tourists, these hours of operation could be extended considerably. The World Tourism Organization also recommends that tourist information staff have good foreign language capabilities, and be knowledgeable, enthusiastic, and eager to offer assistance (WTO 1994, 48).

When I visited the Centre, it was a dark, empty, stark uninviting place. I recommend that attention be given to making the Centre aesthetically pleasing, inviting and comfortable so tourists will feel welcome and will spend the time to gather the information that they need. Improved lighting and comfortable chairs could be added. Books and posters for sale should be well displayed with the prices clearly visible for the convenience of guests.

If the free written information, such as pamphlets and maps, is made available without having to ask, tourists may be more inclined to make use of it. A key piece of free information for tourists, that is currently lacking, is a detailed accurate map of the area with the locations of all of the attractions and facilities including such things as post offices, police station, medical centres, location of shopping, bus stops, and religious institutions. Other information such as bus and train schedules, a monthly calendar of events, an accommodation guide, dining guide, local tours, and the general historical, geographical and cultural background of Kandy could also be interesting and useful for tourists. A full range of information can be communicated to tourists through brochures, professionally guided or self-guided trails or tours, books, displays and exhibits or audio-visual presentations (WTO 1994, 48). By providing comprehensive, concise
and accurate information to tourists, they will be better able to readily identify what there is to see and do in Kandy in relation to their individual interests, and will clearly understand how to get from one place to the next.

The provision of detailed information that clearly explains where an attraction is, what it is, and how to get there may instill confidence in the tourist and remove the element of the unknown which may otherwise inhibit a tourist from taking full advantage of the opportunities available in Kandy. Information provision may also help induce repeat tourism and reduce seasonality by giving the visitor a reason to return during the low season, for example, the annual ten day *Perahera* may be promoted throughout the year to entice people to return for the festival. If efforts are made to ensure that proper grammar, spelling and translation are used, then the intended meaning of the information may be retained.

Accurate and current information is important in ensuring visitor satisfaction: “If tourists are misinformed or given the wrong impressions, they are more likely to be dissatisfied than if told forthrightly about any problems so that they can anticipate them” (Inskeep 1991, 444). For example, a respondent to the tourism questionnaire expressed displeasure at not being forewarned about the noise and mess of the restoration work in the *Dalada Maligawa*. Had the tourist known in advance, it is unlikely that she would have been as disappointed with her visit to the temple. Likewise, tourists that are well informed regarding health and safety concerns are less likely to become ill, get hurt or be the targets of crime (Gunn 1994, 74; Inskeep 1991, 241).

For the sake of convenience to tourists, general information about Kandy and its attractions may be made available at other locations throughout the city such as at a small kiosk at the train station, or unobtrusively at various attractions, in hotels and guesthouses. Local people can also be an excellent resource for visitors regarding the location and details about activities, facilities, and attractions, and about the prices to negotiate for some types of transportation. An informed host population can provide information and opportunities for improved host-guest relations.

Signage is another source of information that is inadequate in Kandy. Some signs are so
weather-worn that they are illegible and ineffective. Prominently displayed clear signage is important as a marketing tool because it can attract casual passersby or indicate to a visitor the direction of an attraction and when they have arrived at their destination. It also contributes to tourist satisfaction by reducing the amount of frustration experienced when it is difficult to find a place. As suggested by a few tourists, some signs in English at the bus station would help tourists to find their way through the chaos. If signage in and around Kandy is tastefully presented in a style that is in keeping with the local culture, it could add to the unique atmosphere of the city. Care must be taken to ensure that signage is kept to a minimum, does not block views, clutter the appearance of an attraction or detract from the beauty of the natural and built environment (Gunn 1994, 74). “Often an approach applied is to not allow any outdoor advertising signs in tourism areas, but only well-designed identification and directional signs” (McIntyre 1993, 75). It was agreed upon by the participants at the tourism planning workshop that there is a need for a roadside sign upon entering Kandy to welcome visitors and indicate the city’s historical and cultural significance. The Urban Development Authority of Kandy has, in fact, proposed the construction of towers with lion’s heads at the entrances to the city (UDA 1998, 53).

Through informal interviews with tourists, many expressed that they feel they do not get their money’s worth from tourist attractions in Kandy. I believe that this is likely due as much to the inadequacy of site-specific information as it is to the actual cost of the attraction. Information is not readily available; therefore, those visitors on package tours are forced to rely on their tour-guides while independent tourists receive their information primarily from guidebooks. In both cases the information given can often be brief and general without providing detail regarding the history and significance of the site and its elements sufficient to satisfy the tourist. Ensuring the availability of more appropriate and comprehensive information is important because it could enhance the visitor’s experience, thereby making them feel that the site or activity is worth the time and money spent. It could also instill in them a better understanding and appreciation of the cultural heritage of Kandy. An appreciation of historically significant buildings throughout the
city could be enhanced with the addition of durable informative plaques outside the buildings, and could be complemented by walking tours that visit the various sites.

Some guides have been trained and licensed through the Ceylon Tourist Board in an effort to provide accurate and detailed information to tourists at specific locations. Although guides may be an excellent method of obtaining information, not all tourists care to hire a guide. At living monuments such as the Dalada Maligawa, the noise of guided tours can disturb the quiet atmosphere of the temple and disrupt local worshippers. This may be avoided if each attraction has its own brochures and books providing various levels of explanation about the site, plus explanatory plaques and signs where deemed appropriate. Nuryanti (1996) states that in providing information, it must not be assumed that objects, monuments, rituals and sites are self-evident: basic information should be given to communicate the purpose and meaning in a simple, brief and interesting manner. In the case of natural attractions, it is not enough to simply label the plants and trees with their Latin and common names. A brief description of the particular attributes and interesting details may provide an understanding of the meaning and context to the visitor.

Accurate and meaningful information can contribute to a better appreciation for the history and culture of Kandy. Understanding the context and significance of historical events can lead to an enriched understanding of the present: as visitors to historical sites, “... we are not only concerned with how things were, but also with the dynamics of how things have become what they are today” (Schouten 1992, 39). Adequate interpretation of the symbolic and religious meanings of cultural elements such as rituals and objects may give the tourist a more in-depth understanding of the each element’s cosmological meaning and relationship to other elements within the culture. Pearce (1994) asserts that without adequate information, tourists may simply perceive events or objects as ‘quaint’ or ‘pretty’ thereby trivializing their meaning and potentially leading to the commodification of sacred symbols. Inadequate understanding of rituals and objects “…also wastes an opportunity for tourists to appreciate the ethnocentrism of their own
culture" (Pearce 1994, 107). Proper interpretation may provide excellent substance for more meaningful interaction with locals by enhancing the dialogue between them and creating better cross-cultural understanding. Awareness and appreciation by tourists can in turn enhance the pride of the local population in their own heritage and culture, thereby strengthening it (WTO 1994, 35).

The tourism literature suggests that information will be most effective in broadening the visitor’s understanding when it is creative and provocative, when there is variety, novelty and surprise, when that which is being displayed or described relates on some level to the experience of the visitor, and when the visitor is challenged and encouraged to question their own assumptions (Moscardo 1996, 393; Nuryanti 1996, 253). Key techniques used to achieve this include the use of multisensory media, the element of surprise, questions, and interactive and dynamic exhibits. Visitors who become engaged with the site, event or objects through effective information will be more likely to

...enjoy their visit, express satisfaction with their visit, learn more from their visit and be interested in discovering more about a topic or place. Mindful visitors should also be more aware of the consequences of their behavior and more appreciative of the heritage site. (Moscardo 1996, 382)

When visitors are pleased with their experience, they will likely feel that they have received good value for the money spent, and may also be more inclined to make donations for the upkeep of sites.

This describes how, if undertaken appropriately, the provision of tourist information in Kandy may contribute to the achievement of the goals established in the tourism planning process, and contribute to the overall marketing strategy. The central government’s approach to tourism promotion in Sri Lanka has been to encourage package tourism because of the foreign exchange and taxes it gains, a strategy that has done little to benefit the local population in Kandy. South Asian tourists, domestic tourists and the culturally, socially and environmentally
sensitive special interest and independent foreign tourists, or ‘alternative’ tourists are the types of
visitors that tend to bring more benefits and are less harmful to the population and environment of
Kandy than package tourists. A tourism development strategy for Kandy that targets and caters to
these alternative types of tourists would be in keeping with the established principles for tourism
in Kandy, and thereby contribute to the enrichment of the lives of local residents. Foreign
package tourism could continue to play a part in Kandy’s tourism industry, but to a much more
limited extent in balance with alternative forms, and with alterations to the way in which it is
undertaken in order to make it more socially, culturally, economically and environmentally
beneficial for the local community. In devising appropriate overseas tourism marketing for
Kandy, regardless of the approach taken, a cautionary word from Crick about uncontrollable
external factors should be kept in mind:

However Sri Lanka likes to advertise herself internationally, she cannot control shifts
in consumer preferences in the affluent tourist-generating countries; she cannot control
airline routing decisions; she cannot control the price of aviation fuel which is so
critical a factor in the attractiveness of long-haul destinations; she cannot control
international exchange rates. (Crick 1994, 54)
Institutions are the structures through which planning is organized and implementation occurs. They include formal or informal private sector associations, governmental bodies, non-profit and non-governmental organizations, and community groups. A review of the tourism planning literature indicates that a crucial component of appropriate and effective tourism planning is adequate institutional capacity and coordination. Without it, even the best conceived plans might falter or fail.

Capacity refers to the ability of the institutions to deal appropriately and efficiently with tourism-related issues in achieving the goals of tourism development. As de Kadt points out, adequate institutional capacity is necessary in terms of policy implementation:

Too often policy is made, but the instruments for its management have not been put in place. If moves toward a more sustainable tourism development pattern are to be successful, attention will need to be paid to institution building in the spheres of policy management and implementation. (de Kadt 1992, 66)

A sufficient number of different types of institutions are needed to effectively deal with the full range of different issues involved in tourism. Tourism planning that occurs at a number of different levels of complexity and scale is advantageous because it can result in the availability of a greater range of support and resources from the various institutional levels (Inskeep 1991). It follows that coordinated institutional involvement in tourism planning in Kandy from upper levels of government down to the local community level would be more beneficial than isolated and fragmented tourism development.

Studies of tourism development, such as that conducted in Greece by Chiotis and Coccossis (1992), reveal that a major obstacle in achieving the goals of tourism development is the limited involvement of local institutions in local tourism development issues. To date tourism development in Kandy has been dominated by the central government. It has been effective to a
degree in achieving its own national economic goals of tourism development, but has been very top-down oriented and hierarchically organized and, therefore, has not been responsive to the needs and opportunities specific to Kandy and its population. The involvement of local private sector associations and non-profit organizations in tourism in Kandy has been limited and often dominated by the elite. This points to a need for greater institutional capacity to be developed at a local level. The establishment and achievement of locally appropriate goals for tourism could occur if existing local institutions in Kandy were to take more control over the planning and implementation of tourism, and if additional institutions are established to deal with specific tourism-related issues that are currently not addressed.

The tourism planning literature indicates that local-level institutions are necessary for reaching the scale of participation in the planning process needed to represent the concerns of the residents, and to generate ideas and methods appropriate to the local context that are most effective in achieving the established goals. The goals for Kandy, which include tourist satisfaction and economic viability in balance with a thriving cultural, social and natural environment, are not entirely congruent with those of economic preeminence held by the central government. Local institutions will be more committed to these goals given their direct stake in achieving them. Greater involvement of local institutions in Kandy could be possible if opportunities are made available for the local institutions to either take on responsibilities from upper-levels of government or coordinate their efforts in a balanced collaborative process.

Local-level institutions are limited in what they can accomplish in tourism planning without the support of the upper-level governmental institutions, which determine the direction of much of Sri Lanka’s tourism industry development. To gain that support and work effectively together, it is important that all levels and institutions share the same vision and goals regarding tourism development.

The 1993 UNDP Tourism Master Plan for Sri Lanka - adopted by the central government - recommends that the overall strategy for tourism development be one that maximizes the
economic benefits while minimizing the negative effects such as environmental degradation and social backlash. This indicates that the central government has been made aware, to some extent, of social and environmental impacts of tourism. Although the Master Plan espouses these principles, its recommendations for tourism planning are overwhelmingly dominated by economic imperatives. Environmental, social, and cultural issues are given only minimal consideration and are certainly not central to its ideas for implementation which target ever-wealthier tourists on package tours.

The central government's approach to tourism development is not compatible with that put forth here for Kandy. It is indicated in the Master Plan that there is some sensitivity to the principles of environmental consciousness, cultural enhancement, and social responsibility, but in order to gain the support of the central government, it may be necessary to raise the awareness of the officials regarding these goals for tourism planning in Kandy. This could be a daunting task, since the general approach to tourism development in Kandy advocated here is smaller in scale, targeting alternative tourists and involving greater local control - a type of tourism that does not bring the high levels of taxes and foreign exchange for the central government that foreign package tourism does. It will require the rethinking of roles and responsibilities of all parties involved and willingness on the part of the government to relinquish some of its control and work cooperatively in decision-making and implementation with other institutions.

The establishment of new roles and responsibilities for the various types of institutions - public sector, private sector or community-based - are necessary to achieve the goals of tourism development appropriate to the local context of Kandy. To be most effective, these roles and responsibilities need to be suitable to the resources, authority and level of each institution, and coordinated in a manner that is complementary, mutually supportive and avoids duplication.
The Public Sector

In determining the most suitable types of public sector organizational structures, Inskeep (1991) stresses that "...each area must be specifically evaluated as to what its particular needs and objectives in developing tourism are and which would be the most effective organizational approach to satisfy the objectives, within the context of the overall government structure" (412). In the context of Kandy, greater localized control of tourism planning would be a step towards improving the responsiveness to the needs and concerns of the local population. This would not exclude the involvement of the public sector, but would require more limited roles by some of the national level institutions and the acceptance of more extensive responsibilities by local governmental and non-governmental institutions. Fundamental changes in the public sector at the national level are unlikely to occur in the near future due to the sheer magnitude of the institutions involved and the complexity of the process required to institute change at that scale, but there are gaps and inadequacies in tourism development that provide opportunities for local level involvement and coordination.

The Ceylon Tourist Board, under the Ministry of Tourism, is responsible for providing in-country tourist information services, overseas marketing, statistics and research, and establishing industry standards and regulations. Efforts in all of these areas have been inadequate for the needs of tourism development in Kandy. This provides opportunities in these areas for appropriate local involvement in keeping with established goals whether through the public sector or other institutions.

Under the recent devolution of limited powers from the Ministry of Tourism to the newly established Provincial Councils, some opportunities have opened up for more locally appropriate tourism planning and coordination between local institutions. The Central Provincial Council, as an arm of the national government, implements the national level tourism policies and, therefore, primarily promotes tourism as an economic venture for economic gain, while neglecting to promote tourism development that is environmentally, culturally and socially sensitive. The
Department of Tourism of the Central Provincial Council has coordinated its efforts with some of the other institutions working in tourism in Kandy; however, there have been no efforts taken to involve the general public in the planning of projects or policy, activities which remain very top-down oriented. Because the devolution of power from the central government is currently underway, more opportunities may arise in the future for greater involvement of the local population. This state of transition offers an ideal opportunity for local institutions to initiate coordinated efforts in tourism planning with the Provincial Council as new roles and responsibilities are being established. The opportunity exists for setting a precedent for tourism planning that has greater local involvement, and is therefore more responsive to the needs and concerns of the residents of Kandy, and to the goals of tourist satisfaction and economic viability balanced with environmental, social and cultural well-being.

The Urban Development Authority (UDA) is a more established arm of the Sri Lankan government that exercises considerable control over general local planning processes in Kandy in line with the priorities established at a national level. It has given a great deal of consideration to environmental conservation, but as yet not in terms of tourism impacts. It has essentially overlooked social and cultural impacts of tourism, focussing its planning instead on ways to make more money from the industry.

The local residents included in the decision-making board of the UDA are from the elite of the Kandyan society and are appointed rather than democratically elected representatives. Interview informants indicated that the UDA holds considerably more decision-making power regarding planning issues than does the municipal council, which is a democratically elected body, answerable to local residents. Many informants suggested that tourism planning responsibilities for Kandy should fall more to the municipal council than to the UDA in order to better represent the concerns and interests of the local population, rather than the national government. If the UDA were unwilling to share decision-making power with the municipal council and other more locally-based institutions, the next best thing would be for the UDA to
institute more democratic planning processes involving a broader range of truly representative participants.

The Ceylon Hotel School provides excellent training for those involved in the tourism industry. Because it is also an arm of the central government, its focus has been on education for those working in expensive hotels. It is commendable that the Hotel School has recognized the need for training for others involved in the industry. If tourism development in Kandy in the future is to focus on and cater to alternative tourism, it will be important for more energy and resources to be devoted to the training of guesthouse operators, plus new workshops could be held to provide training for shopkeepers, restaurant workers, three-wheeler drivers, and others involved in the industry. An intensification of the Hotel School’s program for training and licensing street guides would provide more knowledgeable guides for special interest tourists which would offer an increased number of income-earning opportunities for local lower income groups. If the School were to have an advisory committee composed of representatives of local interest groups it could tailor its training more closely to that which is needed to achieve the goals of tourism in Kandy.

The Central Cultural Fund is doing excellent historical building conservation work through which it is contributing to the preservation and strengthening of Kandy’s cultural and religious heritage. As much of its budget comes from tourist admission receipts, the Fund is instrumental in the tourism industry’s efforts to achieve its goal of cultural enhancement. The Fund’s work could further contribute to the achievement of this principle if it were to have a function designed to incorporate input from the local population regarding the determination of what is deemed historically and culturally significant, and to discover the views of the local population on ways the conservation of the cultural heritage will affect their lives. This would provide the local population with decision-making power in identifying, retaining and adapting those aspects of the built environment which are meaningful to them and which reflect the collective distinguishing characteristics and unique identity. The World Heritage City committee partially serves this
purpose, although its membership is primarily composed of ‘experts’ and elite: there is no input received from the general local population in establishing criteria or making policy decisions.

The role that the municipal government has played in tourism development and planning in Kandy has been limited. City council is a democratically elected body representing the local population and, therefore, would be more likely to be more aware of local issues and more responsive to its electorate than the central governmental institutions. Even given its current limited role, it could potentially take the lead in environmentally sensitive infrastructure development, management with culturally and socially ethical principles, and in setting equivalent standards for all development. de Kadt recognizes the difficulties associated with tourism planning undertaken through local level government institutions, “…where the range of expertise is usually more limited and the competence of senior public servants less solid, especially with respect to the broader questions of ecological and social sustainability” (de Kadt 1992, 73). The municipality is in an excellent position to be a primary player in establishing local-level participatory planning processes, not only for tourism, but for all general planning as well. Abandoning the traditional top-down approach would require training of local government employees in participatory methods and awareness raising regarding the principles of environmental, social and cultural well-being.

**Incentives**

One of the roles of the public sector, at any level, is the provision of incentives to encourage the private sector to become involved in the tourism industry and increase the economic benefits accrued (WTO 1994, 39). Currently, substantial incentives are provided to large investors by the national government in the form of five year tax holidays for the construction and operation of large hotels, low interest loans, a capital allowance for machinery and equipment, waiving of import duty, and lump-sum depreciation tax concessions to those involved in these ventures (Ahmed, 1986b, 13). On the other hand, small-scale non-profit organizations that provide
employment but focus less on economic gain and more on social responsibility and cultural preservation do not receive any such incentives. For example, the Kandyan Arts Association, which is a non-profit organization providing employment to 153 craftspeople, and also functioning to strengthen social structure and cultural traditions is charged a full tax rate and is not eligible for any incentives (Informant 8).

Government incentives have primarily benefited the elite and have encouraged large investors from outside the region (primarily from Colombo) to be involved in the tourism industry in Kandy, removing profits from the local community. Incentives that encourage greater local ownership of tourist facilities and services could help retain the economic benefits and control of tourism in the hands of the local population of Kandy.

This would be a difficult aspect of tourism to control at a local level in Kandy because the financial resources for most of the incentives are under the control of the national government. In addition, encouraging smaller rather than larger scale development in Kandy could meet with government resistance because it would lead to a decrease in the taxes and foreign exchange earned by the national government. A locally based group could be established to lobby the central government for increased control over this issue. It could also put forth demands for requirements such as equity-hiring practices and environmental standards to be met by investors prior to receiving incentives.

