TOURISM IMPACTS ON THE AYUTTHAYA WORLD HERITAGE SITE : MEASURING THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE HOST COMMUNITY

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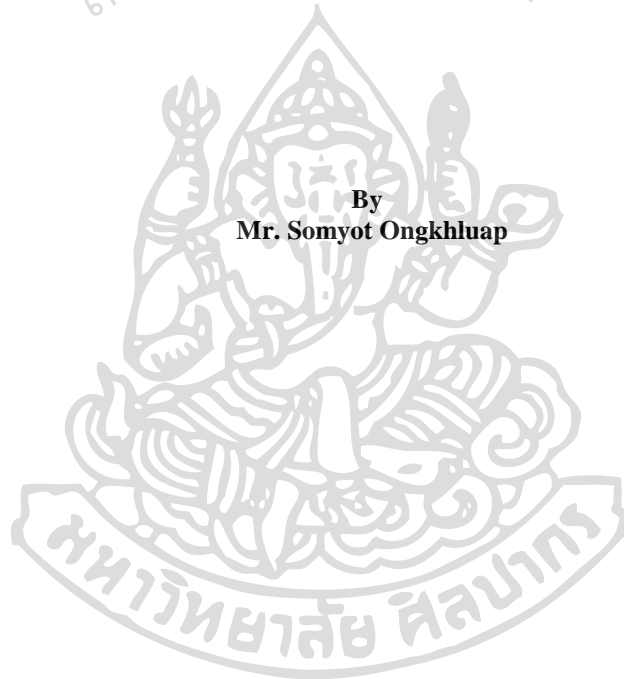
By
Mr. Somyot Ongkhluap

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy Program in Architectural Heritage Management
and Tourism (International Program)
Graduate School, Silpakorn University
Academic Year 2012
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The Graduate School, Silpakorn University has approved and accredited the Thesis title of "Tourism Impacts on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site : Measuring the Perceptions of the Host Community" submitted by Mr. Somyot Ongkhluap as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism

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The historic city of Ayutthaya and associated historic towns has been included in UNESCO list of World Heritage since December 13, 1991 and be one of the main tourist destination of Thailand. The number of visitors is continually increases and generates several benefits to both the city and the country. However, tourism has had some destructive effects, not only at a national but also at a local level.

The impacts of tourism on World Heritage sites have increasingly attracted attention and that impact is not confined to the heritage resource itself but to those communities connected to World Heritage sites. There have been a number of attempts to understand these impacts.

This research looks at the perceptions that the local community of Ayutthaya have towards the impacts of tourism on their lives. The methodology proposed in this study was a community-based process that begins with the values of the local communities and relates these to all the tourist activities in and around Ayutthaya to generate a matrix that measures the perception of impacts on the local community. The matrix is also base on the sustainable development concept and recognizes that economic, environmental and socio-cultural issues are important and need to be integrated into the planning process in order to provide long-term utilization for tourism development.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Heritage is our legacy from the past,
what we live with today,
and what we pass on to future generations.
(UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2010)

By the definition above, "**Heritage**" refers to something inherited from the past that people would like to keep for the future generations. The Wikipedia (2011), online encyclopedia defines the word "Heritage" in several different senses, including:

Natural heritage, a group's inheritance of fauna and flora, geology, landscape and landforms, and other natural resources

Cultural heritage, the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society: man-made heritage

Inheritance of physical goods after the death of an individual

Heredity, biological inheritance of physical characteristics

Birthright, something inherited due to the place, time, or circumstances of someone's birth

Kinship, the relationship between entities that share a genealogical origin

In this research, as UNESCO (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2010) mentions, "Heritage" means cultural and natural heritage that are irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. Places as unique and diverse as the wilds of East Africa's Serengeti, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Great Barrier Reef in Australia and the Baroque cathedrals of Latin America make up our world's heritage. Some heritage sites are valuable for all mankind or well known as "The World Heritage".

The World Heritage is the programme administered by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee, founded in 1972. The programme aims to catalogue, name, and conserve sites of outstanding cultural or natural importance to the common heritage of humanity and to raise awareness how to maintain the sites to last for future generations of humanity. The World Heritage **List includes 936 properties** forming part of the cultural and natural heritage. As of April, 2011, a total of 911 sites are listed: 725 cultural, 183 natural, and 28 mixed properties, in 153 States Parties all over the world (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2012). Since the end of 2004, there were six criteria for cultural heritage and four criteria for natural heritage as follow (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2012):

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Cultural criteria

1. To represent a masterpiece of human creative genius.
2. To exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.
3. To bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.
4. To be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.
5. To be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change.
6. To be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)

Natural criteria

1. To contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance.
2. To be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features.
3. To be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals.
4. To contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-site conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

World Heritage Sites include many of the world's most outstanding attractions and grandest monuments of the past. For tourism promoters they act as magnets, while for the nation in which they are found they serve as icons that continue to influence current values. It cannot be denied that World Heritage places are major tourist destinations. It is therefore a challenge to helping the managers of World Heritage Sites accomplish a dual purpose: to conserve the site given to their care and provide meaningful and considerate access to as many visitors as the site can allow (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

In many countries, tourism is a fast growing industry and a valuable sector. Tourism contributes significantly to the countries' economy. Moreover, tourism plays an increasingly important role in the development of communities. The benefits of

tourism include both tangible (e.g. job creation, state and local tax revenue, etc.) and less tangible (e.g. social structure, quality-of-life, etc.). So many countries promoted tourism as a major source of national income (Thailand Development Research Institute, 2001) that makes tourism industry growth rapidly.

The substantial growth of the tourism activity clearly marks tourism as one of the most remarkable economic and social phenomena of the past century. The number of international arrivals shows an evolution from a mere 25 million international arrivals in 1950 to an estimated 806 million in 2005, corresponding to an average annual growth rate of 6.5% (World Tourism Organization, 2011) (see figure 1).
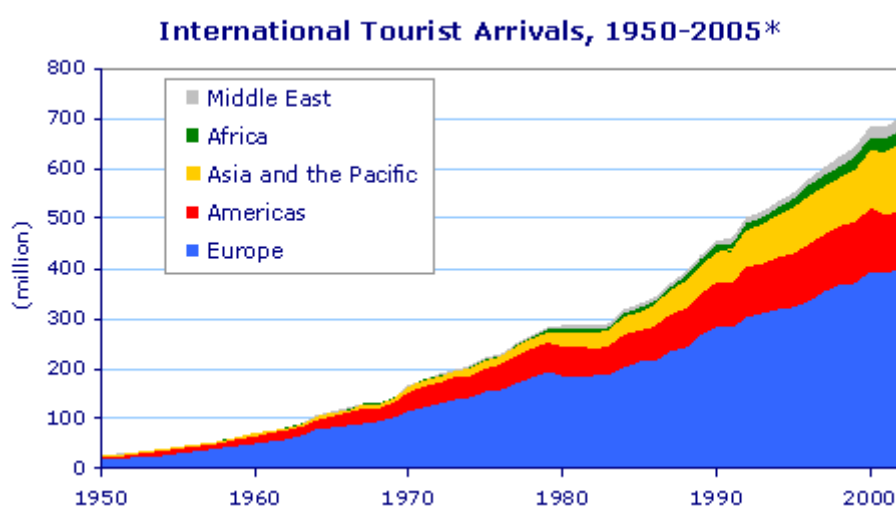
Figure 1 International Tourist Arrivals, 1950 - 2005
Source: World Tourism Organization (2011)

During this period, development was particularly strong in Asia and the Pacific (13% on average a year) and in the Middle East (10%) while the Americas (5%) and Europe (6%), grew at a slower pace and slightly below the world's average growth. New destinations are steadily increasing their market share while more mature regions such as Europe and the Americas tend to have less dynamic growth. Europe's world share declined by over 10 percentage points since 1950 whereas the Americas lost 13 percentage points. Though the Americas' performance has been most affected by the declines suffered in the past years, the fact is that its annual average growth rate for the period 1950-2000 was 5.8%, also bellow the average for the world (6.8%) (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

Europe and the Americas were the main tourist-receiving regions between 1950 and 2000. Both regions represented a joint market share of over 95 per cent in 1950, 82% forty years later and 76% in 2000 (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

Today many tourism sites are receiving huge influx of visitors, especially in peak periods that might cause severe management difficulties, deterioration of the visitor experience, as well as the general site conditions. Successful management of

congested tourism attractions goes much beyond the sites themselves ; it is dependent on the effective coordination between a range of actors involved, such as site managers, local authorities, tour operators, transportation companies, information managers at different levels, etc. (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

Tourism 2020 Vision is the World Tourism Organization's long-term forecast and assessment of the development of tourism up to the first 20 years of the new millennium. An essential outcome of the *Tourism 2020 Vision* are quantitative forecasts covering a 25 years period, with 1995 as the base year and forecasts for 2010 and 2020 (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

UNWTO's *Tourism 2020 Vision* forecasts that international arrivals are expected to reach nearly 1.6 billion by the year 2020. Of these worldwide arrivals in 2020, 1.2 billion will be intraregional and 378 million will be long-haul travellers. The total tourist arrivals by region shows that by 2020 the top three receiving regions will be Europe (717 million tourists), East Asia and the Pacific (397 million) and the Americas (282 million), followed by Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. East Asia and the Pacific, Asia, the Middle East and Africa are forecasted to record growth at rates of over 5% year, compared to the world average of 4.1%. The more mature regions Europe and Americas are anticipated to show lower than average growth rates. Europe will maintain the highest share of world arrivals, although there will be a decline from 60 per cent in 1995 to 46 per cent in 2020. Long-haul travel worldwide will grow faster, at 5.4 per cent per year over the period 1995-2020, than intraregional travel, at 3.8 per cent. Consequently the ratio between intraregional and long-haul travel will shift from around 82:18 in 1995 to close to 76:24 in 2020 (World Tourism Organization, 2011) (see figure 2).
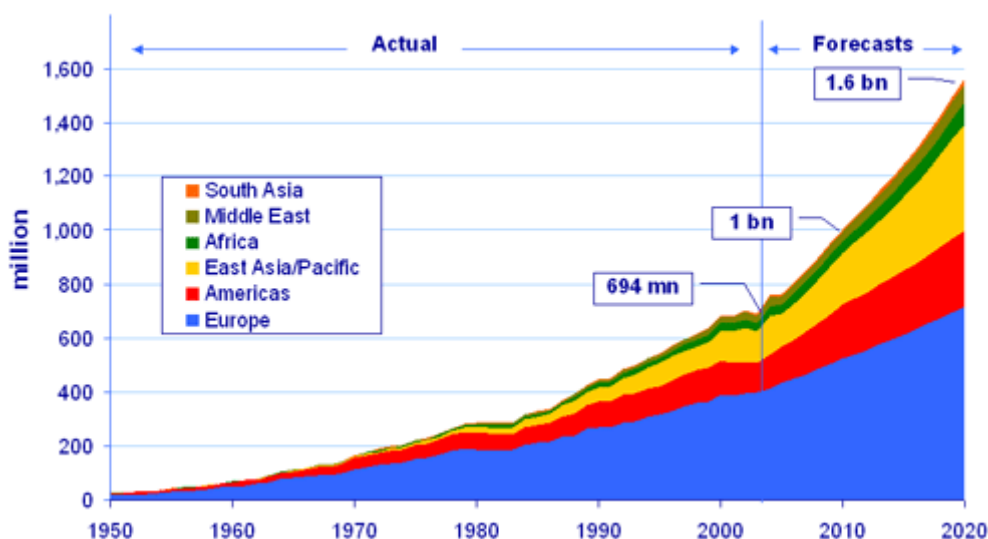
Figure 2 International Tourist Arrivals**:** UNWTO's *Tourism 2020 Vision* forecasts
Source: World Tourism Organization (2011)

Although the evolution of tourism in the last few years has been irregular, UNWTO maintains its long-term forecast for the moment. The underlying structural trends of the forecast are believed not to have significantly changed. Experience shows that in the short term, periods of faster growth (1995, 1996, 2000) alternate with periods of slow growth (2001 to 2003). While the pace of growth till 2000 actually exceeded the *Tourism 2020 Vision* forecast, it is generally expected that the current slowdown will be compensated in the medium to long term (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

As above information, it shown that tourism has grown at an accelerated pace over the last few decades and forecasts indicate an ever faster rate of growth into the new Millennium, with Asia and the Pacific becoming the second most important tourism destination of the world by 2020. One of the pillars of the tourism industry has been mankind's inherent desire to see and learn about the cultural identity of different parts of the world. In domestic tourism, cultural heritage stimulates national pride in one's history. In international tourism, cultural heritage stimulates a respect and understanding of other cultures and, as a consequence, promotes peace and understanding (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

The Asian continent is the most diverse in terms of cultural heritage. It has been the birthplace of all the world's major religions - Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and Judaism - and a great many of its minor ones. The interchange of cultures over thousands of years has resulted in some of the best historical monuments and a plethora of religious and cultural mix (World Tourism Organization, 2011).

In Thailand, there are 5 World Heritage including 3 Cultural World Heritage Sites; Historic Town of Sukhothai and Associated Historic Towns, Historic City of Ayutthaya, Ban Chiang Archaeological Site, and 2 Natural World Heritage Sites; Thungyai-Huai Kha Khaeng Wildlife Sanctuaries, and Dong Phayayen-Khao Yai Forest Complex (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2011). These World Heritage Sites are major tourist destination in Thailand, attracting many tourists from all over the world and bringing economic advantages, but it has brought negative impacts too.

Historic City of Ayutthaya is one of The World Heritage Sites in Thailand, located in Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya province or Ayutthaya in short. Historic City of Ayutthaya is an ancient city that used to be the capital city of Thailand (or Siam in the past) for 417 years. The city was founded by King Rama I (King U – Thong) on April 3, 1350 and ruled by 33 kings of five dynasties until 1767 (Ayutthaya Provincial Office 2007). The city itself is surrounded by 3 major rivers, the Lopburi on the north, the Pasak on the east and the Chao Phaya on the south and the west (see figure 4).

Ayutthaya was also the economic and transport centre in the region. Nowadays, Ayutthaya is the centre of the upper - central part of Thailand (Ayutthaya Provincial Office, 2007).

Figure 3 Ayutthaya Kingdom Empire in 2083 B.E.
(1540 A.D.)
Source: Asia's World (2011)
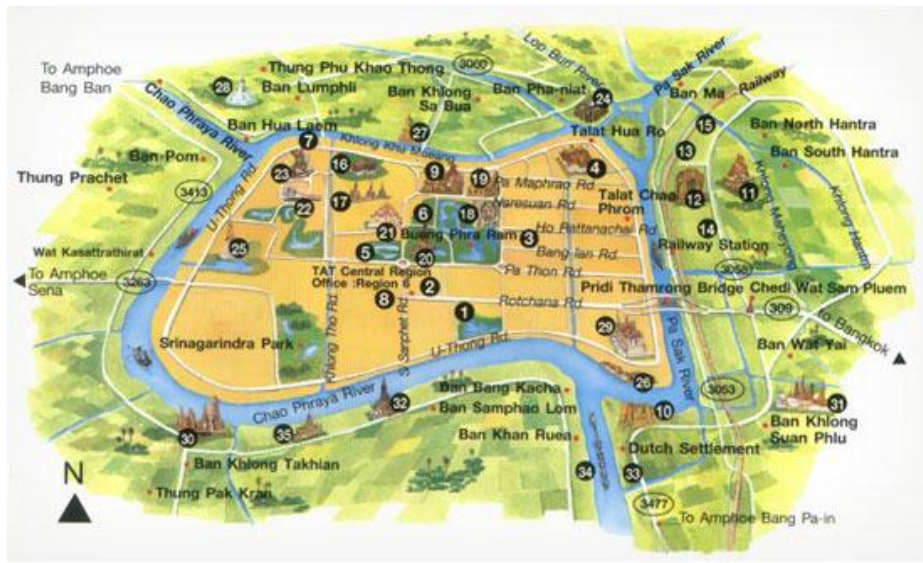
Figure 4 The map of Ayutthaya city
Source: Akom (2011)
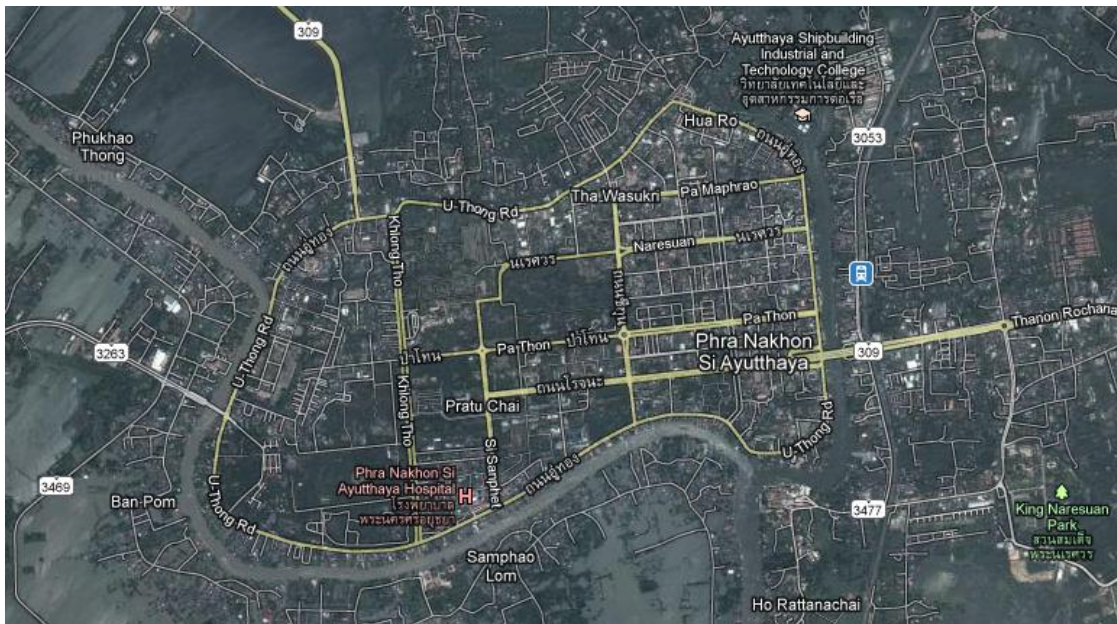
Figure 5 The Satellite photo of Ayutthaya city
Source: Google map (2012)
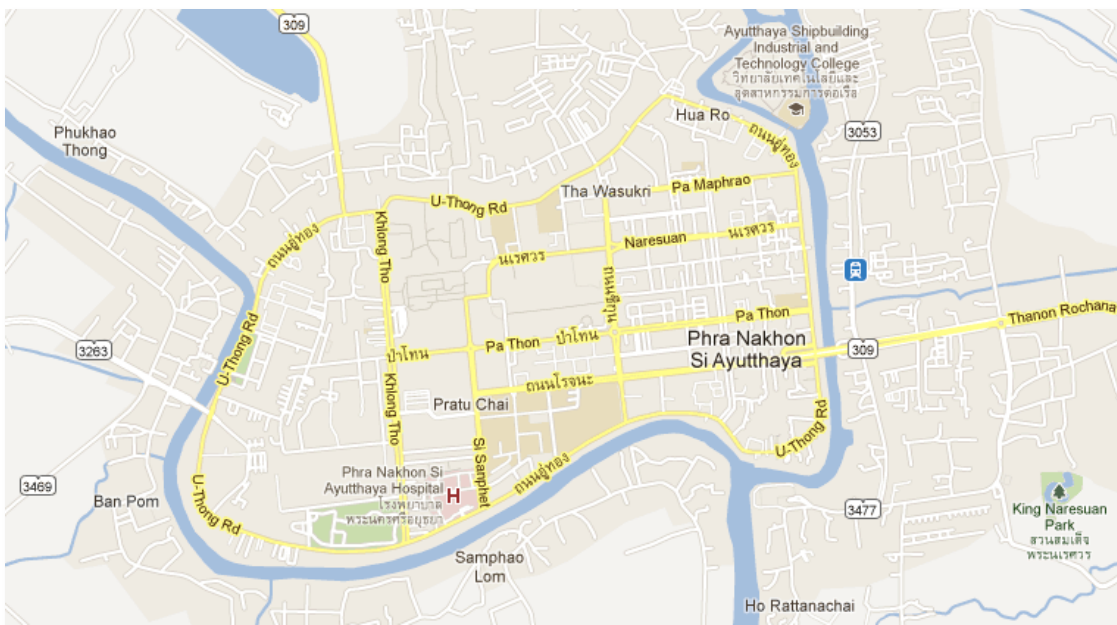
Figure 6 The map of Ayutthaya city
Source: Google map (2012)

On December 13, 1991, The Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns were granted Cultural World Heritage status by the World Heritage Committee following the cultural criteria (iii) which is "*to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared*". Ayutthaya, founded in 807 AD, became the second capital of the Kingdom of Siam after Sukhothai. It was one of the most important economic and trade centres of the region. The economic prosperity of Ayutthaya had resulted in the flourishing of all sorts of arts and culture, which are still evident nowadays (Thailand National Periodic Report Section II: State of Conservation of Specific World Heritage Properties, February 2003).

Since UNESCO declared Ayutthaya Historical Park to be a World Heritage Site, the numbers of tourists from around the world were increasing. Department of Tourism (2011) reported the number of visitors to Ayutthaya increases from 2,025,937 visitors in 1997 to 3,659,402 visitors in 2008 (786,158 were foreigners and 2,873,217 were Thai) (Department of Tourism, 2011) (see table 1).

Table 1 Number of visitors in Ayutthaya

Type	Number of visitors		
	2008	**2007**	**2006**
Visitor	**3,659,402**	**3,784,617**	**3,373,929**
Thai	2,873,217	2,593,106	2,234,113
Foreigners	786,185	1,191,511	1,139,816
Tourist	**953,212**	**1,099,415**	**773,530**
Thai	585,684	747,595	563,765
Foreigners	367,528	351,820	209,765
Excursionist	**2,706,190**	**2,685,202**	**2,600,399**
Thai	2,287,533	1,845,511	1,670,348
Foreigners	418,657	839,691	930,051

Source: Department of Tourism (2011)

The rapidly growth of tourism in Ayutthaya lead to a growth in the economy and the development of infrastructure in the city, but some problems have also emerged. Ayutthaya Fine Arts Department's officers mentioned that the road infrastructure and its proximity to the sites also present some critical issues regarding pollution and damage as exhaust fumes and vibrations from passing traffic endangers the fragile monuments, more modern constructions have been added in recent years, the designs of the new buildings is not in harmony with most Ayutthaya monuments (Charassri, 2004).

Like other countries, Thailand has promoted tourism as a major source of national income. Although tourism has brought benefits such as foreign exchange, employment, higher government revenues and the transformation of agriculture into a modern service industry (Thailand Development Research Institute 2001), tourism has had some destructive effects, not only at a national but also at a local level. In tourist destinations, tourists encounter and interact with the local community and the local

environment. This interaction leads to impacts on the local population, the environment and also the tourists themselves (Mason, 2003).

Tourism grows rapidly in many countries and contributes economic benefit to the countries. Furthermore, tourism plays an important role in the development of local communities. As Ap and Crompton (1993) stated tourism is widely perceived as a potential economic base and provides elements that may improve quality of life such as employment opportunities, tax revenues, economic diversity, festivals, restaurants, natural and cultural attractions, and outdoor recreation opportunities. There are concerns, however, that tourism can have negative impacts on quality of life. These can be in the form of crowding, traffic and parking problems, increased crime, increased cost of living, friction between tourists and residents, and changes in hosts' way of life (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt, 2005). Whether impacts are perceived as positive or negative depends on the value position and judgement of the observer of the impacts (Mason, 2003).

Tourism benefits to community both tangible and intangible. In addition, tourism can result in less desirable impacts on the economic, social, and environmental fabrics of communities. In other words, tourism impacts the economy and lives of communities. These impacts of tourism on communities could influence the communities' effort to develop the industry (Aref, 2009).

Tourism development and heritage conservation are very interrelated and encourage each other. Heritage plays a role as a tourist attraction while tourism can generate income for heritage conservation funds. On the other hand, tourism can impact negatively on heritage. Both heritage and tourism are highly valued by local communities. Therefore the task is always to attempt to find a balance between heritage and tourism and to make them both sustainable.

Leask and Fyall (2006) stated that many natural and cultural World Heritage Sites are highly valued by the local community who identify with the character and qualities of these places. Leask and Fyall (2006) also noted that at both natural and cultural World Heritage Sites, local people are often the tour guides and interpreters. At others they are the guardians and purveyors of the intangible heritage in the form of priests, musicians, dancers, story-tellers, craftspeople, demonstrators, cooks and farmers or gardeners. Communities are often keen to present their World Heritage Sites to visitors or to exploit them as tourism resources in the anticipation of economic gain. They are also likely to be protective of their own privacy and lifestyles, which can be overwhelmed during peak tourism seasons.

Heritage, tourism, and local communities' quality of life are all valued by the local communities. The balance between heritage conservation, tourism development and quality of life of the local community are important. So, in heritage conservation and tourism development, it is important to understand the positive and negative impacts of tourism on the heritage as perceived and valued by the local communities.

The innumerable attempts to measure impacts via a suite of indicators cover the conventional sustainable development triad of environmental, economic and social

spheres of influence. To date, the success rate has been very limited and none of the existing methodologies have been without considerable criticism and deficiencies (Staiff, Bushell, and Ongkhluap, 2007). One of the reasons that researchers perceive these difficulties comes from the over-emphasis on global indicators rather than local indicators. In fact, each heritage landscape is unique and needs to be measured by a unique instrument. As Griffith (2000) explains locally specific indicators of impacts, both positive and negative are essential (Staiff, Bushell, and Ongkhluap, 2007).

The Ayutthaya World Heritage Site is a living heritage that has both tangible and intangible values and people take an active role as part of the heritage landscape. Intangible values are non-physical and are difficult to measure, so it has to study them through the local communities' perceptions. Community perception towards tourism impacts on a community can vary significantly. According to Sharma (2004), positive attitudes towards tourism impacts among communities' residents will result in more successful tourism development. Thus, understanding the community perception can help to access community support for continued tourism development through community capacity building. Tourism developers need to consider the perception and attitude of residents before they could start investing scarce resources (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004). Moreover, understanding of community perception towards tourism impacts can also help to identify the types of tourism which have the potential for building community capacity (Moscardo, 2008). In the context of heritage places this also helps the heritage conservation agenda, and protect what local community value.

This research aims to measure the perceptions of the local community with regards to both the negative and positive impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site. The methodology proposed in this study is a community-based and values-based methodology. The research instrument in this study originated from the local community that, in turn, was used for measuring the perception of the local community. So the methodology used in this research is fundamentally different from previous studies that usually use the global indicators that have been generated by experts, scholars or the researchers in the abstract and unrelated to the particularities of individual sites and communities. This research uses local indicators that emerge from local community itself. The methodology is also based on the sustainable development concept that recognizes that economic, environmental and socio-cultural issues are important and need to be integrated into both heritage conservation and sustainable tourism development in Ayutthaya.

Research Question

Undoubtedly, Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site containing 'outstanding universal values' that should be protected. This is now beyond question. But Ayutthaya is not only a World Heritage; it is also a tourist destination. And Ayutthaya is an example of living heritage where local communities live and work in and around the protected site. Thus there are three dimensions in Ayutthaya that should be managed, namely; heritage conservation, sustainable tourism development, and the local communities' participation, and these should be balanced in a way that enables

the sustainability of all three especially as heritage and tourism are so valued by the local community. And, today long after the World Heritage Convetion came into being, heritage and tourism are now considered quite interrelated and co-dependent. Heritage like Ayutthaya is also a great tourist attraction that encourages the tourism industry in Ayutthaya. On the other hand, tourism can generate income for the heritage conservation fund. However, tourism not only impacts positively but also impacts negatively. It is obviously better if heritage conservation and tourism development are balanced and sustainable. However, this is not always easy to achieve and so a study about the impact of tourism on the heritage of a place is important.

Each heritage place is unique. Some heritage places like Ayutthaya are considered to be 'living heritage' because the local community activates the spirit of the place; it is not just material culture but a place of active cultural practices that have national significance (ICOMOS 2008). As a heritage place of significance people throughout Thailand and beyond, including the local community value it for a variety of reasons, some to do with World Heritage, some to do with Thai patriotism, some to do with Buddhist beliefs, some to do with economic advantage, so the definition of what constitutes 'heritage' is an individual, subjective matter that depends on a person's background, life experiences, and personality (Smith 2006). This infers that heritage is selective and particular. But, fundamentally, heritage is what local communities' *value*; what people desire to keep for the future. Thus this research uses a values-based approach to measuring the perceptions of the local communities on the Ayutthaya World Heritage; it responds to the fact that heritage itself is do do with the protection of values (see the Burra Charter). Consequently, the research process focussed on what the local community valued with regards to heritage and tourism.

Therefore following the reasons outlined above, **the research question 1** is: what are the Ayutthaya local community's values with regards to heritage and tourism?

It has been argued that the Western and Asian approach about heritage conservation and management are different (Daly and Winter 2012; Bushell and Staiff 2012). Eestern approaches usually protect the tangible values but Asian approaches frequently protect intangible values. The intangible heritage is non-physical, but transmitted from generation to generation. As Ayutthaya World Heritage has both tangible heritage such as ancient temples and palace, and intangible heritage such as local cultures, traditions, custom, and local wisdom, a study that is based on the local community's point of view or local community's perceptions is necessary. Thus, this research aims to measure the perceptions of the local community regarding the impacts of tourism on Ayutthaya World Heritage but via a framework that take into account the values of the local community.

The research question 2: how does the Ayutthaya local community perceive the impacts of tourism on the values they hold?

Previous research about tourism impacts on heritage places is usually based on an indicators approach (World Tourism Organization 2004) . Thus the indicators approach has a weakness in that the indicators emerge from experts and researchers

seeking an instrument that can be used globally across all types of tourism destinations. Such an approach cannot reflect local community values nor the particularities of Ayutthaya. The uniqueness of the present research is that the research instrument came from the local community itself. The research used a community-based and values-based approach to generate the research instrument. And this was the first time such a methodology has been used in Southeast Asian context.

The research question 3: is a values-based and community-based approach compatible with the local communities of the Ayutthaya World Heritage site?

The Ayutthaya World Heritage site, the tourism industry, and local communities are interrelated and so the issue is how to balance them out so that each feels as though their needs have been met and their values respected. In order to achieve this goal, we need to carefully manage all three dimensions. There are entangled sets of principles and values here, the principles and values concerned with heritage and tourism management, namely; heritage conservation, sustainable development, sustainable tourism, community participation, and, in the Thai context, the principles and practices of sufficiency economy as initiated by His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej. This research aims to understand the implication of tourism for heritage and the local community and the implication of tourism for management and development.

The research question 4: the implications of a values based study of perceptions of tourism impacts for heritage conservation, for sustainable tourism at fragile heritage sites, and for local community development?

This research is not only important because of the findings, but also because this is the first time the methodology has been used in Thailand and in an Asian context. This research should help improve the approaches used to study tourism impacts, and therefore support heritage conservation in the context of sustainable tourism management, and in the context of local community development.

Objectives

Arising from the research question above, this research aims to use a values-base and communities-based approach to generate the instrument for measuring the perception of local communities about the impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site and on the local communities. The findings should have implications for heritage and tourism management, and the development of local communities. The objectives of the study are:

1. To determine the Ayutthaya local communities' values with regards to heritage and tourism.
2. To measure the perceptions of the local communities toward the impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site and on the local community of Ayutthaya within which they live.

3. To indicate the implications of local communities' perceptions for heritage conservation, sustainable tourism management, and local community development in the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site.
4. To indicate the implications of the methodology for further research into tourism impacts.

Scope of the Study

The research aims to measure the perceptions of the local communities of Ayutthaya towards the impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site and on local community itself. The research develops a values-based and communities-based approach; it needs to discover the local communities' values with regard to both heritage and tourism and how these are perceived to be affected by a variety of tourism activities in the Ayutthaya Heritage Site. There are three pillars to this research; heritage conservation, sustainable tourism management, and local community development. To achieve the objectives, the research needed to focus on the principles of heritage conservation, sustainable tourism, sustainable development, and also sufficiency economy, and be based on the principles of community participation.

The study area is the Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns or the Ayutthaya Cultural World Heritage site as laid down by the World Heritage Committee under the following the cultural criteria (iii) which is "*to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared".* Ayutthaya is not only a World Heritage Site, but also an important economic and transportation centre of Thailand. It is also a significant national historic and religious site. Since UNESCO declared Ayutthaya Historical Park to be a World Heritage Site, the numbers of tourists from around the world have increased. Department of Tourism (2011) reported the number of visitors to Ayutthaya increases from 2,025,937 visitors in 1997 to 3,659,402 visitors in 2008 (786,158 were foreigners and 2,873,217 were Thai) (Department of Tourism, 2011). The rapid growth of tourism industry has brought about impacts both positive and negative. In addition, Ayutthaya is an example of a place of living heritage with ongoing local community connections to the site that is incorporated into the life of the city. Tourism, therefore, impacts on the World Heritage values and also impacts on the local community and its values.

The research population or unit of analysis was the Ayutthaya community and the stakeholders of the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site. The stakeholders of Ayutthaya included; local community spokespersons, related government officials, tourism industry and business players, and scholarly experts.

Summary of the Chapters

This chapter introduced the research topic by briefly describing the research problems arising from the measurement of the perceptions of the local communities toward tourism impacts on the communities' values. The research needed to answer

several questions: what are the Ayutthaya local communities' values, how has the local communities perceived the impacts of tourism on their values and what are the implications for heritage and tourism management. The research also needed to test the methodology because it had not before been attempted at a World Heritage site in Asia.

This dissertation will be organized into five chapters. Chapter one presents the background of the study, the research problems and objectives, and the scope of the research. Chapter two reviews the relevant literature and discusses the theory and concept of heritage, tourism, impacts of tourism, sustainable tourism development, community participation, and the perceptions of community. Chapter three describes the research setting and methodology, the research approach, data collection, the research instrument, data analysis, and the conceptual framework of the research. The research findings are presented in chapter four. It also contains the analysis and discussion of the research findings. Finally, Chapter five concludes the study and discusses the implications for heritage and tourism management. It also contains the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.
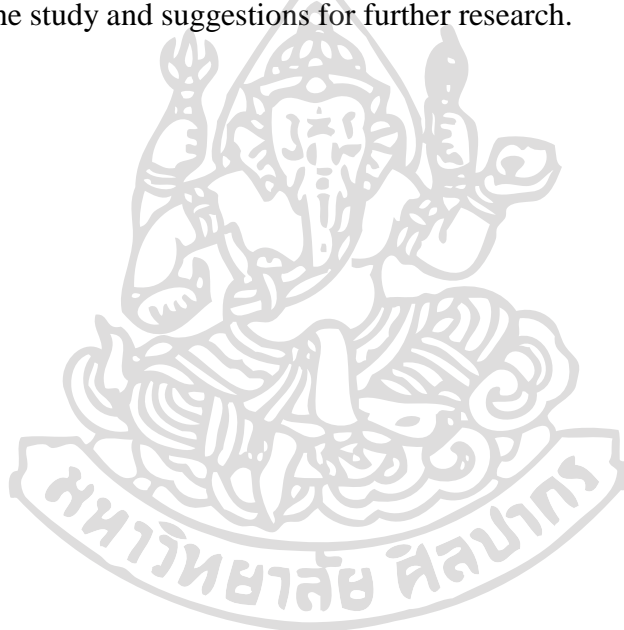
Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter contains the review of relevant literature. The aim of this literature review is to generate awareness, understanding, and interest for studies that have explored a given topic in the past. This chapter defines the current level of knowledge about the theoretical and conceptual research on Heritage and tourism. First, this chapter explains the meaning of heritage, world heritage and its values, including the principles of heritage management. The second section then moves on to explains the relationship between heritage and tourism, to review the theoretical and conceptual nature of tourism, the situation and evolution of tourism, the impacts of tourism, and then tourism management. The third section addresses the concepts of sustainable tourism, the host-guest relationship, the local community participations and perceptions towards tourism.

Heritage and World Heritage

Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritages are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. Places as unique and diverse as the wilds of East Africa's Serengeti, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Great Barrier Reef in Australia and the Baroque cathedrals of Latin America make up our world's heritage (www.unescobkk.org, 2005).

The International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999), promulgated by the International Council on Monuments and Sites defines Heritage as a broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It records and expresses the long processes of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life. It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future.

UNESCO recommendations that refer specifically to cultural rights also give more specific and selective definitions of cultural property and/or heritage as follow (Craik, 2001: 143):

Year	Definitions
1968	the product and witness of the different traditions and the spiritual achievements of the past
1970	Property of national patrimony that 'on religious or secular grounds, is specifically designated by each State as being of importance for archaeology, history, literature, art or science'
1972	Immovable items comprising 'monuments', 'groups of buildings' and 'sites'
1976	items in the categories of zoology, botany, geological specimens, archaeological objects, objects and documentation of ethnological interest, art and literature works, music, photography, cinematography, archives and documents

Heritage is thus a complex concept that can be defined in many ways. The New South Wales (NSW) Heritage Office defines cultural heritage in two ways. Firstly, it defines cultural heritage through heritage items:

> Heritage items, which include landscapes, buildings, structures, relics, places and other works, are valuable cultural resources that are not renewable and are becoming increasingly scarce.

And, secondly, it defines the concept through the meaning of heritage items to people:

> They inspire present and future generations and therefore need careful consideration by owners, managers and the community.
> (Aplin, 2002: 14-15)

The extent to which the term 'heritage' has been misused is well illustrated by Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996 cited in Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 3), who commented on how the meaning of heritage has taken on different dimensions:

- A synonym for any relic of the past
- The product of modern conditions that are attributed to, and influenced by, the past
- All cultural and artistic productivity produced in the past or present
- Includes elements from the natural environment that are survivals from the past, seen as original, typical and appropriate to be passed on to future generations
- A major commercial activity, loosely recognized as the heritage industry, that is based on selling goods and services with a heritage component
- Adopted by political extremism where heritage is used to disguise ethnic or racial exclusivism

Most researchers accept that heritage is linked to the past that it represents some sort of inheritance to be passed down to current and future generations, both in terms of cultural traditions and physical artifacts (Hardy, 1988 cited in Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 2).

Many scholars define heritage as concerning the past, present and future generations. The 1983 National Heritage Conference in the UK defined Heritage

simply as 'that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of the population wishes to hand on to the future' (Craik, 2001: 144). Aplin (2002: 13) define 'Heritage', in our present context, certainly implies a gift for future generations and benefits for the community. As many authors have pointed out, it is what elements of the past a society wishes to keep (Fladmark 1998; Graham et al., 2000; Hall and McArhtour, 1998; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; cited in Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 2).

This infers that heritage is selective. The historical record is incomplete, and not all heritages are what *society values*; what is desirable to keep are selections from the past. This may be deliberate or intentional, but society filters heritage through a *value system* that undoubtedly changes over time and space, and across society (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 2).

Heritage values

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) seeks to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of outstanding value to humanity. This is embodied in an international treaty called the **Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage**, adopted by UNESCO in 1972 (www.unescobkk.org, 2005). The purpose of the Convention is to 'ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value' (UNESCO, 2005). The World Heritage Committee defines the criteria (as mention in Chapter 1) for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List. States Parties are invited to submit nominations of properties of cultural and/or natural value considered to be of "outstanding universal value" for inscription on the World Heritage List.

As World Heritage Convention defines the criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List that considered to be of "outstanding universal value". What is Outstanding Universal Value?

Outstanding universal value means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity. As such, the permanent protection of this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole (www.unescobkk.org, 2005).

The focus of value shifts to the significance people place on heritage. Hall and McArthur (1993) identified four interrelated areas of significance in heritage (Timothy and Boyd 2003: 13):

- *Economic significance*: heritage is preserved because of the value it offers in terms of expenditures of visitors to sites (Zeppel and Hall, 1992 cited in Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 13). Tourism is big business, illustrated by private sector sponsorship as a means to generate income for sites

- *Social significance*: this refers to the personal and collective identity that people and society have with 'their' heritage. Heritage can also help determine a sense of place; creating situations where people can use heritage to gain attachment to an area, and maintain a sense of place that remains virtually unchanged.
- *Political significance*: the meaning and symbolism of heritage may serve political ends. As Hall and McArthur note, heritage by definition is political, in terms of reinforcing what is conserved, how heritage is told, and placing the wishes of private owners of heritage into conflict with government or public interests.
- *Scientific significance*: many national parks and protected areas may contain gene pools and ecosystems that will be useful to medicine. They also provide habitats for rare and endangered species. There is also an educative component to heritage – providing visitors with information about the living history, culture, and people of areas.

As mention above, that heritage is selective, heritage is what *community values* or desirable to keep or selections from the past. Community filters heritage through a *value system* that undoubtedly changes over time and space (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 2). Thus, a community conserve heritage because they would like to conserve what they value, and therefore to conserve or manage heritage, we need to understand its value to those associated with it, or in other words, we need to understand the values of the local community.

Values are at the heart of heritage and also at the heart of this research. As this research aims to study the impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage that means the researcher has to understand what the local community values and measure the tourism impacts on these values. Therefore a value-based methodology is central to both heritage and the impacts of tourism on local communities and is a very significant dimension of this research.

As heritage is significant because people value it, so the definition of what constitutes heritage is an individual, subjective matter that depends on a person's background, life experiences, and personality, although groups of people, perhaps with a common socio-economic, cultural, or ethnic background, may share many aspects of *their perceptions* (Aplin, 2002: 14). This research uses the value-based methodology to study the tourism impacts on local community values by measuring their perceptions. Before measuring the local community perceptions, their values must firstly be discovered. The methodology used in this research is quite different from previous studies of tourism impacts because most studies usually use global indicators that are generated by experts, or by the researchers themselves, but in this research we have sought to find out the local community's values first, so the matrix, the research instrument, used in this research has really emerged from the local community itself.

Heritage Management

Heritage not only needs to be protected but also needs to be presented to the public for many reasons, including not only financial reasons, but also very important educational and social reasons (Aplin, 2002). As stated in Article 4 of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, each state party to the Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations. It will do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical, which it may be able to obtain (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2012). According to the Convention, heritage and World Heritage needs to be carefully managed by stakeholders in order to protect, conserve, present and transmit the heritage they value to future generations.

It is of paramount importance that heritage managers have heritage plans. Frequently these are called either conservation plans or management plans, but in reality they are often a combination of the two. Conservation plans are most relevant in the early stages of the recognition of a heritage site, and after recognition, when the more active aspects of conservation, such as restoration, reconstruction, and adaptation, are being undertaken. They may also be needed when particular buildings or sub-sections of large natural sites are being conserved. Conservation of heritage sites depends, at the outset, on a clear understanding of the cultural significance of a place. In formulating planning strategies to protect and conserve the heritage character of an area, it is critical to ascertain what characteristics make the area unique and what are the significant elements (Vine, 2005). It is important to articulate clearly what is significant to the character of the place, whether it is a building or a precinct, and schedule these elements with accompanying strategies to ensure that the significance will not be diminished by incremental demolition of structures or inappropriate alterations (Vine, 2005).

As such, the conservation plan may be a section of a larger management plan, or a separate document referred to in the management plan. Management plans are usually concerned with the maintenance and preservation of heritage values, rather than the restoration, reconstruction, or adaptation. Management plans may also describe budgets, marketing, visitor management, and many aspects of day-to-day management practices and strategies (Aplin, 2002). The management plans should not only be concerned with the maintenance and the preservation of heritage values, but also it should be concerned with the local community's values. This research measures the local community's perceptions of tourism impacts on what they value for the purpose of understanding the implications for Ayutthaya World Heritage management.

There are now many standards, charters and guidelines that provide frameworks for decision-making and management. These include the *Venice Charter* (1965), the *Burra Charter* (1979; revised edition 1999), the *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994) and the *Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia* (2005). A charter outlining *Principles for the Conservation of Heritage Sites in China* (2002) provides an integrated approach to the conservation and management of sites in

the People's Republic of China and in 2003 an *Indonesia Charter for Heritage Conservation* was prepared. The Indian National Trust for Art and Culture Heritage is currently preparing a national conservation charter to guide conservation practice throughout India. *The Seoul Declaration on Tourism in Asia's Historic Towns and Areas* (adopted in Seoul, Korea, 31 May 2005) has been recently prepared expressly to consider issues of managing tourism in historic towns and areas in Asia (Vine, 2005). The Thailand Charter on Culture Heritage Management has also been prepared.

In 1972 with widespread acceptance throughout the world, the UNESCO convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (the "World Heritage Convention") has established an international framework with universal policy standards for heritage conservation. However, because built heritage reflects unique local community values, there is a need for place-specific standards of best practice to guide conservation decisions (Vine, 2005).

The traditional Western approach to conservation is encapsulated in the Venice Charter and, in some respects, the Burra Charter. They both emphasise the authenticity of the original physical fabric and the need to add new materials in a way which is clearly distinguishable. In Asia the issue of historic authenticity differs, as many traditional buildings are frequently repaired on a cyclical basis by local communities, be they religious or secular. The Asian approach as described in the Nara Document places more emphasis on maintaining the condition of the place, utilizing traditional building skills are renewing earlier fabric with new and similar materials using traditional methods. The Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia stress that the safeguarding of authenticity is the primary objective and prerequisite for conservation (Vine, 2005).

As mentioned above, the Western and Asian approaches to conservation are different. Western approaches usually protect the tangible values but Asian approaches frequently protect the intangible. In a key address to the UNESCO Regional Seminar on Movable Cultural Property held in 1986, the heritage value of intangible or non-physical aspects of culture was recognised. 'A people's cultural heritage is also reflected in non-physical forms such as music, dance, drama, folklife, unwritten languages, scriptures, prose, poetry (Makagiansar, 1989 cited in Craik, 2001: 114).

"Intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. The "intangible cultural heritage", as defined above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains: (UNESCO, 2003)

(a) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage
(b) Performing arts
(c) Social practices, rituals and festive events
(d) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe traditional craftsmanship.

This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO, 2003). The intangible heritage is non-physical, but transmitted from generation to generation. Thus, the study of intangible heritage needs to be studied through people or the local community as this research aims to do. As Ayutthaya World Heritage has both tangible heritage such as ancient temples and palaces, and intangible heritage such as local cultures, traditions, customs, and local wisdom, so the study through a local community point of view including local community perceptions is necessary.

Who is involved in Heritage?

As UNESCO (2005) indicated World Heritage Sites belong to all the people of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located. So 'all the peoples of the world' are stakeholders in World Heritage (Millar, 2006). Similar to the International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999) indicated that at the broadest level, the natural and cultural heritage belongs to all people. We each have a right and responsibility to understand, appreciate and conserve its universal values.

In practice, until recently, a limited number of stakeholders – governments, conservation experts and local authorities – were involved in the process. Local people, local amenity and community groups, local businesses, tour companies and visitors were largely left out of the consultation and management processes (Leask and Fyall, 2006). The problem is not only a limited number of stakeholders involved in heritage management, but also the stakeholders who are involved were just the authorities, not the local community who lived in the heritage area. The non-residents are considered as having no sense of belonging or ownership, because it is believed they cannot perceive the actual situations, cannot perceive the actual problems, so they are considered as having no actual ideas about planning and management. However this view would need to be tested. How to make all stakeholders, especially the local communities, become involved in the management processes is important. Thus, this research aims to measure the perceptions of the local community by a research instrument that is generated from the community. So this research is based on the idea of encouraging community involvement in the process of the generation of the research instrument itself. This community-base methodology was the key to this research.

As World Heritage ostensibly belongs to all people, we each have a right and responsibility to understand, appreciate and conserve its universal values. However, from the local people's perspective, maybe there are some further community values beyond the defined universal values, and this research aims to discover them.

Many natural and cultural World Heritage Sites are highly valued by the local community who identify with the character and qualities of these places (Leask and

Fyall, 2006). The Ayutthaya World Heritage Site is one of the places where the local community is part of the place because the local community is still living in the historic city, a situation described as 'living heritage'. Consequently, the Ayutthaya residents must be regarded as the carriers and the embodiment of the values or significance of Ayutthaya's heritage. The residents' way of life should be protected as well as their quality of life. This is why places like Ayutthaya or Melaka or Luang Prabang are different from archaeological sites that are geographically separate from communities like Si Satchanalai This is the reason why this research needed to measure the perceptions of the local community because they are an integral part of the heritage of Ayutthaya, and the local community perspectives are very important for decision-making and the management process.

Communities are often keen to present their World Heritage Sites to visitors or to exploit them as tourism resources in the anticipation of economic gain. They are also likely to be protective of their own privacy and lifestyles, which can be overwhelmed during peak tourism seasons (Leask and Fyall, 2006). At both natural and cultural World Heritage Sites local people are often the tour guides and interpreters. At others they are the guardians and purveyors of the intangible heritage in the form of priests, musicians, dancers, story-tellers, craftspeople, demonstrators, cooks and farmers or gardeners (Leask and Fyall, 2006). It can be shown that not only is the local community a part of the heritage site, but also the heritage site is a part of local community life. Invariably, heritage once identified, comes to be highly valued by the local community because it benefits the local community in many ways. In term of tourism, heritage sites have a role as a tourist attraction and bring more financial benefit to the local community, bring more employment, city infrastructure development, etc. and other benefits to the local community that will be discuss further. Tourism however does not only benefit the local community, but also brings benefit to the heritage site itself because the income from tourism can be used to fund heritage conservation and protection. Also, the local community has an important role in both heritage and tourism management, by involvement in the heritage management process and a hosts for tourists. In conclusion, there are strong relationships between heritage, community and tourism (Bushell and Staiff, 2012).

Cultural Resource Management in Thailand

Terms such as "cultural resource management" (CRM) and "archaeological heritage management" have been used in many countries such as the United States, England, Australia and New Zealand for several decades. In Thailand, however, this terminology is somewhat new. The first CRM class in Thailand was introduced by Koranee Sangruchi, who has taught it at Thammasat University in Bangkok for more than fifteen years (Lertrit, 2000). Pisit Charoenwongsa, a well-known Thai archaeologist, is another figure who has been active in this field, occasionally publishing papers and articles concerning CRM. If one looks at the nature of CRM work, on the other hand, one will find that Thailand has in fact been engaged in some of the tasks covered by the term since at least the nineteenth century. Preservation and restoration, as well as the mitigation of loss and the rescue of archaeological sites from destruction, depletion and deterioration have been practised for many decades (Lertrit,

2000).

Since the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), if not earlier, the practice of archaeology in Thailand has involved the protection and preservation of what has recently come to be known as "cultural heritage". "Heritage", in terms of archaeological remains, generally refers to monuments and objects built, made and used in ancient times. The purposes were to protect and preserve "cultural heritage" change through time. In 1943, Field-Marshal Pibulsonggram (1897-1964), then Prime Minister, set up a new university, the University of Fine Arts or Silpakorn, in recognition of the need for shaping, propagating and preserving national art and culture. This university began with three faculties: Fine Arts, Sculpture and Performing Arts. To encourage youth to enter the university and learn about their national culture, as well as Thai arts and crafts, university fees were waived (Lertrit, 2000).

Cultural resource management in Thailand has focused mainly on the preservation and restoration of archaeological sites and historic towns and on the conservation of ancient objects. Pisit has noted that the bulk of the limited funds made available for archaeology have been allocated for restoration projects, while archaeological research has received only relatively small sums of money. In addition, the administration of archaeological resources is a government monopoly administered by the Office of Archaeology and National Museums (formerly called the Division of Archaeology), under the Fine Arts Department (FAD) of the Ministry of Education. Under law, the Division of Archaeology is "the key agency working on restoration of ancient monuments and archaeological sites. It is also responsible for the preservation and investigation of archaeological remains for the benefit of the nation, for the sake of the study of the nation's history, and for the perpetuation of the nation's cultural heritage" (Lertrit, 2000).

As mention above, the traditional approach to cultural resource management in Thailand is top down through government agencies, and local communities have no role or have no chance to be involved in cultural resource management. This situation made cultural resource management in Thailand rarely take into account how communities value heritage and how visitors value heritage. This is a weakness for the cultural resource, heritage, and tourism management because those most directly involved are excluded from the processes. So, the participation of stakeholders and a community-based approach as used in this research is a necessary first step to widen involvement and widen the custodianship roles necessary for safeguarding heritage places into the future.

Cultural tourism and Heritage tourism

Cultural tourism has been defined in many ways, but a common theme of these definitions is the emphasis on learning about, experiencing or understanding cultural activities, resources and/or other cultures (Craik, 2001: 114).

Cultural tourism refers to forms of tourism that highlight the cultural, heritage or artistic aspects of a destination or experiences and activities for the tourist. Some people define themselves as cultural tourists because culture is the primary motivation for their travel. These are the pure or genuine cultural tourists; yet they are the minority. If we are referring solely to this group, then cultural tourism constitutes a niche or special interest form of travel (Craik, 2001: 114). But other groups of tourist can also be classified as cultural tourist because they take advantage of cultural resources during their travel experience, which arises from other motivations (such as recreation, business, visiting friends or relatives, or sightseeing). For these tourists, culture is a secondary, ancillary or contingent motivation (Craik, 2001: 114).

The terms 'cultural tourism', 'heritage tourism' are almost interchangeable in their usage. Hall and Zeppel (1990 cited in (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 5) viewed the connections between cultural and heritage tourism, stating that:

> Cultural tourism is experiential tourism based on being involved in and stimulated by the performing arts, visual arts and festivals. Heritage tourism, whether in the form of visiting preferred landscapes, historic sites, buildings or monuments, is also experiential tourism in the sense of seeking an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a place.

Heritage tourism is identified, in industry terms, as a subset of cultural tourism, and in fact the distinctions between these two categories are blurred (Craik, 2001: 114). As Timothy and Boyd (2003: 6) defined heritage tourism is a phenomenon based on tourists' motivations and perceptions rather than on the specific site attributes. In similar fashion, the definition of heritage in any particular country depends on local historical, social, and cultural circumstances (Aplin, 2002: 14).

Heritage and heritage tourism is complex. Timothy and Boyd (2003) suggested that heritage exists within two types of environment, namely 'phenomenal' and 'behavioural'. The former is an expansion of the normal concept of environment that includes natural phenomena and cultural and built environments that have been either altered or created by human activity (Kirk, 1963 cited in Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 7). Conversely, the behavioural environment is where the social and cultural facts existing within the phenomenal environment are passed through a filter of *human values* (Timothy and Boyd, 2003: 7).

The paragraph above confirms that heritage is *selective* and filters through a *value system*. The local community value the heritage and connect the heritage to their values, which makes the heritage important to them, as is the conservation effort. But as well, heritage tourism connects and impacts on the values of the local community. Further, tourism exploits the heritage values of a place to further its own economic agendas best seen in the way heritage places are promoted by agencies like TAT and Thai Airways. What is important here is that values are the common currency in heritage and tourism and community connections to place and are the key to heritage tourism management. This is why values are also the basis of this research.

The Tourism Situation

Tourism is now a global industry involving hundreds of millions of people in international as well as domestic travel each year (Mason, 2003: 3). The World Tourism Organization reported 567 million international arrivals in 1995. By 2010, this number was expected to reach 937 million respectively, implying an average annual growth rate of 4.7 percent. The Asia-Pacific region tends to register higher growth than other regions. The number of tourists visiting the Asia-Pacific was forecast to increase to 190 million in 2010, implying an average annual growth rate of 6.7 percent (Fuller, 1997). WTO (2002, 2004) reported that despite the recent sequence of external shocks since the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, including further bombings in Bali, Kenya, and Madrid, as well as the SARS epidemic and Iraq war in 2003, tourism is now the world's largest industry (Hampton, 2005). The forecasts of further growth by UNWTO suggest that by 2020 one hundred million Chinese will travel outside of mainland China each year.

Major changes in the second half of the twentieth century led to the rapid and massive growth of the phenomenon known as modern tourism. These changes have contributed to the Pacific Region/ East Asia becoming the fastest growing area for international tourism in the last quarter of the twentieth century (Mason 2003: 4). Southeast Asia alone received more than 31 million international tourists in 1999 (Jamieson, 2001: 1). Like other countries, Thailand has promoted tourism as a major source of national income. Since Thailand launched "Visit Thailand Year" in l987, the number of foreign tourists visiting Thailand has increased dramatically, despite the Gulf War in l991. The period 1987-1996 can be termed the Golden Decade of Thai Tourism (Fuller, 1997). However, tourism has had some destructive effects, not only at a national but also at a local level. Having suffered from uncontrolled tourism, Thailand is now searching for less destructive approaches which are now part of the nation's sustainable development (Nuchnard, 1998). Let us review the way the impacts of tourism have been defined.

The Impact of Tourism

Tourism is widely perceived as a potential economic base, providing elements that may improve quality of life such as employment opportunities, tax revenues, economic diversity, festivals, restaurants, natural and cultural attractions, and outdoor recreation opportunities. There are concerns, however, that tourism can have negative impacts on quality of life. These can be in the form of crowding, traffic and parking problems, increased crime, increased cost of living, friction between tourists and residents, and changes in hosts' way of life (Ap and Crompton, 1993; McCool and Martin, 1994; Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt, 2005).

In the destinations tourists encounter and interact with the local community and the local environment. This interaction leads to impacts on the local population, the environment and also on the tourists themselves (Mason, 2003: 20).

The impacts of tourism can be positive or beneficial, but also negative or detrimental. Whether impacts are perceived as positive or negative depends on the value position and judgement of the observer of the impacts (Mason, 2003: 28).

Community consequences emerging from tourism development are often divided into three categories. First, economic, including elements such as tax revenue, increased jobs, additional income, tax burdens, inflation, and local government debt. Second, socio-cultural, including elements such as a resurgence of traditional crafts and ceremonies, increased intercultural communication and understanding, increased crime rates, and changes in traditional cultures. Third, environmental, including elements such as protection of parks and wildlife, crowding, air, water and noise pollution, energy consumption, food production, waste management, wildlife destruction, vandalism, and litter (Andereck, 1995) (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf and Vogt, 2005).

Tourism is often seen as reasonably attainable even for communities with minimal public resources. These communities might envision, at most, a nominal public investment in improved roads, downtown cleanup and rehabilitation, and marketing, while the private sector is expected to provide hotels, motels, restaurants, and other tourist facilities. Public support for tourism can readily be generated because it is easily understood and it builds on existing characteristics or amenities of the area. The overriding benefit is that the resources required to attract tourists are perceived as essentially "free" and provide the opportunity for the derivation of surplus and generation of much-needed economic activity in otherwise poor areas. Finally, tourism is seen as a labour-intensive one, a particularly attractive feature in economies with large numbers of poorly educated or unskilled workers, a characteristic of many rural areas (Frederick, 1993; Tooman, 1997).

The view that tourism is an export industry of three Gs, "get them in, get their money, and get them out", is of considerable appeal to communities in search of economic development. Tourism has, in fact, become one of the largest and fastest-growing industries in the world economy (Eadington and Redman, 1991), with nations, states, and communities funding tourist boards to promote their locations, including heritage places, and attract further investment (Tooman, 1997).

Normally, tourism impacts are represented in three dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. Tourism is an industry with enormous economic impacts. It is also an industry that has many environmental and social consequences. A thorough understanding of each component of the tourism phenomenon is essential so that those involved with planning, management, and policy determination have a basis for decision-making.

Economic Impact

In the economic dimension, tourism generates income, increases employment opportunities, additional jobs, and raises standards of living. Particularly in rural areas, the diversification created by tourism helps communities that are possibly dependent

on only one industry (Kreag 2001). As tourism grows, additional opportunities are created for investment, development, and infrastructure spending. Tourism often induces improvements in public utilities such as water, sidewalks, lighting, parking, public restrooms, litter control, and landscaping. Such improvements benefit tourists and residents. Likewise, tourism encourages improvements in transport infrastructure resulting in upgraded roads, airports, public transportation, and non-traditional transportation (e.g., trails) (Kreag, 2001).

In relation to economic impacts the following are usually considered to be positive effects (Lickorish, 1994; Mason, 2003; Kreag, 2001):
- Generate income
- Contribution to foreign exchange earnings
- Contribution to government revenues
- Increases employment opportunities
- Creates new business opportunities
- Contribution to regional development
- Improves local economy
- Improves investment, development, and infrastructure spending
- Increases tax revenues
- The multiplier effect

The multiplier effect

Tourism has become a conspicuously large and fast-growing industry. When considering the costs and benefits of tourism to the local community, much attention is paid to the principle of the 'multiplier effect'. This means the idea that every pound, dollar, or baht spent by the tourist circulates around the local community in a series of waves (Swarbrooke, 1999: 60) (see figure 7).

In terms of sustainable tourism, the aims are to maximize tourist spending and then to minimize the leakages of tourism income from the local economy (Swarbrooke, 1999: 60). Tens of millions of people globally work directly in the industry and many more are employed indirectly (Mason, 2003: 4). One out of every ten jobs worldwide is in tourism (Jamieson, 2001: 1).

Figure 7 the multiplier effect
Source: Denver (2012)

Nagative economic consequences of tourism include the following (Pearce, 1989; Mason, 1995; Kreag, 2001):

- Inflation
- Opportunity costs
- Over-dependence on tourism
- Increases price of goods and services
- Increases price of land and housing
- Increases cost of living
- Increases potential for imported labor
- Cost for additional infrastructure (water, sewer, power, fuel, medical, etc.)
- Increases road maintenance and transportation systems costs
- Seasonal tourism creates high-risk, under- or unemployment issues
- Competition for land with other (higher value) economic uses
- Profits may be exported by non-local owners

Inflation relates to the increases in prices of land, houses and even food that can occur as a result of tourism. Prices for these commodities can increase when tourists place extra demands on local services at a tourism destination. Opportunity costs refer to the cost of engaging in tourism rather than another form of economic

activity. Over-dependence on tourism can occur in, for example, small states or regions where tourism is seen by the government as the best method of development. Over time, the emphasis on tourism becomes such that there is virtually no other approach to development. As a result, the country or region becomes dependent on tourism revenue to the extent that any change in demand is likely to lead to a major economic crisis (Mason, 2003: 35).

Most studies of resident perception of tourism impacts have included questions concerning economic factors. The studies demonstrate that residents feel tourism helps the economy (Kim, 2002). Generally, residents recognized the positive economic impact of tourism development, but were concerned with potentially negative social and environmental impacts such as traffic congestion, crime, public safety issues, and pollution (Kim, 2002). Some researchers conclude that residents agreed that tourism's economic gains were greater than social costs (Liu and Var, 1986; Weaver and Lawton, 2001). However, these are generalized conclusions that do not account for the particularities of individual destinations, each destination having different conditions and different residents' perspectives.

Socio-cultural Impact

The social and cultural impacts of tourism refer to the ways in which tourism is perceived to contribute to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relations, collective lifestyles, safety levels, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies, and community organizations (Fox, 1977 cited in Ap and Crompton, 1998). During their stay in the destination, tourists interact with local residents and the outcome of their relationship is changes in the host individuals' and host community's quality of life, value systems, labour division, family relationships, attitudes, behavioural patterns, ceremonies and creative expressions (Fox, 1977; Cohen, 1984; Pizam and Milman, 1984 cited in Ratz, 2000). These perceived impacts on host communities or destination areas may be classified into two categories (Butler, 1974; Affeld, 1975; Keogh, 1989 cited in Ap and Crompton, 1998). One category concerns the characteristics of the destination area, which includes the perceived social impacts of the resident-visitor encounter. For example, cultural gap effects, crime, prostitution, and demonstration effect (i.e., changes in values, attitudes, or behaviour of the host population, which can result from observing tourists) (de Kadt, 1979 cited in Ap and Crompton, 1998) are in this category. The other category of perceived impacts concerns social impacts on infrastructure development and their perceived effects on the local resources, for example, pressure on local resources and facilities, local versus imported labour, local language and cultural effects, and lifestyle changes (Ap and Crompton, 1998).

Some of the more beneficial impacts of tourism on society include the following (Mason, 2003; Kreag, 2001):
- the creation of employment
- the revitalization of poor or non-industrialized regions
- the rebirth of local arts and crafts and traditional cultural activities
- the revival of social and cultural life of the local population

- the renewal of local architectural traditions
- the promotion of the need to conserve areas of outstanding beauty which have aesthetic and cultural value
- Improves quality of life
- Facilitates meeting visitors (educational experience)
- Positive changes in values and customs
- Promotes cultural exchange
- Improves understanding of different communities
- Preserves cultural identity of host population
- Increases demand for historical and cultural exhibits
- Greater tolerance of social differences
- Satisfaction of psychological needs

However, tourism has the reputation for major detrimental effects on the society and culture of host areas (Mason, 2003; Kreag, 2001):

- Tourism can cause overcrowding. This overcrowding can cause stress for both tourists and residents.
- Where tourism takes over as a major employer, traditional activities such as farming may decline.
- In extreme cases, regions can become over-dependent on tourism.
- Residents may find it difficult to co-exist activities, while the residents are involved in working. This problem is made worse where tourism is a seasonal activity and residents have to modify their way of life for part of the year.
- Excessive drinking, alcoholism, gambling and increased underage drinking
- Crime, drugs, and prostitution
- Increased smuggling
- Unwanted lifestyle changes
- Displacement of residents for tourism development
- Negative changes in values and customs
- Family disruption
- Exclusion of locals from natural resources
- New cliques modify social structure
- Natural, political, and public relations calamities
- One of the more significant socio-cultural impacts of tourism is referred to as the '*demonstration*' effect.
- Another process, known as *acculturation*, may occur when the contact is for a longer period and is deeper

There are two particularly interesting phenomenon concerning the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, the demonstration effect and acculturation theory.

Demonstration effect

This depends on there being visible differences between tourists and hosts. Such a situation arises in developing countries. In the demonstration effect, it is theorized, that simply observing tourists will lead to behavioural changes in the resident population (Williams, 1998 cited in Mason, 2003: 30). Under these conditions, local people will note the superior material possessions of the visitors and aspire to these. This may have positive effects in that it can encourage residents to adopt more productive patterns of behaviour. But more frequently it is disruptive in that locals become resentful because they are unable to obtain the goods and lifestyle demonstrated by the visitors (Turns and Holden, 1995 cited in Mason, 2003: 44). Young people are regarded as particularly susceptible to the demonstration effect (Mason, 2003: 44). The demonstration effect is most likely to occur where the contacts between residents and visitors are relatively superficial and short-lived (Williams, 1998 cited in Mason, 2003: 44). There were more than 1 million foreigners visiting Ayutthaya each year, and therefore there was a high possibility of impact on the local community in terms of 'demonstration effect', especially on young people. However with globalization, it's difficult to specify whether the younger people in Ayutthaya were effected by tourism or by the media. It's therefore difficult to measure these effects because people were impacted by both tourism and media, and other social changes in Thailand more to do with modernity and modernization than just tourism (Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012). So, this illustrates the weakness of the indicator approach and suggests why a value-based approach might be more useful.

Acculturation theory

As Williams (1998: 153 cited in Mason, 2003. p.44) note:
Acculturation theory states that when two cultures come into contact for any length of time, an exchange of ideas and products will take place that through time, produce varying levels of convergence between the cultures; that is they become similar.

However, this process will not necessarily be balanced, as one culture is likely to be stronger than the other. As with the demonstration effect, it is in developed world/developing world relationships where the process is most likely to occur. As the United States has one of the most powerful cultures, it is usually the American culture that predominates over the one from the developing country in any such meeting of cultures. This particular process of acculturation has been dubbed the 'McDonaldization' or 'Coca-colaization' of global cultures (Mason, 1992; MacCannell, 1995 cited in Mason, 2003: 44). Recently, the Korean cultures were widespread over Thai people and people in many countries in Asia. The Korean cultures broadcast through movies and music, and then made people like Korean food, use Korean mobile phone and travel to Korea.

One of the perceived negative effects of this acculturation process is the reduction in the diversity of global cultures. Although acculturation became an important process towards the end of the twentieth century, the desire of many

international tourists to experience a different culture is still a major motivation for tourist visits (Ryan, 1997 cited in Mason, 2003: 45). So the uniqueness of the destination is very important to motivate a tourist's visit. Thus the unique values and significances of World Heritage Site like Ayutthaya is a very unique selling point for Ayutthaya as a tourist destination. If we want to promote tourism, we need to protect the heritage values. On the other hand, if we want to protect the heritage values, we also need to promote tourism as a source of funding for heritage conservation. The point is heritage and tourism can encourage each other. Nevertheless the notion of enculturation has also to be further tested. Tourism is not the only vehicle of enculturation in a globalised world and today modernity has many origins both Asian and western (see Daly and Winter, 2012)

Five factors related to the characteristics of the destination area that influence the nature of perceived social and cultural impacts were also identified. These were (Ap and Crompton, 1998):
(1) Economic state of the area
(2) Degree of local involvement in tourism
(3) Spatial characteristics of tourism development
(4) Viability of the host culture
(5) Other characteristics (e.g., political attitudes of local population)

The identification of these factors indicated that perceptions of social and cultural impacts of tourism are likely to be complex and diverse (Ap and Crompton, 1998). As social and culture are mainly intangible and subjective, its impacts also complex and diverse depend on each place's condition. So, measuring perceptions requires the generation of a research instrument that is suited to each community. Thus this research was based on a community-based and value-based methodology.

Social Impact Issues in Thailand

Under the Seventh (1992-1996) through the Tenth (2007-2011) National Economic and Social Development Plan, the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)'s Plan requires that tourist destinations should be preserved, and the conservation of cultures, arts, traditions and local natures should be promoted at the national, regional and local levels. While, the economic base of local communities should be carefully adapted so that local people can share in new economic opportunities, the local public participation is also necessary element to reach the national development goal (Thaithong, 2003). There have been the government projects that are regarded as prototypes of rural tourism development in Thailand. For example; *Ban Prasart Archeological Site*: the village development project focuses on occupation training, local handicraft promotion, and improvement of natural landscape and basic infrastructure, to increase the villager's well-being by creating appropriate development and a healthy environment. *Village-Based Tourism Project*: this initiative was carried out by the Asian Development Bank (ADB), in cooperation with the Greater Mekong Sub-region Countries (GMS). It carries out studies and surveys of tourism patterns that benefit villagers while maintaining local values. Another one is *Kanchanaburi Ecotourism Cooperative (KECC)*: it was founded by the local people of

Lintin Sub-district, under the leadership of Pongsan Pitamahaket, with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperative, and the Royal Forest Department (RDF). This project is based on the concept that income from tourism will only be sustainable if the ecological and cultural environment is preserved (Phisuthisuwan, 2005).

Past studies on the impact of tourism on culture revealed that although tourism is not the culprit in itself, it plays a catalytic role in affecting changes. Tourism opens an additional venue for the trade-off between economic, social and cultural consequences until a new form of relationship that best serves the evolving society emerges. In the case of the *Bang Fai Festival* (Rocket Firing) in the Northeastern provinces of Thailand, the changes in the way the parade is organized does not necessarily indicate social degradation for tourism purposes but is an open reflection of the changes in the status of the social groups or the communities (Fuller, 1997).

Another case study of the elephant village in Surin (also in the Northeast) revealed a similar result. Thirty years ago, in this particular town, the TAT initiated the Elephant Festival based on the tradition of elephant round-up of the Kui tribe. Over time, elephant shows have become a profession of the Kui and the elephants and the Kui are seen roaming in the streets of Bangkok and other major tourist cities seeking income from shows and other elephant-related services. One can wonder if it is tourism that degraded the life of the Kui and their elephants. An in-depth study of the Kui village revealed that tourism has created a brand name for the Kui village. Their village is known not only domestically, but also internationally as the elephant village. Elephant shows have become an income option for the Kui who traditionally depended on harvests of forest products. As their livelihood is threatened by deforestation, elephant shows have turned out to be their life saver. However, this economic option is not strong enough for them to remain in the village. As not enough tourists come to see the elephants in the village, the elephants will have to go to the tourists in the cities. Indeed the sustainability of the elephant festival depends on the possibility of earning extra tourism income elsewhere (Fuller, 1997). Nor can the Elephant Festival be said to have caused cultural degradation for the Kui. The Kui have never nurtured a closed society. The Festival allows the Kui to raise their social status in the Surin province and is in fact an opportunity for the Kui to be proud of themselves, as they have traditionally been considered as a lesser tribe than the Khmer or the Lao (Fuller, 1997). It seems that tourism may not have done enough to lift the standard of living of the Kui and especially the elephants in a sustained manner. With appropriate management and public relations, it may be possible to sustain the elephant village in the same way that the elephant camp in Mae Sa, Chiang Mai province, can be sustained by year-round tourism (Fuller, 1997).

In the study about 'Socio-economic impacts of community-based tourism on the rural community: a case study at Ban Khok Sa Nga, Nam Pong District, Khon Kaen Province' by Phisuthisuwan (2005), the study area, Ban Khok Sa Nga, was an agricultural village where the villagers had a special talent in king cobra performance. The government agencies had foreseen that this village had the potential to be established as a tourist destination. Therefore the government agencies persuaded them to set up a king cobra club in the village in 1995. Since the king cobra club emerged to be a tourist attraction, there have been lots of changes in Ban Khok Sa Nga. In

economic terms, the villagers earn extra income from tourism. And the village infrastructure, especially inner-village road was improved. The government budgets generated for this village were due to the tourism development. Moreover, the nearby villagers gained benefits from road improvement and trade with the king cobra club. In social terms, the villagers earn more income than before, they can afford their children's education. In addition, the maintenance of king cobra performance skills is an initiative of the village, to guarantee that the skills will not be lost. More than that, local people who migrated to work in other places could returned home, living with their family while earning income from the king cobra performances. The village temple has received a regular income from the king cobra club's donation. Furthermore, the villagers are very proud of their identity as the only king cobra village in the world. However, tourism benefits created conflict among groups of people in the village, which caused a decay in community relationships. Now there are 2 separate groups of king cobra performance in the village. This is an example of the economic and social impacts of tourism development on the local community.

Environmental Impacts

The environment is both the input and the sink for tourism. Tourism generally starts in and cherishes a pristine environment. In the early phase of tourism development nature played an important role in attracting tourists. As demand for tourism grows unabated, too much investment is made to accommodate and feed tourists, while too little is spent on protecting the environment. It is not surprising then, that pristine and precious tourism resources are lost one after another and that often these losses are irreversible. The example of Pattaya is well known. Once a natural spot is degraded, substantial investments are needed to restore the environment (Fuller, 1997).

The environment is being increasingly recognized as a key factor in tourism. In the last decade of the twentieth century, it was noted that tourism depends ultimately upon the environment, as it is a major tourism attraction itself, or is the context in which tourism activities take place (Holden, 2000 cited in Mason, 2003: 53).

It has been said that tourism is "a goose that not only lays a golden egg, but also fouls its own nest" (Hawkins, 1982). The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 1980) recognized this problem when it reported that the environment is an important input into tourism, therefore the maintenance of a "good" environment is essential to further growth of tourism. Conversely, a degradation of the environment could result, and in certain areas has already brought about a decline, in the growth of tourism. On the other hand in a number of places tourism has helped to improve the environment (Ap and Crompton, 1998).

Tourism could have an adverse impact on the environment because of over-crowding, pollution generated by tourists and businesses, encroachment of tourism sites by commercial and industrial interests, wanton vandalism and so on. However, most of these problems can be overcome by visionary planning, effective

implementation of the plan, prudent management and local public participation in the monitoring of the status of the resources (Fuller, 1997).

Over-utilization of tourism resources could be suicidal. Some tourism resources are ecologically fragile; for example, the coral reefs and some forest ecosystems. Studies conducted at Phi Phi, Samui and Similan islands and the Phu Kradung National Park indicate urgent need to control the number of tourists. Elsewhere, in Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai and Phetchaburi systematic studies of a number of popular attractions such as Phu Chee Fa, Doi Inthanon National Park and the Cha-am beach suggest the need to increase investment to extend their carrying capacity through improved management and regulation of tourist behaviour (Fuller, 1997). The Kanchanaburi Ecotourism Cooperative (KECC) project suggested that preservation of the ecological and cultural environment was the important factor in making financial benefits sustainable (Phisuthisuwan, 2005).

Conventionally, the following may be regarded as positive impacts (Mason, 2003; Kreag, 2001):
- Tourism may stimulate measures to protect the environment and/or landscape and/or wildlife.
- Tourism can help to promote the establishment of National Parks and/or Wildlife Reserves.
- Tourism can promote the preservation of buildings/monuments (this includes for example UNESCO's World Heritage Sites).
- Tourism may provide the money via, for example, entrance charges to maintain historic buildings, heritage sites and wildlife habitats.
- Protection of selected natural environments or prevention of further ecological decline
- Preservation of historic buildings and monuments
- Improvement of the area's appearance (visual and aesthetic)

Conventionally, the following have been regarded as negative environmental impacts (Mason, 2003; Kreag, 2001):
- Tourists are likely to drop litter.
- Tourism can contribute to congestion in terms of overcrowding of people as well as traffic congestion.
- Tourism can contribute to the pollution of water courses and beaches.
- Tourism may result in footpath erosion.
- Tourism can lead to the creation of unsightly human structures such as buildings (e.g. hotel) that do not fit in with vernacular architecture.
- Tourism may lead to damage and/or disturbance to wildlife habitats.
- Pollution (air, water, noise, solid waste, and visual)
- Loss of natural landscape and agricultural lands to tourism development
- Destruction of flora and fauna (including collection of plants, animals, rocks, coral, or artifacts by or for tourists)
- Degradation of landscape, historic sites, and monuments
- Use of energy and the increase in the carbon 'footprint' and the production of waste

There are some factors that influence tourism impacts on the environment and these are as follow (Mason, 2003: 30).

- Where is tourism taking place? (e.g. a rural/urban location, a coastal/inland location, a developed/developing country)
- What is the scale of tourism? (e.g. how many tourists are involved?)
- Who are the tourists? (e.g. what is their origin? Are they domestic or international visitors? Are they from developed or developing countries?)
- In what type of activities do tourists engage? (e.g. are these passive/active? Are these consumptive of resources? Is there a high/low level of interaction with the host population?)
- What infrastructure exists for tourism? (e.g. roads? sewage system? electricity supply?)
- For how long has tourism been established? [see particularly Butler's (1980) theory of the destination life-cycle]
- When is the tourist season? (time of year? importance of rainy/dry seasons)

The three dimensions of tourism impacts – economic, socio-cultural and environmental – have had a great influence on the way tourism is conceptualised , and so to put the impacts and also the development of tourism into some perspective, it is instructive to re-visit the four 'platforms' or orientation of tourism writings, research and commentary which have evolved in past decades (Jafari, 1990 cited in Sofield, 2000: 46). To a degree these contextualise the research undertaken in this thesis.

Tourism Evolution: Jafari's Platform Model

Jafari (2001) has identified four tourism platforms, or perspectives, that have dominated the emerging field of tourism research at various stages of its evolution as follow (Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 12-13):

- **Advocacy platform:** the early view that tourism is an inherent benefit to communities that should be developed under free market principles. During 1950s and 1960s, this platform was characterised by a positive attitude towards tourism.
- **Cautionary platform:** a reaction to the advocacy platform that stresses the negative impacts of tourism and the consequent need for strict regulation
- **Adaptancy platform:** a follow-up on the cautionary platform that advocates alternative forms of tourism deemed to be more appropriate than the mass tourism fostered by the advocacy platform
- **Knowledge-based platform:** the most recent dominant perspective in tourism studies, emphasizing ideological neutrality and the application of rigorous research methodologies to obtain knowledge

The four platforms make clear that, the advocacy platform reflects the positive impacts while the cautionary platform reflects the negative impacts of tourism and indicates that tourism may not be sustainable. The adaptancy platform favoured new forms of tourism responsive to host communities and their natural environments, socio-cultural environments and man-made (heritage) environments (Jafari, 1990: 35

cited in Sofield, 2000: 47). The adaptancy platform emerged in forms of alternative tourism, and is set in opposition to mass tourism, and includes ecotourism, cultural tourism, and heritage tourism and so on, forms of tourism that seems to be more appropriate. In this scenario, mass tourism is regarded as the cause of many problems. There are many forms of alternative tourism, such as ecotourism, agrotourism, historical tourism, cultural tourism, slow tourism and also heritage tourism. Ayutthaya World Heritage Site is a tourist attraction that has more than 3 million visitors a year. There is both mass tourism and alternative tourism, like historical tourism, cultural tourism, and heritage tourism, in Ayutthaya. Ayutthaya seems to be an example of what Jafari termed the adaptancy platform where tourism impacts both positively and negatively. Because of the numbers of visitors a year, many people worried about the negative impacts on Ayutthaya World Heritage, even if there were alternative forms of tourism in operation. It could be argued therefore that Ayutthaya should move towards the knowledge-based platform where mass tourism is not always considered negatively, but depends on the success of research based heritage and tourism management. In the knowledge-based platform, it is regarded as important that research methodologies be used to obtain knowledge for management. The keys of this platform are knowledge and neutrality. The heritage tourism management should balance between all stakeholders, so knowing the host communities' perspective is important. This research aims to use a social science methodological approach to obtain the local community perceptions that are then deemed useful for heritage and tourism management.

Another interesting model that can relate to tourism impacts is the 'Lifecycle model', devised by Butler (1980) who summarized and synthesized the prevailing views on the evolution of a destination in his deceptively simple S-curve model.

Butler's 'Lifecycle model'

The geographer Butler built on the ideas of Christaller, Plog, Cohen and Doxey to create his theory, or model. Butler's model appeared in 1980 and he not only acknowledged that his ideas were linked to earlier theories, but he also indicated that they were based on the business/marketing concept of the product life-cycle (Mason, 2003: 23).

In summary, the product life-cycle is a theory in which sales of a new product are seen to slowly grow and then experience a rapid growth, before stabilizing and subsequently declining. When applied to tourism destinations, the model suggests that resorts develop and change over time and there are a number of linked stages: exploration; involvement; development; consolidation (see figure 8 and table 2). During these stages a tourism industry develops and the destination has an increasing number of tourists. After the consolidation stage there are a number of possibilities. The destination could 'stagnate', without any increase or decrease in numbers; it could 'decline' or it could 'rejuvenate' (Mason 2003: 23).
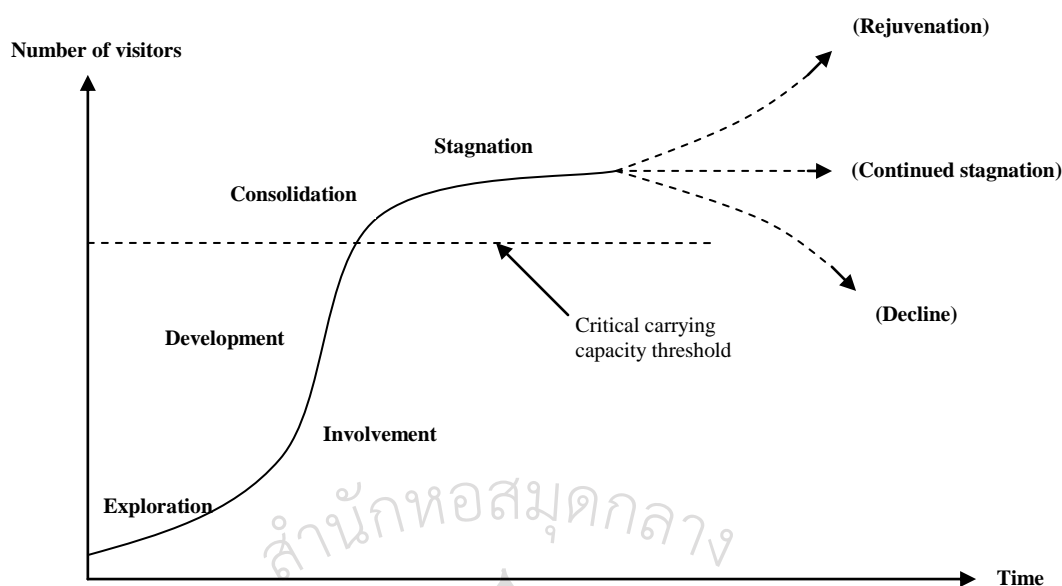
Figure 8 The Butler Sequence / the destination cycle of evolution
Source: Butler (1980 cited in Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 309; 1999: 15)

From the perspective of destination evolution and development, the best-known model is perhaps Butler's model, but from the perspective of residents or local communities who live in destinations, Doxey's 'Irridex' concept is perhaps, more relevant.

Doxey's 'Irridex'

George Doxey (1976) has proposed an index of resident irritation, or *irridex¸* to describe the evolution of local attitudes in response to accelerating tourism development. In the initial stage, residents are '*euphoric*' as a growing number of *allocentric-type* tourists provide good company and good monetary returns for the local community. As the flow becomes larger, tourists are taken for granted and interactions become more formal and commercial (commodities). This '*apathy*' stage gives way to '*irritation*' or '*annoyance*', and then outright '*antagonism*', as the social cultural and environmental carrying capacities of the destination are approached and exceeded. An attitude of '*resignation*' then sets in. For some residents, resignation is manifested in a quiet community of the tourism-intensive destination, while others choose to leave the destination altogether, presumably to live in a place that has substantially less tourism intensity (see table 3) (Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 288).

Table 2 Stages of destination development and associated features

Stage	Characteristic
Exploration	• Few adventurous tourist, visiting sites with no public facilities • Visitors attracted to the destination by a natural physical feature • Specific visitor type of a select nature
Involvement	• Limited interaction between local residents and the developing tourism industry leads to the provision of basic services • Increased advertising induces a definable pattern of seasonal variation • Definite market area begins to emerge
Development	• Development of additional tourist facilities and increased promotional efforts • Greater control of the tourist trade by outsiders • Number of tourist a peak periods far outweighs the size of the resident population, inducing rising antagonism by the latter towards the former
Consolidation	• Tourism has become a major part of the local economy, but growth rates have begun to level off • A well-delineated business district has taken shape • Some of the older deteriorating facilities are perceived as second rate • Local efforts are made to extend the tourist season
Stagnation	• Peak numbers of tourists and capacity levels are reached • The destination has a well-established image, but it is no longer in fashion • The accommodation stock is gradually eroded and property turnover rates are high
Post-stagnation	• A number of possibilities, reflecting a range of options that may be followed, depending partly on the success of local management decisions. At either extreme are rejuvenation and decline

Source: Adapted from Mason (2003: 24)

Albeit a little flippant, one model offered that does explicitly base itself on the prevailing structure of power and that also relates specifically to third world countries is that offered by *Chang Noi* (a pseudonym) in the Thai newspaper *The Nation*. The anger with which it was devised shines through and in this manner it clearly represents the local power structure on which the development is based. *Chang Noi* suggests that three stages of tourism development can be viewed throughout Thailand:

Table 3 Doxey's levels of host irritation extended

Doxey's irridex	Social relationships	Power relationships
Euphoria	Initial phase of development; visitors and investors welcome	Little planning or formalised control; greater potential for control by local individuals and groups in this phase
Apathy	Visitors taken for granted; contacts between residents and outsiders more formal (commercial)	Planning concerned mostly with marketing; tourism industry association begins to assert its interest
Annoyance	Saturation points approached; residents have misgivings about tourist industry	Planers attempt to control by increasing infrastructure rather than limiting growth; local protest groups begin to assert an interest
Antagonism	Irritations openly expressed; visitors seen as cause of all problems	Planning is remedial but promotion is increased to offset deteriorating reputation of destination; power struggle between interest groups may force compromise

Source: Adapted from Doxey (1975, 1976) cited in Mowforth and Munt (2003: 249)

Stage 1: Start with a place of outstanding beauty … Impose absolutely no controls. Allow get-rich-quick entrepreneurs to encroach on the beach, blow up the rocks, scatter garbage and pour concrete everywhere.
Stage 2: The resort is now popular but rapidly losing its natural charm. Add large quantities of sex and comfort. Build large, luxurious hotels. Import lots of girls.
Stage 3: By now the natural beauty is totally obliterated. The seafront is an essay in bad architecture. The hinterland is a shanty town of beer bars. Develop the remains as a male fantasy theme park. Add anything with testosterone appeal – big motorbikes, shooting ranges, boxing rings, archery. Bring in more and more girls (and boys) (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 84).

This model is clearly based more on personal observation and political interpretation than on academic research, but for all that scholars like Mowforth and Munt claim it may be as applicable in some third world countries as many other models (Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 84). However, they are general, although important, descriptions. And in the end they depict tourism in a way that is not so helpful in understanding the complex nature of the heritage, tourism, community relationship (Bushell and Staiff, 2012)

These models explain the evolution, development, and impact of tourism using abstract models. The important factor influencing the conceptual thinking behind these models, especially Butler's and Doxey's models, are host and guest relationships.

Host-guest relationships and the impacts of tourism

A stakeholder has been defined as a person who has the right and capacity to participate in the process; thus, anyone who is impacted upon by the action of others has a right to be involved (Gray, 1989 cited in Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005: 31). In this context, a stakeholder in the tourism industry is deemed to be anyone who is impacted on by development positively or negatively, and, as a result, potential conflict between the tourists and host community can be reduced by involving the latter in shaping the way in which tourism develops (Swarbrooke, 1999; Bramwell and Lane, 1999 cited in Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005: 31).

Host-guest relationships have been the subject of much debate and research in a variety of disciplines such as anthropology and ethnography, as well as tourism studies. It is difficult to disassociate the impacts of tourism from the broader context of social and cultural development. It is recognised that tourism is only one of a number of global factors that impact upon the traditions and lifestyles of local peoples; hence measurement is difficult and management needs to be viewed holistically (Smith, 2003:51). Many of the models that have been cited so frequently in impact analysis are rendered less useful as tourists and destinations diversify. However, two of the best-known models are perhaps Butler's 'Lifecycle models' (1980) and Doxey's 'Irridex' (1975), which complement each other rather well, and, despite their simplicity, retain a certain global relevance (see table 4) (Smith, 2003:51).

Table 4 Destination development and local perceptions of tourism

Stages of tourist destination life cycle	Index of (local) irritation
• **Exploration:** visitor numbers are small, tourist infrastructure is limited, impacts are minimal • **Involvement:** visitor numbers increase, tourist facilities are developed, locals become more involved in tourism • **Development:** the destination becomes a 'resort', arrival of mass tourists, increased external and private sector involvement • **Consolidation and stagnation**: expansion ceases, capacity reached, product quality starts to diminish • **Post-stagnation:** destination either declines further or is rejuvenation at a later stage	• **Euphoria:** local enthusiasm for tourism curiosity, strangers welcomed, mutual feeling of satisfaction for both hosts and guests • **Apathy:** indifference to tourists who become a familiar sight, host-guest relationship less spontaneous and harmonious, tourist targeted for profit-making • **Irritation:** locals unable to cope with the expansion of tourism, often outnumbered by tourists, feelings of exploitation • **Antagonism:** irritations become overt, social unrest, tourists mistreated, targets of crime

Source: Smith (2003: 52 adapted from Butler, 1980 and Doxey, 1975)

Social exchange doctrine suggests that individuals will engage in exchanges if (Skidmore, 1975):
(1) The resulting rewards are valued
(2) The exchange is likely to produce valued rewards
(3) Perceived costs do not exceed perceived rewards

These principles suggest that residents will be willing to enter into an exchange with the tourists if they can reap some benefit without incurring unacceptable costs (Turner, 1986). Theoretically, residents who view the results of tourism as personally valuable and believe that the costs do not exceed the benefits will favour the exchange and support tourism development (Jurowski, Uysan and Williams, 1997).

In attempting to understand resident reactions to tourism, researchers have been applying these precepts. Earlier research has recognized that the elements being exchanged by the host community residents include not only economic components but also social and environmental factors (King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993; Milman and Pizam, 1988; Perdue, Long, and Allen, 1990; Shluter and Var, 1988). Residents appear to be willing to enter into an exchange with tourists if they feel the transaction will result in a gain (Pizam 1978; Tyrrell and Spaulding 1984). Prior studies have shown that economic gain, along with social and environmental factors, affects resident perceptions of tourism and their support of or opposition to tourism. The results of these studies suggest that the evaluation of several elements of exchange affects the way tourism is perceived and the manner in which residents react to tourism (Jurowski, Uysan and Williams, 1997).

Social exchange theorists suggest that the evaluation of the value of an exchange is complex and dynamic (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1967). Furthermore, the behavioralists acknowledge that individuals are likely to be evaluating a range of interacting rewards and costs in making rational decisions (Turner 1986). A study by Liu and Var (1986) demonstrated this complexity. They found that residents regarded environmental protection as more important than economic benefits of tourism but that they were unwilling to sacrifice their standard of living for environmental conservation. One could hypothesise that this would be similar throughout Southeast Asia. The complexity and dynamism of the exchange process suggests that our understanding of resident reactions to tourism would be enhanced by an analysis of the interplay of values residents place on the elements being exchanged and their perceptions of how tourism impacts what they value (Jurowski, Uysan and Williams, 1997). This idea was used in the research methodology employed in this thesis by measuring the residents' perception toward the impacts of tourism on their values. And it was very important to find out what the residents valued because each community is unique and doubly so when it is attached to a significant heritage site. The findings of this research will enhance our understanding of resident reactions to tourism.

Some researchers have specifically applied the principles of social exchange theory in an effort to explain the reaction of tourist destination area residents. For example, Perdue, Long, and Allen (1987) used social exchange theory logic to explain the differences in tourism perceptions and attitudes based on variances in participation in outdoor recreation. They hypothesized that outdoor recreation participants, when

compared to nonparticipants, would perceive more negative impacts from tourism because of the opportunity costs associated with tourist use of local outdoor recreation areas. Their findings, however, failed to support this hypothesis. There are two possible explanations for this: (1) participants may have adopted coping mechanisms to avoid competing with tourists (Bryant and Napier, 1981) or (2) the residents may have felt that tourism had improved rather than reduced the quality of outdoor recreation opportunities. Support for the second supposition can be found in the results of several quantitative studies that revealed that residents view tourism as a benefit that increases recreational opportunities (Keogh, 1990; Liu, Sheldon, and Var, 1987; Murphy, 1981; Pizam, 1978; Rotham, 1978; Sheldon and Var 1984) (Jurowski, Uysan and Williams, 1997). The finding above showed that the attitudes and perceptions of residents depend on what they value. We have to know what residents value before measuring their perceived impact of tourism activities on these values. This idea was critical to the research methodology employed in the Ayutthaya study.

Sustainable Tourism

The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) et al. (1991: 130) suggested that 'The real aim of development is to improve the quality of human life. It is a process that enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment' (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005: 6).

Sustainable development is a pattern of resource use that aims to meet human needs while preserving the natural environment so that these needs can be met not only in the present, but in the indefinite future. The term was used by the Brundtland Commission and has become the most often-quoted definition of sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (UN, 1989: 43)

There is no widely accepted definition of sustainable tourism. It could, of course, be suggested that sustainable tourism should simply be about applying the Brundtland Report definition of sustainability to tourism. This could lead to a definition such as (Swarbrooke, 1999: 13):

> Forms of tourism which meet the needs of tourists, the tourism industry, and host communities today without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need.

It is usually thought vital that any definition of sustainable tourism emphasizes the environmental, social and economic elements of the tourism system. This might lead to a definition that sustainable tourism:

> Means tourism which is economically viable but does not destroy the resources on which the future of tourism will depend, notably the physical environment and the social fabric of the host community (Swarbrooke, 1999: 13).

One definition in particular considers sustainable tourism as a type of development that 'connects tourists and providers of tourist facilities and services with advocate for environmental protection and community residents and their leaders who desire a better quality of life' (McIntyre, 1993 cited in McCool and Moisey, 2001: 138)

Some commentators feel that trying to produce definitions of sustainable tourism is dangerous because:

> [general definitions] can give the impression of simplicity in what is a complex area. Tight definitions might also limit the range of issues to be covered under the heading of sustainable tourism … Definitions tend to be irrelevant, misleading, and ever-changing (Richards in Bramwell et al., 1996 cited in Swarbrooke, 1999: 13).

Principles of sustainable tourism

One of the first public action strategies on tourism and sustainability came from the Globe 90 conference held in Canada. Conference delegates suggested five goals of sustainable tourism. These are as follows:
   a) To develop greater awareness and understanding of the significant contribution tourism can make to environment and economy.
   b) To promote equity and development.
   c) To improve the quality of life of the host community.
   d) To provide a high quality of experience for the visitor.
   e) To maintain the quality of the environment.
      (Fennell, 1999: 14 cited in Mason, 2003: 79)

Agenda 21 is a global action plan endorsed by the 1992 Rio Summit in Brazil. It sets out the priorities for sustainable development into the twenty-first century. Stancliffe (1995 cited in Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 105) provides the following summary of the points of relevance in Agenda 21 for the tourism industry.

Agenda 21 impinges on tourism in two ways. First, tourism is specifically mentioned as offering sustainable development potential to certain communities, particularly in fragile environments. Second, tourism will be affected by agenda 21's programme of action because its many impacts may be altered by the legal framework, policies and management practices under which it operates. Among other priorities given in Agenda 21, *Governments* are urged to (Stancliffe, 1995 cited in Mowforth and Munt, 2003: 105):
   • Improve and re-orientate pricing and subsidy policies in issues related to tourism
   • Diversify mountain economies by creating and strengthening tourism
   • Provide mechanisms to preserve threatened areas that could protect wildlife, conserve biological diversity or serve as national park
   • Promote environmentally sound leisure and tourism activities, building on the current programme of the World Tourism Organisation.

Business and *industry*, including transnational corporations, are urged to:
- Adopt codes of conduct promoting best environmental practice
- Ensure responsible and ethical management of products and processes
- Increase self-regulation

In 1995 the World Tourism Organisation, the World Travel and Tourism Council and the Earth Council adopted a joint declaration, 'Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development'. This draft action program for the tourism industry includes the principles outlined below (Bushell, 2001: 34).
- Tourism should help people live a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.
- Tourism should contribute to the conservation, protection and rehabilitation of ecosystems.
- Protection of the environment should be an integral component of tourism development.
- Tourism should be planned at the local level and allow for the participation of local people.
- Tourism should recognize and support the identity, culture and interests of indigenous peoples.
- International agreements to protect the environment should be respected by the tourism industry.

To achieve sustainable development, many researchers suggested an appropriate balance between different, sometimes apparently conflicting needs and value systems, and suggested three dimensions of sustainable tourism, namely economic, environmental, and social equity objectives (McCool and Moisey, 2001; Jamieson, 2001; Swarbrook, 1999). The approach used in the Ayutthaya research also utilized these three dimensions of sustainable tourism or, the soc-called, triple bottom line. This Ayutthaya research aimed to measure the perceptions of the host community about tourism impacts on their values, on economic values, on socio-cultural values, and on environmental values.

Sustainability principles refer to the **environmental, economic and socio-cultural** aspects of tourism development, and a **suitable balance must be established** between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability. Thus, sustainable tourism should (World Tourism Organization, 2004:7):
1. **Make optimal use of environmental resources** that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintain essential ecological processes and help to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
2. **Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities**, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
3. Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, **provide socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders** that are fairly distributed, include stable employment and income-earning opportunities and services to host communities, and contribute to poverty alleviation.

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) principles above are very compatible with heritage conservation management. Make optimal use of environmental resources and respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities; in other words it's the principles for national and cultural heritage conservation. And stakeholders as part of 'living heritage' something acknowledged as an appropriate description for Ayutthaya World Heritage community, require long-term economic operations that will provide socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders. This requires that the principles for the protection of the stakeholders' values be upheld.

Sustainable tourism development requires the **informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership** to ensure wide participation and consensus building. Achieving sustainable tourism is a **continuous process** and it requires **constant monitoring of impacts**, introducing the necessary preventive and/or corrective measures whenever necessary. Sustainable tourism should also maintain a **high level of tourist satisfaction** and ensure a meaningful experience to the tourists, raising their awareness about sustainability issues and promoting sustainable tourism practices amongst them (World Tourism Organization, 2004:7).

As suggested by World Tourism Organisation (WTO) (2004), the balancing between economic, socio-cultural, and environmental factors is very important, as well as balancing the needs and demands of stakeholders. All stakeholders have their own values and tourism can impact either positively or negatively or both. It is therefore necessary to find out what they perceive as important in order to respond with a suitable solution that sustains both the heritage values of the place and the tourism industry.. The doctrine of sustainable development not only advocates sustaining the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental values of a place, but aims sustain the things the stakeholders' value.

Many concepts about sustainable tourism have been well developed in the literature. These include (Bushell, 2001: 33):
- The notion of *carrying capacity*
- *Limits of acceptable change* and acceptable use
- Maintenance of *sense of place*
- Host/guest relationships
- The debate on authenticity and commodification of culture and place
- The debate on the ethics of tourism, particularly in developing countries and areas where populations are more vulnerable and impressionable to the demonstration effects of visitors from wealthier nations
- The idea of the destination life cycle

However, the concept of sustainable tourism changed during the last decade of the twentieth century. Emphasis has been placed on environmental factors, social factors or economic factors depending on the author, the target audience and the context in which statements have been made (Mason, 2003: 79).

The concepts and ideas analysed above (the concept of sustainable tourism as a balance between economic, social, and environment values, and a balance between all

stakeholders including the local community, government, business and industry, the visitors and other related agencies) is completely compatible with ideas about heritage conservation and management. Heritage and tourism have a common interest and share common objectives to manage both heritage and tourism sustainably. This is the mechanism and vehicle for an alliance between heritage and tourism.

The Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy

The philosophy of sufficiency economy has been developed and advocated for the past three decades by His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand based on his accumulative experiences in rural development. The philosophy provides guidance on appropriate conduct covering numerous aspects of life. After the economic crisis in 1997, His Majesty the King reiterated and expanded the philosophy in numerous remarks during 1997 and 1998. The philosophy stresses the Buddhist principle of the "middle path" as a guiding principle for people at all levels in pursuing their livelihood (www.thaiembassy.be/pdf/sufficiency_economy.pdf). The philosophy points the way for recovery that will lead to a more resilient and sustainable economy, better able to meet the challenges arising from globalization and other changes**.**

"**Sufficiency Economy**" is a philosophy that stresses **the middle path** as an overriding principle for appropriate conduct by the populace at all levels. This applies to conduct starting from the level of families, communities, as well as the level of the nation in development and administration so as to modernize in line with the forces of globalization. *"Sufficiency"* means moderation, reasonableness, and the need for self-immunity for sufficient protection from impact arising from internal and external changes. To achieve this, an application of knowledge with due consideration and prudence is essential. In particular, great care is needed in the utilization of theories and methodologies for planning and implementation in every step. At the same time, it is essential to strengthen the moral fiber of the nation, so that everyone, particularly public officials, academics, and businessmen at all levels, adheres first and foremost to the principles of honesty and integrity. In addition, a way of life based on patience, perseverance, diligence, wisdom and prudence is indispensable to create balance and be able to cope appropriately with critical challenges arising from extensive and rapid socioeconomic, environmental, and cultural changes in the world (The 1999 TDRI Year-end Conference Distribution Material ; www.sufficiencyeconomy.org/detail.swf ; Prasart Pasiri, 2000).

The philosophy includes three elements: moderation, reasonableness, and self-immunity and requires two conditions for the philosophy to work: knowledge and virtues. The following diagram sums up the philosophy (www.thaiembassy.be/pdf/sufficiency_economy.pdf).
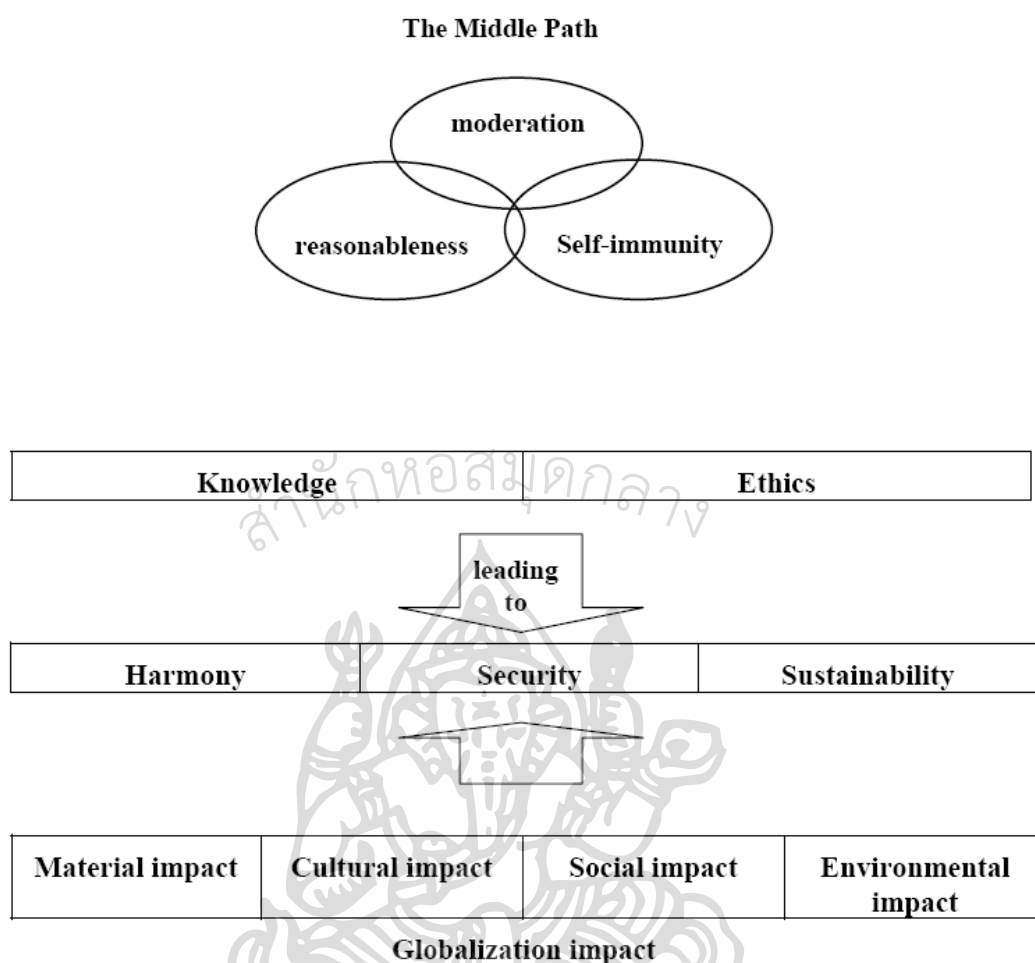
The Middle Path

Figure 9 The Philosophy of Sufficiency Economy
Source: Royal Thai Embassy to Belgium and Luxembourg (2007)

His Majesty's ideas can be boiled down to five axioms: (1) know what you are doing; (2) be honest and persevere; (3) take a middle path, avoid extremes; (4) be sensible and insightful in taking decisions; (5) build protection against shocks (UNDP, 2007; Thailand Human Development Report, 2007; Sufficiency Economy and Human Development. UNDP: Bangkok. ; www.thaiembassy.be/pdf/sufficiency_economy.pdf)

The concept of Sufficiency Economy offers solutions to problems in both large cities and rural areas. Linking the modern economic system with the cooperative system in this connection, applied to public affairs, including development and administration, the Sufficiency Economy approach is better able to meet the challenges arising from globalization and realize sustainable growth, while keeping conservation and development in equilibrium.

The philosophy has been recognized as an effective approach towards sustainable development. In recent years, many developing countries have sent

delegations to study His Majesty's royal projects on alternative development to see first-hand how the philosophy can be applied (Government Savings Bank and Steve Barth, 2008).

Sustainable Tourism, Sustainable Development, Sufficiency Economy, and Heritage Conservation
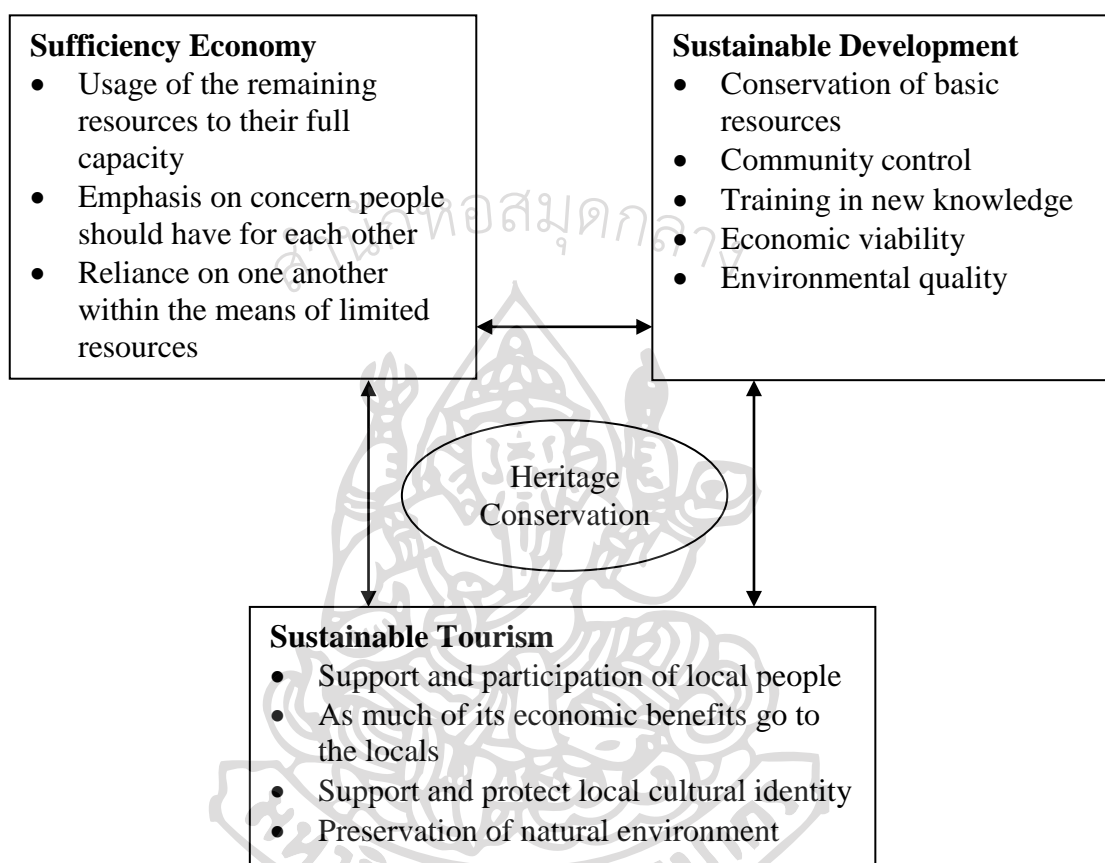
Figure 10 The interconnection of each paradigm
Source: Bradford and Lee (2004: 7)

Summary of the Four Paradigms

Figure 2.4 showed the interconnection of four paradigms namely; the concept of sustainable development, sufficiency economy, sustainable tourism, and heritage conservation.

Sustainable development is a concept concerned with focus and scale of sustainability efforts, depending on local conditions. To achieve sustainable development, the local community must find a delicate balance between conflicting economic, environmental, and social equity objectives. It is a combination of economic growth targets and human development perspectives. This will become a key tool for

the enhancement of the quality of life. Further, it is a provision for continuous improvement and life-long learning for the local community (Bradford and Lee, 2004: 6-7).

Sufficiency economy is a new theory developed by His Majesty Bhumibol Adulyadej**,** the King of Thailand. He has developed this theory to reduce the difficulties of his people during the economic crisis, which was caused by the financial turmoil beginning in 1997. The concept is to create an atmosphere where people are satisfied with their resources, encouraging them to feel content with what they have and make use of the property to their capacity. The concept also places emphasis on concerns people should have about each other (Bradford and Lee, 2004: 7).

The concept of sustainable development and sufficiency economy are quite similar. Both concepts aim to use resources efficiently and community involvement is important role. Both concepts are important for sustainable tourism approaches and heritage conservation.

Sustainable tourism should be considered a tool to improve the standard of living of the local community through well-planned strategies, in order to ensure survival in the long run. It also provides opportunities for the community to learn from tourism and tourists. From the process of learning, people can take an active role in conservation and protection of their environment (Bradford and Lee, 2004: 6).

Sustainable development and sufficiency economy can both be viewed as underpinning the concept of sustainable tourism. On the other hand, sustainable tourism is a tool for sustainable development too because of tourism's capacity to improve the standard of living of the local community, and potentially protect community values.

Heritage conservation in Thailand requires both the concept of sustainable development and sufficiency economy in the long run. Both concepts aim to protect the communities' resources and improve the quality of life and the life-long learning of communities. Sustainable tourism can also be regarded as a vehicle for heritage conservation, as it ideally attempts to improve the standard of living of the local community, and encourage people to take an active role in conservation and protection of their heritage (both natural and cultural). On the other hand, heritage as a tourism resource or tourist attractions can support the economic imperatives of tourism.

There is, therefore, a close relationship between the four paradigms, and each paradigm supports the others. In conclusion, all paradigms have the same objective: to protect values. All paradigms are about values, such as economic values, socio-cultural values, environmental values, heritage values, universal values, or community values and so on. It is the reason why this research uses a values approach because the impacts of tourism are bound up with community values.

Community Participation

      Community participation is very important for all the paradigms previously discussed, and therefore is important for the community-based approach used in this research. Mowforth and Munt (1998) argued that one of the criteria often agreed as essential to achieving sustainability in any new tourism scheme is the participation of local people. As Pretty (1995 cited in Mason, 2003) stated, in relation to development projects in general, the terms 'people participation' and 'popular participation' are now part of the normal language of development agencies. Pretty created a typology of participation and included a critique of each form of participation. (see table 5)

Table 5 Pretty's typology of participation

	Typology	Characteristic of each type
1	Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. Information being shared belongs only to external professionals
2	Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take no board people's view
3	Bought participation	People participate in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Local people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end
4	Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals, especially reduced costs. People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives
5	Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups or institutions. Learning methodologies used to seek multiple perspectives and groups determine how available resources are used
6	Self-mobilisation and connectedness	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

Sources: Pretty and Hine (1999) adapted from Pretty (1995) cited in Mowforth and Munt (2003: 215)

      As outlined in Pretty's typology of participation (in table 5) the initial typology of participation; the passive participation and participation by consultation were used in this research. The local community were asked about their perception of the tourism impacts on their values.

We should accept that the idea of community involvement as a cornerstone of sustainable tourism is fraught with problems. It is necessary for us to recognize that (Swarbrooke, 1999: 41):

- Communities are rarely homogeneous, taking a single homogeneous view on any issue. There is a need to develop mechanisms for arbitrating the conflicting views that will emerge over tourism in any community
- Tourism management should not allow articulate minority to dominate the process to the exclusion of the citizens
- In some instances, the community may wish to pursue policies which are anti-sustainable tourism. We cannot assume, therefore, that community involvement will automatically ensure more sustainable forms of tourism

Usually, community participation focuses on decision-making processes and the benefits of tourism development (Gibson and Marks, 1995; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000). It is thought that only when local communities are involved in decision-making, can their benefits be ensured and their traditional lifestyles and values respected (Gunn, 1994; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Linderberg and Johnson, 1997; Mitchell and Reid, 2001; Sheldon and Abenoja, 2001; Timothy, 1999; Wells,1996). This ideal, especially regarding the community approach to decision-making, is rarely found in developing countries (Li, 2005). Community participation via employment as workers or as small business operators, rather than participation in the decision-making process, has been recognized as a way of helping local people receive more than economic benefits (Tosun, 2000). The methodology used in this research was an effort to encourage local community involvement in decision-making, planning and in the management process.

Community-based Planning

As the Brundtland Report states, 'no single blueprint will be found, as economic and social systems and ecological conditions differ widely among countries. Each nation will have to work out its own concrete policy implications' (WCED, 1987 cited in Bushell, 2001: 36).

Generally we think of a community as those people who live and work together. Communities organize themselves in order to share resources, manage these resources, and achieve common goals in relation to quality of life aspirations. Specific policies, plan and actions are needed to achieve community goals. Tourism planning should be part of this process (Bushell, 2001).

None of these stakeholder groups is homogenous. Different members have different values, aspirations, levels of education, needs and desires. Often the same person will belong to more than one stakeholder group. It is important that the issues of tourism are seen in the broader context of the community and not in isolation, where only people who run tourism businesses feel they have the right to contribute to decisions that affect tourism (Bushell, 2001: 41). As Bushell mentions each community member has different values as well as different aspirations, education, needs and desires. Therefore, it is important to know the community values of

particular places because there are not standard values for every community. So, ascertaining local community values was necessary in the Ayutthaya.

Any sustainable tourism programme must work in concert with stakeholders. Their participation in the planning and management process is important. Why involve stakeholders in planning and management? In the World Heritage Paper 04: *Involving Stakeholders: The benefits and Challenges of Public Participation* explain that because:

1. Involving stakeholders saves time and money.
2. Failure to understand stakeholder positions can delay or block projects.
3. Stakeholders can inform managers about easily misunderstood local cultural differences.
4. Stakeholders can help identify problem areas that may have been overlooked by the experts.
5. Stakeholders can provide useful input regarding desired conditions at a site. Stakeholder can help managers to establish visitor conditions and set quantifiable standards for problem management and impact limitation.

Butler (1974) identified five factors related to tourists that he suggested were important in influencing interactions with residents. These were (Ap and Crompton, 1998).

(1) Number of visitors
(2) Length of stay of visitors
(3) Ethnic characteristics of visitors
(4) Economic characteristics of visitors
(5) Activities of the visitors

A typology of tourism-host community relationships

The approach taken here to establish a typology is based on assessing the relationship that exists between tourism, heritage and the destination community. The following four possible relationship scenarios may develop (Singh, Timothy and Dowling (eds), 2003):

- *Win-win:*
  The win-win scenario is one where both heritage conservation, the community and tourism benefit. The obvious example of this is what is termed community-based tourism, where the community is in support of tourism, participates and benefits from it and where tourism ensures the maintenance of the resource base of the community itself. Some of the best examples of community-based tourism are linked to people who have a strong commitment to and value local resources whether natural or cultural, including heritage places.
- *Win-lose:*
  Win-lose scenarios may exist where the community benefits but mass tourism does not necessarily. Or heritage benefits but tourism does not. This can arise by restricting numbers of tourists to ensure that host-guest

ratios are appropriate to cope with numbers. Or where tourism affects the fabric of cultural heritage places. The community benefits emphasis is often on encouraging quality tourism, stressing meaningful interaction between residents and tourists, encouraging higher spending, minimal leakage and less negative impact.

- *Lose-win:*
  Lose-win is the third scenario. According to this scenario, the community loses while tourism gains. Or heritage loses and tourism wins. Many tourist-gambling communities fall into this category as gaming often destroys the fabric of communities both in a physical sense (areas are pulled down to make way for more casinos) and in social terms (increased deviant behaviour, addiction and organized crime). In contrast, tourism gains as all-inclusive packages of gambling, entertainment, shopping and accommodation are offered to potential visitors. Certain types of enclave resort developments do the same. Where tourism tramples and is destructive of heritage places the result is also the same.

- *Lose-lose:*
  Lose-lose is the last scenario. In this case, verybody, the community, heritage places and tourism all lose out. One obvious example of this would be uncontrolled mass coastal resort-based tourism where emphasis is on short-term economic gain at the expense of long-term community and environment loss. Many of the resorts along the Mediterranean coast fit this scenario, where traditional fishing villages have been replaced with masses of visitors who have a superficial relationship with their hosts, and are low spenders with significant negative impacts. This situation has improved somewhat recently as recognition has grown that there needs to be a good relationship between residents and tourists. In terms of World Heritage places the Galapagos Islands is a good example of 'lose-lose'.

The 'win-win' scenario is obviously the best way for host-guest relationships, sustainable tourism and heritage conservation.

His Majesty's principles for development and concept of community participation

Development concepts and theories were developed, adapted and approved by His Majesty Bhumipol Adulyadej, the King of Thailand, to make the implementation of the Royal Development Projects simple and appropriate to local conditions, the ecology of the community as a whole and social conditions of its members. To help people understand the project, His Majesty favours simplifying complex situations, making confusing issues comprehensible, and using common sense to solve problems. 'Make it simple' is His Majesty's frequent advice. Royal Initiatives' principles for development are (Panthep Klanarongran, 2001: 39-40):

1. The principle of 'no order' means people are not ordered to follow his initiatives. This should be done on a voluntary basis
2. The principle of 'self-reliance'
3. The principle of 'popular participation'
4. The principle of 'democracy'

5. The principle of 'consistency' means local conditions and characteristics including topography, environment, culture and tradition should be taken into consideration when implementing His Majesty's development work

6. The principle of 'community strengthening' builds the foundation for living which will lead to the state of self-reliance in a sustainable fashion

7. The principle of 'education' means encouraging people to obtain knowledge on making a living and practicing agriculture using proper technology

These principles are concerned with sustainable development, they encourage local community participation, and at the heart of the principles is community values; local community participation is viewed as helping communities fulfill their values and to maintain them over time.

To achieve these principles, His Majesty graciously suggested the following methods (Panthep Klanarongran, 2001: 40):

- Organizing groups to help solve the community's major problems in an effective manner.
- Motivating community leaders to be development leaders.
- Promoting the development of self-reliance step-by-step.

The principles and methods suggested by the His Majesty are aimed at building the capacity of communities to manage and develop themselves, and this means providing the opportunities for them to protect or their values and fulfil them. This concept relates to both heritage conservation management and sustainable tourism, as both are about protecting community values from negative impacts and achieving a situation that would positively impact on their values.

Participation can help to build long-term capacity and improve the ability of local communities to manage and influence the outcome of their development. Participation should aim at reconciling economic development with the broader interests of the host community and the potential effects on their environment. Consultation between the government sector, private sector and local community is essential to assess a development project that minimizes negative effects and maximizes benefits (World Wide Fund for Nature, 1992 cited in Zimmermann, 2001: 88)

Perceptions of Community

In attempting to understand resident reactions to tourism, researchers have been applying these precepts. Earlier research has recognized that the elements being exchanged by the host community residents include not only economic components but also social and environmental factors (King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993; Milman and Pizam, 1988). Residents appear to be willing to enter into an exchange with tourists if they feel the transaction will result in a gain (Pizam, 1978). As some studies have found that residents are more likely to support tourism if they stand to benefit from it through employment for themselves or family members. Or they believe the

benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts. Some studies show that people who do not benefit from tourism support the industry regardless. Some research has reported local concern over the impact of tourism development on property prices, access to recreation, traffic congestion, quality of life, salaries and higher prices. Other research shows little relationship between tourism development and indicators such as the quality of life (Pedesen, 2003). Prior studies have shown that economic gain, along with social and environmental factors, affects resident perceptions of tourism and their support of or opposition to tourism (Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams, 1997).

Social exchange doctrine suggests that individuals will engage in exchanges if (1) the resulting rewards are valued, (2) the exchange is likely to produce valued rewards, and (3) perceived costs do not exceed perceived rewards (Skidmore, 1975). These principles suggest that residents will be willing to enter into an exchange with the tourists if they can reap some benefit without incurring unacceptable costs (Turner, 1986). The social exchange doctrine advocates the value-based approach used in this research. Theoretically, residents who view the results of tourism as personally valuable and believe that the costs do not exceed the benefits will favour the exchange and support tourism development (Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams, 1997). By this observation, the host community in Ayutthaya World Heritage (and most tourist destinations) would tend to welcome more visitors and favour tourism because of financial benefits they potentially can gain.

Lankford and Howard (1994) developed a tourism impact scale to detect opinions held by residents who live in destination areas. Their research showed that residents' attitudes are quite diverse depending on how tourism personally impacted on their own lives. Those who work in the industry tend to be more accepting of and positive toward tourism. Those whose personal lifestyle may have changed in a negative way (i.e. crowding at their favourite recreation site) tend to be less positive (Vogt, et al., 2004: 242). As well, Madrigal (1993 cited in Vogt, et al, 2004) found that residents who were economically dependent on tourism held stronger positive feelings about tourism. Residents' negative perceptions of tourism were less tied to economic dependency and instead was more a function of the level of tourism development in a community (more development, stronger negative attitudes) (Vogt, et al., 2004: 242). This shows that the impacts of tourism are concerned with the residents' feelings, attitudes or perceptions. Another study by King and his colleagues (1993) reported residents of an area in Fiji, most of whom worked in the tourism industry, recognized "the good and the bad" impacts brought on by tourism. Economic benefits were desirable and residents felt social costs were brought on by outsiders to their homeland, including drug addition, organized and individual crime, and alcoholism (Vogt, et al., 2004: 242). Most researchers have demonstrated that economic benefits positively impact on resident perceptions of tourism and that social and environmental detriments have the opposite effects (Ap, 1992a; Liu and Var, 1986; Pizam, 1978).

A study by Liu and Var (1986) demonstrated this complexity. They found that residents regarded environmental protection as more important than economic benefits of tourism but that they were unwilling to sacrifice their standard of living for environmental conservation. The complexity and dynamism of the exchange process suggests that our understanding of resident reactions to tourism would be enhanced by

an analysis of *the interplay of values* residents place on the elements being exchanged and their perceptions of how tourism impacts upon *what they value* (Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams, 1997). This concept is very much the concern of the approach used in this research. The local community perceptions of how tourism impacts upon what they value is very important. The principles of sustainable development, sustainable tourism, sufficient economy, and heritage conservation all, in their own ways, emphasize the balance between the triple bottom line values namely; economic values, environmental values, and socio-cultural values. And these triple bottom line values should not be just those of experts but include local community values because the local community always want to protect their values and the ways they can fulfil these values. Heritage and local community values can overlap because in many definitions, heritage refers to something inherited from the past that people would like to keep for the future generations, like values that people would like to protect. Although this cannot be take for granted, especially if economic values over-ride conservation values. From a tourism perspective, local community perceptions of how tourism impacts upon their values that they want to protect is important if tourism is to enjoy the benefits arising from heritage places when those heritage places are within existing urban environments. Ayutthaya plays many roles and two of them relate to it being a World Heritage Site and tourist destination, as well as being a local community that values Ayutthaya heritage for tourism. So the local community may want to protect Ayutthaya for two reasons; firstly, because of the heritage values of Ayutthaya, and secondly, because tourism generates more income and employment.

Theoretically, the relationship holds true because the perception of tourism's impact is a result of assessing rewards and costs. Consequently, residents who perceive the exchange with tourists as beneficial will support tourism, while those who perceive the exchange as deleterious will oppose tourism development. The perception of tourism's impact is affected by the exchange the perceivers believe they are making (Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams, 1997).

Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams (1997) indicated that the potential for economic gain has a direct and positive effect on resident support for tourism. Theoretically, individuals who gain economically from tourism should view the impacts of tourism more positively and should lend more support to tourism. Individuals who use the same resource as do tourists may view tourism positively when tourism improves the resource and negatively when an influx of visitors prevents the resident from enjoying the resource. The perception of tourism's impact will vary with individuals' assessment of how tourism impacts on their resource and in the case of this study the resource is a heritage resource. Many of the elements that create the ambiance of a community are affected by tourism, and one's attachment to that community should affect how one perceives the impacts of tourism. An eco-centric attitude, which reflects a strong belief in the preservation and protection of the environment, should, arguably, result in a more negative perception of any type of development (Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams, 1997).

Direct effect of the use of the resource-based variable indicates that residents who use the same resource as tourists are relatively neutral toward tourism development. However, the research finding indicates that the resource user in this

case believes that there will be economic and social benefits from an increase in tourism and, more importantly, that tourism will improve the natural environment. Previous studies of the resource user had suggested that the resource user perceived the impacts of tourism positively (Allen et al., 1993; Davis, Allen, and Cosenza, 1989; Kendall and Var, 1984; Keogh, 1990; Murphy, 1981; Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978). Other researchers noted that the natural environment was more important to the resource user (Schreyer, Knopf, and Williams, 1992; Williams et al., 1992). This study demonstrated the same positive attitude toward the impacts of tourism, especially its effects on the natural environment. The insight gained from this study is that while resource users may view the impacts as positive, they remain reticent to support its development in a nature-based setting (Jurowsky, Uysal and Williams, 1997). But whether such findings apply to historic towns and cities with significant heritage values is not indicated.

The resource-based study above shows the important role of the local community as one of the resource users who use the same resource as tourists. But it also shows the weakness of an indicators approach that does not emerge from the local community as the resource user.

Indicators of Sustainable Development for Tourism Destinations

Since the early 1990's the WTO has pioneered the development and application of sustainability indicators to tourism and to destinations. The guidebook of indicators of sustainable development for tourism destinations (World Tourism Organization, 2004) was created. It designed to bring practical assistance to tourism and destination managers, and to encourage them to use indicators as a building block for sustainable tourism in their destinations.

In the guidebook, the indicators development process has twelve steps (World Tourism Organization, 2004):
1. Definition/delineation of the destination (to identify scope of information needs for indicators).
2. Use of participatory processes for indicators development.
3. Identification of tourism assets and risks.
4. Long-term vision for a destination – clearly defined.
5. Selection of priority issues and policy questions.
6. Identification of Desired Indicators.
7. Inventory of data sources.
8. Selection of indicators.
9. Evaluation of indicators feasibility and implementation procedures.
10. Data collection and analysis. Ideally indicators are built into the action phases of planning and implementation. Data gathering and analysis occur on an ongoing basis. Policy objectives can also target development of data sources and processing capacities that supports indicators application.
11. Accountability, reporting and communication Monitoring and evaluation of implementation should be conducted on an ongoing basis, with periodic reporting of results, using indicators.

Table 6 The Issues and Their Indicators
Baseline issue: Effects of tourism on communities

Components of the issue	Indicators
Community attitudes to tourism (including community agreement and coherence on tourism, perceptions and acceptance of tourism)	• Existence of a community tourism plan; • Frequency of community meetings and attendance rates (% of eligible who participate); • Frequency of tourism plan updates (see section on planning and management issues); • Level of awareness of local values (% aware, %supporting); • % who are proud of their community and culture.
Social benefits associated with tourism	• Number and capacity of social services available to the community (% which are attributable to tourism); • % who believes that tourism has helped bring new services or infrastructure. (Part of a questionnaire or survey on satisfaction of locals); • Number (%) participating in community traditional crafts, skills, customs; • % of vernacular architecture preserved.
General impacts on community life	• Number of tourists per day, per week etc; number per sq km; • Ratio of tourists to locals (average and peak day); • Average length of stay; • % participating in community events; • Ratio of tourists to locals at events or ceremonies; • Perception of negative impacts on the community using the resident questionnaire – with reference to specific events or ceremonies; • % of local community who agree that their local culture, its integrity and authenticity are being retained.
Changes to resident lifestyles, (cultural impact, cultural change, community lifestyle, values and customs, traditional occupations)	• % of residents changing from traditional occupation to tourism over previous year(s); • Change in number of residents continuing with local dress, language, customs, foodstuffs and cultural practices; • Increase/decrease in cultural activities or traditional events. (e.g. % of locals attending ceremonies).
Housing issues	• % of housing affordable for residents; • Distance to travel to work or school; • % of new housing starts for locals/tourists.
Community demographics	• Number of residents who have left the community in the past year; • Number of immigrants (temporary or new residents) taking up tourism jobs in the past year; • Net migration into/out of community (sort by age of immigrants and out-migrants).

Source: Adapted from World Tourism Organization (2004)

12. Monitoring of indicators application Priority issues, information sources and processing capacities can change, so it is also necessary to verify the appropriateness of indicators periodically.

The guidebook provides guidance to indicators that respond to issues common to many destinations. It is important that destination managers set their own priority for issues and develop indicators that adequately respond to them and which are feasible to implement. Issues are grouped so that users of the Guidebook can find closely related topics in each section, such as impacts on host communities, management of natural and cultural resources, controlling tourism activities and destination planning, among others.

The indicators recommended for each baseline issue have been selected considering their direct relevance to the issue and their relative simplicity to measure and understand. The issues and their indicators concerned the effects of tourism on communities were shown in table 6.

Conclusion

Ayutthaya as a declared World Heritage Site contains 'outstanding universal values' that should be protected. It also has significant national historic value as the second capital of the Thai-speaking people. And like other major heritage sites, Ayutthaya is also a tourist destination that attracts more than three million visitors a year. Consequently there is a close an unavoidable relationship between heritage and tourism. 'World Heritage' acts like a brand that attracts people to visit. On the other hand, the financial benefit from tourism can be viewed as a source of funding for heritage conservation. From the local communities' view point, both heritage and tourism are to be valued. Tourism can generate income for local communities while heritage is a great tourist attraction. Heritage and tourism encourage each other, but tourism can impacts on the heritage, so it is important to find the way to protect both heritage and tourism. Heritage conservation and tourism development in Ayutthaya are interrelated.

The approaches for protecting heritage are based on the concept of heritage conservation which in turn is based on a values approach as declared in the many charters but especially the highly influential Burra Charter. And the others three paradigms namely; the concept of sustainable development, sufficiency economy, and sustainable tourism, are also important to the long term conservation of heritage. In Ayutthaya, like many historic towns, local community participation is a key element in all these paradigms. It is important to study approaches that conserving heritage and develop tourism at the same time, and the approach best taken will ideally make heritage, tourism, and community all sustainable into the future.

Western and Asian approaches to conservation are different. Until recently, western approaches primarily protected the tangible values but in Asian cultures frequently the intangible is more important (Daly and Winter, 2012). The intangible heritage is non-physical, but transmitted from generation to generation. As Ayutthaya

World Heritage has both tangible heritage such as ancient temple and the palace, and intangible heritage such as local cultures, traditions, custom, and local wisdom, so the study through a local community point is necessary as protecting the intangible is protecting people and their ways of life.

As a heritage is significance because people value it, so the definition of what constitutes heritage is an individual, subjective matter that depends on a person's background, life experiences, and personality. This infers that heritage is selective. The heritage is what local community *valus*; what are considered as desirable to keep. Thus this research uses a value-based approach by measuring the perception of host communities toward the impacts of tourism on Ayutthaya World Heritage in terms of what they value.

Most previous research on tourism impacts on heritage have been based on the indicators approach. The indicators approach has a weakness in that the indicators emerge from the experts or the researchers that do not necessarily reflect a local communities' viewpoint. Heritage is, by definition, unique in some way. Heritage places like Ayutthaya can be called 'living heritage' because of the on-going urban environment within which it is located; the local community is part of the heritage place. It is therefore important, in Ayutthaya to use a research approach that comes from and is informed by the local community.
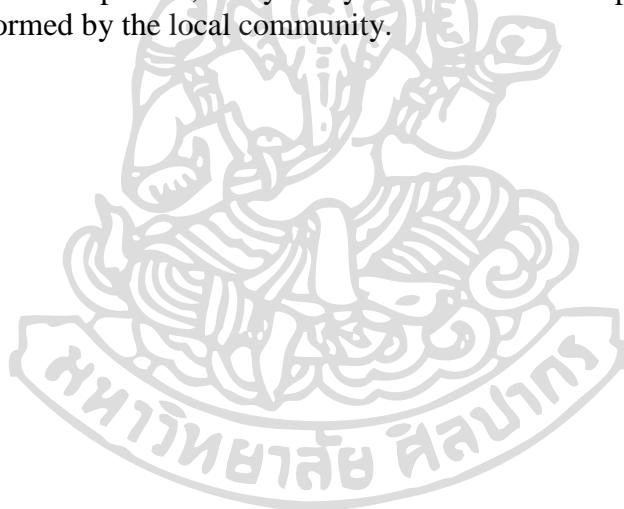
Chapter 3

Research Methodology

This chapter aims to describe the methodology employed in this study. The chapter is organised around 6 main topics: research design, qualitative versus quantitative research, a value-based approach, data collection, the research process, and data analysis

The objectives of this research are to find out the local communities' values with regards to heritage and tourism. These values are then used to generate the instrument for measuring the perception of local communities about the impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site and on the local community. The findings, it is argued, will have implications for heritage and tourism management, and the development of local communities. The research methodologies are as follow.

The Study Area

The study area was the Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns, the World Heritage Sites in Thailand, located in Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya province. Historic City of Ayutthaya is an ancient city that used to be the capital city of Thailand (or Siam in the past) for 417 years. The study area focuses on the City Island and surroundings, as the city of Ayutthaya itself is an island surrounded by 3 major rivers, the Lopburi on the north, the Pasak on the east and the Chao Phaya on the south and the west.

The significance of Ayutthaya is that the Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns were granted Cultural World Heritage status by the World Heritage Committee following the cultural criteria (iii) which is "*to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared*". Ayutthaya is also the main tourist attraction of Thailand. Since December 13, 1991, UNESCO declared Ayutthaya Historical Park to be a World Heritage Site, the numbers of tourists from around the world have been increasing. Department of Tourism (2011) reported the number of visitors to Ayutthaya increased from 2,025,937 visitors in 1997 to 3,659,402 visitors in 2008 (786,158 were foreigners and 2,873,217 were Thai) (Department of Tourism, 2011).

The rapid growth of tourism in Ayutthaya leads to the growth of the local economomy and the development of infrastructures in the city, but some problems have also emerged. Ayutthaya Fine Arts Department's officers mentioned that the road infrastructure and its proximity to the sites also presents some critical issues regarding pollution and damage as exhaust fumes and vibrations from passing traffic endangers

the fragile monuments. More modern constructions have been added in recent years, and the design of the new buildings is not in harmony with most Ayutthaya monuments (Charassri, 2004). The recent flooding in 2011 has also put immense pressure on the conservation state of the site.

As mention above, the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site was selected to be the study area for a number of reasons. Firstly, the significance of Ayutthaya as World Heritage and also because the old capital city is very important for Thai people. Secondly, the significance of Ayutthaya as the main tourist destination attracting more than three million visitors a year, that has brought more tourism impacts. Thirdly, these two factors are interrelated and encourage each other as high profile heritage destinations attract more visitors and therefore the financial benefits from tourism can, potentially, be used to fund further heritage conservation. So it is a good site for studying the tourism impacts on heritage and for gaining an insight into how to balance heritage conservation with tourism development. Fourthly, Ayutthaya is an example of 'living heritage' because a local community lives in the heritage place. So this is a good case study for understanding the local communities' values and perceptions towards heritage and tourism.

Research Design

A research design is an action plan to guide the researcher from one place to another, starting with a set of questions to be answered, and ending with interpretation of the data collected and analysed to answer the research question (Yin, 1994 cited in Wongwathana, 2003).

This research aimed to study the impacts of tourism on the Ayutthaya World Heritage Site based on the triple bottom line approach used in sustainable development theory namely, economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. The economic impacts and environmental impacts are more physical and can be measured by using indicators. But the socio-cultural and socio-economic impacts are intangible and extremely hard to measure (Staiff and Promsit, 2005). As heritage significance relates to what people value, heritage is interrelated with local community values; what it is that is desirable to keep. Thus the study of intangible values, including tangible impacts, requires an approach related to communities' values. Such an approach considers what local communities and stakeholders believe or perceive to be the case, whether correct or not, as perceptions and beliefs are very important. Thus, this research aims to study the perceptions of local communities at Ayutthaya regarding the impacts of tourism on their values.

As mentioned in chapter 1 and chapter 2 the usual approach to the study of tourism impacts has been via globally created indicators. But the indicators approach has a major weakness in that the indicators emerge from the views of experts or the researchers, often themselves not locals, and cannot, by their very nature, reflect local communities' perception. It is important to know what local communities perceive. Thus this research used a community-based approach where the research instrument came from the local communities of Ayutthaya.

This methodology uses both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The research method was mainly qualitative in orientation, whereas quantitative methods played a supporting role. The reason why this research contains qualitative and quantitative approaches is as follows.

Qualitative versus Quantitative Research

The distinction between qualitative research and quantitative research is concerned mainly with the type of data that is sought. Qualitative research can be initially defined as a mode of research that does not place its emphasis on statistics or statistical analysis, that is, on the objective measurement and analysis on the data collected. In terms of subject matter, it usually involves a small number of respondents or observations, but considers these in depth. It is for this reason that qualitative research methods are sometimes referred to as 'data enhancers' that allow crucial elements of a problem or phenomenon to be seen more clearly (Ragin, 1994 cited in Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 388).

On the other hand, quantitative research relies on the collection of statistics that are then analysed through a variety of statistical techniques. Numerous quantitative research methods are used in the field of tourism studies. It can be said that quantitative research techniques typically are 'data condensers' that yield a relatively small amount of information about a large number of respondents or observations (Ragin, 1994 cited in Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 389).

According to Parkhe (1993), different phases of research demand the application of different research methods. His two projected research approaches are: (I) the subjective -idiographic-qualitative-insider, (II) the objective - nomothetic - quantitative - outsider. While Parkhe's subjective-idiographic-qualitative-insider approach involves taking the perceptions of the organizational informants into consideration for the research, it also requires using qualitative methodology to identify various components of a complex and dynamic phenomenon that could contribute to understanding the facts and realities in the natural setting that is being studied. Thus, the qualitative research method enables the understanding of an individual's unique experiences from his/her own perspective of the social world by seeking to develop shared meanings (Pernice, 1996).

On the other hand, Parkhe (1993) objective-nomothethic-quantitative-outsider research method involves the utilization of the quantitative approach to seek for precise facts and underlying fundamental structures about a social phenomenon in a controlled group centred environmental context. It follows the objective-outsider viewpoint in revealing reliable objective results that can be replicable as well as generalisable.

Some of the contrasting characteristics associated with quantitative and qualitative research techniques are shown in table 7.

Table 7 Quantitative and qualitative research styles.

Quantitative style	Qualitative style
Measure objective facts	Construct social reality, cultural meaning
Focus on variables	Focus on interactive processes, events
Reliability is the key	Authenticity is the key
Value free	Values are present and explicit
Independent of context	Situationally constrained
Many cases or subjects	Few cases or subjects
Statistical analysis	Thematic analysis
Researcher is detached from subject	Researcher is involved in subject

Source: Neuman (1997 cited in Weaver and Lawton, 2002: 389)

Quantitative indicators and data have been taken to be objective, rigorous and reliable while qualitative measures have been tagged as being 'subjective' and have been presented as scientifically weaker as a result, something that reflects a wider academic debate (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005: 115). Economic impacts have traditionally been measured using quantitative indicators and were felt to provide an objective measure of the issue under consideration. Objective indicators are taken to mean the counting of specific occurrences or events, while subjective measures, often reflecting social and cultural issues are those of feelings or perceptions based on reports or descriptions by respondents. An exploratory investigation into the host perceptions of the impacts of tourism would require a qualitative survey. As Yin (1993) points out, qualitative data can be represented by perceptual and attitudinal dimensions, and real-life events not readily converted to numerical values (Brunt and Courtney, 1999: 498). This debate in recent years has come under sustained criticism because of post-structural theory and the revelation that there is a high degree of subjectivity in quantitative social research. Further, in the social sciences research about feelings and perceptions has become far more significant (Seale, 2004; Denscombe, 2010).

This research was about the local communities' feeling and perceptions that mainly suit for qualitative methods. So the research methods employed in this research are mainly qualitative methods with quantitative methods playing a supporting role.

Values-based Approach

Values are a more enduring and all-embracing concept than opinions or attitudes. But there is no universally accepted definition of attitude, and there is considerable debate regarding basic conceptualization. Eagly and Chaiken (1993 cited in Williams and Lawson, 2001) probably came closest to a definition that would satisfy the greatest number of researchers: Attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degrees of favour or disfavour … evaluating refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether over or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioural.

Values are defined by Rokeach (1968 cited in Williams and Lawson, 2001) as:

… an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct and end-states of existence.

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defined value as: (noun) the importance or usefulness of something; (noun) your ideas about what is right and wrong, or what is important in life; or (verb) to think that someone or something is important.

These definitions show why some writers do not differentiate between attitudes and values. Values can be viewed as attitudes toward extremely abstract objects, such as "world at peace" and "warm relationships with others", and thus the distinction between them is largely semantic rather than substantive (Williams and Lawson, 2001).

However, values are important in attitude research precisely because they refer to such abstract and all-encompassing objects, and thus influence a much wider range of other attitudes. In social psychology and consumer behaviour values are assumed to be antecedents of attitudes and opinions in the sense that cognitions about abstract objects influence those about more specific objects in a hierarchical fashion (Williams and Lawson, 2001).

Heritage is much related to values (see the Burra Charter). Heritage places are significant because people value them. Ayutthaya as a World Heritage Site is by definition a place having 'outstanding universal *values*' that belongs to humankind and should be protected for future generations. These are value laden statements. We protect heritage places because it is important or because we value it. And when tourism impacts on heritage it is not just a physical action but how tourism impacts on what people value. Thus any study of impacts should use a values-based approach.

As already noted, like other significant heritage places, Ayutthaya World Heritage Site is also a major tourist destination that attracts 3,659,402 visitors in the year 2008 (786,158 were foreigners and 2,873,217 were Thai) (Department of Tourism, 2011). So Ayutthaya not only has heritage values but also has tourism values. There is, therefore, a close relationship between heritage, tourism, and local communities. World Heritage is like a brand that attracts people to visit and generate income for local communities. On the other hand, the financial benefit from tourism is, potentially, a source of funds for heritage conservation. From local communities' perspectives, both heritage and tourism can be highly valued, but for different reasons. Ayutthaya World Heritage embodies historical values and religious values, and for a variety of reasons it is significant for locals and Thai people more generally. Heritage also supports the tourism industry by attracting visitors, and the tourism industry generates income, employment, and city development for local communities. It is all, therefore, about values.

The principles of heritage conservation, aiming to protect heritage, is actually protecting community values. The material conservation of Ayutthaya World Heritage

Site is not just aimed at protecting the fabric of ancient ruins, but also aims at protecting the values of these ancient ruins (for mankind and for local communities).

As mentioned above, heritage and tourism encouraged each other, but tourism can also impact on the heritage, so it is important to find ways to protect both heritage and tourism. Heritage conservation and tourism development are therefore interrelated and overlap. From the local communities' viewpoint, heritage and tourism, in some cases, may contain the same values.

A values-based research approach is thus suitable for studying tourism impacts in heritage places and their associated communities. All values are intangible and concerned with how people feel or what they believe, neither of which can be indicated by physical evidence. So that is the weakness of an indicators approach as used in earlier research about impacts. Alternatively, it is better to study values through people's perceptions. Thus this research aims to measure perceptions in order to understand how people perceive the impacts of tourism on their values.

In this study, the research instrument employed was in the form of a matrix based on community values instead of global indicators. The matrix utilized a cross tabulation between tourist activities and communities' values. The respondents were asked to express their perceptions of the impact of tourist activities on their communities' values. This study was therefore different from previous studies, because many researchers in the past have used an instrument developed by the researchers themselves. This research is community-based where the values really emerged from the local communities.

Communities-based Approach

The uniqueness of this research was that the research instrument came from local communities. The previous research about tourism impacts was based on an indicators approach. As mention in chapter 2, the heritage is selective. Although World Heritage embodies outstanding universal values, heritage places also have unique features valued by local communities. Thus the global indicators approach has a weakness in that the indicators emerge from experts or researchers that cannot reflect the values of local communities. It is therefore more appropriate to generate a research instrument that captures directly the particular values associated with individual heritage sites. This was the first time such a methodology has been used in an Asian context for the study of the heritage-tourism-community interaction.

The Survey Instrument

This research employed a matrix approach first developed by Bushell et al (2005) in the coastal community of Manly, Australia. The matrix is a cross tabulation between tourist activities for a site and communities' values. The respondents were asked to express their perceptions of the impact of tourist activities on their values. The survey instrument developing process is as follow (see figure 11).

The Development Process of the Instrument
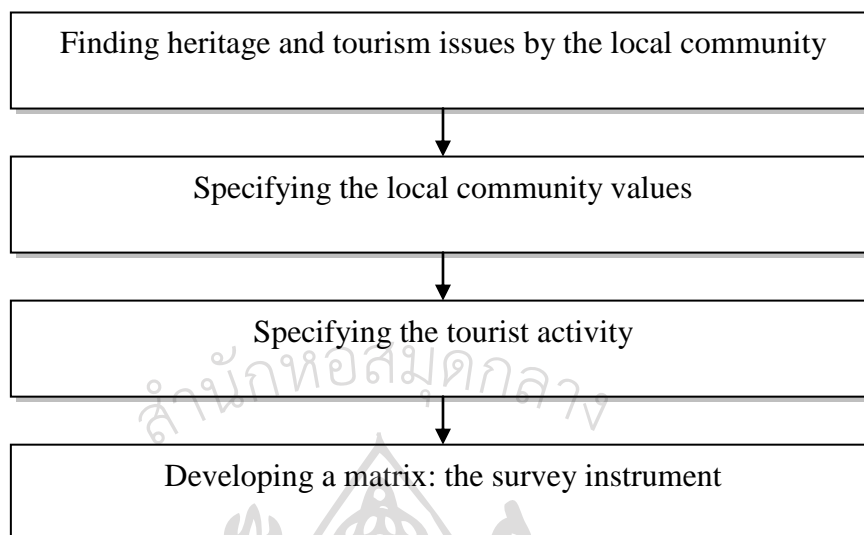
Figure 11 The Research Instrument Developing Process

The Process of Finding Heritage and Tourism Issues

In order to find out the heritage and tourism issues from Ayutthaya local community, both primary and secondary data were used.

Archive Materials Research

First, this study used archive materials, especially the materials that were generated by local people that represent the thinking of local communities or stakeholders. The **archive materials** employed in this research were as follow:

1. Local government records

The problem for researchers in Thailand is there are few records in Thailand especially at the local level, and the local documents are not well organised. It is hard to research by using only documents or secondary data. This is the reason why this study also used interviews to fill in the gaps of the archive materials. Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site that has quite a lot of documents and research papers but most of them relate to archaeological or historical fields. There are few documents that are directly related to the impacts of tourism. The issues used in this research can be found in local documents including government documents that included the Minutes of Ayutthaya provincial meetings, the periodical of the Ayutthaya Municipality, the report of the 4 years Strategic Plan (2005-2008), and the report of the Ayutthaya Municipality, with the support from the Provincial office and the Municipality office. The reason for looking at the minutes of the provincial meeting was to see what

tourism and heritage issues came up in their discussions. These documents recorded the discussion of stakeholders, which are government agencies, private sectors and local communities in the province, about policies, action plans, projects, problems, etc. that showed a lot of issues including heritage and tourism issues generated in the province and at the Ayutthaya Heritage site.

2. Local newspapers

In Thailand, there are not many local newspapers and most of them are just published for advertising or promoting some events in the city or province. By observation, there were a number of newspapers in Ayutthaya but some of them had been wound up, and some of them were not regularly published. However, there were 3 newspapers used in this research: *Siam News*, *Muan Chon*, and *Phan Din Thong*. Most news in these newspapers was concerned with events of the government, and, fortunately, lots of news was also concerned with heritage and tourism probably because Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site and a main tourism destination in Thailand. As a result, authors would like to promote Ayutthaya as a tourism destination and present news that was concerned with heritage and tourism in Ayutthaya such as festivals occurring at that moment, preservation of the historical sites, articles about heritage, cultural and traditional events, etc. For example, every newspaper presented news about the World Heritage Festival and Chinese New Year. Siam News presented articles about waste problems and how to solve problem, news about heritage conservation projects of the Ayutthaya Municipality, public relations about tourism campaign e.g. pilgrimage to nine *wats* campaign etc. On the other hand, the disadvantage of newspapers in Ayutthaya was that they were only published monthly, so there were not many issues gathered for this research project.

3. Other documents from local groups

Other documents were gathered: *The Periodical of Ayutthaya Chamber of Commerce*, *Ayutthaya Rajabhat University Newsletter*, some books such as *'Ayutthaya'* by Amphansook (1983), *'Ayutthaya : the portraits of the living legends'* by Chutintarmond (1996), *'Ayutthaya : living present of a memorable past'*. The previous research papers concerned with Ayutthaya heritage and tourism were the sources of information such as '*The Role of Performing Arts in the Interpretation of Heritage Sites with Particular Reference to Ayutthaya World Heritage Site*' by Charassri (2004), '*Sustainable Tourism Development in Ayutthaya*' by Minakan (2004), '*Laws and Regulations to Support Conservation and Development of Ayutthaya Historic City*' by Phengtako (1998), '*A Critical Analysis of Heritage Interpretation and the Development of a Guidebook for Non-Thai Cultural Tourists at Ayutthaya World Heritage Site*' by Saipradist (2005), and '*Crossing the Cultural Divide: Western Visitors and Interpretation at Ayutthaya World Heritage Site*' by Saipradist and Staiff (2006), etc. These research papers indicated a number of issues in Ayutthaya and gave the ideas and opinions of scholars who are familiar with Ayutthaya.

4. Online data

The internet or World Wide Web (www) is a convenient way to access data. Some of archive materials from governments and other organisations mentioned above can be accessed via the internet such as the recent minutes of Ayutthaya Provincial meeting, the Provincial Summary 2012, the Report of the 4 Years Strategic Plan (2005-2008), the information of the Ayutthaya Municipality, the tourism statistics by Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), etc. Not only that, the internet can give the opinions and ideas of many people including the local communities of Ayutthaya through webboards, web blogs, news, articles, etc. Some websites used to catalogue the issues part of developing the matrix were http://www.ayutthaya.go.th (Ayutthaya Provincial Office), http://www.nmt.or.th/ayutthaya/ayutthaya/default.aspx (Ayutthaya Municipality), http://www.ayutthayacity.go.th (a Ayutthaya Local Organization), http://ayutthayastudies.aru.ac.th (Ayutthaya Study Institute, Ayutthya Rajabhat University), http://www.tat.or.th (Tourism Authority of Thailand: TAT).

The issues arising from the archive materials are listed as follow.