A number of non-financial incentives provided to small locally-based entrepreneurs and organizations in the tourism industry have been used with some success by local level government institutions in other countries, and could be adapted to the Kandy context. These include expedited priority processing of building permits, loan applications and development applications, provision of municipal land at a moderate or no cost to small-scale entrepreneurs, waiving some or all business taxes for a specified period, charging residential rates rather than commercial rates to all guesthouses with lower capacity, and provision of training, advice and guidance free of charge to new entrepreneurs, including assistance in creating business plans that
are environmentally, culturally and socially responsible.

If it is possible for the municipality to find funds in the budget or gain responsibility for distributing those of the central government, then incentives for local ventures could include loans at low interest rates, extended periods of repayments of loans, subsidies for payments made on interest of private loans, guarantee by the government of private loans, and outright grants (WTO 1994, 43 - 44). As a way of encouraging the historic preservation of buildings, incentives could be offered to private owners in order to compensate for any extra costs entailed in complying with conservation regulations. These incentives could include taxation concessions, maintenance grants or relaxation of certain zoning regulations such as extra floor space allowances (Dix 1990, 393).

Gunn (1994) asserts that incentives and special programs to stimulate entrepreneurship are needed in tourism because it contains a large component of service businesses. In the context of tourism planning in Kandy, I suggest that the granting of incentives to local entrepreneurial activities should depend on the degree to which they contribute to the achievement of the established goals. For example, the goal of social equity could be furthered by giving priority to those ventures which provide meaningful and challenging earning potential for lower-income individuals and for those who belong to groups that have traditionally been socially marginal and have had less opportunity to benefit financially from the tourism industry, such as women. Incentives could be designed to support initiatives that pool resources in the community and develop stronger community cohesion and self-reliance, such as co-operatives or trade associations.

Support for the Kandyan culture could be enhanced through the provision of incentives for businesses and organizations that maintain aspects of the culture deemed valuable to the local population. Ventures that are environmentally responsible could also be given priority access to bank loans and grants. Pearce argues that “...where residents have the impression that tourism is in the hands of outsiders more negative attitudes will follow” (1994, 119). Thus, providing
opportunities for local ownership of tourism operations in Kandy would result in more support for the development process. Incentives that encourage local ownership of tourism facilities and services could result in the retainment of more of the economic benefits within the region (WTO 1994, 31). Support for small-scale operations, such as guesthouses, would facilitate the provision of the types of facilities and services that would cater to alternative tourists.

Disincentives can be an effective method of discouraging certain damaging forms of tourism development and minimizing the consequent negative impacts. Cater (1997) points out that when market forces are allowed to operate freely, carrying capacities are often exceeded as tourism operations externalize the environmental, social and cultural costs. Legislation and disincentives, such as appropriate fees, penalties and taxation measures, that force operations to internalize these true costs can discourage tourism businesses from operating in a manner that is damaging to the local environment, culture and society. Determination of the specific criteria, the incentives and disincentives for tourism related enterprises through a process of community participation could in itself contribute to the goal of greater social equity and cohesion.

**Policy**

Tourism policy is a set of general and specific statements related to various aspects of tourism development which define the direction to be pursued and its parameters. It is a more concrete expression of the principles and goals established in the tourism planning process (WTO 1994, 22). Without policy,

...tourism development will likely lack the cohesion and direction necessary to sustain itself over the long term. Unregulated short-term initiatives which serve the narrow interests of powerful forces in the industry may well jeopardize the sustainability and longer-term tourism potential of many communities upon which majority interests are based. (Brohman 1996, 62)

The responsibility for tourism policy generally falls to the government, which has the authority to uphold it.
Support for tourism policies by all individuals and groups involved can result in more effective implementation. In order for the implementation of policies to succeed, policy must first be perceived by policymakers as conceptually robust, defensible, and amenable to implementation. Second, the various interests involved in the implementation process must be convinced that the net outcome will be positive, or at least benign, in the longer term. Finally, the target groups – the communities affected – must be receptive to change and see the policy as a constructive response to their priorities. (Pigram 1992, 82)

Tourism policy for Kandy that is formulated and revised through an open process in which interested individuals and groups can freely express their ideas and concerns can result in considerable public support for the outcome and, therefore, greater effectiveness due to increased compliance. Not only does the local population have an inherent right to have a voice in the policies that direct development of their communities (Cater 1997), but their detailed understanding of the unique circumstances of Kandy, and of potential social, economic, cultural and environmental repercussions can help determine what policies will and will not be effective.

The Ceylon Tourist Board is responsible for most of the tourism policy throughout Sri Lanka. Because it is an arm of the national government, its policies have emphasized economic gain and have favoured package tourism. Past policies, such as ‘Operation Overstay’ and the ‘Specified Services Code’ essentially squeezed out the majority of small guesthouse operators in Kandy, thereby creating an advantageous position for the hotels and more expensive guesthouses owned and operated by the local elite and outside interests. These policies resulted in economic benefits going to the wealthy rather than to lower income individuals, thereby reinforcing and expanding the economic polarization in Kandy, a result that is opposite to the goal of social equity.

Much of the rest of tourism development in Kandy has been determined by market forces which, left to themselves, are incapable of resolving issues of equity such as the distribution of costs and benefits (Brohman 1996, 62). It is most profitable and in the best interest of private enterprise to disregard the external negative effects that their activities have on nature, culture and society. The entire local population in Kandy has had to deal with the harmful repercussions of
package tourism, while only a small portion has benefited.

The tourism planning literature indicates that state intervention through policy is necessary in order to force private enterprise to take responsibility for its external impacts, to minimize the magnitude of these impacts and to allow for a more fair redistribution of economic benefits (de Kadt 1992, 71; Cater 1997, 78). Legislation and regulations are tools used to ensure that policy is adhered to and the goals of tourism planning are met. Therefore, in planning for tourism in Kandy, the policies, legislation and regulations need to be reviewed and modified wherever necessary and possible so as to reflect the goals of socially, culturally and environmentally responsible tourism, while also ensuring economic viability and tourist satisfaction.

Because tourism policy measures are numerous and complicated, it is not possible to discuss all the policies related to tourism in Kandy. Instead, key policy areas that require consideration of their social, environmental, economic and cultural repercussions are mentioned below, along with the most pertinent general and specific suggestions for tourism policy, legislation and regulations. Tourism policy will be most effective when it is simple, transparent, unambiguous, equitable, and carries significant clout.

Social equity, a goal of tourism development for Kandy, may be furthered by establishing an overarching policy of equal opportunity in terms of employment, training and other beneficial programs in all aspects of tourism development. An equal opportunity policy would ensure that priority be given to traditionally marginalized groups in society, including women and minority groups. When it is difficult for the traditionally marginalized to gain access to institutions in the first place, an equal opportunity policy is an excellent first step (Young 1993, 152). Ultimately, however, the desired outcome of this policy would be to alter the bureaucracies and institutions in a way that makes them more responsive to the needs of these groups and brings about change in the very social structures that currently place these groups at a disadvantage.

Sri Lanka has substantial and stringent legislation and regulations concerning standards for environmental protection and management (UNDP 1993, 167). In addition, the Urban
Development Authority and Kandy Municipality have very strict criteria that must be met prior to any development being undertaken, including initial environmental assessments (IEA) for smaller projects and more extensive environmental impact assessments (EIA) for larger projects (Informant 4, 10). Environmental regulations specific to tourism facilities do not exist, other than requirements surrounding sewage treatment. Protection of the environment could be furthered through tourism development by requiring that all operations, whether private sector or government, meet established environmental standards, including limitations on resource consumption. Participation of tourism operators in the process of establishing these standards may secure their support and compliance. The tourism literature indicates that it is important to support environmental standards with such measures as the levying of fines for violations, offering subsidies where conformity would entail an unreasonable financial burden, and adding extra taxes to the prices of products to reflect their true environmental costs, such as leaded fuel and rare wood products (Briassoulis 1995; Pearce 1994; Cater 1997).

Most of the problem with environmental issues in Kandy, however, lies not in a lack of policy or regulation: “The existing legislation in the area of environmental protection if enforced rigidly is bound to minimize the present degradation resulting from tourist development schemes, very often undertaken not by the Tourist Board but by individuals” (Peiris 1993, 45). The problem lies in a lack of enforcement. For example, all development in the higher elevations on the hills around Kandy is strictly prohibited; however, holiday homes, guesthouses and hotels have been constructed in this zone because developers have been able to ‘persuade’ local government officials to allow their development applications to pass (Informant 9, 10, 17). The same is true in other aspects including IEAs and EIAs.

Kandy has very strict vehicular emissions standards and the municipality has the equipment to test emissions, yet when caught in a spot-check, most violators will find a way to ‘persuade’ the official to overlook their offense or will know someone in a position of power who can have the violation dismissed (Informant 1, 3, 6, 14, 15, 17). The result is that almost every vehicle
visibly spews large amounts of toxic emissions, with enormous detrimental impacts on the air quality in Kandy. This has health implications for the local population and is extremely distasteful for tourists, diminishing the quality of their experience. Policy, legislation and regulation are of no use if they remain unenforced. Taking appropriate measures to minimize corruption and tighten up enforcement of environmental standards in Kandy would benefit the local population directly through less harmful and more beautiful surroundings, and indirectly by improving the tourist experience, thereby enhancing the industry.

The overall atmosphere and character of the city is an important component of the tourism industry because it can contribute significantly to the tourists’ level of satisfaction with their visit. Tourism development can itself have a detrimental impact on the attractiveness of the city (Hunter and Green 1995, 27 – 33). Policy regarding the physical aspects of all development, including tourism facilities, may enhance the atmosphere and character of Kandy plus contribute to the safety and health of the visitor. A review of the tourism planning literature offers recommendations of general areas that should be addressed by policy related to tourism facilities. These areas include public health, sanitation, safety and fire codes, building codes, density and height restrictions, building setbacks, site coverage by building, landscaping, facility operating regulations, maintenance of views, parking spaces, architectural style and colour, liability laws relating to guests and their belongings, and labour and taxation regulations. Most of these issues are currently encompassed by the Kandy municipality’s zoning regulations; however, review and revision of these in light of improving the atmosphere of the city for tourism could result in a city that is more appealing to visitors and maintains the unique cultural and historic character of the built environment.

In Kandy, all development permits are reviewed by the World Heritage City Committee to ensure that they conform to established standards which are intended to maintain the historical and aesthetic value of the built environment. This contributes to the goal of cultural enhancement. It is noted in *National and Regional Tourism Planning* that overwhelming design
and economic obstacles would be counterproductive to preservation efforts (WTO 1994, 43).

According to Hunter and Green (1995), modern materials and styles are generally less costly than those used to maintain the historic character of the city, but use of them often results in 'architectural pollution' - a built environment that detracts from the vernacular architecture and cultural heritage of the city (27). Because preservation of historic architectural styles in renovation and conversion of historic buildings to new uses, and the use of traditional materials and styles in new construction will most likely entail higher costs than more modern forms, Dix (1990) suggests that compensation for the private developer may be necessary in order to offset additional expenditures that may be necessary to conform to these regulations. Currently there is no compensation of this type available in Kandy.

Regulations regarding tourist accommodation standards are a contentious issue in Kandy and, therefore, deserve particular attention. Many of the hoteliers and guesthouse operators expressed that they feel that the standards imposed by the Ceylon Tourist Board (CTB) are unnecessarily stringent and inappropriate, and ought to be reviewed. The Kandy Hoteliers Association is considering addressing this issue by persuading the CTB to review the standards and develop new regulations that are more appropriate and cover a broader range of accommodation types. As it stands, the smaller operators cannot afford to upgrade to the standards required, and are therefore excluded from the benefits of being licensed by the CTB.

Several of the informants suggested an alternative approach which would involve organizing the guesthouse operators in a manner similar to that of the Kandy Hoteliers Association, and possibly working in collaboration with the Hoteliers in an association that would voluntarily police its members, in order to establish accommodation standards that are appropriate and acceptable in the Kandy-context and would ensure the safety and satisfaction of tourists. Informants also suggested that the association could have its own web-site and could produce an accommodation guide specific to Kandy for widespread distribution.

If the benefits of registration with the municipality and inclusion in the association were to
outweigh the costs, then accommodation establishments – including those that are currently unauthorized - may be enticed to join in the process. One of the benefits may be that being registered and made known through a Kandy accommodation guide would mean that the guesthouse operators and visiting tourists would be less at the mercy of the often unscrupulous touts. It could potentially improve the guesthouses’ credibility and bring these establishments a steady stream of guests. Generally, guesthouses remain unauthorized because they wish to avoid registration fees, extra taxation, higher utility rates and the costs required to upgrade their amenities to meet standards. If fees and taxes approximately balance what the informal guesthouses would otherwise pay touts in commission, the unregistered guesthouses may be more willing to be formalized. In addition, if these operators are given a voice in the process for devising appropriate standards, they may be more likely to participate in the formal system than in the current situation in which regulations are imposed by authorities from above.

From personal experience and through interviews with tourists, it is evident that many alternative travelers prefer their accommodation to be an authentic Sri Lankan family experience. This type of accommodation requires fewer costly alterations than if catering to foreign package tourists. A full range of accommodation options can satisfy the range of interests of the alternative travelers. For example, amenities such as Western style toilets are not necessary, nor even desirable, for every traveler: a more traditional living experience of this type could be offered in a few of the lower-priced guesthouses.

In order to avoid tourist dissatisfaction with their accommodation, the types of amenities available in each category of accommodation would have to be made explicit in the accommodation guide. The decision regarding amenities would then be left up to tourists, rather than imposed on them. Although standards can be more flexible in the amenities offered to tourists, there are certain minimum health, cleanliness and safety standards that are crucial for guest satisfaction, standards which informants identified as being absent in many of the guesthouses. Meeting these requirements may entail extra costs to some operators, but
informants insisted that they would not be significant enough to be a financial burden.

All the guesthouse operators interviewed strongly suggested that low-cost training programs that offer guidance in guest service, safety and standards of cleanliness should be a requirement for all operators in order to ensure that these standards are met in all accommodations. Voluntary self-policing within a guesthouse association was suggested as a way to ensure that standards are being met. As mentioned previously, I feel that a reconsideration of the current policy excluding domestic tourists from guesthouses could lead to opportunities for the guesthouses to access the sizeable domestic tourism market. This would allow more of the smaller establishments to profit from this market segment, thereby resulting in a more equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism within Kandy.

Avoiding excessive taxation may ensure the economic viability of private tourist enterprises. Many of the informants stated that they feel that the current level of taxation in Kandy is onerous. Through conversations with tourists, many expressed that they feel the fees for attractions and the accommodation taxes they are charged are unreasonably high. Proposals have been put forth in the UDA *Kandy City Conservation and Development Plan* to charge an additional bed tax from hotels and a compulsory charge from all those tourists visiting Kandy (72 – 73). In light of the perception that fees and taxes are already too high, I believe that implementation of these extra charges may exceed the acceptable limits and result in a loss of tourism satisfaction, a decrease in the economic viability of some tourism enterprises and a loss of support by accommodation operators for the tourism planning process.

At specific sites, by limiting the volume of visitors, either in terms of absolute numbers per day, per hour, or per group, impacts of the tourist presence can be minimized at cultural attractions, particularly in terms of interference with the ritual performances of local worshippers at living monuments (Amarasekera and Navaratne 1993, WTO 1994, 37). Total prohibition of tourist entry into certain areas during particular rituals may be considered as well. Limitations on tourist volume may also be considered for the Knuckles Range and the Udawattekelle bird
sanctuary in order to limit the negative environmental impacts. Regulation of transportation facilities and services in terms of fares, licensing, safety requirements and emissions can be a step towards improving visitor satisfaction and the health of the environment (WTO 1994, 37).

Several informants in Kandy also suggested that a policy be put in place to ensure that prices of produce remain affordable for the local population, in order to reduce this negative economic impact on residents created by tourism. Numerous other tourism-related policies and associated regulations can be instituted, or evaluated if already existing, as a way of achieving an improved natural, cultural and social environment, economic viability and tourist satisfaction in Kandy.

A policy related issue and one of the most recurrent themes throughout interviews with informants was a concern about the pervasiveness of corruption on the part of government officials and politicians. Corruption may be defined as

the use of public resources for private purposes. This definition includes conventional monetary, but also political and administrative corruption. An official who uses his status, prestige and or authority for personal profit, or for the appointment of family and friends to lucrative posts, is using a public resource for private gain. This includes petty corruption (i.e. taking now and then small amounts of money) and serious, larger scale corruption (i.e. affecting development in a significant manner). (Server 1996, 24)

Informants noted that this problem is the primary cause of the ineffectiveness of policies. The establishment of additional or more stringent policies and standards will be useless if they continue to be subverted. Corruption not only inhibits development but also increases the costs of undertaking any project (Badshah 1996, 6), results in a lower income for the government, leads to poor quality construction and maintenance of public services and buildings and involves lower productivity by public servants who are turning their interest towards income supplementing activities (Server 1996, 38). If it persists, corruption can lead to a loss of legitimacy for the government, a loss in residents' confidence in the effectiveness of tourism planning and a decrease in the adherence to laws and policies by the general population.

Corruption is not generally explicitly recognized by government officials, but needs to be addressed in order for successful implementation of a tourism plan to occur in Kandy, and for the
improvements in the overall quality of life for the local population to become a reality.

Locally appropriate strategies that are cognizant of the complexities of the political and bureaucratic system need to be developed to effectively address corruption. Some approaches that have been used with varying degrees of success in other Third World countries that face similar problems include the following.\textsuperscript{14}

"The UN Commission on Global Governance has rightly pointed out that 'the strengthening of democracy and accountability is an antidote to corruption'" (Server 1996, 38): increased accountability of officials and politicians in Kandy, plus increased transparency in bureaucratic procedures may help decrease corruption. Public participation in decision making leads to increased transparency. Streamlining and speeding up the bureaucratic system can also help, as can a reduction in the delegation of discretionary decision making powers. Raising the salaries and employment benefits of public servants and providing attractive performance oriented incentives in the area of revenue collection may also be effective strategies.

**The Private Sector**

Much of the tourism planning literature recommends that as tourism develops in a region, the private sector can effectively take on an increasing role in many aspects of tourism planning and development. The balance between public and private sector involvement will vary over time and according to circumstances (Inskeep 1991, 431). Even the best environmentally, socially and culturally responsible plan, if imposed by the public sector, may not be well received by the private sector. If not involved in the planning process, private sector operators may not feel a sense of ownership of it, might view it as a barrier to business success rather than as protecting their long-term interests, and may be resistant to its implementation. Opportunities abound for the private sector to take on a greater role in tourism planning and implementation in Kandy. For example, tourism-related entrepreneurs such as shopkeepers, three-wheeler drivers, street guides,
or hotel operators could be involved in participatory planning approaches.

Private sector tourism organizations can effectively take on a greater role in the tourism industry by providing a forum for discussion and resolving common tourism-related problems, providing recommendations to the government for tourism sector improvements, providing representation on tourism planning committees, sponsoring special events, and conducting research and training that is relevant to the private sector (Inskeep 1991, 418). The Kandy Hoteliers Association is a private sector organization that has formed for the purpose of mutual support and an increased position of power in tourism planning and decision making. The strength that has been gained through organizing has allowed the Hoteliers Association to present a formidable force in negotiating with the local government for a more fair and rational tax rate than the one that was initially to be imposed. As an organized group, they are also attempting to negotiate with tour operators to allow visitors on package tours to stay longer in Kandy, and have more freedom and flexibility in their schedules during their stay (Informant 5). Such arrangements would not only mean that more money would be spent in Kandy, but it would also provide tourists with more opportunities to interact with locals and thereby reduce cultural friction and contribute to the mutually beneficial cultural learning.

The Hoteliers Association is an example of an organization in Kandy that has begun to recognize its responsibilities to the broader community and in stewardship of common resources. Its ongoing involvement in local initiatives that improve the community and clean up the environment around Kandy is commendable. Other types of tourism enterprises in Kandy would do well to follow the lead of the Hoteliers Association and create similar organizations. In terms of guesthouse operators, such organization could be difficult to achieve, given the entrenched jealousies and adversarial relationships that have grown among guesthouse operators out of the spirit of competition over the years (Informant 2, 3, 14). I believe that it may be well worth their effort, as it has been for the Hoteliers, to overlook past grievances and work together as a united

These strategies are put forth by Server (1996)
force in improving tourism and community well being, and in caring for common resources.