1. Ayutthaya creates many festival to increase visitor such as: World Heritage Festival, Chinese New Year Festival, Songkran Festival (Water Festival Celebration or Thai New Year)
2. The important of coordination between stakeholder namely: government, TAT, tourism business, local communities, scholars and experts
3. The important of communities' participation in tourism events
4. The important of young people for national and environmental conservation projects
5. The important of community participation in natural conservation
6. The important of community participation in heritage conservation
7. The important of heritage values
8. Ayutthaya as a Cultural World Heritage and local wisdom
9. The World Heritage Festival has been changed to be like a trade fair, then the numbers of visitors tend to decrease
10. Being near Bangkok is an advantage for Ayutthaya for tourism
11. A development plan such as transportation infrastructure, roads etc.
12. Ayutthaya is the centre of the transportation network of Thailand: car, train, and water way
13. Local people would like to ask for the return of the Golden Hat worn by the king, golden ornament in Wat Ratchaburana that have been stolen and found in ASEAN Art Museum, San Francisco, USA.
14. Many treasures have stolen from the ancient ruins in Ayutthaya
15. The number of visitors at Wat Ratchaburana increase because of the Golden hat and other golden ornaments
16. Foreign visitors like boat trips to study the way of life
17. The safety of tourist should be improved
18. The problem about strong play in Water Festival Celebrated (Songkran)
19. Polices concerned with traffic safety, and the attempts to reduce crime
20. Campaign to reduce accidents on the road
21. Traffic jams and parking problems

22. Ferry has no standard
23. Ferry makes noise
24. The canals especially Makhamriang canal is dirty
25. Waste problems
26. Unclean environment, confusion in Wat Mongkolbophit area
27. Merchant carts look confuse, not in perfect order
28. Deception of tourists
29. Political problems, corruption
30. Government preparation for the protectection of the city from flooding
31. The number of foreign youth visitors has increased
32. The problem about Thai teen-agers and nightlife, alcohol
33. Government should be strict on entertainment business
34. Encourage conservation, historical tourism including water based activities
35. The related authorities should do more to promote tourism
36. The related authorities should have activities for youth/teen-agers such as camping
37. Pilgrimage to 9 *wats* campaign
38. Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) should encourage/promote younger groups
39. Call for admission fee exemption to historical park for Thai people
40. People want more public bus routes
41. Ratchamongkol University had a project for tourist guides training
42. School of hotel management, human resources development for hotel business
43. Encourage regulation street traffic
44. Training for boat trip business about security, reduced noise, regulation
45. Training for *tuk-tuk* about service mind, manner
46. Encourage youth to conserve ancient ruin
47. Training about production for local communities
48. Should educate local communities about conservation tourism
49. Encourage culture and local wisdom to be tourism resources
50. Encourage local knowledge, wisdom, art, culture, and tradition
51. There was research for sustainable tourism
52. The relationship between homestay and changes to the way of life
53. Research the potential of local community for sustainable tourism
54. Research for the water way tourism
55. Encourage quality of life, including the environment
56. The Municipality should have a project for developing infrastructure, e.g. road
57. The government should develop more infrastructure and tourism amenities
58. Should build city gates, city walls like some cities to attract visitors
59. The government should improve the roads
60. The province should develop a strategic plan for tourism
61. Clean food, good taste campaign
62. Encourage strong community projects
63. Conservation of historical and cultural sites
64. Develop and conserve tourism sites both old and new sites
65. Should improve the city plan, especially for the ancient city

66. Plan to restore some *wats* and the ancient ruins
67. Experts worried about landscape development project may damage the ancient ruins
68. Promote OTOP (One Tambon One Product) project
69. Creation of tourism projects help generate more jobs e.g. Floating market, tourism goods and services centre, produce local product

Interview with the local communities

As mentioned previously, there were not many records or archived materials about heritage and tourism in Thailand, and so face-to-face interviews were used to fill the gap in the archive materials. Furthermore, interviews with the local communities can reveal some issues that cannot be found from archived materials such as the feelings or ideas of the local communities, some in-depth issues that were not recorded, some negative issues that were often hidden or were not recorded, etc.

The population of this stage were the local communities or people living in Ayutthaya and other stakeholders namely; government agencies (e.g. Provincial officer, Municipality officer, Tourism Authority of Thailand, Tourist police, Fine Arts Department, etc.), and tourism related business (e.g. hotel managers, restaurant managers, travel agents, etc.). 40 respondents were collected by purposive sampling.

In-depth interviews were used to collect data from the local communities in Ayutthaya. Information was obtained from interviewing 40 respondents from the local communities and other stakeholders, for example: the Provincial Officer, Director of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) Central Region office: Region 6, Tourist Police, Clerk of the Municipality, Deputy District Chairman, Director of Chankasem Museum, Director of Chaosamphraya Museum, Editor of local newspaper; Siam News and Muan Chon, the Manager of Elephant Kraal and Elephant village, an Officer in the Fine Arts Department, an Officer in the Historical Education Centre, people in *wats*, hotel or guesthouse staff, abbots or monks, restaurant managers, boat tour businesses, some tuk-tuk and motorcycle drivers, souvenir vendors at *wats* and other tourist destinations, food and drink vendors at *wats* and other tourist destinations. The interviews were conducted with not only the tourism stakeholders, but also with people who were not directly involved with tourism, for example, some shop-keepers in the modern part of the city; some academics; some students; and people who live in Ayutthaya.

The interviewees were asked to talk about **tourism in Ayutthaya**. There should not be a lead question because it may lead the discussion in a particular direction. So the method was simply getting people to talk about tourism as much as possible and then seeing what issues came up. In this step, the term tourism issues or the positive and negative impacts of tourism were not used during the interview because these terms may lead the person along a particular path. The aim of the interview was to get them to talk about tourism in Ayutthaya and see what they come up with.

Most of the interviewees had positive attitudes toward tourism. They desired visitor hospitality, and thought tourism generated more income for them. Almost all stakeholders spoke about the economic benefits of tourism. The image of Ayutthaya was a number of *wats*, and very related to Buddhism. And they viewed Ayutthaya as a historical city, and an important tourist destination. This showed that the local communities perceived the close relationship between the historical heritage of the city and tourism. In addition, some interviewees thought about the economics of the city, its industry, and as a transportation hub. It was surprising that not many interviewees mentioned World Heritage. Those worried about the negative impacts were the interviewees from related government agencies such as the Provincial Officer, Director of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) Central Region office: Region 6, Tourist Police, Clerk of the Municipality, Deputy District Chairman, Director of Chankasem Museum, Director of Chaosamphraya Museum, and some related business sectors such as the Manager of Elephant Kraal and Elephant village.

After all the interviews were conducted, all the **tourism issues** the interviewees identified were simply put on a list. The issues arising from the interviews with the local communities are as follow.

1. Tourism generates economic benefit, e.g. more income and jobs
2. Money is distributed to local communities, the circulation of money
3. Tourism produces better well-being/ quality of life
4. Tourism generates jobs for elephants
5. Ayutthaya is historical heritage with more *wats* and more culture
6. Ayutthaya is sacred place, there are a lot of important *wats*
7. Ayutthaya is cultural heritage
8. Ayutthaya is World Heritage, it enhances the tourism industry in Ayutthaya
9. Ayutthaya is a historic city that is still alive
10. the travel expenditure of foreign visitors is more than Thai visitors
11. Most of foreign visitor are Japanese
12. Foreign visitors come everyday
13. Thai visitor usually come on weekends or holidays
14. Most foreign visitor come with tour companies
15. Most Thai visitor are free independent travellers
16. Foreign visitors like to see and learn about historical ruins
17. Thai visitors don't want to learn, but they should
18. Thai visitors like to make pilgrimage, want to go to the *wats*
19. Foreign visitors like handmade crafts
20. Foreign visitors don't like to buy food or sweets (comment by food and sweet shops)
21. There are many visitors from school, who aim to visit the museum and Historic Education Centre
22. Most visitors are excursionist/ day-trippers
23. Hotel businesses are not experiencing growth because there are a limited number of overnight visitors
24. Hotels have guests all year, it is not seasonal in Ayutthaya
25. High season is November to February except Christmas
26. Low season is Rainy season (June-October)

27. Ayutthaya have more visitors than other provinces
28. FIT foreign visitors like to rent bicycles
29. Bicyclists take their bicycle to everywhere, sometimes it damages the site
30. Sometimes they park the bicycle in forbidden areas
31. there are some people who destroy, walk or climb in forbidden area
32. Sometimes foreign visitors don't respect the ancient ruins because they don't know
33. Visitors disobey the authorities/ officers
34. Some tourist guides don't take care of tourists
35. There is some crime in Ayutthaya but not much
36. Bicyclists are at risk from criminals who like to snatch (a lady's bag) and run away
37. there are flood problems every year in some areas
38. Some tourists worry about flooding and don't visit Ayutthaya
39. There were projects of flood protection
40. Impact of severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2002-2003, visitors decreased
41. Impacts by Tsunami in 2004, visitors decreased
42. the government agents have to take care of VIP guests (the governor from BKK) too often
43. Ayutthaya near BKK, easy to travel from BKK
44. In the future, Ayutthaya should be the transportation hub instead of BKK
45. Ayutthaya World Heritage Festival brought more visitors
46. This year (2005), the number of visitors to Ayutthaya World Heritage Festival (Light and Sound) was not many
47. Light and Sound' didn't have English sound, foreign visitors didn't understand
48. Activity: 'See the Chankasem Palace Museum and listen to the music' so interesting
49. TAT promotes bicycle trips
50. TAT promotes the pilgrimage to 9 *wats* campaign
51. Lack of activities for tourists, should have more activities
52. Should promote travelling by water
53. Foreign visitors like elephant trips
54. Some places don't have visitors, but some places have too many visitors
55. Tours just go to important points, some places don't have visitors
56. There should more publicity for places that people don't know about
57. Visitors take a photo, movie, it is the way to publicize Thailand and Ayutthaya
58. Publicize the local culture nationally and internationally
59. The news about the golden ornaments in Wat Ratchaburana increased the number of visitors
60. Most passengers for tuk-tuk are local people more than visitors
61. Foreign visitors usually rent a bicycle, don't take tuk-tuk
62. TAT fix the *Tuk-tuk* price, so it's not expensive
63. most of the vendors sell for a fair price, sincere to customer
64. Some vendors deceive visitors
65. The number of customers to souvenir shops is not stable

66. Should have a regulation for the control of vendors
67. Society, culture, and the way of life has been changed
68. Tourist police should strictly control and regulate the vendors
69. Government don't strictly manage vendors
70. Government promotion doesn't succeed because the governor is often transferred to another province, so the policies are always changing
71. Encourage coordination between private sector operators
72. There was conflict between vendors
73. Lack of coordination between government, private sector, and local communities
74. There was conflict between government and private sectors
75. Lack of local communities participation, local people weren't enthusiastic
76. Only people who benefit from tourism participated
77. Traffic jams and parking problems
78. Direction signs and public transportation system was not good enough
79. Waste problem, waste water
80. Lack of human resources development
81. Lack of research about tourist behaviour
82. To talk with foreign visitors was a opportunity to practice English
83. Chaosamphraya was in the top 5 popular museums in Thailand
84. Museum have few visitors
85. Should promote museum tourism
86. Should use technology to improve the interpretation of heritage places and museums
87. Interpretation should consider the values of place
88. Should educate people/visitors who are interested in heritage
89. Should educate people to recognise the values of Ayutthaya
90. Should educate people to know what World Heritage is
91. There was training for boat trip safety
92. Ayutthaya World Heritage usually maintained and conserved
93. Should conserve heritage for next generation
94. Should keep the authenticity of heritage
95. Most visitors were good tourists, who understood not to destroy but to conserve
96. should have suitable management and good zoning; historical zone, industry zone, government zone etc
97. Ayutthaya has an old and new city together, so it's confusing
98. Income from historical park ticket was be for the conservation budget
99. There were conflicts between conservation and development
100. People wanted the city to be developed more than preserved
101. The city cannot develop some kind of industry because of the World Heritage condition

102. There were a lot of hidden people who work in Ayutthaya and use the resources of the community

The process of turning issues into values

A heritage is significance because people value it. People preserved heritage because they would like to protect their values. And tourism impacts on heritage also impacts on the communities' values. Thus the methodology used in this research was a values-based approach.

The research aimed to measure the perceptions of local people in order to study how people perceived the impacts of tourism on their values. The purpose of the 'issues finding' stage was to survey Ayutthayan stakeholders to know what they thought and felt, and what they valued. And the values were used to generate the matrix in the next step.

In this step, the issues were turned into a series of *values*. For example, taking the following issues – "police were strict for traffic regulations in order to reduce road accidents" and "the government generated many campaigns to reduce accidents on the road", the value was – "traffic safety". An issue like – "police try to reduce crime rate during the World Heritage festival" can be expressed as a value: - "secure and a safe community". Issues like – "bicyclists take their bicycle to everywhere, sometimes damaging to the site" and "somebody destroys, walks or climbs in forbidden areas" can be expressed as a value: – "conservation of the historical building or heritage site".

The last step involved the issues arising from documents researched and the interviews with the local communities. These were listed. In this step, the issues were turned into a series of values as shown in table 8 and 9.

Table 8 turning the issues from document research to values

No.	Issues from documents	Values
1	Ayutthaya create many festival to increase visitors such as; World Heritage Festival, Chinese New Year Festival, Songkran Festival (Water Festival Celebration or Thai New Year)	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
2	the importance of coordination between stakeholder namely; government, TAT, tourism business, local communities, scholars and experts	coordination between stakeholders
3	the importance of community participation in tourism events	local community participation
4	the importance of young people for national and environmental conservation projects	conservation of heritage, local community participation
5	the importance of community participation in natural conservation	conservation of heritage, local communities participation
6	the importance of community participation in heritage conservation	conservation of heritage, local communities participation

Table 8 turning the issues from document research to values (continued)

No.	Issues from documents	Values
7	the importance of heritage values	conservation of heritage values
8	Ayutthaya is a Cultural World Heritage site with local wisdom	conservation of heritage values
9	the World Heritage Festival has been changed to be like a trade fair, then the visitors tend to decrease	conservation of heritage values
10	being near Bangkok is an advantage of Ayutthaya for tourism	more visitors, more financial benefit
11	a development plan such as transportation infrastructure, road	good quality of public utility infrastructure
12	Ayutthaya is the centre of transportation network of Thailand; car, train, and water way	good quality of public utility infrastructure
13	local people would like to ask for the return of the Golden Hat worn by the king, golden ornament in Wat Ratchaburana that have been stolen and found in foreign country	proud in Ayutthaya Heritage,
14	there are many treasure have stolen from ancient ruin in Ayutthaya	proud in Ayutthaya Heritage, conservation of heritage
15	the number of visitor at Wat Ratchaburana increase because the issue of Golden hat and other golden ornament	economic benefit, publicize Ayutthaya
16	foreign visitors like boat trip to study way of life	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
17	the tourism safety should be developed	security, safety communities
18	the problem about strong play in Water Festival Celebrated (Songkran)	security, safety communities
19	polices were strict about traffic safety, and try to reduce crime	security, safety communities
20	campaign to reduce accidents on the road	traffic safety
21	traffic jams and parking problems	traffic movement, parking availability
22	ferry have no standards	traffic safety
23	ferry make noise	quiet and peaceful environment
24	the Makhamriang canal was dirty	clean environment
25	waste problem	clean environment
26	unclean environment, confusion in Wat Mongkolbophit area	clean environment, good city planed
27	merchant cart look confuse, not in perfect order	clean environment, no conflict over land used
28	there were deceive tourist	fair price for goods and services

Table 8 turning the issues from document research to values (continued)

No.	Issues from documents	Values
29	government prepare for protect city from flood	protection of place from flood
30	the number of foreign youth visitors increase	economic benefit
31	the problem about Thai teen-agers and nightlife, alcohol	low alcohol consumption, good supervision of nightlife
32	government should be strict about entertainment businesses	low alcohol consumption, good supervision of nightlife
33	encourage conservation, historical tourism including water life	heritage conservation
34	the related authorities should do more to promote tourism	tourism promotion, more economic benefit
35	the related authorities should have activities for youth/teen-agers such as camping	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
36	pilgrimage to nine *wats* campaign	respect for Ayutthaya as a sacred place, Buddhism
37	TAT should encourage/promote younger groups	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
38	call for exemption of admission fee to historical park for Thai people	more visitors, more financial benefit
39	people want more public bus routes	good quality of public utility infrastructure
40	Ratchamongkol University train tourist guides according to tourism policy	human resources development
41	school of hotel management, human resources development for hotel business	human resources development
42	encourage discipline of street traffic	good city planned, landscape
43	training for boat trip business about security, reduce noise, discipline	traffic safety, quiet and peaceful environment
44	training for *tuk-tuk* about service mind, manner	tourist hospitality, good image communities
45	encourage youth to conserve ancient ruins	heritage conservation
46	training about production for local communities	encourage local product, art and craft, local food
47	should educate local communities about conservation tourism	raise local awareness and understanding on World Heritage
48	encourage culture and local wisdom to be tourism resources	encourage local product, art and craft, local food
49	encourage local knowledge, wisdom, art, culture, and tradition	recovery and preserving the local folk wisdom, preservation of local culture, tradition, way of life

Table 8 turning the issues from document research to values (continued)

No.	Issues from documents	Values
50	there was research for sustainable tourism	sustainable tourism research
51	the relationship between homestay changing of the way of life	preservation of local culture, tradition, way of life
52	research the potential of local community for sustainable tourism	local community, sustainable tourism
53	research for the water way tourism	preservation of local culture, tradition, way of life
54	encourage quality of life, and environment	clean environment, good quality of life
55	the municipality have a project for develop infrastructure, e.g. road	good quality of public utility infrastructure, good quality of roads
56	should develop infrastructure and tourism amenities	good quality of public utility infrastructure
57	should build city gate, city wall like some city to attract visitors	more visitors, more financial benefit
58	should improve road	good quality of road
59	there are province development strategic plan for tourism	effective co-ordination between government, private sector, and community
60	clean food, good taste campaign	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
61	encourage strong community project	communities participation
62	conservation of historical and cultural sites	conservation of historic and cultural sites
63	develop and conserve tourism sites both old and new sites	conservation of historic and cultural sites
64	should improve city plan, especially ancient city	good city planned, landscape
65	plan to restore some *wats* and ancient ruins	conservation of historic and cultural sites
66	experts worried about landscape development project may damage the ancient ruins	heritage conservation
67	promote OTOP (One Tambon One Product) project	encourage local product, art and craft, local food
68	creation of tourism projects help generate more jobs e.g. Floating market, tourism goods and services centre, produce local product	employment and jobs generation

Table 9 turning the issues from the stakeholders' interviews to values

No.	Issues from interview	Value
1	tourism generates economic benefit, e.g. more income and jobs	financial generation, employment generation
2	money is distributed to local communities, the circulation of money	distribution of financial benefit to local communities, circulation of money
3	tourism produces better well-being/ quality of life	better well-being, better quality of life
4	Ayutthaya is historical heritage with more *wats* and more culture	proud in Ayutthaya World Heritage
5	Ayutthaya is sacred place, there are a lot of important *wats*	respect to Ayutthaya as a sacred place
6	Ayutthaya is a cultural heritage	conservation of culture
7	Ayutthaya is a historic city that is still alive	preserving the way of life
8	Ayutthaya is World Heritage, it enhances the tourism industry in Ayutthaya	want more enhance tourism industry
9	the travel expenditure of foreign visitors more than Thai visitors	earn more foreign exchange
10	most of foreign visitors are Japanese	earn more foreign exchange
11	foreign visitors come everyday	financial security
12	Thai visitor usually come on weekend or holiday	financial security
13	foreign visitors like to see and learn about historical ruins	want to publicize the Ayutthaya Heritage, heritage interpretation
14	Thai visitors don't want to learn, but they should	want to publicize the Ayutthaya Heritage, heritage interpretation
15	Thai visitors like to make pilgrimage, want to go to the *wats*	preserving Ayutthaya as a sacred place, Buddhism
16	foreign visitors like handmade crafts	generate job and employment, recover the old product, promoted local product
17	foreign visitor don't like to buy food or sweet (comment by food and sweet shops)	generate job and employment, recover the old product, promoted local product
18	there are many visitors from school, who aim to visit the museum and Historic Education Centre	want to publicize the Ayutthaya Heritage, heritage interpretation
19	Most visitors are excursionist/ day-trippers	want more overnight stay visitors, want more financial benefit
20	hotel businesses are not experiencing growth because there are a limited number of overnight visitors	want more overnight stay visitors, want more financial benefit

Table 9 turning the issues from the stakeholders' interviews to values (continued)

No.	Issues from interview	Value
21	hotels have guests all year, it is not seasonal in Ayutthaya	financial security
22	high season is November to February except Christmas	financial security
23	low season is rainy season (June-October)	financial security
24	Ayutthaya have more visitors than other provinces	financial security
25	FIT foreign visitors like to rent bicycles	generate job and employment, recover the old product, promoted local product
26	bicyclists take their bicycle to everywhere, sometimes it damages to the site	protection of the place
27	sometime they park the bicycle in forbidden areas	protection of the place
28	there are some people who destroy, walk or climb in forbidden area	protection of the place
29	sometimes foreign visitors don't respect the ancient ruins because they don't know	preserving Ayutthaya as a sacred place, Buddhism
30	visitors disobey the authorities/ officers	respected the rules, regulations
31	some tourist guides don't take care of tourists	tourist hospitality, financial benefit
32	there is some crime in Ayutthaya but not much	security, safety community
33	bicyclists are at risk from criminals who like to snatch (a lady's bag) and run away	security, safety community
34	there are flood problems every year in some areas	protection from natural disaster/flood
35	some tourists worry about flooding and don't visit Ayutthaya	financial security
36	there were projects of flood protection	protection from natural disaster/flood
37	impact by severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) in 2002-2003, visitors decreased	financial security
38	impacts by Tsunami in 2004, visitors decreased	financial security
39	the government agents have to take care of VIP guests (the governor from BKK) too often	tourist hospitality, coordination between government agents

Table 9 turning the issues from the stakeholders' interviews to values (continued)

No.	Issues from interview	Value
40	Ayutthaya near BKK, easy to travel from BKK	transportation hub
41	in the future, Ayutthaya should be the transportation hub instate of BKK	communication, transportation hub
42	Ayutthaya World Heritage Festival brought more visitors	financial security
43	this year (2005), the visitors to Ayutthaya World Heritage Festival (light and sound) was not much	financial security
44	'light and sound' didn't have English sound, foreign visitors didn't understand	good interpretation, communication
45	activity: 'see the Chankasem Palace Museum and listen to the music' so interesting	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
46	TAT promote the bicycle trips	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
47	TAT promote for pilgrimage to nine *wats* campaign	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
48	lack of activities for tourists, should have more activities	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
49	should promote travelling by water	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
50	foreign visitors like elephant trips	more tourist activities, more financial benefit
51	some places don't have visitors, but some places have too many visitors	distribution of financial benefit
52	tour just go to important points, some places don't have visitors	distribution of financial benefit
53	there should more publicity for places that people don't know about	distribution of financial benefit, publicize the Ayutthaya
54	visitors take a photo, movie, it is the way to publicize Thailand and Ayutthaya	tourism promotion, public relations
55	publicize the local culture nationally and internationally	tourism promotion, public relations
56	The news about the golden ornaments in Wat Ratchaburana increased the number of visitors	proud in Ayutthaya Heritage,
57	most passenger for tuk-tuk are local people more than visitors	distribution of financial benefit, publicise the Ayutthaya
58	foreign visitors usually rent a bicycle, don't take tuk-tuk	distribution of financial benefit, publicise the Ayutthaya

Table 9 turning the issues from the stakeholders' interviews to values (continued)

No.	Issues from interview	Value
59	TAT fix the tuk-tuk price, so it's not expensive	fair price for goods and services
60	most of the vendors sell for a fair price, sincere to customer	fair price for goods and services, financial benefit
61	some vendors deceive visitors	fair price for goods and services, financial benefit
62	the number of customers to souvenir shops is not stable	financial security
63	should have a regulation for the control of vendors	clean environment, good city plan and zoning
64	society, culture, and the way of life has been changed	conservation of culture, way of life
65	tourist police should strictly control and regulate the vendors	clean environment, good city plan and zoning
66	government don't strictly manage vendors	clean environment, good city plan and zoning
67	government promotion doesn't succeed because the governor is often transferred to another province, so the policies are always changing	coordination between all sector
68	encourage coordination between private sector operators	coordination between private sector
69	there was conflict between vendors	no conflict between communities
70	lack of coordination between government, private sector, and local communities	coordination between all sector
71	there was conflict between government and private sectors	no conflict between government, no conflict between private sector
72	lack of local communities participation, local people weren't enthusiastic	involving local communities, local communities participation
73	only people who benefit from tourism participated	equality of economic benefit
74	traffic jams and parking problems	good transportation, good traffic movement, parking availability
75	direction signs and public transportation system was not good enough	good interpretation, good public transport
76	waste problem, waste water	clean environment
77	lack of human resources development	human resources development, human resources in tourism industry
78	lack of research about tourist behaviour	research about tourist

Table 9 turning the issues from the stakeholders' interviews to values (continued)

No.	Issues from interview	Value
79	to talk with foreign visitors was a opportunity to practice English	human resources development, human resources in tourism industry
80	Chaosamphraya was in the top 5 popular museums in Thailand	proud in Ayutthaya heritage places
81	museum have few visitors	want more visitors, financial benefit
82	should promote museum tourism	want more visitors, financial benefit
83	should use technology to improve the interpretation of heritage places and museums	want more visitors, financial benefit
84	interpretation should consider the values of place	preservation of Ayutthaya heritage values
85	should educate people/visitors who are interested in heritage	good interpretation, education
86	should educate people to recognise the values of Ayutthaya	raise local awareness and understanding on World Heritage
87	should educate people to know what World Heritage is	raise local awareness and understanding on World Heritage
88	there was training for boat trip safety	security and safety services
89	Ayutthaya World Heritage usually maintained and conserved	maintenance and conservation of World Heritage
90	should conserve heritage for next generation	maintenance and conservation of World Heritage
91	should keep the authenticity of heritage	maintenance and conservation of World Heritage
92	most visitors were a good tourist, who understood not to destroy but to conserve	maintenance and conservation of World Heritage
93	should have suitable management and good zoning; historical zone, industry zone, government zone etc	good landscape, good zoning
94	Ayutthaya has an old and new city together, so it's so confusing	good landscape, good zoning, no conflict over land used
95	income from historical park ticket was be the conservation budget	income generation
96	there were conflicts between conservation and development	balance between conservation and development
97	people wanted the city to be developed more than preserved	good quality of public utility infrastructure
98	the city cannot develop some kind of industry because of the World Heritage condition	investment of tourism related business
99	there were a lot of hidden people who work in Ayutthaya and use the resources of the communities	good quality of public utility infrastructure

The lists of values above were compiled and validated in the next step.

Validity of the Values

The compiled list of values was shown to a number of local communities in Ayutthaya to check that the values made sense to people living in Ayutthaya and that the list covered all the tourism issues. 100 respondents from the local communities were collected by accidental sampling. Questionnaires were used in this step. Open-end questions were also included for respondents to raise some more values or issues. Almost all of respondents agreed with the list. There were some further values arising in this step by the respondents such as "respecting the sacredness/holiness of place and respecting customs/rituals at *wat*".

There were 32 validated values listed as follow.

Environmental values
1. Clean Environment
2. Fresh Air
3. Quiet and Peaceful Environment

Socio-cultural values
4. Well Planed Riverside Landscape
5. Good City Plan and Zoning
6. No Conflict Over Land Use
7. Good Quality of Road
8. Good Traffic Movement
9. Traffic Safety
10. Parking Availability
11. Good Quality of Public Utility Infrastructure
12. Protection of the Place From Flood
13. Good Supervise on Entertainment/ Nightlife
14. Security/ Safety Community
15. Effective Co-ordination Between Government Agency
16. Community Participation in Tourism Planning
17. Effective Co-ordination Between Government, Private Sector, and Community
18. Human Resources Development in Tourism
19. Conservation of the Historical Building/ Heritage Site
20. Preservation of Local Culture, Tradition, Way of Life
21. Recovery and Preserving the Local Folk Wisdom
22. Proud in Local Identity
23. Raise Local Awareness and Understanding on World Heritage
24. Respecting the Sacredness/Holiness of Place and Respecting Customs/Rituals at the Temple
25. Fair Prices for Goods and Services
26. Good Image Community
27. Improvement and Development of Tourism Attraction and Facility

Economic values

    28. Investment of Tourism Related Business

    29. Encourage Local Product, Art and Craft, Local Food

    30. Income Generation

    31. Job/ Employment Generation

    32. Financial Benefit Widely Distributed to Local Community

These validated values were grouped according to the sustainable tourism literature using the headings: socio-cultural values, economic values and environmental values. These conceptual groupings were just for analysis and were not indicated on the matrix style of questionnaire (in the next step) because these may have leaded the respondents along a particular path of thinking.

Tourist Activities in Ayutthaya

A tourist activity was defined as the actions of tourists that created positive and/or negative impacts on the basis that all issues arise from tourist activities. All tourist activities were recorded from the documents of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) Central Region: region 6, travel agencies, and by observation. There were 25 tourist activities recorded in Ayutthaya as follows.

1. Visiting Ancient Ruins
2. Making Pilgrimage to a *wat*
3. Visiting Museum or Historical Study Centre
4. See the Way of Life and Handicraft Manufacture
5. Shopping
6. Visiting Events or Festivals
7. Study tour
8. Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke
9. Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse
10. Eating at Restaurant
11. Riding Elephant
12. City Tour by Coach
13. Using Bicycles
14. Using Cars and Car Parking
15. City Tour by Tram
16. Walking
17. Boat Trip
18. Using Public Transport/ *tuk-tuk*
19. Escorted Tour
20. Un-escorted Tour
21. Group Tour
22. FIT (Free Independent Traveller)
23. Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit
24. Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram
25. Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang

The Matrix: the Survey Instrument

From the lists of values and activities, a matrix was developed with <u>Tourist activities</u> on the 'y' or vertical axis and the <u>Values</u> on the 'x' or horizontal axis. This was done on a spreadsheet. For example, see figure 12

The matrix was then given to the local communities in Ayutthaya. The aim was to record the community perceptions of the impacts of tourism. Respondents were asked to look at each value against each activity and decide one of four possible relationships between a particular activity and a value: a positive impact; a neutral relationship; a negative impact or no relationship (that is, no impact either positive or negative). Respondents were asked to fill in the matrix by using "+" for positive impact; "**0**" for neutral impact; "**-**" for negative impact; and just leave it blank "__" for no relationship. For example, the value on the matrix may be "quiet and peaceful environment" on the vertical axis and, "visiting an ancient ruin" on the horizontal axis. The impacts of visiting an ancient ruin on a quiet and peaceful environment will be likely to be neutral or even positive (it adds to quiet and peaceful environment) so the answer may be a "+" or "**0**". However, "visiting events or festivals" may get a "**-**", because this activity may have a very big negative impact for a quiet and peaceful environment.

Values / Tourist activities	Clean Environment	Fresh Air	Quiet and Peaceful Environment	Well Planned Riverside Landscape	Good City Plan and Zoning	No Conflict Over Land Use
Visiting an ancient ruin						
Making Pilgrimage to a *wat*						
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Centre						
See the Way of Life and Handicraft Manufacture						
Shopping						
Visiting Events or Festivals						

Figure 12 The example of the matrix

In this stage some demographic details of the people who fill in the matrix were recorded, that is, age, gender, education level, occupation, the number of years they have lived in Ayutthaya, living area, and working area. A space for open-ended opinions or comments was also included.

Process of the Study

This research aims to study both negative and positive impacts of tourism on local communities via community perceptions. And so one of the aspects of the methodology being examined was its suitability, or not, in a South-east Asian context.

This research used the methodology first developed by Bushell, R., Scott J., Knowd I., and Simmons B. (2005) for the seaside community of Manly in Sydney, Australia and this is the first time this methodology has been employed outside of a western context.

The study has been done through the following process:
1. Finding heritage and tourism issues by the local community. In this stage, there were two sources of data.
    1) Secondary data: reading any archive material generated within the city of Ayutthaya, for example, local newspapers (Siam News and Muanchon), provincial minute of meeting, the periodical of Ayutthaya Municipality, the four year plans of the province, the periodical of Ayutthaya Chamber of Commerce, Rajabhat University Newsletter, local research papers and anything that is produced by local groups.
    2) Primary data: site survey and interviews with local communities. During interview with local communities, the critical thing is just let them talk about tourism in Ayutthaya and then seeing what issues come up. The use of lead question is avoided as it may lead the discussion in a particular direction.
2. Specifying the local community values by turning the issues into a series of values. Then showing the list of values to a number of local communities in Ayutthaya to check that the values make sense to people living in Ayutthaya and that the list covers all the tourism issues.
3. Specifying the tourist activities by recording all the activities that undertaken by tourists at the World Heritage Site and in the city of Ayutthaya.
4. Developing a matrix from the values and activities lists that have been made. A matrix is developed with values on the 'y' or vertical axis and the activities on the 'x' or horizontal axis. This is done on a spreadsheet.
5. The matrix is then given to the local communities in Ayutthaya. The aim is to record the community perceptions of the impacts of tourism. Respondents were asked to record one of four possible relationships between a particular activity and value: a positive impact; a neutral impact; a negative impact or no relationship.
6. Analysing the data
7. Discussion and conclusion

Conceptual framework
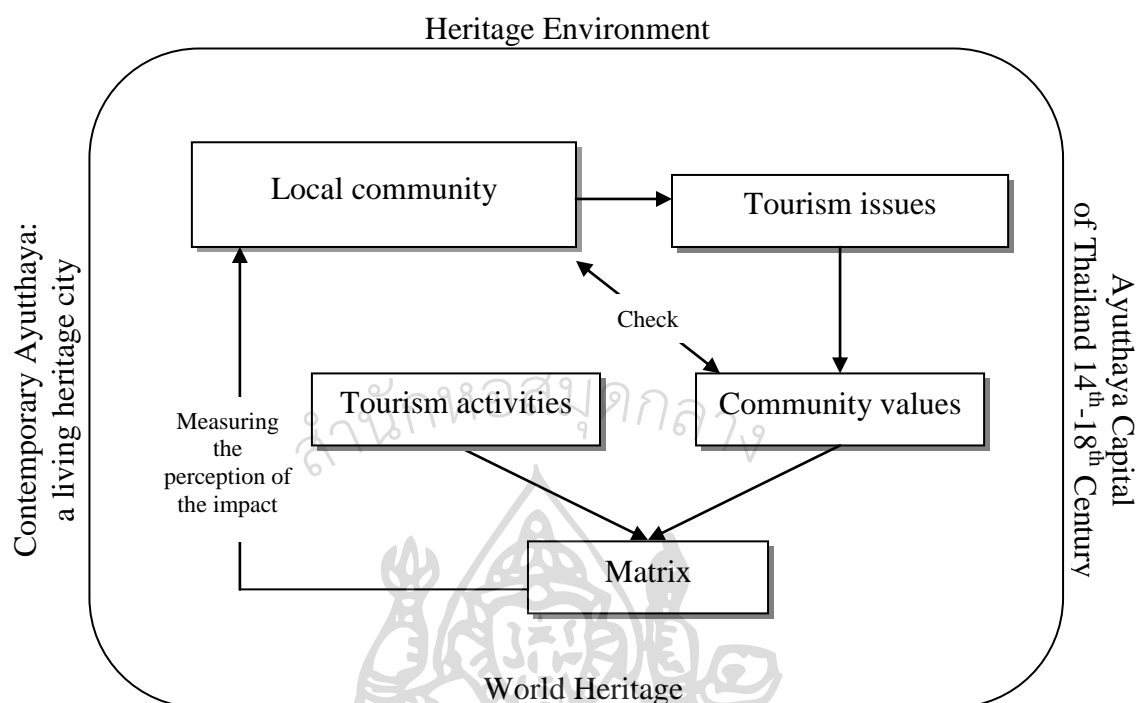
Figure 13 Conceptual framework

Data Collection Methods

As mentioned in the survey instrument developing process, the data collection was mainly achieved through qualitative methods. Three major techniques of qualitative approach were used in this research; archive material research, in-depth interviews, observations and documentary analysis.

For archive material or documentary research, provincial plans, tourism plans, conservation of historical plans, tourism statistical reports, articles and newspapers were gathered. Documents were gathered by means of excerpts from reports, the Master Plan of the Tourism Authority of Thailand, the Ayutthaya Provincial Development Plan, the minute of the provincial meeting, and local journal. The data were shown a lot of issues and turned to communities' values.

In-depth interviews were conducted with stakeholders. The research intended to select specific persons and particular settings for the provision of essential information. There are three groups of key informants who represented tourism stakeholders in Ayutthaya; government officers, tourism related business and local people. Key informants were selected because they were directly involved and possessed essential experience of tourism in Ayutthaya. The first group were government officers namely; Tourism Authority of Thailand officers, Fine Arts Department officers, Tourist Police officers, and local municipality officers. The

second group, tourism related business, consisted of restaurant owners, hotel and guesthouse owners, and public transportation. The third group was the local people living in the study area. The purposes of the in-depth interview were to find out what the tourism issues in the stakeholders' point of view, what they believed and feeling about tourism. The tourism issues were then turned into community values to make the research instrument. The researcher used a voice recorder to record the formal interview. Normally, informal interviews were more spontaneous and the researcher usually did not have the voice recorder all the time. The researcher would write down information in the note book as soon as finished the interview. Afterwards, the researcher transcribed each interview, and then put this information in the database.

The interpretation of the communities' values was the problem. The communities' values were intangible and some values hard to understand for some respondents. Reviewing and editing of the wording was needed to improve the matrix. However, also needed was a consideration of what the values might mean with different interpretations for each respondent because this research focused on perceptions that always individual and often different.

Data obtained from these approaches were cross checked for verification. If there was some unclear data, then specific further in-depth study was made to clarify this data.

The Survey Methods

At this stage, a survey was conducted using the matrix style of questionnaire to gather information from the local community of Ayutthaya. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the data gathered with an explanatory purpose.

During September 2006, the first draft of the matrix was developed and presented to the experts to be verified. After the approval of the supervisor Dr. Russell Staiff, a pre-test of this draft was conducted during October 2006 among a total number of 20 local community members. Most of the respondents were confused with the matrix form. Most of the respondents were familiar with a questionnaire form, but the matrix style was different. The respondents were also confused about the relationship between the values and tourist activities because in the matrix form, some values and activities might have no relationship at all, and the respondents didn't understand that this could be the case. So the careful explanation was added to the matrix. And an oral explanation was needed in the survey process.

The survey was conducted during November 2006 through to March 2007. The survey population was the local community or people living in Ayutthaya. The survey focused on the Ayutthaya City Island area and the area around the island. The research needed to focus on the local community members who lived within or closed to the World Heritage. Sampling technique used here was the accidental approach. 500 matrices were distributed within the local communities. A total of 334 matrices from local community members were returned.

Data Analysis

The data gathered by means of the qualitative approach were combined, analysed, and categorized to describe the findings against the research objectives. For the data obtained quantitatively, this was processed through frequency distribution for data description by percentages and also using cross tabulation techniques. The survey results were then analysed further in terms of the implications for heritage and tourism management.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

This chapter reports the results of the survey that had the purpose of understanding the impacts of tourism on the local community of Ayutthaya by measuring the perception of the local community. The local communities of the study area may hold a variety of opinions about tourism activities and its impacts. It was noted in the introduction and methodology chapter that it is interesting to determine the existence of relationship between values and tourism activities as perceived by the local communities of Ayutthaya.

A local community survey was conducted to establish how the people of Ayutthaya World Heritage Site perceived the impacts of tourism. The data was collected from 334 interviews completed between November 2006 and March 2007.

Many researchers have drawn their analyses from the influence of the demographic factors on the perceptions of the tourism impacts. The demographic factors that commonly used are length of residence, demographic characteristics, the different geographic zone, degree of dependence on tourism and the level of economic activity (Liu and Var, 1896; allen et al, 1993; Pizam, 1978; Weaver and Lawson, 2001). In the case of Ayutthaya communities, the study indicated that these demographic factors have no effect on the perceptions of the local communities towards tourism activities and its impacts. The demographic data will not taken into account in this study. Nevertheless, bear in mind that the perceptions of the local communities are dynamic and change over time. Other studies may find some demographic factors that influence the perception of the Ayutthaya residents toward tourism activities and its impacts at a later time.

The Residents' Perceptions of Tourism Impacts

The overall perceptions of the impacts of tourism received quite a positive attitude. No one strongly believed the costs of tourism outweighed its benefits. This suggested that the residents of Ayutthaya held quite positive attitudes towards tourism's impacts on their community (see figure 14). The results show that the local communities agree that tourism is good for Ayutthaya. At present, Ayutthaya is a major attraction, and the city continues to promote tourism as do the major tourism players in the creation of tourism images and tourism promotion, players like the Tourism Authority of Thailand and Thai Airways. Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site and has numerous historic sites that attract tourists. The agreement by local communities about the positive nature of tourism in Ayutthaya is good news for the tourism industry and relevant agencies. However this support may not be so welcome

by heritage management agencies who must not only safeguard the heritage values of the World Heritage site but contend with the issues tourism can pose for fragile archaeological sites (*World Heritage*, No.58, 2010)
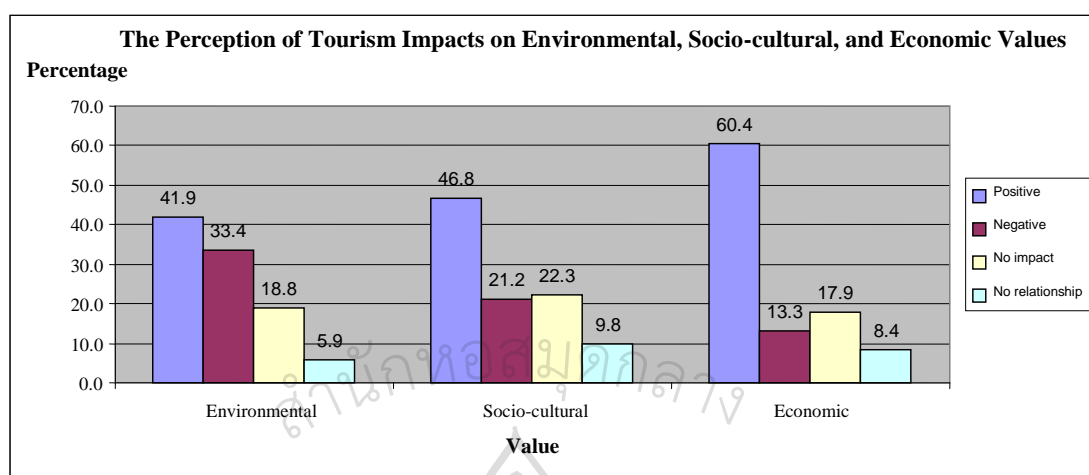
Figure 14 The Perception of Tourism Impacts on Environmental, Socio-cultural, and Economic Values

The overall results revealed that most of the local community perceived that tourist activities had positive impacts on the local community. Considered in the context of the sustainable development concept, that is, by grouping residents' responses using the triple bottom line categories used in sustainable development research, the most positive value was economic, followed by socio-cultural and environmental values. On the other hand, the most negative value was environmental, followed by socio-cultural and economic (see figure 14). These results were not surprising. The most obvious benefits of tourism is the economic benefits such as income generation, jobs generation, etc., while the benefits to society and culture are mostly rather abstract and intangible. For the environmental values, people frequently see the negative impacts because it is more concrete and obvious for example when there are more tourists, the garbage has increased, there are more traffic jams, more congestion etc. The perceived impacts in each of these areas will be analysed more closely later.

In detail, all the values were seen to be positively impacted upon or enhanced except well planned riverside landscape which was neutral. The most positive responses were for income generation, job and employment generation, a good community image, and conservation of the historical heritage site. However, the values that had high negative responses (but still less than the positive ones) were the way tourism impacted on the quiet and peaceful environment, on a clean environment, on fresh air, on good traffic movement, and on security and safety for the community (see figure 15).

All the tourist activities were seen to have a mostly positive impact except night life (e.g. pub, disco, karaoke which was) perceived mostly negatively. The most positive tourist activities included visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram, visiting Wat Yai

Chaimongkhon or Wat Phananchuang, visiting the museum or Historical Study Center, visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit, visiting the ancient ruins, and making a pilgrimage to a *wat* (see figure 16).

However, the tourist activities that were perceived as negative (but still less than positive perceptions) were events or festivals, using public transport or *tuk-tuk*, using car and car parking, and a city tour by coach (see figure 16).

However, some tourist activities were perceived mostly to have negative impacts on the community's environmental values such as night life (e.g. pub, disco, karaoke), events or festivals, using public transport or *tuk-tuk*, using cars & car parking, city tour by coach, shopping, group tours, and study tours (see figure 16).

The tourist activities that were perceived to have the most negative impact on socio-cultural values was night life (e.g. pub, disco, karaoke). With regards to the community's economic values, all of the tourist activities are perceived to have mostly positive impacts (see figure 16).
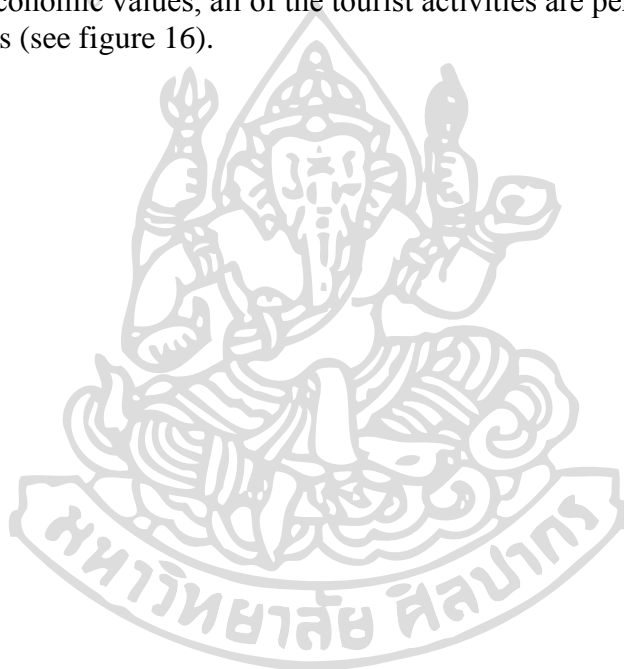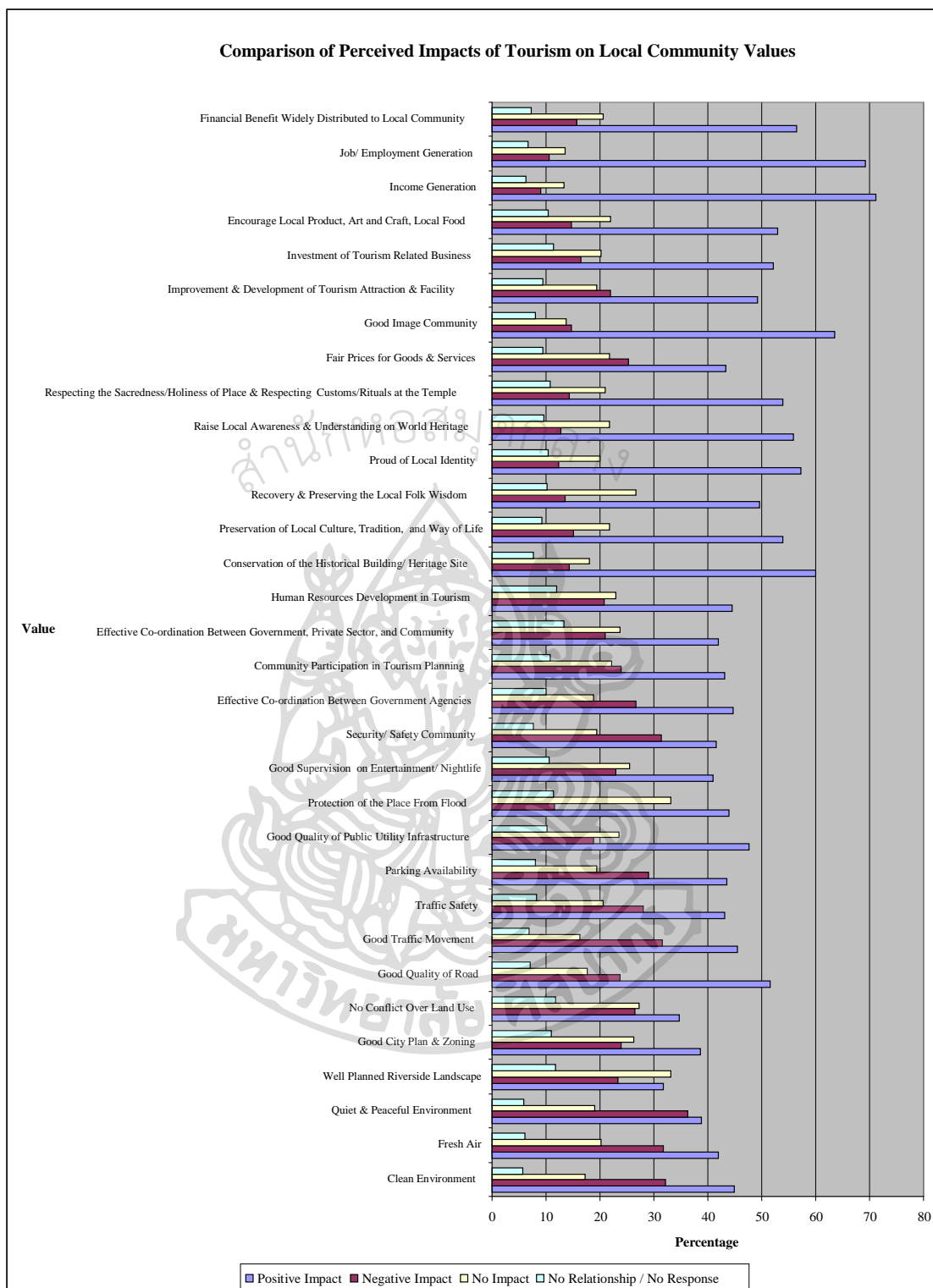
Figure 15 Comparison of Perceived Impacts of Tourism on Ayutthaya Community Values
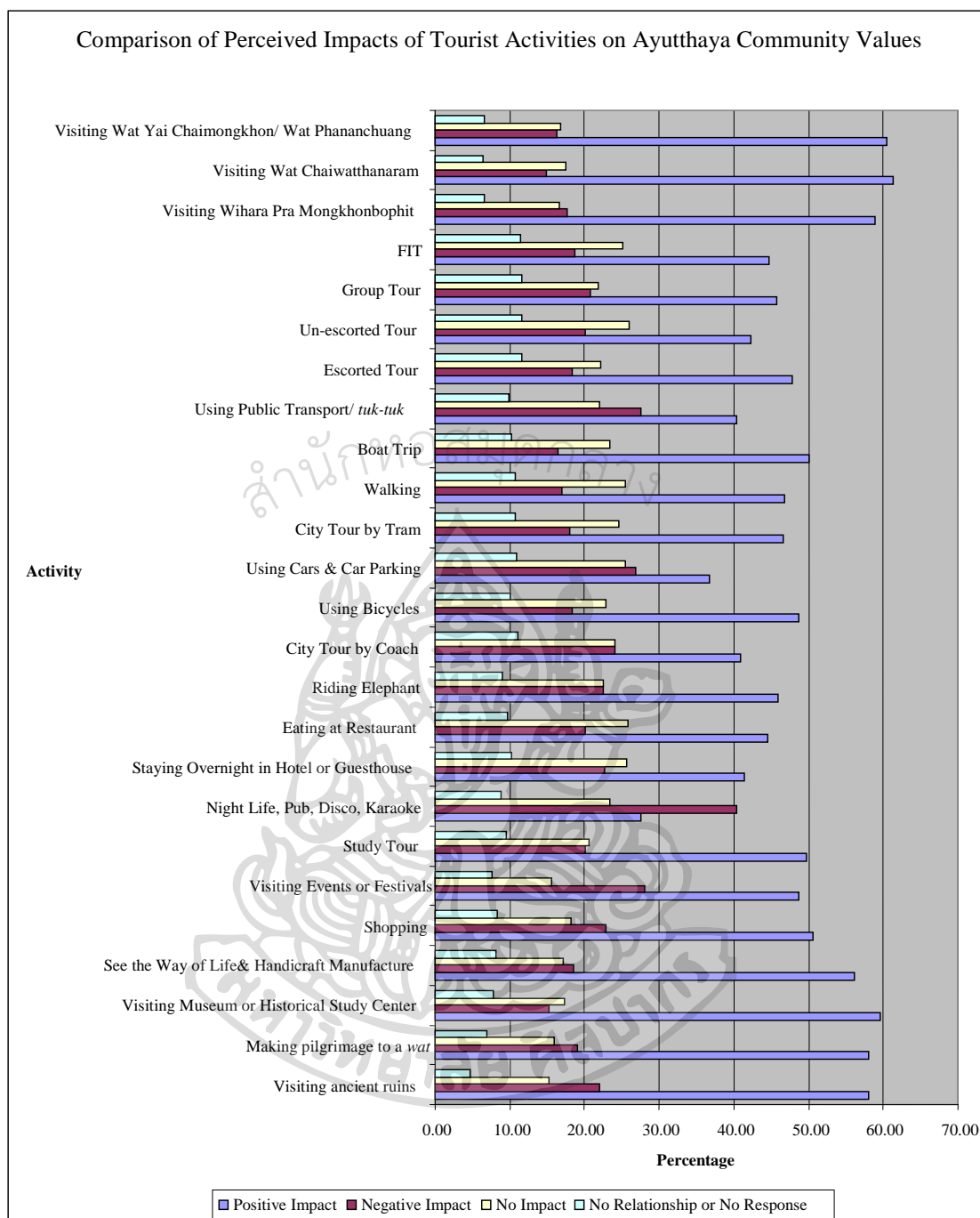
Figure 16 Comparison of Perceived Impacts of Tourist Activities on Ayutthaya Community Values

The Residents' Perception of Tourism Impacts on Environmental Values

Ayutthaya residents felt most of tourist activities can help improve the local environment which included items such as clean environment, fresh air, and quiet and peaceful environment (see figure 15). On environmental values, the respondents mostly perceived that tourism had a positive imp act on a clean environment, follow by fresh air, and quiet and peaceful environment. For the negative results, quiet and peaceful environment to place was the most perceived negative, however, overall perceived more positively.

The perception of impacts of tourism on the environment were a mixture of both positive and negative responses. The majority of respondents perceived more positively than negatively, that mean the respondents thought the tourism activities contribute to the environmental improvement, for examples, income from tourism can be used in the care of the place, and tourism could force related agencies to keep the environment clean because tourists will visit the destinations if the destinations is beautiful and clean. The results were consistent with Minakan's (2004) study on sustainable tourism development in Ayutthaya where all stakeholders confirmed that tourism activities in Ayutthaya had brought more improvements to the natural and the built environment. The beautification of tourism site emerged along with the cleanliness of the general and surrounding environment.

Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site that has regulations for planning and management of the area and has to maintain a cleanliness of the area. By observation, although there were some dirty areas, there was overall cleanliness. It is difficult to say whether Ayutthaya was clean because of it is a World Heritage Site or because of tourism. However the local community perceived and linked those environmental benefits to tourism. It is possible that the residents perceived a World Heritage Site and tourist destination is the same thing which is not surprising given the way Ayutthaya is promoted within the tourism industry. This would require further research but it is significant that local people blur the distinctions between heritage and tourism. This blurring accords with the way Ayutthaya is represented in guide books like those published by Lonely Planet: it is presented as an 'ancient city' and the archaeological remains are given as the reason to visit. In contrast, heritage management tends to regard tourism as a separate although powerful phenomenon (see *World Heritage Papers*, no.58, 2010).

World Heritage Sites and the tourism industry in one place is both good and bad. On one side a World Heritage Site with its regulations helps to control the cleanliness and the aesthetics of the area. For Ayutthaya, the study of Menakan (2004) showed the Ayutthaya stakeholders also indicated that although the number of tourists visiting Ayutthaya was increasing every year, the carrying capacity of the tourism sites was still under control (Minakan, 2004). But on the other side, tourism may affect negatively on a World Heritage Site as a problem was found with regard to the vendors and souvenirs shop (for tourists) in Ayutthaya; they were not orderly. The study of Minakan (2004) also indicated that stakeholders perceived the threat of the gradually increasing amount of garbage and a fear of an invasion from mass tourism, which

might destroy the historical sites. These negative impacts were on the environment as well as the historical sites (compare with *World Heritage Papers*, no.58, 2010).

Another factor that could cause problems was an inadequate budget earmarked for maintaining tourism sites. The stakeholders perceived that the government budget was insufficient to maintain and improve the tourism site and its infrastructure (Minakan, 2004). Although the study of residents' perceptions did not directly indicate this level of understanding of the heritage and tourism relationship, it did reveal concerns about certain aspects of tourism's impacts on the environmental values they deem important. However, these must be seen against the more powerful perceptions about economic advantage arising from tourism.
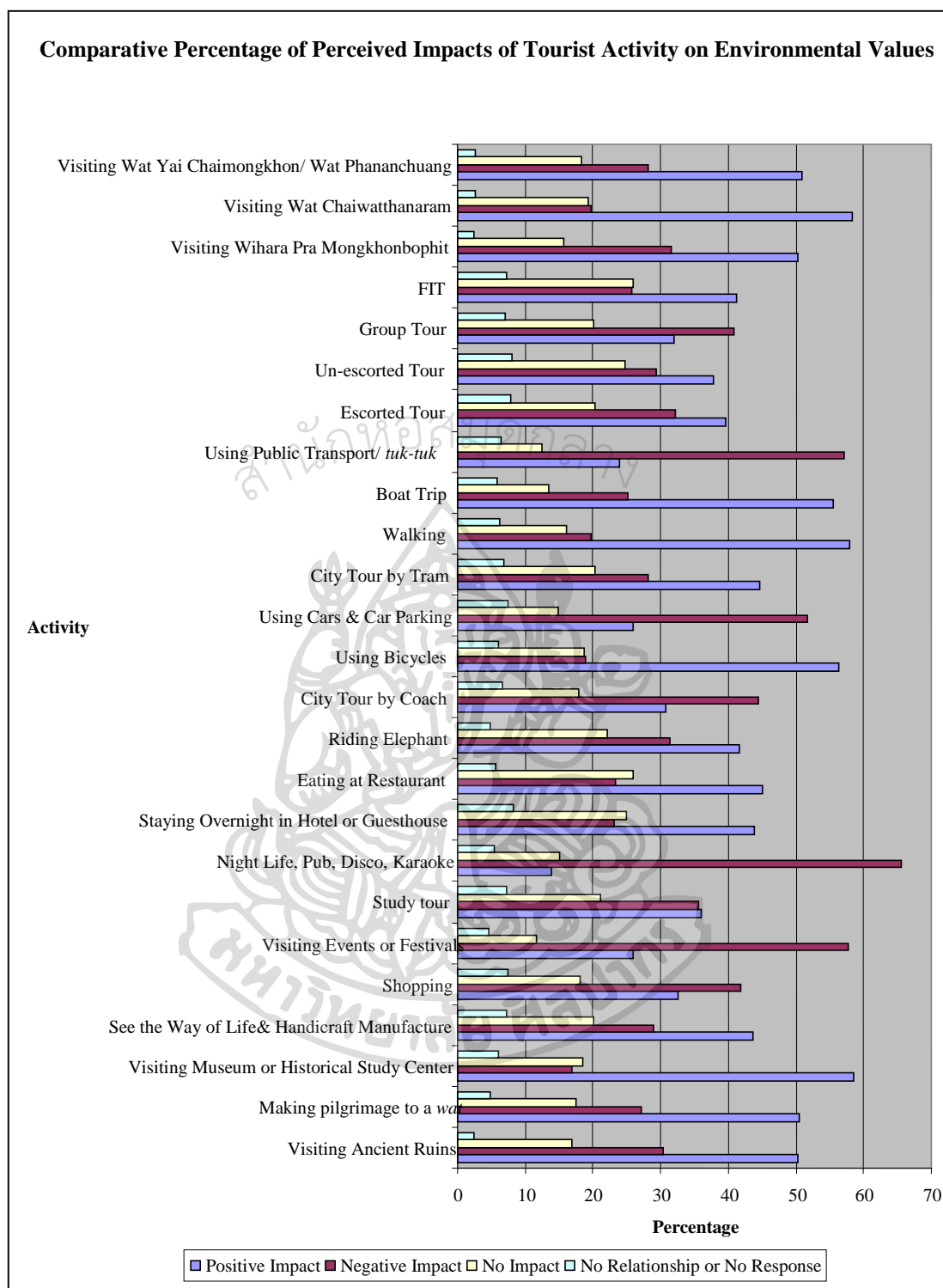
Figure 17 Comparative Percentage of Perceived Impacts of Tourist Activities
on the Community's Environmental Values

The Residents' Perception of Tourism Impacts on Economic Values

Survey results indicated that residents show identical and intense perception of the positive impacts of tourist activities on the community's economy. The residents have a strong perception of a positive impact of tourism, and a weak perception of its negative impact. In summary, 60.4 percent of respondents believe there is a positive relationship between tourist activities and community's values and 13.3 percent perceive a negative relationship (see figure 14). The local community perceives highly positive impacts in terms of income generation and local employment. 71.2 percent of the respondents agreed that tourism generated income for the community. 69.2 percent agreed that tourism generated jobs and employment opportunities. Furthermore, 56.47 percent think that the benefits from tourism are widely distributed in the local community. Next, 53.01 percent agree that tourism encourages local product, arts and crafts, and also local food production. Finally, 52.08 percent think tourism brings more investment in tourism related business within the community such as accommodation and restaurants.

The results showed that 52-70 percent of respondents think all tourism activities generate economic benefits for Ayutthaya. There was just one tourist activity (night life) that was perceived negatively (see figure 15 and 18).

The results show that local communities strongly recognise the benefits of tourism in economic terms. During the survey and the interviews with local community members, one thing that almost everyone said was that tourism brought benefits in term of income generation and job opportunities. The respondents linked tourism to the revenue. This finding was consistent with Minakan (2004) who studied sustainable tourism development in Ayutthaya. He found that local people of Ayutthaya perceived that tourism provided them with a chance to earn more income and believed that if the economy of Ayutthaya was growing as a result of growth in tourism, then local people would receive the benefits.

People worked in the tourism industry because of income generation, even on a macro-economic level, the government promoted tourism because they would like to bring more revenue to the country, and many countries had similar policies to generate revenue. In the study by Minakan (2004) that investigated sustainable tourism development in Ayutthaya, government officials unanimously agreed that the economy of Ayutthaya had significantly benefited from the tourism industry. The economic situation had improved because of the income generated from the tourism industry, which was considered a major source of income for the province.

The benefits of tourism on the economy are obviously a very important motivator for people to support tourism. And while economic benefits for locals is consistent with the principles of sustainable tourism this is not always the case because the situation is considerably complicated by foreign investment and the existence of transnational hotel chains and tour companies. Because many visitors to Ayutthaya are day trippers from Bangkok, economic leakage may not be as prevalent as in some heritage tourism destinations like Melaka in Malaysia where major international hotel chains are well represented with large multi-story properties. Tourism will only be

sustainable if local communities including all stakeholders received benefits from tourism. Minakan (2004) stated that tourism helped improve the economic situation of Ayutthaya because when the financial status of local people was better, the economic situation of the province also better and the quality of life of the people would, it is assumed, be improved. The local communities perceived that tourism had a positive effect on the economics of the city and the better economic situation helped improve their quality of life, so, logically, tourism was perceived to benefit their quality of life.

The results of the matrix survey indicated that tourism economic impact is directly related to local residents' own interests and it is easier to quantify, and measure such perceptions. On the other hand, desire for economic profits has been the target for tourism development, and economy-based policies made by local governments and media publicity have, furthermore, reinforced local residents' positive perception of tourism economic impact. At present, the tourism industry has become an important pillar to the economy of Ayutthaya and the survey shows that people are strongly aware of this. The implications for heritage conservation and management are clear: local people's economic welfare is a crucial part of their understanding of the heritage/tourism relationship and so conservation strategies and heritage management plans need to factor in this reality. The economics of heritage cannot be ignored.

The figure 15 shows all tourism activities were perceived as having impacts that were more positive than negative on the community's economic values. Shopping was an activity that most of the local community perceived as having a positive impact on the economy. This result was really reasonable because when tourist bought something, the money from tourists went directly to local communities. Other tourist activities, other than shopping, that were perceived positively were: the way of life, handicraft manufacture, visiting ancient ruins, events and festivals, visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon and Wat Phananchuang, visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit, visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram and eating at restaurants. These activities were all related in some way to the heritage significance of Ayutthaya, whether tangible heritage such as the ancient temples or intangible heritage such as the way of life, events and festivals, as well as restaurant cuisine all of which constitute Thai cultural heritage. This result shows that the local community perceived a strong economic relationship between tourism activities that were directly related to the heritage significance of the city. It means that people link heritage and cultural values with tourism activities and economic gain in Ayutthaya. This perceptual entanglement of heritage and tourism is a critical finding. Local people cannot divorce the two from each other. Indeed it is perhaps only academics, researchers and heritage and tourism professionals that keep regarding heritage and tourism as separate 'industries'. And perhaps this thinking is neither accurate nor appropriate. In the 21st century, as the World Heritage list grows to over a 1000 sites, and as the tourism industry uses the list to provide high status destinations and attractions, it is increasingly impossible to regard heritage in isolation from tourism.

The tourism findings mentioned above, show that the local community supported tourism activities (walking, boating, visiting museums and temples) that related to the heritage significance of the city. And people perceived it's brought a great economic benefit as well. It is a very important because these particular tourist

activities are very suited to an archaeological site while bringing economic benefits and increased well being to the local community.

The activity that respondents perceived as being highly negative was to do with night-life including pubs, bars, disco and karaoke. The research has shown that in fact there is little in the way of nightlife (bars, discos, karaoke etc.) in Ayutthaya. Overwhelmingly, most visitors to Ayutthaya are day-trippers who do not stay overnight. However, nightlife for many of those surveyed was associated with alcohol and drug consumption, criminality, and lax sexual morality all considered undesirable behaviour especially in Ayutthaya as a sacred place.
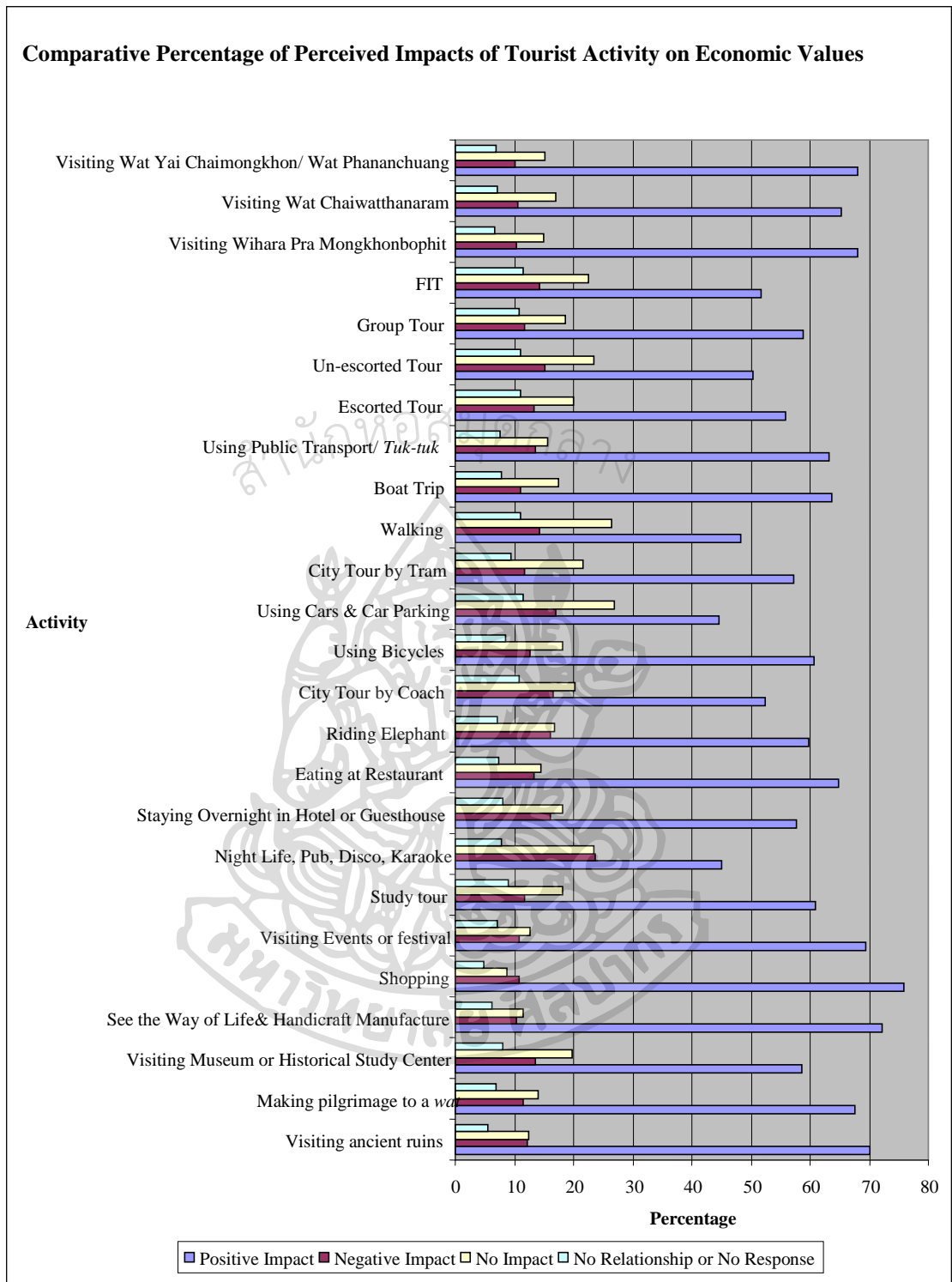
Figure 18 Comparative Percentage of Perceived Impacts of Tourist Activities on Community's Economic Values

Back to considering the community's perception of the impacts of tourism on their economic values, the income generation and employment opportunity were quite positively perceived. While the impacts of tourism on the distribution of financial benefits, the local product encouragement, and investment of tourism related business were much less compared to income and employment. It shows that people think that tourism will generate revenue, help create jobs, but in terms of income distribution it will not be greatly influential nor produce equity and fairness. Minakan (2004) noted in his study of sustainable tourism development in Ayutthaya that revenue generated by the guesthouses, souvenir shops, restaurants, and by the sales of provincial products had been distributed to local people, and most of the tour operators in Ayutthaya believed that the earnings from tourism were distributed and circulated among the local people including *tuk-tuk* drivers, restaurants, gas stations, accommodation operators, and local product producers. But during the field survey and interviews with local communities in this study, the researcher found that of the respondents who discussed the issue of the distribution of income, some of them said that revenues from tourism were not widely spread to the local communities. The matrix survey also found that the vendors who sell souvenirs within the heritage site were not just local people, but many of them came from a distant province like Chiangmai (located in the North of Thailand) and that the products were not only local products but also products from many provinces around Thailand. This may be the reason why the respondents perceived the distribution of tourism benefits as not being fair enough, and not really helping to promote local product.

The finding mentioned above is very important for the stakeholders who are involved with heritage and tourism management in Ayutthaya namely; Fine Arts Department, Tourism Authority of Thailand, and the Ayutthaya Municipality. It is important finding that residents agree with tourism, but in terms of appropriate activities, the tourism within the heritage zone should in some way relate to the heritage significance of the site and support and perhaps contribute to the historical values, cultural values, and religious values of the site. In this way the activities are seen to be compatible with the heritage fabric of the site, while generating economic benefits for the community. And The problematic night life activities however, are not regarded by the respondents as benefiting the community in any way and certainly it could be argued are incompatible with the heritage values of Ayutthaya and with the ambience of the place. Finally, there is obviously a community desire that the distribution of income across community be wider and fairer, that there be support for local products, and greater encouragement for investment by the community.

The Residents' Perception of Tourism Impacts on Socio-cultural Values

Cohen (1984) considers the socio-cultural impacts of tourism as one of the most important issues in tourism research. As Krippendorf (1987) argues, the social effects are so significant that they should be studied before anything (Brunt & Courtney 1999). In Ayutthaya, socio-cultural values and its impacts was very important as well. During field studies and in the process of finding the values of the local community, many socio-cultural issues were mentioned by the local communities. When the issues were turned into values, organized so they corresponded to the triple bottom line categorization used in sustainable development measurements, environmental, economic, and socio-cultural indicators, there were just 3 values that were environmental in character, 5 values that were economic in character, and a massive 24 values that were socio-cultural in character. The local communities valued a lot in Ayutthaya that were social and cultural, obviously reflecting the cultural heritage significance of the city, its rich historical and cultural way of life and the place that Ayutthaya has in Thai history as a former royal capital which links the city to the traditions and symbolism of the Thai monarchy. It would be virtually impossible to live in Ayutthaya without some knowledge of the city's historical importance and some knowledge of the way the city is regarded by the present King, Rama IX, and the Royal Family. It is also a significant religious centre because Theravada Buddhism was the dominant religion throughout its history, from the time Ayutthaya rose to power until the present. More recently, the inscription of Ayutthaya onto the World Heritage list in 1991 has added to a local's perception of its importance.

Residents tended to agree that tourism created both positive and negative community impacts. Ayutthaya residents felt most tourist activities could help enhance the community's socio-cultural values, by, for example, the enhancement of a good community image, the enhancement of the conservation of historical buildings and archaeological remains, and they think tourism could also enhance the preservation of local culture, traditions and the way of life. Tourism, it was found, made the local community proud of their local identity, and also raised awareness about and understanding of World Heritage. They felt tourism had a positive influence on community services offered, including items such as the good quality of roads and public utility infrastructure. Residents also thought tourism had a positive influence on respecting the sacredness and holiness of the place and respecting customs or rituals at the temples, for the recovery and preserving of local folk wisdom, and the improvement and development of tourist attractions and facility. In addition to these, Ayutthaya residents felt tourism exacerbates some community problems such as traffic movement, parking availability, traffic safety, and the security and safety of the community (see figure 15).

It is clear from these findings, that many socio-cultural values are related to the heritage values of Aytthaya and the conservation of heritage values. Such values include: the conservation of the historical buildings and the World Heritage site overall, the preservation of local culture, traditions and ways of life, pride in their local identity, respecting the sacredness and the customs of the place, raising awareness and understanding about World Heritage. Importantly, these values were perceived as

being positively enhanced by tourist activities, especially passive activities like walking, visiting temples and museums and the like. This finding is very important because the local community links the conservation of heritage with tourism in a positive way. People thought tourism was beneficial to heritage and heritage beneficial to tourism. As mentioned earlier, people perceived positive effects of tourism on the community's economic values and tourism was also regarded as having a positive effect on heritage and heritage conservation as well. The research literature however is not so effusive about the effects of tourism on local culture and on heritage places. UNESCO regards tourism as a major contributor to the degradation or destruction of heritage places (see *World Heritage Papers*, no.58, 2010 and the UNESCO Impact series on the effects of tourism on culture and society in Asian and the Pacific).

The further findings about residents' perception of tourism impacts on their socio-cultural values will be discussed as follow:

Perceived impacts on conservation of the heritage site

The values concerning the conservation of the heritage site (conservation of the historical building and heritage site, preservation of local culture, tradition and the way of life, and recovery and preserving the local folk wisdom) were perceived positively. There were some tourism activities that were perceived as having no impact on the preservation of local culture, tradition and the way of life, and recovery and preserving the local folk wisdom. These activities included staying overnight in a hotel and eating at restaurant because the community saw that these activities did not really concern conservation and may be these activities were not actually heritage tourist activities but just activities related to a variety of travellers(like business travellers) and the local community. Night life was the activity perceived as having a negative impact on all values concerning conservation because this activity was deemed to be in contrast with the ethos of heritage tourism. There was an anxiety that youth-oriented night life may generate a demonstration effect that, in turn, may change the way of life and the identity of Ayutthaya in terms of it being a heritage place. One assumes places like Pattaya with its various associations was the point of comparison in such judgements (Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012).

Furthermore, it would appear that, far from attempting to reduce traffic around the monuments, the opposite has occurred and more modern constructions have been added in recent years. Recently considerable change and developments have occurred on the Ayutthaya Island, noticeably the unnecessary widening of many roads. Many people from around the area commented that the designs of the new buildings were not in harmony with most Ayutthayan monuments (Charassri, 2004). This is an important finding as it points to the importance of aesthetics and ambience in the thinking of locals and to the possibility that ambience maybe more important than any technical approach to heritage conservation and management. This would need further research but accords with other studies in SE Asia (Staiff and Bushell, 2012).

Perceived impacts on local awareness of heritage

The conservation values, pride in local identity, local awareness and understanding of World Heritage, and respecting the sacredness of place and respecting customs at the temple were all perceived as being enhanced by tourism activities. The only tourist activity that was perceived as a having a negative impact on community values was night life (see above and see Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012). Further, with regards to conservation values, staying overnight in a hotel and eating at restaurants was perceived as having no impact on the social and cultural values of Ayutthaya.

Despite the town's historical sites having been added to the UNESCO World Heritage list, the site is still the same as it has been for the last fifty years with very little interpretation on offer (see Saipradist, 2005 and Saipradist and Staiff, 2007). Charassri (2004) noted that performing arts has not been used effectively to benefit local people. The shows have not made people aware of the heritage significance of Ayutthaya. There has been little communication between the Fine Arts Department and those attending, including visitors. Charassri also suggested an idea for this situation be a re-development of performing arts in Ayutthaya, closely linked to an improved and wide-ranging interpretation programme, that could perhaps increase people's awareness of heritage and conservation issues and bring new life to Ayutthaya (Charassri, 2004).

Perceived impacts on infrastructure and facilities

The survey result showed that all tourist activities were perceived as having positive impacts on the quality of roads and public utility infrastructure. According to the observations and the interviews with stakeholders, tourism stakeholders in Ayutthaya and especially the local people, had quite positive thinking towards tourism because concerned parties helped develop the environment of Ayutthaya. The government allotted a budget to improve and maintain the historical sites and the surrounding. Facilities and infrastructure for the convenience of tourists had been developed continuously. Because of tourism, roads and other local services are well maintained, and increased tourism provides recreational opportunities for local residents. The local people also received benefits from these developments.

However, in terms of traffic movement and safety, and parking availability the result was different. There were several tourism activities perceived as having a negative impact on traffic movement, traffic safety, and parking availability in Ayutthaya. These activities included visiting events or festivals, night life, city tours by coach, and car use and parking. These results seem reasonable because, from field observations, it was found that during the World Heritage festival the traffic was very congested because some roads were closed and there were a lot of people in the festival both visitors and local communities. Likewise, city tours by coaches, car use and parking were the activities that are most obviously concerned with the traffic so the traffic and parking problems depend on the number of coaches and cars. On the weekends it was observed, there were so many cars and coaches coming to Ayutthaya,

so the traffic was very congested especially in the important attraction points such as Wihara Pra Mongkolbophit, Wat Pananchuang, and Wat Yai Chaimongkol.

The perceived negative impacts of night life on traffic movement, safety traffic, and parking availability seems somewhat strange because the night life zone is outside the Ayutthaya Island and it was not a big area. By observing of the night life zone (Rojana road near the bus terminal), the researcher found a heavy traffic jam but only during the night time and only in that area. On the other hand, the island was very quiet at night. Why did a number of respondents have a highly negative perception of this activity? The researcher thinks the local communities may relate the night life with alcohol and drunkenness which, in turn, is related to accidents. The drink and drive issue was the big issue and the government tried to fight this by generating the drink not drive campaign. Recently, there was an issue with motorcycle gangs in Ayutthaya and other provinces in Thailand. This issue was also related to alcohol consumption and night life. Communities often seek a reason for what is regarded as anti-social behaviour and tourism seems to be the scapegoat in the imagination of residents. The source of what is regarded as un-Thai behaviour probably has more to do with modernity in general, rather than tourism specifically (see Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012).

All tourism activities were perceived in a positive light with regards to improving and developing tourist attractions and facilities (except for night life activities that were perceived negatively). It reveals a number of possible explanations: either an attitude of the respondents that did not want to develop night life activities or they thought night life reduced the attractiveness of Ayutthaya to the visitors or both of these.

A well planned riverside landscape was the value that most of the respondents perceived as being neutral or having no impact on their social and cultural values. The respondents perceived these as neutral because these activities were not related to the river. For example, visiting an ancient ruin or visiting a *wat*, using a car and parking, and a city tour by coach or tram were all activities occurring on land. But for some activities concerning the river such as boat trips, the respondents were perceived positive in relation to the planning of a riverside landscape.
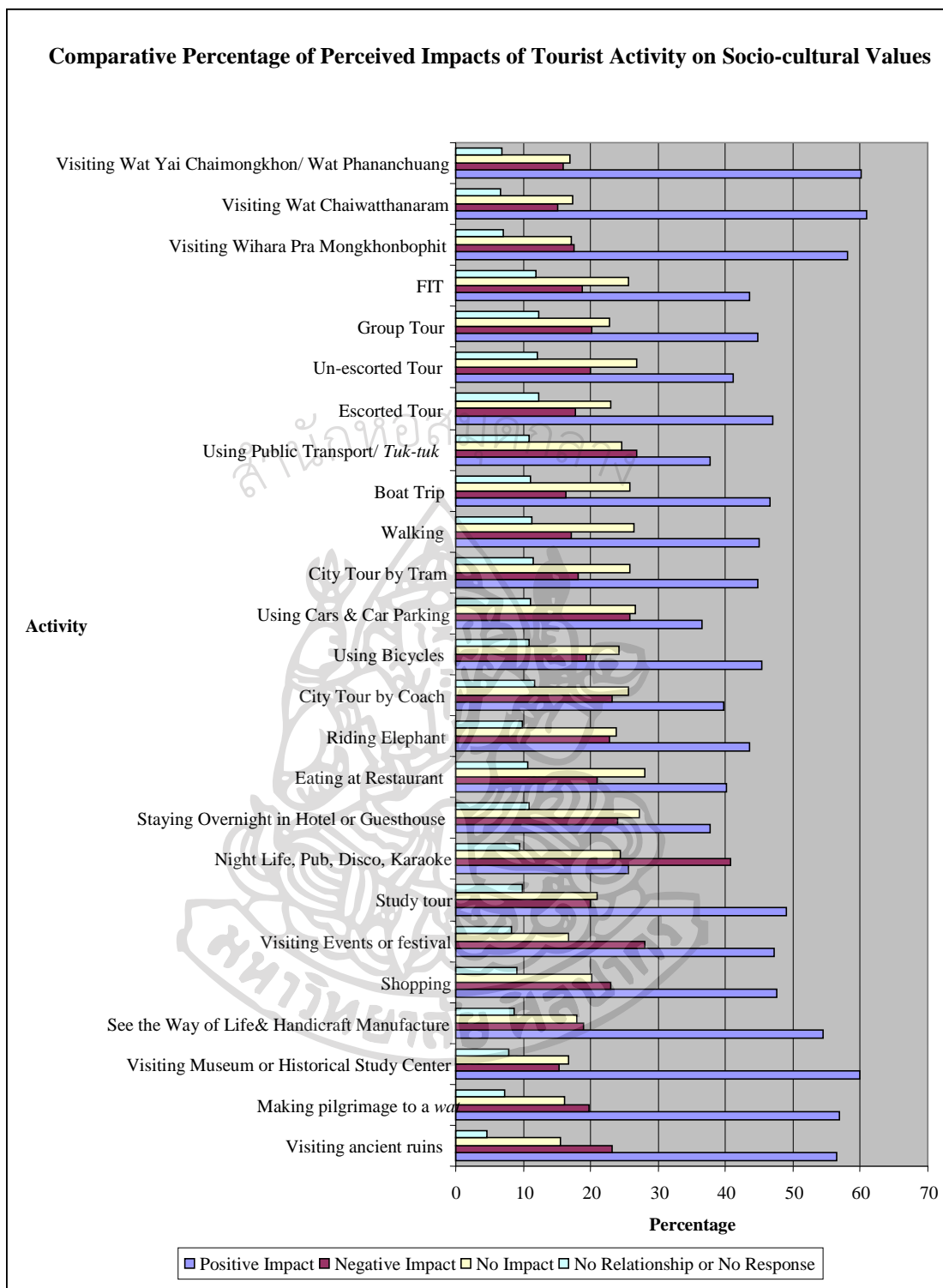
Figure 19 Comparative Percentage of Perceived Impacts of Tourist Activities on the Community's Socio-cultural Values

Perceived impact on protecting Ayutthaya from flood

One of the problems of Ayutthaya is yearly flooding because Ayutthaya is located in a basin of the Chao Phra Ya River. Most of tourist activities are perceived to be positive for the protection of the place from flood. The government has to tried to protect the site from flood because the ancient ruins and the *wats* are part of the World Heritage site and are a major tourist attraction. However, there were also several activities perceived to be neutral or to have no impa ct on the protection of the site from flooding. These activities include using vehicles and the way of travelling such as riding elephants, city tours by coach, using bicycles, using cars and parking, city tours by tram, walking, using public transport or *tuk tuk*, un-escorted tours, group tours, and free independent traveller (FIT). These activities were the activities that respondents perceived as not necessarily being related to the heritage values of the place and the protection of the site. On the other hand, the activities that related to the heritage values of the place, such as visiting ancient ruins, make a pilgrimage at a *wat*, visiting museums, visiting a specific *wat*, were all perceived positively because these activities were much more concerned with the historical, religious, and the heritage values of the place, all of which needed protection. This finding is quite problematic. Flooding has nothing to do with tourist activities as such so the positive correlation between some activities and flooding was odd. It may however point to something else. The response of the respondents regarding tourist activities and the flooding issue indicates that people were seemingly concerned that the flooding of the site was very bad for the protection of the heritage values of the site, for the conservation effort and for tourism. This is important as it indicates a level of community awareness about the relationship between an environmental issue and conservation on the one hand, and an environmental issue and tourism on the other hand.

Perceived impact on the security and safety of the Ayutthaya community

Most of tourist activities were perceived positively with regards to security and safety of the Ayutthaya community. The results were consistent with the study of Minakan (2004) who indicated that all stakeholders confirmed that Ayutthaya was a safe and convenient city.

But there were some activities that were perceived negatively in relation to security and safety. These activities may be separated into two groups: (1) visiting Ayutthaya for events or festivals, and (2) night life. These two activities were those that, in the public's mind were connected to crime. During events or festivals, there were frequent criminal acts such as theft and deception because during festivals there were a lot of people, both amongst the visitors and within the local community, that were criminals. Night life was an activity concerned, in people's minds, with crime, alcohol, drug, and temptation. A number of campaigns by the government tried to strictly reduce alcohol consumption and increase the supervision of night life. Furthermore, recently there were issues related to motorcycle gangs in Ayutthaya and other provinces that were deemed to cause accidents on road. This issue was related to alcohol consumption and night life even though this problem did not come directly from the tourists but there was a community concern that motorcycle gangs may

influence local youths indirectly by the demonstration effect. It seems the community linked motor cycle gangs to tourism and to nightlife in their minds. It was believed that the youth of Ayutthaya may copy some behaviours from the tourists. Some respondents gave an opinion that this problem was not likely to come from the tourists nor the demonstration effect but was the result of the influence of media and globalisation or some believed it was the influence of both the demonstration effect and the mass media.

The results of the survey showed that both tourist activities (night life and events or festivals) made the local communities feel unsafe. Many respondents mentioned that during the World Heritage Festival in December of each year, many tourists came to Ayutthaya and it was the opportunity for criminals to lurk in Ayutthaya. This may well indicate that the concerned agencies should find a way to make the residents feel safer during such events.

In terms of night life, it is very interesting. Most of the respondents perceived night life negatively in relation to tourism activities. In term of economic values, most of the respondents believed that night life did not earn economic benefits for the community. In terms of environmental values, night life was also perceived most negatively. And night lift also made people feel unsafe. This may also indicate that the related agencies should review whether night life should be part of Ayutthayan society or not. Given Ayutthaya's proximity to Bangkok it is very doubtful that such a prohibition would work. At the root of this issue is not, of course tourism as such. It is the effects of modernity and modernization on Thai culture and society. Tourism is a symptom not a cause (see Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012).

The other group of activities that were perceived to have a negative impact on people's social and cultural values were bicycling, walking, using public transport or tuk-tuks, and un-escorted tours. The concern here was the mode of transport itself. From the interview stage, some respondents mentioned the risk to tourists who use bicycles and walk without guidance because sometimes they bicycle or walk to isolated or risky areas. The recent news report about a thief who stole a bag from a tourist who was bicycling increased this concern (Siam News, 2006). An un-escorted tour without tour leader was also considered to be risky. It was interesting that using public transport or tuk-tuks were not considered safe, either. However, this perception was more related to a fair price for goods and services by public transport providers and *tuk tuk* drivers and the way this may be judged by visitors. This related to another concern: tourists may be deceived by public transport providers and tuk-tuk drivers. These issues indicate a level of concern about the image of Ayutthaya as both a World Heritage site and a tourist destination and indicate within the local community a level of awareness about how the image of the city can affect business. Such awareness has implications for both tourism management (is enough being done to ensure that visitors feel safe and secure and not subject to over-charging and exploitation) and for heritage managers who need to understand that Ayutthaya as a heritage city is globally connected to tourism flows and that this needs to be understood.

Perceived impact on cooperation and participation of the Stakeholder

These values include effective cooperation among government agencies, community participation in tourism planning, and effective cooperation among government, private sector and local community. Almost all activities were perceived as having a positive impact on these values except night life which was perceived as negative. This result was in contrast with an opinion from a number of respondents during the interview stage where they thought the cooperation among the government agencies in Ayutthaya was bad especially those between the local government and the Fine Arts Department. They said that that relations had not been good between the local government (including the municipality and the Ayutthaya Provincial Administrative Organisation) and the Fine Arts Department. Minakan (2004) who studied sustainable tourism development in Ayutthaya stated that there was little good cooperation between public and private sectors in Ayutthaya; they split up into different groups. There was no main sponsor and no leadership. Conceptually, cooperation was good; but in Ayutthaya, cooperation was found to be very difficult and it had not yet been well established. The success of sustainable tourism development was subject to human obligations. Ayutthaya tourism needed cooperation where each party should strictly perform its duty (Minakan, 2004).

The argument of these agencies was a very classic one in tourism development and conservation. By the interview with the stakeholders in Ayutthaya, some of them perceived that the local government would like to develop but the Fine Arts Department would like to conserve. At the moment, the historical area in Ayutthaya is under the control of the Fine Arts Department but the local government would like to take control and develop this area as they were the local community. Local government officials argued they should therefore have rights to manage this area by themselves.

However, the survey result was consistent with Minakan (2004) who stated that at present, many local people expressed their feelings that the coordination among organizations in Ayutthaya was much better now than before. They pay more attention to tourism. The locals believed that coordination from every related organization will stimulate sustainable tourism promotion. There had been some meetings among the organizations in Ayutthaya concerning tourism issues such as the Local Administration Organisation, the District office, Ayutthaya Police Division, Ayutthaya Municipality office, and Ayutthaya Historical Park. The meeting topics were the safety of tourists and the development of tourism sites. It could be said that most of the regulators were aware of the issue of a co-ordinated and integrated approach and were ready to coordinate with others for the achievement of tourism development (Minakan, 2004).

Given this context, why does the result show a perceived positive relationship between tourism activities and the issue of coordination? The answer for this question may be that poor relationships between government agencies was not because of tourism, but perceived as a problem between organisations irrespective of tourism. So tourism did not have negative impact to this value, but tourism was perceived as providing the opportunity for every sector to join and work together. For example, in organizing major tourism events or festival, all sectors, both government and private

(and including local communities) have to join the event and work together, so tourism was perceived positively as a vehicle for co-operation.

The actual situation is likely to be more complex. For example, tourism does not necessarily lead to co-operation because government agencies often want to benefit from tourism economically. For example, in the Siam News (2006) it was reported that the Fine Arts Department had received revenue from selling tickets to visitors who visited ancient ruins and *wats* in Ayutthaya. Actually the Fine Arts Department has revenues from all of the historic sites in Thailand and the Fine Arts Department uses this money for preserving the entire spectrum of historic sites in Thailand. So it wasn't revenue-raising as such that was the issue. What was at issue was that most of revenue collected by the Fine Art Department nationally were from Ayutthaya, so the local government (Ayutthaya municipality) thought the revenues from historic sites in Ayutthaya should belong to the Ayutthayan community and it was not fair for Ayutthaya to use this money for other historic sites. Residents mostly were unaware of this conflict between government agencies thus their perception that there was a positive relationship between tourism activities and cooperation between levels of government. This was an example of the very common tension between conservation and tourism: while the Fine Arts Department would like to use tourism income to conserve, the Ayutthaya municipality would like to use that budget for developing Ayutthayan infrastructure for tourism. The conflict between protection and development is a major issue across many World Heritage sites and an analysis of the periodic reports for UNESCO made by experts and World Heritage managers illustrates an increasing number of sites subject to such conflicts.

City plan, zoning and land use

This issue concerns good city plan and zoning as something valued by the local community along with the desire for there to be no conflict over land use value. With both these values tourism was perceived as having a positive impact. Regarding good city plan and zoning, most activities were perceived as having a positive effect, but there were some tourism activities that were perceived as having a negative effect on these values so that visiting events or festivals, night life, and escorted tours were considered as not being supportive of good city planning and conflict-free land use. The big event and festival in Ayutthaya is the World Heritage Festival in December. As mention above, this occasion brought a lot of visitors and produced traffic heavy jams during the Festival. The respondents thought the area planning for this Festival was not good enough. Actually the respondents did not argue about the area of the Festival but they did not agree with the character of festival as it includes the trade fair that was considered not appropriate for a heritage site with Ayutthaya's status. This is a very important finding because it shows that residents put heritage values higher than economic values and tourism in relation to particular activities. The residents expressed a much greater desire to live in a peaceful heritage atmosphere than to live with a crowd of tourists. And they expressed a preference for tourism activities that suited the significance of the World Heritage Site rather than activities that simply earned more money.

There were other issues related to city planning and zoning. By observation, it was found that there were some areas of the heritage site that were not effectively used. For example, there is a parking area behind the tourist information centre, but only a few cars and coaches parked there because it is far from the tourist attractions, but so many cars and coaches park behind Wihara Phra Mongkolbophit and many cars park in the road in front of Khum Khun Phan and in front of Wihara Phra Mongkolbophit that it causes a traffic jam. This problem is not only about the zoning or city plan but also about regulation. The classic problem in Thailand is that the authorities were not strict with law enforcement and regulation, so it can be frequently seen that people park on the road or in restricted areas.

Furthermore, observations found that there were some places within the core of the heritage site that were not being used effectively such as the floating market project near Wihara Mongkolbophit and Khum Khun Phan. It appears to be a useless set of decisions because it lacked cooperation and participation from experts in heritage and tourism planning.

Visiting an ancient ruin was an activity that was perceived as having a negative impact with regards to conflicts over land use. This result confirms that there were conflicts over land use in the historical area (as mentioned above). Furthermore, some respondents said that there were conflicts in the shopping and vendor area behind the Wihara Phra Mongkolbophit. Recent conflicts were between the local government and the vendors in front of Wihara Phra Mongkolbophit. The government would like the vendors to move to the new area near the tourist information centre. Fortunately, all vendors agreed to move to the new area. It's a further indication that many people in Ayutthaya would like to preserve the heritage of the city and that heritage values are strongly held by many in the community. It is also another demonstration of the degree to which the community values their cultural heritage. What is more difficult to determine is the source of this pride: does it come from living in Ayutthaya; does it come from the well known history of Thailand that affords Ayutthaya a special role as a royal capital or does it come from the presence of tourism and an awareness of what it is that draws visitors to the ancient city. It is undoubtedly a combination of factors and further research would be needed to see how these factors work together. It's also interesting to compare these results with perceptions about the effects of tourism activities on the environment. The results were mixed (see above). Part of the seeming inconsistency could be related to the matrix itself and to the aggregation of the results under the categories used in sustainable development impact analysis, the so-called triple bottom line. It also raises important issues about how local residents perceive their landscape and whether or not 'heritage' is marked out in their minds and in their lives in quite the way it is in (western) authorized heritage discourse (see Smith, 2006).

Figure 20 Parking area behind the Tourist Information Centre. Only a few cars or coaches use this parking area
Source: The author (2007)

Fair price for goods and service

Almost all of the tourist activities were perceived as having a positive impact on the valuing of a fair price for goods and services by residents. The exception was, again, the matter of night life, and using public transport or *tuk-tuks* which were perceived as having a negative effect. The result was consistent with Minakan (2004) who studied sustainable tourism in Ayutthaya and found that most tourists (74 percent) did not perceive any problem with the prices charged for products and food while 26 percent of tourists found some problem with the price being charged on both products and food in Ayutthaya. Some recommended that there should be a control on the prices of goods and food by local regulators.

The concerns that the local community expresses about the possibility of over-charging indicates how important they consider ethical and responsible conduct regarding tourists, especially at such a significant site. This is further testimony of the deep relationship the community has with the heritage site. At least that is one interpretation. It could also reflect a belief that tourism encourages price rises and residents living in tourism destinations find the cost of living higher than non-tourist places. This can be clearly seen in other World Heritage destinations like Luang Prabang in Laos and Siem Reap in Cambodia. Thus the concern that prices be fair and reasonable because prices affect the residents' cost of living and this could also be the concern as much as any regard for ethical behaviour by vendors and others with regards to tourists. More research would be needed to see which was the case or whether both factors were operating.

A Good Image of Ayutthaya

A good image of Ayutthaya was the community's value that was perceived highly positive equal to income generation and job and employment generation with regard to tourism activities. But the respondents were once again concerned about night life thought it reduced the good image of Ayutthaya because Ayutthaya is a sacred place for Thai people but night life is an activity that concerns alcohol or temptation which were deemed not appropriate for Ayutthaya. Ayutthaya's fame and image rests on its history, on the historic sites within the city and it being a UNESCO World Heritage site.

This part of the survey was concerned with the perceived impact of tourist activities on the value "pride in Ayutthayan identity" where almost all tourist activities were perceived positively except night life. Charassri (2004) stated that Ayutthaya is perceived by the great majority of Thai people as a source of national pride and of significant cultural value. The name connotes a strong sense of 'history' among Thai people. So tourism, on the whole, is believed to enhance the heritage values of the city by showcasing Ayutthaya as a national symbol of the nation. This idea is perpetuated in the guidebooks for Ayutthaya, in the way the city is promoted within the tourism industry (especially by TAT, Thai Airways and in-bound tour companies) and the way the city is represented by local government, by museum displays (both in Ayutthaya and also in Bangkok in the National Museum and the Siam Discovery Museum) and in the media. It is therefore almost impossible for the local population of the city to be immune from the power of these representations and for it to be a key value for local residents. The fact that the mythology of Ayutthayan heritage (see Peleggi, 2002) is culturally well embedded within the minds of residents means there is widespread community support for both the heritage management of the site and heritage toruism to the site. This is important when Ayutthaya is compared to World heritage sites that produce conflict and even bloodshed as Preah Vihear illustrates (Silverman, 2011).

The Perceived Impact of Tourist Activities

Based on the results of the study, the analysis of tourism activities found that there were significant issues arising.

Visiting *wats* was always positive

The result show that the activities including visiting *wats*, making a pilgrimage to a *wat*, visiting Wihara Phra Mongkolbophit, visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram, and visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon or Wat Phananchuang, were perceived as having positive impacts on all the values held by members of the community. Visiting a *wat* is the most important tourist activity of Ayutthaya. However, observations reveal that visiting a *wat* was likely to have a negative impact on some values, for example, valuing a quiet and peaceful environment because there were so many visitors visiting especially on the weekend. But for residents the perception was that tourism activities had a positive effect on their values and this degree of positivity was always higher

than negative effects, or responses that indicated no impact or no relationship between tourism and community values. From the survey it can be assumed that residents weighed up the relative relationship between certain activities and their core values. For example, when tourists visit a *wat*, they often come by car which had a negative impact on the quiet and peaceful environment of the heritage site, but the visit itself did not, it was believed, have a negative impact on the quiet and peaceful atmosphere of the temple precinct because the visitors simply looked or made a pilgrimage and within the temple precinct they are expected to control their behaviour when they make a temple visit. Therefore, in comparison with other activities, visiting a *wat* was perceived as a really peaceful activity. Thus the reason why the respondents perceived visiting a *wat* as having a positive relationship to their values.

Night Life was always negative

Night life was the activity that was perceived negatively against almost all the values. There were 32 values in this study. Twenty-five values were perceived to be negatively impacted upon by night life. The values with perceived positive impact from night life were all economic values (investment in tourism related businesses, the encouragement of local product, art and craft and local food, income generation, job and employment generation, financial benefit being widely distributed to the local community). This is very important as the local residents clearly distinguish between one set of values (like economic values) and other sets of values. They recognized the economic contribution of night life but this was far outweighed by other values they held. Night life was the activity that was perceived as being contrary to visiting *wats* in because night life was linked to alcohol, drugs, temptation, accidents on the road, crime and so on. Because Ayutthaya is a historic city, the city of *wats*, a World Heritage site, and a sacred place for all Thai people, night life appeared, to the local community, to contradict the values represented by Ayutthaya.

Negative Impact Activities

It was not only night life that was perceived to have negative impacts on Ayutthaya, but there were also some other activities that were perceived to have negative impacts on many community values. Visiting events or festivals was the activity that was considered as having highly negative impacts on many values (10 values were considered to be adversely affected: a clean environment, fresh air, a quiet and peaceful environment, a well planned riverside landscape, good city planning and zoning, no conflict over land use, good traffic movement, traffic safety, parking availability, and security and safety within the community). Most of these, interestingly, can be grouped as being values related to the environment. As mentioned above, events and festivals created traffic problems and impacted on the environment especially the peacefulness of the city. Some respondents expressed an opinion that the style of the festival should change to be more appropriate to the heritage site, and the authorities should find out the best way for management. The problem of crime during the festival was important too. Criminal activities during festivals is not just a problem in Ayutthaya but is nation-wide but this is of little comfort to residents. The depth of

feeling about this issue in the residents' responses, indicate that they want government and police action and preventative measures employed. There was also an indication that the local population was aware that criminal activities during festivals can adversely affect Ayutthaya's image as both a significant heritage place and as a tourist destination.

Figure 21 During the World Heritage Festival
Source: The author (2007)

Figure 22 Light and Sound performance in the World Heritage Festival
Source: The author (2007)

The use of cars and car parking were the activities that were perceived to have a negative impact on eight values including a clean environment, fresh air, a quiet and peaceful environment, no conflict over land uses, good traffic movement, safe traffic, parking availability, and security and safety in the community. Again it was the environmental values that dominated here. This finding indicates a good community awareness of the impacts of car use on both air and noise pollution, and the causes of traffic congestion and parking problems in the heritage precinct. Such environmental awareness should contribute to community support for heritage protection, the conservation of the heritage site and how the historic park should be managed as a tourist attraction.

The survey results showed that the community perceived that cars usage had had a negative impact on the environment, and caused traffic problems, that, in turn,

affected the quality of life of people. This is an issue for both heritage management and tourism management. There are numerous examples around the world where vehicle traffic is controlled in sensitive heritage precincts. For example, in the city of Bruges in Belgium, the car park is outside the heritage zone and the visitors have to walk into the city. In Florence, cars are banned from the medieval centre of the World Heritage city. Ayutthaya, however, does not control vehicles. There were large coaches into the city causing air pollution, noise, and traffic problems. There has been an effort to solve the problem. There was a large car park near the tourist information centre, but as mentioned before, there were just a few cars making use of it. The real problem is not strictly enforcing existing laws and regulations.

Similar to the use of cars and parking problems, city tours by coach and the use of public transport or *tuk tuks* were also about vehicles having a perceived negative impact on the environment. Strangely, city tours by coaches were not seen to have had a negative impact on the cleanliness of the environment because the coaches each carry large numbers of tourists and park at the attraction. However, city tours by coach were perceived to have a negative impact with regards to the desire that there be no conflict over land use, wih regards to traffic movements, safety issues and parking availability, in other words, the response was similar for cars and coaches. Public transport was not conceived of as creating problems with traffic movements, safety and parking availability because the number of *tuk tuks* or public vehicles was low compared to the number of coaches and cars. Further, *tuk-tuk*s have their own parking area so there was not the same problem with parking. However, public transport was perceived negatively with regards to to the security and safety of the community because it was shown that the community felt unsafe when using public transport.

The perceived problems of Ayutthaya

As the results of the survey indicate, the community value impacted upon most negatively by tourism activities was the quiet and peaceful environment; there were nine tourist activities that were perceived to have a negative impact on this value. Ayutthaya also has the problems of clean environment and fresh air (there were six tourist activities that were perceived to have a negative impact on these values) so, overall, the environment was the regarded as a major problem for Ayutthaya when it came to residents' beliefs about tourism impacts.

This result shows that the local community would like to have a peaceful place to live in. Local communities also perceived tourism positively because tourism was seen to provide economic benefits. How then to make tourism activities such that they would not compromise the peaceful environment of the heritage precinct? This is obviously a challenge for both heritage managers and tourist operators. The research found that residents had positive attitudes towards tourism activities when related to the heritage precinct, activities such as visiting historical sites, pilgrimages and visiting *wats*. Those activities were regarded as peaceful and indicated a concern for the World Heritage Site. It points the way to the use of heritage values for tourism and also as a way of providing benefits for the local community. In this way, all the stakeholders can win. It is also the way to sustainable tourism.

The second problem was the perception about security and safety in the community. It showed that the local community felt unsafe in their daily life. This is obviously a major concern because security and safety is an important factor for not only the local community but also for visitors. And with security and safety, perceptions are more powerful than reality. Considering the activities that were perceived to have a negative impact on this value (visiting events or festivals, night life, using bicycles, walking, using public transport or *tuk tuks*, and un-escorted tours), it can also be seen that the concern about the lack of security or safety was because of perceptions about crime. The government agencies have an obvious role in making people confident about their safety. For example, the drink not drive campaign in order to reduce accidents on the road, and more supervisory staff during the festival maybe things that need attention.

The third problem was the perceived conflict over land use. This concerns some respondents. As mentioned above, according to the opinion of some respondents, there were conflicts between local government and the Fine Arts Department regarding the use of the heritage area, and conflicts between the vendors especially those in the area behind Wihara Phra Mongkolbophit. But considering the results from the survey, the activities that were perceived as having a negative impact on this value were shopping, visiting events or festivals, night life, elephant riding, city tours by coach, using cars and car parking, and using public transport or *tuk tuks*. Elephant riding, city tours by coach, using cars and car parking, and using public transport or *tuk tuks* just concerns the traffic and parking areas that are not available on the weekend or parking in the road that causes traffic problems.
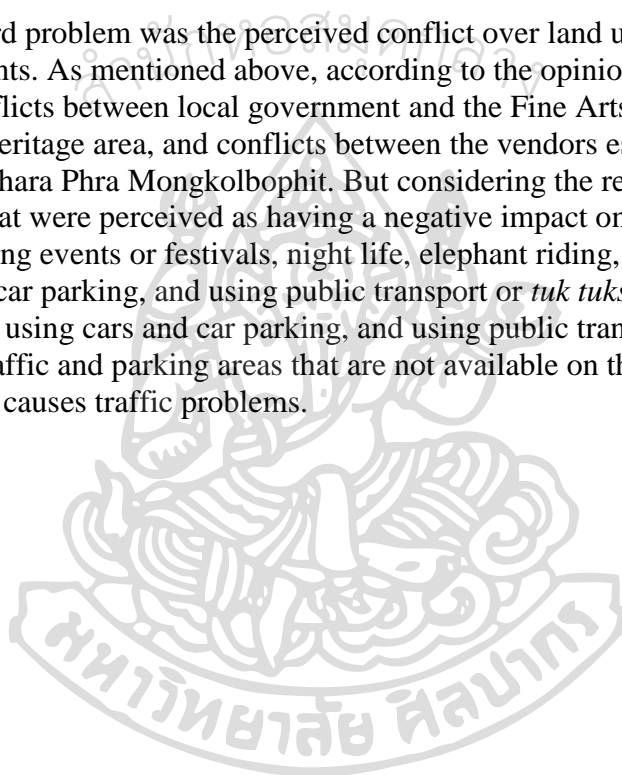
Chapter 5

Conclusion and Implications

Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1992-2010). The historic City of Ayutthaya as a World Heritage Site is by definition a place having 'outstanding universal *values*' that belongs to humankind and should be protected for future generations.

Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site that has both tangible and intangible values and a local community that has an active role as part of the heritage landscape. And like many World Heritage Sites, Ayutthaya is not only a World Heritage Site, but a major tourist destination. Thus there are three dimensions in Ayutthaya that should be managed, namely; heritage conservation, sustainable tourism development, and the local communities' participation, and these should be balanced in a way that enables the sustainability of all three especially as heritage and tourism are so valued by the local community. The balance of these 'three pillars' is very important as explained in *World Heritage Papers No. 58: Sustainable Tourism:Part Threat Part Hope* where the Budapest Declaration is mentioned. Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its 26th session in 2002, this pivotal Declaration according to the Committee would 'seek to ensure an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development, so that World Heritage properties can be protected through appropriate activities contributing to the social and economic development and the quality of life of … communities' and will seek to ensure the active involvement of … local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of … World Heritage properties' (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2010).

Conceptually, heritage and tourism are expressed in a classic formulation of conflict. Tourtellot (2007 cited in Staiff, 2012) in *World Heritage*, wrote that tourism is the 'biggest threat and benefactor' of World Heritage sites. The 'threat' is not only to the heritage resource itself, but extends to those communities organically connected to World Heritage sites, with the desire for economic wellbeing jostling with a host of other values (Staiff, 2010 cited in Bushell and Staiff, 2012). Tourism development and heritage conservation are very interrelated and encourage each other. Heritage plays a role as a tourist attraction while tourism can generate income for heritage conservation funds. On the other hand, tourism can impact negatively on heritage, and it is not just a physical impact but the way tourism can impact on what people value. Both heritage and tourism are highly valued by local communities. Thus any study of impacts should use a values-based approach. Therefore the task is always to attempt to find a balance between heritage and tourism and to make them both sustainable.

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As mention above, the understanding of tourism impacts on the World Heritage Site is very important for managing and balancing the three dimensions (namely, heritage conservation, sustainable tourism development, and the local communities' participation). Heritage, tourism, and local communities' quality of life are all valued by the local communities. The balance between heritage conservation, tourism development and quality of life of the local community are important. So, in heritage conservation and tourism development, it is important to understand the positive and negative impacts of tourism on the heritage as perceived and valued by the local communities.

As each heritage place is unique, the perception of 'heritage' is a subjective matter that depends on a person's background, life experiences, and personality (Smith, 2006). Fundamentally, heritage is what local communities' *value*; what people desire to keep for the future. Heritage places are significant because people value them. These are value-laden statements. We protect heritage places because it is important or because we value it. Thus this research uses a values-based and community-based approach to measure the perceptions of the local communities regarding tourism at Ayutthaya World Heritage site. There are several reasons why resident reactions to tourism are important, not least of which is the quality of life of the local community. Additionally, commercial tourism ventures may be hampered or terminated by excessive negative resident sentiment toward this development. Research into the antecedents of resident reaction to tourism can help planners. If it is known *why* residents support or oppose the industry, it will be possible to select those developments which can minimize negative social impacts and maximise support for such alternatives. As such, quality of life for residents can be enhanced, or at least maintained, with respect to the impact of tourism in the community (Williams and Lawson, 2001).

UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2010) also mentioned in *World Heritage No. 58: Sustainable Tourism: Part Threat Part Hope* that World Heritage is imposed from above – a submission by a national party to an international committee with the aim of achieving recognition of a site with values of *universal significance*. This process can often be intimidating, mysterious, and highly technical to local people and traditional owners. This creates a high potential for resentment, misunderstanding and hostility, which often characterize relationships between the 'edges' and the 'centre' of empire, society or the world community. The problem is exacerbated because in terms of the Convention local communities have no direct link with the World Heritage Committee. They are at a third remove from the centre of World Heritage decision-making – and we must face the fact that there are often no adequate systems to allow for community involvement or participation in social or cultural issues generally at a national, state provincial or regional level, and in fact that traditional systems and societies are often under severe threat from the pressures of globalization and development. So to rely on national or local government systems to encourage local involvement and the fostering of traditional practices is often unrealistic and counter-productive. Thus the local community participation is very important at the beginning of the process of heritage conservation and management.

Consequently, the research process focussed on what the local community valued with regards to heritage and tourism. So the methodology used in this research is fundamentally different from previous studies that usually use global indicators that have been generated by experts, scholars or the researchers, always abstract and often unrelated to the particularities of individual sites and communities.

In this research, the values-based and community-based approach conducted through documentary research and interviews with the stakeholders of Ayutthaya was used to produce a list of tourism issues. The list of issues was then converted into values: what is it that communities valued when they identified tourism issues? This question was the basis of the conversion of issues into valus. The values and tourism activities were set up as a matrix and then this was given to local communities within Ayutthaya. The local communities were asked to record one of four possible relationships between a particular activity and value: was it a positive impact; a neutral impact; a negative impact or no relationship. This is the first time that this methodology, originally generated in Australia in 2005, had been used in Thailand and, thus, in an Asian context. However, because the values in this methodology are grounded in local culture it could be assumed that the methodology would be sensitive to cultural difference.

Implications

In the process of determining the Ayutthaya local communities' values, unsurprisingly the very obvious value of income generation was often paramount. In interviews, almost everyone mentioned income generation and therefore strongly preferred and supported tourism. The research results also made it clear that economic values, especially income generation, were perceived as having a highly positive impact. It was very clear that the financial benefits flowing from tourism was a highly positive value for the local community.

Overall perceptions of the impacts of tourism received quite a positive response and were regarded as having a positive relationship with community values. The effects of tourism on economic values were perceived as highly positive, followed by socio-cultural and environmental values which were in varying less degree. On the other hand, the effects of tourism on environmental values was perceived as being highly negative followed by socio-cultural and economic which were seen as less negative. Unsurprisingly, the economic benefits of tourism, namely income and employment generation, were seen to be highly positive as they related to what the residents of Ayutthaya most valued. This indicated that the economic benefits were highly value by the local community.

For example, it was not only economic values that were important. The local community also perceived a strong positive relationship between tourism and their own identity with tourism perceived as promoting a good image of their community, raising local awareness and understanding of World Heritage, producing pride in themselves and facilitating the conservation of historical buildings. They believed tourism lead to the recovery and the preservation of local folk wisdom and the

preservation of local culture, traditions and way of life. Thus the local community perceived tourism as encouraging the heritage conservation and preservation of their own identity. From the local communities' point of view, the economic benefits not only encouraged a local identity, but were also important for heritage as a source of funding for heritage conservation and management. Whether or not this is the case is highly debatable as heritage conservation funding is largely a government responsibility but if the community makes such links in their minds then this is important for both heritage and tourism management. Rather than a threat, tourism is seen as a benefactor. UNESCO and others have long argued that tourism has such a potential but many critics are unsure because globally tourism has been the source of problems (*World Heritage*, 2010) The critical issue for heritage conservation is whether or not economic benefits gained from tourism should be the basis of local support for heritage, something never envisioned in the original World Heritage Convention (Bushell and Staiff, 2012).

Many values derived from the stakeholders were described as socio-cultural, in keeping with sustainable development models. The perceptions of the local community indicated that tourism was strongly related to vitally important socio-cultural dimensions of Thai life. Unlike international tourists who visit the World Heritage site as a 'city of spectacular ruins' with a focus on Ayutthaya's past, Thai visitors and locals have a perception of Ayutthaya that is deeply spiritual and patriotic (these two things powerfully fused). The temples of Ayutthaya (the ruins as western visitors regard them) remain sacred places of Buddhist devotion and ritual. But the place of Ayutthaya in the Thai nation, as a former royal capital, is equally important and so in this fusion of Buddhism, royalty and the nation, Ayutthaya is a locus of Thai identity formation and expression (Peleggi, 2007 cited in Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012). So most Thai tourist activities relate to religion such as pilgrimages to *wats*, or paying respect to sites and monuments related to the former kings of the Ayuttahya kingdom. Foreigners, however, travel to Ayutthaya to visit 'ancient ruins', significant centuries old historical sites being a strong western cultural value. Therefore, Thais and western international tourists value the Historic City of Ayutthaya in different ways. This indicates that 'outstanding universal value', for which Ayutthaya was inscribed on the World Heritage list is not how all visitors and locals perceive their relationship and connection to the historic park. And how could it be? 'Outstanding universal value' is a cosmopolitan (and thus comparative) abstraction and for many locals who have never travelled outside of Thailand this cannot have any deep-seated meaning. It is local and national values that are crucial for Thais and should be the basis of community participation and heritage management (see Daly and Winter, 2012). Indeed this is something recognized by the Fine Arts Department.

The perceived impacts of tourism on the socio-cultural values of Thai life had an important ethical dimension. Because of the mismatch of perceptions by different tourists (as mentioned above) with western international tourists, regarding Ayutthaya as a city of 'spectacular ruins' and Thai visitors, and the local community, regarding the historic park as a sacred place where the spiritual is fused with strong patriotic and nationalist associations then ethical issues arise around the behaviour of tourists. Tourist behaviour in the monastic precincts is of considerable importance to locals as well as Thai authorities and this extends to the tourists' modes of dress as well as the

physical interaction with the site and with each other. So when local people suggested a high value for the 'peacefulness of the site', they were in fact saying a lot more: this value hinges on the spiritual nature of the site and the respect that most Thais have for both the Buddha and the monarchy. 'Quietness and peacefulness' is regarded as a way of being in these places for both Thai visitors and locals (Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012). Such an interpretation indicates how values are coded and therefore requiring rigorous and expert social and cultural analysis. This was, on the whole, beyond the scope of this study, however, it does indicate that the data could be used ethnographically.

Overall, the results of the research show that almost all tourist activities were perceived as having a high positive impact. The only activity perceived as being highly negative was to do with night-life including pubs, bars, disco and karaoke, all of which were linked to increased tourism. The research has shown that in fact there is little in the way of nightlife (bars, discos, karaoke etc.) in Ayutthaya compared to Bangkok and other popular tourist destinations in Thailand. One of the reasons has to do with tourism patterns. Overwhelmingly, most visitors to Ayutthaya are day-trippers who do not stay overnight. Even after the light and sound shows performed at night in the archaeological park, most returned to their Bangkok hotels (Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012). However, nightlife for many of those surveyed was associated with alcohol and drug consumption, criminality, and lax sexual morality all considered undesirable behaviour especially in Ayutthaya as a sacred place. This surprising result suggested the community had strong feelings about tourism at other destinations within Thailand, something largely informed by the media. This would need further research but such a firm widespread opinion suggests that there is a general understanding that tourism is a differentiated industry and that certain types of tourism attract what is perceived as undesirable behaviour and influences. It also points out that the local community was well aware that tourism is not just the bringer of benefits but can potentially bring harm.

Doxey (1976) divided local residents' perceptions and attitudes into different stages (as mentioned in chapter 2). Therefore the perception of Ayutthaya's residents is quite strange. Most of the findings indicated that residents' perceptions have not yet reached the antagonism stage suggested by Doxey's model and where irritations are openly expressed and outsiders are seen as the cause of many problems (Doxey, 1976). In contrast, residents in Ayutthaya, a city with high levels of tourism development, were more favourable to tourism and further tourism development. Thus the 'ethics of nightlife' does not sit easily with the overall findings of the research. But perceptions – even when ill conceived – are extremely powerful and so an understanding of any *perceived* threat to the sacred nature of Ayutthaya by the local community is still extremely valuable. And, crucially, only a locally grounded value-based approach to measuring perceptions could reveal this.

The research results have indicated the complexity of perception. In some cases, the respondents perceived heritage and tourism as encouraging each other, while in some cases tourism was perceived as a source of problems. What is critical for both heritage and tourism management is to recognize this complexity and to understand that community values lie at the heart of any successful negotiation between heritage, tourism and the local community in all its complexity (Bushell and Staiff, 2012).

The findings have also shown that the local community blurs the distinctions between heritage and tourism. This is consistent with studies elsewhere in Southeast Asia (Bushell and Staiff, 2012; Staiff and Bushell, 2012). Ayutthaya is a World Heritage Site that has regulations for planning and management of the area and has to maintain a cleanliness of the heritage precinct. By observation, although there were some dirty areas, there was overall cleanliness. It is difficult to say whether Ayutthaya was clean because it is a World Heritage Site or because of tourism. However, the local community perceived and linked these environmental benefits to tourism. It is possible that the residents perceived a World Heritage Site and tourist destination as being the same thing which is not surprising given the way Ayutthaya is promoted within the tourism industry. This blurring accord with the way Ayutthaya is represented in guide books like those published by Lonely Planet: it is presented as an 'ancient city' and the archaeological remains are given as the reason to visit. In contrast, heritage management tends to regard tourism as a separate phenomenon. Ayutthaya takes the role of both a World Heritage Site and tourist destination. It would be far better for the authorities to integrate tourism and heritage management together (Bushell and Staiff, 2012) however, at the moment this is structurally not possible despite the informal links between Tourism Authority of Thailand, the Fine Arts Department, local authorities, community and local leaders.

In conclusion, there tended to be a consensus among local communities in Ayutthaya about the high desirability of tourism development and heritage conservation. The city it was believed needed both heritage conservation and tourism development. Heritage conservation alone without considering how to manage and develop tourism would not be desirable. The local community confirmed that tourism activities in Ayutthaya had brought more improvements to the economic, natural and the built environment, and the socio-cultural dimensions of Ayutthaya, and had improved the quality of life of their community. Thus from a local community perspective, heritage and tourism should be developed and managed together; tourism was regarded as a source of benefits to heritage management and conservation and not a source of problems. Sustainable tourism management should therefore be used to achieve a balance between the three dimensions of sustainability: heritage conservation, sustainable tourism development, and the local communities' participation. The support of local people is especially important as recent heritage management directives from UNESCO make clear but such a support cannot be taken for granted despite the perceptions revealed in this research. The local community needs to understand the concept of heritage conservation, sustainable tourism and participated in heritage and tourism management, so it is important that in Ayutthaya there be ongoing education.

Limitations of the Research

This research has presented a proposed framework for assessing the perceptions of the positive and negative impacts of tourist activities on the values of the local community of Ayutthaya. In developing this framework, a number of limitations were recognised. First, it is important to note that the sample of respondents

does not provide a numerically true representation of the total population in Ayutthaya. It was not a statistical study.

Second, this research used an instrument based on values from within local community and was therefore value-based and community-specific. The research focused on the local community of Ayutthaya, so the findings and implications of this research can only be applied to Ayutthaya. Other areas or other communities would have to apply this methodology for themselves. It is possible that if the study was conducted with residents of other areas, the results would be different because each area is unique and influenced by particular condition and contexts that would be reflected in the values the methodology generates. If the survey was extended to include other kinds of stakeholders in the tourism community, there may be different levels of influence of perception of tourism impacts across many destinations. To gain an overall impression of community perceptions about tourism impacts across Thailand, the study would have to be replicated many times. In other words, the results cannot be generalized. However, this is also a considerable strength of the methodology because it is specific to particular communities and, therefore, to particular circumstances and situations.

Third, it is recognised that any attempt to specify the community values will be prone to variation. Although this can be minimised by the 'reliability and validity' stage of the process there will always be non-controllable factors influencing the results such as willing or unwilling of the respondents. More importantly, perceptions change over time and so the research is only a 'snap-shot' frozen at a particular time the research was undertaken (2006-2007 A.D.).

Fourth, it is the fact that not all the potential interviewees agreed to be interviewed therefore there will be some loss of potentially important information. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that the research was carried out during the summer, so not all interviewees were available. However, it simply means the range of views may have been affected. Ideally this methodology should use the principle of exhaustion: repeating the matrix interviews until a high degree of repetition of responses becomes apparent.

Fifth, the research instrument itself produced a limitation. Many respondents suggested that the matrix was difficult to understand. Most of respondents were not familiar with this type of questionnaire. They were intimately acquainted to answer the question with multiple choices, yes/no question, or general a questionnaire, but the matrix was quite different. Thus, the researcher had to explained a lot about the matrix and how to complete it. So a whole process of education is necessary as part of this research tool. While, in the end, the data captured was biased towards informed people this is not a serious problem as the tool was not designed for statistically valid samples and statistically valid responses.

Finally, the data used in this research was limited by financial resources and time. The in-depth interviews with respondents were conducted with considerable time restraints as both the researcher and informants were hard pressed for mutually free

time. There was a desire to gather more data, but this was not possible given the financial limitations and the time restraints.

Suggestions for Future Research

Apart from the implications made in this chapter, the research findings suggest some further research and inquiry as follow:

In this work, impacts were grouped into economic, socio-cultural and environmental values. Any future study would identify how and why a resident views a specific impact as a benefit or cost. While these groupings provided useful information, we need more information about specific impacts and how the evaluation of each impact affects overall life. This is important for planning when limited resources have to be allocated to specific projects and the community wants to have residents' support to accomplish sustainable tourism development, especially in fragile heritage places.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Respondents' Profile

The Ayutthaya Local community

The demographic characteristics of gender, age, education, and occupation were included in this chapter in an effort to provide a descriptive profile of the survey respondents.

Gender

Survey respondents were asked to mark if they were male or female. The majority of the respondents were female. Of the three hundred and thirty-four respondents, 226 (67.7%) were female, whereas 108 (32.3%) were male. (Figure)
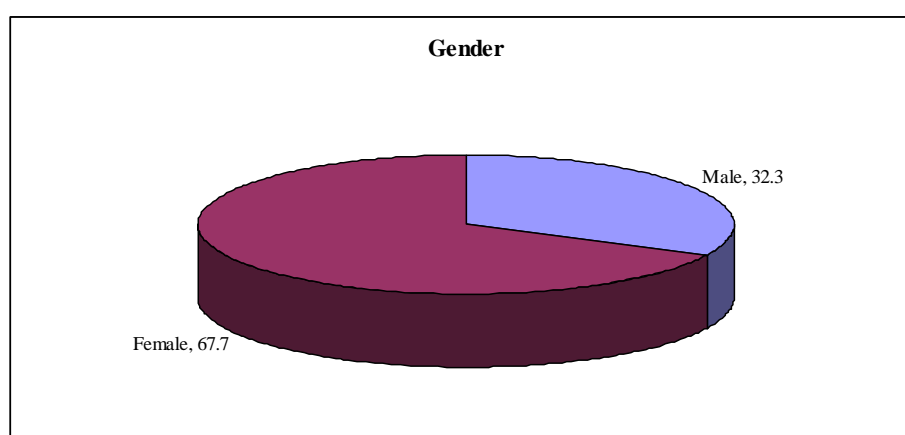
Age

Survey respondents were asked their age in an open-ended question, and were provided a blank in which to supply the answer. The majority of the respondents were between 21-30 years old (32.6 %), around 26 % of the respondents were between the age of 31 and 40, 22.5 % were between 41-50 years old, only 7.2 % were 20 years old or younger, and merely 11.7 % were 51 years old or older. So, the largest group or around 81.1 % of the respondents were between 21-50 years old.

Age
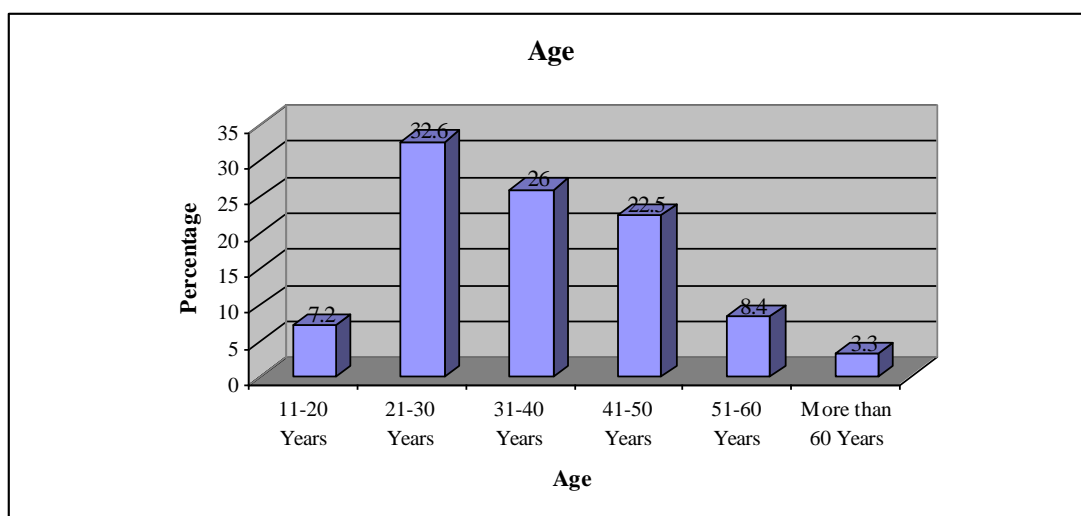
Education

Most of the respondents were relatively well-educated; almost half of them have bachelor degree (42.5 %).

Education
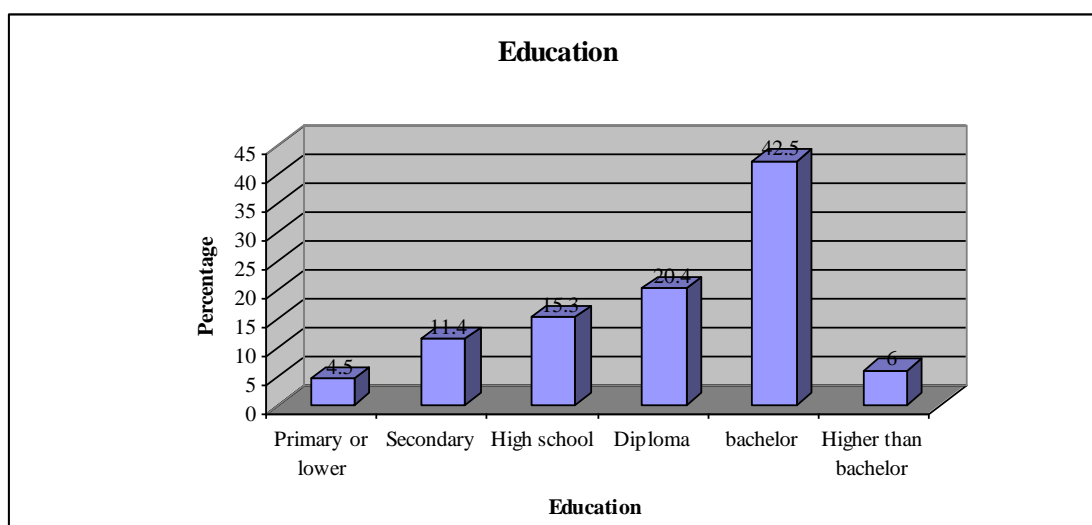
Occupation

The largest group of respondents were government servant (29.9 %), because in the study area (the Ayutthaya island) there are several of government office e.g. the Municipality Office, the District Office, Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT), Tourist Police, the Fine Art Department, etc. 23.4 % of the respondents involved in a tourism-related business or occupation (8.1 % were lodging business, 7.8 % were restaurant, 3.9 % were travel agency, and 3.6 % were souvenir shop).

Occupation

Occupation	Percentage
Other	3.9
Housewife	1.8
Hireling	5.1
Student	7.5
Entrepreneur	13.8
Employee	14.7
Government official	29.9
Souvenir	3.6
Lodging	8.1
Travel agent	3.9
Restaurant	7.8
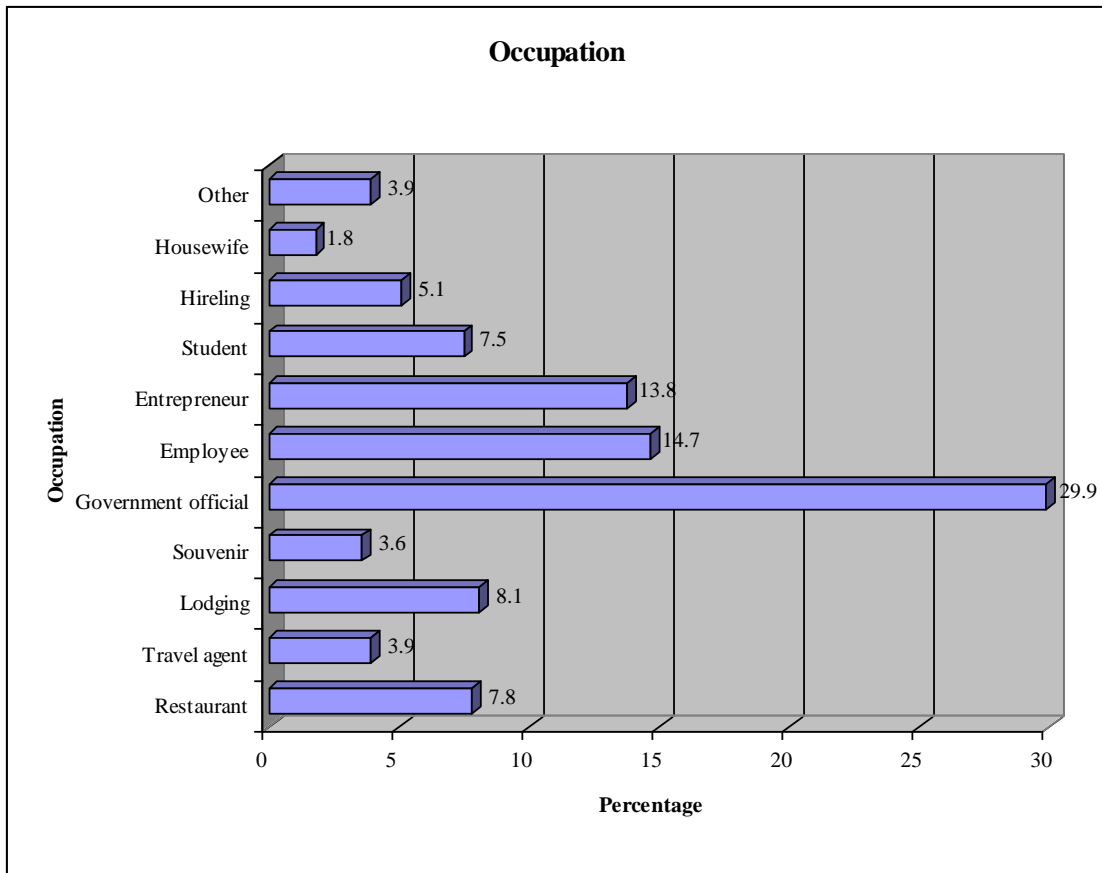
Years of residency in community

The majority of the respondents (27.5 %) have lived in Ayutthaya for 10 years or less. 20.4 % have lived in Ayutthaya for 21-30 years, 16.8 % have lived for 11-20 years, 15.6 % have lived for 31-40 years, and 12 % have lived for 41-50 years, only 7.8 % of the respondents have lived for over 51 years.

A lot of people in Ayutthaya came from other province to work or study here. As the deputy of the Municipality said that there was a lot of hided population in Ayutthaya, it was a problem because those people share infrastructure such as electricity, water supply, road, etc. with the residents but they don't pay municipal tax.

How long have the respondent been in Ayutthaya
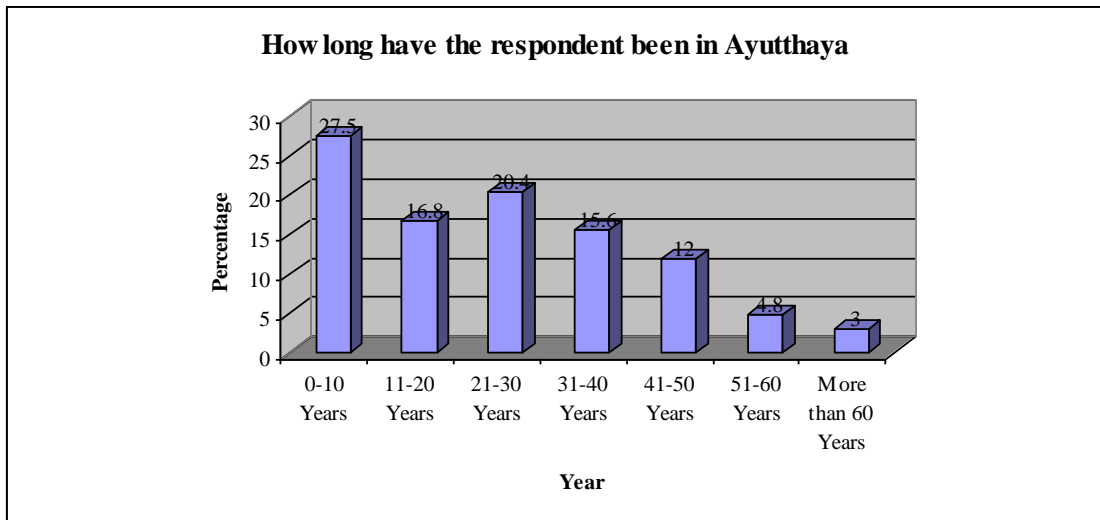
Tourism involve and income

Most of respondents (66.8 %) involved in tourism because Ayutthaya is an important tourist destination that have many attractions especially in the island and around. But less than half of the respondents (44.6) have income from tourism industry.

There are several ways to involve in tourism, some ways generate income such as tour business, restaurant, accommodation, etc. but some ways cannot such as government servant, TAT, police, etc.

Tourism involve

Have income from tourism

Yes
44.6%

No
55.4%
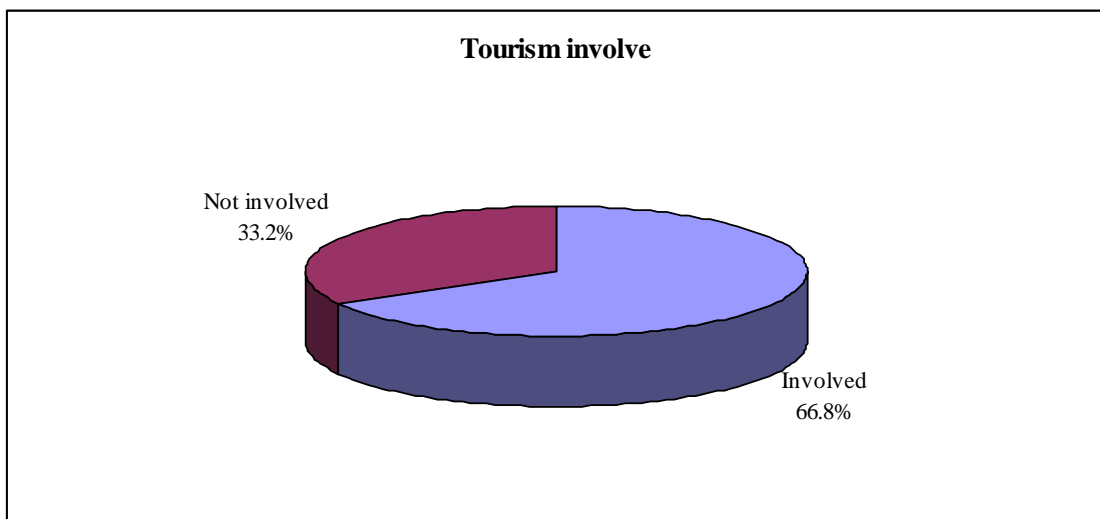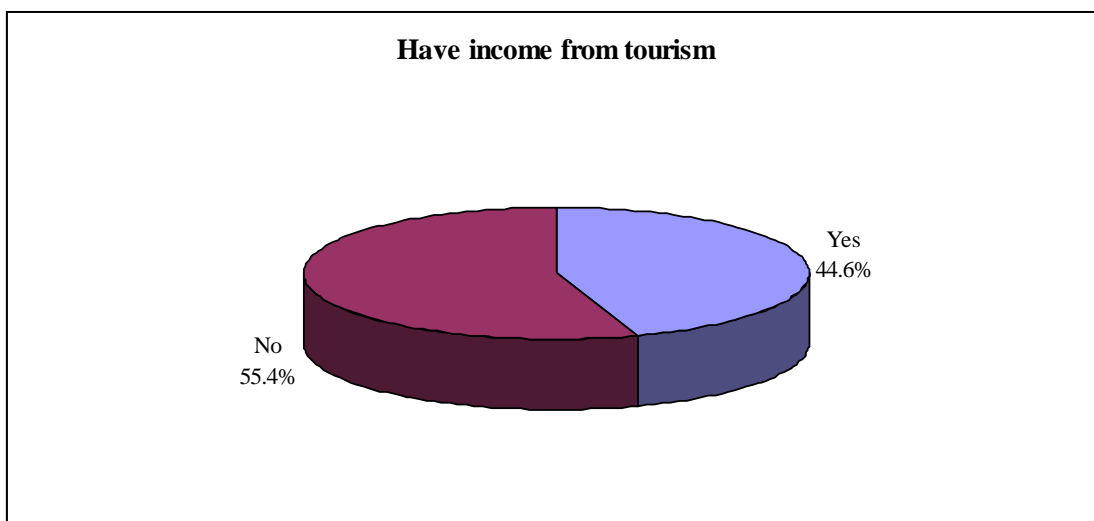
Address and work place

More than half of the respondents (57.2 %) lived inside the Ayutthaya island, and the majority of the respondents work in the island (76.3 %)

Address

Outside the island
42.8%

Inside the island
57.2%

Work Place

Outside the island
23.7%

Inside the island
76.3%
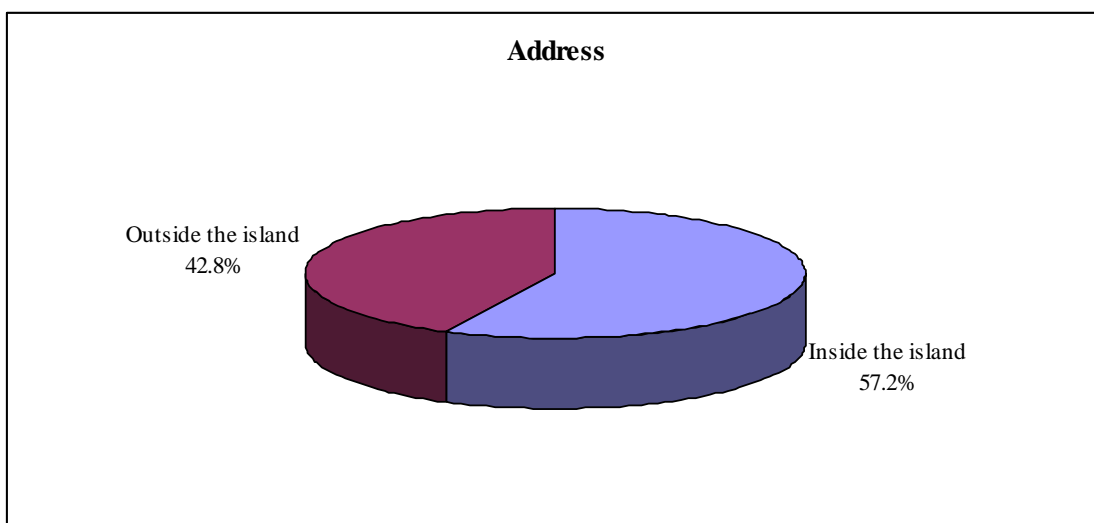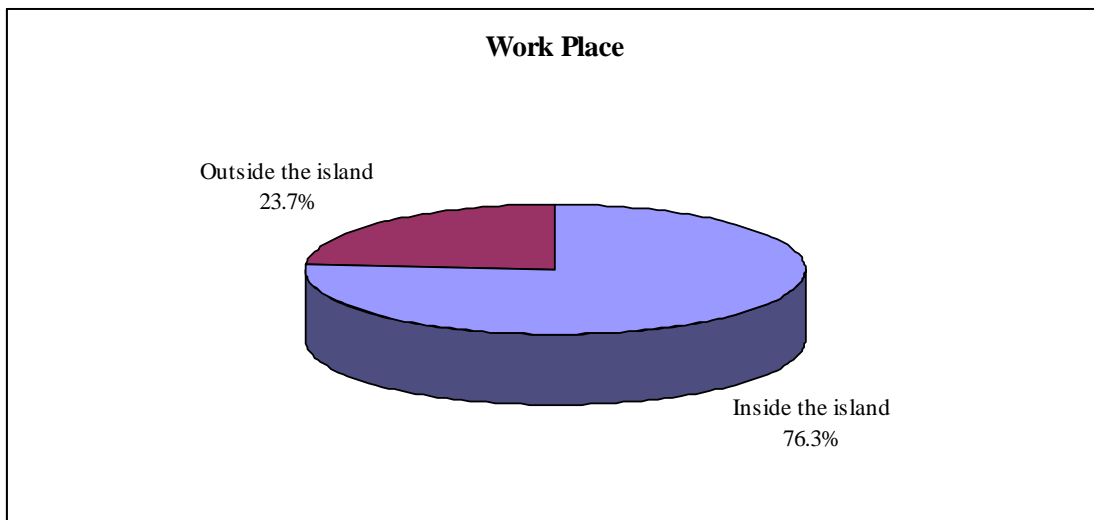
Appendix B

Respondents Profiles Tables

The Ayutthaya Local community

Gender

Gender	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Male	32.3	108	32.3
Female	67.7	226	67.7
Total	100	334	100

Age

Age	Percent	Frequency	Percent
11-20 Years	7.2	24	7.2
21-30 Years	32.6	109	32.6
31-40 Years	26	87	26
41-50 Years	22.5	75	22.5
51-60 Years	8.4	28	8.4
More than 60 Years	3.3	11	3.3
Total	100	334	100

Years of residency in Ayutthaya

Years of residency in Ayutthaya	Percent	Frequency	Percent
0-10 Years	27.5	92	27.5
11-20 Years	16.8	56	16.8
21-30 Years	20.4	68	20.4
31-40 Years	15.6	52	15.6
41-50 Years	12	40	12
51-60 Years	4.8	16	4.8
More than 60 Years	3	10	3
Total	100	334	100

Education level

Education level	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Primary or lower	4.5	15	4.5
Secondary	11.4	38	11.4
High school	15.3	51	15.3
Diploma	20.4	68	20.4
Bachelor	42.5	142	42.5
Higher than bachelor	6	20	6

Occupation

Occupation	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Restaurant	7.8	26	7.8
Travel agent	3.9	13	3.9
Lodging	8.1	27	8.1
Souvenir	3.6	12	3.6
Government official	29.9	100	29.9
Employee	14.7	49	14.7
Entrepreneur	13.8	46	13.8
Student	7.5	25	7.5
Hireling	5.1	17	5.1
Housewife	1.8	6	1.8
Other	3.9	13	3.9
Total	100	334	100

Tourism involve

Tourism involve	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Involved	66.8	223	66.8
Not involved	33.2	111	33.2
Total	100	334	100

Tourism income

Tourism income	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44.6	149	44.6
No	55.4	185	55.4
Total	100	334	100

Address

Address-Amphur	Percent	Frequency	Percent
A.Pranakhorn Sri Ayutthaya	80.8	270	80.8
Other	19.2	64	19.2
Total	100	334	100

Address	Percent	Frequency	Percent
in the island area	57.2	191	57.2
other area	42.8	143	42.8
Total	100	334	100

Workplace

Workplace-Amphur	Percent	Frequency	Percent
A.Pranakhorn Sri Ayutthaya	94.6	316	94.6
Other	5.4	18	5.4
Total	100	334	100

Work place	Percent	Frequency	Percent
in the island area	76.3	255	76.3
other area	23.7	79	23.7
Total	100	334	100

Appendix C

List of the values

Environmental values
1. Clean Environment
2. Fresh Air
3. Quiet & Peaceful Environment

Socio-cultural values
4. Well Planed Riverside Landscape
5. Good City Plan & Zoning
6. No Conflict Over Land Use
7. Good Quality of Road
8. Good Traffic Movement
9. Traffic Safety
10. Parking Availability
11. Good Quality of Public Utility Infrastructure
12. Protection of the Place From Flood
13. Good Supervise on Entertainment/ Nightlife
14. Security/ Safety Community
15. Effective Co-ordination Between Government Agency
16. Community Participation in Tourism Planning
17. Effective Co-ordination Between Government, Private Sector, and Community
18. Human Resources Development in Tourism
19. Conservation of the Historical Building/ Heritage Site
20. Preservation of Local Culture, Tradition, Way of Life
21. Recovery & Preserving the Local Folk Wisdom
22. Proud in Local Identity
23. Raise Local Awareness & Understanding on World Heritage
24. Respecting the Sacredness/Holiness of Place & Respecting Customs/Rituals at the Temple
25. Fair Prices for Goods & Services
26. Good Image Community
27. Improvement & Development of Tourism Attraction & Facility

Economic values
28. Investment of Tourism Related Business
29. Encourage Local Product, Art and Craft, Local Food
30. Income Generation
31. Job/ Employment Generation
32. Financial Benefit Widely Distributed to Local Community

Appendix D

List of tourist activities in Ayutthaya

1. Visiting Ancient Ruins
2. Making Pilgrimage to a *wat*
3. Visiting Museum or Historical Study Centre
4. See the Way of Life & Handicraft Manufacture
5. Shopping
6. Visiting Events or Festivals
7. study tour
8. Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke
9. Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse
10. Eating at Restaurant
11. Riding Elephant
12. City Tour by Coach
13. Using Bicycles
14. Using Cars & Car Parking
15. City Tour by Tram
16. Walking
17. Boat Trip
18. Using Public Transport/ *tuk-tuk*
19. Escorted Tour
20. Un-escorted Tour
21. Group Tour
22. FIT (Free Independent Traveller)
23. Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit
24. Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram
25. Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang

Appendix E
The Matrix: Survey Instrument

แบบสอบถามสำหรับการวิจัย เรื่อง *"ผลกระทบของการท่องเที่ยวต่อแหล่งมรดกโลก*
พระนครศรีอยุธยา: การวัดการรับรู้ของชุมชนท้องถิ่น"

การวิจัยนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก
สาขาการจัดการมรดกทางสถาปัตยกรรมกับการท่องเที่ยว มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร

ผู้วิจัยขอขอบคุณเป็นอย่างยิ่ง ที่ท่านกรุณาสละเวลาให้ความอนุเคราะห์ตอบแบบสอบถาม
คำตอบของท่านจะถูกเก็บเป็นความลับ

เรียน ท่านผู้ให้ความอนุเคราะห์ตอบแบบสอบถาม

แบบสอบถามนี้ ต้องการทราบความคิดเห็นของท่านเกี่ยวกับผลกระทบของการ
ท่องเที่ยวต่อสภาพแวดล้อม สังคม วัฒนธรรม และเศรษฐกิจของจังหวัดพระนครศรีอยุธยา
เนื่องจากเป็นความคิดเห็น ดังนั้นท่านจะตอบอย่างไรก็ได้ทั้งนั้น ไม่ต้องกังวลว่าจะ
ผิด เพราะคำตอบไม่มีถูกไม่มีผิด ขอเพียงคำตอบนั้นมาจากความคิดเห็นของท่านอย่าง
แท้จริง

แบบสอบถามนี้ มี 2 ส่วน คือ

ส่วนที่ 1 ข้อมูลทั่วไปของผู้ตอบ

ส่วนที่ 2 ความคิดเห็นเกี่ยวกับผลกระทบทั้งด้านบวกและด้านลบของการท่องเที่ยว

ในส่วนที่ 2 นี้ จะเป็นลักษณะตารางที่ไขว้กันระหว่าง**กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว**
(ข้อความในแนวตั้งด้านซ้ายมือของตาราง) เช่น การไหว้พระ การทัศนศึกษา การขี่
จักรยาน การพักในโรงแรม ฯลฯ กับ**คุณค่าหรือสิ่งดีๆ** (ข้อความแนวนอนด้านบนของตาราง)
ทั้งด้านเศรษฐกิจ สังคม และสิ่งแวดล้อม เช่น บ้านเมืองสะอาดเรียบร้อย ความปลอดภัยไม่มี
อาชญากรรม ชาวบ้านมีรายได้ ฯลฯ

งานวิจัยนี้มีสมมติฐานว่ากิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยวส่งผลกระทบต่อคุณค่าด้านต่างๆ ทั้ง
ด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม สังคม วัฒนธรรม และเศรษฐกิจของเมืองอยุธยาต่างกัน คือบางกิจกรรมอาจ
ส่งผลด้านบวกหรือด้านดี บางกิจกรรมอาจส่งผลด้านลบหรือด้านไม่ดี หรือบางกิจกรรมอาจ
ไม่ส่งผลใดๆ เลย เช่น กิจกรรมการขับรถอาจส่งผลด้านลบหรือผลเสียต่อสภาพอากาศคือทำ
ให้เกิดควันพิษ แต่ไม่ส่งผลใดๆ ต่อความสะอาดของเมืองเพราะนักท่องเที่ยวที่ขับรถอาจจะ
ไม่ได้ทิ้งขยะหรือทำให้บ้านเมืองสกปรก ในขณะที่การขี่จักรยานอาจส่งด้านบวกหรือผลดี
ต่อสภาพอากาศเพราะจักรยานไม่มีควันพิษ หากนักท่องเที่ยวเปลี่ยนจากขับรถมาขี่จักรยาน
กันมากๆ ก็จะช่วยลดควันพิษ แต่ในขณะเดียวกันถ้านักท่องเที่ยวขี่จักรยานเข้าไปใน
โบราณสถานก็อาจส่งผลด้านลบหรือผลเสียต่อโบราณสถาน คือทำให้โบราณสถานเสียหาย
ได้ เป็นต้น

ให้ท่านพิจารณาดูว่ากิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยวแต่ละกิจกรรม (ข้อความในแนวตั้งด้าน
ซ้ายมือของตาราง) ส่งผลกระทบต่อคุณค่าแต่ละคุณค่า (ข้อความแนวนอนด้านบนของ
ตาราง) อย่างไร

- หากท่านคิดว่าส่งผลด้านบวกหรือส่งผลดี ให้ท่านเขียนเครื่องหมายบวก (+) ใน
ช่องที่ตัดกันระหว่างกิจกรรมและคุณค่านั้น
- หากท่านคิดว่าส่งผลด้านลบหรือส่งผลเสีย ให้ท่านเขียนเครื่องหมายลบ (-)
- หากท่านคิดว่าไม่ส่งผลใดๆ หรือส่งผลทั้งสองด้านเท่าๆ กัน ให้ท่านเขียนเลข
ศูนย์ (0)
- ท่านไม่จำเป็นต้องตอบลงไปทุกช่อง คือ หากท่านเห็นว่ากิจกรรมกับคุณค่านั้นๆ
ไม่มีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องกัน ให้ท่านเว้นว่างไว้

ตัวอย่าง

ตอบ + แสดงว่าผู้ตอบคิดว่าการเก็บขยะ
ส่งผลด้านบวกหรือผลดีต่อบ้านเมืองสะอาด
คือช่วยทำให้บ้านเมืองสะอาดมากขึ้น

กิจกรรม \ คุณค่า	บ้านเมืองสะอาด	อากาศบริสุทธิ์
เก็บขยะ	+	+
ทิ้งขยะ	-	-
เผาขยะ	+	-
ปลูกต้นไม้	0	+

ตอบ 0 แสดงว่าผู้ตอบคิดว่า
การปลูกต้นไม้ไม่ส่งผลใดๆ
ต่อความสะอาดของบ้านเมือง

ตอบ - แสดงว่าผู้ตอบคิดว่าการเผาขยะ
ส่งผลด้านลบหรือผลเสียต่ออากาศ
บริสุทธิ์หรือให้เกิดควันพิษ

ผู้วิจัยเชื่อว่าผลการวิจัยนี้จะเป็นประโยชน์ต่อประชาชนชาวอยุธยาไม่มากก็น้อย
ขอขอบคุณอีกครั้งด้วยความจริงใจที่ท่านให้ความอนุเคราะห์ในครั้งนี้

นายสมยศ โอ่งเคลือบ
ผู้วิจัย

ข้อมูลผู้ตอบ โปรดทำเครื่องหมาย √ ลงใน ( ) หรือเขียนข้อความลงในช่องว่าง

1. **เพศ** ( ) 1. ชาย ( ) 2. หญิง

2. **อายุ**.............ปี

3. **อาศัยอยู่ในอยุธยามาเป็นเวลาประมาณ**.................ปี

4. **ระดับการศึกษา** (หรือเทียบเท่า)

( ) 1. ประถมศึกษาหรือน้อยกว่า

( ) 2. มัธยมศึกษาตอนต้น

( ) 3. มัธยมศึกษาตอนปลาย/ ปวช.