Tourism operators in Kandy, such as hoteliers and restaurateurs, benefit from their proximity to tourist attractions – including the built, natural, social and cultural environments - which draw visitors to the area and thus bring clients to their establishments. Hinch (1996) asserts that, as indirect beneficiaries of these resources, private sector operators have a responsibility to act as good stewards of these resources (100 - 105). Overuse or abuse of these common resources threatens not only the well-being of Kandy, but also jeopardizes the long-term viability of the tourism industry. Thus, it can be argued that it is not only the private sector operators’ responsibility to ensure the vitality of these resources, but it is also in their own best interest. One way for the private sector to be a good steward of common resources is offered by Gunn who recommends that privately owned tourist businesses that economically benefit from the tourists drawn to an area by its non-profit attractions - such as museums, temples or parks - provide a portion of their profit revenues to maintain the quality of these attractions (Gunn 1994, 436).

The manner in which private sector operators conduct business is the most significant tool that they can use to ensure the long-term viability of the tourism industry in Kandy, and consequently the viability of their own operations, plus protect the resource base and thereby contribute to the achievement of the established goals of tourism planning. Socially, culturally, and environmentally responsible business practices that further the goals of tourism planning can also bring immediate financial rewards to private sector operators. For example, increasing numbers of tourists are demanding environmentally sensitive products and services. Those operators that can offer this will attract more patrons. In the Veneto region of Italy, those hoteliers that adopted an environmentally responsible approach increased their occupancy by 15% while in the same time period the hotel occupancy in the rest of the region decreased by 25% (Wight 1994, 665 – 666). In addition, many responsible business practices can help an operation save money outright, or may require investment up front for savings over the longer term. Thus,
environmentally, culturally, and socially responsible business practices are not necessarily at odds with profitability.

The value of responsible tourism business practices has been recognized in the tourism planning literature. A frequently recommended strategy is the ‘audit’ system which involves the initial establishment of a set of specific standards and responsible business practices, or courses of action, for meeting those standards, followed by detailed periodic examinations to determine the extent to which they are being achieved. If an audit strategy is widely adopted by tourism enterprises, it could potentially lead to a reduction in the negative impacts of tourism on a destination (Hunter and Green 1995, 50).

Below is a limited set of responsible business practices, compiled from the tourism planning literature, that could be adopted to lessen the negative impacts and improve the positive impacts of private sector operations on the social, cultural and natural resources in Kandy. These are a basic starting point and may be expanded upon and modified so as to be more specific and appropriate to particular enterprises or types of enterprises. Some of these measures have already been adopted by a couple of the hotels in Kandy, and some measures are reliant upon changes to current Ceylon Tourist Board standards.

The slogan ‘reduce, reuse, recycle’ is an excellent strategy for solid waste management. The amount of a product that is used is directly proportionate to the amount of waste generated, therefore, reducing consumption of products is the first step in reducing waste. Another method is to avoid use of disposable products and instead use only those products that can be reused, such as glassware instead of paper or plastic cups, cloth instead of paper handtowels, and cloth rather than plastic laundry bags. Finding another use for products is another way of reusing. Composting food scraps and garden refuse not only appropriately disposes of waste, but also creates an excellent environmentally friendly fertilizer. Kandy does not have a formal recycling program; however, there are extensive informal initiatives that recycle products such as paper, bottles and tin cans. Using these services is easy, as the individuals stop by regularly to collect
the items. These initiatives should be encouraged whenever possible, as they are extremely efficient, environmentally responsible, and are innovative income-generating enterprises of the poor. Any waste that remains after these steps should be properly contained so that it does not contaminate the storage area or create a health hazard prior to collection.

Energy consumption may be reduced in a number of ways such as using energy efficient and well maintained appliances and vehicles, turning off equipment and lights when not in use, and replacing electric water heaters with solar water heaters, which are now manufactured in Sri Lanka (Fonseka 1991, 9). In the moderate climate of Kandy, air conditioning is not necessary and its use should be restricted. The installation of automatic power-off switches in all hotel rooms will ensure that no power is being consumed when the guest is out. By making laundering available only on request, it saves considerable power and water wasted when linens are unnecessarily washed every day. Low-flow showers and faucets can also be installed to reduce water usage. Wastewater can be recycled with the appropriate system, and the sludge from sewage treatment plants can be used as fertilizer. A chemical-free sewage treatment technology, and biodegradable cleaning products, swimming pool treatment, herbicides and pesticides can be chosen as a way of reducing pollutants. Air pollution can be minimized by using company vehicles only when necessary, consolidating trips, choosing unleaded fuel, and by rewarding staff for using modes of transport that are less polluting alternatives to the single-occupant vehicle.

If a hotel or guesthouse has promoted itself as being environmentally, socially and culturally responsible, then the type of guests it has appealed to would probably be willing to participate in the measures taken, however, they may still need to be made aware of the part that they can play in reducing their impact. The reduction of negative impacts can spread beyond the walls of the tourism enterprise if staff are made aware of the advantages of using all of these measures and are encouraged to employ them at home as well.

By giving priority in hiring at all positions to women and individuals from other traditionally disadvantaged groups, and by providing wages at a level that compensates employees well and
provides a reasonable standard of living, the goal of social equity may be advanced. If arrangements are made with social services agencies to accept excess food on a daily basis, and linens when the hotel needs to replace them, others are benefited and waste is reduced. Local cultural traditions can be supported if tourism enterprises employ local craftspeople to decorate with uniquely Kandyan designs and crafts.

The choices made in suppliers and in goods purchased also have social, cultural and environmental implications. Whenever possible, locally produced goods should be purchased, especially those that are durable and biodegradable, are made from recycled products, are an expression of the local culture, have minimum packaging, are not made from rare or endangered products, and are produced in a manner that does not disadvantage minority populations. Tourist enterprises can also further the achievement of the overall goals of tourism development by purchasing from suppliers and manufacturers that also use socially, culturally and environmentally responsible strategies.

Ideally, all institutions and private tourism enterprises would establish and regularly audit a set of responsible business practices. Since many individual enterprises may not do so of their own accord, the literature suggests that private sector organizations are well suited to formulate and enforce an appropriate set of standards and practices. As suggested above, the public sector could play a limited role in this project by providing incentives and levying fines. In the interest of gaining widespread support, however, it may be best if the impetus for establishing a system of auditing responsible business practices comes from the private sector. Hunter and Green (1995) suggest that education on the potential benefits of this type of impact amelioration is necessary. Standards and the advantages of responsible business practices could be set forth in a manual, provided through training sessions, or through a consultant who would analyze establishments and offer advice for improvements. Tourist accommodation establishments in Kandy could be given a rating following an audit of their business practices. If a local accommodation guide were to be produced, listing each enterprise’s rating would provide an incentive for businesses to
achieve a high rating. By taking a proactive approach to resource protection, private enterprises and organizations can not only fulfill their responsibilities and contribute towards the goals of tourism development in Kandy, but can also advance their own economic interests.

Non-profit Organizations and Community Groups

Likely due to the long involvement of the government in tourism development in Kandy, a prevalent attitude among residents is that the government should take responsibility for all tourism planning. During the tourism planning workshop held in Kandy, this idea was explored by local participants who came to recognize that over-dependence upon government has its disadvantages, among which are that the goals of the central government are not in the best interest of Kandy, and the convoluted bureaucratic procedures involved in getting government approval inhibit the processes of development.

Those involved in the workshop identified a need for formal and informal community groups to take responsibility for some aspects of tourism planning and development. These groups could be composed of members of the public who do not necessarily have a direct stake in the tourism industry, but who are concerned about the indirect negative effects of tourism on the quality of their lives and the well-being of the population. The establishment of such groups would be readily accepted as they would be in keeping with Sri Lanka’s long and rich history of community-based organizations and voluntary service traditions, such as shramadana and the extensive rural network of cooperatives.

There are a significant number of non-profit organizations, such as groups involved in environmental issues, poverty amelioration and women’s issues, already working in Kandy that would be ideally situated to involve themselves in tourism-related issues. The potential role of these community-based groups in tourism planning in Kandy could be three fold: to act as pressure groups which remind the government and private sector to fulfill their responsibilities in meeting the established goals; to act as advisory committees and provide community
representation in larger planning processes; and, to independently take responsibility for bridging the gaps in achieving the established goals (Inskeep 1991, 418).

Currently there are numerous institutional gaps that need to be bridged. Unaddressed issues that are best dealt with at a local level could become the responsibility of various community groups. These issues include such things as crime associated with tourism, such as prostitution, thievery, pedophilia and illegal drug use. Such activities could be effectively monitored, reported, and enforced at a community level through appropriate and creative strategies, campaigns and awareness raising. Some informants suggested that community groups may also be the most effective institution for dealing with civic responsibilities such as the problem of illegal emptying of septic tanks into waterways, improper disposal of refuse, and visual beautification of private property (Informant 3, 6, 14).

The Kandyan Arts Association is a different example of how community groups can bridge the gaps left by government and the private sector in the achievement of established tourism goals. Through its efforts, the Association ensures the authenticity and continuation of artisan traditions, and cooperative village social structures. It eliminates the economically exploitative ‘middle-man’ by marketing the products directly through its centre. The craftspeople are given a reasonable wage and are provided with social safety nets such as disability pay and pension, plus health and funeral expenses. There is virtually unlimited room for these types of associations in the tourism industry in Kandy.

“Unless the three developer sectors of tourism – governments, nonprofit organizations, and commercial enterprise – accept their planning roles, the future portends more business failures, less satisfaction by visitors, and greater social and environmental stress” (Gunn 1994, xxv). No one type of institution can fulfill all of the roles and responsibilities needed to achieve tourism development that is economically viable and ensures tourist satisfaction while enhancing the social, cultural and environmental well-being of Kandy. The creation of more local institutions and expanded responsibilities by existing institutions may provide the capacity necessary to meet
the goals of tourism development in Kandy.

**Institutional Co-ordination**

"Whatever the mix of public and private sector involvement in tourism, coordination among the various agencies and levels of government, between government and the private sector, and among private sector enterprises is an essential element of successful implementation" (Inskeep 1991, 431). Coordination between institutions involved in tourism in Kandy is minimal and insufficient at all levels. The Ministry of Tourism has devolved some of its powers to the Provincial Councils; however, the roles and responsibilities of the Department of Tourism of the Central Provincial Council are not clearly delineated and nor is it clear how they differ from those of the Ceylon Tourist Board. As a result, there is much confusion and duplication of projects and services. Various other central government departments are responsible for tourist attractions in the Kandy area, for example the Department of Archaeology manages the Temple of the Tooth, the Forestry Department is in charge of the Knuckles Range, and the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens falls under the management of the Department of Agriculture. There is no formal coordination between any of these arms of the government, or with the Ceylon Tourist Board or the Central Provincial Council. The Urban Development Authority does not adequately coordinate its tourism-related planning with the Tourist Board or the Municipality, nor with private sector associations or non-profit groups, although it does work in concert with the World Heritage City Committee that is composed of a broad range of organization representatives.

There are some instances of collaboration between a few of the local level institutions, such as the University of Peradeniya, the Ceylon Hotel School and the Department of Tourism in training guides and local guesthouse operators. Most cooperation occurs only on a project by project basis and is not sufficiently extensive, as it involves only two or three institutions at a time. I found no evidence of public involvement in any project planning or implementation, other than the occasional 'prominent member' of the community sitting on a board or committee. This
lack of established coordination between institutions in tourism planning for Kandy has resulted in duplication of services in some areas and gaps in other areas where issues have been completely overlooked. As a result, tourism development in Kandy lacks a unified vision, direction and purpose, which has resulted in development that is generally fractured, unbalanced, inappropriate for the local population and unviable over the long term.

The very nature of tourism is diverse and fragmented, involving innumerable types of activities, interests, facilities and services, the responsibilities for which are dispersed throughout various levels and sectors of government. The dominant top-down approach of Sri Lanka's national government involves the delegation of authority to artificially isolated vertical sectors, each dealing exclusively with their respective issues. Intersectoral linkages are difficult to establish in such a system because of the myopic view and very different interests and priorities of each type of professional group working in their respective sectors (Ionnides 1995, 251). Difficulties in collaborating are compounded because, generally speaking, “...those working in sectoral agencies, such as ministries and other official organizations, get few rewards for working with outsiders, intersectoral collaboration is at a discount” (de Kadt 1992, 69). Problems of coordination can be further complicated by sociocultural factors, such as ‘soft states,' patron-client networks, clan politics, and endemic corruption, all of which exist to some degree in Kandy (de Kadt 1992, 70).

Despite these obstacles, tourism planning and implementation requires coordination between the various government bodies at all levels and between all involved sectors. Cooperation should also occur between government institutions, private sector associations, and non-profit and community-based groups in order to avoid duplication of efforts and strengthen the possibility of achieving goals. Inskeep suggests that such coordination among private sector tourism enterprises and associations can help in addressing issues that involve the entire tourism sector (Inskeep 1991, 418).

Permanent coordinating bodies with full representation that meet on a regular basis are
recommended in most of the tourism planning literature. Separate bodies may also be formed for
specific issues to plan small-scale projects and strategies, and to report to and advise planning
bodies formed to approach issues at a broader integrative level. In order that balance and
diversity are maintained throughout the economy, and competition and conflict with other sectors
is minimized, it may be necessary to plan tourism within the overall goals of general development
at all levels. This kind of coordination may increase the backward linkages to the rest of the
economy by reducing the reliance on imports, increasing the use of locally produced goods by the
tourism industry, and providing more local employment (WTO 1994, 31). Tourism is so
intricately enmeshed with the elements of the urban structure that it is crucial to coordinate
tourism planning with - or include it within - general municipal-level planning processes in
Kandy. If the ultimate goals for general planning coincide with those for tourism planning, then
the two will not be working at cross-purposes. This may not always be possible: it is important
that the achievement of institutional coordination not be at the expense of the social, cultural,
economic and environmental goals of tourism planning established locally for Kandy.

Achieving institutional coordination in tourism planning in Kandy would not be without
obstacles such as time constraints, interpersonal conflicts, economic inequity, power differentials,
and resistance to redistribution of benefits and costs. Collaborative relationships between the
private sector, public sector and community groups could, however, potentially thwart
unnecessary duplication and conflict, help in setting objectives and prioritizing action within the
local industry, expand possibilities through the sharing of ideas and coordination of activities,
accelerate development and ultimately lead to a more unified tourism development and quality
experience for tourists.
CHAPTER NINE:
AWARENESS RAISING AND TRAINING FOR TOURISM IN KANDY

*Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry* (1995) indicates that providing those working in the industry with skills congruent with the goals of tourism development is an important component in progressing towards achievement of those goals. It follows that in keeping with the established goals for tourism development in Kandy, skills could be provided that lead to improved tourist satisfaction and enhancement of the social, economic, cultural, and natural environments. This entails the provision of general information to people in the industry about concepts and issues related to tourism impacts, cultural differences, and an understanding of responsible business practices established in the planning process.

Raising the awareness of the local population about the tourism industry and its benefits may strengthen local support for the tourism planning process, reduce friction between foreigners and residents, and provide ideas of specific ways that residents can contribute to the goals of tourism development. Tourists may also play an active role in the achievement of the goals of tourism if they are aware of their impacts on the environment and the local community, and make choices that can help minimize the negative impacts and maximize the positive.

**Tour Guide Training and Organization**

Guides can act as an effective method of communicating information to tourists. Through their ability to answer questions they can expand upon subject areas as requested and make the material presented personally relevant for visitors (Moscardo 1996, 384). By accompanying tourists, guides can also monitor visitors’ activity and give them direction in ensuring that their behaviour is not causing unnecessary damage to the built or natural environment (Gunn 1994, 432).

National Guides and Chauffeur Guides receive extensive training through the Ceylon Tourist
Board in Colombo. National Guides are generalists who usually accompany package groups on their tours of the country. Chauffeur Guides may be generalists or specialists and are most often hired by independent tourists. Area Guides, who have general knowledge about a particular region, and Site Guides, who are specialists in one particular attraction, receive their training within the relevant region (UNDP 1993, 66). One of the primary shortcomings in the training of these guides, identified in the UNDP report and also by two hoteliers in Kandy, is that over time many official tour guides forget much of what they are taught, but are not given necessary refresher training courses (Informant 5, 6; UNDP 1993, 66).

The findings reported by the UNDP in the *Tourism Master Plan for Sri Lanka* indicate that an inadequate number of guides are being trained and, in particular, that there is a shortage of special interest guides with extensive knowledge in particular subject areas, such as history, flora and fauna, archaeology or religion (1993, 66). The Department of Archaeology at the University of Peradeniya works in conjunction with tour companies to train undergraduate students as specialist guides with archeological expertise. The ten students trained each year are in high demand and are employed immediately upon graduating. The professor in charge of this program expressed that he feels there is a dearth of well-educated specialist tour guides.

Studies indicate that tourists who visit an area with the intention of expanding their knowledge about a particular subject generally have a high level of education and are seeking detailed information and specific insights: a “...specially trained and educated cadre [of tour guides] is required to cater to their interests” (Rohanadeera and Deheragoda 1993, 152). As with other sources of information, the quality of guiding becomes a “...strategic factor influencing the quality of the experience, the length of stay, and the resulting economic benefits” (Gertler 1992, 15). If the marketing approach for Kandy were to shift its focus to attract special interest tourists, it would require a corresponding shift to a higher standard of guiding in order to ensure tourist satisfaction.

Another direction taken in providing guiding services has been to educate and license
informal street guides. These guides are generally self-taught and have access primarily to independent budget travelers (Crick 1992, 143). In recognition of the fact that official tourist guide training is not affordable for those guides working on the streets, the Ceylon Hotel School in Kandy works collaboratively with the University of Peradeniya, the Ceylon Tourist Board and the Central Provincial Council to provide a training course free of charge to twenty-five street guides each year. The goal of this program is to develop the guides’ intercultural communication skills and improve the accuracy and quality of the information provided in order that tourists who use the guides’ services are satisfied. The funding for this program has been reduced in recent years, resulting in a lower standard of training (Informant 13).

In conversations with street guides, many indicated that having a license did little to improve their credibility with tourists. The guides who have licenses don’t wear them, and tourists seldom ask whether they are licensed or not, despite the recommendations in brochures and Travel Lanka to hire only licensed guides. The street guides indicated that they are fully in favour of the free training program because it improves their skills and reduces the conflicts they may otherwise have with police. When asked what changes could be made to improve their situation, these guides agreed that having an office from which they could be hired at a fixed price would give them legitimacy and a regular income and would make their jobs easier because they would not have to solicit business on the street (Informant 19, 20).

In individual interviews, many of the other informants indicated that they feel it is necessary to organize and license street guides. Some also suggested that training should be more extensive in order that the street guides could better serve the needs of the special interest tourists (Informant 3, 11, 13). Another informant recommended that street guides be trained to give walking tours through Kandy focussing on natural attributes, or cultural and historical highlights (Informant 3). This is an activity that could reap economic benefits with few negative impacts.

The participants at the tourism workshop in Kandy were also in agreement with organizing and licensing the guides and suggested that the trained street guides should be made available to
tourists through a guiding centre as a way of improving the guides’ image and freeing tourists from the hassles often encountered when approached on the street. The Department of Tourism of the Central Provincial Council is currently creating an association of licensed guides, the members of which are to be registered with the police and hired through the Tourist Welcoming Centre that is being set up on the outskirts of Kandy. This arrangement coincides with the general position within the tourism industry in Kandy; however, I believe that the guiding centre would be better located in the central area of the city frequented by tourists, where it would be more convenient for tourists and would attract more walk-by business.

An informant who has worked for nineteen years in daily contact with independent tourists offered a further suggestion regarding the organization of street guides. A problem often encountered by the police when dealing with a tourist’s complaint is that the police don’t speak the foreigner’s language. Most of the street guides have fairly good foreign language abilities. This informant suggested that the licensed street guides be registered with the police and listed according to their particular foreign language skills. Appropriate guides could then be hired to interpret for the police when required. This arrangement could provide the guides with extra income while helping the police deal more effectively with tourist concerns (Informant 18).