( ) 4. อนุปริญญา/ ปวส.

( ) 5. ปริญญาตรี

( ) 6. สูงกว่าปริญญาตรี

5. **อาชีพหลัก**

( ) 1. พนักงาน/ เจ้าของร้านอาหาร ....

( ) 2. พนักงาน/ เจ้าของบริษัททัวร์ ....

( ) 3. พนักงาน/ เจ้าของธุรกิจที่พัก ....

( ) 4. ขายของที่ระลึก/ ของฝาก

( ) 5. ข้าราชการ/ พนักงานของรัฐ/ รัฐวิสาหกิจ

( ) 6. พนักงาน/ ลูกจ้างบริษัท

( ) 7. ค้าขาย/ ธุรกิจส่วนตัว

( ) 8. นักเรียน/ นักศึกษา

( ) 9. รับจ้างทั่วไป

( ) 10. พ่อบ้าน/ แม่บ้าน

( ) 11. อื่นๆ (โปรดระบุ)............................

6. **อาชีพของท่านมีส่วนเกี่ยวข้องกับนักท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่**

( ) 1. เกี่ยว ( ) 2. ไม่เกี่ยว

7. **ท่านมีรายได้ที่เกิดจากนักท่องเที่ยวหรือไม่**

( ) 1. มี ( ) 2. ไม่มี

8. **ที่อยู่อาศัย**

ถนน ....

ตำบล ....

อำเภอ ....

9. **สถานที่ทำงาน**

ถนน ....
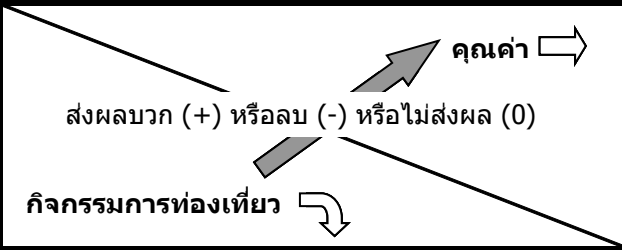
ตำบล ....
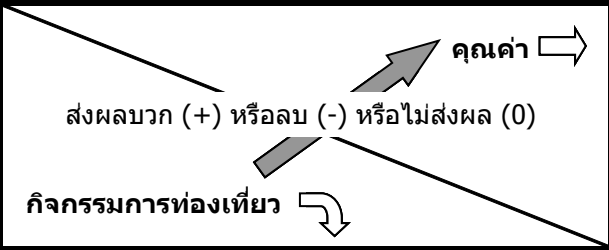
อำเภอ ....

10. **ความคิดเห็นหรือข้อเสนอแนะ**

....

....

....

....

....
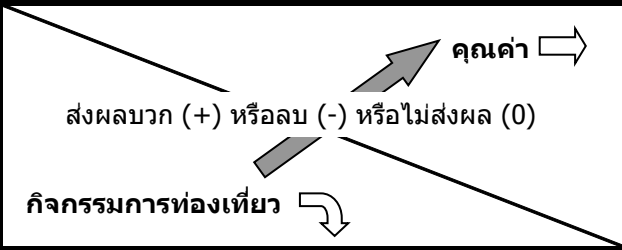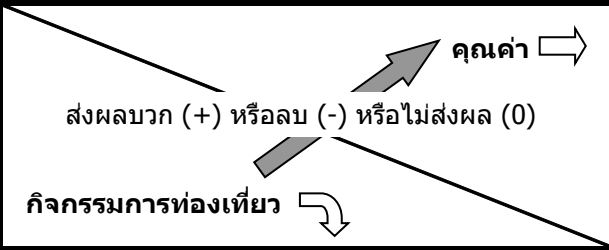
กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว \ ส่งผลบวก (+) หรือลบ (-) หรือไม่ส่งผล (0) / คุณค่า	บ้านเมืองสะอาด เรียบร้อย ไม่มีขยะ	อากาศบริสุทธิ์ ไม่มีควันพิษ	มีสภาพแวดล้อมที่ เงียบสงบ ไม่แออัด ไม่จอแจ ไม่มีเสียง ดังรบกวน	แม่น้ำและคูคลอง สะอาด สภาพสอง ฝั่งแม่น้ำดูสวยงาม	มีการวางผังเมือง ที่ดี	การจัดสรรพื้นที่ เป็นไปอย่าง เรียบร้อย ไม่มี ความขัดแย้งใน การใช้พื้นที่
เที่ยวชมแหล่งประวัติศาสตร์ เช่น วัดหรือวังโบราณ						
ไหว้พระหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์						
ชมพิพิธภัณฑ์ หรือศูนย์ศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์						
ชมวิถีชีวิต หรือชมงานศิลปหัตถกรรมในท้องถิ่น						
การจับจ่ายซื้อของฝากของที่ระลึก						
เที่ยวงานเทศกาล, งานประเพณีต่างๆ						
การทัศนศึกษาของนักเรียนนักศึกษา						
ท่องราตรี สถานบันเทิง คลับ บาร์ คาราโอเกะ						
พักค้างคืนในโรงแรม หรือ เกสต์เฮาส์						
รับประทานอาหารในร้านอาหาร						
การขี่ช้างชมเมือง						
นั่งรถทัวร์ หรือรถบัสชมเมือง						
เช่าและปั่นจักรยานเที่ยว						
ขับรถยนต์ รวมถึงการจอดรถ						
ใช้บริการรถรางชมเมือง						
เดินเที่ยว						
นั่งเรือเที่ยว						
ใช้บริการรถโดยสาร รถตุ๊กตุ๊ก หรือมอเตอร์ไซค์รับจ้าง						
เที่ยวกับบริษัททัวร์ โดยมีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำเที่ยว						
เที่ยวด้วยตนเอง ไม่มีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำ						
เที่ยวเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่ (กรุ๊ปทัวร์)						
เที่ยวคนเดียวหรือเป็นกลุ่มเล็กๆ (2-3 คน)						
เที่ยวชมบริเวณวิหารพระมงคลบพิตร หรือวัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ						
เที่ยวชมวัดไชยวัฒนาราม						
เที่ยวชมวัดใหญ่ชัยมงคล หรือวัดพนัญเชิง						

ส่งผลบวก (+) หรือลบ (-) หรือไม่ส่งผล (0) กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว	ถนนหนทางมีสภาพดี	มีการจราจรสะดวก คล่องตัว รถไม่ติด	มีความปลอดภัยในการใช้รถใช้ถนน ไม่มีปัญหาอุบัติเหตุ	มีที่จอดรถเพียงพอ	มีสาธารณูปโภค เช่น ไฟฟ้า, ประปา, ระบบสื่อสาร ฯลฯ ที่ดีและเพียงพอ	มีการวางแผนป้องกันน้ำท่วม
เที่ยวชมแหล่งประวัติศาสตร์ เช่น วัดหรือวังโบราณ						
ไหว้พระหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์						
ชมพิพิธภัณฑ์ หรือศูนย์ศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์						
ชมวิถีชีวิต หรือชมงานศิลปหัตถกรรมในท้องถิ่น						
การจับจ่ายซื้อของฝากของที่ระลึก						
เที่ยวงานเทศกาล, งานประเพณีต่างๆ						
การทัศนศึกษาของนักเรียนนักศึกษา						
ท่องราตรี สถานบันเทิง คลับ บาร์ คาราโอเกะ						
พักค้างคืนในโรงแรม หรือ เกสต์เฮาส์						
รับประทานอาหารในร้านอาหาร						
การขี่ช้างชมเมือง						
นั่งรถทัวร์ หรือรถบัสชมเมือง						
เช่าและปั่นจักรยานเที่ยว						
ขับรถยนต์ รวมถึงการจอดรถ						
ใช้บริการรถรางชมเมือง						
เดินเที่ยว						
นั่งเรือเที่ยว						
ใช้บริการรถโดยสาร รถตุ๊กตุ๊ก หรือมอเตอร์ไซค์รับจ้าง						
เที่ยวกับบริษัททัวร์ โดยมีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำเที่ยว						
เที่ยวด้วยตนเอง ไม่มีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำ						
เที่ยวเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่ (กรุ๊ปทัวร์)						
เที่ยวคนเดียวหรือเป็นกลุ่มเล็กๆ (2-3 คน)						
เที่ยวชมบริเวณวิหารพระมงคลบพิตร หรือวัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ						
เที่ยวชมวัดไชยวัฒนาราม						
เที่ยวชมวัดใหญ่ชัยมงคล หรือวัดพนัญเชิง						

ส่งผลบวก (+) หรือลบ (-) หรือไม่ส่งผล (0) **คุณค่า** ⇨ **กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว** ⇩	มีการควบคุมดูแลเกี่ยวกับสถานบันเทิง และอบายมุขต่างๆ	มีความปลอดภัยในชีวิตและทรัพย์สิน, ไม่มีปัญหาอาชญากรรม	หน่วยงานภาครัฐมีการประสานงานกันอย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ	ชุมชนท้องถิ่นมีส่วนร่วมในการวางแผนการท่องเที่ยวของอยุธยา	ทุกภาคส่วนทั้งภาครัฐ เอกชน และชุมชนท้องถิ่นมีความสามัคคีกันดี	มีการพัฒนาบุคลากรที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการท่องเที่ยว
เที่ยวชมแหล่งประวัติศาสตร์ เช่น วัดหรือวังโบราณ						
ไหว้พระหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์						
ชมพิพิธภัณฑ์ หรือศูนย์ศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์						
ชมวิถีชีวิต หรือชมงานศิลปหัตถกรรมในท้องถิ่น						
การจับจ่ายซื้อของฝากของที่ระลึก						
เที่ยวงานเทศกาล, งานประเพณีต่างๆ						
การทัศนศึกษาของนักเรียนนักศึกษา						
ท่องราตรี สถานบันเทิง คลับ บาร์ คาราโอเกะ						
พักค้างคืนในโรงแรม หรือ เกสต์เฮาส์						
รับประทานอาหารในร้านอาหาร						
การขี่ช้างชมเมือง						
นั่งรถทัวร์ หรือรถบัสชมเมือง						
เช่าและปั่นจักรยานเที่ยว						
ขับรถยนต์ รวมถึงการจอดรถ						
ใช้บริการรถรางชมเมือง						
เดินเที่ยว						
นั่งเรือเที่ยว						
ใช้บริการรถโดยสาร รถตุ๊กตุ๊ก หรือมอเตอร์ไซค์รับจ้าง						
เที่ยวกับบริษัททัวร์ โดยมีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำเที่ยว						
เที่ยวด้วยตนเอง ไม่มีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำ						
เที่ยวเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่ (กรุ๊ปทัวร์)						
เที่ยวคนเดียวหรือเป็นกลุ่มเล็กๆ (2-3 คน)						
เที่ยวชมบริเวณวิหารพระมงคลบพิตร หรือวัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ์						
เที่ยวชมวัดไชยวัฒนาราม						
เที่ยวชมวัดใหญ่ชัยมงคล หรือวัดพนัญเชิง						

ส่งผลบวก (+) หรือลบ (-) หรือไม่ส่งผล (0) **คุณค่า** ⇨ **กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว** ⇩	มีการอนุรักษ์โบราณสถาน โบราณวัตถุ สถานที่สำคัญทางประวัติศาสตร์ และแหล่งมรดกโลก	มีการอนุรักษ์ และฟื้นฟูวัฒนธรรม ประเพณี และวิถีชีวิตของคนอยุธยา	มีการฟื้นฟูภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่น เช่น งานหัตถกรรม การละเล่นฯลฯ	คนในท้องถิ่นมีความรักและภาคภูมิใจในเอกลักษณ์ของอยุธยา	มีความรู้ความเข้าใจและตระหนักถึงคุณค่าของมรดกโลก	การให้ความเคารพต่อสถานที่ศักดิ์สิทธิ์ของอยุธยา รวมทั้งเคารพต่อขนบธรรมเนียม
เที่ยวชมแหล่งประวัติศาสตร์ เช่น วัดหรือวังโบราณ						
ไหว้พระหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์						
ชมพิพิธภัณฑ์ หรือศูนย์ศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์						
ชมวิถีชีวิต หรือชมงานศิลปหัตถกรรมในท้องถิ่น						
การจับจ่ายซื้อของฝากของที่ระลึก						
เที่ยวงานเทศกาล, งานประเพณีต่างๆ						
การทัศนศึกษาของนักเรียนนักศึกษา						
ท่องราตรี สถานบันเทิง คลับ บาร์ คาราโอเกะ						
พักค้างคืนในโรงแรม หรือ เกสต์เฮาส์						
รับประทานอาหารในร้านอาหาร						
การขี่ช้างชมเมือง						
นั่งรถทัวร์ หรือรถบัสชมเมือง						
เช่าและปั่นจักรยานเที่ยว						
ขับรถยนต์ รวมถึงการจอดรถ						
ใช้บริการรถรางชมเมือง						
เดินเที่ยว						
นั่งเรือเที่ยว						
ใช้บริการรถโดยสาร รถตุ๊กตุ๊ก หรือมอเตอร์ไซค์รับจ้าง						
เที่ยวกับบริษัททัวร์ โดยมีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำเที่ยว						
เที่ยวด้วยตนเอง ไม่มีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำ						
เที่ยวเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่ (กรุ๊ปทัวร์)						
เที่ยวคนเดียวหรือเป็นกลุ่มเล็กๆ (2-3 คน)						
เที่ยวชมบริเวณวิหารพระมงคลบพิตร หรือวัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ์						
เที่ยวชมวัดไชยวัฒนาราม						
เที่ยวชมวัดใหญ่ชัยมงคล หรือวัดพนัญเชิง						

ส่งผลบวก (+) หรือลบ (-) หรือไม่ส่งผล (0) **คุณค่า** ⇒ กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว ⇩	ผู้ประกอบการหรือร้านค้ามีความซื่อสัตย์ ไม่หลอกลวงนักท่องเที่ยว ไม่ขายสินค้าแพงเกินไป	เมืองอยุธยามีภาพลักษณ์หรือภาพพจน์ที่ดี	การพัฒนาและปรับปรุงแหล่งท่องเที่ยว รวมทั้งสิ่งอำนวยความสะดวกต่างๆ เช่น ห้องน้ำสาธารณะ ฯลฯ	มีการลงทุนในธุรกิจต่างๆ ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการท่องเที่ยว	สนับสนุนและส่งเสริมสินค้า, ผลิตภัณฑ์ หรือศิลปหัตถกรรม รวมถึงอาหารของท้องถิ่น
เที่ยวชมแหล่งประวัติศาสตร์ เช่น วัดหรือวังโบราณ					
ไหว้พระหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์					
ชมพิพิธภัณฑ์ หรือศูนย์ศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์					
ชมวิถีชีวิต หรือชมงานศิลปหัตถกรรมในท้องถิ่น					
การจับจ่ายซื้อของฝากของที่ระลึก					
เที่ยวงานเทศกาล, งานประเพณีต่างๆ					
การทัศนศึกษาของนักเรียนนักศึกษา					
ท่องราตรี สถานบันเทิง คลับ บาร์ คาราโอเกะ					
พักค้างคืนในโรงแรม หรือ เกสต์เฮาส์					
รับประทานอาหารในร้านอาหาร					
การขี่ช้างชมเมือง					
นั่งรถทัวร์ หรือรถบัสชมเมือง					
เช่าและปั่นจักรยานเที่ยว					
ขับรถยนต์ รวมถึงการจอดรถ					
ใช้บริการรถรางชมเมือง					
เดินเที่ยว					
นั่งเรือเที่ยว					
ใช้บริการรถโดยสาร รถตุ๊กตุ๊ก หรือมอเตอร์ไซค์รับจ้าง					
เที่ยวกับบริษัททัวร์ โดยมีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำเที่ยว					
เที่ยวด้วยตนเอง ไม่มีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำ					
เที่ยวเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่ (กรุ๊ปทัวร์)					
เที่ยวคนเดียวหรือเป็นกลุ่มเล็กๆ (2-3 คน)					
เที่ยวชมบริเวณวิหารพระมงคลบพิตร หรือวัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ					
เที่ยวชมวัดไชยวัฒนาราม					
เที่ยวชมวัดใหญ่ชัยมงคล หรือวัดพนัญเชิง					

ส่งผลบวก (+) หรือลบ (-) หรือไม่ส่งผล (0) / กิจกรรมการท่องเที่ยว ⟶ คุณค่า	สร้างรายได้ให้แก่คนอยุธยา	สร้างงาน สร้างอาชีพ ให้แก่คนอยุธยา	รายได้จากการท่องเที่ยวกระจายไปสู่คนในท้องถิ่นอย่างทั่วถึง	ความคิดเห็นหรือข้อเสนอแนะ (เขียนอะไรก็ได้ที่ท่านอยากเขียน)
เที่ยวชมแหล่งประวัติศาสตร์ เช่น วัดหรือวังโบราณ				....
ไหว้พระหรือสิ่งศักดิ์สิทธิ์				....
ชมพิพิธภัณฑ์ หรือศูนย์ศึกษาประวัติศาสตร์				....
ชมวิถีชีวิต หรือชมงานศิลปหัตถกรรมในท้องถิ่น				....
การจับจ่ายซื้อของฝากของที่ระลึก				....
เที่ยวงานเทศกาล, งานประเพณีต่างๆ				....
การทัศนศึกษาของนักเรียนนักศึกษา				....
ท่องราตรี สถานบันเทิง คลับ บาร์ คาราโอเกะ				....
พักค้างคืนในโรงแรม หรือ เกสต์เฮาส์				....
รับประทานอาหารในร้านอาหาร				....
การขี่ช้างชมเมือง				....
นั่งรถทัวร์ หรือรถบัสชมเมือง				....
เช่าและปั่นจักรยานเที่ยว				....
ขับรถยนต์ รวมถึงการจอดรถ				....
ใช้บริการรถรางชมเมือง				....
เดินเที่ยว				
นั่งเรือเที่ยว				
ใช้บริการรถโดยสาร รถตุ๊กตุ๊ก หรือมอเตอร์ไซค์รับจ้าง				
เที่ยวกับบริษัททัวร์ โดยมีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำเที่ยว				
เที่ยวด้วยตนเอง ไม่มีมัคคุเทศก์หรือไกด์นำ				
เที่ยวเป็นกลุ่มใหญ่ (กรุ๊ปทัวร์)				ขอขอบคุณอีกครั้งด้วยความจริงใจ
เที่ยวคนเดียวหรือเป็นกลุ่มเล็กๆ (2-3 คน)				ผู้วิจัย
เที่ยวชมบริเวณวิหารพระมงคลบพิตร หรือวัดพระศรีสรรเพชญ				
เที่ยวชมวัดไชยวัฒนาราม				
เที่ยวชมวัดใหญ่ชัยมงคล หรือวัดพนัญเชิง				

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Frequency	Environment											
Activities \ Values	Clean Environment				Fresh Air				Quiet & Peaceful Environment			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	165	117	45	7	184	82	61	7	154	105	64	11
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	188	85	45	16	170	87	60	17	147	100	71	16
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	208	55	53	18	195	54	64	21	183	61	68	22
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	143	111	60	20	157	75	77	25	138	104	65	27
Shoping	130	141	44	19	110	109	86	29	87	169	52	26
Visiting Event or Festival	101	200	20	13	86	171	60	17	73	208	37	16
Visual Education	142	113	59	20	122	104	80	28	97	140	72	25
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	52	206	58	18	38	217	59	20	49	234	34	17
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	162	69	76	27	135	62	107	30	142	100	66	26
Eating at Restaurant	167	82	70	15	148	69	95	22	137	82	95	20
Riding Elephant	132	126	59	17	145	87	83	19	140	101	80	13
City Tour by Coach	142	104	65	23	83	182	46	23	84	160	69	21
Using Bicycles	168	72	69	25	211	53	54	16	186	64	65	19
Using Cars & Car Parking	105	127	75	27	79	196	34	25	76	194	41	23
City Tour by Tram	167	76	70	21	151	101	57	25	129	105	77	23
Walking	168	92	53	21	219	45	51	19	193	61	58	22
Boat Trip	187	85	40	22	190	79	48	17	179	88	47	20
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	106	137	67	24	64	223	26	21	70	213	32	19
Escorted Tour	158	90	61	25	128	108	72	26	112	125	70	27
Un-escorted Tour	127	103	78	26	116	99	91	28	136	92	79	27
Group Tour	126	134	55	19	99	132	78	25	96	143	68	27
FIT	133	98	77	26	139	78	93	24	141	81	89	23
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	175	110	42	7	172	92	60	10	156	114	56	8
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	207	68	48	11	189	62	74	9	188	68	71	7
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	190	85	53	6	172	87	64	11	147	111	67	9

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Frequency												
Values / Activities	Well Planed Riverside Landscape				Good City Plan & Zoning				No Conflict Over Land Use			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	144	94	83	13	154	93	69	18	119	123	70	22
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	140	69	94	31	148	81	74	31	138	86	76	34
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	120	59	116	39	180	48	71	35	171	50	76	37
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	124	80	95	35	130	76	90	38	123	75	95	41
Shoping	90	99	101	44	116	101	76	41	103	137	56	38
Visiting Event or Festival	72	152	75	35	104	122	74	34	90	145	68	31
Visual Education	88	84	115	47	114	74	102	44	97	85	107	45
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	49	125	122	38	74	136	90	34	64	165	69	36
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	99	80	114	41	129	78	91	36	108	86	101	39
Eating at Restaurant	113	82	104	35	106	83	107	38	120	70	111	33
Riding Elephant	84	76	132	42	121	95	79	39	100	115	85	34
City Tour by Coach	83	70	137	44	115	86	94	39	88	105	92	49
Using Bicycles	103	60	124	47	137	73	87	37	123	74	91	46
Using Cars & Car Parking	74	84	125	51	98	118	78	40	83	119	87	45
City Tour by Tram	105	56	121	52	125	84	87	38	110	79	98	47
Walking	120	63	107	44	133	73	85	43	129	62	93	50
Boat Trip	147	109	60	18	148	55	90	41	131	61	94	48
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	77	85	123	49	103	97	92	42	81	123	87	43
Escorted Tour	107	72	109	46	122	64	103	45	123	65	102	44
Un-escorted Tour	115	63	109	47	100	69	120	45	100	68	118	48
Group Tour	89	85	114	46	106	83	104	41	101	71	116	46
FIT	99	62	124	49	119	61	111	43	108	67	111	48
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	105	49	145	35	179	63	68	24	148	87	73	26
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	161	40	110	23	191	34	83	26	178	36	95	25
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	138	55	110	31	175	56	77	26	154	56	97	27

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Good Quality of Road				Good Traffic Movement				Safety Traffic			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	186	95	45	8	144	131	48	11	151	104	63	16
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	186	84	48	16	141	122	55	16	151	92	68	23
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	217	58	44	15	180	84	54	16	164	64	80	26
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	162	88	60	24	169	81	60	24	152	73	78	31
Shoping	167	79	70	18	131	123	60	20	125	88	93	28
Visiting Event or Festival	149	114	55	16	90	185	46	13	108	145	57	24
Visual Education	185	78	46	25	143	118	48	25	143	98	65	28
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	128	105	77	24	92	150	70	22	86	160	62	26
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	152	73	82	27	150	77	80	27	130	82	88	34
Eating at Restaurant	161	73	72	28	154	86	64	30	129	76	94	35
Riding Elephant	159	106	51	18	135	127	52	20	139	116	57	22
City Tour by Coach	140	115	51	28	119	143	46	26	113	128	64	29
Using Bicycles	194	75	41	24	193	71	45	25	145	124	43	22
Using Cars & Car Parking	158	104	48	24	108	161	39	26	115	139	55	25
City Tour by Tram	175	76	57	26	174	90	44	26	157	85	65	27
Walking	201	52	57	24	201	47	67	19	164	64	80	26
Boat Trip	155	38	107	34	176	33	93	32	153	43	97	41
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	152	106	47	29	142	135	36	21	120	140	50	24
Escorted Tour	188	64	53	29	152	103	54	25	175	64	63	32
Un-escorted Tour	163	69	69	33	146	99	60	29	146	84	75	29
Group Tour	164	81	58	31	148	106	48	32	158	83	63	30
FIT	178	60	62	34	162	90	57	25	152	83	64	35
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	190	74	53	17	169	100	47	18	162	75	71	26
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	196	58	62	18	196	77	42	19	179	68	64	23
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	201	59	56	18	179	94	42	19	180	68	65	21

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Parking Availability				Good Quality of Public Utility Infrastructure				Protection of the Place From Flood			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	151	131	36	16	184	74	58	18	212	33	70	19
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	152	108	51	23	182	65	59	28	188	39	76	31
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	169	90	50	25	205	41	59	29	199	27	78	30
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	151	89	66	28	165	64	72	33	149	63	86	36
Shoping	135	116	63	20	162	73	72	27	158	43	99	34
Visiting Event or Festival	104	167	44	19	156	85	65	28	151	40	107	36
Visual Education	146	110	54	24	165	65	78	26	136	45	116	37
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	114	110	81	29	165	69	63	37	117	51	122	44
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	160	76	70	28	188	52	61	33	139	39	116	40
Eating at Restaurant	148	92	62	32	189	59	52	34	136	48	110	40
Riding Elephant	109	95	95	35	140	64	97	33	123	48	125	38
City Tour by Coach	126	122	58	28	124	71	97	42	114	42	131	47
Using Bicycles	190	54	65	25	138	59	99	38	121	31	139	43
Using Cars & Car Parking	129	131	53	21	141	61	100	32	117	43	130	44
City Tour by Tram	154	67	81	32	135	59	103	37	125	29	135	45
Walking	140	44	116	34	145	46	104	39	122	26	140	46
Boat Trip	120	45	126	43	126	51	119	38	142	37	114	41
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	140	103	69	22	129	68	94	43	114	48	125	47
Escorted Tour	156	95	49	34	141	57	89	47	127	40	117	50
Un-escorted Tour	132	98	72	32	135	68	88	43	117	49	122	46
Group Tour	147	102	49	36	148	69	72	45	128	37	122	47
FIT	141	95	64	34	146	62	83	43	125	38	127	44
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	158	113	49	14	183	71	58	22	193	25	92	24
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	173	86	59	16	187	60	63	24	215	23	76	20
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	185	86	46	17	193	58	58	25	199	22	90	23

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Good Supervise on Entertainment/ Nightlife				Security/ Safety Community				Effective Co-ordination Between Government Agency			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	180	69	63	22	155	117	54	8	174	95	53	12
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	203	47	57	27	152	106	57	19	173	85	52	24
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	194	54	56	30	181	76	55	22	194	63	49	28
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	162	66	71	35	158	88	63	25	169	86	49	30
Shoping	152	69	77	36	135	111	61	27	146	91	63	34
Visiting Event or Festival	139	115	48	32	114	145	50	25	177	96	34	27
Visual Education	136	83	78	37	142	80	85	27	170	70	59	35
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	99	181	40	14	57	208	52	17	83	152	71	28
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	127	118	60	29	123	119	65	27	116	101	82	35
Eating at Restaurant	124	92	86	32	141	90	74	29	126	94	74	40
Riding Elephant	128	69	96	41	142	91	70	31	141	95	60	38
City Tour by Coach	122	60	106	46	146	88	68	32	148	88	60	38
Using Bicycles	116	75	104	39	113	125	72	24	128	97	70	39
Using Cars & Car Parking	109	70	111	44	113	119	72	30	119	101	76	38
City Tour by Tram	114	66	112	42	143	76	83	32	149	79	68	38
Walking	106	70	119	39	119	135	54	26	121	91	83	39
Boat Trip	112	61	119	42	154	82	65	33	144	77	77	36
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	98	89	106	41	109	144	59	22	118	102	76	38
Escorted Tour	120	65	105	44	168	71	63	32	158	82	54	40
Un-escorted Tour	108	76	106	44	111	121	71	31	129	86	80	39
Group Tour	123	83	88	40	154	87	60	33	160	82	51	41
FIT	119	79	97	39	127	100	76	31	134	85	78	37
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	175	53	75	31	169	78	67	20	187	77	48	22
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	177	55	70	32	168	78	71	17	185	71	53	25
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	174	55	73	32	170	84	60	20	187	75	46	26

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Sociocultural												
Activities \ Values	Community Participation in Tourism Planning				Effective Co-ordination Between Government, Private Sector, and Community				Human Resources Development in Tourism			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	161	89	66	18	139	85	76	34	167	79	63	25
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	182	72	49	31	159	67	68	40	174	66	61	33
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	168	68	71	27	157	58	78	41	187	65	51	31
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	194	66	51	23	156	67	71	40	167	70	64	33
Shoping	185	72	40	37	178	62	55	39	146	73	78	37
Visiting Event or Festival	176	82	49	27	181	68	52	33	156	72	73	33
Visual Education	154	66	84	30	150	66	80	38	153	68	78	35
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	90	126	80	38	95	110	89	40	86	120	91	37
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	127	96	67	44	116	83	84	51	119	88	81	46
Eating at Restaurant	128	79	87	40	126	65	91	52	122	69	97	46
Riding Elephant	145	86	69	34	136	85	65	48	164	71	59	40
City Tour by Coach	118	90	84	42	128	71	87	48	145	66	79	44
Using Bicycles	131	86	79	38	112	78	96	48	140	66	82	46
Using Cars & Car Parking	111	77	105	41	113	76	97	48	123	69	96	46
City Tour by Tram	140	66	92	36	141	60	85	48	148	60	84	42
Walking	117	86	91	40	125	68	92	49	118	66	105	45
Boat Trip	148	69	80	37	150	60	80	44	146	58	82	48
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	118	98	80	38	126	80	78	50	135	72	83	44
Escorted Tour	133	75	81	45	137	63	86	48	170	58	61	45
Un-escorted Tour	114	78	96	46	112	66	103	53	119	70	99	46
Group Tour	132	77	79	46	134	66	81	53	154	58	71	51
FIT	123	80	86	45	127	68	88	51	129	65	95	45
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	166	73	63	32	162	63	67	42	173	63	65	33
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	173	67	64	30	167	59	67	41	182	57	64	31
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	170	68	65	31	173	58	61	42	189	61	54	30

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities / Values	Conservation of the Historical Building/ Heritage Site				Preservation of Local Culture, Tradition, Way of Life				Recovery & Preserving the Local Folk Wisdom			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	285	22	20	7	246	38	35	15	201	35	84	14
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	288	17	17	12	243	33	33	25	203	35	72	24
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	296	16	12	10	230	33	46	25	214	36	59	25
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	245	33	37	19	241	40	34	19	259	33	25	17
Shoping	195	41	69	29	187	49	64	34	207	46	53	28
Visiting Event or Festival	213	49	49	23	219	50	47	18	239	30	40	25
Visual Education	231	32	44	27	208	45	51	30	202	36	59	37
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	63	152	87	32	57	146	99	32	57	134	108	35
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	107	82	117	28	89	86	121	38	97	79	117	41
Eating at Restaurant	124	51	126	33	114	60	126	34	116	57	121	40
Riding Elephant	180	55	75	24	171	54	80	29	158	50	93	33
City Tour by Coach	165	68	71	30	152	52	96	34	134	46	111	43
Using Bicycles	195	37	70	32	171	41	88	34	150	37	106	41
Using Cars & Car Parking	133	82	87	32	131	67	99	37	108	67	118	41
City Tour by Tram	185	40	74	35	171	45	82	36	145	37	111	41
Walking	205	33	63	33	179	37	83	35	145	36	113	40
Boat Trip	190	43	68	33	190	47	70	27	163	31	103	37
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	141	76	86	31	139	68	90	37	127	59	110	38
Escorted Tour	185	50	63	36	172	39	84	39	165	32	96	41
Un-escorted Tour	170	45	84	35	154	48	95	37	142	41	110	41
Group Tour	179	60	61	34	159	44	92	39	161	42	90	41
FIT	192	40	70	32	167	35	95	37	149	34	113	38
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	283	21	18	12	240	32	34	28	203	32	69	30
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	280	28	16	10	242	31	35	26	200	39	67	28
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	275	28	20	11	236	40	31	27	202	29	74	29

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Values / Activities	Proud in Local Identity				Raise Local Awareness & Understanding on World Heritage				Respecting the Sacredness/Holiness of Place & Respecting Customs/Rituals at the Temple			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	257	33	28	16	250	40	33	11	261	37	24	12
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	248	27	33	26	245	41	29	19	262	34	18	20
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	248	31	25	30	247	30	35	22	240	33	33	28
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	244	33	37	20	231	26	50	27	222	37	42	33
Shoping	214	36	54	30	172	45	81	36	156	41	99	38
Visiting Event or Festival	218	36	49	31	209	34	56	35	198	42	55	39
Visual Education	207	37	50	40	212	32	58	32	211	39	47	37
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	64	155	75	40	58	141	104	31	66	141	90	37
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	121	61	110	42	99	65	131	39	98	77	118	41
Eating at Restaurant	131	43	121	39	115	47	135	37	108	51	135	40
Riding Elephant	187	39	75	33	159	43	97	35	156	50	88	40
City Tour by Coach	156	46	87	45	162	39	91	42	140	45	102	47
Using Bicycles	187	30	77	40	173	37	86	38	159	50	82	43
Using Cars & Car Parking	139	55	100	40	147	55	93	39	133	59	97	45
City Tour by Tram	177	34	79	44	172	38	84	40	149	43	94	48
Walking	189	30	75	40	185	33	78	38	166	44	81	43
Boat Trip	204	35	59	36	187	38	74	35	166	43	82	43
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	160	64	73	37	149	51	98	36	135	60	95	44
Escorted Tour	174	32	84	44	206	30	59	39	184	38	66	46
Un-escorted Tour	164	33	93	44	169	38	88	39	160	47	82	45
Group Tour	180	28	82	44	187	38	70	39	170	51	68	45
FIT	173	31	88	42	181	30	86	37	170	46	75	43
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	243	26	42	23	246	30	35	23	261	30	25	18
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	250	28	38	18	251	33	32	18	264	30	26	14
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	252	24	40	18	252	33	31	18	263	30	28	13

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Values / Activities	Fair Prices for Goods & Services				Good Image Community				Improvement & Development of Tourism Attraction & Facility			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	162	107	47	18	257	38	24	15	194	90	39	11
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	158	95	60	21	250	36	33	15	197	73	46	18
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	177	65	62	30	251	31	33	19	219	49	48	18
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	173	70	63	28	236	38	33	27	185	73	50	26
Shoping	160	117	41	16	213	51	50	20	183	82	48	21
Visiting Event or Festival	131	117	63	23	214	53	40	27	169	101	43	21
Visual Education	151	65	89	29	226	33	45	30	166	89	51	28
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	86	147	69	32	88	155	66	25	108	120	74	32
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	124	99	75	36	150	67	82	35	161	61	78	34
Eating at Restaurant	139	97	68	30	182	59	65	28	173	59	67	35
Riding Elephant	136	85	85	28	223	49	38	24	151	68	79	36
City Tour by Coach	124	81	88	41	182	56	65	31	138	74	84	38
Using Bicycles	156	71	70	37	212	40	50	32	148	68	79	39
Using Cars & Car Parking	116	77	101	40	171	59	75	29	131	79	85	39
City Tour by Tram	147	72	77	38	204	42	55	33	137	65	93	39
Walking	129	60	104	41	214	37	49	34	138	76	82	38
Boat Trip	146	70	80	38	217	46	42	29	127	83	85	39
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	120	129	59	26	173	71	59	31	119	87	91	37
Escorted Tour	141	63	87	43	210	40	44	40	160	62	65	47
Un-escorted Tour	138	68	84	44	202	47	49	36	151	69	71	43
Group Tour	147	73	71	43	209	44	46	35	152	70	67	45
FIT	126	79	84	45	206	47	47	34	146	65	78	45
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	180	76	59	19	270	31	21	12	216	66	35	17
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	178	64	71	21	269	33	19	13	215	59	42	18
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	180	65	68	21	268	33	20	13	228	44	44	18

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Investment of Tourism Related Business				Encourage Local Product, Art and Craft, Local Food				Income Generation			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	186	60	60	28	218	39	56	21	284	17	20	13
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	179	57	64	34	195	43	67	29	275	16	27	16
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	166	58	73	37	176	47	79	32	236	32	49	17
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	190	61	49	34	219	46	43	26	277	12	29	16
Shoping	197	58	49	30	241	42	37	14	294	11	19	10
Visiting Event or Festival	183	69	50	32	219	44	46	25	274	12	25	23
Visual Education	162	52	79	41	185	45	66	38	248	22	41	23
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	140	83	79	32	104	102	93	35	198	60	55	21
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	193	57	56	28	133	73	88	40	236	36	39	23
Eating at Restaurant	190	54	55	35	176	64	59	35	258	25	37	14
Riding Elephant	182	47	73	32	157	58	88	31	243	42	32	17
City Tour by Coach	178	50	62	44	164	44	83	43	197	51	56	30
Using Bicycles	173	53	71	37	163	41	88	42	257	34	30	13
Using Cars & Car Parking	136	60	95	43	141	46	104	43	160	60	80	34
City Tour by Tram	163	50	79	42	150	42	100	42	228	30	51	25
Walking	144	46	95	49	154	44	91	45	178	47	81	28
Boat Trip	180	43	68	43	163	46	86	39	261	18	39	16
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	166	63	65	40	146	60	89	39	259	31	26	18
Escorted Tour	191	44	55	44	182	39	70	43	193	41	67	33
Un-escorted Tour	153	53	82	46	160	49	80	45	184	50	68	32
Group Tour	178	46	64	46	182	37	72	43	219	29	56	30
FIT	149	62	77	46	160	53	78	43	197	35	70	32
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	193	52	57	32	217	42	51	24	265	15	39	15
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	186	53	61	34	204	38	64	28	257	20	41	16
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	191	46	63	34	217	40	50	27	267	15	37	15

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Economic								
Activities \ Values	Job/ Employment Generation				Financial Benefit Widely Distributed to Local Community			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	268	29	25	12	213	57	47	17
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	268	24	27	15	211	53	50	20
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	225	33	52	24	177	56	78	23
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	273	23	25	13	245	30	45	14
Shoping	284	26	11	13	250	42	29	13
Visiting Event or Festival	254	20	36	24	229	36	53	16
Visual Education	232	28	49	25	192	49	70	23
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	188	61	64	21	121	89	101	23
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	234	34	46	20	168	67	74	25
Eating at Restaurant	254	27	37	16	204	54	55	21
Riding Elephant	231	55	29	19	187	68	58	21
City Tour by Coach	184	62	56	32	154	69	79	32
Using Bicycles	232	34	45	23	187	50	70	27
Using Cars & Car Parking	158	56	81	39	149	63	88	34
City Tour by Tram	240	26	46	22	176	47	83	28
Walking	175	51	79	29	156	51	95	32
Boat Trip	265	23	34	12	194	55	63	22
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	275	24	23	12	211	47	58	18
Escorted Tour	195	46	59	34	170	51	82	31
Un-escorted Tour	185	45	71	33	158	57	89	30
Group Tour	211	40	50	33	192	45	68	29
FIT	193	42	64	35	166	45	86	37
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	255	25	38	16	207	40	64	23
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	247	23	47	17	196	42	72	24
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	258	23	38	15	202	45	64	23

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Percentage	Environment											
Values / Activities	Clean Environment				Fresh Air				Quiet & Peaceful Environment			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	49.4	35.0	13.5	2.1	55.1	24.6	18.3	2.1	46.1	31.4	19.2	3.3
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	56.3	25.4	13.5	4.8	50.9	26.0	18.0	5.1	44.0	29.9	21.3	4.8
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	62.3	16.5	15.9	5.4	58.4	16.2	19.2	6.3	54.8	18.3	20.4	6.6
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	42.8	33.2	18.0	6.0	47.0	22.5	23.1	7.5	41.3	31.1	19.5	8.1
Shoping	38.9	42.2	13.2	5.7	32.9	32.6	25.7	8.7	26.0	50.6	15.6	7.8
Visiting Event or Festival	30.2	59.9	6.0	3.9	25.7	51.2	18.0	5.1	21.9	62.3	11.1	4.8
Visual Education	42.5	33.8	17.7	6.0	36.5	31.1	24.0	8.4	29.0	41.9	21.6	7.5
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	15.6	61.7	17.4	5.4	11.4	65.0	17.7	6.0	14.7	70.1	10.2	5.1
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	48.5	20.7	22.8	8.1	40.4	18.6	32.0	9.0	42.5	29.9	19.8	7.8
Eating at Restaurant	50.0	24.6	21.0	4.5	44.3	20.7	28.4	6.6	41.0	24.6	28.4	6.0
Riding Elephant	39.5	37.7	17.7	5.1	43.4	26.0	24.9	5.7	41.9	30.2	24.0	3.9
City Tour by Coach	42.5	31.1	19.5	6.9	24.9	54.5	13.8	6.9	25.1	47.9	20.7	6.3
Using Bicycles	50.3	21.6	20.7	7.5	63.2	15.9	16.2	4.8	55.7	19.2	19.5	5.7
Using Cars & Car Parking	31.4	38.0	22.5	8.1	23.7	58.7	10.2	7.5	22.8	58.1	12.3	6.9
City Tour by Tram	50.0	22.8	21.0	6.3	45.2	30.2	17.1	7.5	38.6	31.4	23.1	6.9
Walking	50.3	27.5	15.9	6.3	65.6	13.5	15.3	5.7	57.8	18.3	17.4	6.6
Boat Trip	56.0	25.4	12.0	6.6	56.9	23.7	14.4	5.1	53.6	26.3	14.1	6.0
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	31.7	41.0	20.1	7.2	19.2	66.8	7.8	6.3	21.0	63.8	9.6	5.7
Escorted Tour	47.3	26.9	18.3	7.5	38.3	32.3	21.6	7.8	33.5	37.4	21.0	8.1
Un-escorted Tour	38.0	30.8	23.4	7.8	34.7	29.6	27.2	8.4	40.7	27.5	23.7	8.1
Group Tour	37.7	40.1	16.5	5.7	29.6	39.5	23.4	7.5	28.7	42.8	20.4	8.1
FIT	39.8	29.3	23.1	7.8	41.6	23.4	27.8	7.2	42.2	24.3	26.6	6.9
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	52.4	32.9	12.6	2.1	51.5	27.5	18.0	3.0	46.7	34.1	16.8	2.4
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	62.0	20.4	14.4	3.3	56.6	18.6	22.2	2.7	56.3	20.4	21.3	2.1
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	56.9	25.4	15.9	1.8	51.5	26.0	19.2	3.3	44.0	33.2	20.1	2.7

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Percentage

Activities \ Values	Well Planed Riverside Landscape				Good City Plan & Zoning				No Conflict Over Land Use			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	**43.1**	28.1	24.9	3.9	**46.1**	27.8	20.7	5.4	35.6	**36.8**	21.0	6.6
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	**41.9**	20.7	28.1	9.3	**44.3**	24.3	22.2	9.3	**41.3**	25.7	22.8	10.2
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	35.9	17.7	**34.7**	11.7	**53.9**	14.4	21.3	10.5	**51.2**	15.0	22.8	11.1
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	**37.1**	24.0	28.4	10.5	**38.9**	22.8	26.9	11.4	**36.8**	22.5	28.4	12.3
Shoping	26.9	**29.6**	**30.2**	13.2	**34.7**	30.2	22.8	12.3	30.8	**41.0**	16.8	11.4
Visiting Event or Festival	21.6	**45.5**	22.5	10.5	31.1	**36.5**	22.2	10.2	26.9	**43.4**	20.4	9.3
Visual Education	26.3	25.1	**34.4**	14.1	**34.1**	22.2	30.5	13.2	29.0	25.4	**32.0**	13.5
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	14.7	**37.4**	36.5	11.4	22.2	**40.7**	26.9	10.2	19.2	49.4	20.7	10.8
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	29.6	24.0	**34.1**	12.3	**38.6**	23.4	27.2	10.8	**32.3**	25.7	30.2	11.7
Eating at Restaurant	**33.8**	24.6	31.1	10.5	31.7	24.9	**32.0**	11.4	**35.9**	21.0	33.2	9.9
Riding Elephant	25.1	22.8	**39.5**	12.6	**36.2**	28.4	23.7	11.7	29.9	**34.4**	25.4	10.2
City Tour by Coach	24.9	21.0	**41.0**	13.2	**34.4**	25.7	28.1	11.7	26.3	**31.4**	27.5	14.7
Using Bicycles	30.8	18.0	**37.1**	14.1	**41.0**	21.9	26.0	11.1	**36.8**	22.2	27.2	13.8
Using Cars & Car Parking	22.2	25.1	**37.4**	15.3	29.3	**35.3**	23.4	12.0	24.9	**35.6**	26.0	13.5
City Tour by Tram	31.4	16.8	**36.2**	15.6	**37.4**	25.1	26.0	11.4	**32.9**	23.7	29.3	14.1
Walking	**35.9**	18.9	32.0	13.2	**39.8**	21.9	25.4	12.9	**38.6**	18.6	27.8	15.0
Boat Trip	**44.0**	32.6	18.0	5.4	**44.3**	16.5	26.9	12.3	**39.2**	18.3	28.1	14.4
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	23.1	25.4	**36.8**	14.7	**30.8**	29.0	27.5	12.6	24.3	**36.8**	26.0	12.9
Escorted Tour	**32.0**	21.6	**32.6**	13.8	**36.5**	19.2	30.8	13.5	**36.8**	19.5	30.5	13.2
Un-escorted Tour	**34.4**	18.9	32.6	14.1	29.9	20.7	**35.9**	13.5	29.9	20.4	**35.3**	14.4
Group Tour	26.6	25.4	**34.1**	13.8	31.7	24.9	**31.1**	12.3	30.2	21.3	**34.7**	13.8
FIT	29.6	18.6	**37.1**	14.7	**35.6**	18.3	33.2	12.9	**32.3**	20.1	**33.2**	14.4
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	31.4	14.7	**43.4**	10.5	**53.6**	18.9	20.4	7.2	**44.3**	26.0	21.9	7.8
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	**48.2**	12.0	32.9	6.9	**57.2**	10.2	24.9	7.8	**53.3**	10.8	28.4	7.5
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	**41.3**	16.5	32.9	9.3	**52.4**	16.8	23.1	7.8	**46.1**	16.8	29.0	8.1

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Good Quality of Road				Good Traffic Movement				Safety Traffic			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	55.7	28.4	13.5	2.4	43.1	39.2	14.4	3.3	45.2	31.1	18.9	4.8
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	55.7	25.1	14.4	4.8	42.2	36.5	16.5	4.8	45.2	27.5	20.4	6.9
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	65.0	17.4	13.2	4.5	53.9	25.1	16.2	4.8	49.1	19.2	24.0	7.8
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	48.5	26.3	18.0	7.2	50.6	24.3	18.0	7.2	45.5	21.9	23.4	9.3
Shoping	50.0	23.7	21.0	5.4	39.2	36.8	18.0	6.0	37.4	26.3	27.8	8.4
Visiting Event or Festival	44.6	34.1	16.5	4.8	26.9	55.4	13.8	3.9	32.3	43.4	17.1	7.2
Visual Education	55.4	23.4	13.8	7.5	42.8	35.3	14.4	7.5	42.8	29.3	19.5	8.4
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	38.3	31.4	23.1	7.2	27.5	44.9	21.0	6.6	25.7	47.9	18.6	7.8
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	45.5	21.9	24.6	8.1	44.9	23.1	24.0	8.1	38.9	24.6	26.3	10.2
Eating at Restaurant	48.2	21.9	21.6	8.4	46.1	25.7	19.2	9.0	38.6	22.8	28.1	10.5
Riding Elephant	47.6	31.7	15.3	5.4	40.4	38.0	15.6	6.0	41.6	34.7	17.1	6.6
City Tour by Coach	41.9	34.4	15.3	8.4	35.6	42.8	13.8	7.8	33.8	38.3	19.2	8.7
Using Bicycles	58.1	22.5	12.3	7.2	57.8	21.3	13.5	7.5	43.4	37.1	12.9	6.6
Using Cars & Car Parking	47.3	31.1	14.4	7.2	32.3	48.2	11.7	7.8	34.4	41.6	16.5	7.5
City Tour by Tram	52.4	22.8	17.1	7.8	52.1	26.9	13.2	7.8	47.0	25.4	19.5	8.1
Walking	60.2	15.6	17.1	7.2	60.2	14.1	20.1	5.7	49.1	19.2	24.0	7.8
Boat Trip	46.4	11.4	32.0	10.2	52.7	9.9	27.8	9.6	45.8	12.9	29.0	12.3
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	45.5	31.7	14.1	8.7	42.5	40.4	10.8	6.3	35.9	41.9	15.0	7.2
Escorted Tour	56.3	19.2	15.9	8.7	45.5	30.8	16.2	7.5	52.4	19.2	18.9	9.6
Un-escorted Tour	48.8	20.7	20.7	9.9	43.7	29.6	18.0	8.7	43.7	25.1	22.5	8.7
Group Tour	49.1	24.3	17.4	9.3	44.3	31.7	14.4	9.6	47.3	24.9	18.9	9.0
FIT	53.3	18.0	18.6	10.2	48.5	26.9	17.1	7.5	45.5	24.9	19.2	10.5
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	56.9	22.2	15.9	5.1	50.6	29.9	14.1	5.4	48.5	22.5	21.3	7.8
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	58.7	17.4	18.6	5.4	58.7	23.1	12.6	5.7	53.6	20.4	19.2	6.9
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	60.2	17.7	16.8	5.4	53.6	28.1	12.6	5.7	53.9	20.4	19.5	6.3

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Parking Availability				Good Quality of Public Utility Infrastructure				Protection of the Place From Flood			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	**45.2**	39.2	10.8	4.8	**55.1**	22.2	17.4	5.4	**63.5**	9.9	21.0	5.7
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	**45.5**	32.3	15.3	6.9	**54.5**	19.5	17.7	8.4	**56.3**	11.7	22.8	9.3
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	**50.6**	26.9	15.0	7.5	**61.4**	12.3	17.7	8.7	**59.6**	8.1	23.4	9.0
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	**45.2**	26.6	19.8	8.4	**49.4**	19.2	21.6	9.9	**44.6**	18.9	25.7	10.8
Shoping	**40.4**	34.7	18.9	6.0	**48.5**	21.9	21.6	8.1	**47.3**	12.9	29.6	10.2
Visiting Event or Festival	31.1	**50.0**	13.2	5.7	**46.7**	25.4	19.5	8.4	**45.2**	12.0	32.0	10.8
Visual Education	**43.7**	32.9	16.2	7.2	**49.4**	19.5	23.4	7.8	**40.7**	13.5	34.7	11.1
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	**34.1**	**32.9**	24.3	8.7	**49.4**	20.7	18.9	11.1	**35.0**	15.3	**36.5**	13.2
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	**47.9**	22.8	21.0	8.4	**56.3**	15.6	18.3	9.9	**41.6**	11.7	34.7	12.0
Eating at Restaurant	**44.3**	27.5	18.6	9.6	**56.6**	17.7	15.6	10.2	**40.7**	14.4	32.9	12.0
Riding Elephant	**32.6**	28.4	28.4	10.5	**41.9**	19.2	29.0	9.9	**36.8**	14.4	**37.4**	11.4
City Tour by Coach	**37.7**	**36.5**	17.4	8.4	**37.1**	21.3	29.0	12.6	34.1	12.6	**39.2**	14.1
Using Bicycles	**56.9**	16.2	19.5	7.5	**41.3**	17.7	29.6	11.4	36.2	9.3	**41.6**	12.9
Using Cars & Car Parking	**38.6**	**39.2**	15.9	6.3	**42.2**	18.3	29.9	9.6	35.0	12.9	**38.9**	13.2
City Tour by Tram	**46.1**	20.1	24.3	9.6	**40.4**	17.7	30.8	11.1	37.4	8.7	**40.4**	13.5
Walking	**41.9**	13.2	34.7	10.2	**43.4**	13.8	31.1	11.7	36.5	7.8	**41.9**	13.8
Boat Trip	35.9	13.5	**37.7**	12.9	**37.7**	15.3	35.6	11.4	**42.5**	11.1	34.1	12.3
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	**41.9**	30.8	20.7	6.6	**38.6**	20.4	28.1	12.9	34.1	14.4	**37.4**	14.1
Escorted Tour	**46.7**	28.4	14.7	10.2	**42.2**	17.1	26.6	14.1	**38.0**	12.0	35.0	15.0
Un-escorted Tour	**39.5**	29.3	21.6	9.6	**40.4**	20.4	26.3	12.9	**35.0**	14.7	**36.5**	13.8
Group Tour	**44.0**	30.5	14.7	10.8	**44.3**	20.7	21.6	13.5	**38.3**	11.1	**36.5**	14.1
FIT	**42.2**	28.4	19.2	10.2	**43.7**	18.6	24.9	12.9	37.4	11.4	**38.0**	13.2
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	**47.3**	33.8	14.7	4.2	**54.8**	21.3	17.4	6.6	**57.8**	7.5	27.5	7.2
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	**51.8**	25.7	17.7	4.8	**56.0**	18.0	18.9	7.2	**64.4**	6.9	22.8	6.0
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	**55.4**	25.7	13.8	5.1	**57.8**	17.4	17.4	7.5	**59.6**	6.6	26.9	6.9

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Good Supervise on Entertainment/ Nightlife				Security/ Safety Community				Effective Co-ordination Between Government Agency			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	**53.9**	20.7	18.9	6.6	**46.4**	35.0	16.2	2.4	**52.1**	28.4	15.9	3.6
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	**60.8**	14.1	17.1	8.1	**45.5**	31.7	17.1	5.7	**51.8**	25.4	15.6	7.2
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	**58.1**	16.2	16.8	9.0	**54.2**	22.8	16.5	6.6	**58.1**	18.9	14.7	8.4
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	**48.5**	19.8	21.3	10.5	**47.3**	26.3	18.9	7.5	**50.6**	25.7	14.7	9.0
Shoping	**45.5**	20.7	23.1	10.8	**40.4**	33.2	18.3	8.1	**43.7**	27.2	18.9	10.2
Visiting Event or Festival	**41.6**	34.4	14.4	9.6	34.1	**43.4**	15.0	7.5	**53.0**	28.7	10.2	8.1
Visual Education	**40.7**	24.9	23.4	11.1	**42.5**	24.0	25.4	8.1	**50.9**	21.0	17.7	10.5
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	29.6	**54.2**	12.0	4.2	17.1	**62.3**	15.6	5.1	24.9	**45.5**	21.3	8.4
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	**38.0**	35.3	18.0	8.7	**36.8**	35.6	19.5	8.1	**34.7**	30.2	24.6	10.5
Eating at Restaurant	**37.1**	27.5	25.7	9.6	**42.2**	26.9	22.2	8.7	**37.7**	28.1	22.2	12.0
Riding Elephant	**38.3**	20.7	28.7	12.3	**42.5**	27.2	21.0	9.3	**42.2**	28.4	18.0	11.4
City Tour by Coach	**36.5**	18.0	31.7	13.8	**43.7**	26.3	20.4	9.6	**44.3**	26.3	18.0	11.4
Using Bicycles	**34.7**	22.5	31.1	11.7	33.8	**37.4**	21.6	7.2	**38.3**	29.0	21.0	11.7
Using Cars & Car Parking	32.6	21.0	**33.2**	13.2	33.8	**35.6**	21.6	9.0	**35.6**	30.2	22.8	11.4
City Tour by Tram	**34.1**	19.8	**33.5**	12.6	**42.8**	22.8	24.9	9.6	**44.6**	23.7	20.4	11.4
Walking	31.7	21.0	**35.6**	11.7	35.6	**40.4**	16.2	7.8	**36.2**	27.2	24.9	11.7
Boat Trip	33.5	18.3	**35.6**	12.6	**46.1**	24.6	19.5	9.9	**43.1**	23.1	23.1	10.8
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	29.3	26.6	**31.7**	12.3	32.6	**43.1**	17.7	6.6	**35.3**	30.5	22.8	11.4
Escorted Tour	**35.9**	19.5	31.4	13.2	**50.3**	21.3	18.9	9.6	**47.3**	24.6	16.2	12.0
Un-escorted Tour	32.3	22.8	**31.7**	13.2	33.2	**36.2**	21.3	9.3	**38.6**	25.7	24.0	11.7
Group Tour	**36.8**	24.9	26.3	12.0	**46.1**	26.0	18.0	9.9	**47.9**	24.6	15.3	12.3
FIT	**35.6**	23.7	29.0	11.7	**38.0**	29.9	22.8	9.3	**40.1**	25.4	23.4	11.1
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	**52.4**	15.9	22.5	9.3	**50.6**	23.4	20.1	6.0	**56.0**	23.1	14.4	6.6
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	**53.0**	16.5	21.0	9.6	**50.3**	23.4	21.3	5.1	**55.4**	21.3	15.9	7.5
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	**52.1**	16.5	21.9	9.6	**50.9**	25.1	18.0	6.0	**56.0**	22.5	13.8	7.8

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Sociocultural												
Values / Activities	Community Participation in Tourism Planning				Effective Co-ordination Between Government, Private Sector, and Community				Human Resources Development in Tourism			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	48.2	26.6	19.8	5.4	41.6	25.4	22.8	10.2	50.0	23.7	18.9	7.5
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	54.5	21.6	14.7	9.3	47.6	20.1	20.4	12.0	52.1	19.8	18.3	9.9
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	50.3	20.4	21.3	8.1	47.0	17.4	23.4	12.3	56.0	19.5	15.3	9.3
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	58.1	19.8	15.3	6.9	46.7	20.1	21.3	12.0	50.0	21.0	19.2	9.9
Shoping	55.4	21.6	12.0	11.1	53.3	18.6	16.5	11.7	43.7	21.9	23.4	11.1
Visiting Event or Festival	52.7	24.6	14.7	8.1	54.2	20.4	15.6	9.9	46.7	21.6	21.9	9.9
Visual Education	46.1	19.8	25.1	9.0	44.9	19.8	24.0	11.4	45.8	20.4	23.4	10.5
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	26.9	37.7	24.0	11.4	28.4	32.9	26.6	12.0	25.7	35.9	27.2	11.1
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	38.0	28.7	20.1	13.2	34.7	24.9	25.1	15.3	35.6	26.3	24.3	13.8
Eating at Restaurant	38.3	23.7	26.0	12.0	37.7	19.5	27.2	15.6	36.5	20.7	29.0	13.8
Riding Elephant	43.4	25.7	20.7	10.2	40.7	25.4	19.5	14.4	49.1	21.3	17.7	12.0
City Tour by Coach	35.3	26.9	25.1	12.6	38.3	21.3	26.0	14.4	43.4	19.8	23.7	13.2
Using Bicycles	39.2	25.7	23.7	11.4	33.5	23.4	28.7	14.4	41.9	19.8	24.6	13.8
Using Cars & Car Parking	33.2	23.1	31.4	12.3	33.8	22.8	29.0	14.4	36.8	20.7	28.7	13.8
City Tour by Tram	41.9	19.8	27.5	10.8	42.2	18.0	25.4	14.4	44.3	18.0	25.1	12.6
Walking	35.0	25.7	27.2	12.0	37.4	20.4	27.5	14.7	35.3	19.8	31.4	13.5
Boat Trip	44.3	20.7	24.0	11.1	44.9	18.0	24.0	13.2	43.7	17.4	24.6	14.4
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	35.3	29.3	24.0	11.4	37.7	24.0	23.4	15.0	40.4	21.6	24.9	13.2
Escorted Tour	39.8	22.5	24.3	13.5	41.0	18.9	25.7	14.4	50.9	17.4	18.3	13.5
Un-escorted Tour	34.1	23.4	28.7	13.8	33.5	19.8	30.8	15.9	35.6	21.0	29.6	13.8
Group Tour	39.5	23.1	23.7	13.8	40.1	19.8	24.3	15.9	46.1	17.4	21.3	15.3
FIT	36.8	24.0	25.7	13.5	38.0	20.4	26.3	15.3	38.6	19.5	28.4	13.5
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	49.7	21.9	18.9	9.6	48.5	18.9	20.1	12.6	51.8	18.9	19.5	9.9
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	51.8	20.1	19.2	9.0	50.0	17.7	20.1	12.3	54.5	17.1	19.2	9.3
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	50.9	20.4	19.5	9.3	51.8	17.4	18.3	12.6	56.6	18.3	16.2	9.0

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities / Values	Conservation of the Historical Building/ Heritage Site				Preservation of Local Culture, Tradition, Way of Life				Recovery & Preserving the Local Folk Wisdom			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	**85.3**	6.6	6.0	2.1	**73.7**	11.4	10.5	4.5	**60.2**	10.5	25.1	4.2
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	**86.2**	5.1	5.1	3.6	**72.8**	9.9	9.9	7.5	**60.8**	10.5	21.6	7.2
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	**88.6**	4.8	3.6	3.0	**68.9**	9.9	13.8	7.5	**64.1**	10.8	17.7	7.5
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	**73.4**	9.9	11.1	5.7	**72.2**	12.0	10.2	5.7	**77.5**	9.9	7.5	5.1
Shoping	**58.4**	12.3	20.7	8.7	**56.0**	14.7	19.2	10.2	**62.0**	13.8	15.9	8.4
Visiting Event or Festival	**63.8**	14.7	14.7	6.9	**65.6**	15.0	14.1	5.4	**71.6**	9.0	12.0	7.5
Visual Education	**69.2**	9.6	13.2	8.1	**62.3**	13.5	15.3	9.0	**60.5**	10.8	17.7	11.1
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	18.9	**45.5**	26.0	9.6	17.1	**43.7**	29.6	9.6	17.1	**40.1**	32.3	10.5
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	32.0	24.6	**35.0**	8.4	26.6	25.7	**36.2**	11.4	29.0	23.7	**35.0**	12.3
Eating at Restaurant	**37.1**	15.3	**37.7**	9.9	34.1	18.0	**37.7**	10.2	**34.7**	17.1	**36.2**	12.0
Riding Elephant	**53.9**	16.5	22.5	7.2	**51.2**	16.2	24.0	8.7	**47.3**	15.0	27.8	9.9
City Tour by Coach	**49.4**	20.4	21.3	9.0	**45.5**	15.6	28.7	10.2	**40.1**	13.8	33.2	12.9
Using Bicycles	**58.4**	11.1	21.0	9.6	**51.2**	12.3	26.3	10.2	**44.9**	11.1	31.7	12.3
Using Cars & Car Parking	**39.8**	24.6	26.0	9.6	**39.2**	20.1	29.6	11.1	32.3	20.1	**35.3**	12.3
City Tour by Tram	**55.4**	12.0	22.2	10.5	**51.2**	13.5	24.6	10.8	**43.4**	11.1	33.2	12.3
Walking	**61.4**	9.9	18.9	9.9	**53.6**	11.1	24.9	10.5	**43.4**	10.8	33.8	12.0
Boat Trip	**56.9**	12.9	20.4	9.9	**56.9**	14.1	21.0	8.1	**48.8**	9.3	30.8	11.1
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	**42.2**	22.8	25.7	9.3	**41.6**	20.4	26.9	11.1	**38.0**	17.7	32.9	11.4
Escorted Tour	**55.4**	15.0	18.9	10.8	**51.5**	11.7	25.1	11.7	**49.4**	9.6	28.7	12.3
Un-escorted Tour	**50.9**	13.5	25.1	10.5	**46.1**	14.4	28.4	11.1	**42.5**	12.3	32.9	12.3
Group Tour	**53.6**	18.0	18.3	10.2	**47.6**	13.2	27.5	11.7	**48.2**	12.6	26.9	12.3
FIT	**57.5**	12.0	21.0	9.6	**50.0**	10.5	28.4	11.1	**44.6**	10.2	33.8	11.4
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	**84.7**	6.3	5.4	3.6	**71.9**	9.6	10.2	8.4	**60.8**	9.6	20.7	9.0
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	**83.8**	8.4	4.8	3.0	**72.5**	9.3	10.5	7.8	**59.9**	11.7	20.1	8.4
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	**82.3**	8.4	6.0	3.3	**70.7**	12.0	9.3	8.1	**60.5**	8.7	22.2	8.7

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Proud in Local Identity				Raise Local Awareness & Understanding on World Heritage				Respecting the Sacredness/Holiness of Place & Respecting Customs/Rituals at the Temple			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	76.9	9.9	8.4	4.8	74.9	12.0	9.9	3.3	78.1	11.1	7.2	3.6
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	74.3	8.1	9.9	7.8	73.4	12.3	8.7	5.7	78.4	10.2	5.4	6.0
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	74.3	9.3	7.5	9.0	74.0	9.0	10.5	6.6	71.9	9.9	9.9	8.4
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	73.1	9.9	11.1	6.0	69.2	7.8	15.0	8.1	66.5	11.1	12.6	9.9
Shoping	64.1	10.8	16.2	9.0	51.5	13.5	24.3	10.8	46.7	12.3	29.6	11.4
Visiting Event or Festival	65.3	10.8	14.7	9.3	62.6	10.2	16.8	10.5	59.3	12.6	16.5	11.7
Visual Education	62.0	11.1	15.0	12.0	63.5	9.6	17.4	9.6	63.2	11.7	14.1	11.1
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	19.2	46.4	22.5	12.0	17.4	42.2	31.1	9.3	19.8	42.2	26.9	11.1
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	36.2	18.3	32.9	12.6	29.6	19.5	39.2	11.7	29.3	23.1	35.3	12.3
Eating at Restaurant	39.2	12.9	36.2	11.7	34.4	14.1	40.4	11.1	32.3	15.3	40.4	12.0
Riding Elephant	56.0	11.7	22.5	9.9	47.6	12.9	29.0	10.5	46.7	15.0	26.3	12.0
City Tour by Coach	46.7	13.8	26.0	13.5	48.5	11.7	27.2	12.6	41.9	13.5	30.5	14.1
Using Bicycles	56.0	9.0	23.1	12.0	51.8	11.1	25.7	11.4	47.6	15.0	24.6	12.9
Using Cars & Car Parking	41.6	16.5	29.9	12.0	44.0	16.5	27.8	11.7	39.8	17.7	29.0	13.5
City Tour by Tram	53.0	10.2	23.7	13.2	51.5	11.4	25.1	12.0	44.6	12.9	28.1	14.4
Walking	56.6	9.0	22.5	12.0	55.4	9.9	23.4	11.4	49.7	13.2	24.3	12.9
Boat Trip	61.1	10.5	17.7	10.8	56.0	11.4	22.2	10.5	49.7	12.9	24.6	12.9
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	47.9	19.2	21.9	11.1	44.6	15.3	29.3	10.8	40.4	18.0	28.4	13.2
Escorted Tour	52.1	9.6	25.1	13.2	61.7	9.0	17.7	11.7	55.1	11.4	19.8	13.8
Un-escorted Tour	49.1	9.9	27.8	13.2	50.6	11.4	26.3	11.7	47.9	14.1	24.6	13.5
Group Tour	53.9	8.4	24.6	13.2	56.0	11.4	21.0	11.7	50.9	15.3	20.4	13.5
FIT	51.8	9.3	26.3	12.6	54.2	9.0	25.7	11.1	50.9	13.8	22.5	12.9
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	72.8	7.8	12.6	6.9	73.7	9.0	10.5	6.9	78.1	9.0	7.5	5.4
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	74.9	8.4	11.4	5.4	75.1	9.9	9.6	5.4	79.0	9.0	7.8	4.2
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	75.4	7.2	12.0	5.4	75.4	9.9	9.3	5.4	78.7	9.0	8.4	3.9

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities / Values	Fair Prices for Goods & Services				Good Image Community				Improvement & Development of Tourism Attraction & Facility			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	48.5	32.0	14.1	5.4	76.9	11.4	7.2	4.5	58.1	26.9	11.7	3.3
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	47.3	28.4	18.0	6.3	74.9	10.8	9.9	4.5	59.0	21.9	13.8	5.4
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	53.0	19.5	18.6	9.0	75.1	9.3	9.9	5.7	65.6	14.7	14.4	5.4
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	51.8	21.0	18.9	8.4	70.7	11.4	9.9	8.1	55.4	21.9	15.0	7.8
Shoping	47.9	35.0	12.3	4.8	63.8	15.3	15.0	6.0	54.8	24.6	14.4	6.3
Visiting Event or Festival	39.2	35.0	18.9	6.9	64.1	15.9	12.0	8.1	50.6	30.2	12.9	6.3
Visual Education	45.2	19.5	26.6	8.7	67.7	9.9	13.5	9.0	49.7	26.6	15.3	8.4
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	25.7	44.0	20.7	9.6	26.3	46.4	19.8	7.5	32.3	35.9	22.2	9.6
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	37.1	29.6	22.5	10.8	44.9	20.1	24.6	10.5	48.2	18.3	23.4	10.2
Eating at Restaurant	41.6	29.0	20.4	9.0	54.5	17.7	19.5	8.4	51.8	17.7	20.1	10.5
Riding Elephant	40.7	25.4	25.4	8.4	66.8	14.7	11.4	7.2	45.2	20.4	23.7	10.8
City Tour by Coach	37.1	24.3	26.3	12.3	54.5	16.8	19.5	9.3	41.3	22.2	25.1	11.4
Using Bicycles	46.7	21.3	21.0	11.1	63.5	12.0	15.0	9.6	44.3	20.4	23.7	11.7
Using Cars & Car Parking	34.7	23.1	30.2	12.0	51.2	17.7	22.5	8.7	39.2	23.7	25.4	11.7
City Tour by Tram	44.0	21.6	23.1	11.4	61.1	12.6	16.5	9.9	41.0	19.5	27.8	11.7
Walking	38.6	18.0	31.1	12.3	64.1	11.1	14.7	10.2	41.3	22.8	24.6	11.4
Boat Trip	43.7	21.0	24.0	11.4	65.0	13.8	12.6	8.7	38.0	24.9	25.4	11.7
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	35.9	38.6	17.7	7.8	51.8	21.3	17.7	9.3	35.6	26.0	27.2	11.1
Escorted Tour	42.2	18.9	26.0	12.9	62.9	12.0	13.2	12.0	47.9	18.6	19.5	14.1
Un-escorted Tour	41.3	20.4	25.1	13.2	60.5	14.1	14.7	10.8	45.2	20.7	21.3	12.9
Group Tour	44.0	21.9	21.3	12.9	62.6	13.2	13.8	10.5	45.5	21.0	20.1	13.5
FIT	37.7	23.7	25.1	13.5	61.7	14.1	14.1	10.2	43.7	19.5	23.4	13.5
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	53.9	22.8	17.7	5.7	80.8	9.3	6.3	3.6	64.7	19.8	10.5	5.1
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	53.3	19.2	21.3	6.3	80.5	9.9	5.7	3.9	64.4	17.7	12.6	5.4
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	53.9	19.5	20.4	6.3	80.2	9.9	6.0	3.9	68.3	13.2	13.2	5.4

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Activities \ Values	Investment of Tourism Related Business				Encourage Local Product, Art and Craft, Local Food				Income Generation			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	55.7	18.0	18.0	8.4	65.3	11.7	16.8	6.3	85.0	5.1	6.0	3.9
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	53.6	17.1	19.2	10.2	58.4	12.9	20.1	8.7	82.3	4.8	8.1	4.8
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	49.7	17.4	21.9	11.1	52.7	14.1	23.7	9.6	70.7	9.6	14.7	5.1
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	56.9	18.3	14.7	10.2	65.6	13.8	12.9	7.8	82.9	3.6	8.7	4.8
Shoping	59.0	17.4	14.7	9.0	72.2	12.6	11.1	4.2	88.0	3.3	5.7	3.0
Visiting Event or Festival	54.8	20.7	15.0	9.6	65.6	13.2	13.8	7.5	82.0	3.6	7.5	6.9
Visual Education	48.5	15.6	23.7	12.3	55.4	13.5	19.8	11.4	74.3	6.6	12.3	6.9
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	41.9	24.9	23.7	9.6	31.1	30.5	27.8	10.5	59.3	18.0	16.5	6.3
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	57.8	17.1	16.8	8.4	39.8	21.9	26.3	12.0	70.7	10.8	11.7	6.9
Eating at Restaurant	56.9	16.2	16.5	10.5	52.7	19.2	17.7	10.5	77.2	7.5	11.1	4.2
Riding Elephant	54.5	14.1	21.9	9.6	47.0	17.4	26.3	9.3	72.8	12.6	9.6	5.1
City Tour by Coach	53.3	15.0	18.6	13.2	49.1	13.2	24.9	12.9	59.0	15.3	16.8	9.0
Using Bicycles	51.8	15.9	21.3	11.1	48.8	12.3	26.3	12.6	76.9	10.2	9.0	3.9
Using Cars & Car Parking	40.7	18.0	28.4	12.9	42.2	13.8	31.1	12.9	47.9	18.0	24.0	10.2
City Tour by Tram	48.8	15.0	23.7	12.6	44.9	12.6	29.9	12.6	68.3	9.0	15.3	7.5
Walking	43.1	13.8	28.4	14.7	46.1	13.2	27.2	13.5	53.3	14.1	24.3	8.4
Boat Trip	53.9	12.9	20.4	12.9	48.8	13.8	25.7	11.7	78.1	5.4	11.7	4.8
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	49.7	18.9	19.5	12.0	43.7	18.0	26.6	11.7	77.5	9.3	7.8	5.4
Escorted Tour	57.2	13.2	16.5	13.2	54.5	11.7	21.0	12.9	57.8	12.3	20.1	9.9
Un-escorted Tour	45.8	15.9	24.6	13.8	47.9	14.7	24.0	13.5	55.1	15.0	20.4	9.6
Group Tour	53.3	13.8	19.2	13.8	54.5	11.1	21.6	12.9	65.6	8.7	16.8	9.0
FIT	44.6	18.6	23.1	13.8	47.9	15.9	23.4	12.9	59.0	10.5	21.0	9.6
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	57.8	15.6	17.1	9.6	65.0	12.6	15.3	7.2	79.3	4.5	11.7	4.5
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	55.7	15.9	18.3	10.2	61.1	11.4	19.2	8.4	76.9	6.0	12.3	4.8
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	57.2	13.8	18.9	10.2	65.0	12.0	15.0	8.1	79.9	4.5	11.1	4.5

Matrix from stakeholder of Ayutthaya world heritage place. 334 Respondents.

Economic								
Activities \ Values	Job/ Employment Generation				Financial Benefit Widely Distributed to Local Community			
	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation	Positive	Negative	No Impact	No Relation
Visiting Ancient Ruin	80.2	8.7	7.5	3.6	63.8	17.1	14.1	5.1
Make a Pilgrimage at Wat	80.2	7.2	8.1	4.5	63.2	15.9	15.0	6.0
Visiting Museum or Historical Study Center	67.4	9.9	15.6	7.2	53.0	16.8	23.4	6.9
See the Way of Life& Handicraft Manufacture	81.7	6.9	7.5	3.9	73.4	9.0	13.5	4.2
Shoping	85.0	7.8	3.3	3.9	74.9	12.6	8.7	3.9
Visiting Event or Festival	76.0	6.0	10.8	7.2	68.6	10.8	15.9	4.8
Visual Education	69.5	8.4	14.7	7.5	57.5	14.7	21.0	6.9
Night Life, Pub, Disco, Karaoke	56.3	18.3	19.2	6.3	36.2	26.6	30.2	6.9
Staying Overnight in Hotel or Guesthouse	70.1	10.2	13.8	6.0	50.3	20.1	22.2	7.5
Eating at Restaurant	76.0	8.1	11.1	4.8	61.1	16.2	16.5	6.3
Riding Elephant	69.2	16.5	8.7	5.7	56.0	20.4	17.4	6.3
City Tour by Coach	55.1	18.6	16.8	9.6	46.1	20.7	23.7	9.6
Using Bicycles	69.5	10.2	13.5	6.9	56.0	15.0	21.0	8.1
Using Cars & Car Parking	47.3	16.8	24.3	11.7	44.6	18.9	26.3	10.2
City Tour by Tram	71.9	7.8	13.8	6.6	52.7	14.1	24.9	8.4
Walking	52.4	15.3	23.7	8.7	46.7	15.3	28.4	9.6
Boat Trip	79.3	6.9	10.2	3.6	58.1	16.5	18.9	6.6
Using Public Transport/ Tuk Tuk	82.3	7.2	6.9	3.6	63.2	14.1	17.4	5.4
Escorted Tour	58.4	13.8	17.7	10.2	50.9	15.3	24.6	9.3
Un-escorted Tour	55.4	13.5	21.3	9.9	47.3	17.1	26.6	9.0
Group Tour	63.2	12.0	15.0	9.9	57.5	13.5	20.4	8.7
FIT	57.8	12.6	19.2	10.5	49.7	13.5	25.7	11.1
Visiting Wihara Pra Mongkhonbophit	76.3	7.5	11.4	4.8	62.0	12.0	19.2	6.9
Visiting Wat Chaiwatthanaram	74.0	6.9	14.1	5.1	58.7	12.6	21.6	7.2
Visiting Wat Yai Chaimongkhon/ Wat Phananchuang	77.2	6.9	11.4	4.5	60.5	13.5	19.2	6.9

World Heritage **papers** **31**

Community development
through World Heritage

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Edited by M.-T. Albert, M. Richon, M. J. Viñals and A. Witcomb

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Interpreting Aboriginal Rock Art at Kakadu National Park (Australia) © UNESCO Marielle Richon

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Contents

Foreword

Sharing Our Heritages (SOH) was a unique experience made possible thanks to the Government of Australia and the European Union. It was not only exceptional for the faculty and students who participated in this 3-year programme (2006-2008), but also for the World Heritage sites where it was implemented (Kakadu National Park in Australia, and Paris, Banks of the Seine and The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes in France) and for the UNESCO World Heritage Centre (WHC) itself.

Indeed, the concept of Master Class which was the added value of the SOH programme allowed a number of WHC colleagues to deliver first-hand experience to 90 motivated young talented students who are now involved in World Heritage sites management in their respective countries in the European Union and Australia.

The interaction of WHC specialists with the students proved to be a stimulating and challenging environment. It allowed specialists to explain details of the World Heritage machinery through their own everyday experience and perception while also allowing students to raise questions directly to specialists, thus lifting ambiguities and doubts and building a clear vision of how to use the World Heritage mechanisms in their future careers.

SOH participants realized through this experience that the fifth "C", for Community, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2007 at its 31st session in Christchurch, New Zealand, is a crucial and complementary element to the "Four Cs", Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-Building and Communication adopted as strategic objectives of the World Heritage Convention in the Budapest Declaration in 2002. Community is an overarching element of the strategy, which every World Heritage site manager should bear in mind when interacting with the various stakeholders living or working in or around sites. This is also the reason for selecting the theme 'World Heritage and Sustainable Development: The Role of Local Communities' for the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the World Heritage Convention (1972-2012).

This publication dedicated to Community Development through World Heritage will help the SOH programme results to be shared more widely in the World Heritage global community for the benefit of the World Heritage sites themselves. It offers an illustration of how local communities can make a positive difference in the sustainable management of World Heritage properties.

Kishore Rao
Director of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre

Introduction

Community Development through World Heritage **is a direct outcome of the international student exchange programme** *Sharing Our Heritages,* **which was sponsored by the Australian Government and the European Union. The programme involved students and lecturers in 2005–2008 from Charles Darwin University (CDU), Curtin University of Technology (CUT), Deakin University (DU), Melbourne, and the University of Western Sydney (UWS), in Australia; Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation (RLICC), Belgium; University College Dublin (UCD), Ireland; Universitat Politècnica de València (UPV), Spain; and Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus (BTU), Germany. The project concluded with a major conference on the theme of 'Sharing Our Heritages (SOH): New Challenges for Conserving and Protecting Sites and for Managing Tourism', which took place at the UPV in February 2008. All in all, the programme's goal was to make the heritage of humanity, particularly its identity-building significance and its potential for community development, relevant and usable especially to young university students.**

This publication has the same aim, although insights are offered into more detailed findings. As expressed in the title, heritage plays an important role in community development, and here it is understood as a cultural construct, which – if it is to be used to create identity – needs to be more than simply conserved. Its relevance needs to be communicated in the present so that it may continue into the future. An important aspect of this is the use of heritage and its preservation for socio-economic development worldwide, an aim that is explicitly part of the World Heritage Convention. *To achieve this however, the Convention has to be interpreted as an instrument of development policy, and its implementation in this direction needs to be accelerated. It is to this end that the* **World Heritage Committee** *has developed a set of five Strategic Objectives, the five 'Cs' (Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building, Communication and Communities) to support the Convention. These objectives make it clear that heritage is not simply something handed down from the past, but is a process that must be actively constructed and maintained in the present if it is to have any sustainable future. The structure and content of this publication reflect these intentions.*

The first part – Impact of international designation on local communities **–** *offers a general introduction to the political background operating behind World Heritage designation by looking at some of the issues posed by globalization, the development of a human rights discourse, the implementation of the* Operational Guidelines *and the new Strategic Objectives. Taken together, these chapters set the frame for those that follow.*

*In the second part – **Challenges of tourism for communities** – the topic of tourism as one of the most important resources for development is debated in the context of the* **World Heritage Convention.** *Note however that tourism as a resource is not discussed generally but in the context of certain situations and places; be it in the context of a management concept; as a resource presented through the internet; or as applied to Thailand. Unlike other publications that broadly debate tourism, this selection provides the opportunity to focus on the problematic impacts of tourism on heritage developments.*

*The aim in the third part – **Appropriation of World Heritage values by communities** – is similar in direction. The three chapters here focus on heritage values from different perspectives. While two contributions discuss the complexities posed by Fremantle Prison and Kakadu National Park and its inhabitants to site management and interpretation, the third looks at impacts of using World Heritage nomination in ways that close rather than open up the range of heritage values ascribed to a site.*

*Case studies are also the basis of the fourth and final part – **Models of best practice for communities.** Taking their cue from the aims of the five Strategic Objectives developed by the World Heritage Committee, the three chapters identify and analyse the specific goals that underpin World Heritage in terms of social and economic development. Once again, the value of these analyses is in their case study approach, which contextualizes the issues identified by the World Heritage Committee as needing specific attention. The value of these analyses is also the fact that the case studies they deal with come from countries where socio-economic development is crucial to survival – Uganda, Ethiopia and Cambodia.*

It is our sincere hope that the range of issues discussed by the contributing authors, as well as the geographical reach of their case studies, will provide those involved with World Heritage with a useful conceptual and practical map with which to look at their own sites and the issues they face. They will find parallels to their own situations and potential answers to their problems, as well as encouragement to continue their efforts to safeguard, interpret and sustain the relevance of World Heritage to their communities and to the world.

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World Heritage and globalization:
UNESCO's contribution to the development of global ethics

Bernd von Droste

Introduction

In the past, the interactions between human development and the environment have been simple local affairs. But the complexity and scale of these interactions are rapidly increasing. What were once acute episodes of relatively reversible damage now affect future generations, witness the concerns about human-caused climate change, or the debates over disposal of radioactive wastes.

How we human beings should relate to the Earth and what our responsibility towards unborn generations should be, are two of the most challenging questions. Perhaps, modern civilization might have something to learn from local cultures that view individuals and generations as members in a chain of familial lineages.

UNESCO's *World Heritage Convention* undoubtedly marks an important step forward in the awareness of the moral obligation of humanity as a whole to respect and safeguard natural and cultural properties which are of outstanding universal value. Case studies in this book clearly demonstrate that World Heritage is not a luxury item but important to the welfare of the people of every nation and in particular to the local community where it is located.

World Heritage properties play an integral part in the intelligent use of natural and cultural resources. It is wise to protect well-selected sites in their integrity as World Heritage, thus ensuring that future generations may enjoy the majesty and diversity of Earth as we know it today.

As rising globalization pressures tend to emphasize conversion of irreplaceable World Heritage resources into commodities, we must be careful to safeguard these treasures, where people may reflect, study, enjoy the benefits of the Earth and appreciate the diversity of culture and nature.

Such places must exist where we find release from the tensions of an increasingly changing industrialized, urbanized and globalized world, where we can have contact with the natural environment which sustains us and the cultural sites which inspire human creativity. To this end, permanent protection, sustainable use and development in line with the preservation of World Heritage values is imperative.

How this challenge can be met by responsible local communities as World Heritage Trust Holders, and how they can contribute to sustainable development is shown in more detail in the following chapters.

However, development and conservation constraints are no longer limited to where and how people conduct their lives. We must deal with global issues as well. This is where the book starts: What does globalization mean and how does this moving up in scale affect World Heritage?

Context

Explained most succinctly, globalization means increasing interconnection of people and places as a consequence of advances in transport, communication, and information technologies which in turn results in political, economic and cultural convergence. Roughly, globalization encompasses above all: the international flow of ideas and knowledge, and that of goods and services; the sharing of cultures; the global civic society, and the global environmental movement.

The globalization process has a long history as will be described later. This process accelerated in the 1990s when globalization was greeted with euphoria. Capital flows to developing countries increased six fold in just six years between 1990 and 1996. The establishment of the World Trade Organization in 1995, a goal that had been sought for half a century, was to bring the semblance of a rule of law to international commerce. Everyone was supposed to be a winner – those in the developed countries as well as those in the so-called developing world. Globalization was expected to bring unprecedented prosperity to all.

However, the environmentalists soon felt that globalization undermined their more than a decade-long struggle to establish regulations by which to preserve our natural heritage. In a similar vein those who wanted to protect and develop their own cultural heritage also saw globalization as an intrusion. The protesters did not accept the argument that economically at least globalization would ultimately leave everyone better off.

The core of the problem is not globalization itself but rather the way globalization has been managed so far. Two facts stand out in this regard. The first is that economics – especially through the decrease of communication and

transportation costs – has been the main driving force of globalization. And secondly, politics – largely set by the advanced industrial countries – has so far failed to create a fair set of rules. More precisely, they have failed so far to consider even minimal standards of a global ethic which humanity urgently needs for its own survival.

In view of the above, what follows is meant to highlight UNESCO's contribution to establishing global ethics.

UNESCO's contribution to global ethics

Within the United Nations system – as a whole geared towards ensuring lasting peace – UNESCO's mandate focuses on intergenerational domains such as education, science and culture. Its basic mission is to promote a global ethic of justice and fairness particularly in the mentioned domains. Universalism is the fundamental principle of global ethics. The ethos of universal human rights proclaims that all human beings are born equal and that they enjoy these rights irrespective of class, gender, race, or generation. Universalism requires the protection of World Heritage as part of our intergenerational responsibility. The basic principle of intergenerational equity says that the present generation must take care of humanity's irreplaceable heritage for the benefit of all members of present and future generations. Each generation is a user, a custodian and a potential enhancer of humanity's common natural and cultural heritage and must therefore leave for future generations at least the same opportunities that it enjoyed.

The principles and basic ideas of global ethics in the field of culture are encompassed in the minimal standards of six UNESCO conventions in the cultural domain, notably:

- The Hague Convention of 1954 which safeguards cultural properties in times of international armed conflicts and civil war, which is the oldest international legal instrument in this regard;
- The 1970 UNESCO Convention to prohibit illicit traffic of cultural properties;
- The 1972 *World Heritage Convention* which protects cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value. This chapter focuses a little further on its contribution to global ethics and the positive and negative impact of globalization on World Heritage sites.
- The Underwater Convention, launched in 2001, which protects the archaeological heritage in the oceans.
- The Intangible Heritage Convention of 2003 which conserves traditional cultural manifestations such as music, dance, languages, and festivals. It constitutes an important supplement to the *World Heritage Convention,* the latter being limited to material heritage conservation such as sites and monuments of outstanding universal value.

Finally, the 2005 instrument for protecting cultural diversity, which sets basic principles concerning the cultural exception in international tariffs and trades (GATT) within the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) should also be mentioned.

Although briefly presented, the above leads to the conclusion that the preservation and promotion of humanity's common heritage is by itself an ethical imperative reflected in the normative instruments that constitute the foundation and the final goal of UNESCO's mission in the field of cultural and natural heritage. Indeed, all UNESCO conventions described above help build a global civic culture.

The five 'Es' and the *World Heritage Convention*

What could be called 'the five Es of globalization' deserve to be examined particularly in the context of World Heritage preservation.

The first 'E' stands for *ethical globalization*. As already indicated, the *World Heritage Convention* and, indeed, other UNESCO conventions in the cultural domain are instruments which may be considered as building blocks for a new global ethic. Moreover, quite a number of World Heritage sites protected under this Convention are highly symbolic in terms of main values pertaining to a global ethic, notably the respect of human rights, of democracy, and of tolerance towards other cultures.

The second 'E' stands for the *evolutionary process* of globalization considering that globalization is not a new phenomenon. Again, several sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List illustrate the history of globalization, particularly properties along the Silk Roads, pilgrim routes such as that of Santiago de Compostela, or sites along the Limes, Frontiers of the Roman Empire.

The third 'E' deals with the key issue of *economic globalization*. Within the World Heritage context the impact of international mass tourism on World Heritage sites such as the Galápagos Islands should be stressed. Another case of considerable importance is the mining activity of international companies which are planned or take place within or close to World Heritage sites such as Kakadu National Park (Australia), Yellowstone National Park (United States) or Mount Nimba Strict Nature Reserve (Côte d'Ivoire/Guinea).

The fourth 'E' makes headlines in the media, but offers little so far in terms of appropriate solutions, i.e. *environmental globalization*. Potentially all World Heritage sites, whether located in developing or developed countries, will become increasingly affected by global climate change. We already have some rather alarming reports from a number of

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World Heritage sites such as the melting of glaciers of the Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch (Switzerland) or the bleaching of the coral reefs of the Great Barrier Reef (Australia).

Last but not least, the fifth 'E' stands for *electronic globalization*. Powerful new communication tools offer hitherto unknown opportunities for sharing knowledge, but at the same time we are faced with possible manipulation of information and lack of quality control.

I warmly recommend in this regard UNESCO's official websites, including those of its national commissions, and of its World Heritage Advisory Bodies, notably the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) for natural heritage, the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) for cultural properties and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) for training in the field of restoration of cultural properties.

World Heritage sites relevant to global ethics

Let me give a few examples of World Heritage sites which are closely associated with the main elements of a global ethic.

Democracy is today seen as a central element of a global civic culture in the making. Democracy embodies the ideas of political autonomy and of human empowerment. It is no longer some self-appointed elite but the people themselves who decide how to organize their collective life.

The Althing or parliament of Iceland, established at Thingvellir (which means assembly fields) in AD 930 is probably the oldest parliament in the world. In the past people from all over the country gathered every year at Thingvellir to discuss and solve societal and legal questions. The assembly consisted of several institutions such as the law council, five courts and the law speaker. Throughout the centuries the Icelandic people continued to meet annually until 1789, when an earthquake damaged the assembly site and the parliament had to move to Reykjavik. Because of its significance as predecessor of parliamentary democracy, Thingvellir was recognized as a World Heritage site.

Human rights are widely regarded as an indispensable standard of international conduct. Protecting individual physical and emotional integrity against intrusions from society, providing minimum social and economic conditions for a decent life, fair treatment and equal access to mechanisms that help remedy various forms of injustice are key concerns that a global ethic must address. The Auschwitz Birkenau, German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945) on UNESCO's World Heritage List reminds us of the martyrdom of millions of people whose basic human rights, culture and beliefs were brutally disregarded.

Another moving World Heritage monument is the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Japan) or Genbaku Dome which is the only structure left standing in the area where the first atomic bomb exploded on 6 August 1945. This monument reminds us of our responsibility to handle the achievements of modern technology with the greatest care. It is an urgent call to use atomic energy not for destruction but for peaceful purposes.

Robben Island (South Africa) is not only a World Heritage site symbolizing the right of self-determination of the South African people but also stands for tolerance and human dignity.

The Statue of Liberty, made in Paris by the French sculptor Bartholdi in collaboration with Gustave Eiffel as a gift from France on the centenary of American independence in 1886, has welcomed millions of immigrants to the United States ever since.

World Heritage sites illustrating the evolutionary history of globalization

The Silk Roads are routes of integration, exchange and dialogue between East and West that have contributed greatly to the common prosperity of human civilizations over more than two millennia.

The generally recognized starting time of the Silk Roads is 138 BC when the Chinese emperor Wudi of the Western Han dynasty dispatched Zhang Qian to the Western region. Based on historical facts, it is generally recognized that the original starting place of the Silk Roads in the East was Chang'an (present-day Xi'an). An extraordinary discovery was made in 1974 at the centre of this former capital: the Mausoleum of the first Qin emperor with its famous terracotta army.

Another World Heritage site along the Silk Roads and a melting pot of the ancient world's cultures is the historic town of Samarkand, Crossroad of Cultures (Uzbekistan).

For twenty years UNESCO has been working on the concept of a serial and transnational World Heritage nomination of the Silk Roads that would include existing World Heritage sites, but also add other properties to represent a more complete picture of the rich cultural heritage of Central Asia.

Trading of silk also played an important role in the Mediterranean. An outstanding example is La Lonja de la Seda de Valencia (Spain). This building was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1996 as a perfect illustration of the power and wealth of a major Mediterranean mercantile city in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The expansion of the Roman Empire to the fringe of the African desert and to the 'barbaric' frontier with the Scottish in the North and the Teutonic tribes in the East can still be retraced by the archaeological remains of the Limes and the splendour of capital cities of the Roman Empire.

The Archaeological Site of Volubilis (Morocco), the Mauritanian capital, founded in the 3rd century BC, became an important outpost of the Roman Empire. Another World Heritage site is the 118 km long Hadrian's Wall which protected the Roman Empire from the Scots, whereas the Roman monuments in Trier remind us of the Roman capitals of the tetrarchy at the end of the 3rd century AD.

Other examples of the increased scale of cultural exchanges in Europe are the routes of Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Santiago de Compostela was a supreme goal for countless thousands of pilgrims who converged from all over Europe throughout the Middle Ages.

The colonial city of Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic) celebrates the memory of Christopher Columbus' arrival on the island in 1492.

A whole series of Hanseatic towns figure on the World Heritage List such as the Hanseatic town of Visby (Sweden) and the Hanseatic city of Lübeck (Germany). They were major trading centres for Northern Europe and as such illustrate the early beginnings of a globalization process.

World Heritage sites under the impact of economic globalization

Globalization is particularly visible in the worldwide phenomenon of tourism which constitutes, next to energy supply and arms trade, the largest sector of the global economy with an estimated annual revenue of US$3 trillion.

The emergence of intercontinental mass tourism was spurred by the rapid development and cost reduction in transportation technology, improved standards of living and more paid vacation and leisure time. In 1950 the World Tourism Organization estimated that tourism worldwide involved some 25 million people compared with 528 million in 1995, and according to the forecast 1 billion in 2010.

World Heritage sites such as Rapa Nui National Park (Easter Island, Chile) or the famous Borobodur Temple Compounds (Indonesia) are some of the most unique sites on Earth that attract large numbers of visitors. The more than 850 World Heritage properties* act like a magnet for tourists. The economic and employment implications are enormous. So are the nuisances.

Tourism has many obvious advantages. For the host countries, towns and heritage sites tourism provides jobs, brings in foreign currency, and sometimes leads to an improvement in local infrastructure. The travellers can admire the wonders of the world and learn more about other countries, their environment, cultures, values and ways of life and hence promote international understanding.

Tourism can, however, also have many negative effects:

- Physical and environmental impacts such as accelerated erosion of soil, floor surfaces, walls; destruction of ecosystems or disturbance of wildlife.
- Social impacts such as the destruction of local cultures.
- Impacts by the development of tourism-related facilities such as large parking lots, shopping malls, hotels, roads and airports.
- Inappropriate reconstruction.

Here is another striking illustration of how the rapidly increasing globalization affects some World Heritage sites.

When the Galápagos Islands became a World Heritage property in 1978, the archipelago counted 9,000 tourists, 50,000 in 1996 and 150,000 in 2007. Directly correlated with the growth of tourism is the increasing traffic between the islands and the mainland (the islands are more than 1,000 km distant from the Latin American continent) leading to a breakdown of the natural evolutionary processes shaped by the isolation of this famous Darwinian evolutionary laboratory. There were practically no aircraft landings on the archipelago in 1978. In 2007 – mainly due to increased tourism – there were close to 2,500 aircraft landings on the island. The number of artificially introduced species alien to the islands increased proportionally with the number of tourists. There were about 200 alien vascular plants on the island in 1978, 400 in 1996 and 800 in 2007. The native flora and fauna have been largely replaced by organisms travelling from all over the world as blind passengers of aircrafts and ships. Due to the alarming loss of biodiversity and unsustainable exploitation the World Heritage Committee had no other choice but to place the Galápagos Islands on the World Heritage in Danger List in 2007.

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* In this book all figures about World Heritage are from 2008

Environmental globalization: conserving World Heritage in a time of climate change

No issue is more global than global warming: all people on the planet share the same atmosphere. There are seven facts concerning global warming:

- The Earth has warmed by about 0.6 degrees Celsius during the last century.
- Even small changes in temperature can have large effects.
- The threat of warming is unprecedented, even going back millions of years.
- Sea levels have risen 10 cm to 20 cm during the last century.
- Even small changes in sea level can have large effects – for example a 1 m rise would inundate low-lying areas around the world from Florida to Bangladesh.
- There have been huge increases in greenhouse gases in our atmosphere; these have been increasing at the most rapid rate seen for at least the past 20,000 years.
- It is possible that the pace of change in temperature could accelerate.

The world is currently engaged in a grand experiment studying what happens when you release carbon dioxide into the atmosphere in larger and larger amounts. The scientific community is fairly sure of the outcome: glaciers and the polar ice cap will melt, ocean currents will change and ocean levels will rise. Unlike the other problems of globalization, global environmental problems affect developed and developing countries alike.

Many World Heritage sites already show serious effects of global warming. In particular, the world's most magnificent glaciers which figure on the World Heritage List such as the Swiss Alps Jungfrau-Aletsch complex (Switzerland) or the magnificent glacier of St Elias in Alaska (part of the Kluane/Wrangell-St Elias/Glacier Bay/Tatshenshini-Alsek national parks and protected areas along the boundary of Canada and the United States). We also had alarming news about the disappearance or bleaching of coral reefs at the Great Barrier Reef in Australia, the Moon Reef in Belize and the Galápagos Islands (Ecuador).

Electronic globalization: conserving World Heritage in the new era of web wisdom

In the economic sense, globalization is now impacting every nation and so is the Web 2.0 generation of internet communication which is transforming human relations and cross-cultural communication in previously unimaginable ways. It is impossible to isolate any national culture from its impacts, although clearly not everyone participates equally.

As we all know, the way of presenting the significance/ values of a World Heritage site is a key element in the World Heritage conservation process. In the past World

Heritage interpretation and presentation were the exclusive role of conservation specialists and scholars. However, in the increasingly interdependent age of web wisdom we observe an entirely different approach to heritage site presentation, and it may well differ from any official or agreed understanding of heritage significance of the site.

Here is a particularly striking example. In 2007 a commercial campaign to identify the New Seven Wonders of the World was sponsored by a Swiss-based foundation. It established an international system of phone or electronic voting with an associated publicity campaign. 20 per cent of the votes were placed via SMS and 80 per cent via e-mail. A total of 100 million votes were recorded, collected in a decidedly unscientific manner, whoever dialled in, however many times they chose to vote.

It is interesting to note that 14 million people in Jordan successfully voted for Petra, in a country with a population of 7 million, and that 10 million Brazilian votes were recorded for the Statue of Christ in Rio de Janeiro. Not everyone was happy with the latter result, nor with the open voting method used. The Vatican was reported to be unhappy that the Sistine Chapel was omitted, and the government of Cambodia felt that Angkor Wat should have been included.

It appears that nations such as China, India and Peru voted heavily, while Europe and America were disinterested, so the results were not solely related to internet accessibility. Understandably, UNESCO was dismissive of this commercial campaign, regretting that the initiative cannot in any significant manner contribute to the preservation of the sites selected.

The reality of Web 2.0 must be faced and factored into heritage site management and interpretation. As a communication tool its power seems almost limitless. Ultimately democratic, the future use of these media in heritage perception and presentation demands swift and responsible action.

Final remarks

In conclusion, economic globalization is at the heart of the world's most pressing problem, which is global climate change. This unfortunate development calls for political globalization to overcome chaotic economic expansion without due regard to future generations' concerns such as conserving the infrastructure of our planet, which notably comprises the more than 250,000 plant species which are the only organisms producing oxygen on which all life depends.

But also the world's cultural diversity constitutes an indispensable asset of humanity, considering that culture is the fountain of our progress and creativity.

In order to protect the natural and cultural heritage of humanity for the benefit of present and future generations,

UNESCO – as part of the UN system – tries to promote a global ethic. The adoption of six international standard-setting legal instruments by UNESCO has to be seen as an effort to counterbalance economic globalization, notably to protect the diversity of cultural expressions. In other words, countries should have the right to subsidize their own cultural industries and to take measures to conserve and promote their cultural identity.

The *World Heritage Convention*, in emphasizing our intergenerational responsibility in heritage conservation, constitutes an important ethical instrument within the concert of other UNESCO Conventions. Moreover, its World Heritage properties testify to the history of globalization. Some of the World Heritage sites are directly associated with fundamental values of a global ethic that is cruelly missing in our time.

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World Heritage sites and indigenous communities: the importance of adopting a human rights-based approach

Stefan Disko

Introduction

In June 2007, the World Heritage Committee decided to add another objective to the four Strategic Objectives adopted in the 2002 Budapest Declaration on World Heritage: 'To enhance the role of communities in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*.' The underlying reason was the recognition of the 'critical importance of involving indigenous, traditional and local communities in the implementation of the *Convention*' (World Heritage Committee Decisions 31.COM/13A and 31.COM/13B, 2007). All interested parties were encouraged to promote and implement this fifth Strategic Objective. However, no further guidelines were given as to the terms of community participation.

This chapter discusses the proper framework and terms for the involvement of indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention, and in the identification, nomination, management and protection of World Heritage sites. Many World Heritage sites are of great economic, cultural or spiritual significance to indigenous peoples, and are situated in areas over which indigenous peoples have rights of ownership, access or use.[1] The number of 'indigenous sites' on the World Heritage List is likely to increase in the future, considering that the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the Convention* now allow for cultural landscapes to be nominated on the basis of the continuing economic, social, cultural or spiritual value of those places to indigenous peoples.[2]

In accordance with international human rights law, the involvement of and engagement with indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention and in managing World Heritage sites requires a fundamentally different framework and must be based on different principles from the engagement with other local communities. Indigenous communities belong to, or constitute, distinct indigenous peoples, who as 'peoples' enjoy collective rights under international law which 'local communities' do not enjoy, in particular the right of self-determination.[3] These distinct rights of indigenous peoples were recently affirmed in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in September 2007. As an organization committed to human rights, UNESCO has a special duty and responsibility to ensure that these rights are respected, protected and fulfilled within World Heritage sites and in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*. This is essential for the credibility of the Organization, and the World Heritage Committee should not give its 'stamp of approval' to sites in which the human rights of indigenous peoples are undermined or violated.

This chapter therefore argues that in the application of the fifth Strategic Objective to indigenous communities a human rights-based approach must be followed, for which the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* should provide the basic normative framework.[4] This would not only be in accordance with UNESCO's obligation to further

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1   Some examples are Tongariro National Park (New Zealand); Kakadu National Park (Australia); Pueblo de Taos (United States); Hawaii Volcanoes National Park (United States); Manú National Park (Peru); the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (United Republic of Tanzania); Sukur (Nigeria); the Rice Terraces of the Cordilleras (Philippines); and the Laponian Area (Sweden).

2   Moreover, the UN General Assembly has recommended that UNESCO intensify its efforts to recognize indigenous heritage as heritage of humanity under the *World Heritage Convention* and the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 15).

3   According to common Article 1 of the two international human rights Covenants of 1966, 'All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development'. In relation to indigenous peoples, this right is also affirmed in Article 3 of the 2007 *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

4   As UNESCO Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura (2008, pp. 1–2) has remarked, 'the new Declaration echoes the principles of the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) and related Conventions – notably the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*, the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, and the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*.

universal respect for human rights, but also with the character and function of World Heritage sites as 'spaces for sustainable development' and 'tools for reconciliation.'[5] As recognized and emphasized by UNESCO, sustainable development and respect for human rights, as well as the protection of cultural diversity, are indivisible and profoundly interrelated objectives. The adoption of a human rights-based approach would also be in line with the exemplary function of World Heritage sites as conservation models. As stated by Koïchiro Matsuura (2002): 'World Heritage sites should serve as an example, and become conservation models for all sites, including those of more local interest'.

There are World Heritage sites which can in some aspects already be said to serve as best practice models with regard to the involvement of the local indigenous population in the site-management process. However, as UNESCO is aware, there are also World Heritage areas in which indigenous peoples have been, and in some cases continue to be, subjected to various kinds of discrimination and excluded from important decision-making processes in violation of their rights (see Titchen, 2002).

For example, there are cases in which indigenous peoples were not consulted when parts of their territory were nominated for World Heritage listing, or in the preparation of management plans for World Heritage sites. In other cases, decisions about developments on indigenous peoples' communal lands within World Heritage areas were taken without obtaining the consent of the communities concerned or even consulting them. There are also examples of indigenous peoples being restricted in carrying out traditional hunting, gathering or land use practices within natural World Heritage sites. In some instances indigenous communities have even been forcibly removed from natural protected areas which are now listed as World Heritage (see e.g. Poole, 2003).[6] Other problems include: inadequate frameworks for effective indigenous participation in management processes; disrespect for traditional knowledge and indigenous institutions; and the promotion of World Heritage sites as major tourist destinations to the detriment of the region's indigenous inhabitants.

When World Heritage sites are maintained on the territory of indigenous peoples, it must be with the consent and ongoing approval of the respective indigenous communities. Management and protection of such sites must take place according to the rules, laws and customs of the indigenous peoples concerned. It is *their* ancestral land, *their* heritage, *their* culture, *their* way of life and the future of *their* children that are primarily affected by the existence of the World Heritage site, and the tourism, infrastructure and other developments that go along with it. In the management of sites it must be ensured that the indigenous people may continue living their traditional way of life, and that their distinct cultural identity, social structure, economic system, customs, beliefs, and traditions are respected, guaranteed and protected. Appropriate measures must be taken to ensure the continuance of their special relationship with the land and their social, cultural, and economic survival as distinct communities and peoples. These should be the central considerations when the fifth Strategic Objective is applied to indigenous communities.

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5   According to its *Medium-Term Strategy for 2008–2013*, UNESCO seeks to ensure 'that the conservation of [World Heritage] sites contributes to social cohesion as loci of reconciliation and sustainable development' (para. 106). The Strategy also states that heritage has a 'triple role, – as a foundation of identity and a vector for development and as a tool for reconciliation. UNESCO will endeavour to promote participatory and inclusive policies and measures that concomitantly address the requirements of conservation and development …' (para. 105). For example, UNESCO 'promote[s] sustainable tourism at World Heritage sites with a view to contributing to the economic and social development of local communities and their active participation in the management and conservation of sites' (UNESCO General Conference, 2007, para. 1(a)(i)). In any case, it is evident that the inscription of a site on the World Heritage List often brings with it various sorts of development (tourism, infrastructure, etc.) and has various impacts on the regional economy and way of life. Clearly World Heritage sites also need to be considered in a development context.

6   According to Titchen (2002), there are even cases in which indigenous peoples have been removed from protected areas in order to justify their inscription on the World Heritage List.

The formal adoption and consistent application of a human rights-based approach would be a way of ensuring this.

The application of a human rights-based approach would help indigenous peoples living in or near World Heritage areas to exercise their right to maintain and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and cultural expressions, and their right to development in accordance with their own aspirations and needs.[7] It would help to ensure that the designation of sites as World Heritage does not contribute to or legitimize the misappropriation of indigenous heritage, and would thereby strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List. Without a doubt, it would also help to build indigenous community support for and identification with the *World Heritage Convention* and its purposes, and in this way contribute to the long-term conservation of the 'outstanding universal values' of World Heritage sites situated in indigenous territories. In case there should nevertheless be differences between World Heritage conservation interests and the collective interests of the indigenous owners or custodians of a site, the application of a human rights-based approach would ensure that such differences are resolved in a fair, balanced, and non-discriminatory way. The same applies to scenarios in which conservation interests and indigenous interests correspond, but run counter to development interests of the State Party emerging after ratification of the *World Heritage Convention*.

UNESCO's commitment to human rights

The furthering of universal respect for human rights is one of the fundamental purposes of UNESCO. According to UNESCO's Constitution, the purpose of the Organization is

> to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world… (Art. 1).

International cultural cooperation, therefore, is seen as a means to the end of fostering peace, respect for justice, the rule of law and human rights, rather than an end in itself (Lee, 1965).[8]

UNESCO's commitment to human rights was renewed in the 2003 UNESCO Strategy on Human Rights. The

overall goal of the Strategy is to '… increase UNESCO's contribution to the advancement of human rights in an era of globalization and to reaffirm UNESCO's specific role in promoting all human rights' (para. 11). This is based on the following observation:

> While globalization has created unprecedented wealth and well-being, it has been accompanied by increasing poverty, inequality and exclusion for many countries, groups and individuals. Activities to respect, protect and fulfill human rights require urgent strengthening, in order to bring about 'globalization with a human face' (para. 17).

First and foremost, the Strategy '...is aimed at integrating a human rights-based approach into all of UNESCO's programmes' (para. 10). This means in practice '…that all activities should contribute to the realization of human rights. It implies that basic human rights principles… [and] standards should guide the elaboration, implementation and evaluation of all programmes' (UNESCO General Conference, 2006).

UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy for 2008-2013 underlines that the Organization's actions '…continue to be guided and shaped by a set of commonly shared values that include justice, solidarity, tolerance, sharing, equity, respect for human rights… and cultural diversity, pluralism and democratic principles' (para. 2). It reaffirms that 'the Organization will pursue in all its fields of competence a human rights-based approach to programming' (para. 6). Moreover, the Strategy declares that the Organization will, inspired by its ethical mandate, '…respond with priority to the needs of disadvantaged and excluded groups, as well as the most vulnerable segments of society, including indigenous peoples' (para. 5).

A duty to promote human rights can also be derived from UNESCO's specific mandate within the UN system to ensure the preservation and promotion of the fruitful diversity of cultures. According to the 2001 *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity,* 'The defence of cultural diversity is an ethical imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. It implies a commitment to human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular the rights of… indigenous peoples' (Art. 4). Similarly, the 2005 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* emphasizes that 'Cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights… are guaranteed…' (Art. 2.1) and that the protection and promotion of cultural diversity 'presuppose the recognition of equal dignity of and respect for all cultures, including the cultures of… indigenous peoples' (Art. 2.3). Most importantly, of course, the protection of cultural diversity presupposes respect for the right

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7   See the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,* Preamble and Arts 23 and 31.

8   Also see the 1966 *Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation,* Arts 4, 11.

of indigenous peoples to continue to exist as culturally distinct peoples. Indigenous peoples account for most of the world's cultural diversity; of an estimated 6,000 cultures in the world, some 4,000-5,000 are indigenous, and approximately three-quarters of the world's 6,000 languages are spoken by indigenous peoples (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2001).

Last but not least, the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* specifically calls on UN specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to 'contribute to the full realization of the provisions of this Declaration' and to 'promote respect for and full application of the provisions of this Declaration and follow up the effectiveness of this Declaration' (Arts. 41 and 42). UNESCO's Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura stated (2007):

> UNESCO welcomes the General Assembly's approval of the [Declaration] as a milestone for indigenous peoples and all those who are committed to the protection and promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue. The Declaration acknowledges the significant place that indigenous cultures occupy in the world's cultural landscape and their vital contribution to our rich cultural diversity, which constitutes, as the text's preamble reminds us, the common heritage of humankind…
>
> [The] Declaration emphasizes the rights of indigenous peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions and to pursue their development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations… These issues are central to UNESCO's mandate, and the Declaration will undoubtedly provide the foremost reference point in designing and implementing programmes with and for indigenous peoples…

The interrelationship between development, human rights and cultural diversity

From the World Summits of the 1990s and early 2000s, an international consensus emerged on the close interdependence between development and human rights.[9] According to this consensus, 'democracy, development and respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing', as stated in the 2005 World Summit Outcome (para. 135).[10] Moreover, 'the promotion and protection of the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms for all is considered as essential to advance development and peace and security, and good governance at the national and international levels

is considered as essential for sustainable development' (ibid., paras. 11-12, 24, 39). Good governance, in turn, is generally understood to require respect for human rights, particularly those of minorities and the most vulnerable and disadvantaged sectors of society (UNESCO General Conference, 2005).[11] UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy for 2008-2013 reflects this consensus in stressing that in carrying out its mandate, the Organization '…will persistently seek to strengthen the mutually supporting pillars of peace, sustainable development and human rights…' (Mission statement, para. 3).

The recognition of the close interdependence of human rights and development has given rise to the so-called human rights-based approach to development, which is widely promoted within the United Nations system (see Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2006). UNESCO's Medium-Term Strategy declares that the Organization will contribute to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals '…through a human rights-based approach in all its fields of competence' (para. 69). According to this approach, the realization of human rights is seen as the end goal of development, and development is perceived as a relationship between rights-holders and duty-bearers. The impact of development projects and programmes is monitored and assessed on the basis of human rights indicators which are explicitly linked to human rights norms and principles. Importance is attached both to results and to the development process itself. In 2003, at a UN inter-agency workshop, a common understanding of a human rights-based approach to development was agreed to by the UN Agencies (see Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2006, Annex II). This common understanding consists of three points or principles:

1. All development programmes and policies should further the realization of human rights;
2. Human rights standards and principles guide all development cooperation and programming in all sectors and phases of the programming process;
3. Development programmes contribute to the strengthening of the capacities of 'rights-holders' (individuals and groups with valid claims) to claim their rights, and of state and non-state 'duty-bearers' to meet their obligations.

It is important to note, also, that development is a human right in itself, as reaffirmed in both the 2000 United Nations Millennium Declaration and the 2005 World Summit Outcome.[12] According to the UN General Assembly's 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, …development is a comprehensive economic, social, cultural and political process,

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9   See the outcome documents of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights; 1995 World Summit for Social Development; 2000 Millennium Summit; 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development; 2005 World Summit.

10   Democracy is seen as 'a universal value based on the freely expressed will of people to determine their own political, economic, social and cultural systems and their full participation in all aspects of their lives'.

11   Also see the 2000 *United Nations Millennium Declaration*, Part V. Human rights, democracy and good governance.

which aims at the constant improvement of the well-being of the entire population (Preamble).

> The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized (Art. 1, para. 1).

> The human right to development also implies the full realization of the right of peoples to self-determination, which includes… the exercise of their inalienable right to full sovereignty over all their natural wealth and resources (Art. 1, para. 2).

Therefore, the General Assembly considers the realization of human rights – including individual and collective rights, seen as an interrelated and indivisible whole – not only as an essential prerequisite to achieve development, but also as the underlying objective of development.

The *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* reaffirms indigenous peoples' '…right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests' (Preamble). Art. 23 states that indigenous peoples

> …have the right to determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development', and that they 'have the right to be actively involved in developing and determining… programmes affecting them and, as far as possible, to administer such programmes through their own institutions.

Indigenous peoples have consistently challenged development strategies that aim for '…the incessant pursuit of economic growth without the integration of cultural development, social justice and environmental sustainability' (Tebtebba, 2008). They call for a model which starts from the local indigenous concepts of economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual well-being and is based on respect for indigenous peoples' collective rights (including land and resource rights), their distinct institutions, cultures and traditions, and their legal systems and customary laws. They also stress that a 'one size fits all' approach must be avoided and that '…only local control can really fit development to local realities' (ibid). Among the terms used by indigenous peoples to differentiate their paradigm of development from the mainstream model are 'development with identity' and 'self-determined development' (Tauli-Corpuz, 2008).

Accordingly, a main objective of the United Nations' Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2014) is redefining development policies so that they are based on a vision of equity, are culturally appropriate, and respect the cultural and linguistic diversity of indigenous peoples (see UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 9 (iii)).

Paragraph 12 of the Decade's Programme of Action recommends that:

> …culture should be integrated as a prerequisite and a basis for development project design in order to build 'development with identity', respecting people's way of life and building sustainable human development.

This mirrors the policy objectives of UNESCO, which takes a broad and holistic view of development, emphasizing the indivisibility of culture and development. According to Article 3 of the *UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity,* cultural diversity is one of the roots of development, which should be '…understood not simply in terms of economic growth, but also as a means to achieve a more satisfactory intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence.' The *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* sees the protection and promotion of cultural diversity as '…an essential requirement for sustainable development' and calls on states to '…integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development' (Art. 2, para. 6 and Art. 13).[13] Moreover, within the context of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005-2014), for which UNESCO is the lead agency, the Organization stresses that '…the three pillars of sustainable development – economic, social, and environmental – are all underpinned by culture and in particular cultural diversity' (UNESCO General Conference, 2005, para. 08106).

This is in line with the conclusions of the World Commission on Culture and Development (WCCD), which emphasized that in a human-centred development paradigm, culture should not be treated as merely a means to the end of promoting economic growth, but as a desirable end in itself. Development, it maintained, '…has to be seen in terms that include cultural growth, the fostering of respect for all cultures and for the principle of cultural freedom' (WCCD, 1996*b*). The Commission underlined the importance of recognizing group rights in such a development paradigm: 'Cultural freedom… is a collective freedom. It refers to the right of a group of people to follow or adopt a way of

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12　The UN General Assembly has also mandated the Human Rights Council to consider the 'Right to development' and the 'Rights of peoples' under the agenda item 'Promotion and protection of all human rights …' in all its future work (see Human Rights Council, 2007*b*, Annex, Part V; and UN General Assembly, 2007).

13　Similarly, according to para. 5 of the *Plan of Implementation of the World Summit on Sustainable Development* (2002), 'Peace, security, stability and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development, as well as respect for cultural diversity, are essential for achieving sustainable development and ensuring that sustainable development benefits all'.

life of their choice.' The Commission added that cultural freedom is also a precondition for individual freedom to flourish: 'It protects not only the collectivity but also the rights of every individual within it. Individual rights can exist independently of collective rights, but the existence of collective rights, of cultural freedom, provides additional protection for individual freedom' (WCCD, 1996b).

Regarding indigenous peoples, the Commission noted that all over the world Indigenous peoples have been, and continue to be, forced off their lands by the processes of planned development, and denied adequate political representation in matters which concern them directly. They continue to be in danger of losing their identity as culturally distinct peoples as their land and resource base is eroded, and as the use of their languages and social and political institutions, as well as their traditions, art forms, religious practices and cultural values is restricted (WCCD, 1996b, pp. 68-71). The Commission concluded:

> The challenge today, for nations committed to cultural pluralism and political democracy, is to develop a setting that ensures that development is integrative and that there are best practice institutions built on genuine commitment to being inclusive. This means respect for value systems, for the traditional knowledge that indigenous people have of their society and environment, and for their institutions in which culture is grounded… and the right of these communities to decide their own priorities in peaceful co-operation with others (ibid).

Basic elements of a human rights-based approach to indigenous peoples' development

The basic elements of a human rights-based and culturally sensitive approach to indigenous peoples' development can be found in the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, the most comprehensive and universal international human rights instrument explicitly addressing the rights of indigenous peoples.[14] The Declaration, a non-binding instrument which does not *create* any rights in itself, elaborates upon existing international human rights standards as they apply to indigenous peoples.[15] It affirms a wide range of inherent rights of indigenous peoples, including political, economic, social, cultural, spiritual and environmental rights.

According to Article 43 of the Declaration, the rights recognized therein '…constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world'. The Declaration provides States, international agencies and civil society organizations with a clear-cut frame of reference for the formulation, implementation and evaluation of development projects and policies targeted at indigenous peoples or otherwise impacting on them. The United Nations Development Group (UNDG) has elaborated *Guidelines on Indigenous Peoples' Issues* on the basis of the Declaration and other international instruments, which '…set out the broad normative, policy and operational framework for implementing a human rights-based and culturally sensitive approach to development for and with indigenous peoples' (UNDG, 2008; see also UNDESA, 2008, pp. 13–38). In addition, one of the reports of the former UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, Rodolfo Stavenhagen, focuses on the application of the human rights-based approach to indigenous peoples (Human Rights Council, 2007a).

Such an approach to indigenous development treats indigenous peoples as subjects of rights (rather than objects of policies designed by others), and sets the realization of their rights as the primary objective of development. Indigenous peoples are identified as holders of collective rights that complement the rights of their individual members, in accordance with the UN Declaration, which sees indigenous peoples' collective rights as '…indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples' (Preamble). All projects and programmes are based on the free, prior and informed consent of the respective indigenous communities, who are involved in all stages of the development cycle, including planning, implementation and monitoring. They respond to the aspirations and needs identified collectively by the indigenous communities themselves, and should bolster their own development initiatives. No project is imposed from the outside.

The principle of free, prior and informed consent is a key principle in the UN Declaration, and an integral part of a human rights-based approach. Article 19 of the Declaration stipulates that states '…shall consult and cooperate in good faith with the indigenous peoples concerned through their own representative institutions in order to obtain their

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14 The principles set out in the Declaration complement and expand those in other international instruments such as the International Labour Organization's *Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*, 1989, and the general comments of the human rights treaty bodies (e.g. the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) *General Recommendation XXIII on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples)*.

15 As remarked by the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people, James Anaya, the Declaration 'takes basic human rights principles that are applicable to all and elaborates upon them in the specific historic, cultural, political and social context of indigenous peoples' (UN News Centre, 2008).

free, prior and informed consent before adopting and implementing legislative or administrative measures that may affect them'.[16] Relatedly, Article 18 recognizes Indigenous peoples' right to '…participate in decision-making in matters which would affect their rights, through representatives chosen by themselves in accordance with their own procedures'. Article 41 specifically calls on UN specialized agencies and other intergovernmental organizations to establish ways and means of '…ensuring participation of indigenous peoples on issues affecting them'.

Also notable in this context is that one main objective of the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People is:

> Promoting full and effective participation of indigenous peoples in decisions which directly or indirectly affect their lifestyles, traditional lands and territories, their cultural integrity as indigenous peoples with collective rights or any other aspect of their lives, considering the principle of free, prior and informed consent (UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 9(ii)).

In the Programme of Action for the Decade, the General Assembly adds that 'Particular caution should be exercised when elaborating tourism and national park projects in indigenous territories' (para. 19).

The UN Declaration further affirms the right of indigenous peoples to '… determine and develop priorities and strategies for exercising their right to development', and, '… as far as possible, to administer [development] programmes through their own institutions' (Art. 23). Accordingly, in a human rights-based approach to Indigenous development, Indigenous peoples are treated as main actors and decision-makers. Application of these principles in development programmes and projects affecting indigenous communities is a basic prerequisite for ensuring respect for the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination, and for ensuring that development is culturally appropriate and reflects the visions and interests of the indigenous peoples concerned.

Of special importance in the context of development programmes affecting indigenous peoples are their collective rights to ownership, use and control of their lands, territories and natural resources. Article 26, para. 2 of the UN Declaration affirms that indigenous peoples '… have the right to own, use, develop and control the lands, territories and resources that they possess by reason of traditional ownership or other traditional occupation or use, as well as those which they have otherwise acquired.'[17] The Declaration also affirms indigenous peoples' right to '… maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship' with their lands and resources, and to '… uphold their responsibilities to future generations in this regard' (Art. 25).

The lands and resources of Indigenous peoples are of critical importance for their subsistence and survival, their cultures, their spiritual, economic, social and cultural well-being, and the effective exercise of their right to self-determination.[18] On the other hand, they are frequently the focus of external development activities (such as logging, mining or tourism) with potentially adverse impacts. As stated in the Preamble of the UN Declaration, '… control by indigenous peoples over developments affecting them and their lands, territories and resources will enable them to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to promote their development in accordance with their aspirations and needs'. Moreover, respect for indigenous peoples' land and resource rights '… is a precondition for the enjoyment of other rights such as the rights to food, health, adequate housing, culture and free exercise of religion', as UN Special Rapporteur Rodolfo Stavenhagen notes (Human Rights Council, 2007a).

The UN Inter-Agency Support Group on Indigenous Issues, of which UNESCO is a member, has '… pledge[d] to advance the spirit and letter of the Declaration within our agencies' mandates and to ensure that the Declaration becomes a living document throughout our work' (IASG, 2008a).[19] It has also agreed that its members should review their policies and other instruments regarding indigenous peoples from the perspective of the framework of the Declaration, '…so that all policies, programmes, projects, other instruments and activities, including the application of the human rights-based approach to development, are consistent with the Declaration' (IASG, 2007, para. 9).

Moreover, while discussing the theme of Development with identity in the context of the Declaration, '…all members of the Support Group strongly acknowledged that culture must be the driving force of a development approach that is meaningful to indigenous peoples', and therefore agreed to:

> (a) Sensitize [their staff to the] application of the principles of cultural diversity, as agreed upon in the UNESCO *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (2001) and the related conventions, in their work with indigenous peoples;

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16 On the main elements of the principle of free, prior and informed consent, and recommendations on the application, see the report of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues 2005 international workshop on methodologies regarding free, prior and informed consent of indigenous peoples (PFII, 2005, paras 44–49).

17 Similarly, CERD's *General Recommendation XXIII on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (see note 14), para. 5.

18 See note 3.

19 Also see the report of the IASG's special meeting in February 2008 on how organizations of the UN system can integrate the Declaration into their policies and programmes (IASG, 2008b).

(b) Explore the possibility of using existing tools, approaches and instruments developed by different agencies (including UNESCO) to mainstream cultural diversity principles in policy and programming, articulating the linkages with the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* … (IASG, 2007, paras. 9-12).

Conclusion and recommendations

As shown, the adoption of a human rights-based approach in the application of the World Heritage Committee's fifth Strategic Objective to indigenous communities would be consistent with UNESCO's mission and stated policy objectives, as well as the concerted efforts of UN development agencies and programmes to advance the human rights situation of indigenous peoples and duly integrate the principles of cultural diversity in development policy and programming. Clearly, the World Heritage Committee should be at the forefront of these endeavours.

Other UN agencies, international conservation and development organizations and Convention bodies, have for years had specific policies and procedures aimed at ensuring the full and effective participation of indigenous peoples, and full respect for their rights, in their respective fields of competence, for instance, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP),[20] the World Conservation Union (IUCN),[21] and the Convention on Biological Diversity.[22]

Respect for indigenous peoples' collective human rights is essential for their cultural integrity and continued existence as distinct societies and cultures. Considering that an underlying purpose of the *World Heritage Convention* is to contribute to the protection of the world's cultural heritage, it is surprising – to say the least – that the World Heritage Committee has not been more proactive in ensuring respect for indigenous peoples' rights in World Heritage areas and the effective participation of Indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention. On the contrary, it has resisted efforts by indigenous peoples to become more formally and meaningfully involved in its work relating to World Heritage areas significant to them.[23] The UN General Assembly has therefore '… urged [UNESCO] to establish mechanisms to enable indigenous peoples to participate effectively in its work relating to them, such as the programmes on … nomination of indigenous sites in the World Heritage List …' (UN General Assembly, 2005, para. 16).[24]

In 2005, UNESCO Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura remarked that it is essential for UNESCO '… to strengthen the partnership with indigenous peoples by improving the mechanisms for the consultation of communities and arranging their participation in projects undertaken in UNESCO's fields of competence. A central plank of our work', he said, '… will be to give greater thought to an issue of overriding importance for Indigenous peoples –

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20 UNDP has adopted a policy on indigenous peoples which is grounded in international human rights law and unequivocally states that UNDP 'promotes and supports the right of indigenous peoples to free, prior informed consent with regard to development planning and programming that may affect them'; 'promotes the recognition of indigenous rights to lands, territories and resources'; and 'recognizes the rights of distinct peoples living in distinct regions to self-determined development and control of ancestral lands' (UNDP, 2001, paras 7, 25–30).

21 The World Conservation Congress has adopted a series of resolutions endorsing the principles in the (then draft) UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and other international instruments promoting respect for indigenous peoples' rights (including their right to self-determination and rights over lands, territories and resources that fall within protected areas), and their full and effective participation in conservation initiatives and protected area management. It has called on its members to 'comply with the spirit' of the Declaration, and support the goals of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (e.g. Resolutions 1.49 to 1.56 (1996), and 3.055 (2004).

22 For example, in Decision VII/28 (2004) the Conference of Parties (CoP) notes that 'the establishment, management and monitoring of protected areas should take place with the full and effective participation of, and full respect for the rights of, indigenous and local communities' (para. 22). Parties are called on to ensure that 'any resettlement of indigenous communities as a consequence of the establishment or management of protected areas will only take place with their prior informed consent …' (Annex, Goal 2.2.5). Similarly, Decision IX/18.A (2008), which specifically refers to the UN *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Preamble and para. 6.a). The latter Decision further encourages states to 'ensure that conservation and development activities in the context of protected areas contribute to the eradication of poverty and sustainable development and ensure that benefits arising from the establishment and management of protected areas are fairly and equitably shared … with the full and effective participation of indigenous and local communities …' (para. 19).
     According to goal 4.3 of the 2002 *Strategic Plan for the Convention*, indigenous communities 'are effectively involved in implementation and in the processes of the Convention, at national, regional and international levels', and the CoP has established various mechanisms so that indigenous communities can participate in its work. In 2002 it formally recognized the International Indigenous Forum on Biodiversity as an advisory body.

23   See the discussions around the 2000 proposal by indigenous peoples to establish a World Heritage Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts (WHIPCOE) as a consultative body to the Committee. The proposal was made because of concern about the 'lack of involvement of indigenous peoples in the development and implementation of laws, policies and plans, for the protection of their holistic knowledge, traditions and cultural values, which apply to their ancestral lands within or comprising sites now designated as World Heritage Areas' (World Heritage Committee, 2001*a*, p. 4). However, at its 2001 session, the Committee did not approve the establishment of WHIPCOE as a consultative body (World Heritage Committee, 2001*b*, p. 57).

Impact of international designation on local communities

namely their informed, free and prior consent – and its application in the processes of project formulation and execution' (Matsuura, 2005, p. 24).

The 2007 adoption of the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* provides both a reason and an opportunity for the World Heritage Committee to review its engagement with indigenous communities and to establish procedures for ensuring that activities related to the protection of World Heritage sites significant to indigenous peoples contribute to the realization of their human rights and strengthen – not undermine – their capacities as rights-holders. It provides an opportunity to establish mechanisms to support the ability of indigenous communities living in or near World Heritage areas to maintain and strengthen their institutions, cultures and traditions, and to ensure that the conservation of World Heritage sites does not occur at the expense of indigenous peoples' ability to maintain and develop their intangible cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and cultural expressions. As Koïchiro Matsuura has emphasized, 'the preservation of the world's cultural heritage must mean contributing to the protection of cultural diversity in all its forms. Cultural heritage, in fact, is an open notion evoking the universal nature of human creativity. It encompasses not only magnificent temples but also living culture …' (Matsuura, 2004).[25]

Therefore, the Committee should formally adopt and promote a human rights-based approach to development, and revise the *Operational Guidelines* accordingly. With regard to the involvement of indigenous communities in the implementation of the Convention, and all activities in World Heritage areas which affect indigenous communities, the main frame of reference should be the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* and the concluding observations and general comments of the human rights treaty monitoring bodies. In accordance with UNESCO's Constitution, international cultural cooperation should further universal respect for human rights. Obviously, this also applies to the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and the protection of World Heritage sites.

The Committee should ensure that all nomination documents, management plans and periodic reports related to 'indigenous sites' on the World Heritage List are prepared with the full and effective participation of the respective indigenous communities based on the principle of free, prior and informed consent. Before a site is inscribed on the World Heritage List, and before related development projects are undertaken, environmental and social impact assessments (ESIAs) should be carried out,[26] in conformity with relevant international standards and best practices.[27] Nomination documents and periodic reports should contain detailed information on the realization of indigenous rights and the implementation of human rights strategies, including measures taken to guarantee the equitable sharing of benefits derived from the World Heritage properties. Site-specific human rights indicators should be developed, in conjunction with the indigenous communities concerned, to measure the effectiveness of strategies and programmes and monitor the impact of development projects. It is further essential that indigenous communities, government agencies, World Heritage site staff and relevant stakeholders are sensitized to human rights principles and the human rights-based approach. The World Heritage Committee should reconsider establishing an Indigenous Peoples Council of Experts to provide advice and assistance in the implementation of the human rights-based approach, and to enable indigenous peoples to participate effectively in its work relating to them.[28] On a more theoretical note, with regard to sites listed specifically because of their indigenous cultural values, the Committee should reflect on the relationship between indigenous peoples' collective rights and the fundamental concepts of integrity and authenticity.

Due to its high visibility and international recognition, the World Heritage programme is often referred to as a flagship programme for UNESCO as well as global conservation strategies and approaches. UNESCO seeks to ensure that the protection and management of World Heritage sites '…contributes to social cohesion' and that World Heritage sites are 'spaces for sustainable

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24 Similarly, the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (PFII, 2006, p. 5, para. 16) has recommended that UNESCO 'establish an in-stitutional partnership with indigenous peoples so that they can fully participate in the monitoring and other mechanisms of UNESCO conventions … that are relevant to indigenous peoples', and 'that UNESCO establish an advisory group of indigenous experts to provide advice'.

25 In the *Yamato Declaration*, the experts assembled at the Conference called upon national authorities and international organizations en-gaging in safeguarding cultural heritage 'to explore and support investigations of strategies and procedures to integrate the safeguard-ing of tangible and intangible heritage, and to always do so in close collaboration and agreement with the communities and groups concerned' (para. 12); and on UNESCO 'to adopt and implement in its programmes and projects, where appropriate, an inclusive and integrated vision of heritage' (para. 13).

26 The purpose of such ESIAs should be not only to have some objective measure of the possible impact on the land and the people, but also to ensure that the local population is aware of possible risks, so that the proposed developments are accepted knowingly and voluntarily.

27 One of the most comprehensive and used standards for ESIAs in the context of indigenous peoples are the Akwé: Kon voluntary guide-lines for the conduct of cultural, environmental and social impact assessments regarding developments proposed to take place on, or which are likely to impact on, sacred sites and on lands and waters traditionally occupied or used by indigenous and local communities (adopted by the Conference of Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity in 2004). http://www.cbd.int/doc/ref/tk-akwe-en.pdf

development and reconciliation'. At the same time, UNESCO emphasizes the close interdependence between sustainable development, human rights and cultural diversity. It is then crucial to ensure that World Heritage sites situated in indigenous territories are exemplary with regard to respecting indigenous peoples' rights, and in supporting indigenous communities in exercising their right to development according to their own needs, pace, perspectives, visions and interests.

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Partners in site management. A shift in focus: heritage and community involvement

Mechtild Rössler

Introduction

The *World Heritage Convention* (1972) is today a globally recognized legal instrument in heritage conservation, ratified by 186 countries and covering 890 sites protected under this mechanism. While people are living in and around World Heritage sites, their role in heritage processes and management has changed considerably.

This chapter presents and illustrates a major shift in World Heritage concepts and approaches which occurred during the 1990s and concluded with the addition of 'Communities' to the Strategic Objectives under the 1972 *World Heritage Convention*. Although community involvement and stakeholder participation would seem to be a mainstream approach for heritage management today, it was not the case ten or twenty years ago.

One of the key principles under the 1972 *Convention* is the protection of the heritage of humankind for 'transmission to future generations', as defined in Article 4. Article 5 asks for 'effective and active measures' to be taken by States Parties, and in particular 'to adopt a general policy which aims to give the heritage a function in the life of the community'.

The 1972 *Convention*, one of the early conservation instruments prior to the series of instruments stemming from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, has therefore already included the notion of common patrimony and has linked people and places. However, the practice of the first decade (Rössler, 2005; 2007) was different, as most World Heritage nominations were prepared and processed by central institutions and ministries and inscribed on the World Heritage List without any consultation with local communities and stakeholders.

A shift in focus: partners in site management

When in 1992 the World Heritage cultural landscape categories were adopted by the World Heritage Committee, a major problem occurred with one paragraph of the *Operational Guidelines*: Paragraph 14 was intended to prevent unnecessary publicity during nomination processes among communities and not to raise (potentially unfulfilled) hopes of obtaining the World Heritage status. The experts of the Meeting on Cultural Landscapes held in La Petite Pierre in France in 1992 and the subsequent meeting in Schorfheide (Germany) in 1993 were however

of the opinion that particularly for cultural landscapes, but also for many other living sites, consultations with the local communities were not only useful, but crucial in the nomination process, as these communities were as a matter of fact managing the land. These considerations marked a turning point in the evolution of the *World Heritage Convention*: from a policy of not involving local people in the nomination of properties to the opposite, i.e. to consider them as partners in site management. They are today more and more considered as crucial stakeholders in all heritage processes starting from Tentative Lists to nominations and monitoring efforts. This changed the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* considerably and the World Heritage Committee made the necessary changes to the *Operational Guidelines* in 1995.

Extract from the Report of the Rapporteur of the 19th session of the World Heritage Committee (Berlin, 1995, WHC-95/CONF.203/16)

A.1 The role of the local people in the nomination process (para. 14)

Following the recommendation of the Bureau, the Committee adopted the following revised text to replace the existing paragraph 14:

14. Participation of local people in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site.

Extract from the *Operational Guidelines* (1992, see http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide92.pdf)

14. In all cases, so as to maintain the objectivity of the evaluation process and to avoid possible embarrassment to those concerned, States Parties should refrain from giving undue publicity to the fact that a property has been nominated for inscription pending the final decision of the Committee on the nomination in question.

From 1992 to 2005, when the *Operational Guidelines* first used the term 'partners in World Heritage', many on-site experiences, in-depth reflections and paradigmatic changes occurred. In retrospect, the World Heritage cultural landscapes evolution since 1992 already reflected the turning points and key stages of the Global

Impact of international designation on local communities

Strategy for a balanced and representative World Heritage List of 1994, the switch in natural heritage management from 'Parks without People' to 'Linkages in the Landscape' documented in particular through the World Parks Congress in 2003 (Durban, South Africa) and the evolution from strict conservation in protected areas towards sustainable development as a fundamental principle of World Heritage strategies.

The introduction of a fifth 'C' – that of 'Communities' – among the four 'Cs' of the World Heritage Strategic Objectives was the logical consequence of this emerging new thinking both at national level and in international discourse. In fact it was long overdue, as many World Heritage sites have been effectively managed by communities over centuries.

The World Heritage Committee is increasingly recognizing sites which are managed by local communities and indigenous people, and some sites are now officially under joint management, or local people are included in the management system.

One case is the Kayas, a series of eleven forest areas along 200 km of the Kenyan coast: the property is only in existence because the communities have protected these forests. National legislation, the gazetting of these sites only followed quite recently prior to the including of the property on the World Heritage List in July 2008: The Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests contain remains of numerous fortified villages, so-called Kayas, of the Mijikenda people (Photo 1).

The Kayas, created in the 16th century, were abandoned by the mid-20th century. They are regarded as the places of ancestors, as sacred sites and managed by councils of elders. The World Heritage Committee in July 2008 adopted the following Statement of Outstanding Universal Value of the site:

> Spread out along around 200 km of the coast province of Kenya are ten separate forested sites, mostly on low hills, ranging in size from 30 hectares to around 300 hectares, in which are the remains of fortified villages, Kayas, of the Mijikenda people. They represent more than thirty surviving Kayas. The Kayas began to fall out of use in the early 20th century and are now revered as the repositories of spiritual beliefs of the Mijikenda people and are seen as the sacred abode of their ancestors.
>
> The forests around the Kayas have been nurtured by the Mijikenda community to protect the sacred graves and groves and are now almost the only remains of the once extensive coastal lowland forest.
>
> Criterion (iii): The Kayas provide focal points for Mijikenda religious beliefs and practices, are regarded as the ancestral homes of the different Mijikenda peoples, and are held to be sacred places. As such they have metonymic significance to Mijikenda and are a fundamental source of Mijikenda's sense of 'being-in-the-world' and of place

within the cultural landscape of contemporary Kenya. They are seen as a defining characteristic of Mijikenda identity.

> Criterion (v): Since their abandonment as preferred places of settlement, Kayas have been transferred from the domestic aspect of the Mijikenda landscape to its spiritual sphere.

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Photo 1: Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests (Kenya): Rabai Kaya elders in procession – an example of continuous maintenance of a World Heritage site by local communities.

> As part of this process, certain restrictions were placed on access and the utilization of natural forest resources. As a direct consequence of this, the biodiversity of the Kayas and forests surrounding them has been sustained. The Kayas are under threat both externally and from within Mijikenda society through the decline of traditional knowledge and respect for practices.
>
> Criterion (vi): The Kayas are now the repositories of spiritual beliefs of the Mijikenda and are seen as the sacred abode of their ancestors. As a collection of sites spread over a large area, they are associated with beliefs of local and national significance, and possibly regional significance as the sites extend beyond the boundaries of Kenya.
>
> The Kayas demonstrate authenticity but aspects associated with traditional practices are highly vulnerable. The integrity of the Kayas relates to the intactness of their forest surroundings which has been compromised for Kaya Kinondo.
>
> Management needs to respect the needs of individual Kayas and to integrate the conservation of natural and cultural resources and traditional and non-traditional management practices; the authority of the Kaya elders should be established (WHC-32.COM/24).

The statement demonstrates clearly the long evolution since the 1992 decision to include cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List and the 1995 change to the *Operational Guidelines* to include people in the nomination process. It illustrates the fundamental recognition of customary law and traditional management practice by the living communities.

Assessment of values by local communities

Crucial for the process of identifying such heritage in the first place is a clear assessment of the values of these sites. The South African Heritage Resource Agency for example provides specific guidelines for the preparation of management plans. These include the identification of cultural and social values in addition to historic, scientific or aesthetic ones: 'The cultural significance or value of a site is the cultural value it holds for the community or for sections of the community' (see South African Heritage Resources Agency).

Extract from the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia 1999)

Article 12 Participation

Conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has special *associations* and *meanings*, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place.

The identification of the cultural significance of sites whether for a national register, Tentative Lists or World Heritage nominations requires the careful assessment of the different values of the site. In addition to scientific research, review of historical records and artefacts, this normally calls for stakeholder meetings and discussions, and cultural mapping. Various charters, global such as the Venice Charter (1994) or the Nara Declaration on Authenticity in 2005 integrated into the *Operational Guidelines* as an Annex, or regional such as the Burra Charter (ICOMOS Australia, 1999) provided guidance for the assessment of cultural significance.

The processes for World Heritage assessments are however different in comparison with other registers (such as national registers) or listing processes. There is a close interaction between the appreciation of local values and the outstanding universal value recognized by the World Heritage Committee. There is also a continuous reflection process back to local communities, which then feel their heritage recognized by the global community. This was specifically the focus of the 2003 Amsterdam Conference on local and universal values (World Heritage Papers 13).

In 2007 at the inscription ceremony of the Kvarken Archipelago (Finland), part of the transboundary World Heritage property of the Swedish High Coast and the Finnish Kvarken area, local communities prepared not only a World Heritage song *The Bothnian Bay* (see Kvarken Archipelago, n.d.) but also a theatre play on the outstanding universal value of the area. People were aware throughout time of the geological uplift processes following the last glaciation period for which the site was recognized under

criterion (viii) as this was part of their lives: in their lifetime their homelands moved upwards and their houses were left further from the sea. Such geological processes, which are based on scientific understanding, encompass their global significance and identify those unique areas shared by local people, in their stories and their lives.

Communities and management

The decision by the World Heritage Committee to also change paragraph 14 was fundamental for the involvement of indigenous people and local communities in site management. It was the recognition of 'shared responsibilities between them and the State Party regarding site maintenance' (World Heritage Committee, 18th session, 1994).

Today this paragraph has been further extended and illustrates the move forward towards partners in site management:

States Parties to the *Convention* are encouraged to ensure the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, including site managers, local and regional governments, local communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other interested parties and partners in the identification, nomination and protection of World Heritage properties (*Operational Guidelines*, WHC, 2008, para. 12).

With the nominations of the first cultural landscapes the question of the involvement of local people became more and more evident in evaluations and inscriptions. Management practices also changed: at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia), the renomination of the site as a cultural landscape changed its management plan: Aboriginal people, the owners of the land, are now part of site management and they tell their stories to visitors and tourists at the cultural resources centre created on the occasion of the recognition of the site as a living and associative cultural landscape. The web page of the World Heritage site demonstrates this approach: 'We, the traditional land owners of Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park, are direct descendants of the beings who created our lands during the *Tjukurpa* (Creation Time). We have always been here. We call ourselves *Anangu*, and would like you to use that term for us'.

Pukulngalya Yanama, Ananguku Ngurakutu (welcome greeting in Yankunytjatjara) *Pukulpa Pitjama, Ananguku Ngurakutu* (welcome greeting in Pitjantjatjara) - 'This is Aboriginal land and you are welcome. Look around and learn, in order to understand Aboriginal people and also understand that Aboriginal culture is strong and alive' (Nellie Patterson, Traditional Owner). Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park is not only a mixed World Heritage site linking natural and cultural values, it is a 'living cultural landscape … the physical and metaphoric heart of Australia, and was one of the first areas to be identified as a National Landscape' (see Australian Government website).

Although many natural sites are uninhabited, people in and around the sites use these places, such as the indigenous groups around the Central Suriname Nature Reserve, who travel along the rivers and have demonstrated their uses through cultural mapping, or Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Uganda), where a WWF project revealed the use of non-timber forest products by local communities. A global expert meeting on buffer zones and World Heritage held in Davos (Switzerland), in March 2008, specifically noted that the zones and areas around World Heritage sites should provide benefits for local communities.

Sustainable use and sustainable management

Another major shift could be noted in the notion of sustainable use, first introduced in 1992 with the cultural landscapes as sustainable land-use. This was directly influenced by debates from the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and acknowledged the important contribution of local communities to the protection of biodiversity, specifically agrodiversity through sustainable land use. Only in 2005 a paragraph on sustainable development was included in the *Operational Guidelines*, again reflecting debates in the World Heritage community and in the sessions of the World Heritage Committee. Over time the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme addressed issues of sustainable use in numerous projects.

The inclusion of local people in heritage management came through other, broader contexts, including discussions at the UN Forum on Indigenous People. The sixth session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, held at UN Headquarters from 14 to 25 May 2007, focused for the first time on 'Territory, land and natural resources'. More than a thousand indigenous participants from all regions of the world came together with government representatives, UN agencies, including UNESCO and civil society, to discuss a broad range of topics which also included heritage issues. Another global context is the major work by the World Commission on Protected Areas (WCPA) of IUCN which through its network promoted the shared management approach to better protect sites and advance in conservation approaches. It was made clear over time that people need to benefit from protected areas and cultural properties while ensuring their future and best practice conservation.

Conclusion

It is evident that the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and its interpretation has changed considerably over time. One facet illustrating the paradigmatic shift from strict nature reserves and single monuments to the truly shared heritage of humanity is the involvement of local communities and indigenous people.

This shift was not easily achieved, as the *World Heritage Convention* is an international legal instrument ratified by States Parties. Nominations cannot be processed by communities but only submitted by government authorities. However a globally growing awareness that our common heritage is being preserved by local people over centuries and they are truly maintaining and managing this heritage, whether natural or cultural, provided a new recognition of the role of communities in heritage preservation. This was then reflected in gradual changes in the relevant documents under the *World Heritage Convention*, such as the *Operational Guidelines*, in standard-setting guidance, such as the Burra Charter, and in best practice examples of community involvement at World Heritage sites, such as Uluṟu-Kata Tjuṯa National Park (Australia), the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests (Kenya) or the High Coast / Kvarken Archipelago (Finland).

The outstanding universal value of World Heritage sites is based on local values, local experiences and most importantly on local conservation efforts. World Heritage is not only the success story of heritage conservation efforts on a global scale, it is also a success story of local people and communities who make this global heritage possible.

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Perspectives of World Heritage: towards future-oriented strategies with the five 'Cs'

Marie-Theres Albert

Introduction

Since the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage* was adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2002, a new Global Strategy for recognizing the universality of the 1972 *Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* has been implemented (WHC, 2005*a*). Heritage 'in all its diversity, as an instrument for the sustainable development of all societies through dialogue and mutual understanding' (ibid.) is clearly being promoted. Even though the *Budapest Declaration* included measures for how diversity, sustainable development or mutual understanding through World Heritage nominations could be achieved, the implementation of this new strategy was not successful.

This is clearly evident, for example, by the fact that to this day the same type of countries with a stock of largely similar properties continue to nominate sites on an ongoing basis. At the time of printing, these stand at 911. How can diversity be achieved under this scenario? Furthermore, how can sustainable development, particularly in developing countries, be achieved if more than 60 per cent of all nominated sites belong to industrialized countries? Or how can mutual understanding be achieved if there has been no adaptation to the very formal and general concept of outstanding universal value which frequently tends to exclude the interests of the local or regional population in defining the values of a site? A critical evaluation of both the goals and measures taken so far seems to be necessary, to which tasks this chapter is devoted.

The *Budapest Declaration* was itself a recognition that not all was not well. Aware that there were enormous differences between developed and developing countries in the ways in which the potential and the limitations produced by nominating, conserving and protecting World Heritage in the 187 States Parties that have ratified the 1972 *Convention* were realized, the Budapest meeting developed four Strategic Objectives (WHC, 2005*a*, p. 6)

The realization of these objectives was evaluated in the 31st session of the World Heritage Committee in New Zealand in 2007 and a fifth objective was added. In the face of the global challenges confronting World Heritage it was decided to agree upon the Strategic Objective to strengthen 'Community Involvement' in the coming years. Thus:

> The New Zealand thesis is that the identification, management and successful conservation of heritage must be done, where possible, with the meaningful involvement of human communities, and the reconciliation of conflicting interests where necessary. It should not be done against the interests, or with the exclusion or omission of local communities (WHC, 2007).

With this understanding and interpretation of 'Community Involvement', this objective became a key concept for the future of World Heritage. Together with the other four objectives, 'Community Involvement' was intended to minimize the problems caused by different stakeholder interests and to support the development of the community. It is for this reason that I start with the 'fifth C'.

Community Involvement

Looking back at more than thirty years of implementing the *World Heritage Convention* we can see that major conflicts always emerged in the context of local, national or international interests and duties of different stakeholders involved in the whole process of World Heritage. The case of the Dresden Elbe Valley in Germany in which a plan to build a bridge over the Elbe River in a protected landscape affects its World Heritage status, inducing the World Heritage Committee to delete the valley from the World Heritage List, is the most recent and striking example of these kinds of conflicts. The status of this and any other site with or without problems is in general the following: heritage sites are created through the cooperation of multiple groups. The protection and use of the site inevitably involve just as many stakeholders. Different stakeholders pursue different interests, and when different people or groups with different interests meet each other, conflicts are inevitable.

In the context of World Heritage, conflicts usually arise on different levels between all the different stakeholders, i.e. between local actors, consultants, the respective communities and the respective governments. For example it is often the case that a local community is forced to initiate a nomination procedure in response to a decision by the government. A significant number of States Parties still hope that their international reputation might increase by constantly nominating World Heritage sites. It is also

possible, however, that a national government is not interested in nominating a site but the local community is because it hopes to increase the number of tourists visiting the site. One of the problems of the decision-making process is that both interests are usually justified by expert surveys.

Independently of the specific interest of a local or national group which intends to nominate a World Heritage site, the long-lasting activity of the nomination procedure begins in general with a specific political interest and sufficient know-how at the local level of the community. It ends successfully with a nomination by the World Heritage Committee. Each nomination process thus requires community involvement as a clearly defined concept right from the beginning. It also requires a clear communication strategy and sufficient conservation knowledge. The community has to provide sufficient technical and human resources for the whole nomination procedure. Therefore, the second Strategic Objective, 'Conservation', the third, 'Capacity-building' and the fourth, 'Communication' are constituent components of the fifth objective, 'Community Involvement'.

'Community Involvement' is not only needed in the nomination process; it is also needed because conflicts usually arise when the diverse interests of the different stakeholders clash. The concept of stakeholders underlying this chapter is a holistic one which includes individuals, institutions and organizations on different levels and with different backgrounds. For example, stakeholders often reside in a World Heritage site. They may feel that the spaces of their daily lives are being taken over or even stolen by the many visiting tourists. However, stakeholders are also business people, who make their living from the tourists and who probably feel limited in their businesses by regulations for the conservation and protection of monuments. There are countless examples of such conflicts and we could continue to list them almost indefinitely. By announcing its goal of Community involvement, the World Heritage Committee hoped that from the beginning, conflicts of interest would be recognized and resolved early.

However, the goal of stakeholder involvement, as it was formulated by the Committee in New Zealand in 2007, is not new. It goes back to the 1980s, when participative approaches with a focus on regional development emerged. Since the 1980s stakeholder involvement has been declared as the most effective strategy to ensure a balanced socio-economic and political-cultural development for structurally weak regions (Harrison, 1980).

Furthermore community involvement has been used in development policies. The justification here goes back to approaches and theories of the *Dependencia*, developed in Latin America (Frank, 1969). The Latin American *Dependencia* can be defined as 'an approach dealing with ideas for solving the problem of underdevelopment'. The main strategy of these approaches was cutting the economic dominance of the world market in order to achieve local development

initiated by the local population. Today these approaches have been transformed into strategies of education and capacity-building on different levels and can be used easily for implementing capacity-building as a strategic goal of UNESCO (Schimpf-Herken and Jung, 2002).

Even today we use planning approaches which were developed in the 1980s and 1990s and based on community involvement. These are, for example, objectives-oriented project planning strategies, project cycle management or logical framework approaches.

Within UNESCO, these ideas have been discussed in *Our Creative Diversity,* a report by the World Commission on Culture and Development edited by Pérez de Cuellar (WCCD, 1996). The report argued that the nomination and implementation of World Heritage sites can be seen in the context of social, cultural, political and economic development, processes which should involve a variety of stakeholders. Therefore, it is quite logical that the initiation of development processes becomes an integral part of the new strategy of the World Heritage Committee.

The current challenges we face with our heritage do not only result from not involving local communities in processes of nomination and protection but from a variety of other reasons. They result from a disparity between cultural and economic development interests, even though stakeholders have been involved. They can also result from the fact that the official UNESCO criteria of outstanding universal value, the authenticity and integrity of a World Heritage site are far from what people at local level identify as their heritage. The local community and their experts, such as administrative or private partners, business people or consultants, frequently do not know what the previously mentioned categories are about. If they know, they need to break this knowledge down to their own perception of heritage and this is a process which needs to be communicated. Usually, this does not happen.