Tourism Industry Training

Edward Inskeep suggests that various types of training may be considered to satisfy the needs of the industry. Training can range from general to specific and can vary in length from short day-courses to university programs. It can be presented in a formal lecture format or in an informal interactive style and can include workshops, correspondence courses, high school practicums, study tours, or can take place on-the-job (Inskeep 1991, 409).

The institution most involved in providing training for the tourism industry in Sri Lanka is the Ceylon Hotel School. In Kandy, through collaborative efforts with other institutions, the Hotel School occasionally offers short courses to train guesthouse operators, to provide foreign
language skills to those in the tourism industry, and to license street guides. Through its six-month service training programs, the Hotel School makes efforts to contribute to social equity. Substantial tuition subsidies are provided to make the program more affordable to a larger range of socio-economic classes; however, tuition is still relatively high and therefore tends to exclude members of lower socio-economic groups from participating. This makes it difficult to achieve social equity through the program: “in terms of broader social development, these are often the groups that should be targeted rather than excluded” (Echtner 1995, 129).

The Hotel School also aims to contribute to social equity by making substantial efforts to increase the proportion of women working in the tourism industry by giving them priority in acceptance to its training programs. In addition, the Hotel School’s promotion of tourism as a career choice at high schools makes particular efforts to encourage girls to consider the tourism industry. This approach has had limited results due to the prevailing social stigma attached to women working in service positions in the industry (Informant 1, 12).

The Hotel School faces a number of limitations in providing an adequate number of trained individuals for the tourism industry. These limitations are primarily related to its lack of adequate resources. Salaries at the school are lower than in the private sector, which results in high staff turnover and frequent staff vacancies leading to diminished capacity for the number of students that can be trained (UNDP 1993, 67). Another problem faced by the industry is that once they receive training and experience, many individuals will find employment overseas. The high frequency of this ‘skill leakage’ increases the need for tourism training (Informant 1, UNDP 1993, 67).

The Tourism Master Plan for Sri Lanka (1993) contains the recommendations that the Hotel School’s resources be enhanced and that tourism training involve private sector involvement in collaboration with the Ceylon Hotel School, which would then play a greater role as a coordinating and advisory body. Edward Inskeep, a consultant with the World Tourism Organization, also suggests joint initiatives between the private sector and government training
institutions as a way of meeting inadequacies in government resources (Inskeep 1991, 409). The *Tourism Master Plan* (1993) suggests that the Hotel School’s scope be broadened to include all aspects of tourism. This seems to coincide with the general expectations for training within the tourism industry in Kandy.

Through interviews with individuals in the tourism industry, suggestions were offered for an expanded scope and for general change in training in order to improve the experience of tourists. A number of individuals recommended that opportunities be expanded for everyone working in the industry - including restauranteurs, three-wheeler drivers, and shopkeepers - to learn foreign languages and gain a better understanding of other cultures in order to improve cross-cultural communication skills. Two guesthouse owners felt that the safety and satisfaction of guests could be improved by making it compulsory for all guesthouse operators to be trained in how to provide good service, good food, and clean, appropriate accommodation (Informant 14, 15). It was suggested by individuals in retail businesses that cater to tourists, that shopkeepers should be offered training in displaying items, providing quality service and developing skills for negotiating with foreigners in a manner that is non-conflictual (Informant 8, 21).

A couple of the most popular eating establishments in Kandy have received training from international experts in techniques for safe food preparation and storage. From my observations, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation and dining areas at most restaurants frequented by tourists are fairly high. Responses to the questionnaire and conversations with tourists indicated that they did not find the sanitary standards of the public washroom facilities in restaurants to be acceptable. Based on this observation, there may be a need for the provision of training in public washroom cleanliness.

The majority of the Hotel School’s energies have been focussed on preparation of students for various aspects of up-scale hotel service. As the tourism industry in Kandy shifts its emphasis from package tourism to alternative tourism, a similar shift in the focus of skill provision by the Hotel School may also be necessary to ensure that adequate training is provided for those
individuals involved in providing services and facilities for alternative tourists. For example, because alternative tourists generally stay at guesthouses, as alternative tourism grows the need may arise for more training to be offered to guesthouse operators.

Because alternative travelers tend to patronize small-scale establishments, a shift in tourism development towards alternative tourism may open up more opportunities for entrepreneurial initiatives in tourism by individuals from lower socio-economic classes. This trend would be congruent with the overall goal of tourism development to achieve greater socio-economic equity. Training programs may be needed to provide the knowledge base and skills in order for these initiatives to be successful. Echtner (1995) suggests that provision of training for entrepreneurs can also be a tool for supporting individuals from marginal groups when socio-cultural concerns are allowed to take precedence over economic gain: “For example, entrepreneurship development programs may be offered to disadvantaged minority groups (specific tribal members, ethnic groups, women) even though the success rate might be higher if offered to the general population” (131). Echtner goes on to point out that entrepreneurs often face major obstacles such as corruption, cumbersome bureaucracies, and lack of ‘connections’, and that training programs must provide entrepreneurs with the knowledge to appropriately work within and deal with the existing system.

**Raising the Awareness of Tourists**

Tourists can become active participants in the achievement of a host population’s tourism development goals. Krippendorf (1987) observes that an individual tourist tends to be oblivious to the effects of her or his presence on the host region because the damage caused by each individual and the long-term cumulative repercussions are generally not obvious to the visitor whose stay is brief. Studies have demonstrated that by providing information to tourists regarding the type and extent of their impacts on the host region, they can gain the awareness needed to make adjustments to their behaviour and minimize the damaging effects of their
presence (Moscardo 1996, 378).

Not all tourists can be persuaded to alter their behaviour. Cater asserts that there will always be those who will not care about long-term repercussions, those who feel that because they are only staying a few days and do not intend to return they do not need to worry about their impact, or those who view the price they pay for their vacation as inclusive of the right to behave irresponsibly (1993, 88). The number of this type of tourist visiting Kandy may be minimized through effective marketing of the city as a tourist destination appealing to more conscientious visitors. As a result, the majority of the tourists visiting Kandy may be more inclined to respond favourably to information that encourages them to consider the impacts of their presence and act accordingly.

Figure 18 Awareness raising information for tourists  
Source: Travel Lanka, Sept. 1998
The Ceylon Tourist Board (CTB) has produced limited information for tourists regarding acceptable behaviour. A one-page pamphlet and a page in the monthly *Travel Lanka* publication suggest such things as proper attire in public and at religious sites, recommend that tourists avoid touts, note that nudism and topless bathing are prohibited, state that statues of Buddha must not be photographed without permission, list prohibited imports and exports, and make it clear that drugs, prostitution, child abuse, pornography and homosexuality are punishable by law. In recent years charter flights to Sri Lanka have been showing films that present this, plus health-related information, with a focus on those aspects which adversely affect the tourist (Seneviratne 1993a, 71). These guidelines and prohibitions address only the most blatant and harmful social and cultural impacts of tourism, overlooking the more insidious social and cultural effects and all environmental and economic repercussions. Because the reasoning behind these guidelines is not given, it is not necessarily clear to the tourist why it is important to follow the recommendations, which makes it less likely that tourists will abide (WTO 1994, 38). In addition, not all tourists will see these films or read the pamphlets. There is room for improvement in this area.

Several individuals in the tourism industry in Kandy suggested that tourists ought to be given more extensive and effective information in order to raise their awareness about the negative effects their behaviour may have on the local culture, economy, society and environment, and to recommend specific ways in which they can alter their behaviour to minimize these impacts. This may be accomplished by educating visitors about the nature of the culture in which they are immersed, the vulnerability of the environment and the everyday realities of local people’s lives so that tourists will understand the reasons why certain types of behaviour are more appropriate and why limitations are needed (WTO 1994, 38). Informants specifically recommended that tourists should be made aware of such things as the significance of local customs and rituals, general courtesies when taking photographs, tipping policies, appropriate gift-giving, and when it is and is not acceptable to bargain on prices. One of the most frequently expressed suggestions is that foreign women need to be encouraged to dress more
conservatively because skimpy clothing is offensive to the locals and creates the wrong impression about the women. From my experience as a solo foreign female tourist, I believe it is important that all tourists, but particularly women traveling alone, be made aware of gender roles in the local culture. By understanding what is - and what is not - considered to be acceptable behaviour for each gender, and by behaving and dressing accordingly during their stay, tourists may be more readily accepted by the local population, which could result in more positive interactions.

In my conversations with foreign independent travelers, many expressed that they were not pleased to find that domestic tourists are charged a significantly lower admission to attractions than foreigners are. Some said that they felt exploited, particularly since some domestic tourists visibly have more money than themselves but still pay the lower price. The two-level admission is a method of cross-subsidization that ensures that the majority of Sri Lankans - who are on average considerably less financially well-off than even those foreigners traveling on tight budgets - can afford to visit attractions in their own country. Having equal access to their own natural, historical and cultural sites provides Sri Lankans with the opportunity to gain a greater understanding of and appreciation for their own heritage. This can lead to a strengthened cultural identity and resiliency against forces of change that may accompany tourism (WTO 1994, 35). In addition, the profits from foreign tourist admissions can be reinvested into maintaining and improving the attractions for the benefit of foreigners and local people alike. Cater notes that "...even a relatively high fee of US$10 a day would be insignificant [to foreigners] in relation to the overall cost of international travel" (1997, 78). I believe that if foreigners come to understand the advantages to the local population, it may lead to greater acceptance by foreigners of the price differences and a reduction in their dissatisfaction.

Among the local respondents that I spoke with, few mentioned a need to provide tourists

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15 For example, the admission at the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens for Sri Lankan adults is fifteen rupees whereas for foreign adults it is one hundred and fifty rupees.
with guidelines and suggestions for reducing their impacts through altered consumption patterns. One of the most effective means of increasing positive impacts and reducing damage created by one's presence may be through actions based on a mindfulness of the repercussions of consumption choices. For example, tourists could be encouraged to consume less and to patronize those establishments that conform to the responsible business guidelines discussed above. Cater and Goodall suggest that tourism enterprises can play a part in the alteration of consumption patterns by encouraging their patrons to behave respectfully towards the natural environment (1997, 88). Hotels may accomplish this by providing pamphlets in guests' rooms that suggest specific measures that tourists may take to contribute to efforts at reducing waste production and energy consumption. Recommendations to tourists for reducing their impact at specific sites can be included in brochures at the point of interest, and tourist information centres may supply tourist brochures regarding general recommendations towards more responsible consumption patterns and reducing negative impacts. This is often presented in the form of 'codes of conduct'.

The tourism planning literature has numerous examples of 'tourist codes of conduct' which provide location-specific guidelines for appropriate tourist behaviour, and suggest ways in which tourists can reduce the negative impacts of their presence.¹⁶ In the publication Environmental Codes of Conduct for Tourism it is suggested that all recommendations carry a positive message, and be precise and functional so that they are well received by tourists, and that critical feedback from tourists throughout the process will help ensure acceptance of and adherence to these recommendations (UNEP 1995, 37). In these ways, visitors may be persuaded to play an active and positive role as partners with local people in their efforts to achieve the established goals of tourism.

¹⁶ Examples of these can be found in publications such as Environmental Codes of conduct for Tourism (UNEP, 1995), and on the World Travel and Tourism Council's website at www.wttc.org under ECoNETT (Codes of Conduct).
Raising the Awareness of the General Public

It is clear from a review of the tourism planning literature that supplying the local population with information about tourists and tourism, about the tourism planning process, and about specific issues related to tourism can lead to greater support for and participation in tourism planning, and result in improved host-guest relations. Reisinger (1997) attributes negative interactions between hosts and guests primarily to a lack of exposure to and misunderstandings about each other’s cultures. Rectifying this through awareness raising of the host population can contribute to improved interactions.

National and Regional Tourism Planning (WTO 1994, 37) suggests that the public can learn about the cultures of tourists through such medium as entertaining, current and accurate films or short courses on world geography, international politics, foreign languages, lifestyles and customs of different cultures, and ethnographic stories. An expanded knowledge of different cultures and people can result in decreased negative stereotypes and perceptions of foreigners, lessened resentment regarding differences in economic wealth, and improved communication levels (Reisinger 1997, 133; Krippendorf 1987, 143). This may lead to the elimination of many cultural misunderstandings and an increase in enjoyable cross-cultural dialogue could take place, potentially leading to greater cultural learning by both parties and improving the foreign tourist's experience. I recommend that in Kandy, this type of awareness raising program include special efforts to remove the stigma attached to foreign women traveling alone.

The World Tourism Organization (1994) recommends that part of awareness raising should involve keeping the public well informed about all steps of tourism planning so that they are engaged in the process and can take responsibility for directing its outcome by becoming involved. By educating residents about the specific benefits and problems of tourism in Kandy, they may come to understand how the tourism industry and its outcomes directly and indirectly affect their well-being and that of the community. This could help them to identify measures and strategies they can take as individuals on a daily basis and the specific issues they could be
involved in through the planning process (WTO 1994, 37). Representatives from the Hotel School regularly visit the schools to tell children and young people about the tourism industry, its benefits and the job opportunities that it offers. This is intended to help remove any negative impressions of employment in the tourism industry, and in particular it targets girls who are otherwise often discouraged at an early age from pursuing a career in tourism.

Several informants in Kandy suggested that locals should also be made aware of the damage caused to tourist-host relations when foreigners are approached on the pretense of friendship only to be asked for money, or when they are taken advantage of in business dealings. Informant 15 theorizes that an understanding of the range of potential benefits of tourism may help shift what he perceives to be the current short-sighted uni-dimensional perception of tourism’s only role as getting money out of tourists, to a more holistic view that recognizes the other advantages of tourism, and the benefits to treating foreigners fairly and with respect as whole human beings.

By raising the public’s awareness about social problems related to tourism in Kandy and the impacts on the local population, individuals may be better able to recognize opportunities to take personal responsibility and to join with others to formulate creative, appropriate and effective strategies for addressing issues through community-level collaborative action. An example of this type of awareness raising, carried out primarily at coastal resort areas in Sri Lanka, is the campaign by PEACE (Protecting Environment and Children Everywhere) against tourism-related pedophilia. In this program, community awareness raising takes place through seminars or workshops for groups including adults, youth, community leaders, members of non-governmental organizations, government officials, sociology researchers, lawyers, judicial officers, Girl Guide and Boy Scout Leaders, religious leaders and media personnel. Community PEACE volunteers write articles for newspapers and magazines, and are featured in television and radio interviews as a way of educating the public about the prevalence of pedophilia, its effects, and the kinds of behaviours to beware of. Door-to-door counselling is offered to parents in high-risk areas, children are educated through the school system about the risks, and non-formal education
programs are offered for school drop-outs with a view of keeping them from getting involved in pedophile activities.

The awareness raising program has been undertaken in conjunction with other strategies and has led to significant successes including recent arrests and convictions of pedophiles (Peiris 1996). This approach to public awareness raising may offer an appropriate framework that may be used in addressing the issue of tourism-related pedophilia at a community level in Kandy as well. Its strategies could also be effectively altered and applied, as appropriate, to other social problems such as drug use, prostitution, and thievery.

The public's awareness about environmental issues is rising in Kandy, but is still fairly limited (Informant 17). Measures for reducing the environmental damage resulting directly from tourism are primarily the responsibility of private sector establishments and individual tourists. The local population that is not directly involved in the tourism industry can do little to reduce the impacts of tourism. Instead, their role lies in taking personal responsibility for protecting and improving the natural environment, which is inherently valuable to the community, but is also an important element that contributes to tourist satisfaction. In order to accomplish this, residents need to be aware of steps that they can take to contribute to the health of their natural environment. There are several non-profit environmental organizations in the city that may be amenable to playing a central role in awareness raising campaigns about environmental issues and measures that may be taken by the local population.

Formulating and disseminating codes of conduct is one approach that has been taken by various communities concerned about environmental issues. The United Nations Environment Programme holds the position that codes for host communities, when thoughtfully developed and implemented, can be a useful tool to address issues such as the role of the local population in tourism development; safeguarding local cultures and tradition; educating the local population on the importance of maintaining a balance between conservation and preservation, and economic development; and providing quality tourist products and experiences. (UNEP 1995, 29)
Examples of codes of conduct for host communities can be found throughout the tourism literature.

Responses in interviews and to the questionnaire indicate a few key environmental issues that require particular attention in Kandy because they lessen the quality of the tourist experience. The air pollution problem was identified as being highly unpleasant for tourists, and it also has serious health implications for locals who are exposed to the pollutants on an ongoing basis. Measures that residents may be persuaded to take to reduce air pollution include keeping their vehicles well maintained, using lead-free gasoline, and choosing to walk instead of driving or taking three-wheelers. These steps may help to not only reduce air pollution but may also alleviate the problem of traffic congestion, which also detracts from tourists’ enjoyment of the city.

Numerous local informants expressed concern regarding the visual appearance, pollution and health hazard created by residents improperly disposing of household sewage and solid waste, a few of which suggested a need for educating people about the risks of these activities. Informants (1, 6, 15, and 17) stressed that local people need to be persuaded to use public garbage cans rather than littering. Only one informant (a guesthouse operator) expressed recognition of the value of the door-to-door informal recycling activities in Kandy. I believe that it would be an environmentally astute strategy to make the public aware of the value of these recycling activities in order to support these activities and increase the amount of waste that is recycled.

Reisinger (1997) asserts that raising the public’s awareness about the history and culture of an area may instill a sense of pride and strengthen the local population’s resistance to unwanted outside influences, thereby helping to maintain the authenticity and integrity of the culture. This could be accomplished through cultural festivals, competitions among performing artists and craftspeople, public displays and demonstrations, exhibitions at the museum, free public forums held by relevant departments of the University of Peradeniya, classes in various traditional dance, music and crafts, and volunteer opportunities to work on historical restoration projects.
When residents are knowledgeable about their own culture and history, they may be better able to engage in informal conversations that are rewarding and educational for both parties. When knowledgeable about their tourism industry, local people can be an excellent source of information for tourists. However, Gunn (1994) points out that a problem frequently encountered by tourists is that they are given no information or are misguided when asking a local citizen for assistance. A solution to this problem can be to provide local hospitality training programs to residents which “can be effective for improving knowledge of services and attractions as well as the ability to properly greet visitors” (Gunn 1994, 73).

Training and awareness raising are essentially methods of ensuring that all individuals involved in, and affected by, tourism are given the knowledge to make well-informed choices that can contribute to increased tourist satisfaction, and improved social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits for the local population in Kandy. The training and organization of street guides can provide low-income individuals with a legitimate and reliable income earning opportunity, while meeting the demand for knowledgeable tour guides, and decreasing the level of annoyance that tourists feel when they are approached on the street. A shift away from package tourism in Kandy towards less harmful forms of tourism could be facilitated by a simultaneous reallocation of the resources invested in training to favour those involved in the locally owned smaller-scale tourism enterprises and entrepreneurs that cater to the alternative types of tourists. If tourists are provided information regarding their impacts on the local society, culture, economy and environment, and are given suggestions for ways to reduce the damage that they may cause, then they may alter their behaviour accordingly. Residents may become more supportive and participate in strategies that contribute to the goals of tourism development if they have an accurate understanding of tourism, its impacts, and the tourists that visit. Tourism industry training and a comprehensive public awareness program can complement and support the other components of tourism development in achieving the established goals.
CHAPTER TEN: TOURISM AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT IN KANDY

In planning tourism for an urban context, the built environment is an important component to consider. It includes buildings, urban design, landscaping, physical infrastructure, attractions and activities, and the overall atmosphere of the city created by the combination of these elements. The built environment is an important factor contributing to the quality of the tourist experience, a factor that may determine the success or failure of a tourist destination.

Paradoxically, a successful tourism industry can degrade the built environment and induce profound changes to its character and form through overuse, increases in damaging types of tourist activity, and through excessive urban expansion necessary to accommodate an increased volume of tourists (Hunter and Green 1995, 27). In this way, the very success of the tourism industry may lead to its own demise if improperly planned.

Because the built component of tourism in Kandy is so intricately enmeshed with general urban form, and because many of its tourist facilities and attractions are also used by the local population, it is difficult to definitively attribute degradation in the built environment to the forces of tourism. Of the local people that I spoke with, none were able to identify any physical changes to the city resulting from tourism, other than the construction of a few hotels in the fragile higher elevation areas on the hillsides surrounding the city. Shops and services in the city centre that cater to tourists are well integrated with general urban uses. Other than some damage caused to the grounds of the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens, there is no indication that any of the tourist attractions or facilities in Kandy are suffering from overuse.