For Germans or other nationals living in Germany, the Dresden Elbe Valley which was on the List of World Heritage in Danger and then deleted from the World Heritage List in 2009, is a striking example. How could the people of Dresden know that their votes for the bridge would damage the integrity of the landscape? They did not even know that integrity is an important category for defining 'outstanding universal values'. Only when the World Heritage landscape was put on the Danger List were they adequately informed and involved. Prior to that, this heritage value of integrity was foreign to them, despite a survey designed to find out people's opinions about the plan to build a bridge. The survey clearly demonstrated that most people were in favour of building the bridge.

Many of the problems raised deal with the ambivalence between protection and the potential uses of World Heritage, as different stakeholders will have different approaches to the value of the site. The conflict is between the representatives who regard the sites

only as a cultural good, and those who see them as commodities, as a product to be sold. In the first case, the cultural good will be conserved and restored within the context of social responsibility for our collective cultural identity. In the second case, it will be obtained and restored so it can be marketed better, for example, for tourism (Albert, 2006; Albert and Gauer-Lietz, 2006).

Heritage aims – by definition – at the transmission and dissemination of material and immaterial goods from one generation to the next. Community involvement is in this context understood as a constituent component of heritage. Heritage presents and represents the human being with its historical, actual and future-oriented dimensions. So far heritage is constructed through stakeholders and this again includes different perceptions. In order to prevent conflicts between stakeholders, to moderate and to communicate between them with the aim of finding problem-solving strategies, two things must be done at the same time.

First of all, all stakeholders, with their different interests have to be responsibly and adequately informed and involved in the nomination process from the very beginning. This includes, secondly, communication with all the stakeholders within the other Strategic Objectives. In the brochure about the Masters Programme *World Heritage at Work* the authors have summarized these interconnecting goals as: '... either they stand together or they fail as a whole' (University of Turin, 2008).

Credibility

Credibility stands for the objective to: 'strengthen the credibility of the World Heritage List, as a representative and geographically balanced testimony of cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value' (WHC, 2005*a*). The main aim of this Strategic Objective is to achieve a more balanced World Heritage List than exists so far and therefore achieve more international acceptance. That means the existing inequality of geographical, typological and content in heritage places. Inequality has existed since nomination for World Heritage sites began in 1978 due to the dominance of European nominations. The European heritage mainly consists of cultural heritage resulting in a most striking imbalance between cultural and natural heritage sites.

From the 911 sites currently on the World Heritage List, there are 704 cultural and only 180 natural sites. From these, again more than 60 per cent are in Europe and the United States of America. Another calculation is that in 2007 four countries had approximately 20 per cent of all sites listed: China with 37 sites, 26 of which are cultural, 4 mixed cultural and natural and 7 natural; Germany with 33, 32 cultural and 1 natural; Italy with 43, 42 cultural and 1 natural; and Spain with 40, 35 cultural, 2 mixed and 3 natural sites (WHC, 2008).

The unbalanced distribution of cultural and natural sites around the world is mirrored in an inequality of sites according to the categories for defining outstanding

universal value. From the 704 cultural sites on the List, the greatest number are classified as monuments and historic buildings. In 2005 almost 350 properties were nominated as monuments or historic buildings. Of these nearly 200 properties are located in Europe and North America (WHC, 2007). They were followed with approximately 190 World Heritage cities worldwide and out of these about 100 properties are located in Europe and North America (WHC, 2007). Rock Art, however, counts for only about thirty entries (ICOMOS, 2005) and archaeological places are represented with only approximately 170 properties (ibid.). Although the distribution of archaeological sites is relatively balanced around the world, the dominance of Europe is maintained, as both monuments and groups of buildings represent an intensely populated Europe whereas rock art or natural heritage sites are to be found in rather less-settled regions such as in Africa, Australia or Latin America (all figures from WHC, 2007).

In order to manufacture the desired balance, the 30th session of the World Heritage Committee decided in 2006, in Vilnius, to undertake a new set of management measures. These included:

• annual limit for new inscriptions,
• encouragement to States Parties to nominate natural sites,
• strategy to nominate places as bi- or more national cultural landscapes, and especially
• preferentially nominate heritage sites from underrepresented types of heritage (WHC, 2007).

The Committee also confirmed its 1999 appeal to the industrialized countries to refrain from nominating new sites in favour of developing countries. Despite these measures, it should be stated that the heritage of the Western industrialized world still dominates the List. There are many reasons for this. One of the reasons is perhaps that the whole concept of World Heritage is eurocentric. Other substantial reasons are due to the fact that the categories for nominating and protecting sites are eurocentric in their discursive frameworks (compare Said, 2003).

An example of this eurocentrism is the complexity of the nominating procedure, which requires human resources in terms of qualitative and quantitative capacities which are not available worldwide. Instead they are concentrated in Europe or North America. Despite the Strategic Objective of Capacity-building, this problem cannot be resolved in the short term. The only effective concept for achieving credibility is reducing poverty and this is more a socio-economic than a cultural issue.

Other reasons for this unequal spreading are the guidelines for conservation strategies for World Heritage sites. Here again the unbalanced distribution of economic power in the world can be demonstrated. The level of conservation and preservation of sites according to the criteria of World Heritage can only be maintained with a huge financial effort by the developing countries,

an effort which is normally unachievable. This means balancing the List between developing and developed countries, needing more than the five 'Cs'. It definitely needs a balanced development policy, including situation-oriented strategies and tools for implementation, but it also needs a process of awareness-raising of the situation of all the countries involved (developed and developing).

One of the tools that have been created in response to these problems is the programme Partnership for Conservation Initiative (PACT). It has developed concepts which are specifically targeted towards:

- development of a dialogue, exchange and interaction between all stakeholders;
- raising awareness about World Heritage;
- mobilizing sustainable resources for long-term conservation;
- international cooperation system between different institutions, organizations and companies (WHC, 2005*b*, 2007).

But, despite new strategic alliances at short notice neither the required capacity nor the expertise needed for all stages of the nomination can be built in developing countries; neither can the economic potential for convenient conservation strategies be developed. But both are indispensable for the preservation of World Heritage sites.

So far, attempts to improve the credibility of World Heritage solutions for solving the lack of power and capacity in developing countries still need more reflexive forms of development. In the short term, both the nomination and the restoration criteria must be adapted to local conditions. This requires attention to the identification of those sites that are worth protecting from a local point of view, adapting the categories of outstanding universal value to the possibilities and limitations of developing countries and consequently changing the paradigm as a whole. Attention also needs to be paid to the mobilization, education and capacity-building of the local populations. Here again, the interface of the fifth 'C' with the other four Strategic Objectives, Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication is evident.

However, a geographically, typologically and equitable distribution of cultural and natural sites throughout the World Heritage List is only attainable by pruning the entire system. I would argue that countries that have more than twenty heritage sites on the List, should not be able to nominate more properties for a defined period, rather they should be encouraged to support the nomination procedures of those countries with outstanding examples of heritage but lacking the resources for the nomination procedure. With such a measure in place, automatically the dominance of similar types of heritage which are always nominated from these countries, i.e. sacred buildings and monuments, historic old towns or parts of them, mainly from categories III and IV, would decrease. This would result in an automatic relative

adjustment to the number of natural heritage sites and more diversity on the World Heritage List as a whole.

Conservation

A further Strategic Objective, adopted in Budapest in 2002, is Conservation. In the Budapest Declaration the aim was to: 'ensure the effective conservation of World Heritage properties' (WHC, 2005a) .What is understood by effectiveness and how it is supposed to be implemented is not apparent from the definition of this Strategic Objective. In the context of past experiences, however, sustainability has to be particularly considered. Conservation which aims at sustainability should use proven technologies as well as be application-oriented and suited to the local conditions. (ICCROM, 2005).

As many examples show, the preservation of heritage, the preservation of culture and of natural heritage is always a political and participative process that needs a diverse body of experts. Preservation of heritage is therefore only possible with interdisciplinary cooperation. In this regard, it has the same requirements that are embedded in the concept of the five strategic 'Cs'.

Interdisciplinary cooperation needs communication and participation for identifying the specific sets of knowledge and skills which are needed for resolving specific conservation and preservation challenges. In many countries authentic know-how can be provided on a local basis with local strategies for conservation. I refer here to a very striking example: the traditional knowledge of Australian Aborigines for managing landscapes by the use of fire. Without their fire regime of slash-and-burn the Kakadu National Park could not be sustainably and lastingly protected (Kakadu National Park Board of Management, 2006). Nevertheless, in view of global climate change, we have to ask whether this traditional knowledge can still be used responsibly. Adaptive conservation means in this respect to join traditional and modern knowledge and to develop both further in the interest of the global community.

Apart from such positive aspects of conservation strategies for the adequate protection of World Heritage, there are also less-encouraging developments. Let me recall some examples in which such conflicts have become evident. The first example, the Old Town of Quedlinburg in the middle of Germany, describes a typical situation for most of our World Heritage listed historic cities.

Quedlinburg was inscribed in 1994 under criterion iv: In the Master Plan, a framework of measures for conserving and protecting the site was elaborated.

All protection measures had to consider conservation criteria due to the site's World Heritage status. They were thus expensive and not necessarily suited to attract private investors. The quality of life offered by the houses restored according to UNESCO standards did not meet the expectations of private investors. As a result, the

number of residents in the city centre is expected to decrease from 76,812 in 2002 to 60,934 in 2020. As a consequence, the city not only has to initiate development with less tax income, but it is also losing its attractiveness for tourism (Landesportal Sachsen-Anhalt website).

In many cities nominated as historic, the same trend can be observed. People move away from the city centres because the houses do not meet the modern requirements expected by most people. Houses renovated according to the standards of World Heritage conservation are either no longer attractive or too expensive. The people move away and the historic town centre loses its vital function.

It is therefore not surprising that many historic town centres went through a change of function. 'Inhabited' World Heritage cities were turned into visited or rather 'invaded' cities by tourists. The most striking example is the World Heritage site of Venice and its Lagoon. World Heritage status turned the cultural asset of the city into a commodity which is exploited by tour operators at bargain prices – resulting in cities being visited by hundreds of thousands of visitors per year. How is a historic old part of town, which had in its time a few hundred inhabitants, supposed to deal with 100,000 visitors annually? Not at all, is the answer. To that extent, it is reconstructed as a Disneyland.

Countless further examples illustrate that the third 'C', Conservation, is still far from reaching its desired goal. In order to interpret this strategic goal in more detail, I would like to mention that World Heritage conservation needs to be aware of the conflicts between the suitability of cultural assets, the compatibility of museality on one hand and modernity on the other. These considerations would have to be formulated – if possible – as an addition to the Strategic Objective of Conservation. Only out of these considerations can adequate strategies for World Heritage conservation emerge.

Capacity-building

A further Strategic Objective is Capacity-building. According to the Budapest Declaration, capacity-building aims 'to promote the development of effective capacity-building measures, including assistance for preparing the nomination of properties to the World Heritage List, for the understanding and implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* and related instruments' (WHC, 2005a). The United Nations Development Programme recognizes that capacity-building is a long-term, continuing process, in which all stakeholders participate (ministries, local authorities, non-governmental organizations and water user groups, professional associations, academics and others) (Global Development Research Center, 2008).

With the goal of stakeholder involvement, capacity-building and communication is not only targeted to improve the *World Heritage Convention* (WHC, 2007), but to implement UNESCO's objectives in general. With its larger objectives UNESCO aims at creating peace in

the world. Therefore, in additional to the *World Heritage Convention* the international community has created other legal instruments, most recently the *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions* (German Commission for UNESCO, 2007).

Peace in the world is based on a common agreement upon the diversity of cultures and therefore on raising awareness about this. The diversity of cultures on the other hand is based on the recognition of the heritage of mankind as a resource which creates identities. That is why the heritage of mankind is to be opened to as many parts of the population of the world as possible, and be used as a lasting resource. In addition, it requires comprehensive education, training and capacity-building programmes, identified here at three different levels in the fields of education and capacity-building.

In order to be able to interpret this Strategic Objective, we need to be aware that capacity-building includes education on different levels and for different target groups. Education furthermore requires the consideration of historical, philosophical and political educational contexts. Capacity-building is therefore quite a complex goal which needs to be successfully implemented in the short term.

At the first level, education and capacity-building deal with future-oriented approaches in World Heritage studies in general and in heritage management and conservation strategies specifically (Albert et al., 2007; WHC, 2007). There is still a worldwide lack of local experts in these fields; therefore there is an urgent need for training at institutions of higher education. Teaching staff from universities around the globe dealing with heritage management training and conservation training, and practitioners in the field should cooperate in developing heritage management training concepts (Logan, 2007).

These concepts should include either development of management skills or standards of teaching and learning methods, either multidisciplinary conservation concepts of heritage sites or their implementation in the demanding field of tourism development.

At the second level, education and capacity-building deal with different target groups in a more practical sense. This level refers to the everyday work of heritage site management and related problems. It has already been mentioned that many sites have become important factors for socio-economic development with increased conflicts between protection and use. Potential stakeholders of heritage sites need to learn how to explore the possibilities and limitations of the involvement of different target groups (Richon, 2007).

Those concepts have to consider the current economic downturn all over the world, which has led to decreasing public funding for education and professional training as well as cultural programmes in a narrow sense. For that reason, new forms of participation, cooperation

and financial support have to be found. Concepts like public-private partnerships, corporate social responsibility and entrepreneurship become important against the background of economic recession. Also the responsible involvement of children and teenagers in the development of sustainable concepts of heritage use is needed and they should be trained (Horn, 2007; Hutchings, 2006).

Cooperation with the private sector is a further means. Concepts of such relations and their implementation have to be analysed and conveyed in academic research and teaching. It is thus necessary to define and develop forms of participation necessary for a sustainable balance of 'give and take'. The task of universities is the transfer of science, technology, knowledge and creativity into those concepts.

At the third level, education and capacity-building deal with future-oriented approaches in heritage education in schools. Teaching staff and educational planners from national and international educational institutions need to be prepared to implement heritage education into school curricula. Conceptually, this has to be done together with pupils and experts in educational studies and curriculum development. Teaching and learning concepts of heritage need to be developed and implemented. Furthermore, in this field multidisciplinary and sustainable heritage education strategies for creating awareness and consciousness of future generations have to be developed (ICCROM, 2000; WHC, 2005; Deleplancque, 2007; Ströter-Bender, 2007).

Communication

So far, the Strategic Objectives have been Community involvement, Credibility, Conservation and Capacity-building, with all their strengths and weaknesses. Now, we look more closely at the fourth 'C' – Communication. In the Budapest Declaration, Communication means: 'increase public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through communication' (WHC, 2005).

In the World Heritage PACT (Partnerships Initiative), aspects of communication and education were emphasized, in particular computer-based communication strategies. Beyond this, the implementation of the strategic goal of communication was reinforced by heritage communication in museums, as well as by means of the production of photographs and their archiving in databases. Not least, these endeavours succeeded in establishing 'heritage days' in schools. They succeeded in expanding all these activities to communities and municipalities and improving overall heritage presentation strategies in different media.

Heritage – which we have set ourselves to protect – resulted from the combination of human know-how and its communication. It can be seen as the material and technological application of this knowledge. Therefore it depends on complex communication and negotiation

processes – in terms of support and resistance – of the different stakeholders and pressure groups. And only by considering these various processes and interests, can the protection of World Heritage turn into a living and lived reality. This again presupposes communication on the different processes of protection and use.

How can such processes be organized? In addition to my previous recommendations regarding community involvement, I would like to refer here to some fundamentally new ideas which were developed by Britta Rudolph, an alumna of the World Heritage studies programme in Cottbus, in her outstanding doctoral work.

Using the example of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, she proves that the value of a heritage site cannot be assigned only by classifications such as architectural quality, artistic, historical and technological, or as an outstanding example or unique representation. Heritage always contains immaterial values – meanings or functions – which are ascribed to heritage in communicative processes. Only by these processes does heritage become attractive for a local population. Rudolph (2007) writes:

> Other themes approach the Umayyad Mosque in the role of an assistant of religious duties or the search or proximity to Allah … further roles are those of a social platform, … with the character of a facilitator of social exchange, social encounters or social practices; and last but not least it (the Mosque) constitutes a symbol, home, power, government legitimation or religious identity.

How could we express better that heritage always has a personal dimension and that in the discovery of this dimension the actual and lasting goal of heritage protection becomes a reality? For the strategic goals of community involvement and communication the population living near the heritage site must participate actively. The local community must ascribe its respective values or functions to the site. Only in doing so will people accept and value their heritage sites. Only in doing so will lasting protection and sustainable use become possible.

The five Strategic Objectives are therefore, on the one hand, steps in the right direction. On the other hand, they must be supported by and founded in subjective factors and experiences. Only if the individual is enabled to understand, interpret and appropriate the heritage of mankind as personal heritage and inheritance, can protection and use of heritage become sustainable. Only in doing so does the individual develop a relationship with heritage and only then can she or he act responsibly. Feeling and behaving responsibly for any kind of heritage is a challenge for future-oriented developments and only possible if the goal is accepted by both the individual and the community. Individual and collective responsibility is therefore the precondition for a sustainable community development.

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Challenges of tourism for communities

2

Heritage, tourism and local community interactions within the framework of site management

María José Viñals and Maryland Morant

Introduction: general approaches to heritage and tourism

This chapter examines the nature of the relationship between heritage conservation, local communities and tourism as elements to be considered in site management plans for protected areas, especially UNESCO World Heritage sites.

Natural and cultural heritage have always been major tourist attractions. In contemporary societies however, tourism has become an increasingly complex phenomenon, especially in World Heritage sites and protected areas. Tourism is now recognized as having cultural, ecological, socio-economic and political dimensions.

Over the last forty years, one striking characteristic of social change worldwide has been the increase in mass tourism. Excessive or poorly managed tourism and tourism-related development can threaten the physical nature, integrity and significant characteristics of heritage. The ecological setting, culture and lifestyles of host communities may also be degraded, along with visitors' experience of the site.

The reasons behind that situation are: high visitation levels at many sites, construction at sites or areas adjoining them not in keeping with World Heritage values, few sites with tourism management plans, lack of staff to monitor impacts, few sites educating visitors and local people about World Heritage and a site's importance, inability to involve the tourist industry in addressing critical site problems, etc.

UNESCO designation of a World Heritage site involves the drafting of a management plan (*World Heritage Convention*, 1971) for the conservation of resources and heritage. This was one of the first requirements that the *World Heritage Convention* made of governments seeking World Heritage status for their sites. When the implementation of the *Convention* was under way, the most obvious concern was heritage conservation (and remains so), but nobody anticipated how attractive inclusion on the World Heritage List would be for the incipient culture/

nature tourism that began to develop during the 1970s. As the socio-economic effects of tourism were immediately noticeable, as well as the impacts, in subsequent years (1980s) UNESCO addressed the issue of appropriate management of tourism. As a result, among the items to be considered in a designation, the World Heritage Committee has included tourist management tools as well as for local communities to be involved in the overall site planning process.

Through the World Heritage Centre (WHC, 2001) the *Convention* also provided all contracting parties and stakeholders in heritage management with guidelines (World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme) for planning and tourism management at World Heritage sites. Other bodies, such as the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 1995; 1999; 2002), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS, 1999), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the Convention on Biodiversity (2004), were working along the same lines.

The *Guidelines* publicized by UNESCO greatly helped to orient national policies to make conservation and public use of protected areas compatible in face of the high volume of visitors who since the 1990s decided to travel to these destinations. However, we have found that to date most listed sites are no better conserved than prior to designation in spite of many having made large capital investments for restoration and maintenance and of the large number of tourists whose income should have contributed to site improvement and maintenance. *National Geographic* (Tourtellot, 2006) analysed the impact of tourism on popular tourist destinations and the most recent scorecard of the ninety-four World Heritage sites threatened by tourism. One of the worst placed is the Historic Ensemble of the Potala Palace, Lhasa (China) due to the impact of mass tourism, also Kathmandu Valley (Nepal) and the temples of Angkor (Cambodia). A number of destinations are weathering the tourist onslaught with strength and vigour. First on the List are the Western Fjords of Norway, followed by Spain's Alhambra,[1] both well protected and well managed by their local communities.

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[1] The Alhambra is one of the most visited sites in Spain. Its yearly Recreational Carrying -Capacity was set by the Regional Government of Andalusia at 2,900,000 (8,400 per day for April–September and 6,800 for September–March). Current flow rate is almost at that level and Granada City Council has run a set of innovative urban strategies to conserve, manage and ensure wise use of the cultural heritage (Troitiño, 2000).

Management instruments do not appear to be as common as they should be or they are applied incompletely or inappropriately, few evidencing tourist and social perspectives being integrated into the plans. Resource conservation absorbs virtually all the human and material efforts of the authorities responsible for site management. The almost forty years that the *Convention* has been in force has evidently not been enough to improve site conservation status, and in some cases, there has been obvious physical and spiritual deterioration, partly caused by tourism.

Although the above-mentioned documents on guidelines set out the essential role that local people must play in the planning and management of World Heritage sites and protected areas, there are few references to the way in which they must be involved. Why is there no attempt to venture beyond the realm of good intentions?

A few reflections on World Heritage sites and the conventional tourism development model

Institutional guidelines for developing tourism at World Heritage sites and Protected Areas. An appropriate approach?

The first step in the search for explanations regarding malfunctions involves reviewing whether the items that inspired some of the plans were suitable and served for all World Heritage categories. The *Convention* includes very varied protection resources that run from cultural landscapes, historic sites, built environments and biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge, even living experiences, including local identities.

Thus, implementing a Tourism Management Plan for a monument, landscape or historic city is not the same as doing so where local people are the attraction *per se*, especially indigenous people (community-based tourism). When a community's heritage is the substance of what it offers visitors, protecting it is essential. Exceptional treatment is called for given that extremely vulnerable communities are involved and their survival as a culture is at stake. The collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and in the future. Extreme care must therefore be taken, bearing in mind all the ethical precepts that the situation

demands. The major challenge for heritage tourism programmes involves ensuring that tourism does not destroy the very qualities that attract visitors to the site.

Without going into too much detail, we should note that approaches to the tourist dimension of heritage in the above-mentioned documents have to date been made from the perspective of the large-scale tourist industry, which deals with large numbers of tourists all over the world.

Many tour operators (high-volume companies) were consulted when drawing up guidelines on tourism at World Heritage sites and even involved in heritage conservation programmes. In 1996, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNTWO) and the Earth Council launched Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry based on the Rio Action Plan. Some other very useful documents exist, such as the UNEP (2005) document in which managers have to ensure that tourism results in an overall net benefit for World Heritage sites. Also from that time a large number of publications are devoted to best environmental practices in the tourist industry, some published by large tourism consortia (Wight & Associates, 2001, IHRA/UNEP, 2003). These companies have advertised measures to attract the large environmentally friendly tourist market, and quality certification has been established, based on those principles, such as the Green Globe 21 launched by WTTC in 1994.

Managing natural and cultural tourism products is mainly in the hands of conventional tourism companies that have identified opportunities to open new markets associated with heritage. Popularizing the destinations has entailed the proliferation of infrastructures and facilities at sensitive sites, making the iconic seem commonplace. Furthermore, as indicated above, this is the fastest growing segment of the tourism demand and the one that most swells tourism statistics worldwide. However, as pointed out by Fennell and Weaver (2005), this does not always guarantee the environmental and sociocultural sustainability of the destinations, nor awareness-raising among tourists.

It is clear that many major tourism companies have greatly improved not only their image but also their efficiency in managing natural resources and in taking them into account in safeguarding heritage. However, companies are still largely ruled by the criterion of financial profitability, which leads them always to hover on the threshold of permissive use of the iconic attractions and to overlook (consciously or unconsciously) the limitations of the support resources on which the industry is based, for example drinking water and land.

Regarding land use, the areas close to many World Heritage sites have been subjected to pressures and unwanted overdevelopment and deterioration. There are many examples of resorts and vacation-home sprawl, especially on coasts and islands, that have led to difficulties in maintaining the diversity of natural and scenic environments and in ensuring continued resident access to waterfronts. Furthermore, water pollution, solid waste, energy consumption, water usage and overly bright night-time lighting are among the usual consequences of inadequate approaches to tourism.

World Heritage sites, as we have seen, are important elements in the tourism products provided by both high-volume and specialist tour companies. High-volume tour companies increasingly offer excursions as add-on options to their holiday packages, including trips to World Heritage sites. Many specialist tour operators providing nature-based, adventure or cultural trips report that protected areas are important items in their tours although the protected status of these areas is often not specifically promoted to clients.

Beyond the environmental impacts

We have observed how nomination as a World Heritage site by UNESCO has enhanced the appeal of many sites regarding tourism in a way for which they were not prepared. Although it may involve a useful source of income, it affects the ecology and cultural dimensions as well as the spiritual dimension of the site.

Beyond all the environmental impacts and degradation of natural and cultural heritage that many places experience when they are exploited for tourism and about which a substantial scientific literature exists, this chapter focuses on other less tangible impacts, such as cultural impoverishment and the 'devitalization' (loss of vitality) that many sites experience, especially those where the local population is an essential part of the site.

The impacts involving the intangible values and functions of heritage are very often more important than the physical ones, but have received less attention both from World Heritage site management bodies and from the academic world as they are sometimes difficult to detect, measure and value and even harder to deal with.

The most obvious consequences of these impacts are loss of authenticity, a lower appreciation of the site's culture and heritage within the wider community, loss of integrity and definitely, a loss of the 'spirit' of the place.

Loss of authenticity at a site is connected with cultural impoverishment and is appreciable where tourist frequentation rates are high. The original value or attributes are lost and traditional functions are replaced by other more superficial ones less closely associated with the site. Something exclusive is gradually transformed into something less important or more common through a process of commodification that is usually in the hands of people from outside. As Pedersen (2004) points out, too many tourists can turn intangible heritage into folklore. In such circumstances heritage becomes just another product on the market, rather than a unique and special feature. There is often conflict between those who regard the sites as a cultural asset and those who see them as commodities, products for sale. Cultural assets will be conserved and restored within the context of social responsibility for our collective cultural identity, whereas in the second case they will be obtained and restored so as to be marketed more effectively, for example to tourism.

This change in functions is well-known, especially at historic centres, monuments and sacred sites, as well as in natural areas. It has particular repercussions on sites with important intangible values associated with the local population.

Thus, as Albert (2011) points out in this book, many historic town centres become visited, or rather invaded, by tourists. The local people feel that the spaces of their daily lives are being taken over or even stolen by the many visiting tourists and they move away because the city life costs are too expensive and they probably feel also limited in their businesses by regulations for the conservation and protection of monuments. The ties that bound them there are disappearing and the historic town centre loses its vital functions. Such is the paradigmatic case of Venice (Italy), where Venetians live not in the historic centre of the island but on the mainland city of Mestre, and where traditional festivities, such as the Carnival, are nowadays a quaint show more for tourists than for locals.

There are also consequences for tourists as in the long term these areas become less attractive. It is a well-known fact that cultural heritage is a human creation and therefore its inherent intrinsic values are lost as the civilization gradually becomes distanced from its culture. Therefore, the symbiosis works better not only as regards heritage conservation but also tourism. In this regard, local communities that confer greater added value to heritage are the direct heirs of the civilization that created it, as intangible values are constantly fed into the site. This is the case of the indigenous people who have preserved their environmental know-how and the resources associated with their activities. There are also good examples of minority cultural groups immersed in modern civilizations seeking to recover their roots, such as the Crow Indians of Montana and other US Reserves, who have returned from cities where they were never well integrated in order to live a life more in harmony with their ancient customs and beliefs. It is also the case of the Garifuna people in Honduras, who have managed to preserve the language and customs associated with life in Caribbean coastal areas.

In other situations, however, a local community has fully accepted as its own heritage that which was created by others. One example can be found in the monuments of ancient extinct civilizations such as those at Petra Archaeological Park, whose origins lie in the ancient Nabataean civilization. Nowadays, the largest local community at the site, the Bedouins, regard it as their own as having been there for centuries it is they who infuse it with life.

In some cases, groups are totally divorced from the heritage passed down to them by their ancestors. In parts of Central America, for example, there are now more Maya people than when that civilization was at its height and at Maya sites such as Copán (Honduras) or the Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan (Mexico), the spirit of the site is no longer perceptible.

In other cases, rather than spontaneous or forced abandonment by the local population, the underlying reason why the World Heritage sites and protected areas become less vital is the so-called 'museum effect', caused voluntarily or involuntarily by the authorities responsible for the site and affecting both cultural and natural heritage. This effect results in the artistic value of heritage features being preserved by isolating and sealing off the heritage (over-protection) as if it were a museum piece so that large numbers of visitors can see it up close in an orderly way. It is, therefore, cut off from many links and connotations with the society that created it or uses it. At some extremes this conservation strategy involves physical barriers. The nature of the heritage is altered and removed from its context. Caves, for example, are fenced off or screened with glass, buildings (churches, markets, etc.), which until recently fulfilled a social function, are turned into museums that local communities can no longer use. We must bear in mind that physical barriers to protect heritage create psychological barriers not only for visitors, but also for local communities.

In natural protected areas, this 'museum effect' is felt wherever there is too much public use in terms of either relative surface area given over to recreational areas or of visitor numbers, a large number of infrastructures and facilities and indiscriminate access to very sensitive areas. All these factors give rise to artificiality, leading to a loss of authenticity; some natural protected areas, for example, may seem more like zoos than the wild areas that we intend to protect. As a result, we increasingly see that in order for areas and heritage items to be adequately preserved, we resort to the most restrictive legal solutions such as 'Integral Reserves' or purpose-built replicas of original sites (Morant and Viñals, 2008).

The seeping away of a site's vitality equates to what ICOMOS (Declaration of Foz de Iguaçu, 2008) has highlighted as the loss of the 'spirit of a place', i.e. the vital essence that expresses the site's identity arising from the relationship between a specific culture and the site where it develops. Interaction of tangible and intangible components in natural and/or built settings is crucial for preserving the identity of the communities that created them and which have passed them on over generations.

This fall in vitality entails the loss of the segment of interpretative visitors who are interested in heritage, in exchange for growth in a less specialized sector of demand (dumbing down of the visitor profile) which is less demanding, with a very high perceptual capacity and therefore a very low level of satisfaction from the visit (Morant, 2007). This involves a risk for the site because once visitor psychological comfort is assured, entry numbers may increase, even to the extent of drawing large crowds, thereby generating impacts on the site as a result of both the recreational activities themselves and the proliferation of tourism infrastructures.

Furthermore, tourist demands have changed considerably in recent years, becoming much more diverse. Today's interpretative cultural heritage travellers are better travelled and educated than previous generations and they expect more from their travel experiences. This makes quality and authenticity more important than ever before (WHC, 2005). These higher expectations and increasing competition for visitors' time also mean that the visitor experience has to make the site or programme come alive.

Restoring a site's vitality and spirit is a complicated operation that cannot be obtained by means of monetary investment (as is the case with physical restoration of heritage). Rather, it tends to involve social issues that affect local communities which often have had no control over the situation in which they find themselves. It is important to bear in mind that any solution that attempts to replace the true protagonists of the site runs the risk of ending up like a theme park.

It is also important to bear in mind that heritage is part of a shared past and is a source of community identity and that working on heritage preservation helps to strengthen a common sense of identity within a community.

The current guidelines on tourism are insufficiently or inadequately formulated and implemented for such cases. As set out in the Geotourism Charter3 supported by *National Geographic* (2006), a sound plan is needed which provides protection and enhances the appeal of the destination by encouraging business to make a sustainable contribution to natural habitats, heritage sites, aesthetic appeal and local culture.

Tourism and local community considerations

Local community and stakeholder involvement

Local communities' involvement has several facets. Normally, local people at a World Heritage site or protected area become involved for the first time when a site is designated, followed by approval of plans and programmes. Their participation is particularly interesting when a financial development plan, usually involving tourism, is devised to boost the area. Besides local people, stakeholders play a major role. Raising awareness, public communication, sharing of information and training are crucial aspects all through the designation process and must include all actors at all levels.

Local people make a contribution by providing their points of view, which may range from total acceptance to rejection of the schemes. Many local communities are not motivated to become involved although they are aware of the importance of participating and that they are entitled to take part. The reasons for this lack of motivation are very varied, but include the lack of confidence in the institutions, the fact that the process is very laborious and drawn out, loss of collective values of society in comparison with an increasingly marked individualism, many and varied interests regarding land, and so on (Viñals, 2006).

Operability is badly affected as regards both local communities and the authorities when problems arise once plans and projects have been approved or even implemented *in situ*. The most advisable option is usually to achieve a consensus on decision-making in order to avoid social friction and additional financial costs.

Another perspective of local community participation involves stakeholders being actively linked to designation. This usually occurs when designation of the World Heritage sites may yield financial benefits for residents if they become actively involved. In such cases, public participation awakens greater interest, and there is also a clear financial inducement for the local population.

Thus, the process differs depending on the kind of option involved. In the first case it is more a question of expressing opinions in a public consultation process in which all views are valid and taken equally into consideration. This usually involves consultations and claims. Where contributions to local economy are involved, World Heritage site designation should also lead to the identification of the actors who will take responsibility for governance and development of the designated area. They need specific training so that the implementation of capacity-building is truly effective because it must not be taken for granted local people and stakeholders in particular are sufficiently prepared to deal with management or handle future business.

Tourism projects are usually the first to be identified as providing income for the local community. However, this opportunity does not escape the attention of tour operators, who see World Heritage sites or protected areas as very attractive emerging destinations. Thus, inbound tour operators are usually included in the process of identifying stakeholders and soon provide the chief thrust in the tourism sector and a guarantee of successful marketing of the natural or cultural tourism product. This situation usually tends to satisfy the authorities at first as there is a major flow of international tourists from the outset and the destination's popularity increases. Small business people linked directly or indirectly with tourism do not have many opportunities initially due to lack of capital and professional experience. Thus, the role of local people is restricted to providing the labour force in large hotel chains or similar jobs.

These issues are particularly interesting in developing countries, where models of planning and managing heritage are very vertical and centralized and local authorities play a very important part by organizing offer, which usually focuses on internationally well-known iconic destinations channelled via tour operators. In such cases, local community involvement is sometimes minimal as are the precautions needed to conserve resources which are usually relegated in favour of development. Furthermore, tourism becomes too important, incurring the risk that the local economy is obliged to depend on trends in international demand.

True participation by local communities and indigenous people in developing countries is to be found in marginal areas outside the usual international circuits. Municipal corporations and NGOs play important roles in organizing the offer side of the tourism industry. In Latin American countries, there are many examples of stakeholder involvement in which funding to implement tourism projects usually comes from international cooperation agencies guided by a spirit that basically seeks to alleviate poverty and promote local development (Robinson and Picard, 2006). The usual problems associated with these proposals are a lack of professionalism when designing the tourism product (neither potential demand nor distribution channels, etc., are well defined) and difficulties in marketing small products in remote places. Planning and managing heritage tourism must be conducted by experts in the field and professionals in order to ensure viable results. These projects also often lack economic sustainability as when the aid ends, the activity usually declines, as it cannot be sustained in the marketplace.

In developed countries, there has so far been a lack of confidence in the idea of tourism at World Heritage sites or protected areas being the only item in the economy. It does, however, provide important input. In any case, these countries represent the largest volume of real and potential

demand and are where trends and fashions regarding destinations are generated and where the World Heritage sites have more and better facilities for public use, thereby generating reference items for consumers which the latter then try to find when they travel outside their country.

World Heritage site or protected area designations in developed countries may have the same features as in developing countries if they are in marginal rural areas or small settlements. If a site is located in a large town or city, both public consultation and stakeholders' involvement are minimal.

First, in the case of urban areas, neither the environmental nor socio-economic effects of tourism associated with World Heritage sites and protected areas are easy to distinguish from those caused by other factors as there are a series of synergies and a diversity of assets that cannot be teased apart. Cities are ready to absorb impacts; urban society is less vulnerable to social impacts and the economy is usually more diversified. Thus, in such cases, local community involvement focuses more on the consultation setting and consensus when it comes to decision-making regarding actions to be carried out and which has more effect on people's ways of life than their financial situation(except in small historic cities, as mentioned above).

However, as Wirth and Freestone (2003) point out, it is evident that heritage tourism represents new opportunities for urban revitalization and entrepreneurship. As cities adopt more 'creative' approaches to urban development, culture is being actively tapped to enhance city image and amenities.

At any given time not only World Heritage sites or protected area managers may be overwhelmed, but local authorities may also be unable to manage their own territorial planning and that of the tour operators. International tourism companies (such as cruise lines) often do not even have direct links with protected areas or World Heritage sites. Such is the case of Pico Bonito National Park in Honduras, where tour operators try to impose conditions of site access without taking into account the guidelines set by site managers. Another example is the Pingüinera de Punta Tombo in Argentina's Patagonia region. Concepts such as public-private partnerships, corporate social responsibility and entrepreneurship become more and more important in such situations.

Another common situation involves stakeholders planning without taking into account the limits of the World Heritage sites or protected areas. In technical terms it could be said that there is no confrontation between the results of the analysis of site recreational carrying-capacity and tourism carrying-capacity in the municipality or affected area. The former provides information on the number of visitors a site can handle without its resources suffering damage and enabling visitors to have a satisfying experience. This analysis must be taken as a starting point

in planning the necessary tourist infrastructures so as not to overestimate provision (tourism carrying-capacity) as the greatest environmental impacts are usually caused by urban development as a major consumer of land and water. Therefore, before embarking on a large or small tourism initiative, site managers should have a clear understanding of the level of tourism appropriate to the site based on financial goals, conservation objectives and available resources. Preparing management, business and financial plans that systematically identify all the costs and benefits associated with managing tourism can be useful.

Tourism in World Heritage sites or protected areas as a way of benefiting local communities and site conservation is currently facing a credibility crisis due to inadequate recognition of the potential conflicts between projects and activities and heritage conservation. This is because in many World Heritage sites and protected areas, tourism models governed by supposed environmental and social sustainability precautions that are difficult to demonstrate have been implemented, giving rise to serious environmental and territorial problems.

Tourism, World Heritage sites and territorial planning

In general, the international designation process is based, as mentioned above, on public recognition of the fact that a particular site's values and functions merit the application of specific rules and constraints. The political process is based on the agreement that World Heritage site or protected area status will be beneficial for the sustainable management of the area, representing a common heritage. Socio-economic benefits of international designations are expected to support conservation, labour markets, structural changes and the reduction of environmental/cultural restoration costs. Benefits are likely also to affect local communities and individual stakeholders, at least in the long term.

Another problem is that in World Heritage sites or protected areas where there is a tourism planning instrument, it is usually designed strictly for the site surroundings, being inadequately integrated into territorial legislation because current mechanisms provided through international designations are not sufficient for proper territorial planning. It means submitting this area to specific rules and constraints, and the surrounding area is normally affected by legislation that is less protective and/or with different strategic guidelines.

A tourism development model such as a conservation plan for the World Heritage site or protected area must be integrated into current territorial planning procedures where they exist (territorial planning and/or urban planning). The management plan would then be a single, integrated and comprehensive document, with contributions from all stakeholders and interested groups and individuals. Besides being site-specific, it has also to take into account planning aspects in the surrounding area. Also, international designation

should be seen as a dynamic process that does not merely focus on the particular moment in time when international recognition is obtained. Furthermore, the territorial planning process needs to take into account traditional knowledge and should develop mechanisms to connect science with territorial planning and transfer traditional knowledge to planners and managers.

The responsibility for drawing up and implementing integrated management plans lies primarily with national or regional authorities. The involvement of public authorities in tourism planning and management is decisive. Firstly, this is because resources and heritage are at stake and their preservation and conservation as public assets must be guaranteed. Secondly, because implementing tourism activity falls to the private sector and, therefore, national/regional legal frameworks need to be better harmonized in order to control actions affecting sensitive areas.

Some authorities have drawn up specific comprehensive plans for protected areas whose implementation is complicated except when small areas are concerned. There are also cases of territorial plans for vast territories that include protected areas and which are of an all-embracing nature. However in terms of practical management there are many problems when it comes to carrying them out in the spirit in which they were devised. Difficulties also arise due to there being many authorities with overlapping powers and whose measures are very difficult to coordinate. For example, the City of Venice and its Lagoon has twenty-two authorities (Stato, Regione, Provincia, Communi, etc.) with powers relating to this site (Viñals and Smart, 2004).

Some promising initiatives that attempt to coordinate actions in European Protected Areas have been successful to a certain extent, such as the European Charter for Sustainable Tourism driven by the European Federation of Regional Natural Parks (EUROPARC, 2000).

As regards large cities with World Heritage sites, the model of tourism planning follows the patterns for the city itself in which all tour operators (large and small) have a place. In rural and natural areas the model to be applied must specifically cover involvement if local communities are truly to be brought on board and to satisfy the requirement for social sustainability. Economic sustainability will be fully achieved if the previous requirements are met. This option encourages small and medium-sized local companies, ensures that locals 'own' the heritage and safeguard it to a greater extent than if it were in the hands of companies from other parts of the same country or even from abroad. It also ensures controlled growth.

Conclusions … 'ifs and buts'

In summary, we propose the following:

- Everyone must understand that the relevant authorities have set limits for World Heritage sites and protected areas in order to safeguard their values and functions.
- If the World Heritage sites or protected areas are to be open to the public, there must be thematic interpretation programmes and facilities in order to guarantee minimum impacts and maximum awareness.
- The World Heritage sites or protected areas need a specific tourism management plan integrated into territorial planning for the site. The plan must necessarily take into account territorial limitations (available natural and human resources) in order to monitor the number of tourist infrastructures it can hold. Therefore, recreational carrying-capacity and tourist carrying-capacity have to be determined and harmonized in accordance with the territorial planning goals and sustained growth.
- Tourism management plans for the World Heritage sites need to prioritize local community and stakeholder involvement and establish guidelines for project execution.
- Economic benefits from tourism must flow directly and mainly to local communities, who must manage the activity. Specific training must be provided for people working in tourism (tourist guides, service providers, travel agents, etc.) and World Heritage sites or protected area managers and staff.
- Social benefits and a better quality of life are welcome if they do not imply a trivialization of residents' lifestyles and a loss of traditions and habits.
- The heritage site image must be designed with a differentiated branding aimed at an interested and/or specialist public and conducted by professional experts according to scientific criteria. It is important to understand the kind and amount of tourism that a community can handle (effective carrying-capacity).

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Tourism and the perceptions of local communities: case study of the World Heritage site of the Historic City of Ayutthaya, Thailand

Russell Staiff and Somyot Ongkhluap

Introduction

In the October 2007 edition of *World Heritage*, Jonathan Tourtellot of the National Geographic Society wrote of tourism as the 'biggest threat and benefactor' of World Heritage sites. Although he did not specifically state it, others have made it clear that the 'threat' is not only to the heritage resource itself but can extend to those communities organically connected to World Heritage sites. In the tourism research literature there has long been an attempt to understand the impact tourists have on the various environments (physical, cultural, social, economic and so forth) of destination communities. 'Cultural impacts' is a term readily found in the tourism literature and rarely is the notion an entirely positive one. It is often related to terms such as 'commodification', 'modernity', 'globalization', 'rupture', 'loss of traditions' and so forth. In the early 1990s Robert Wood wrote memorably of the governing metaphor which seemed to dominate the research scenario: it was as though tourism and a destination community were billiard balls, each a discrete entity and tourism was the white ball hurtling towards a stationary coloured ball, the destination, that then 'suffers' the impacts of this external force! (Wood, 1993).

This chapter looks at the perceptions that the destination community of Ayutthaya has towards the many tourists who visit Ayutthaya historical park and attempts to make sense of the relationship between tourism and this vibrant regional city just 80 km north of Krung Thep (Bangkok) in terms of the perceptions the locals have about the effects tourism has on their lives, and whether the cultural dimensions of these perceptions/realities are in fact the result of tourism.

Ayutthaya: city of myth and history

Ayutthaya was Thailand's royal capital city for some 400 years from 1893 BE or Buddhist Era (1350 CE or Common Era) to 2310 BE (AD 1767). Ayutthaya was established on a fertile alluvial plain at the confluence of three rivers, the Chao Phraya, Pasak and Lopburi. A moat connecting the rivers to the north and south created a well-protected island upon which the city was built. Further defence was provided by 12 km of brick walls with their fortified turrets and the ninety-nine gates, including twenty water gates.

Ayutthaya was essentially a water-based society: water for transportation, irrigated rice paddy fields, fishing and symbolically for the Buddhist culture that arose at the site (for descriptions of the site see Leksukhum, 2000; Lekhakula, 2000; Nanta, 2000). Ayutthaya, with its extensive canal system, was regarded by European travellers as the 'Venice of the East'. The word Ayutthaya refers to the mythological city of Ayudhya described in the Hindu epic the *Ramayana*. Ayudhya was built for humans at the command of the god Shiva (as opposed to its rival city Lanka, built under the command of the god Brahma for a race of giants). The connection to the Ramayana not only symbolically united Ayutthaya with the ideal of benevolent and virtuous kingship, but also gave divine rule an ideological locus. The name also underscored the Khmer influence on the political culture of the city (Heidhues, 2000, p. 61). At its height the Ayutthaya kingdom was both powerful and prosperous and commanded a vast Thai-speaking empire of subject towns and cities. European travellers, traders and diplomats, in their accounts, were dazzled by the wealth of the city (especially the use of gold in the hundreds of Buddhist temples) and the exoticism of its ritual life (Lekhakula, 2000, pp. 24–33). However, in 2310 BE (AD 1767), the city was sacked by the Burmese army and largely destroyed. Such was the scale of the destruction that the Siamese court re-established itself, first in Thonburi and then in Bangkok. The old Ayutthaya was never rebuilt.

The city was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1991 under criterion (iii) as set out in the *Operational Guidelines for Implementing the World Heritage Convention*, although it was nominated under criteria (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v) and (vi) (Saipradist, 2005; WHC, 2005). Criterion (iii) refers to sites 'bearing a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared' (WHC, 2005, p. 52). As Peleggi has explained, the inscription illuminates the strong nexus between Thai heritage or *moradok*, nationalism (and its insistence on the historical narrative of the modern nation-state that draws a line between the Historic Town of Sukhothai, Ayutthaya and Bangkok) and the so-called three pillars of Thai cultural and social identity, Buddhism, the Monarchy and the State (Peleggi, 2002). This relationship is both represented and enacted, over and over, by tourism to Ayutthaya: in the promotion and marketing of the place, in the guidebooks and in the way the tourist experience is constructed at the site (Peleggi, 2002).

Contemporary Ayutthaya: city of tourism

The Historic City of Ayutthaya hosts over 1 million international visitors per year according to the Tourist Authority of Thailand (TAT, 2004), mainly day-trippers from Bangkok, of which 72 per cent are from Western countries. The total represents about 10 per cent of the annual international arrivals into Thailand (Saipradist and Staiff, 2007). In other words, more than 720,000 visitors are from Western countries and the numbers are growing annually. TAT has calculated that the current rate of growth is 1.7 per cent per annum. In addition, the historic park receives 1.7 million Thai visitors (TAT, 2003 figures). The distribution of visitors throughout the year is uneven. For internationals, the peak months are July-August and November-January. For Thai visitors, the peaks are associated with the two major festivals Loi Krathong, the lunar festival in November and the Thai New Year, Songkran Festival in April. Light and sound shows, with fireworks, in the archaeological site continue to be a feature of Songkran. The modern Ayutthaya is a provincial capital and an important regional city with a population of over 55,000 inhabitants. Some 92 per cent of the province is agricultural and it is one of the most important rice-growing regions of Thailand (TAT, 2000).

Like most communities that are intimately connected geographically to a major World Heritage site, the relationship is diverse and complex (Leask and Fyall, 2006). Inhabitants can be directly connected to tourism as local guides, souvenir sellers, restaurant owners and their staff, taxi and *tuk-tuk* (small taxi) drivers, accommodation owners and their staff, tourist operators, provincial government officials in the tourism sector and so forth. Others who live in Ayutthaya would not see themselves as part of tourism, yet with an influx of more than 2.7 million per year to a quite defined and contained geographical precinct it is obvious that the tourist phenomenon cannot be completely ignored. Similarly, the relationship between the archaeological park and the rest of the city varies from strong connections (more to do with Buddhism and sacrality than *moradok*) to indifference (Saipradist, 2005).

Community values and community perceptions of tourism

In 2006–2007 a study of community perceptions of tourism impacts was undertaken using a methodology that focused on community values. An archival study and interviews with a number of tourism stakeholders produced a list of tourism issues for Ayutthaya. These were then converted into values; what it was that communities valued when they identified tourism issues. These values were then placed against all the tourism activities undertaken by tourists, everything from visiting *wats* (temples) through to elephant rides. The values and activities were constructed as a matrix and then this was given to a large number of tourism operators, tourism stakeholders and residents who were asked to note whether the tourist activity, in relation to the value, was a positive or negative or neutral relationship or was the perception that the value and the activity had no relationship (for details of the methodology see Staiff et al., 2007).

Unsurprisingly, the economic benefits of tourism were seen to be highly positive as they related to what the residents of Ayutthaya most valued with nearly 60.4 per cent of respondents seeing a positive relationship and only 13.3 per cent perceiving a negative relationship. Employment and income generation received more than 80 per cent positive response. In the case of sociocultural impacts, less than half of the respondents (46.8 per cent) saw a positive relationship and 21.2 per cent perceive a negative relationship while a further 22.3 per cent saw no impact of tourism on their values (Figure 1). One particular set of activities seen as related to tourism and regarded in a particularly negative light was that connected to night-life including bars, discos and karaoke with nearly 60 per cent of respondents expressing negativity. Respondents were evenly divided over how tourism contributed, or not, to the quiet and peaceful environment of the archaeological park, with nearly 50 per cent viewing the impact as negative.
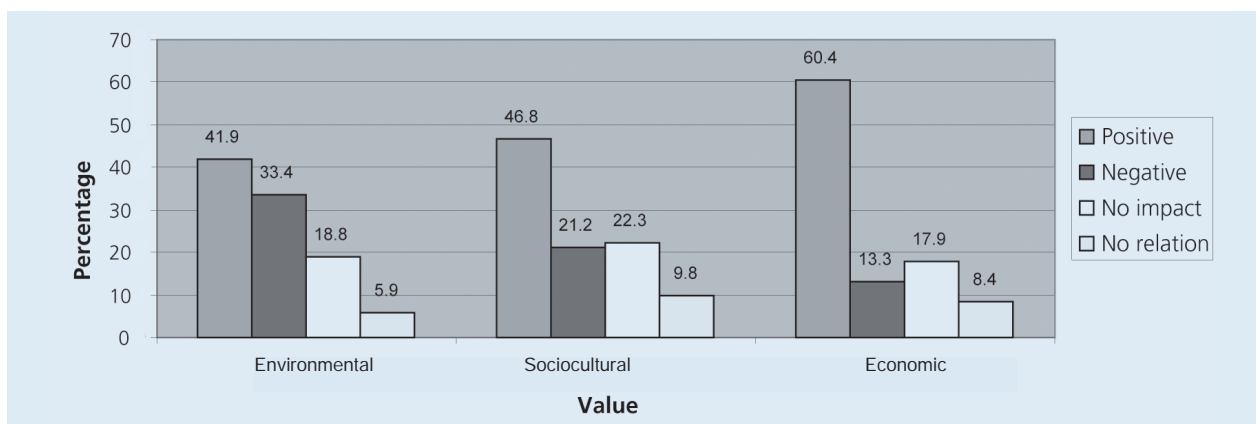

Figure 1: The perception of tourism impact on environmental, sociocultural and economic values.
Source: Authors' elaboration

Community values and ethical issues[1]

In interviews, and the comments respondents made when undertaking the matrix survey, it was clear that major ethical issues were brought to the surface by the perception of tourists in their midst. On the one hand, the community valued highly the economic opportunities that tourism brought to Ayutthaya – and this is consistent with the many studies of tourism impacts. However, the data also revealed that the economic fruits of tourism have not necessarily been spread equitably and the high number of day-trippers and the seasonality of tourism along with the drastic effect on visitors numbers by events like the 2004 tsunami, produced a series of concerns about economic sustainability by tourism operators, vendors and guides working in the archaeological park. The proximity of Ayutthaya to Bangkok is viewed as a blessing and a curse. A blessing because it means high visitation (especially compared with Sukhothai World Heritage site, an earlier royal capital, some 420 km north of Bangkok by road) but a curse because Bangkok draws the tourists back each night and so those in the restaurant, shopping and accommodation sectors of Ayutthaya believe they are hugely disadvantaged. The research also revealed that there was a disquiet about the ethical behaviour of those who made their money from tourists, with nearly a third of respondents perturbed by the way tourists were being exploited by local vendors and *tuk-tuk* drivers.

There were also clear concerns about the environmental costs of tourism's success with 40 per cent of respondents commenting about traffic congestion and safety and parking issues within the archaeological precinct and nearly 50 per cent of those surveyed expressing anxieties about air quality as a result of the number of coaches and cars and mini buses in the city each day. However, against these negatives, the local community perceived a strong positive relationship between tourism and their own identity with over 80 per cent suggesting that tourism promoted a good image of their community, raised local awareness and understanding of World Heritage, produced pride in themselves and facilitated the conservation of historic buildings. Just less than 80 per cent believed that tourism leads to the recovery and the preservation of local 'folk' wisdom and the preservation of local culture, traditions and way of life.

At the same time, tourism was strongly related to two vitally important sociocultural aspects of Thai life. Unlike the international tourists who visit the World Heritage site as a 'city of spectacular ruins' with a focus on Ayutthaya's past, Thai visitors and locals have a perception of Ayutthaya that is deeply spiritual and patriotic (these two things are powerfully fused). The temples of Ayutthaya (the ruins as Western visitors regard them) remain sacred places of Buddhist devotion and ritual. But the place of Ayutthaya in the Thai nation, as a former royal capital, is equally important and so in this fusion of Buddhism, royalty and the nation, Ayutthaya is a locus of Thai identity formation and expression (Peleggi, 2007).

Tourist behaviour in the monastic precincts is therefore of considerable importance and this extends to the tourists' modes of dress as well as physical interaction with the site and with each other. The 'peacefulness of the site' is therefore coded. It hinges on the spiritual nature of the site and the respect that most Thais have for both the Buddha and the monarchy. 'Quietness and peacefulness' is regarded as a way of being in these places for both Thai visitors and locals. Western tourists (some three-quarters of the international visitors) (Saipradist and Staiff, 2007) can, therefore, be a source of consternation. Because of Thai conventions of hospitality, Thai unease about the behaviour of *farang* (the Thai word for Westerners) is rarely communicated to the tourists themselves. Indeed, the Thai word *kreng-jai* (being afraid of offending someone and being considerate about another's feelings) encapsulates the response towards visitors by an older Thai generation, even in the face of inappropriate behaviour. For example, deep offence is caused by photographing Buddha statues in an improper manner, wearing shorts, climbing on a stupa and, above all, putting one's head in place of a missing Buddha head on statues. For local people, communicating the disquiet is not only a matter of *kreng-jai* but it also involves a fear and shyness about communicating in English.

In the future things may change in this regard. Younger Thais try to avoid *kreng-jai* because it makes them fearful of speaking their minds and they increasingly prefer a more assertive self-confidence. English language skills are also more widespread in younger generations especially those in the tourism industry and so there is a clear responsibility for tour guides and others to confront Western tourist behaviours that cause such deep offence to those who live in Ayutthaya.

The Westerners, however, cannot entirely plead ignorance about their behaviour. A visitor survey at the Ayutthaya World Heritage site, undertaken in 2004, revealed that 42.3 per cent of Westerners used a guidebook

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1 The use of the term 'ethics' can be problematic because of the different conceptualizations and renderings in Western and Buddhist thought. The term is used purposely here because of its centrality in the expression of Thai thinking and Thai perceptions. In Buddhism, 'ethics' relates to living in accordance with *dharma* (or 'natural' law) to produce happiness and fulfilment (as opposed to transgression and the production of suffering) (Keown, 1996). It is not about following moral rules of right and wrong but about 'mindfulness' and motivation and intention as a way of overcoming attachment and desire (Gethin, 1998; Trainor, 2001). This comes closest to the Socratic and Aristotelian idea of ethics as self-realization via the virtuous life of wisdom and courage with happiness the end-point. Buddhist ethics also resonates with those strands of 20th-century Western ethics discourse that focus on the principles for discerning the best consequences, although unlike Buddhist ethics, in Western societies actions are very pronounced compared with intentions (Irwin, 2007). What is critical here is that ethics, in either Western or Buddhist philosophy, is not reducible to morality and moral codes.

to navigate through the site and of these some 60 per cent used *Lonely Planet Thailand*. Lonely Planet, along with other well-used guidebooks such as the *Dorling Kindersley Eyewitness Travel Guide to Thailand*, are quite adamant about etiquette, body language, behaviour at temples and dress codes (Saipradist and Staiff, 2007). In the Historic City of Ayutthaya there are also cautionary signs about appropriate behaviour.

In the case of the tourist intrusion into sacred spaces, the ethical issue is clear. With regard to the nightlife activities, the ethical issue is equally clear but whether tourism is the source of the problem is far from certain. The research has shown that in fact there is little in the way of nightlife (bars, discos, etc.) in Ayutthaya compared with Bangkok and other popular tourist destinations in Thailand. One of the reasons has to do with tourism patterns. Overwhelmingly, most tourists to Ayutthaya are day-trippers who do not stay overnight. Even after the light and sound shows performed at night in the archaeological park, most returned to their Bangkok hotels. The few 'night spots' in the city are, nevertheless, a touchstone for local community concern.

The reasons are complex. Family life is a central characteristic of Thai society but so is the strong hierarchical structure of social relationships. Thus, within families, the highest levels of respect are reserved for parents and grandparents. Children, no matter what age, have important responsibilities for both their elders and their family. Nightclubs are therefore regarded as spaces that are the antithesis of both family spaces and sanctioned communal spaces (such as the market place and the *wat*). Further, nightclubs are associated with alcohol and illicit drug consumption; criminality; and lax sexual morality. For young Thais to visit a nightclub, or be part of a nightclub generation, is not only to be associated with dubious places and behaviour, it is often deemed to be an affront to family values and family responsibilities. Alcoholic consumption continues, on the whole, not to be part of the world of Thai teenagers. Alcohol consumption is, however, strongly associated with *farang* tourists, especially younger tourists. This perception is not hard to fathom given the 'party' atmosphere of the bar precincts in Bangkok, Pattaya, Phuket and many of the island resorts. Rightly or wrongly, therefore, nightclubs are deterministically linked to tourism. The so-called 'corruption of youth' has been a major government concern and there has been, in recent years, a resolute effort to control nightlife through enforced early closing times of clubs and bars. One of the major reasons for this clampdown has nothing to do with tourism but a society-wide concern about teenage motorbike gangs, the way they disturb communities at night and the sexual behaviour of members of teenage bike gangs. Through the media in particular, these gangs have been constructed as the antithesis of familial and communal relationships and responsibilities. Despite the role of teenage gangs, the campaign to control nightlife has reinforced the idea that tourists and nightclubs are harmful to Thai teenagers and

young adults. The negative connection between tourism and nightlife in the matrix survey of residents in Ayutthaya is, therefore, both predictable and understandable.

Nevertheless, unlike the 'peace and quiet' of the historic park, the role of tourism in relation to nightlife, and all it stands for, is far from clear-cut. The ethical dilemmas presented by nightlife are likely to have another, but profoundly related, companion – modernity.

Tourism and modernity

The links between tourism and modernity have received considerable scholarly attention (see, for example, the important work of Wang, 2000). It has also been a central theme in development studies (see, for example, Sharpley and Telfer, 2002) and in studies of globalization and tourism (see e.g. Meethan, 2001). The links have also animated the study of the relationship between tourism and culture (see e.g. Robinson and Picard, 2006; Smith, 2003) and the anthropology of the cultural impacts of tourism (the classic study being Picard, 1996; and more recently, Bruner, 2005; Cole, 2008).

Recent studies in Thailand (Staiff and Promsit, 2005; Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006) have illustrated that it is exceptionally hard to distinguish between changes wrought by modernity and changes resulting from tourism, especially as tourism is itself a vector of modernity. A study of the cultural impacts of tourism, via the representations of culture, in several *sois* (small streets), where the *sois* in an acknowledged tourism space (in Pattaya) were compared with a non-tourism urban space (Thanon Rathchawithi in Bangkok) revealed that the similarities far outweighed the differences. It could be shown that a dominant driver of cultural change, whether in a tourism precinct or not, was modernity with all its attendant characteristics: globalization, commodification (and display culture), transformation, development, capitalism, consumption, mobility, the mass media, differentiation and non-differentiation simultaneously of the local and the global and so forth. In the study tourism as a distinct entity and an agent of change 'disappeared' into modernity. Modernity, however configured, was a better way of describing change than tourism *per se* (Staiff and Promsit, 2005).

The study of the perception of tourism development in three northern Thai villages reached a similar conclusion. At the village level the role and impacts (both positive and negative) of tourism were interwoven with the advent of modernity. Village communities, it was found, tended to perceive both issues and changes holistically across what in the West would be called multiple sectors, from infrastructure development (such as roads) to host-guest language barriers. Conceptually, the Thai participants in the study made no distinction between the changes associated with modernity (in all its various and contradictory guises) and those affected by tourism. Indeed, they were deemed the same thing (Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006).

Modernity, tourism and community values

The Ayutthaya study of community values and perceptions of tourism indicated a series of tensions that have been described in other studies of tourism in Southeast Asia (see, for example, Hitchcock et al., 1993; Teo et al., 2001). The economic benefits that are derived from tourism are overwhelmingly seen as positive when standards of living are seen to rise from employment and income generation. And in a country like Thailand where inbound tourism is so crucial to foreign receipts the effects are noticeable. In 2006 there were 13.82 million arrivals that generated estimated revenue of €9.8 billion (TAT, 2008). However, these economic benefits from tourism are in fact connected to economic development in general. The higher standards of living in Thailand come at the end of a period of rapid economic growth and technological change as the Thai economy has globalized. And with this has come an upsurge in consumer capitalism. Once, as recent as the 1980s, the arrival of electricity in remote rural villages was a symbol of development; now it is the television and DVD player along with refrigerators and washing machines. And herein lies the rub. Thais have embraced the benefits of modernization, whether it is roads or transport or white goods or scientific agricultural practices or digital technologies or urbanization and the shopping mall, but these sit alongside a social and cultural system that is potentially threatened by the changes or, at the very least, is in tension with the changes (Askew, 2002). What research has revealed is that places experiencing tourism want a mixture of modern and traditional lifestyles where neither threatens the other and where there is community-level participation about defining this 'mixture' (Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006). This desire, it was found, either suppresses the threat/tension or ignores it or is uninformed about the consequences of development for traditional lifestyles. And above all perceptions at the level of individual communities do not necessarily recognize that culture is always changing, always dynamic, always riven by conflicting narratives and is a human practice of signification and representation (Benhabib, 2002; Tanabe, 2008.).

In Ayutthaya, economic benefit is valued as much as respect for the quietness and peacefulness (in attitude as much as tranquil landscape) associated with the holy places of Buddhist meditation and ritual. The nightclub scene, however, is a type of touchstone connected to other dimensions of globalization and social change. The concerns about inappropriate behaviour and respect for 'traditional values' are as much about the various products and effects of modernity by, and upon, a younger generation of Thais (along with the associated anxieties around modernity) as it is about *farang* tourists. Western tourists, in this view, are both symbolic of and an incarnation of social and cultural formations around modernity that are deeply contested within Thai society (Askew, 2002; Peleggi, 2007; Tanabe, 2008).

Conclusion: strangers in our midst

The ethical landscape is therefore complex. Tourism in Ayutthaya reveals a series of tensions that are made visible by the constant presence of strangers in the city. The desire for economic well-being jostles with a variety of other values that are considered important to the inhabitants of the city. Kwame Anthony Appiah argues in *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006), that the presence of different behaviour does not in itself mean 'cultural contamination' and the perceived cultural conflict often attributed to so-called 'host-guest' relationships in tourism research (see, for example, Robinson and Boniface, 1999). This is a reminder of Wood's billiard-ball metaphor that has so often governed such conceptualizations. If the ethical issues around the perceptions of Ayutthayan residents about tourism and nightlife and the influence on young Thais was conceptualized as 'cultural contamination', then this presupposes two things: first, an essential and unchanging culture; and second, that 'culture' is an entity, like a billiard ball, that can be acted upon. Neither of these propositions can be defended. Appiah illustrates that the 'different behaviour' of 'strangers in our midst' will be 'read' in many different ways including making it clear what the 'locals' – in this case those who live and work in Ayutthaya – value and, maybe, why they value these things. Beneath the concerns the Ayutthayan community members expressed about the 'quiet and peacefulness' of the historic park and the bar and disco scene at night is exactly this: the interaction between tourists and the city starkly reveals what is deeply valued by the local people.

This is not to suggest that tourism is always benign. It clearly is not and the threats posed by tourism to natural, cultural and social environments, worldwide, have been well documented. At many World Heritage sites the pressures from tourism are critical. Nevertheless, the study at Ayutthaya suggests that local scenarios are crucial when assessing tourism impacts and that it is not easy – or indeed, perhaps even possible – to generalize about the dimensions (ethical or otherwise) of the complex cultural entanglement arising from tourism in communities with propinquity to World Heritage sites that have high visitor numbers. Perceptions, it was discovered, were as strong as 'realities' and, therefore, perceptions need to be accorded proper weight in any consideration of how local communities within World Heritage places respond to international visitors because they provide a window onto what such communities value.

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Internet applications for strategic communication, tourism and local communities in relation to heritage

Lola Teruel and María José Viñals

Introduction

UNESCO World Heritage status helps to enhance many sites' attractiveness as tourist venues and provides opportunities for local communities, who see tourism as a way to development and an advantage as regards conserving and passing on their values and culture. However, that same opportunity can become a threat when the basic principles of sustainable development are not applied given the interest kindled by tourism flows and the resulting large numbers of visitors flocking to the site (Pedersen, 2002).

Such flows and visitation intensity at World Heritage sites reinforce the importance of having management tools that advocate conservation and sustainable development (Inskeep, 1991; UNWTO, 2005). In addition to other tourism management tools, those designed to promote and publicize destinations may, besides promoting an exchange of useful information about the site, permit other Strategic Objectives explored here to be met.

Tourists are a particularly important target for these communication media because the way they interact with the destination, their motivations and preferences and the activities they pursue, etc. – in short, their experiences – shape their final assessment, which must be satisfactory for the destination to continue to be able to contribute to local development and provide for direct involvement in the creation of new products and tourist activities.

This research focuses on new information technologies and communications (ICT), especially the internet, applied to tourism as a means for tourists to contact and communicate with destinations. The tourist experience begins with a search for information on the destination, usually on the internet. The internet therefore provides a channel of communication and an information tool prior to travelling (Pan and Fesenmaier, 2006).

The protocol presented here is based on communication and use of ICTs, particularly the internet, as a channel to minimize negative impacts and boost those that enhance the credibility of tourism based on the sustainable management of World Heritage sites or Protected Areas. The protocol covers the use of the above-mentioned technologies by all agents involved, especially local communities.

Internet and heritage tourism management: Which technological tools are used in tourism?

In the travel and hotel business the tourism industry has for years been using new technologies as a tool for marketing products and services. Global distribution systems (GDS) and computerised reservation systems (CRS) are currently available to users via on-line travel agencies and interactive marketing portals, such as Expedia (Buhalis and Law, 2008), in order to facilitate consumer access to travel purchases.

Tourism destinations have also evolved as regards the way they are promoted, publicised and marketed thanks to the application of information and communications technologies, particularly the internet (UNWTO, 1999*a*; 2001). There is a striking correlation between the various stages in the development of the internet and developments in promoting and publicising tourism destinations and World Heritage sites from Web 0.0 to Web 2.0.

In its early days the internet was mainly used to promote tourism destinations through advertising messages and the provision of useful information for travellers (UNWTO, 1999*b*). This stage gave way to a second more interactive one involving destination marketing organizations (DMO) and e-business for the sites (UNWTO, 2001), with reservations being made via the major global distribution systems. The third stage, Web 2.0, features the capacity for social interaction (Castells, 2001) using such technologies as blogs, wikis, virtual communities.

In a further step forward, new scope for social interaction involves modelling marketing and communication strategies for destinations, offering tourists the chance to influence other internet users by expressing their opinions on destinations. Another consequence of this social interaction is user involvement in selection processes and enhancement of certain destinations such as the recent nomination of the new Seven Wonders of the World (New 7 Wonders, 2007) with the expectation and interest which that involved as regards certain destinations, including World Heritage sites and Protected Areas.

Trends in tourism indicate increasing 'tailoring/customizing' of travel (UNWTO, 1998; Buhalis and Law, 2008) and a decline in traditional tourist packages. This trend will require a major flow of information among all the agents involved, as well as control of that flow.

In order to respond to the changes that are taking place, the internet, in its capacity as an information management tool, offers major advantages and opportunities for local actors, local communities, managers and planners. One great advantage is undoubtedly the creation and easy management of websites. On the consumer side, the democratization of the internet has involved large-scale consumption of tourist products and easier tourist access to destinations. The various capacities associated with ICT applications in general and the internet in particular as regards promoting, marketing and communicating with tourism destinations are summarized in Table 1. However, a destination's technological standard is not always the same for all users in different parts of the world. This analysis and data-gathering exercise focuses on setting indicators for development standards and advanced use of ICTs.

Capacity	Advantages	Users	ICTs	Web phase
Information	Broadcasting information	Tourists Stakeholders	Websites	Web 0.0
Promotion	Resource enhancement	Stakeholders	Tourism portals Web pages	Web 1.0
Marketing	Sale of entrance tickets, activities and other products and services	Tourism Stakeholders	Databases	Web 1.0
Communication	Information gathering	Stakeholders	e-mail	Web 1.0
Demand observatory	Influence on supply creation	Planners/managers Stakeholders	Brief questionnaires	Web 1.0
Training	Virtual classrooms	Stakeholders	Training platforms	Web 1.0
Social interaction	Gathering information Influence on consumer habits Evaluating preferences regarding planning	Tourist stakeholders	Blogs Web pages Wikis	Web 2.0
Involvement	Information Influence on development Consensus	Stakeholders Local communities	Intranet e-mail	Web 2.0
Funding	Search for funding Establishing international networks Sharing information	Stakeholders Tourists Residents	Programmes for volunteers Banking organizations	Web 2.0
Tourism management	Control of loading capacity	Stakeholders Planners/managers	Databases Web pages	Web 2.0

Table 1: Capacities associated with ICTs.
Source: Adapted from Carbonara (2005).

Potential of the internet as a tool in the sustainable management of tourist destinations

Aware of the need to take action in order to control tourism and create wealth in a sustainable manner for destinations, UNESCO is setting out a series of actions along three major lines via the Sustainable Tourism Programme (WHC, 2001).

- Developing and expanding the World Heritage Tourism Programme Framework to build management capacity and provide alternative livelihoods to promote conservation;
- Building strategic partnerships to support sustainable tourism as a conservation tool at World Heritage sites;
- Aiding the World Heritage Committee, the States Parties, the World Heritage Centre and field offices on tourism-related issues.

These principles are based on interaction with tour operators and local communities. In theory, the latter's ties and involvement with World Heritage sites are crucial, but that importance is not always taken on board in practice. At certain destinations not all stakeholders participate on equal terms. Tour operators who take tourists to World Heritage sites or Protected Areas require certain basic conditions in terms of infrastructures. Their contribution is made in the form of income from park entrance fees, sales of souvenirs, but without there being any close cooperation with the site. Furthermore, the relationship is not an equitable one as there is no balance between the destination and the tourism industry.

The methodology presented here seeks to adapt the principles set out by the World Heritage Sustainable Tourism Programme (WHC, 2001) and other international charters (UNWTO, 1995; 2001; UNEP, 2002) based on dialogue with the tourism industry, especially tour operators and other stakeholders and local communities. It involves

checking whether the principles set out by UNESCO and other international bodies and conventions are applied on the ground for the benefit of local communities. Thus, this protocol revision has made it possible to pinpoint a series of indicators relating to performance in enhancing and using the resources, culture and values underlying the declaration in relation to local communities and the use of the internet. This protocol includes twenty questions to examine the potential of the internet as a tool for promotion and communication within a programme to manage natural and cultural heritage for tourism.

The questionnaire served as a guide to conduct in-depth interviews with managers of World Heritage sites such as Petra (Jordan) or the Maya Site of Copán (Honduras). The first part of the questionnaire relates to formal aspects of the website such as the web page issuing authority, the kind of information displayed, updating, and so on.

The second part focuses on web page contents and their relationship with local community involvement in tourism. The third part analyses the level of technological development made available to web page users.

This methodology can be extrapolated to other media such as leaflets or audiovisual materials. The internet has the competitive advantage in relation to other media of being able to provide immediate responses regarding demand, as well as marketing capacity (booking entrance tickets via a computerized reservation system) and feedback via e-mail answers. The internet makes it possible to attain the highest review level for indicators using this methodology.

The data has been gathered from a total of thirty websites, chiefly from sites in Europe and North and South America, which were declared World Heritage for their natural values.

Actions	Review
Building the capacity of World Heritage site management to deal with tourism	Does it include a mention of or link to local companies?
Training local community members in environment and culture preservation and tourism-related activities to receive tourism's benefits	Are guided tours provided?
	Who arranges them?
Aiding communities around the sites to market their products and use the World Heritage sites as a lever for local economic, social and cultural development	Are there links to other companies offering services for tourists?
Raising public awareness of World Heritage outstanding universal value and building pride and intercultural dialogue with local communities and visitors through conservation education	What kind of themes are on the website?
	Do the themes refer to the criteria for nomination?
	In what terms is the resource mentioned?
Using tourism-generated funds to supplement site conservation and protection costs	Is it possible to make a financial donation to the destination?
	Are there any volunteer programmes?
Spreading the lessons learned to other sites and Protected Areas	Are there any public relations measures such as one-day conferences, exhibitions, workshops, etc.?
Building increased awareness of the objectives of the 1972 *World Heritage Convention* and other UNESCO conventions to the tourism programme activities and policies for local and national public tourism authorities, tourism industry officials and visitors	Is the World Heritage site logo evident?
	Does the tourism industry working on the World Heritage site include a mention of site conservation or just of the World Heritage?

Table 2: Questions relating to the UNESCO Sustainable Tourism Programme.
Source: Authors' elaboration

The various sections of the study questionnaire are set out as follows:

- The main objective of the first part of this methodology is to analyse the formal components (contents and technology) of a website. Thus, among the formal elements analysed, more emphasis is given to those referring to issuance of information and responsibility for contents. Authorship of the webpage is checked, whether it is updated, and how many web pages relate to a World Heritage site appear via a search engine. It also analyses the availability of useful travel information such as practical advice on how to improve one's stay. It also investigates whether the information is accessible via a technological setting or if special software is required.

- The second part of the questionnaire is based on actions proposed by UNESCO in its Sustainable Tourism Programme. The questionnaire (Table 2) adapts the main lines.

- The third part of the methodology covers a review of website technology, for example e-mail address, databases to make reservations, web cameras to view the destination in real time, opportunity of paying for a reservation online.

The internet and local communities: a tool for tourism management and communication. Defining a strategic communication plan (SCP)

The results of the research conducted by applying the protocol described above at World Heritage sites are set out below. The skills attained are included in the strategic communication plan (SCP) as a communication tool that enables managers and planners at the destination and local communities to obtain financial, social and environmental benefits that will help to conserve and publicize the culture and values for which the sites were nominated. Possible benefits include funding, awareness-raising via messages (IUCN, 2004), capacity-building among local actors, promoting and marketing tourism and communication with tourists. The potential of the ICTs is highlighted by the capacity of preserving, collecting and disseminating culture and knowledge (Chikonzo, 2006).

The SCP uses the internet as a channel of communication, in which web pages are a medium for defining contents and tools for planning, management and tourism-related communication at World Heritage destinations. The objectives to be reached through implementation of a strategic communication plan will contribute to sustainable tourist management of a destination according to the universal principles of a World Heritage site.

- *Objective 1: Capacity-building:* The first objective of the SCP is capacity-building or reinforcement aimed at enhancing tourism management of World Heritage sites.

The internet is used as a channel to obtain and share information on tourism destinations. Thus, demand observatories, internal communication via corporate work (intranet), even searches for secondary sources of information are some of the aims. Likewise, an intranet provides specific computerized information that is a 'virtual participation tool' enabling virtual participative processes to be developed by local managers or local communities. The Yellowstone National Park (United States of America) website (National Park Service, n.d.) for example, has a communication system that provides ongoing information on demand, thereby making it possible to establish visitor profiles and to fit supply to demand. Likewise, the internet enables local actors to be trained online using a variety of materials (vocational courses in typical craftsmanship, local culture, gastronomy, tree conservation, mosaics, etc.) with the aim of conserving local culture. Local communities can get involved in heritage conservation working as tourist guides, and the webpage could be the virtual training medium that allows this capacity-building (Hernandez and Viñals, 2007).

Monitoring site recreational carrying-capacity through a visit management system involving group ticket sales through tour operators and other visitors is another SCP function. This function facilitates and improves communication between the tourism industry (tour operators) and local communities as it provides information on visitor profiles, tastes and preferences. This information, collected on a regular basis via a small internet survey, functions as a 'demand observatory' to fit supply to demand. One example of applying this function of visitor control can be found at the Alhambra, Generalife and Albayzin, Granada (Spain), whose website (Asociación Pedagógica y Cultural Alhambra, n.d.) has a visitor management system that monitors daily visitor entry, and controls carrying-capacity via online ticket sales.

- *Objective 2: Increasing awareness for site conservation*: The second objective attributed to the SCP is the capacity to reinforce messages presented *in situ*, at the destination, via signs, codes of ethical conduct, good company practice, interpretation and group guidance, exhibition boards, etc. This objective seeks to increase awareness of destination conservation among tourists and other local actors (Viñals, 2002).