Thus, it seems that to date tourism activity and development in Kandy has not significantly altered the built environment of the city. If the projected increase in volume of tourists visiting the city is realized, however, it could potentially lead to associated negative impacts on the built environment. Kandy may be particularly susceptible to this type of change because, according to Hunter and Green, the built environments of "...urban areas with significant cultural, heritage
and other attractions may be especially prone to negative tourism impacts” (1995, 27). Tourism may be planned in a way that ameliorates these negative impacts.

Forces other than tourism, such as modernization or deterioration as a result of neglect, can alter the physical aspects of a city in a manner that detracts from its aesthetic attractiveness and unique character, thereby diminishing the city’s appeal to tourists. Proper tourism planning may inhibit the rate and impact of unwanted changes resulting from these forces. For example, tourism may be used as a catalyst to revitalize decaying urban areas or to limit the construction of a style of buildings, such as generic glass and concrete high-rises, that is incompatible with the urban character in Kandy. The Kandy World Heritage City Committee has been established specifically to fulfill this role, and has been successful where there has been compliance with its policies and recommendations. The recent development of buildings in the downtown core in a style that blatantly clashes with the surrounding built environment leads me to believe that the Committee’s policy enforcement needs to be more stringent. This is not to suggest that policies should be completely inflexible, or that the city should remain frozen in time.

Because buildings and towns are part of our history, reflecting our likes and dislikes, our fashions and technology, our periods of wealth and times of poverty, it is generally considered right that there should be a policy to retain some buildings, or even parts of towns, as examples, milestones in the evolution of city or state. But this can be expensive and whilst it may be desirable, there are occasions when it can inhibit progress of one kind or another. (Dix 1990, 387)

Tourism may act as an incentive to improve the overall natural environmental quality of Kandy. In general, tourists prefer to visit places that are attractive and free of pollution. Through such environmentally sensitive approaches as reducing traffic congestion, and controlling air, water and visual pollution, the level of tourist satisfaction can be improved. Better air quality may also lessen the damage done by air-borne pollutants to historic buildings and monuments (Inskeep 1991, 244). Different types of tourists will demand different levels of attention given in planning to the natural environment. More attention to the quality of the city’s natural environment may be required when planning caters to the types of tourists that are concerned
about the overall health of the natural environment. This type of tourist may be more likely to support and participate in efforts to improve or conserve the natural environment - efforts that will also benefit the local population.

Because tourism is an income-generating activity, it may bring investment needed for the upgrading of general urban infrastructure and facilities for tourism, changes which have the potential to directly improve the quality of life of residents who can take advantage of the improvements (Hunter and Green 1995, 27). For example, the Central Cultural Fund is able to continue its substantial conservation activities due to the income it earns from tourist admissions, and the improvements it makes to historically significant buildings are enjoyed by the local population.

On the other hand, resources could potentially be diverted from general urban development funds in order to meet the excessive demands of affluent tourists for unnecessarily high standards of facilities and infrastructure, unavailable for use by the local population (Dix 1990, 396). For example, funds could be diverted from needed infrastructure development in low-income communities for the construction of roads and provision of water and sewage services to a golf course that only tourists and wealthy locals can afford. Demands by tourists for such amenities as air conditioning or satellite television could potentially necessitate damaging alterations to the structure and aesthetics of historic buildings that are used for tourism activities. In catering to affluent package tourists, the current approach of the central government raises the risk of these negative effects.

If Kandy begins to cater to alternative tourists, fewer demands would be placed on the built environment. Alternative tourists that are hoping for a more authentic experience of the local lifestyle often prefer a built environment that is more in keeping with the local standard of living. This type of use is more adaptable to older buildings because it requires fewer alterations. It also generally requires less capital investment to build and maintain because it uses local materials, simple techniques, and is on a smaller-scale; therefore, it is a type of built environment that can
benefit a larger number of local entrepreneurs in Kandy. Thus, if the built environment in Kandy is planned, constructed and altered in a manner that enhances the cultural and natural resources, is socially responsible, and ensures tourist satisfaction, it can result in direct and indirect benefits to the local population.

**Atmosphere**

There is general consensus within the tourism planning literature that a necessary precondition for urban tourism is an appealing image or atmosphere: “There are cities of which people are convinced that they are pleasant to be in and there are cities of which people think it is better not to stay. The role of the image seems banal but its importance has been frequently confirmed” (van der Borg 1992, 124). The image or atmosphere of a city is even more appealing if it reflects a sense of place that is unique and distinct. If all destinations look alike and offer similar amenities, the incentive to travel is diminished and the tourism industries of those homogenous destinations decline (Gunn 1994, 438). In Kandy, a sense of place has been maintained by identifying and building upon the unique blend of colonial and Kandyan architecture that expresses the city’s historic and religious significance. Continued efforts in this direction, reinforced by stringent enforcement of current historical conservation policies can counter global trends towards homogenization of the tourism landscape (Gunn 1994, 438).

The conservation of individual historically significant buildings is not necessarily sufficient in achieving a sense of place. The nature of the humble vernacular buildings may be more significant in determining the character of a city than those spectacular buildings visited by tourists, and thus should not be overlooked in conservation efforts. In addition,

> If the main concern is with the character of a place and the activities there carried on, buildings become of less importance, or perhaps none. If the noise and bustle of people and traffic, for example in a busy town centre, is the prime concern of conservation, old buildings might be replaced or renewed sensitively without detriment to the activities or to the atmosphere. (Dix 1990, 388)

In Kandy, the activity and liveliness of the market and downtown area contrasted with the
peacefulness of the lake, temple and residential areas is an important component of the city’s character. Dix recommends that tourism related conservation attention be focussed on the urban ensemble and on ensuring that all new uses are in keeping with those traditionally present rather than on the architectural merit of any particular building.

The Kandy City Conservation and Development Plan has developed strategies to alleviate vehicle and pedestrian congestion and environmental pollution created by the concentration of trade within the city centre. Among these strategies are recommendations to demolish all wayside structures and boutiques which do not meet the requirements specified by the municipality, and to prohibit the use of pavements by hawkers and for any other commercial purposes (UDA 1998, 55). I have always found that central to the appeal of Kandy’s downtown core is the activity clustered around street-side vendors and stalls, and the voices of hawkers selling their wares. Ridding the streets of this lively and colourful activity would remove much of the downtown’s character.

Reactivating under-used or abandoned heritage buildings should be undertaken with caution and respect for the limits of a city’s capacity to absorb tourism development.

The relationship between the tourist attraction and the wider environment (including the local community) should be respected, otherwise there is a risk that the host area will ultimately contain only offices and shops, lacking a vibrant local population which has largely been displaced by tourist pressure. (Hunter and Green 1995, 29)

An over-dominance of tourism could become a problem in Kandy’s city centre in the future if tourism volume increases as projected. Green suggests that this may be avoided, and urban character can be reconciled with economic viability through effective collaboration between the public and private sectors in the development and implementation of land-use and historical conservation policies (Green 1995, 115). If these possibilities are not addressed through tourism planning policies for conserving the sense of place, tourism could inadvertently destroy the very essence which imparts a city’s unique character (Dix 1990, 388, 396). To date, Kandy’s unique sense of place has been maintained, but in the face of increasing pressures of change, tourism
related conservation policies may need to be reviewed and revised.

Architectural style regulations in Kandy ensure that all new development also conforms to the vernacular design, which has made it compatible with the city's unique atmosphere. These regulations stipulate that any modifications or repairs to a building within the central area of the city must "...not be in conflict with the existing architectural character of the area" and the "...design, height, facades, colour, texture, roof style and material of construction of any new building or of the repair and modification of an existing building should be in accordance with the existing character of the area" (UDA 1998, 22). Further attention to repetition of style and theme in such elements as signage, landscape details, light fixtures, benches, and sidewalks may contribute to a smooth harmonious flow, and an atmosphere that is more appealing to the visitor (Gunn 1994, 351). Attention to small details in landscape and architecture, such as ornamentation, colour and texture, can also add to the overall attractiveness of the city.

The integration of the natural and the built environments also contributes to Kandy's attractiveness. In the questionnaire and through personal contact many tourists indicated that the natural beauty and scenery is what they find most appealing in Kandy. In terms of attracting tourists and ensuring their overall satisfaction, it is important, therefore, to maintain this attribute. Several informants suggested that this could be enhanced through community projects that work to eliminate things that detract from the natural beauty of the city, such as litter and pollution. The Kandy Hoteliers Association, the Lion's Club, the Ceylon Hotel School, the municipality and environmental organizations already make efforts towards this with such projects as tree planting, encouraging home-gardens, and litter-cleanup.

Beautification of unappealing areas of the city by the addition of greenery "...can do much to counteract the potential negative visual impacts associated with overcrowding, litter, traffic congestion, urban expansion and the construction of inappropriate buildings which are not in keeping with the local townscape" (Hunter and Green 1995, 32). It also provides shade, absorbs unpleasant noises, offers privacy, absorbs carbon dioxide and emits oxygen and moisture.
Beautiful home gardens are one of the striking features of Kandy, and this attention to landscaping could be carried through to the business district and public areas to add life, colour and continuity to the entire city. In particular, the stark, unappealing grounds surrounding the Temple of the Tooth may be improved with the addition of small shrubbery and flowering plants, perhaps in a manner similar to the landscaping found in the garden in the center of the market.

Figure 19 Garden in central market
An integration of the built environment with green space, such as parks, is not only valued in an urban tourist destination, but is also increasingly recognized as essential to the quality of life of the residents. Open green areas, however, are often viewed as unused space and are, therefore, constantly under threat of expropriation for other uses, such as transportation. "In the context of tourism, although additional transportation networks might enhance touristic infrastructure, the replacement of urban green space with roadways erodes the natural attraction. The benefits and costs of such a shift have to be carefully considered" (Hinch 1996, 101).

There are significant pressures for improved transportation infrastructure in the downtown core of Kandy. Increased population density, increased ownership of private vehicles, and the blocking of the street in front of the Temple of the Tooth have magnified traffic congestion problems in recent years. In addition, it is estimated that approximately 120,000 people commute to work in Kandy each day, 90,000 of whom come from the surrounding rural areas (UDA 1998, 192). There are few available routes into the city, so this creates incredible congestion. The densely populated steep hillsides surrounding the city core place severe limitations on the kinds of strategies that may be used in relieving congestion. Severe congestion problems are created on main routes and sidestreets when children are dropped off and picked up at their schools. Strategies such as ‘walking school buses’ could help to alleviate this type of congestion.

Traffic congestion plus the accompanying noise and air pollution in Kandy are not congruent with its image of a tranquil sacred city. These unpleasant aspects were identified in the questionnaire as key factors detracting from tourists’ enjoyment of their visit. Many hotels have been constructed in the environmentally fragile upper-hillsides around the city in order to escape the congestion, noise and air pollution in the city centre. These remote locations destroy pristine areas and make access to the city inconvenient for tourists. Because of their distance from the city centre, visitors are less apt to make regular use of the small-scale locally owned restaurants and shops. When they do, it is necessary to use a vehicle, thus adding to air pollution. These tourists are isolated from the everyday life of the local community, thus limiting their experience
of Kandy. Effective handling of congestion, air quality and noise pollution may encourage the location of any future hotel development to be located closer to the city centre, and lead to increased tourist satisfaction while improving the quality of life of residents.

The tourism planning literature is in agreement with the suggestions put forth by tourists and several of the Kandy informants to prohibit vehicle access to some streets in part of the downtown area of the city as a way of reducing residents’ and tourists’ exposure to the excessive air and noise pollution. Inskeep (1991) suggests that complete pedestrianization of historic districts is often the best solution for reducing corrosion of buildings and monuments created by vehicular air emissions, and is ideal for sightseeing tourists in a small-scale urban environment. He recommends that access to the area be given to service and delivery vehicles in early morning hours only, and that sufficient adjacent parking be provided for tour buses and automobiles (Inskeep 1991, 244).

Quiet non-polluting modes of transport, such as electric shuttle buses or horse-drawn carriages, could be used in the city centre and in the Peradeniya Botanical Gardens in conjunction with the prohibition of personal vehicle use. This would also generate income for local entrepreneurs. Because some streets in the downtown core of Kandy are part of through-routes, pedestrianization would need to be carefully investigated prior to implementation in order to avoid amplification of the city’s current congestion problems. Pedestrianization deserves serious consideration, and should not be dismissed offhand:

Virtually all visitor activities take place after the train, bus, or automobile has been abandoned...although it is essential that new and better traffic handling is accomplished, equally important is planning for people on foot. Urban scenes, natural resource access, and culturally significant areas must retain their identity without intrusion from massive traffic ways. Vehicle movement is necessary for access, but its planning must be integrated with pedestrian movement, so essential to all visitor activities. (Gunn 1994, 430)

Reduction of air and noise pollution and traffic congestion may contribute to the overall serenity and quietude of Kandy’s atmosphere of a historical sacred city. Numerous methods of air quality
control and congestion management may be found in planning literature.17

The Spatial Orientation of Tourism Development

The tourism planning literature generally recommends that facilities and services for tourism be clustered around attractions. Accommodation, shops, and services benefit when visitors to nearby attractions also make use of their facilities. Clustering also increases the convenience to the tourist by facilitating access (Inskeep 1991, 240). Attractions also benefit from clustering which attracts more tourists to the area and induces them to stay longer. The minor isolated attraction generally requires too much time and effort to be worth the visit (Gunn 1994, 60). By concentrating these elements in central zones within walking distance, the need for vehicular transportation is virtually eliminated, thereby leading to a reduction in noise and air pollution and traffic congestion. It also makes it less expensive to provide necessary infrastructure (WTO 1994, 25). The spatial orientation of tourism development can be controlled through effective urban land-use zoning policies.

Tourism development in Kandy has evolved in a clustered spatial distribution around the central downtown, lake and Temple area. Many of the shops and services for tourists, most guesthouses and some hotels are concentrated within short walking distance of this area of the city and are interspersed with other local uses. This spatial orientation seems to have worked well to date, but I am concerned that with an expanded tourism industry and increased volume of tourists, further concentration of tourism development in the business core of Kandy could add to congestion and overwhelm the area with tourists and tourism enterprises, forcing local non-tourism oriented businesses to relocate. This could eventually result in a loss of character and authenticity, detracting from the city’s appeal, not to mention the loss of a vibrant city centre for the local population. Tourism could then lose the support of the local population who would

17 An excellent source is Air Pollution from Motor Vehicles: Issues and Options for Developing Countries by Asif Faiz et al (1992), a World Bank Publication.
likely come to resent its dominance in their city. In order to avoid this possibility, tourism development should be clustered enough to be easily accessible, but dispersed enough that it does not result in an overwhelming volume of tourists in any one area. Tourism would be socially detrimental if locals felt outnumbered or insignificant in their own community, or if tourism were to inhibit the non-tourism functions of the city.

The Kandy City Conservation and Development Plan recommends that a cultural complex with facilities to display indigenous and Kandyan arts and crafts, dance forms, music and musical instruments be established “to make the visitors both foreign and local, knowledgeable about the country’s indigenous culture in general, and the distinguishing characteristics of the Kandyan period of Sri Lankan history in particular” (UDA 1998, 53). The suggested location for this cultural complex is at the present site of the Bogambara prison (see Figure 19). I believe that the close proximity of the site to the market area and business district makes it a more suitable location for general retail space, which the plan states is also needed (UDA 1998, 55).

Figure 20 Location of prison and proposed area for tourism development expansion
Although tourism may need to be somewhat more dispersed from the current cluster centering around the Temple of the Tooth, a cultural complex located at the prison site may not receive many visitors because it is quite far from other attractions and is outside the general flow of tourist movement. Development of additional tourist facilities and services may be better located on the east side of the Palace Square, a beautiful location next to the lake that would be convenient for visitors and would not disrupt the activities or add to the congestion of the central business district. The Kandyan Arts Association complex, the Ceylon Hotel School and the Buddhist Publication Society are situated in this area, all of which are along the pleasant lakeside circuit that most tourists take when walking around the lake. I also question the need for another extensive and expensive cultural complex that would simply duplicate the activities of the currently underutilized Kandyan Arts Association and Laksala. I believe it would be more cost effective to invest in the existing facilities and activities offered, with a focus on providing a better quality experience for the visitor.

**Building Design and Quality**

Poorly designed and constructed buildings that are incongruent with the surrounding built environment are often an undesirable consequence of tourism development (Hunter and Green 1995, 27). This has not occurred to a great extent in Kandy, due to the efficacy of urban design and siting policies and regulations. Tourism has, instead, indirectly helped to instill a greater appreciation in visitors and locals alike for the Kandyan architecture. Conservation efforts have contributed to this.

While the preservation of historically significant buildings is important in retaining valuable cultural assets and in contributing to the overall sense of place, it is important that a balance be maintained with other urban development in Kandy. Buildings should not be destroyed simply because they are old and unused, but age alone is not reason enough to justify the often considerable expense of restoring and maintaining a building. As Dix points out, “to an
underpaid slum dweller in an inadequately serviced shanty dwelling faced with declining urban facilities, with no security of tenure, the prospect of additional resources devoted to conservation must be galling..." (1990, 405). The preservation and enhancement of culture is an important goal that must be balanced with the goal of equitable distribution of the benefits of the tourism industry. This difficult balance may be more easily achieved through a consultative decision-making body composed of members representing a full range of interests in the community.

The goal of environmental protection may be furthered through appropriate design of buildings used in the tourism industry in Kandy. Currently there are stringent restrictions for the construction of hotels regarding siting in sensitive areas, and requirements that must be met in initial impact assessments and environmental impact assessments ensure that precautions are taken to protect the local environment. Greater compliance with these requirements could result in less damage to the natural surroundings. This may be furthered through the establishment of an additional set of ‘eco-design’ standards for all tourism development, including such things as the use of local building materials that does not deplete scarce resources and the incorporation of energy- and water-efficient systems (Gunn 1994, 352). Buildings may also be designed in a way that facilitates access for those visitors who may have mobility difficulties. These standards should not entail excessive costs for the developer in order that tourism enterprises are affordable to more than just the rich. Suitable building design and development standards can ensure that tourism development is environmentally sensitive and meets the expectations of tourists and residents.

Physical Infrastructure

The physical infrastructure of a city can support, connect and complement the other elements of tourism if it is of adequate capacity and is well maintained. If properly planned, it may facilitate convenience and ease of mobility and improve the safety and aesthetic appeal of the built environment; therefore, the physical infrastructure is an important factor in enhancing
tourists' experience.

Excessive pressure on physical infrastructure is one of the most significant and frequent impacts of tourism on the built environment of urban destinations (Hunter and Green 1995, 30). Inevitably, the overloading of infrastructure systems has damaging implications for the natural environment as well. The impact of tourist use on physical infrastructure in Kandy cannot be determined because it is not possible to disaggregate it from that of the local population. Predicted increases in tourism volume to Kandy would inevitably place more demands on existing systems. If measures are taken in anticipation of increased demands, tourism will not necessarily overload infrastructural capacity. In fact, increased tourism development may be a catalyst and source of funding for needed improvements in infrastructure provision that could also improve the quality of life of local residents.

The central area of Kandy, which includes the downtown core, the lake and the zone surrounding the Temple of the Tooth, is the area most frequented by tourists and, therefore, its infrastructure deserves attention. The attractiveness and safety of this central area could be improved for the benefit of tourists and residents alike through a few changes to basic infrastructural details.

The condition of sidewalks in the central area is fairly good overall; however, attention ought to be paid to the gaping holes and uneven surfaces that remain following incomplete municipal service repairs. Knowledgeable informants stated that better coordination between departments in the municipality could lead to fewer excavations, plus more timely completion of projects. On the south side of the lake there are sections of sidewalk that have cracked and heaved, making it difficult to negotiate, particularly at night. A sidewalk alteration project that could be implemented over the long term is the sloping of curbs at crosswalks to facilitate accessibility for mobility challenged individuals.

The importance of providing high quality street furniture as a component of tourism development has been recognized in many towns and cities (Hunter and Green 1995, 27). The
benches on the south side of the lake are in excellent condition and are well placed for enjoyment of the scenery. The downtown and Temple area would also benefit from the addition of benches, which could encourage people to spend more time. Tasteful, well-maintained street furniture can also enhance the aesthetic appeal of a street.

It is obvious from the tourist responses to the questionnaire that public toilets are an aspect of the urban infrastructure that deserves particular attention. The absence of toilet facilities can cause a great deal of frustration for visitors, and if the facilities that are available are unclean or do not function properly tourists may be extremely displeased. Unclean facilities may also pose considerable health risks. Several local informants commented on the inadequacy of these facilities, one of whom suggested that the problem could be addressed by placing the responsibility for the provision and maintenance in the hands of the tourist board or a special committee. He suggested that local low-income individuals could be given the opportunity to ensure that sanitary standards are met and then charge a small fee for use (Informant 5).

Garbage cans are also conspicuously absent in the central area except around the lake. Many of those that do exist are in need of repair. Informant 18 said that at one time the municipality had placed garbage receptacles every fifteen or twenty metres apart in the downtown, but that within a couple of weeks they were all broken. He suggested that the only solution to this problem would be to have improved security around the area at night when the damage occurs.

The entire city could benefit from more general infrastructural improvements that may enhance the overall built environment and the visitor experience in Kandy. The provision of adequate water supply, sewage, and solid waste disposal is important so that infrastructure systems are not overloaded, leading to environmental problems (Inskeep 1991, 241). Demand for water in Kandy presently exceeds supply, and this problem will be exasperated if an increased volume of tourists visit the city in the future. An overseas agency has offered to provide funding and technical guidance for a new water supply system for Kandy, on the condition that a
comprehensive sewage collection and treatment system is also constructed throughout the entire
city. The project has recently been stalled by protesters who do not want a proposed sewage
treatment plant to be located in their 'backyard' ("New Water Scheme", 1998).

An expert on water and sewage from Kandy’s Institute of Fundamental Studies believes that
the sewage system is only necessary for the downtown core of the city which empties all of its
sewage into the Meda Ela because it lacks an adequate sewage system (Informant 17). He
maintains that the system of biological sewage treatment through seepage pits and septic tanks
that is used throughout the rest of the city is well suited to the geography and functions extremely
well, except when individual residents refuse to comply with methods for proper emptying of
their septic tanks. He asserts that the proposed piped sewage system is not a sound idea because
it would be extremely expensive to install, costly and difficult to maintain, ill-suited to the rocky
hilly landform, would take years to install during which time it would cause great inconvenience
to residents and tourists, would impose extra service charges with no benefit to residents, and
would involve the use of potentially harmful chemicals.

The installation of a piped sewage system for the downtown core is needed to reduce the
pollution of the Meda Ela, and thereby improve its appearance and smell, and to reduce the
general health risk that it currently poses for residents and visitors to Kandy. This more limited
system would entail fewer of the above disadvantages and would not necessitate the siting of a
sewage treatment plant at the location that is being protested. This is a crucial point because
“unless there is public cooperation to establish the sewerage system plant the [funding agency]
may withdraw the entire aid that they offered” ("New Water Scheme” 1998).

Upgrading of Kandy’s current solid waste management system could help increase its
capacity, minimize health risks, improve the visual appeal of the city, and minimize
environmental contamination caused by leachates. This could contribute to the overall
attractiveness and safety of the built environment for tourists and residents. There is ample
literature available that details various appropriate strategies for solid waste management in Third
World countries. It is not possible to delve into great detail here; however, based on the literature, suggestions are offered below for a few relatively low-cost alterations to the current system in Kandy that could result in considerable improvements.

Some of the Kandy City Conservation and Development Plan (UDA 1998) recommendations for improving the disposal of solid waste deserve comment. The recommendation for placement of rubbish bins at regular intervals along streets and roads would deter roadside dumping. If these bins were small enough to be lifted manually, much time and effort could be saved from the current method of shoveling from the concrete bins. Small vehicles, such as manually pushed carts could be used to access narrow streets and transport the portable bins to a transfer station where the refuse could be loaded onto the current tractor-trailer units which could transport the refuse to its ultimate destination – a sanitary landfill. At some stage in the process, preferably close to the point of generation, waste could be sorted to recover recyclable, reusable and compostable materials. By supporting and facilitating the existing door-to-door collection of recyclables and expanding these informal economic activities, it would reduce the remaining volume of waste to be dealt with by the formal solid waste management system.

The UDA Plan recommends the use of compactors, but this is not advisable as the compacting mechanisms are often not durable enough to handle the heavy, wet, already compact waste generally generated in the Third World. This type of waste is also not amenable to incineration, another recommendation provided in the UDA Plan. The Plan’s recommendation to convert solid waste into compost is a strategy that has been used in various forms and with some success throughout the Third World. Studies have shown that in order for it to be cost-effective, composting must take place as close to the point of generation as possible, be carefully managed

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to generate high quality compost, and it must have a market. The recommendation of creating awareness among residents about solid waste management can be undertaken in a manner that encourages people to reduce consumption, support current informal recycling activities, and reuse materials whenever possible. Further examination of the full range of solid waste management strategies effectively used throughout the Third World could lead to the generation of a low-cost strategy that is appropriate for Kandy.

All components of tourism depend upon transportation. It is usually not the goal, but is rather “a necessary evil of tourist travel” (Gunn 1994, 68). Comfort, affordability, safety, availability and efficiency are important factors to be considered in ensuring that tourists are pleased with the quality of transportation. Alternative tourists tend to prefer local forms of public transportation because it provides them with an ‘authentic’ cultural experience. Therefore, any investments in improvements to public transportation infrastructure benefit alternative tourists as well as the local population. The public transit system within Kandy is limited because many of the roads are too narrow to be accessed by buses.

The poor condition of road surfaces in the Kandy area and the scarcity of parking spaces are issues of concern to the tourism industry that are currently being addressed by the Municipality and the Urban Development Authority. Plans are also being developed to create order from the sprawling chaos of the bus station. A recommendation to relocate bus stands for various destinations at selected points on the periphery of the city might cause inconvenience and confusion for visitors. Regardless of the location of bus stands, better signage, bus schedules and traveler information is needed to make the process of finding the correct bus easier for visitors.

Tourism transportation can be developed in a manner that helps further the goal of environmental protection through strategies that promote the use of alternative low-polluting modes of transport and lead-free fuel and encourage proper maintenance of vehicles. The three-wheeler vehicles that are so popular with travelers are also highly polluting modes of transportation. Because of the benefits to the tourist and the local entrepreneur, it would be more
appropriate to establish emission standards and regular maintenance rather than ban their use altogether. A problem that was often raised in casual conversations with tourists is that the three-wheeler drivers often overcharge them. A way of addressing this, suggested by one of the local informants, could be to have a fixed rate per kilometre with a laminated chart displayed in the three-wheeler of prices for common routes (Informant 18). A more expensive alternative would be to have meters installed.

The city has a proliferation of overhead wires which clutter views and are visually unappealing. They also require frequent repair because monkeys use overhead wires as their roadways, thereby damaging them. "Underground electric and telephone lines can greatly improve the appearance of tourism areas and allow for more natural growth of large trees as an important element of landscaping" (McIntyre 1993, 75). The city is currently working to install all wiring underground. The provision of adequate street lighting, especially around the lake and in residential areas where hotels and guesthouses are located, may help lower the crime rate by deterring thieves in these areas, and increase tourists' sense of security. The Kandy City Conservation and Development Plan also recommends that street lighting be improved (UDA 1998, 78).

**Tourist Attractions and Activities**

Throughout interviews with key individuals involved in the tourism industry, the primary reason stated for planning future development in the tourism industry is to increase the benefits that tourism brings to the city. Most informants suggested that this could be best accomplished by increasing the number of tourist nights spent in Kandy, which may be achieved in two ways - increasing the number of tourist arrivals, and lengthening the average stay of each tourist. Although these approaches are not mutually exclusive, there was general agreement among the interviewees that the focus should be to encourage tourists to stay longer. They believe that this would facilitate the achievement of a secondary objective - that of ensuring that tourists gain a
more holistic and accurate understanding of Kandy, which would enable them to more fully appreciate the city’s virtues and complexities. This could result in a more meaningful and memorable experience, which they could share with others, thereby creating an excellent reputation for Kandy throughout the world. Informants suggested that the most effective way of accomplishing this would be to provide a greater variety of activities and attractions that fully represent Kandy’s attributes and complexities.

Gunn (1994) notes the central role that attractions play in the success or failure of a destination’s tourism industry: attractions “provide the stimulating force for the tourism system to function. They serve two purposes – to lure travelers and provide satisfaction” (74). Without attractions, there would be little reason for tourists to visit an area. The more diversified and appealing the package of attractions is, the greater the share of the tourist market a destination will be able to capture and the greater guarantee of long-term viability (van der Borg 1992, 122). The natural and cultural resources of an area provide the foundation for tourist attractions and activities; therefore, the availability and quality of these resources are strong determinants of the type of tourism that may be developed and its ultimate success or failure (Gunn 1994, 74). These resources must be carefully managed, as they can be eroded by overuse or through the inappropriate activities of tourists.

The development of appropriate tourist attractions and activities may be a means of achieving the goals of tourism for Kandy. To achieve this, it would involve developing attractions and activities that enhance tourists’ enjoyment of their visit and result in cultural, social, economic and environmental benefits that outweigh any damage that may be caused. This type of development would be best suited to alternative tourists. Throughout the research process, tourists and residents put forth numerous suggestions for activities and attractions that could be developed to improve tourism in Kandy. These are examined here in light of their potential contribution towards the achievement of the goals of tourism development. Further creative ideas that are appropriate for the Kandy context could be generated through a participatory planning
process that fully considers potential impacts of various projects, and clearly determines the types
and limits of acceptable change to the environment, society and culture in Kandy.

Cultural Considerations

Tourist activities and attractions can contribute to, or detract from, the overall atmosphere of
an urban destination and the local culture, and should therefore be congruent with the image and
traditions of the city. "Planners and designers have rich opportunities to create attractions and
services that reveal the uniqueness of place, especially for destinations" (Gunn 1994, 438). There
has been pressure by some tourists and local entrepreneurs to open nightclubs and discos in
Kandy (Informant 5). All of the local informants I spoke with vehemently rejected the idea
because it would disrupt the nighttime peace of the city and could become a forum for illegal and
undesirable activities that could potentially intensify social problems.

One hotel manager noted that many visitors feel that there is not enough night-time
entertainment in Kandy. He suggested that lighting be improved around the lake so that it would
be a pleasant and safe place for people to stroll, and that one area could be transformed into a
night market with food stands similar to cities like Singapore, Bangkok and Jakarta (Informant 6).
This could provide low-capital income-earning opportunities that may be particularly appropriate
for women. Residents would be likely to enjoy such a project as much as tourists would. The
casual mingling that could occur at the market may be conducive to positive interactions between
locals and foreigners, thereby contributing to improved relations. Whenever I mentioned this
idea to tourists and local residents, it always met with much enthusiasm. I have two concerns
about this proposal: one is that local women might not feel comfortable going out after dark and
would thus be less inclined to benefit, the other concern is that if not properly managed, the night
market could become a venue for criminal activity.

When decisions are being made regarding the development of new attractions and activities
that are culturally oriented, it is important that the community determine whether the cultural
dimension will be fundamentally altered, whether change will be widespread, whether the changes will be desirable, and whether representation of culture is accurate and rich. The intention would not be to stop all change, but rather to determine which activities and attractions will be most compatible with the local culture, and how change can be best accommodated.

The World Tourism Organization (1994) suggests that the authenticity of local dance, music, drama, arts, crafts, and dress, although somewhat adapted for presentation to tourists, can be maintained through special training programmes and the application of quality controls. Informant 13 stated that the reason the Kandyan dances performed for tourists are of inferior quality is because the high commission paid to touts from the admission earnings does not leave enough money to hire good dancers. He suggested that as a way of keeping the dance authentic and of a high caliber, a professional dance troupe under the supervision of a veteran dancer could be established and funded through some arm of the government.

Special interest tourists tend to be uninterested in the low-quality offerings typically available on the streets and in tourist markets, but rather appreciate and demand souvenirs of a high quality created with traditional materials and techniques (Schouten 1992, 139). This demand provides support for the 'authentic' local arts and crafts industry. Schouten (1992) suggests that museums and heritage centres can contribute towards ensuring quality and authenticity as they have the original models and the necessary expertise. The Kandyan Arts Association is partially fulfilling this role.

The World Tourism Organization recognizes that "certain types of ceremonies and rituals such as religious ones should not be modified for tourism, and tourist viewing of them must be carefully controlled" (WTO 1994, 38). Control of visitor presence at the Malwatte and Asgiriya monastic complexes may be advisable, given the potential damage that could be caused to the legitimacy of the centres through casual observation by visitors. On the other hand, many of the local informants suggested that the buildings of the palace complex have been underutilized and could be developed as tourist attractions, similar to the palace in Bangkok.
The participants of the tourism planning workshop identified a need to expand beyond the parochial image of Sinhalese Buddhism presented to date in Kandy’s tourism development. The rich history of ethnic diversity in Kandy could be strengthened and celebrated through the promotion of other ethnic cultural and religious traditions. This could appeal to the more highly educated ‘post-industrial’ special interest tourist. For example, an informative self-guided or professionally guided walking tour could be designed to provide the opportunity for tourists to visit Christian churches, Muslim mosques, Hindu temples and Buddhist pansallas. Celebrations could also be planned and promoted around the many other significant religious festivals and holidays. This could potentially reduce seasonality if these fall in the tourism low season. The development of this approach would best be accomplished through a participatory process including representatives of the various ethnic and religious groups: “we must somehow open the projects to alternative voices and facilitate a dialogue that permits multiple perspectives on the past to be acknowledged and incorporated into cultural representations” (Howell 1994, 155).

Kandy and its surrounding areas are rich with opportunities for small entrepreneurs to develop authentic small-scale cultural attractions. A number of local informants suggested that visits could be arranged to places such as home gardens, spice gardens, indigenous tribes (Veddhas), cooperatively owned tea and rubber plantations, weaving factories, craft villages, rural lifestyles and extended family systems. Some of these already exist, but have not yet been made well known to tourists. As the tourism market segment shifts to cater to more alternative tourists, the demand for these types of cultural attractions could increase. One problem that could develop, as it has developed at other attractions, is a tendency for the authenticity, atmosphere and meaning of such places to be spoiled by individuals asking for money for every photo taken, or every question answered. Given tourists’ voiced displeasure at feeling economically exploited, a concerted effort to avoid this could minimize tourist dissatisfaction.

An idea put forth with much enthusiasm by participants of the tourism planning workshop is to transform a rural village into a demonstration village to present aspects of authentic village life
and traditions, such as agricultural practices and cooking, for tourists to observe, ask questions about and participate in. This type of idea is referred to in the tourism planning literature as a ‘model culture’, commonly used by countries to present local culture to tourists and an approach that has generally proven to be popular and profitable. A model culture accurately reconstructs the historic past or the current life-style and traditions of local people and allows the visitor the freedom to examine and photograph at will (Smith 1997, 124). Generally, it is designed to appeal to, and is most visited by, large groups of foreign package tourists. Archer and Cooper note that this ‘staged authenticity’ can minimize the negative cultural and social change that may result when “the cultural distinctions between the residents and tourists from more prosperous countries and regions are strongly marked, [and] local culture and customs may be exploited to satisfy the visitor, sometimes at the expense of local pride and dignity” (1994, 81). In such a situation, the staged authenticity of model cultures will not disrupt the lives of locals as direct contact could, and can protect the local population from undesirable tourism-induced change.

The disadvantage of model cultures is that for the tourist who is seeking authentic interactive experiences, staged authenticity may appear to be overly contrived and to present a superficial, inaccurate and overly simplified representation of everyday life which does not allow for spontaneous and meaningful interaction. For these reasons, I doubt that the a model culture experience in Kandy would satisfy the already knowledgeable special interest tourist or ‘post-industrial’ tourist, whose aim it is to experience the culture rather than observe it, and to participate rather than be entertained. Just as tourism suffers when it is underplanned, so may it suffer from being overplanned.

The tendency today toward contrived tourism development must be curbed, rather than fostered, by new planning concepts and processes. Paramount is the freedom of travelers to seek out their own rewards from travel experiences. . . . Tourism must be planned at all scales with such restraint that travelers can be free to obtain the enriching rewards of discovery, adventure, and achievement. (Gunn 1994, 444)

Local festivals and celebrations may become tourist attractions, as is the case with the annual
Perahera festival. To date, this has been beneficial for both parties in Kandy, as it provides tourists with an authentic cultural experience, and the income derived from tourist expenditures helps fund the festival and improve the local economy. If care is not taken, however, efforts to cater to tourists could adversely affect the festival as a local celebration.

Residents may cease to identify the festival as a community celebration and begin to view it more as a form of staged entertainment for visitors. In the absence of a genuine celebration the authenticity and ongoing success of the festival as a tourism event may be impaired. (Hinch 1996, 102)

Thus, the overmanipulation of cultural resources for the tourism market may threaten the authenticity of cultural traditions and the viability of the tourism industry in Kandy. Tradeoffs need to be carefully considered, and an acceptable balance achieved.

Environmental Considerations

The nine positive responses to the question “Would you be interested in activities that have a low environmental impact” indicate that there is a demand for such activities, and a concern among some tourists about the environmental implications of tourism. Although all activities and attractions may be developed in a manner that minimizes the damage caused to the environment, some activities are less harmful by nature than others.

It is my observation that the issue of reducing consumption as a strategy in achieving an indefinitely healthy natural environment is inevitably brushed aside in the tourism planning literature when economic growth is discussed as a goal. This seems to indicate that the predominant assumption is that if tourists are consuming less and consequently doing less damage to the environment, they are automatically decreasing the benefits to the local economy. The goals of environmental health and economic growth are not necessarily incompatible in all instances, and the most desirable scenario is to identify strategies that may achieve both. If a

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19 All of the nine positive responses were from independent travelers, while package tourists gave the two negative responses. This is interesting to note, but given the small sample size, it is impossible to determine whether it is indicative of a larger trend.
number of non-consuming activities or low environmental impact activities, for which tourists pay, are developed and used, then the community would receive both economic and environmental benefits as a result.

It is these types of activities that were identified by tourists in the questionnaire as preferred areas of development. These include hiking, mountain biking, and organized cycling or walking tours. They also correspond to the interests of a growing number of special interest tourists who search out more active holidays (McIntyre 1993, 63). Many of the local informants also recognized the potential for developing active tourism, and recommended organized hikes to nearby waterfalls and to the Knuckles Range.

The Knuckles Range, or Dumbara Hills, situated north-east of Kandy, is a particularly sensitive area as it is home to a wide variety of vegetation and wildlife species, some of which are found only in that particular region (Bradnock and Bradnock 1998, 204). Although few tourists visit this area, hiking through the hills is increasing in popularity and could potentially become a major tourist activity. A conservation zone has been established above 1500 metres, but monitoring of activities in this area is difficult because of the few available Wildlife Department officers. As a result, a great deal of illegal cultivation of crops occurs in the area, causing enormous damage to the local ecosystem (Dabare 1997).

School children have been trained to give ‘eco-tours’ of the area as volunteers. The intention is that if the value of the natural beauty of the area for tourism is recognized, then the practice of overcultivation may be discouraged. Although hiking is an activity that does not entail consumption as such, it can have direct negative impacts on the natural surroundings that are being enjoyed through loss of vegetation from trampling accompanied by soil compaction, and increased soil erosion (Hunter and Green 1995, 15). The Forestry Department has developed trails with these considerations in mind, and visitor volume to the Knuckles Range is being monitored to ensure that irreversible damage does not occur. Similar concerns accompany cycling and walking activities, although not to such an extent, as they generally occur on existing
paved roads and paths. Cycling and walking tours could be developed that focus on such subjects as bird-watching, history, architecture, religion, or wildlife identification in order to appeal to special interest tourists.

Another excellent income generating non-consumptive activity that could be further developed in Kandy is traditional Ayurvedic massage. It is currently offered at a few hotels and guesthouses, but is not made widely known to tourists. By increasing its availability and informing tourists, Ayurvedic massage could increase in popularity, thereby gaining support for the continuation and enhancement of this local cultural tradition. Because of women’s central role in herb gathering and providing massages, increased demand by tourists could potentially offer more employment opportunities to women.

Meditation is an activity that carries with it no environmental repercussions. It is also an activity that tourists interested in religion and culture are often attracted to. Kandy offers a number of facilities for meditation. If the locations of these are made widely known through a pamphlet available at the tourist information centre, more tourists may be made aware of the opportunity and then make use of it.

Many of the local informants interviewed indicated that they feel that the lake is an underutilized tourism resource. Informant 6 suggested that paddleboats could be made available for rental. These would be a non-polluting quiet option to replace the current noisy, polluting motorboat tour that creates waves that erode the shoreline. Paddleboating is an activity that could be enjoyed by tourists and residents alike.

Regardless of the attraction or activity developed, quality is of primary concern. Existing attractions may be in need of upgrading, for without proper management and maintenance valuable cultural and environmental assets may be eroded (Gunn 1994, 57). Tourists are becoming increasingly sophisticated, and special interest tourists in particular are not satisfied by superficial, simplified and contrived attractions that have been given little thought or suffer from neglect or indifference. Likewise, tourists are increasingly demanding activities that are well-
planned to maximize their learning and enjoyment. Thus, developing activities and attractions of high quality will help in achieving the goal of tourist satisfaction. If Kandy can offer an abundance and variety of high quality attractions and activities, tourists could be enticed to stay longer to take advantage of its many offerings. Kandy could potentially become viewed by visitors not as a brief transit point to pass through, but instead as a centre that tourists use as a ‘home-base’ from which they visit other areas.

This chapter has explored some of the primary issues involving the built environment of Kandy, a central component of the tourism industry. Tourism has done little to damage the built environment in Kandy. Instead, pressures of modernization, deterioration due to neglect, air and noise pollution, and congestion are the primary forces threatening the quality of the built environment and, thus, the quality of the tourist experience.

The individual elements of the built environment in Kandy - including buildings and structures, landscaping, physical infrastructure, urban form, attractions and activities – contribute to the general image or overall atmosphere of the city; an important factor in appealing to visitors. Historical conservation efforts, which have been elemental in preserving the cultural heritage, have nurtured the city’s unique sense of place to some extent. It has yet to be fully appreciated that the appeal of the city to tourists stretches beyond individual buildings and includes the intangible colour and life of the busy downtown, and that it is the less grandiose elements of the urban context, such as sidewalk stalls and street vendors that are the life-force of the city’s appeal. Also largely unrecognized has been the important role of details such as sidewalks, landscaping, public toilets, signage, benches, and garbage bins in contributing to the city’s image. If attention is given to improving these elements in a manner that enhances the character of the city, Kandy’s unique sense of place may be more fully developed, and its appeal to tourists strengthened.

Physical infrastructure plays a major role in contributing to the overall comfort, safety and
enjoyment of tourists, and to the state of the natural environment. By catering to alternative tourists, infrastructure, attractions, and activities needed to meet the demands of this ‘alternative’ type of tourist can potentially be developed to minimize negative social, environmental, and cultural costs to the local population. These projects may also potentially benefit local residents through increased small-scale entrepreneurial opportunities, basic improvements to water, sewage and solid waste management, and increased leisure activities for residents. In catering to ‘alternative’ tourists, quality, variety, and authenticity are paramount.
CHAPTER ELEVEN: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Foundation

This thesis began by providing a comprehensive evaluation of the various aspects of tourism in Kandy, forming a foundation and direction for the development of a framework for tourism planning. An examination of the historical and contemporary dimensions of tourism in Kandy highlights issues that have shaped the development of the industry. The primary elements of tourism in Kandy were analyzed, including services, facilities, attractions, the receptivity of the local population to tourists, physical infrastructure, and institutional structure and coordination. This reveals the strengths of Kandy as a tourist destination, and exposes several potential areas of opportunity for improvement and development.

Chapter Four examined the broad range of positive and negative social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism in Kandy. An examination of these impacts indicated a number of key areas of concern that deserve attention in planning future tourism development for Kandy. These impacts are summarized here.

Tourism's effect on economic factors has been very positive overall. It has generated many tourism jobs and employment opportunities directly related to the industry. Due to strong backward linkages to the economy, indirect employment opportunities have also been created in other sectors that support tourism. One downfall, however, is that many of these jobs are low-paying, menial and unskilled.

Tourism has not reduced socio-economic inequity within Kandy. Most of the local population has not enjoyed any significant financial reward due to tourism. Instead, much of the economic benefits have been taken by outside investors. Of the remaining portion, the lion's share has been captured by a handful of wealthy, well-established families in Kandy. This inequitable distribution has reinforced the prevailing patterns of socio-economic stratification.
Prices of local produce have risen due to the demand of tourist hotels, placing an economic burden on the lower income-earning segment of the local population. Sinhalese Buddhist culture has been promoted through tourism to the exclusion of other ethnic and religious minorities, thereby strengthening the power of the already dominant Sinhalese. Tourism has not contributed to challenging the prevailing notions of gender roles and women’s position in society. A lack of interactions between package tourists and locals has led to some resentment among residents. Although tourism in Kandy has not produced criminal activities, such as drug use, prostitution and pedophilia, it has contributed to an increase in these social problems.

It is believed that tourism has been a negligible force in changes that are occurring in the local residents’ lifestyles, such as food preferences and clothing choices. Traditions of dance, festivals, music, rituals and handicrafts have enjoyed a revival as a result of the interest and patronage of tourists; however, modifications have been made to some of these cultural elements to cater to tourists’ preferences. The preservation of Kandy’s cultural and historical heritage has been made possible through the funding gained through tourist admissions to attractions.

The environmental impacts of tourism development in Kandy are extremely difficult to determine. Construction of hotels in fragile terrain and the encroachment on pristine natural areas has been one of the most readily identifiable impacts. Other less clearly distinguishable effects include increased demands on water supply, sewage and solid waste systems, and increases in transportation related pollution and congestion. Increasing demands from tourists for environmentally friendly accommodation have been a major impetus for hotels to begin adopting more responsible business practices.

The Framework

The Tourism Master Plan for Sri Lanka (UNDP 1993) predicts a significant future increase in tourist arrivals to Sri Lanka. If tourism development remains unchanged in Kandy, an increased volume of tourists will result in a magnification of current impacts. An effective and
appropriate tourism plan may ensure that the benefits of tourism are maximized and the damaging results are eliminated or at least minimized, thereby contributing to an improved overall quality of life for the residents of Kandy. Such a tourism plan may be developed if it conforms to the principles of environmental consciousness, cultural sensitivity, social responsibility, economic viability, and tourist satisfaction (elaborated in Chapter Five). In Chapters Six through Ten, these principles are applied to the unique characteristics and context of Kandy, with particular attention given to impacts, in the formulation of recommendations for general planning processes and specific strategies. These form the framework, summarized below, upon which a future tourism plan for Kandy may be developed.

Many of the recommendations provided within the framework for tourism planning are general approaches that may be applied to a number of elements of tourism development and may contribute to the achievement of more than one of the principles. It has been argued that the involvement of local stakeholders in the planning process is fundamental to gaining support for and commitment to the planning project, identifying crucial tourism-related issues, and generating locally appropriate and responsible planning solutions that will benefit the local population. Ensuring an open, comfortable, non-threatening process involving representation of the full-range of interests in the community can facilitate the generation and expression of creative ideas. This process may also further the goal of social equity by empowering traditionally disadvantaged groups whose participation will make it more likely that benefits such as economic gains, physical infrastructure, training, and incentives will be more fairly distributed. In this way, the process of planning is as crucial as its outcome. It will be most effective if it is logical and sequential with a focus on the attainment of clearly defined goals.

The type of tourism pursued will have significant implications for the outcome of tourism development. Foreign package tourists currently constitute the majority market segment in Kandy. The economic benefit of the average package tourist to the local population is roughly equivalent to or even less than that of an alternative tourist, but package tourism as undertaken in
Kandy has numerous negative social, cultural and environmental impacts.

Alternative tourism, which includes independent, domestic, South-Asian and special interest tourists, has fewer and significantly less pronounced damaging repercussions, plus it brings more beneficial impacts. This is because alternative tourists generally prefer a more direct 'authentic' experience of Kandy which does not necessitate the excessive capital investment for infrastructure, facilities, accommodation, attractions, and services that package tourism demands. By patronizing small-scale locally owned establishments, alternative tourists contribute to greater socio-economic equity and have a low environmental impact. Local culture is supported in its authentic form by alternative tourists who prefer unadulterated cultural art forms and traditions. Interactions between alternative tourists and the host population are generally positive, and tend to be a pleasant experience of intercultural learning for both parties.

By creating incentives and policies to encourage tourism development that would cater to alternative tourists, and then target marketing these tourists, seasonal fluctuations in the industry could be reduced, thereby leading to more economic stability. It would not be wise to abandon package tourism altogether. Package tourism may be made more appropriate and less damaging by marketing to more socially, culturally and environmentally responsible package tourists, by creating less rigid travel arrangements and through the application of responsible business practices to establishments to minimize the negative impacts.

The provision of easily accessible, accurate, current and comprehensive information regarding Kandy's attractions, facilities, and services is crucial to the success of the local tourism industry. It could entice visitors to extend their stay or to make a return visit to take advantage of the opportunities. It could also improve tourists' overall satisfaction by making it easy for them to find their way around, informing them of safety and health hazards and by enhancing their learning experience. A greater awareness of the culture and history on the part of the visitor can improve interactions with locals, and enhance residents' pride in their own culture. Information provision can also reduce tourists' reliance on guidebooks, and place the control over the city's
representation in the hands of the local population. The production of a local accommodation
guide could lead to a formalization of the unauthorized establishments, resulting in improved
health and safety standards, a more stable income for the owners, and a decrease in their reliance
on touts.

Information to raise tourists’ awareness may be made available in the form of ‘tourist codes
of conduct’. By raising the awareness of tourists of all types, and of residents, about the
implications of their impacts on the social, cultural and natural environments they may be
persuaded to alter their behaviour in a manner that has less damaging effects. If tourists behave
in a manner that is culturally appropriate, their interactions with local residents may be more
positive, thereby improving the tourists’ satisfaction. By increasing residents’ knowledge about
their own culture and history, their sense of pride and resistance to unwanted external forces of
change may be strengthened.

Another group of people who need to have knowledge that will assist them in achieving the
goals of tourism are those individuals working in tourism and tourism-related enterprises. The
reallocation of tourism training from that catering to package tourists, to that which caters to
alternative tourists could mean that a larger number of individuals could benefit. Providing
training support for smaller-scale, locally owned enterprises would indirectly support the
achievement of the goals of tourism in Kandy. Providing training for all individuals who deal
with tourists could improve relations between locals and tourists.

Street guides may be trained and licensed to provide alternative tourists with the depth and
accuracy of information that they demand. If the guides were to organize and provide their
services for hire at set rates in a central location, this could give them more stability and
legitimacy, and could decrease the frustration and annoyance tourists often feel when approached
on the street. If an arrangement were made for the police to hire street guides to provide
translation services when foreigners are lodging a complaint, this would provide the guides with
extra income and improve the visitors’ experiences.
A sufficient number and range of institutions, either public, private, or community based, are necessary for attaining the goals of tourism development in Kandy. Local level institutions may be more responsive to local tourism-related environmental, social, cultural, economic and environmental issues and concerns. To ensure that all tourism issues are dealt with in Kandy, to make more efficient use of available resources and to ensure that there is no duplication, the roles and responsibilities of current institutions must be clearly defined, collaboration must occur between the various institutions at all levels, and new institutions may need to be established to bridge any gaps. Cooperation between all institutions and elements of tourism could lead to a more unified and consistent tourism product, which would be more appealing to tourists.

Policy, standards, and incentives may be tailored to contribute to the goals of tourism development. Equal opportunity policies can reduce social and economic disparities by providing employment to traditionally disadvantaged groups such as women and minorities. If accommodation standards and responsible business practices are established and self-policed within local private sector associations, this could relieve the public sector of these responsibilities, and allow for the development of facilities that are more appropriate for the alternative tourist.

Policies for conservation of historical buildings have enhanced Kandy's sense of place and preserved representations of the city's cultural heritage. Greater consideration given to the details and intangible elements that contribute to Kandy's character may further enhance the city's atmosphere. The built environment, an important factor contributing to tourist satisfaction, may be improved through better landscaping, attention to clustering of tourist attractions and amenities, resistance to inappropriate forces of change, and the development of infrastructure projects to reduce damage caused to the environment by automobile emissions, excessive noise, solid waste contamination, and untreated sewage. One suggestion popular among tourists and residents alike is for pedestrianization of part of the downtown core to create a traffic and pollution-free zone that would enhance the atmosphere of the city and provide a relaxing but
lively place to spend time.

In appealing to the alternative tourist it is important that attractions and activities be of a high quality, that they be plentiful and diverse, and that authenticity is maintained. Diversity can be achieved by developing attractions that strengthen and support the full range of ethnic and religious traditions, an approach that could also help empower minority groups. A wide range of quality attractions and activities may lead to the enhancement of the culture and increased tourist satisfaction, and it may entice visitors to extend their stay. Emphasizing the development and marketing of activities that are non-consuming or have low environmental impacts may minimize damage to the natural environment.

**Potential Constraints to Implementation**

The above recommendations highlight key areas of opportunity and offer suggestions for improvement to tourism development through planning in Kandy. It is important to also consider potential constraints that may act as barriers to effective implementation of the tourism plan:

“Problems in implementation arise not so much in deciding what should be done, but in making it happen” (Pigram 1992, 81). These obstacles are mentioned throughout the thesis and are highlighted here.

The complexity of Kandy’s urban environment, in which tourism is enmeshed, makes it difficult to diagnose problems caused by tourism, and it makes it equally difficult to find effective and straightforward solutions. Even small changes in the tourism product can have profound implications for the local urban form and residents’ lives, changes that may not be readily identified beforehand. This is further complicated by the fact that the urban environment is not static; therefore, tourism development strategies need to be designed to deal with change rather than suppress it (Hinch 1996, 103).

Local level collaborative efforts, such as community based planning groups or private sector associations, may encounter difficulties due to interpersonal conflicts between participants. Past
unresolved differences and pervasive jealousy might create an unwillingness to cooperate, or resistance to compromise and conflict resolution on other issues. These tendencies became evident through my field research. They are also frequently noted in Malcolm Crick's study of tourism in Sri Lanka (1994) and by Warrell (1990): “It is worth remembering that in this society, for all the Buddhist emphasis on positive emotions such as equanimity, compassion and kindness, jealousy remains a very powerful trait in the Sri Lankan psyche” (Warrell 1990, 40).

Local planning in Kandy that gives equal consideration to goals other than economic gain, and caters to alternative tourists is at odds with the national government’s approach that targets wealthy foreign package tourists and holds economic gain as paramount. These differences in approaches to tourism will make necessary collaboration between the national and local level difficult to achieve. Localized planning efforts in Kandy, although holding the potential to persuade upper levels of government, may be limited in what may be achieved without the cooperation of governmental institutions that still hold much power in determining the outcome of tourism development. Also, as has been the fate of many other development projects in Sri Lanka, tourism planning efforts, programs and projects may be discarded with a change in government:

Programs and policies designated as priorities by one government may be down scaled or abandoned by succeeding administration. Therefore, long-term projects, such as the development of tourism education programs, may be initially approved only to be altered or rejected by subsequent governments. (Echtner 1995, 130)

Many of the recommendations offered in the framework will require considerable change to fundamental procedures, power hierarchies, institutions and management structures. They also challenge and seek changes in pervasive societal values that favour rapid economic growth, increased consumption, complex technology, reliance on technical specialists, top-down decision making, and traditional hierarchical structures that privilege dominant and powerful groups in society. A shift of such magnitude will require a redistribution of power and benefits, and will undoubtedly meet with a great deal of resistance by those in positions of privilege and power who
benefit from the existing system. Corruption is a pervasive problem in Kandy that further
privileges the powerful and inhibits the implementation of plans and, therefore, needs to be
openly acknowledged and addressed. These changes to the very fabric of current tourism
development approaches and institutions, and to the societal values upon which they are based
can only occur with the concerted and devoted efforts of individuals and communities at all levels
of the system. Such a shift will be slow to evolve.

Many of the recommendations provided in the framework require economic inputs.

One way in which tourism development plans have failed in the past is for the
opportunities for tourism development to be investigated in detail, but without an
appraisal of how new developments are to be implemented, or projects to be
financed. (Bennett 1994, 32)

In recognition of the limits of available funding for tourism development in Kandy, the approach
taken in this thesis is not to devise ways of increasing the amount of money allocated to tourism
from government coffers, for that would divert it from other general development projects, an
approach that is counter to the ultimate goal of improving the quality of life. Rather, the
approach taken is to find creative ways of maximizing the use of the funds currently available.
Catering to alternative tourists requires much lower financial investment in all elements of
tourism (except marketing) than tourism development for package tourists. The use of non-
financial incentives to encourage appropriate development does not demand economic resources.
Private-public partnerships and involvement of community based organizations in tourism
planning in Kandy can also relieve financial pressure. Maximization of existing funds would be
beneficial to the tourism industry because it would not entail additional tax burdens on the
tourism enterprises that already pay high taxes, and it would not entail increased prices of
admissions or extra tourist taxes which tourists already consider excessive.

There are factors affecting the success or failure of the tourism industry in Kandy that are,
and will always remain beyond the control of any planning process. These external factors
include the ongoing ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, consumer preferences, airline routing, the price
of aviation fuel, and international exchange rates. This makes Kandy’s tourism industry extremely vulnerable. Some strategies, such as encouraging increased domestic tourism, staying atop of current tourism trends, and developing small-scale low capital enterprises can reduce this vulnerability. Ultimately, the degree of reliance of the local economy on the tourism industry must be decided, and development confined within those limits.

The central government has been the primary force in determining the direction of tourism development in Kandy, a strategy that has over-emphasized its narrow vision of economic gain. This has resulted in unaddressed negative impacts that have adversely affected the quality of life of residents in Kandy. The framework for tourism planning developed in this thesis provides an alternative to the current approach. It is based on a broader conception of development. The principles that guide the recommendations in the framework are environmental consciousness, cultural sensitivity, social responsibility, economic viability, and tourist satisfaction. In planning tourism development based on these principles, there will be instances in which tradeoffs will be necessary, especially in a climate of limited resources. Certain circumstances will require that more emphasis be placed on one principle to the detriment of another, and different circumstances will require a variety of approaches. Overall, however, an appropriate balance may be achieved that reflects the established priorities.

The analysis and recommendations presented in this framework are not intended to be the final word on tourism planning for Kandy, but are put forth as an important starting point for the generation of a tourism plan that is responsive to the unique context and characteristics of Kandy. This framework is not intended to be rigid, but must remain adaptive in order to adjust to new information and changing circumstances, and to accommodate the ongoing processes of change. Tourism planning of this type will allow residents of Kandy to assume control and become the central decision-makers in determining how tourism will be developed, and how it can be planned to improve the quality of their own lives. In this way, tourism planning can potentially lead to a thriving and indefinitely viable tourism industry in Kandy that is enthusiastically supported, and one which enriches the lives of tourists and residents alike.


This thesis draws upon research from the vast tourism planning literature and from primary research in the city of Kandy. The research conducted in Kandy consisted of five components: interviews with key individuals involved in the tourism industry; a questionnaire eliciting foreign tourists' impressions of Kandy; informal discussions with tourists and residents; feedback and ideas generated at a planning workshop; and participant observation of the tourist experience.

I conducted twenty-one formal interviews with individuals involved in the tourism industry in Kandy (refer to Appendix C). The duration of each interview was approximately one hour. Overall, these interviews generated useful information and impressions of a general nature. The most insightful comments and rich explanations regarding the complex relationships and functioning of the tourism industry in Kandy were not provided during the formal interviews, but rather during additional later informal contact with the interviewees. I believe that this probably occurred for two reasons, the first being that they had time in between the meetings to thoroughly reflect on the questions I had put forth in the interview. The second reason may have been that informants felt more comfortable divulging sensitive information once we had established a relationship of trust and once they were convinced of the legitimacy of my research and of my claims of confidentiality.

I believe that my position as an outsider worked to my advantage in that people perceived me to be an objective observer lacking any personal stake in the tourism industry in Kandy or the politics therein and, therefore, they felt reasonably comfortable in speaking frankly with me. A drawback of being an outsider to the culture and society has been that I lack a full comprehension of the intricacies of power structures within the community, and of the subtle nuances and history of relationships between the parties involved.

It was beneficial to be a foreigner, and visibly identifiable as such, when I was conducting participant observation. It made it easy for me to live the tourist experience when I visited tourist attractions like the Temple of the Tooth, the museum, and the Kandyan dance performance. I was able to experience the frustration and annoyance at being constantly approached by street guides when I walked near the lake, and to sense the disapproval of some locals towards me as a woman traveling alone.

The tourist questionnaire received various responses (Appendix B provides the questionnaire and a compilation of the responses). I distributed questionnaires to twenty foreign tourists who agreed to participate. Seventeen of the surveys were returned completed, plus one that was returned spoiled. The questions posed in the questionnaire often led to discussions with the
respondents who then provided more detailed feedback and impressions. In general, the respondents provided useful information and comments. Time restrictions for research necessitated a small sample size. I recommend that a similar questionnaire be developed and distributed to a larger and more representative sample in order to gain more comprehensive feedback. Since many of the foreign tourists that visit Kandy speak languages other than English, translation of the questionnaire into the various languages would facilitate accuracy and response rate. One-on-one interviews with tourists could be used to supplement the written questionnaire. Unfortunately, I was unable to locate any domestic tourists to gather their insights. I recommend that any further research on tourism in Kandy make a concerted effort to elicit the impressions and input of domestic tourists as well. Unfortunately, my efforts to identify and interview domestic tourists were unsuccessful.

The two-day tourism planning workshop, held on October 19 and 20, 1998 in Kandy was attended by approximately thirty participants representing various tourism interests and institutions. This workshop brought forth a number of the more salient tourism issues in a forum for discussion. Planning exercises involving the participants led to the formulation of proposals for projects and strategies for further planning processes.

The three-week time frame allotted for research was sufficient for the purpose of gaining a general understanding of key issues and a brief glimpse into the complexities of the tourism industry in Kandy. My findings are presented in this thesis in general qualitative terms only. More methodical and comprehensive research would be necessary in order to gather accurate quantitative data and to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the complexities of tourism issues. I was unable to locate any unauthorized guesthouses during my visit, but recommend that efforts be made to conduct research specifically on this component of tourism in Kandy in order to gain a firsthand understanding of these establishments. Further research of the impressions of Sri Lankan tourists is also recommended, as domestic tourism constitutes a substantial yet often overlooked component in Kandy and, therefore, an understanding of its dynamics is necessary for comprehensive tourism planning.
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESPONSES

Study of Kandy Tourism
The information acquired through this questionnaire will be used exclusively for a tourism planning workshop held on October 19-20 1998 (Joint development project between Peradeniya University and UBC), and for the Master’s thesis of Anita Friesen, School of Community and Regional Planning (UBC). This thesis will develop a framework for policymakers in creating an environmentally, socially and culturally sensitive tourism plan for Kandy.
If you are not comfortable answering any of the following questions, please feel free to leave them blank.

Personal Information:
1. What is your approximate budget in Rupees or $US per day for travel in Sri Lanka?
2. Why did you come to Kandy?
3. How did you learn about Kandy?
4. Where were you in Sri Lanka immediately before coming to Kandy?
5. How many nights did/will you stay in Kandy?

Information Availability:
6. What is your primary source of information about Kandy and its attractions?
7. Has it been easy or difficult to obtain information about Kandy during your stay?
8. Have you found the tourist information office useful?
   What kind of information was most helpful?
   What information was not available but would have been useful?

9. Attractions and Activities in and around Kandy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>Did you know this was available? y/n</th>
<th>Did you visit? y/n</th>
<th>Were you pleased? Explain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elephant Baths</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant Orphanage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Dance Performance</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of the Tooth</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Temples</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Craft Villages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tea Plantations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hike to Knuckles Range</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Spice Gardens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Laksala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peradeniya Gardens</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udawattekelle Bird Sanctuary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk around the Lake</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palace buildings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. How would you rate the quality and availability of other services and facilities?
   (1 - poor to 10 - excellent)
   □ Retail shops
   □ Postal Services
   □ Communication Services, such as phone and fax.
   □ Banks
   □ Roads
   □ Public toilets
   □ Garbage cans
   □ Bus transportation
   □ Three-wheelers
   □ Sidewalks
   □ Benches

11. Comments?

12. Place a check mark beside other activities or facilities that you would like to see developed in Kandy?
   Sporting and exercise facilities
   Hiking trails
   Mountain-biking
   Organized Cycling or walking tours
   Village home-stay opportunities
   Other ethnic/religious sites and activities (e.g. Hindu, Tamil, Muslim, Christian)
   Tours of home-gardens
   Fishing/hunting
   Boating/rafting
   Other suggestions?

13. Would you be interested in activities that have a low environmental impact?

14. Where are you staying while in Kandy?

15. Are you pleased with the quality of accommodation for the price? Comments.

16. At what kind of places do/did you eat most often? Please comment on your dining experiences.

17. Briefly describe your interactions with and impression of Sri Lankan people?

18. Have you felt harassed by touts or guides at any time? Or were you pleased that they offered their assistance?

19. Did you see/hire any official trained guides? (Visible identification tags)

20. What have been your most positive experiences in Kandy and why?

21. What have been your most negative experiences in Kandy and why?

22. Overall were you pleased with your stay in Kandy? Comment.

23. What other suggestions can you offer that would improve your experience or entice you to stay longer?
RESPONSES TO QUESTIONNAIRE:

Personal Information:

1. What is your approximate budget in Rupees or $US per day for travel in Sri Lanka?
   - included in tour for four
   - 300Rs
   - $US10 (650 Rs)
   - 750Rs
   - 800Rs
   - 900Rs
   - 900Rs
   - $US20 (1,300 Rs)
   - $US30 (1,950 Rs)
   - 2,000Rs
   - 3900Rs
   - 4,000Rs
   - 5,000Rs
   - $US100 (6,500 Rs)

2. Why did you come to Kandy?
   - 4 because it was included in tour
   - for a cultural experience
   - for the temple of the tooth and to see the biggest city of the hill country
   - tourist/business
   - for meditation possibilities
   - fortuitous
   - read about it
   - for the climate
   - have friends here
   - scenery, natural surroundings

3. How did you learn about Kandy?
   - 9 from guide book
   - one from local contact
   - one from books
   - 3 had it recommended by other travellers

4. Where were you in Sri Lanka immediately before coming to Kandy?
   - 5 from Ancient Cities (2 Sigiriya, 2 Polonnaruwa, 1 Anuradhapura)
   - 5 from Colombo plus 3 from Negombo
   - 2 from Nuwara Eliya

5. How many nights did/will you stay in Kandy?
   - 1 tourist stayed 1 night
   - 7 tourists stayed 2 nights
   - 5 tourists stayed 3 nights
   - 2 tourists stayed 4 nights
   - 1 tourist stayed 28 nights
Information Availability:

6. What is your primary source of information about Kandy and its attractions?
   - 12 from guidebook (one specified Insight Guide, 8 specified Lonely Planet)
   - one from tourguide
   - one through readings
   - one from books and T.V.
   - from Travel Lanka and Explore Sri Lanka
   - 3 from local people

7. Has it been easy or difficult to obtain information about Kandy during your stay?
   - 14 indicated it was easy
   - 1 indicated it was difficult

8. Have you found the tourist information office useful?
   - 6 did not use it (one responded that it was not open)
   - of the three who used it, two indicated it was useful, one indicated it was not useful.

   What kind of information was most helpful?
   - Interesting sites such as Maligawa, tea plantations, Kandyan dance, etc.
   - brochures and maps

   What information was not available but would have been useful?
   - Accurate and detailed roadmap
   - Where air-con buses leave from, and which bus is which.
   - The truth about Malaria and the war in Sri Lanka
   - should be given notice about the state of the Temple of the Tooth.

9. Attractions and Activities in and around Kandy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>Did you know this was available?</th>
<th>Did you visit?</th>
<th>Were you pleased? Explain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elephant Baths</td>
<td>y=10</td>
<td>y=9</td>
<td>-altogether 6 were pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>-O.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- dull and exploitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- exotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant Orphanage</td>
<td>y=17</td>
<td>y=14</td>
<td>-altogether 9 were pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=2</td>
<td>n=2</td>
<td>- enjoyed, skillful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>elephant management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-O.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- enjoyed, baby elephants were cute</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- better before when less organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- exotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance Performance</td>
<td>y=17</td>
<td>y=12</td>
<td>-altogether 8 were pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>- unforgettable dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- didn’t go because it was “another tourist trap”</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- music and dance good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- colorful, but not well performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- interesting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activity</td>
<td>n 1</td>
<td>n 2</td>
<td>Comments</td>
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<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Temple of the Tooth</strong></td>
<td>y=17</td>
<td>y=13</td>
<td>- altogether 6 x pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=3</td>
<td></td>
<td>- historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- a great buddha image</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nice that there were many locals</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- too expensive for tourists</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 2 x no, one big construction place</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>- not pleased “travaux” too difficult or too much work?</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- too many police</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- too much noise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- crowded, but good guide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Temples</strong></td>
<td>y=13</td>
<td>y=6</td>
<td>- altogether 3 x pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=4</td>
<td>n=10</td>
<td>- not pleased</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- enjoyed it: beautiful old temples</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- various degrees of like</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nice atmosphere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Craft villages</strong></td>
<td>y=5</td>
<td>y=3</td>
<td>- disappointing lack of variety</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>n=11</td>
<td>n=13</td>
<td>- enjoyed it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tea plantations</strong></td>
<td>y=15</td>
<td>y=9</td>
<td>- altogether 5 x pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=1</td>
<td>n=7</td>
<td>- pleased: nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- enjoyed it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- interesting, scenery superb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hike to Knuckles Range</strong></td>
<td>y=4</td>
<td>y=2</td>
<td>-(both saw the range by car)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=13</td>
<td>n=14</td>
<td>- wonderful scenery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spice Gardens</strong></td>
<td>y=13</td>
<td>y=11</td>
<td>- altogether 9 were pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=4</td>
<td>n=5</td>
<td>- very interesting</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- didn’t enjoy</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- exotic</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- learned many kinds of spice plants</td>
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<td>- not as interesting as Goa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>- nice massages</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- good explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Laksala</strong></td>
<td>y=4</td>
<td>y=4</td>
<td>- O.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=13</td>
<td>n=12</td>
<td>- unenterprising and unhelpful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Market</strong></td>
<td>y=13</td>
<td>y=12</td>
<td>- altogether 5 x pleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=3</td>
<td>n=4</td>
<td>- very useful and great fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- exotic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- expensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 2 said O.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nice atmosphere, not many tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Reviews</td>
<td>Reasons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peradeniya Gardens</td>
<td>y=9</td>
<td>4 x pleased.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=6</td>
<td>- not pleased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- not enough information about plants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- very good indeed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- too expensive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- beautiful but too many tourists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- very nice, quiet and clean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udawattekelle Bird Sanctuary</td>
<td>y=6</td>
<td>- pleased “gentle majesty”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum</td>
<td>y=15</td>
<td>3 were pleased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=2</td>
<td>- closed for holiday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- good collection of old production in kingdom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- needs improvement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- not terribly interesting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk around lake</td>
<td>y=15</td>
<td>- altogether 6 were pleased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=4</td>
<td>- nice but run down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- 2 said no, too much traffic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- wonderful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- O.K.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- nothing special</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- yes, very peaceful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- pleased but needs better maintenance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palace buildings</td>
<td>y=11</td>
<td>2 were pleased</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=6</td>
<td>- 2 were not pleased, under construction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimming at a hotel</td>
<td>y=1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10. How would you rate the quality and availability of other services and facilities? (1 = poor to 10 = excellent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Ratings</th>
<th>Average</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Retail shops</td>
<td>8,5,5,5,6,5,6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal Services</td>
<td>8,8,10,9,5,6,8,9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Services, such as phone and fax.</td>
<td>9,7,6,8,9,8,10,6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks</td>
<td>10,4,10,9,8,5,8,10,7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>4,1,6,3,2,1,7,5,2,10,4,6,6,4,6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public toilets</td>
<td>1,2,3,1,1,2,1,1,2,1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garbage cans</td>
<td>4,3,1,2,2,10,2,1,2,1,1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bus transportation</td>
<td>7,1,6,2,5,4,8,8,4,7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three-wheelers</td>
<td>8,6,8,8,10,4,8,8,10,7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sidewalks</td>
<td>6,3,3,3,3,3,5,4,4,6,7,4,6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benches</td>
<td>6,6,7,3,8,4,6,3,6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Comments?
- "decent public toilets are a crying necessity"
- "Kandy is a good place to look around but if you look for something in particular you will usually find someone insists they join you in looking and wanting a tip for their trouble"
- too few garbage cans
- e-mail is very expensive
- impressed that they even have some garbage cans
- the pollution is hard to take

12. Place a check mark beside other activities or facilities that you would like to see developed in Kandy?

- Sporting and exercise facilities
- Hiking trails
- Mountain-biking
- Organized Cycling or walking tours
- Village home-stay opportunities
- Other ethnic/religious sites and activities (eg. Hindu, Tamil, Muslim, Christian)
- Tours of home-gardens
- Fishing/hunting
- Boating/rafting

Other suggestions:
- massage centre
- herbs/spices centre (shops)
- Elephant safaris, but not in the usual tourist style, instead in a manner that honours nature, and in a fair relationship with the animals

13. Would you be interested in activities that have a low environmental impact?
y = 9  n = 2

14. Where are you staying while in Kandy? Hotel Suisse - 3; Mahaveli Reach - 3; Sharon Inn - 6; Pink House - 4
15. **Are you pleased with the quality of accommodation for the price? Comments.**

*Hotel Suisse* – slightly rundown but very good. /Very pleased./ I am satisfied with the quality and price.

*Sharon Inn* – good rate and good quality for price/ Friendly and helpful with very good facilities/yes, excellent/ yes, good price and quality/yes, it was perfect/yes, very good

*Mahaweli Reach* – yes/yes/yes

*Pink House* – yes, nice people/ yes, very good place, reasonable price, excellent service/yes/

16. **At what kind of places do/did you eat most often? Please comment on your dining experiences.**

- Hotel – O.K./ hotel for most meals,
- Restaurant for local food was good/ restaurants for light lunches/breakfast (nothing special) and dinner at guesthouse, lunch at restaurant always good
- Hotels, restaurants, mostly rice and curry, also Japanese restaurant
- 3 at Hotel (Mahaveli Reach)
- Muslim restaurant and bakery.
- Cheap places, all food tastes equal (chili)
- there are few ordinary Sri Lankan restaurants.
- Few choices other than one’s own guesthouse/hotel
- Disappointed with the quantity of meat offered, esp. in a Buddhist society. Sad, sad.
- Ate at the guesthouse, really good food
- 4 ate at At Sharon Inn, very good
- mostly at guest house, but food is not very varied.
- Hotels and restaurants.

17. **Briefly describe your interactions with and impression of Sri Lankan people?**

- Extremely well-mannered and friendly
- friendly, cheerful, helpful, unsophisticated and usually quite charming, hospitable
- very nice people, but mainly only interested in some ‘business’
- good
- friendly greeting, smiling face
- happy people who are willing to please and help (with exceptions)
- smile whole day, kind, very polite
- they are very friendly
- friendly, simple, honest, polite
- In Kandy they only see you as a person who has money
- really open and helpful people
- very friendly helpful people, except the touts
- friendly, helpful, some people too pushy
- very charming and gentle
- very nice people
18. **Have you felt harassed by touts or guides at any time? Or were you pleased that they offered their assistance?**
- Once or twice felt harassed but have used them
- yes felt harassed, at first. Their assistance is untrustworthy
- they always disappear when you say you have no money
- harassed, not pleased they offered assistance
- sometimes they are very helpful and sometimes a complete nuisance
- no (on tour)
- harassed
- no (in Sri Lanka only 4 days on business, one day in Kandy)
- sometimes they don’t take no for an answer
- felt hassled, want more privacy
- they are quite irritating. You can’t trust anybody here in Kandy
- felt hassled, harangued and hounded
- yes, can be annoying sometimes
- yes, we have felt harassed, but only in very touristic places
- too many touts, didn’t want their assistance, they’re a nuisance

19. **Did you see/hire any official trained guides? (Visible identification tags)**
   y=1  n=10

20. **What have been your most positive experiences in Kandy and why?**
- Good hotel, very beautiful surrounding countryside
- “the ability to move around the town and surroundings without hindrance or harassment. The new underpass is just lovely”
- elephant orphanage and bathing
- hotel staff are very kind and helpful (Suisse)
- elephant orphanage
- nice people at guesthouse (Pink House)
- the lake, sightseeing tour with the bus
- the people at the Sharon Inn and the food
- market,
- surroundings, temples in the hills
- peaceful atmosphere around the lake
- botanical garden

21. **What have been your most negative experiences in Kandy and why?**
- spice gardens: too many tourists
- 3 indicated beggars
- trying to find what bus to catch and what times they start.
- 3 indicated traffic - chaotic traffic conditions in the town centre, undisciplined behaviour of drivers and pedestrians alike
- 2 indicated pollution
- car damaged during parking
- the streetsellers
- 2 indicated touts were a little annoying
22. Overall were you pleased with your stay in Kandy?

Y=14        Neutral=1

Comment.
-lots to do and see
-very pleased, clean and people were helpful and welcoming
-pleased without reservation. They keep returning.
-pleasant balance between history, nature and resting. City not too big and stressed like Colombo. -Nice accommodation (Sharon Inn)
-pleasant interesting place
-I am happy to stay in Kandy, due to good natural environment, except for exhaust from vehicles
-nice weather, good hotel, good food, kind people
-very relaxing
-nice town, lots to do and see
-nice guesthouse
-has many possibilities

23. What other suggestions can you offer that would improve your experience or entice you to stay longer?

-develop the transport commodities a little better (roads, non-polluting buses or cars)
-a fixed tariff would help for taxis and three-wheelers so you are not thought of being taken for a ride in price
-new super highway construction from/to Kandy and Colombo
-need roads without traffic
-I would have enjoyed riding bikes but the traffic and pollution would make it difficult
-please make a “no-car” day around the lake
-A real centre without heavy traffic would be nice.
-less air pollution from vehicles- bad for health
-water of the lake should be renewed, it is contaminated.
-Don’t make Kandy into a place of mass tourism, don’t introduce touristy things to do.
-never allow artificial activities like rafting, mountain biking, or hunting
-less touts
-educate the people in order to decrease beggars and wrong guides
-more evening entertainment
-places to eat downtown where you can sit outside/on the roof.
-botanical gardens needs to have more information about plants
-fewer policemen
-Opening golf course, tennis court, indoor gym,
-“The standard 30 day visa should be lengthened to three months. The procedure for renewing a visa at present is difficult, expensive, and a waste of a whole day, and has been the occasion for sheer rudeness.”
APPENDIX C: RESEARCH INFORMANTS

Informant 1: Senior Lecturer, Ceylon Hotel School and School of Tourism.
Informant 2: Manager of mid-price guesthouse
Informant 3: Owner of mid-price guesthouse (paying guest accommodation)
Informant 4: Engineer of Kandy Municipality
Informant 5: Representative of the Kandy Hoteliers Association
Informant 6: Manager of mid-price hotel
Informant 7: Expert in cultural conservation and preservation of Kandy
Informant 8: Expert in Kandyan arts and crafts
Informant 9: Professor at the University of Peradeniya
Informant 10: Official in the Urban Development Authority (UDA)
Informant 11: Professor at the University of Peradeniya - expert in historical preservation and tourism
Informant 12: Official with the Department of Tourism
Informant 13: Professor at the University of Peradeniya, expert in the cultural and historical context of Kandy
Informant 14: Owners of mid- to upper-price guesthouse
Informant 15: Owner of mid-price guesthouse
Informant 16: Manager of upper-price hotel
Informant 17: Researcher at the Institute of Fundamental Studies
Informant 18: Waiter of 18 years experience in a restaurant popular with tourists.
Informant 19: Unlicensed street-guide
Informant 20: Four street guides: licensed and unlicensed
Informant 21: The owner of a souvenir shop