According to the *Budapest Declaration* (2002) communication is a vehicle to increase public awareness, support and involvement in World Heritage. The contents are crucial and must aim to increase the awareness of social actors involved (tourists, managers and tourism business stakeholders, both local and external) of resource conservation. Our research, which involved analysing messages from tourism companies and related bodies, revealed the importance of World Heritage nomination due to its ability to increase sales potential. The conservation aspect is, however, not taken into account.

Messages refer to the World Heritage site nomination and occasionally include slogans that typically rely on it as a symbol of the destination 'good image'. Such messages, issued by both public and private sectors, refer to the resource attributes rather in the style of a Guinness world record attempt (the highest, oldest, etc.). There are few mentions of the resource fragility, the importance of conveying culture, of historic fact. In short, little mention of the criteria on which its nomination rested. One such example is the different websites that the Palmeral of Elche (Spain) has developed (Institut de Turisme d'Elx, n.d.). The fact that it was declared a World Heritage site as an example of both knowledge transfer to Europe of the irrigation systems of the Arabs of North Africa and of values such as sustainable water culture is not always, depending on the website, mentioned and tourists remain unaware of those points.

The indicator used to identify the 'awareness-raising' capacity of web pages is the frequency with which words such as 'promote respect', 'accept local lifestyle', 'respectful behaviour', 'conservation', 'fragility', and so on appear. Awareness-raising through strategic communication could take another step forward and amplify its effect by the following means:

- tourism advertising hinging on conveying the conservation message.

- creating an accreditation system 'Partnership information points' (PIP) for local communities in conjunction with the tourism administrator in which rules are drawn up for tourism information and services at the destination (Galiano et al., 2007).

- publishing and disseminating good practice (etiquette, ethics, good practice and rules) (IUCN, 2004).

  - Objective 3: Funding for site conservation: The third objective that can be achieved through SCP is the search for and identification of sources of funding that will serve to conserve heritage. A webpage may serve local communities as a showcase to obtain both funding and personnel interested in volunteering to help in conserving the destination.

Not many examples of this objective exist. The US National Parks Service website has a section called 'Getting involved' in which people are invited to participate as volunteers.

  - Objective 4: Communication: The fourth function that the internet makes available to local communities is the opportunity to contact tourists directly via data gathered from potentially interested visitors. This direct contact enables them to inform tourists directly about specific actions, even tailoring it to tourists and visitors via e-mail, blogs, virtual platforms, etc.

One example of this kind of relationship between tourists and the local community via the internet can be found at the World Heritage site Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay (France), which mentions local companies such as souvenir shops, restaurants and accommodation service (Centre des Monuments Nationaux, n.d.). The webpage of the Iguazu National Park (Brazil and Argentina), Parque Nacional Iguacú (Iguazú Argentina.com), contains various references to local companies as well as a special link to a local Brazilian company offering visits.

Tourists wanting to book their trips and then share their travel experiences afterwards online use the internet at different stages. In the initial planning phase and regardless of the purpose of their trip (business, leisure, etc.) they use it to obtain information on the destination. Subsequently travellers use the internet to book a flight, buy a tourism package, gather more information from blogs, etc. After travelling, tourists go back to the internet to take part in blogs (e.g. http://blogjordan.com/about/) or sometimes create their own in order to share photos or videos, with the simple aim of reliving their travel experience and so on.

  - Objective 5: Promoting tourism: Local communities use the internet for promotion purposes, promotion being understood as the use of tangible and intangible resources. It involves a diversity of actions. The ones with the highest take-up are the joint actions to promote institutions carried out by local managers. The benefit for local communities of taking up these promotional or institutional actions is twofold: on the one hand, along with the institutional website, they offer services that take advantage of the contacts initiated from the institutional website; on the other, companies will be better positioned regarding searches using the name of a heritage site via a search engine (Google, Yahoo, etc.).

Another possible promotional measure to market sites via the internet is the creation of national and international networks around common interests. Many natural parks that are part of World Heritage in Central America are involved in this kind of initiative under the umbrella of organizations such as The Nature Conservancy. Occasionally

information is presented by tour operators as in the case of the Río Plátano Biosphere Reserve (Honduras), a World Heritage site and biosphere reserve. This occurs mainly when the NGO that developed that website is also the NGO that manages the site.

- *Objective 6: Marketing*: Regarding heritage, local communities market tourism products and/or crafts, services, etc. according to the level of technological development.

Differences in technology may be manifest at a destination where both small local businesses and large hotel chains coexist. The large businesses and hotel chains have more advanced technologies as well as the corporate training needed to access technology whereas that is not always the case with small businesses. Small businesses meet expectations regarding the function of promoting the destination in the sense of enhancing and making use of its resources, but the marketing function is not met. Marketing requires more complex websites linked to databases (Flores and Teruel, 2002) and a virtual bank for payments. Setting up these systems requires more technology and technology management skills.

The insistence in the *Budapest Declaration* (2002) on the value of communication as an objective to be pursued as regards World Heritage conservation boosts the internet capacity as a communication tool for managing a World Heritage tourist destination. The strategic communication plan may serve local communities as a comprehensive tool for managing, planning and promoting a tourism destination, attaining the level of development desired by the community. This technological tool has been made available to local communities and managers or planners because of the demand trends, but needs to be well defined and planned in order to achieve optimal results (Smith, 1997; Hanna and Millar, 1997). The information gathered from websites reveals that at many World Heritage sites there is a variety of private and public websites, with the opinions of residents and enthusiasts, etc. The pages offer descriptions of the principal resources, opinions and advice from other visitors, useful information for travellers, access, etc.

By way of conclusion, the six objectives seek to act as a bridge between heritage conservation and tourism. Throughout this chapter and previous research, gaps were found which may be alleviated by sound planning, updating and using of technological resources. Acceptance of these new information and communication technologies in today's society and the changes they are bringing about in tourist consumer behaviour is the best scenario for harnessing these interests in favour of the conservation and utilization of heritage.

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Appropriation of World Heritage values by communities

3

Tensions between World Heritage and local values: the case of Fremantle Prison (Australia)

Andrea Witcomb

Introduction

The Australian Government has been working towards a serial nomination of Australian convict sites on the World Heritage register. While work began in 1995, it was not until January 2008 that the first attempt at nomination actually occurred. Although the attempt failed and is being reworked, this chapter analyses its implications for the management and interpretation of one of the sites in the nominated series – Fremantle Prison. In analysing the impact of the World Heritage nomination process on the management of this site's significance, the question of whether the site has World Heritage significance is not asked. The focus is instead on analysing the impact of the nomination process on the management and interpretation of the site before it was even nominated. It is argued that this impact was a negative one, affecting both the conservation and interpretation of the site in ways that narrowed its significance to an unacceptable level, compromising the historical integrity of the site and its ability to open up public debate on either its history or the nature of justice and punishment regimes. The intent, then, is to argue for the need to develop a process whereby the identification of differing layers of significance under different heritage regimes does not impose a hierarchical management system whereby the broadest level of significance – in this case that of World Heritage – does not obscure or indeed erase those levels at the lower or narrower end of the scale in the ways the site is managed and interpreted.

Given the fact that heritage is made rather than given (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Smith, 2006), it is inevitable that the process of establishing levels of significance is embedded in cultural, economic and political contexts. In labelling a historical site as part of the heritage landscape we are inevitably involved in a cultural process in which aspects of the past, both tangible and intangible, are given meaning in the present. One way to make this process evident is to emphasize in our analyses the process that went into making the site a heritage site rather than the site, object or tradition itself. By doing so it is possible to reveal the politics embedded in the identification of heritage and thus open up a space in which questions can be asked about the choices that are made in the development of statements of significance. It is suggested that in the case of Fremantle Prison, the attempt to nominate the site onto the World Heritage List as part of a network of Australian convict sites, laudable and worthwhile though it was, had consequences for the interpretative frameworks that are now used to market, conserve and interpret the site. These were considerably narrowed.

The effect of this narrowing is that the complexity of the site's history is slowly erased in presentations to the public and the possibilities to connect the site to present-day concerns are significantly diminished. At the same time, it is important to recognize that the values identified as part of the nomination process are extremely important. The site plays an important role in the preservation of evidence regarding Australia's role in the history of forced migration due to its remarkable level of intactness and it lends credence to the argument that the physical evidence that remains in Australia about its history of forced migration is significant and worthy of World Heritage listing. The question therefore, is not whether this site is worthy of inclusion as part of a serial nomination concerning convict sites but, rather, to ask what processes are needed to ensure that other layers of significance are not forgotten in the rush to claim universal significance.

As Laurajane Smith (2006) has recently argued in her book *Uses of Heritage*, Western heritage systems are based on a set of values which are embedded within Western culture. These values prioritize the material world, a Western sense of aesthetics, a hierarchical understanding of significance and notions of authenticity which are often associated with the principle of intactness. Expressed through official charters, such as that of the *World Heritage Convention* and its associated World Heritage listing process, these values can be expressed in ways that are unsympathetic to complex, multilayered systems of meaning, particularly those based on social and immaterial associations. The problem is intensified with the criteria for World Heritage listing because of the need to make a claim for a value which can be recognized as universally significant. As readers will be well aware, universalist claims to knowledge are always in danger of being derailed by the local and the specific. Claims to universality inevitably rest on making the complex simple and in the process obscuring the diversity of meanings at a more local level. In the process, the layered nature of history is often forgotten and sometimes erased.

The danger is augmented by the concern of heritage professionals involved in the process of establishing heritage significance with notions of origins and authenticity as these work against the process of time – a process which adds layers of experience, fabric and meaning to places. The problem is, perhaps, not so serious if a site is in ruins or it was not used in the recent past. However, if the site in question was 'alive' in recent memory, the story is very different. Promoting a static understanding of heritage value – something that can occur as an effect of the demand to articulate a value of universal heritage significance – will work to obliterate the coexistence of other meanings, other values. The history of continued use and the range of meanings and associations such a site can potentially offer by the interpretation of this history to the public is thus critically endangered, as the following analysis of the narrowing of the range of meanings available to tourists in the way Fremantle Prison is presented to the public as a consequence of the World Heritage listing process so far shows.

World Heritage and local values of Fremantle Prison

The most arresting thing about Fremantle Prison, in Western Australia, is not that it was built by convicts. There are many other buildings in Western Australia and indeed Australia that were also built by convicts. It is rather that, having been built and occupied by convicts, the site continued to be occupied as a prison until October 1991, with no major changes to its physical fabric. This makes it unique within the stock of 19th-century prison sites in Australia in a number of ways. First, its continued history of occupation means that the site is not in a state of ruins, like other convict-built prison sites, such as its much more famous cousin, Port Arthur. Second, because of the continuity of purpose, a poor public purse and a conservative environment which saw little need to update the facilities, the site remains almost intact. It is therefore, a remarkable document as to what a convict-built prison looked and felt like and offers a physical, sensorial understanding of penal processes and philosophies. Third, it is possible to access the everyday culture of the prison through the ephemera that have been left over the last 150 years or so – objects, signs, graffiti on walls as well as a significant number of artworks painted on the walls of cells from colonial times to the present. A number of these are by Aboriginal inmates. The site offers a record of the experiences of the dispossessed, including those of Aboriginal people, who, in Western Australia, form a significant proportion of the prison population.[1] The site's association with the colonization process is thus not only through its white 19th-century history, but also through its black 20th-century history. Moreover, the existence of this

graffiti is unusual among former Australian prison sites as most were whitewashed as part of the cleaning-up process for opening as a heritage site (Dewar and Frederickson, 2003; Wilson, 2008). Fourth, the site also offers an opportunity to interpret the history of internment during the Second World War, a history that is still remembered among Italian migrant families in Western Australia, many of whom reside in the Fremantle area. For example, in her biography, Emma Ciccotosto (1995) recalls visiting her boyfriend Peter who had been picked up in 1943 for refusing to go into the army and having to organize special leave for him so that they could marry, as she was pregnant to him. And last but not least, there is a significant local history of the site in the local imagination and sense of place, particularly in Fremantle as the prison commands a view over the town and is within walking distance of its centre. Many local people continue to have strong feelings about the place.

Interestingly, it was the awareness on the part of local people of this multilayered history that emerged as one of the narratives about the place as part of a process of community consultation in the development of a Master Plan for the site in 2003. According to the consultants' report on this consultation process, stakeholders mentioned convicts, aboriginal prisoners and migrant internees as well as the past and present Fremantle urban fabric as part of the network of associations for them. They also argued that opportunities to interpret all these associations should be made at the prison, arguing that 'targeting a single era would not adequately represent the layers of history and human experiences in the site' (Palassis Architects, 2003). Many, particularly those associated with the Fremantle Historical Society, feel bitter that their views were not taken into account in the final Master Plan report. For example, in an article sent to the author, David Hutchison, a local historian and former history curator at the Western Australian Museum, objected to the local Council's decision to severely prune the Moreton Bay figs lining the ramp leading from the town to the prison, arguing that the 'Fremantle Prison vistas needs to take into account the long period of development. Within the total convict establishment boundaries, there have been substantial changes' ending by ironically remarking 'Should these be removed?' (Hutchison, personal communication, May 2008). Diane Davidson, from the Fremantle History Society, commented that she had 'tried emphasising the importance of Aboriginal history at the prison, for instance' but got 'a comeback from the management that the World Heritage listing is on the basis of it being a CONVICT site ...' (personal communication, June 2008). She also cited her husband's experience, while on the Prison Advisory Committee during 2002–2003, that the prison 'was being 'softened' as part of the view that the golden age of the prison was the convict time. Part of this process was to take down recent trappings

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1   The high level of suicides for Aboriginal people within Australian prisons was the subject of a Royal Inquiry known as the Deaths in Custody Report. Western Australia, along with Queensland, had unusually high rates of deaths in custody among indigenous people. See Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991), Regional Report of Inquiry into underlying issues in Western Australia by Commissioner P.L. Dodson, Adelaide.

of imprisonment such as razor wire. As Diane put it, her husband went to Jim McGinty (local member) and pointed this out. McGinty wrote to the relevant Minister for Housing and Works and said that there had been no golden age, that its major characteristic was the series of phases it had gone through and particularly the Aboriginal imprisonment question. McGinty went on to say that he could not support the Cabinet memorandum unless the multilayered approach was adopted. His letter was accepted and the Cabinet memorandum that was signed stressed the many layers of the prison's history. Ron felt quite triumphant. However, very soon afterwards he was in effect sacked from the Advisory Committee by the minister of the time – and was replaced by the Mayor of Fremantle as the community representative … (personal communication on an early draft, June 2008).

Heritage significance

Unfortunately, there are a number of pressures which make it hard to manage and interpret the many layers of historical significance associated with 19th-century prisons. Chief among them, as Jacqueline Wilson (2008) has comprehensively argued, are the romantic appeal of their architecture and the role of the prison establishment in continuing to control public representations of prison life. Fremantle Prison, like many other 19th-century prisons built on the Pentonville model, has a Gothic architecture that is steeped in our cultural imagination of the medieval period. The prison looks like a medieval fortress (Photo 1), complete with turrets and surrounded by stone walls. The very architecture of the place encouraged romantic associations with the distant past, associations which were encouraged by its convict history. Romanticized narratives about famous escapes, such as that of the Irish Fenian prisoners who had suffered under an unjust British system or those of infamous convicts such as Moondyne Joe, a local bushranger, added to this association of the site with a bygone past. If romanticism makes it hard to deal with the recent histories of prisons and particularly life within, so does the tendency to

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Photo 1: The internal courtyard within the prison gates after cleaning. The two main cell blocks and the Anglican Chapel are clearly visible.

use former prison officers as guides. As Wilson (2008) argues, a 'reliance on this group of stakeholders in compiling the prison's history omits, as primary sources, the voices, and hence the narratives, of those persons who after all comprise the institution's *raison d'être*'.

The difficulties are compounded by Western systems of listing which tend to prioritize the importance of physical fabric over intangible or social values even when social values are explicitly allowed for, such as, for example, under the Burra Charter. Early attempts to assess and define the heritage significance of Fremantle Prison before the World Heritage listing process were no different. They began at the local level with the National Trust, whose early interest was architectural rather than historical. Thus in 1960, the National Trust of Australia (WA) visited the prison, then still in operation, in order to study the Anglican Chapel which they decided to place on their very first heritage list. The moment was significant, as at that time there were no other listing bodies in Australia and convict history was not yet in vogue. But the Trust was interested in preserving the state's origins and early buildings and by that time convict-built sites were some of the earliest buildings available for preservation, as hardly anything remained of the first twenty years of the colony before convicts arrived.

By the time the state government had decided to close the prison and develop it as a heritage site in the late 1980s, historians, as well as architects were involved in the heritage industry. By then the Burra Charter, which recognized social value as a criterion for heritage significance, had been developed. However, social history came under the general criterion of historical significance, allowing a romanticized notion of the colonial rather than the recent past, to infiltrate the way in which history was used to buttress conventional physical assessments. Thus at Fremantle Prison it was the site's association with convictism that mostly prevailed rather than a more critical approach which sought to use social history to deal with contested memories or to ask questions about the recent past. For the kind of social history then in vogue was based on Australian colonial history rather than its 20th-century history. The history of convictism was perhaps its primary site. Taught in schools and promoted through popular culture, particularly films, convictism became a matter of national pride rather than shame, the location of many of our national character traits.

Those researching the history of Fremantle Prison were attentive to both its 19th- and 20th-century histories but the attraction of the 19th century was hard to resist. For example, an early pamphlet produced before the prison was closed, which announced plans to turn it into a heritage site, defined its cultural significance thus:

- It contains major surviving evidence of an imperial convict public works establishment and its adaptation for subsequent colonial use.
- It is the most intact such complex in Australia

- It is the outstanding symbol of the convict phase of Western Australia's history.
- It has been continuously used as a prison since 1855.
- It stands as a memorial to the design and supervision of the Royal Engineers including Jebb, the Surveyor General of (English) Prisons, Henderson (Comptroller General of Convicts) and Wray (Acting Comptroller General).
- The monumental scale of the complex, particularly its four-story main cell block which is the longest and tallest in Australia.

The site's association with convictism clearly looms large, although its continuous use also merits attention as does the notion of intactness. From this statement of significance, an interim conservation policy was derived which sought to preserve these types of significance by:

- Conserving all remnants of the original imperial convict establishment.
- Conserving elements which show how Fremantle differed from other prisons of its era and how it developed to meet the State's changing needs.
- Conserving elements which contribute to an appreciation and understanding of the impact of convict transportation on the State's history.
- Conserving its visual and functional relationship to the townsite of Fremantle.
- Conserving the external form and character of the walls, buildings and spaces between them, in particular the reception yard and the Parade.
- Conserving buildings and features of later eras which illustrate the development of penal practice and design.

The conservation plans

It is evident from this initial conservation plan that the aim was to interpret both the 19th- and 20th-century histories of the site in reasonably equal measure. It is clear however, that at this stage there was no language with which to capture the intangible histories of the site, the memories, associations, stories or the experience of the lives lived within its walls. The desire to do that has always had to strain against the weight of the site's association with convictism, a weight made all the more imposing by the intactness of the site and its romantic historical associations. The problem is evident in James Kerr's conservation plan for the site, particularly in his evaluation of its physical integrity. Indeed, his conservation plan, first drawn up in 1992 and then reviewed in 1998, uses the fact that changes to the physical fabric since it was first built by the convicts have been minimal,

to argue that its significance as a convict site and as a colonial establishment is paramount. As he put it, 'Its prime significance as a penal establishment therefore arises from how well it continues to illustrate the physical character of a convict depot and colonial prison. In this respect, its exceptional degree of significance arises from the fact that it is the most intact of Australia's convict establishments – convict accommodation at both Port Arthur (Tasmania) and Kingston (Norfolk Island) being in a state of ruin' (Kerr, 1998). It is thus the continued existence of fabric and the privileging of that aspect of the site's history that determines what is interpreted.

The point to understand here is that while this appears to be normal, or common sense, it is in fact a value developed by heritage professionals over the years which determines not only what is conserved but also what is then interpreted. Thus, while in clinching his arguments, Kerr states:

It should be recognized:

- That the primary significance of the prison as vidence relates to the imperial convict period and to the adaptation of the fabric as a colonial gaol for males and females;
- That existing adaptations have a part to play in illustrating the working of the prison up to 1991 (Kerr, 1998).

He goes on to say that 'Further work should therefore retain and, where appropriate, reveal all such evidence and care should be taken not to remove later items unnecessarily. The assessment of levels of significance … will help resolve any conflicts but, in general, the convict and colonial periods take precedence over later works' (Kerr, 1998, p.10).

By the time that Kerr was revising his conservation plan in 1998, plans to incorporate Fremantle Prison into a network of Australian convict sites to be put forward for World Heritage listing was already in train.[2]

Indeed it is an important context for the revised statement of significance as demonstrated by Kerr's attempt to refer to this in constructing the statement of significance: 'Fremantle Prison', he wrote, 'is of exceptional significance and is an appropriate component of a World Heritage nomination of Australian convict sites'. What follows is all evidence for this claim. Almost the only nod to other layers of significance is the following statement which is second from the bottom in the hierarchy: 'because the prison in its present form also demonstrates with some precision the facilities, conditions and attitudes prevailing in a major

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2   The first plans to develop a nomination for World Heritage listing for Australian convict sites began in 1995 under a partnership between the Australian Government and the governments of New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia and Norfolk Island. The Western Australian Government's State Cabinet endorsed this nomination in June 1998 but things did not move beyond a draft dossier in 1999. In 2005, on the occasion of the formal inscription of Fremantle Prison on the new National Heritage List, the Minister for Environment and Heritage announced plans to seek the re-engagement of the states and Norfolk Island in the development of the nomination. That nomination was formerly made on 30 January 2008 (Department of Housing and Works, 2006, p. 3).

Western Australian prison – an experience rarely available to the public and made more immediate by the retention of graffiti, murals, signs, notices and recent evidence of use'.

Despite this nod to the availability of physical evidence to support the interpretation of the 20th-century history of the site, the attempt to gain World Heritage listing and the strategies taken to achieve it, made the interpretation of more recent histories very difficult. The difficulties began to emerge in a 2003 Master Plan undertaken not only to help develop financial resources for the upkeep of the site which was in need of conservation works, but also to identify ways to support the push for World Heritage nomination as part of a long-term sustainability plan for the site. As the Master Plan's authors put it, 'every endeavour should be made to embrace the opportunity for World Heritage listing' (Palassis Architects, 2003, p. 32). The reasons for this were pretty simple. As a more recent, 2006 document by the site's management authority, the Department of Housing and Works, put it, World Heritage listing 'typically results in tangible social and economic benefits for the community, the state and the nation. Such international recognition raises their profile and status and generally results in important benefits such as increased tourism and employment and improved infrastructure'. The Department expected an increase in visitation of 'at least 10 per cent' as a result of listing. A successful nomination they argued, would therefore 'boost activity in retail, accommodation, and food and beverage sectors leading to increased opportunities for existing and new business as well as employment in the local community'. Attention was also paid to the cultural impact which would be registered in the development of a 'greater community awareness' of the site's 'importance on a broader level' (Department of Housing and Works, 2006). There was also a hope that the listing would attract attention to Fremantle Prison and Western Australia more generally within Australia, increasing interest in the convict legacy and connecting Fremantle to other major Australian heritage sites.

At the core of this process, then, was a rebranding exercise which was aimed at improving 'awareness of the significance of the site and the opportunities it presents' (Palassis Architects, 2003) by renaming the precinct to acknowledge its historical significance as an intact convict-era site. Ensuring sufficient economic resources for the long-term sustainability of the site as a heritage place was tied to marketing the site as a convict establishment – a move that not only strengthened the arguments for World Heritage listing but which, it was hoped, would make the site more attractive to tourists.

To begin with, the name was changed from Fremantle Prison, as it had been known throughout the 20th century, to Fremantle Prison – the Convict Establishment. All the site's interpretative and marketing material, including its own website, now carry this name. The expectation on the part of visitors therefore, is that they will get to see a convict site and learn about the convict period. There is no expectation of anything else. Effectively, its heritage

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Photo 2: Entrance to Fremantle Prison – the Convict Establishment. All marketing or interpretative panels focus on the convict theme and contain the prison logo – a large iron key.

significance was narrowed to its convict associations. In practice, what this has meant is a programme of conservation and interpretation works that offers a focused and self-reinforcing package on the convict theme, from the name of the site to its major exhibitions, pamphlets and website (Photo 2). The availability of resources to do this has increased markedly. If the first major exhibition in 1998 was a one-room exhibition commemorating and interpreting a riot that had occurred at the prison in 1988 and contributed to the decision to close it, 2005 saw the development of a major travelling exhibition complete with multimedia interactives and major loans from Australian and American museums on the Catalpa Incident in which a number of Irish Fenians escaped from the prison. The exhibition was in large part, an announcement about the significance of Fremantle Prison to Australian convict history and thus part of the present marketing campaign to raise the profile of the site.

On the conservation side, the Western Australian Government finally provided enough money to begin a serious programme of conservation and restoration, the effect of which was to take the most important aspects of the site back to its convict period state. Thus the render that had been added to the chapel in the 1960s was removed, the external walls of the main block were cleaned and

recapped and the gatehouse walls were also cleaned. The effect was to return the site to its whiteness, a characteristic that was often commented upon when it was first built

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Photo 3: Fremantle Prison from the outside – a fortress castle above the town.

(Photo 3). While this was necessary as the render was causing water damage, the effect, from the point of view of interpretation rather than conservation, was to remove the evidence of the passage of time and thus a layer of clues as to the continued history of the site as a modern-day prison.

The exclusion of narratives other than those associated with the convict history of the site is very dominant on the Master Plan website (Palassis Architects, 2003). Here, just about every story about escapees is a convict story. Every character is from the 19th century. It is possible to access a database of all convicts to Western Australia for those interested in genealogy and to find out where the convicts came from. There is also a special feature on the Irish Fenian prisoners. There are no special features on any other category of prisoner.

The Master Plan's authors were not unaware that such strategies could lead to the erasure of the more recent history of the site. For example, they did argue that the precinct's recent history must not be ignored. However, in the very same paragraph they also argued for the importance of positioning the precinct as a major and unique attraction in appreciating and understanding the course of European settlement in Western Australia. 'This approach', they argued, 'has a strong and established market appeal and will assist in overcoming some of the visitor reticence or lack of interest resulting from the site's more recent history' (Palassis Architects, 2003). The recent past is of course much more emotive and complex, precisely because it connects to communities and issues which are still 'live'. The distant past, as argued above, is far more romantic and populated by unthreatening characters whose crimes can be explained as the result of difficult social and political conditions. In other words, they were not real criminals but characters worthy of either our respect or sympathy.

This is a problem that gets to the heart of the heritage enterprise. If heritage is simply about the past and not about the present, then the approach taken by prison management is perfectly reasonable and without any

problems. It is hard to see though, how heritage might remain relevant to the present as anything other than mythologized content for the tourist industry packaged in an entertaining format. But if heritage is, in part, about the presence of the past in the present, if it is a space with the potential to open up discussion about the present, then some important questions need to be asked about the consequences of putting fabric before interpretation at sites whose architecture makes it all too easy to romanticize the past. To begin with, such an approach favours expert knowledge over local or stakeholder knowledge. The site is interpreted within formal architectural criteria, valued for its physical integrity and degree of authenticity. The story is in the stones. There is simply no space for intangible heritage, for that nebulous but important space of collective and individual memories, of associations with place. Quite apart from cutting off important migrant groups interned in the prison during the Second World War – a history that could be made to reverberate for present-day audiences with debates about immigration and refugees in Australia (see for example Hodge and O'Carroll, 2006) – the loss of histories not based on surviving fabric but on memory, oral history and other historical records, means that the site's black history, for example, is hardly engaged with. Aboriginal people were only incarcerated at this prison in the 20th century. Focusing on convict history denies them a space for engagement with their issues. The issue here is also an ideological one, for traces of their time at the prison do remain in the fabric of the place, particularly its graffiti. But most of it is hidden from public view.

Conclusions

What then are the implications of the issues raised in relation to the management of heritage significance at Fremantle Prison? The first set of conclusions I wish to draw are in relation to the influence of the Burra Charter on the way in which Australian heritage professionals think. From its inception, those responsible for the development and implementation of the Charter, including James Kerr, maintained the importance of separating the identification of heritage significance from management, conservation and interpretation issues. The reasons for this were pragmatic and made sense in a climate of rampant development such as that encountered by heritage advocates through Australia in the 1970s and 1980s. For them it was essential to separate significance from political and economic decisions as to the future use of the site. Not to do so endangered the ability of heritage professionals to argue for policies that would maintain the site's heritage significance. Yet, as is clear from the previous discussion, the process of identifying heritage significance is not neutral and is highly dependent on changing regimes of value. The question therefore is how to ensure that future understandings of significance are not undermined by current ones given that statements of significance determine management, conservation and interpretation policies. Heritage practitioners need to find ways in

which social value can be connected to social history and stop looking for such tight fits between original fabric and historical significance. The two may co-exist but they also need to remain open to examples where they are in tension with each other. The problem is heightened by the existence of multiple heritage registers with differing powers and status. Clearly, the wider the significance that can be claimed for a site (from local to state, national and finally World Heritage status) the wider the audience for it in terms of the tourist industry. The economic pressure to gain as wide a status as possible does not come only from the tourist industry however. It also comes from government itself which, these days, is keen to devolve financial responsibility for the upkeep of sites to the corresponding level of significance. Thus, in Australia, municipal governments look after heritage sites on their register through their planning systems, state governments look after those in their register, and the federal government looks after theirs. The lower down the hierarchy the more pressure there is to get a place at the next level up as this increases the range of financial resources as well as market share in the tourist market. The problem is that each level of significance carries implications for the one lower down in the hierarchy. If the example of Fremantle Prison is anything to go by, the histories that get left out are those of the dispossessed and those whose significance is only local rather than national or international. It would seem then, that we need a system that enforces the need to take into account all the layers of significance when developing management, conservation and interpretation systems and which facilitates this by changing the financial regime under which heritage sites are currently funded. The notion of stakeholder consultation also needs to be taken more seriously than currently seems to be the case.

How can the World Heritage nomination process put pressure on governments and the management of heritage sites to ensure that nomination for World Heritage listing does not endanger the site's ability to communicate other layers of significance? There are two possible lines of argument here if we recognize that UNESCO has no legal powers over World Heritage sites nor the financial means to contribute to their upkeep. The first step would be to change the request that nominating governments provide a management plan that ensures the conservation of World Heritage values, to a request for a management plan that demonstrates how the management of World Heritage values does not endanger other existing layers of significance. This step would ensure that both universal and local values are addressed in a holistic manner and would help to redress the tensions produced by World Heritage listing at the local level discussed in so many examples throughout this book. The second step is to revise the *World Heritage Convention* to ensure that the immaterial aspects of a site's significance receive more recognition than they currently do.

These recommendations would not necessarily endanger the ability to nominate places with World Heritage values, but they might just help to safeguard continued attention to local and intangible values, which are often associated with minority groups, and to ensure that the necessary resources are made available.

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Kakadu and Edenic idealization

Jennifer Harris[1]

Introduction

A television marketing campaign in early 2008 that was designed to encourage tourism to Kakadu National Park produced an Edenic view of this World Heritage site in Australia's Northern Territory. Soothing music was played over spectacular scenes of the great beauty of the escarpment and wetlands. Flocks of birds, giant primordial crocodiles, brilliant water lilies and a nubile Aboriginal girl, filmed in a South Seas discourse of the alluring female, were the dominant images of this prime time advertising for a park which is inscribed on the World Heritage List for both natural and cultural values and continues to be the home of the indigenous people, the Bininj and Mungguy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006).

The Edenic view promoted a depoliticized, ahistoric and highly aestheticized view of Kakadu producing the park as an extension of the idealized vision of European landscapes, but with an exotic Aboriginal overlay. Absent from the campaign was any suggestion of the issues that surge around the park, for example, uranium mining in excised parkland, different approaches to park management and the federal government intervention in the Northern Territory to protect children in indigenous communities eroded by alcoholism and poverty. The advertisement for Kakadu produced an idealized landscape which is consistent with most representations of the park. Long before visitors reach the park gates they have encountered the Kakadu-as-Eden discourse: rock art, waterfalls, abundance and creativity, and they are positioned to see Kakadu as a pre-lapsarian paradise.

Kakadu is yet another World Heritage site where uncomfortable politics and realities are all but erased by the production of a heritage text which aims to lure tourists to an intellectually and morally easy place. Despite two decades of fierce attacks on heritage representation for its idealizing tendencies, the ideal is still an ubiquitous feature of heritage sites. Hewison (1987) and Walsh (1992) led early critiques of heritage interpretation that reproduced harmony, synchronicity and foregrounded aesthetics

resulting in erasure of contested histories. Harrison (2005) argues that World Heritage sites are particularly prone to idealization because of the 'idealistic quest for universals'. Why are World Heritage properties so often produced for tourism with such an unrealistic, stereotyped world view? And whose world view is represented? These are core questions for Kakadu which are analysed here in order to illustrate some of the problems encountered at sites when they represent themselves for tourists.

Kakadu is a very important Australian site for several reasons. First, it is important because the park boundaries protect a wild tropical river system, thousands of animals and numerous rock art sites. Secondly, it is an example of harmonious joint management between a European-style parks management system and the Bininj and Mungguy, the indigenous people of the park. Thirdly, it is one of the iconic markers of Australian identity today and as a World Heritage site it is one of the texts that represents the nation to the rest of the world and, also, the nation to itself. There is interplay between these three important factors with the first and second being given apparent precedence in park literature and display. It is the third aspect, however, as an Australian icon, that the park is asked to do considerable, but barely acknowledged, semiotic work insisting that Kakadu represents Australia and that representation is of a pre-lapsarian Eden. This huge semiotic claim is made repeatedly and attracts large numbers of tourists eager to find paradise in a time of global panic about planet degradation.

On arrival in the park, tourists have easy access to visitors' centres with very high production values. Diverging from these permanent texts, however, are encounters with the Bininj and Mungguy that occur when purchasing art, on certain tours, and can be possible also at the Warradjan Cultural Centre at Yellow Water. These encounters, discussed below, offer insights into the real lives of indigenous people and suggest powerful other ways that the dominant park interpretation could be reoriented.

Analysis of Kakadu shows how a site can be idealized even when its idealized texts are mixed with experiences which seem engaged with real life and that take place in the complex national context of sophisticated participation

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1　When this chapter refers to 'landscape' it means the politics of the tradition of European looking at nature in such a way that the look bestows 'ownership', either cultural or actual. 'Landscape' is contrasted with Aboriginal concepts of 'land' and 'country' as a place that gives and receives life. Not just imagined or represented, it is lived in and lived with' (Rose, 1996, p. 7).

in post-colonial politics. Contemporary representations of indigenous Australians swing between two poles. On one hand, there are very negative images of the sort publicized during the conservative Howard government's 2007 intervention into Northern Territory indigenous communities as a response to endemic violence and child abuse. On the other, there are starkly opposed positive images derived from both individual achievements in all aspects of life and persistence of the arcane 19th-century 'noble savage' rhetoric. Typical of the mixed ideal imagery is the survey of possible futures for northern Australia by Garnett et al. (2008) who describe an 'indigenous community Utopia'. Although describing some social problems in achieving this vision, they say that in the future 'the members of these communities (would) maintain a strong engagement with indigenous culture, but with sufficient knowledge of and access to the non-indigenous society and economy to take advantage of the benefits of health, education and social services' (Garnett et al., 2008). They frame their discussion as utopic, which here can be understood as referring to an idealized place. This is typical of celebratory representations of Aboriginal life, a vision produced by both government and non-government sources.

This chapter argues for the development of positive indigenous representations, but is anxious that the positive not be developed heavily through the European pastoral mode of pre-lapsarian contentment. It examines, therefore, the textual problems of the way that Kakadu is represented noting that textual problems are often difficult for heritage practitioners to grasp because interpretation so often appears commonsensical rather than political; commonsense can function to mask the politics that has produced it. The text was written in the context of the very positive July 2008 (Garrett, 2008*a*) celebration of a new era of indigenous Kakadu tourism and mandatory training of all guides, but it asks, nevertheless, what sort of indigenous community development emerges when the dominant texts for tourists produce a vision of indigenous people which is framed substantially in an ancient European mode. The unarticulated meanings of these representations pose major meaning problems. The chapter begins by analysing examples of Edenic representation in Kakadu and then looks at emerging alternative strategies which should be able to reflect better the reality of local indigenous lives while contributing to community development.

Community development problem at a World Heritage site

One of the key community development questions in interpretation of World Heritage sites for tourism is how to handle intellectual conservatism which is so deeply entrenched that it is almost beyond the level of articulation. Even sites which are planned with the intent of breaking from stereotyped representations for tourists are in danger of reproducing heritage tropes with which we are so familiar.

MacCannell argued as long ago as 1976 that tourists travel ultimately to find 'home' and seek out the familiar in strange locations in order to do so. Butler and Hinch (2007) note that despite widespread fears of cultural 'prostitution', indigenous people involved in tourism must offer what visitors want. It is logical that if a site wishes to attract tourists, the managers must therefore please them, probably by offering familiarity with an exotic unfamiliar overlay. That familiarity is often in terms of content: one charming country village is much like another offering handcrafts, quaint architecture and comfortable tearooms with little hint of possible disruptive histories. Kakadu, by contrast, does not offer familiar heritage content, but it does offer friendly familiarity by relying on the Western discourse of Eden, thus producing a form of pastoral. The specific cultural details of Kakadu are, of course, mostly unknown to non-indigenous tourists, the majority of whom are of European descent, but the discourse within which that culture is offered is very well known because the park offers an Edenic vision of a pure, untouched indigenous culture existing in a magnificent, pristine landscape. Aboriginal culture is thus framed by a European discourse and the visitor receives two unwittingly competing messages. Kakadu becomes Eden before the fall, a place in which visitors can feel removed from history. Visitors are consoled that the Earth is not entirely wrecked by modern technologies and that an indigenous culture endures despite colonial onslaught. The sacred attitude towards nature is particularly evident each evening as hordes of tourists gather at Ubirr to climb the huge escarpment remnant and sit reverently waiting for the glow of sunset over the vast wetland. Familiarity resides in the acceptance that sunset is the best time to do this and that being in a high place is the right place to be. For many well-travelled tourists this is a most familiar travel ritual: many have climbed other peaks at sunset and sunrise on the international tourist circuit. It clearly makes good business sense for Kakadu to be produced with an emphasis on the pastoral, offering a naturalized vision of harmony for many tourists, but it leaves unanswered many questions about community development.

Kakadu texts: indigenous culture within a Western framework

Who is the indigenous subject? Websites promoting the Northern Territory start the process of Edenic idealization and promote confusion about the identity of the indigenous inhabitants. The 'Share Our Story Northern Territory' website is part of the same campaign which produced the Kakadu television advertisement described above. It tells us:

> The Northern Territory is home to Australia's largest population of Aboriginal people.
> Discover living Aboriginal culture rich with traditions over 40,000 years old. Weave a basket, spear a fish, enjoy story telling, translate rock art and taste local bush tucker on an Aboriginal guided tour.

Watch traditional dances and learn to play the didgeridoo at one of the many cultural festivals, or visit community art centres and watch the artists create their vibrant Aboriginal art (www.en.travelnt.com).

This is a familiar approach to tourists, offering them cultural contact and hands-on experiences. It could be argued that this website is too clearly a hackneyed approach to tourism to warrant mention, but its shallow depiction of indigenous culture is widespread and one of the first contacts with Kakadu that potential tourists are likely to have. This chapter does not suggest that the joint management of Kakadu has any control over the tone of commercial promotional material, but it does argue that the discourse adopted by such literature is socially sanctioned and within the bounds of accepted sense making.

Typical tourist familiarity is underscored by a link to a video entitled 'Kakadu Land Owner' and shows an Aboriginal woman sitting on a high rock ledge absorbed in looking away from the camera and out over the view far into the distance:

World Heritage-listed Kakadu National Park is Bessie Coleman's home. Its crystal clear waters and lush monsoon forests make up her backyard (www. en.travelnt.com).

Looking at views from high vantage points is a European preoccupation most amusingly analysed by Roland Barthes.

This bourgeois promoting of the mountains … which has always functioned as a hybrid compound of the cult of nature and of puritanism (regeneration through clean air, moral ideas at the sight of mountain tops, summit climbing as civic virtue etc.) (Barthes, 1973).

The Aboriginal woman is thus positioned as a European looking at a landscape. To make the park even more like 'home' we are told that it is her 'backyard' although there is a vast difference between a suburban garden and Australia's largest national park. 'Crystal clear waters' are found at some rock pools, but the wetlands offer murky crocodile-infested waters. Dry, flat, burnt savannah is what the high season tourist sees travelling through the park and very little of 'lush monsoon forests'. 'Crystal clear' and 'lush' are words that belong to a description of European forests, not an Australian monsoonal park.

The reference to land ownership also reminds us that Native Title is both recent and contested. The image of Bessie Coleman, therefore, functions to reassure non-indigenous Australians that her ownership is not to be feared.

Contestation, history and timelessness

Popular literature on the park occasionally mentions contested park history, but not in such a way that the contestation is foregrounded and analysed. One of the most contested events in Kakadu was the opening of a uranium mine accompanied by enormous protests and the excision of the mine from the park. This history is glossed over in a sightseeing advertisement: 'Ranger uranium mine: visit a working uranium mine' (*Things to do in Kakadu*, May–October 2007). Photographs of a machine extracting rock and an aerial view of the mine site are accompanied by familiar, beautiful Kakadu nature images of a wetland and the Arnhem Land escarpment. In a stunning textual insistence on there being no clash between the environmental degradation caused by the mine and the natural heritage values of the park, the photographs are offered as if they were politically, environmentally and culturally unproblematic. The mine is produced in this brochure as just another opportunity for holiday sightseeing.

Some government-issued literature prefers not to engage with history, declaring that Kakadu is a 'timeless place' (Kakadu Board of Management/Australian and Northern Territory Governments, n.d., p. 2) although it is inscribed on the World Heritage List because of contemporary culture and is 'directly associated with living traditions of outstanding universal significance' (Commonwealth of Australia, 2006). Some government texts, however, do engage with history. The website of the Australian Government Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts describes the park's inscription as a World Heritage site for both its natural and cultural values and describes some of the social history of the site since colonization including missionary activity, mining and the pastoral industry. It adopts a measured, rational tone which suggests a comprehensive historical survey and appears not to shy away from scandalous historical facts such as the violence and disease that were part of colonization. For example, it says 'It is thought that about 2,000 people lived in the Kakadu area before the arrival of non-Aboriginal people; there are now about 500 Aboriginal people living in 18 outstations throughout the park' (Australian Government, n.d.).

The government website provides a wide background to historical and environmental issues which are almost missing from commercial websites, however, this site glosses over some major issues. In the discussion of the Ranger mine, for example, there is no mention of the fierce national debate that surrounded the decision to exploit the uranium deposits. Instead, it finesses the problem by crucially eliminating the dissenting non-indigenous Australian voice and presenting two views of the site from the point of view of Traditional Owners.

Opposing views expressed through poetry

The presentation of opposing views in Kakadu texts gives the impression of political balance. The website (Australian Government, n.d.) uses the poetic words that visitors can read in the Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre near Yellow Water.

> I don't like him
> It's a nuisance.
> I mean, mining worry me.
> It wrecks the place.
> Look at Jabiru.
> Bill Neidjie, Bunidj clan.
> Mining brought good things,
> Brought social problems too.
> It gave an income to us people.
> Bought and built things
> which our kids will benefit from.
> *Senior Murumburr Traditional Owner.*

One of the biggest textual problems of the park is that the voices of Traditional Owners are repeatedly heard through poetry. From explanatory signs for rock shelters in the park to a government website, this is the preferred mode. In the above text it is evident that the words could have, and probably were, first spoken as straight conversational prose, however, they have been reproduced in the form of poetry. This has the effect of making the comments seem timeless, blurred and continuous with the representation of Kakadu as Eden. The poems function to counteract the passions aroused by this mine. Palmer (2001) argues that the poems appear as 'creative texts … Aboriginal poems are ancillary, but not authoritative'. In this case, the poems' effect is to deflect the debate. On one hand, therefore, the government website pays tribute to Warradjan Cultural Centre by reproducing its words and acknowledging the mining debate, but it is a jarring and unprofessional choice to respond to the huge fight over the Ranger mine by quoting poetry. I can think of no other major national issue to which the Australian Government's comment would appear in poetry – why is it possible here? How could an issue as important as mining in a World Heritage site be reduced to a handful of sentences reproduced as poetry? Where is a non-indigenous critique?

Once inside the park the visitor is offered interpretive centres and informational stands at wetlands and rock art sites that continue the Eden theme. The Bowali Visitor Centre is one of the first visited by tourists travelling from Darwin. Its architecture pays tribute to the landscape with its rammed-earth walls, winding verandahs and internal creek bed. Displays on natural history offer the 'two views' method described above.

The display illustrates two views of Kakadu: the Gukburlerri (Aboriginal) and Guhbele (non-Aboriginal) views. Visitors are invited to journey through Kakadu's habitats, as the South Alligator River meanders through the landscape, from source to sea (Aboriginal Traditional Owners of Kakadu National Park/Commonwealth of Australia, 2007).

The concept of the meandering river links back to the poetry of the website; it sets a dreamy, pensive mood. The politics of Bowali seem impeccable: two voices are permitted to be heard, an increasingly popular way that heritage sites deal with contestation. This appears to be entirely fair, after all, giving indigenous and non-indigenous Australians a chance to speak suggests cultural and political respect. The idea of two voices speaking, however, is an entrenched Western method of dealing with oppositionality, for example, Western parliaments have a government and an official opposition to produce a balance of views. Why is this a good idea here? If the intent is to give tourists an insight into the plants and animals of Kakadu in the context of Bininj and Mungguy culture, why does the Western, scientific voice need to be heard at all? The discourse of science is very powerful with its claims to objectivity. By comparison, the poetic renderings of indigenous knowledge systems appear quaint and ultimately dismissable. To really encounter a second knowledge system at Bowali would be very challenging. Consider, for example, an exhibition of small carved items that I saw at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia in 1998. The items were displayed without explanatory text. I was told that the indigenous people were happy for them to be on view, but that they were unwilling to offer explanations. In other words, the objects could be viewed, but no knowledge was offered. This was a confronting experience as I realized that although I was in a place of interpretation I was not permitted to understand all that I saw.

Colonialism

The Warradjan Aboriginal Cultural Centre focusses entirely on the Bininj and Mungguy experience of life. Tucked away on one side of the exhibition hall is one of the main references in Kakadu to the fact of colonization. It is surprising to find this admission of recent anguished history in the middle of Edenic representations. The Centre uses the opposing views method to talk about a variety of colonial impacts.

> The priests were mongrels.
> They would call and if you didn't come
> They'd wait until you were in the classroom
> and strip you naked in front of the class …

we were sent there to be changed,
to get the Aboriginality out of us;
there was no other reason.
Senior Murumburr Traditional Owner

I was nine when I reached Garden Point.
All the nuns and girls were waiting for us.
I didn't speak English.
I had to learn and when I learned I became happy ...
The nuns were really nice.
I enjoyed going to school …
When I finally came home I had to learn my language again.
I had to learn how to know my country and learn how to hunt
I had to learn about my relationships with all the people here.
Jessie Alderson, Murumburr clan

Once again the layout of the words as poetry tends to undercut meaning. Although the decline of population proves that colonial impact was enormous, the effects of colonization are minimized. Why? An examination of potential meanings suggests some reasons.

Kakadu meanings

The texts surveyed above cover a variety of media: ephemeral brochures, websites, guided tours and visitor centres. They all tell a similar story: 'Kakadu is a special place. Despite uranium mining and the invasion of feral animals, nature is pristine and the indigenous people have maintained their culture'. Why is this positive story told to the exclusion of others?

One answer is that in the context of the desire for community development through World Heritage sites, it is useful to develop a message about vigorous survival. A celebratory mood, however, reassures both indigenous and colonizer visitors about past and present but is a morally, historically and politically dangerous mood to adopt. By contrast, a pessimistic interpretation of the reasons for celebration could lead to an explanation of hegemony. Given the exhilarating reality of a visit to Kakadu, however, the hegemonic interpretation cannot be the only answer. Hegemony is refuted further by the fact that Aboriginal people have clearly resisted white settlement and knowledge from first contact (Reynolds, 1981) and, in the moving words of Rose,

Stories of … the Dreaming speak of an imagination sharpened and expanded by the experience of the most barbarous of frontiers. They offer evidence of a continuing spiritual presence and an indigenous promise of life (Rose, 2004).

Aboriginal people do not regard knowledge as something that should be shared – that is a Western idea. Knowledge is local (Rose, 1996) and is neither universalized nor free, but crucially it is evidence of relationships between people (Rose, 1996). Perhaps the desire to control who has access to meanings is what the visitor is seeing in Kakadu and perhaps this explains why there is so little discussion of

disruptive colonizing histories. Clifford's (1986) argument that salvage is at the root of ethnography could apply equally to World Heritage interpretation and might be one explanation for what we see in Kakadu; the myth of Eden, however, is more persuasive. For European visitors, especially Australian Europeans, the Eden story is experienced as an enormous relief. Here is the untouched paradise that they have always longed for; it seems to replace the appalling history of transportation and penal settlement. The beauty of the landscape and the evident survival of the Aboriginal people offer hope that the dark beginnings of white settlement and history of cultural and environmental destruction which followed might not be the final story.

The biblical story of Eden combined with centuries of yearning for its restoration appears in Western pastoral expressions of art, music and gardening (Bermingham, 1986; Pugh, 1988; Schama, 1995; Williams,1973). Pastoral in a World Heritage site such as Kakadu emerges not in the tame, gardened landscape of Europe but in 'country', the Aboriginal expression for a deep connection to land; here it is full of crocodiles, waterfalls and a rugged escarpment. Kakadu as a pastoral text, therefore, is not found in the recreated landscape one might find in a garden such as Stowe in England, but precedes this need to restore what was lost. Kakadu is represented as Eden. Just as Adam and Eve laboured fruitfully in pre-lapsarian Eden, so the Bininj and Mungguy have cared for Kakadu land with their firestick farming.

How could such a Judaeo-Christian story emerge in this unfamiliar landscape? The answer lies partly in the semiotics that are wielded so powerfully by non-indigenous Australians who have the political and linguistic control to tell any story. Torgovnik (1990) and Rose (2004) explain the protean sign of the 'primitive'/indigenous person. Torgovnik (1990) argues for the polysemy of the category, 'primitive', as it is used by Europeans.

Is the present sexually repressed? Not primitive life – primitives live life whole, without fear of the body … Does the present see itself as righteously Christian? Then primitives become heathens, mired in false beliefs … The primitive does what we ask it to do (Torgovnik, 1990).

Rose's (2004) analysis insists similarly on the malleability of the category of 'Aboriginal'; she describes the heavy cultural burden that Aboriginal Australians are asked to bear in the face of the fragmentation that European Australians experience through modernity.

With fragmentation we encounter a longing for a lost wholeness … Here in Australia, as in other settler societies, one form of wholeness hunger manifests as the desire to attribute to indigenous people a reality that conforms to the very dreams of wholeness that are themselves brought into being by fragmentation. These dreams are structured by reversals: modernity fragments, so indigenous reality must be whole; modernity destroys, so indigenous people must conserve; modernity impels us towards

instrumental relationships with others and requires of us an extreme callousness, so indigenous people must be kind, thoughtful and knowing (Rose, 2004).

Rose's analysis helps partly to explain what is happening iin Kakadu representations, and her redemptorist model is useful for describing the state of relationships throughout the rest of the country. In Kakadu, however, as evidenced by examining various texts in this chapter, redemption is not required because in this park is a world which seems uncorrupted by colonial destruction. When disturbing histories erupt, they are swept away by poetry or incorporated into glib sightseeing. In the matter of feral animals, all seems to be forgiven, as the Bininj and Mungguy embrace buffalo, horses and pigs and even create Dreamings for them (Franklin, 2006) while non-indigenous park rangers wring their hands. In the park, firestick farming is explained to visitors as something positive, but outside the park on the road back to Darwin one sees, almost immediately, signs warning of the dangers of lighting fires. One is back in the real, post-lapsarian world where fire is destructive. There is a sacred quality to a visit to Kakadu which is evident in the reverential way that rangers speak of 'country', but which emerges even more strongly in the realization that not only is this a place of absolution for colonial sins but the nightmarish legacy of much colonial history is perhaps just that, a nightmare that never happened at all because this is a fragment of Eden.

Positive texts

The pre-lapsarian vision of the dominant European pastoral texts is undercut by opportunities to meet the Bininj and Mungguy. The park encourages tourists to meet local indigenous people on guided tours and through demonstrations of cooking, handcrafts and spear throwing. These are enlightening encounters in which visitors have the opportunity to talk to park residents. The eagerness of tourists to meet indigenous people is evident at Warradjan Cultural Centre. When I last visited in July 2007 two Traditional Owners, Mary and Violet, spoke to visitors about hunting and cooking and the local concept of six seasons. They showed visitors how they cooked barramundi fish in leaves over smoking embers. Enthusiastic visitors enjoyed tasting the fish and then listened to Mary and Violet tell tales of the Dreaming while they demonstrated basket weaving. With the centre shop only metres away, the demonstration resulted in many visitors deciding immediately to buy local handicrafts.

Cruises on Yellow Water with its magnificent water-lilies and crocodiles give visitors an opportunity to see another world. On one hand, they might see non-indigenous people fishing and ask 'Is it appropriate to fish in a World Heritage area?' and, on the other hand, they might listen to indigenous guides describe the billabong wildlife. The disturbing sight of fishing, the sighting of feral animals and the thrill of seeing crocodiles combine to produce a non-Edenic world at odds with the dominance of the written interpretation elsewhere.

Art seems to offer the strongest point of contact between indigenous people and visitors, evident in the throngs of shoppers at art centres in Kakadu and Arnhem Land. Indigenous paintings of the landscape offer an ironic counterpoint to the European pastoral tradition. Magnificent crocodiles, water-lilies, barramundi and figures drawn from the Dreaming fill art galleries. Hoorn (2007) argues that after two centuries of white painters claiming the continent through the persistence of the European pastoral vision, the indigenous reclaiming of the land occurs partly through a black landscape vision.

Pastoral landscapes are transcendent spaces in which the viewer enjoys beauty, nostalgia and the pleasure associated with the land and its ownership. Those pleasures also lie at the heart of many Aboriginal landscapes in their abiding connection with country and the dreaming. Deep enjoyment of country, characterised by nostalgia, melancholy and longing for the land is a central aspect of both traditions (Hoorn, 2007).

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyse the differences between the two traditions. Awareness of history, however, so evident in indigenous images of the land, combined with depictions of the reality of the burden of colonization, suggest a radically different approach to landscape politics offering the chance for indigenous art to undercut European landscape imagery.

The celebration of stories, knowledge of the land and survival of traditional art and hunting support indigenous cultural self-image and lead to successful, energetic endeavours to maintain culture. The result is cultural pride and the growth of economic independence through traditional methods combined with modern tourism.

Minister for the Environment, Heritage and the Arts, Peter Garrett, travelled to Kakadu in July 2008 to mark a new era in tourism; He said:

Today we celebrate a dramatic shift towards indigenous tourism at Kakadu, with Aboriginal people and their culture now at the heart of the visitor experience … this shift makes Kakadu a model for sustainable tourism around the world (Garrett, 2008a).

There is no doubt that the extension of indigenous tourism businesses at Kakadu is a positive step as it builds on the existing dynamic interaction of great goodwill between visitors and Traditional Owners.

Another business decision also suggests changing times at Kakadu. If the decision of the former conservative government to abolish park entrance fees was based on the ideal of a World Heritage area being free to all, then the reinstatement of fees announced in October 2008 by the new Labor Government (Garrett, 2008b) could be understood as a sign of a business approach to park management and a possible demotion of the Eden myth.

Conclusion

A key issue facing the use of a World Heritage site for community development is: what is the message to tourists? For Kakadu it seems to be a mixture of a controlled Aboriginal release of knowledge combined with the production of an idealized and ahistoric Edenic landscape which can soothe worries about the environment and the impact of colonization. Kakadu has been produced with an unwittingly ironic conjunction of robust indigenous culture and Western ideas of the pastoral. If the Bininj and Mungguy choose to use the myth of Eden to structure park interpretation, then this could be regarded as evidence that they are part of wider Australian contemporary society, at least to the extent of feeling comfortable with some of the myths of the colonizers. It is a sign that they are living in history and are not 'timeless'. These are unlikely explanations, however, and the visitor who thinks beyond the sign of Eden should be aware that this World Heritage site offers some unsustainable interpretations. Thinking of World Heritage sites as transition zones is useful. Maddern (2004) argues for sites to become places where differences are worked out but, to achieve this, differences must be stated rather than glossed over. If Kakadu examined its Edenic interpretation and established whose message is being received dominantly by tourists, it should cause a desire to reinterpret with alertness to creeping European hegemony. The park is a place of goodwill and respect between Bininj, Mungguy and non-indigenous people, but in order to depart from an ahistorical Edenic idealization and to construct the park as a contributor to national debates, it is necessary to rethink the place of the myth of Eden in Kakadu.

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The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage: space for community development?

Naomi Deegan

Introduction

This chapter examines the extent to which it is possible to use the concept of World Heritage as a vehicle for community development. It takes as its point of departure the belief that local and community involvement in the management of World Heritage sites is necessary to ensure the long-term sustainability of these sites and of the concept of World Heritage in general. A fine balance of both top-down and bottom-up management strategies is key to the sustainability of World Heritage sites in that each site is formally protected by a suitable management framework that can match up to heritage management standards at global level, while grass-roots management strategies and involvement of local communities in the heritage management process ensure the survival of the social values of World Heritage sites at the local level, while also negating the impacts of universalizing discourses in an increasingly globalizing world.

The involvement of the community has, in principle, become an integral component of planning and decision-making and in developed countries consulting the community is now central to most public sector management practice. The importance of community participation in heritage management in particular has been recognized since the 1960s, however it remains immature in its development and accountability (Hall and McArthur, 1998). Community involvement in planning matters can vary from loosely reached informal arrangements to highly-structured formal relationships. Anthony Long (1997, cited in Hall and McArthur, 1998) recognizes four distinct forms of positive relationships between stakeholders in planning: cooperation, coordination, collaboration and partnership. These four categories can be imagined as moving along a continuum between low levels of involvement and high levels of decision-making power going to local communities. Community development would be found towards the partnership end of the spectrum of stakeholder involvement and can be described as a process of developing or building up communities to enable empowerment, self-sufficiency and control over their environment. It differs from community consultation, the most common method of involving local communities in heritage management, in that it achieves more active participation and an increase in overall community confidence in its capacity to take decisions (Cardno Acil, 2007).

Empowering communities to make decisions for themselves, rather than having them made for them, is one of the main components of the debate on community development and non-governmental organizations in particular have been strong advocates of the need to involve communities in meaningful ways in decisions about their future (Li, 2006). In the World Heritage context, the empowerment of communities, as well as other stakeholders, to facilitate management of their heritage is a form of capacity-building. In fact, capacity-building, which can be invoked for the meaningful involvement of local communities in the heritage management process and also at statutory level to enable better revisions of Tentative Lists, was one of the four Strategic Objectives (or four 'Cs' for promoting the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*, as outlined in the *Budapest Declaration on World Heritage*, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 2002). A fifth 'C', Community, was added in 2007 to the already established 'Cs' of Credibility (of the World Heritage List), Conservation (of World Heritage properties), Capacity-building and Communication (increased awareness-raising, involvement and support for World Heritage). New Zealand proposed the adoption of the fifth 'C' in order to place 'humanity at the heart of conservation' and in the belief that each of the original four 'Cs' are all intrinsically linked to the idea of community (World Heritage Committee, 2007).

Capacity-building and the empowerment of local communities can be an issue fraught with political tension. Politics, when reduced to its fundamentals, is about power; programmes of capacity-building and empowerment can lead to changes in the dynamics of power, changes which so-called experts and those in charge of heritage policy-making may not be so willing, in some cases, to pursue. The multivocality of heritage necessitates the involvement of various groups of stakeholders, and this consequent involvement means that the experts are no longer the cultural brokers, but rather the facilitators or interpreters. The issue is one of democratic governance and the democratization of heritage discourses and management; this can be carried out via capacity-building programmes, community involvement strategies and partnership approaches, such as those recommended by the Brundtland Report and the Rio World Congress on Sustainable Development (Earth Summit, 1992). In the late 1980s, the World Commission on Environment and

Development, in *Our Common Future* (Brundtland Report, 1987), encouraged bottom-up management approaches in relation to the sustainability of environmental resources and development, as well as in relation to cultural resources. The 1992 Rio World Congress on Sustainable Development, through its Agenda 21 action plan, noted that sustainability for human, social and cultural resources was best achieved when the locus of decision-making was moved closest to those affected by the decision (Stovel, 2004). The more recent increased focus on partnership approaches and the devolution of heritage resource management to local communities reflect current international trends in governance as well as a policy shift away from a paradigm of managerialism and 'government' towards entrepreneurialism and 'governance' (Scott, 2004, p. 50, as cited in Cochrane and Tapper, 2006).

Local and global values of World Heritage

An inherent characteristic of places is that they exist within a hierarchy of spatial scales and thus different senses of place exist simultaneously at different levels in such a hierarchy (Ashworth, 1998). The existence of various scales of ownership and values that can be attributed to World Heritage sites, whether at the local, regional, national or global scale, was clearly recognized at the time of the invention of the World Heritage, that is, the design, drafting and negotiating process that led to the adoption of the *World Heritage Convention* in 1972 (Batisse and Bolla, 2003). The *Convention* is a unique legal instrument, based on the idea that some cultural and natural heritage sites are of such outstanding and universal importance for 'all the people of the world' (Preamble) and that they need to 'be preserved as part of the World Heritage of mankind as a whole' (UNESCO, 1972). This *Convention* is also based on the belief that the deterioration or disappearance of this type of cultural or natural heritage, in particular, constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world. Governments that ratify this *Convention* also recognize that they have

a duty to protect these sites of exceptional value and conserve them for future generations (Labadi, 2007*a*). Despite the global emphasis of the *World Heritage Convention*, the importance of World Heritage sites at the local and national levels was kept in mind during the drafting of the *Convention*; Article 5a established an obligation for States Parties to adopt a general policy which would aim to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community. There are no formal guidelines on how to do this, but rather each Member State has to decide on which 'general policy' was deemed to be appropriate for their situation and which 'community' (the definition and delineation of which is problematic in itself) to address in their policy. Article 5 also highlighted the importance of managing and protecting heritage in general, and not just that recognized as World Heritage, while Article 12 emphasizes that a site's values are not diminished by lack of inclusion on the List.

> *The fact that a property belonging to the cultural or natural heritage has not been included in either of the two lists mentioned in paragraphs 2 and 4 of Article 11 shall in no way be construed to mean that it does not have an outstanding universal value for purposes other than those resulting from inclusion in these lists* (UNESCO, 1972, Art. 12).

Community involvement in World Heritage is also highly recommended in the drawing up of Tentative Lists, that is, the inventory of those properties which each State Party intends to consider for nomination to the World Heritage List in the next five to ten years. It is at the discretion of each Member State to compile Tentative Lists of properties within their territories which could be considered to be of outstanding universal value to be put forward for inclusion on the prestigious World Heritage List and to decide the extent of community involvement or consultation in doing so. This process is carried out by making use of the framework outlined in the *Operational Guidelines*. Since 1995, the *Operational Guidelines* have emphasized the importance of involving the local community in the World Heritage process and
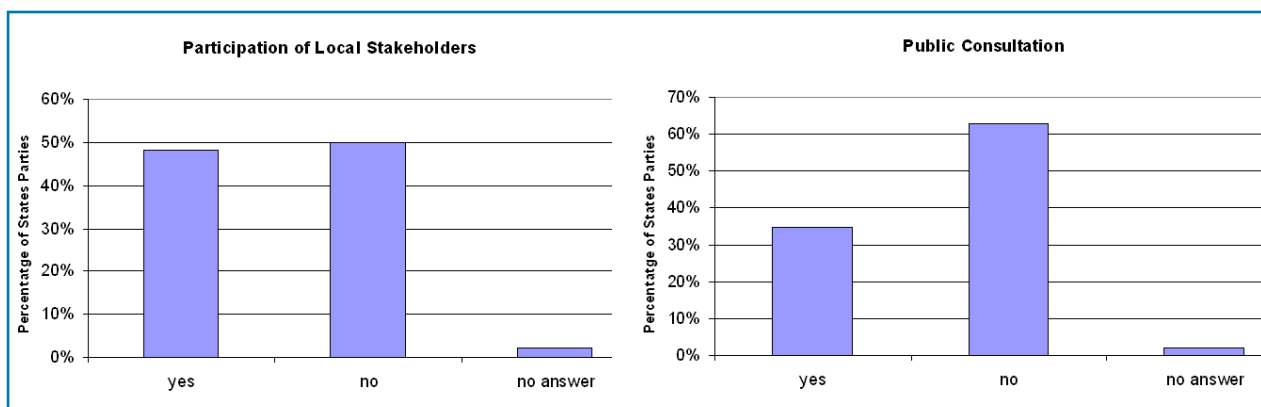

Figure 1: States Parties using public participation and consultation in preparing Tentative Lists, Europe (2005/2006) (Labadi, 2007*b*).

in particular in the preparation of nomination dossiers; Paragraph 14 indicates that the 'participation of the local population in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site' (Figure 1). Unfortunately, even in recent years, a frequent lack of communication has been noted between the authorities responsible for the nomination of properties to the List and the population which live in the areas concerned (ICOMOS, 2008).

Adding difficulty to this process is the fact that the criteria for assessing the outstanding universal value of sites for nomination to the World Heritage List, as well as the concept of authenticity, have been conceptualized, explained and understood from a European viewpoint (Labadi, 2005) and thus come into conflict with non-European conceptualizations of authenticity, aesthetics and social values. This European bias was recognized early in the life of the World Heritage List and attempts were made to rectify it and to address imbalances on the List itself which, due to the high amount of European sites inscribed was fast losing its credibility as representative of all humanity. The Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List is an action programme, adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, which highlights the need to address imbalances on the World Heritage List in terms of chronological-regional (across time and space), thematic and typological representativity. The Global Strategy advocated two initiatives to be undertaken concurrently:

- the rectification of the imbalances on the List between regions of the world, types of monuments, and periods,
- and at the same time, a move away from a purely architectural view of the cultural heritage of humanity towards one that was more anthropological, multifunctional and universal.

With the move away from the monumental conception of World Heritage to a more anthropological conception, new heritage themes have been identified; for example, 'Human Coexistence with the Land' and 'Human Beings in Society' are two themes which have been highlighted by the World Heritage Committee as being underrepresented. *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994), which was adopted contemporaneously to the Global Strategy, addressed the alleged European bias in the concept of authenticity; the definition of which had been provided in the *Operational Guidelines* since 1977 and focused on 'design, materials, workmanship and setting' and was thus inadequate to assess the wealth and diversity of the world's heritage (Labadi, 2005). *The Nara Document* acknowledged that the concept of authenticity varies from culture to culture and therefore the authenticity of a site can only be understood and judged within those specific contexts. It also added new categories for assessing authenticity, such as 'traditions and techniques' and 'spirit and feeling', thus allowing the concept of authenticity to be more readily applicable to more diverse cultural contexts.

Deterritorialization and reterritorialization of World Heritage sites

The requirement for World Heritage sites to be protected by a documented management system has often been interpreted by the state to mean priority for adequate legal and regulatory measures. This has resulted, in the main, in top-down management approaches, generally expressed in the form of a government-driven management plan (Stovel, 2004). The tendency to adopt top-down rational planning procedures has been shown to disenfranchise local communities from the heritage that they have lived beside and interacted with for generations, displacing local activity and depriving local community of economic and cultural interactions which they see as their birthright. This disenfranchisement can be either physical, by the erection of boundary walls designed to keep people out, or ideological, when national or global interpretations of a site override the local social values. This can be injurious in the case of indigenous or minority peoples' conceptualizations of heritage, especially when these are not endorsed at the national level.

Thus, the method of constructing World Heritage since the first inscriptions in 1978 has generally been one of status imposed from above and a reterritorialization of heritage sites from the local to the global level as the 'heritage of humanity'. The concepts of 'territorialization' and 'deterritorialization', as outlined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987), represent the continual creation and dissolution of space or territory while 'reterritorialization' refers to the remaking of territory or space. The deterritorialization of culture itself refers to the break between culture and its local contexts. Drawing on theories on spatiality as promulgated by Lefebvre (1974/1992) in *The Production of Space*, we are encouraged to see space not as an independent gift or thing (such as Cartesian space), 'but rather as a set of relations between things', this includes for example political and social relations. Space is produced by dynamic interrelationships between 'spatial practice', 'representations of space', and 'representational space'; this is known as the perceived-conceived-lived triad (in spatial terms). In Lefebvre's terms, the identification and classification of heritage sites as World Heritage sites is a spatial practice; this is the transformation of landscapes or religious buildings, for example, into monuments. The policies implemented by government agencies in the protection of heritage sites are an integral part of this 'spatial practice' which then creates 'representations of space', or conceptualizations of space, as defined in management plans and maps. The religious building or landscape itself is a 'representational space', which can be explained as space as directly experienced through its associated images and symbols, or as symbolic meanings enacted in spatial form. As heritage practices territorialize a landscape and thus recreate space, the landscape is recreated and redefined and its social character is changed. This can result in the disembedding of the landscape from its place of significance within the local community.

Most of the heritage sites nominated for World Heritage have already been reterritorialized from a local scale to the national and been interpreted as representations of the nation and nationalism. In this sense, national heritage is inclusionary as it helps to construct a unified homogenous nation or 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991); it provides the state with legitimacy and the illusion of longevity as the antiquity of heritage sites can be appropriated by the State to extend the history of the nation backwards into time. Heritage can also be exclusionary, whether at the regional, national or global scale; the totalizing discourses ascribed to heritage sites may mean that certain interest groups, such as indigenous or minority groups, may become excluded from the 'imagined community' of a nation by not subscribing to the meanings or values ascribed to that heritage.

The reterritorialization of heritage sites onto the global level adds further layers of spatiality and complexity to the discussion. It is made all the more intricate by the concept of outstanding universal value, a universalizing discourse which often negates or overrides local values. While the concept of a 'heritage of humanity', that is, of a shared responsibility to safeguard the world's cultural and natural treasures, is a commendable one, it is often at odds with deep local connections to place, and can thereby reduce a site to its aesthetic or architectural qualities. Furthermore, the requirement of outstanding universal value for inscription on the World Heritage List tends to focus the principal attention on those attributes in a site that are referred to in the justification of the nomination. This can mean that issues or elements not considered critical for the justification are sometimes left aside. As a result, there have been cases where the presence of local communities in World Heritage areas has not been considered desirable by the state concerned and as a result they are not involved in the decision-making process (ICOMOS, 2008).

Thus the nomination of sites of significance for inclusion on the World Heritage List, the delimiting of boundaries and buffer zones of said sites and the implementation of policy for them are decisions taken at the state level, with little community involvement. In many cases, apart from a few positive exceptions, World Heritage status is often something which was imposed on local populations from above and resulted in the disenfranchisement of these populations by the reterritorialization of heritage sites from the local to the global level.

Case study: Megalithic Temples of Malta

The territorialization of sites of significance by heritage practices, such as the creation of archaeological parks or World Heritage sites, is a process which happens all across the world and can result in considerable backlashes from local communities should they feel disenfranchised from their patrimony. For the Megalithic Temples of Malta, a serial World Heritage site made up of six sites spread across the Maltese archipelago, the implementation of restrictive government policies before inscription and in

the early life of the World Heritage site culminated in the shocking vandalism of two of the neolithic temple sites on a few occasions during the 1990s and early 2000s.

The Megalithic Temples of Malta, thought to be the oldest free-standing structures in the world, are so colossal in their construction that several of them have remained conspicuous features of the landscape right until the present (Grima and Theuma, 2006). As such, they have been important representational spaces for local communities. In the 1970s, the burgeoning international reputation of the Megalithic Temples, as well as a massive influx of tourists to Malta, resulted in the displacement of the locals from the temple sites and their surrounding landscape. This displacement was most contested at two temple sites, located in close proximity to each other, the temples Hagar Qin and Mnajdra. The landscape surrounding these temples was an important place for locals, some of who used the area to carry out traditional pursuits such as bird-trapping, as well as for the more ubiquitous family outings and picnics. To provide for the increasing amounts of tourists to the temples, car parks and visitor amenities were developed and as the numbers of tourists to the temples grew, so the numbers of locals frequenting the area dwindled. A wall and steel barriers were erected at the end of the 1970s, transforming the social character of the site and divorcing the temples from the surrounding landscape. Entry fees were also introduced and the number of free-entry days for locals was progressively reduced to once a month by the early 1990s. The commodification of the temples as tourist resources and the perceived threat to traditional practices, such as bird-trapping, were compounded by the temples' inscription on the World Heritage List in 1992, as an extension to the World Heritage site of Ggantija, one of the temples which had been previously listed in 1982. This act, paradoxically, put the Megalithic Temples at greater risk than before due to their highly publicized international importance (Grima, 1998).

The tension created by the efforts of the government to create a World Heritage archaeological park around Hagar Qin and Mnajdra and thus to control access to the area resulted in numerous acts of graffiti on the ancient fabric of the temples. However these acts of vandalism could not have prepared the authorities for the violence of the vandalism which took place at Mnajdra in 2001, when in the space of one night, more than sixty megaliths were toppled (Grima and Theuma, 2006). This act resulted in public and international outrage; UNESCO Director-General Koïchiro Matsuura described it as an 'unworthy act [which] proves that in Europe, as elsewhere, the heritage of humanity is not sheltered from human ignorance'. Fortunately, most of the damage sustained at Mnajdra was reversible and security measures were also improved to prevent a repeat of the attack. Unfortunately, the perpetrators were never caught and it remains unclear exactly who carried out the attacks and for what reason. The most likely cause of the tension and subsequent attacks seems to have been that the global values of the temples were perceived to be in

conflict with local values and interests. Instead of instilling pride, the inclusion of the monuments on the World Heritage List contributed to a sense of dispossession among some members of the local community (Grima and Theuma, 2006). This disenfranchisement of the local community from the temples and their surrounding landscape was taken on board in the subsequent drafting of the World Heritage site management plan and as such, consultation and consensus building became an integral part of the process. Further efforts have been made since by the heritage management body, Heritage Malta, to help local Maltese to feel that the temples are their heritage, and not just for tourists; a new visitor centre is being built at the archaeological park encompassing Hagar Qin and Mnajdra temples, as well as at the Tarxien temple site, also part of the serial World Heritage listing. These visitor centres will have an emphasis on using the heritage sites as an educational resource for visiting school groups and for the general population. These visitor centres are envisaged to have a positive effect on the appreciation of the national heritage by the general Maltese public.

The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage

As can be seen from above, there is a distinct need to conceptualize the links between World Heritage on the global and the local level, as well as the levels in between, as the questions of ownership of heritage sites and the ability to make decisions about their care occur at every spatial level of World Heritage site management. As we have seen, when global values and conceptions of heritage are promoted at the expense of local values, tensions can arise which can lead to the destruction of the very thing which is meant to be protected.

The World Heritage Committee acknowledges that there must be a link between universal and local values for a World Heritage site to have a sustainable future (Millar, 2006). This can be interpreted as a call for an integrative approach of both top-down and bottom-up approaches to the management of World Heritage sites and the interconnection of ideas concerning World Heritage between the global and local levels. To help to conceptualize the links between the local and the global, we adopt the notion of the local-global nexus (Alger, 1988). The local-global nexus is where forces from diverging dimensions of scale, that is, of local and global (and the levels in between such as national and regional), interconnect and interpenetrate (Figure 2). It is the arena where the tensions between the trends of globalization and localization manifest themselves and thus, the ideal conceptual space within which to theorize on the outcome of local and territorial identities in the advance of 'global culture' and universalizing discourses. Robertson sees the local-global nexus as a twofold process involving the 'interpretation of the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism' (Robertson, 1992).
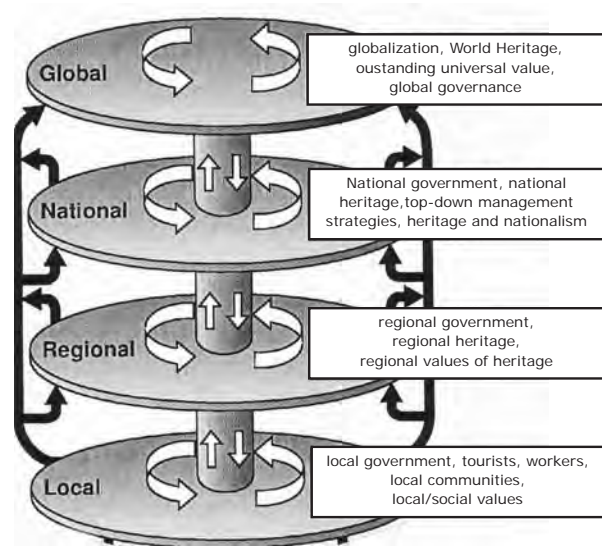

Figure 2 : The local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage (adapted from Milne and Ateljevic, 2001).

Robertson believes that the forces of globalization and localization do not merely clash and collide with each other. The notion 'glocalize' indicates the meeting of an exogenous force with a local one and its adaptation to local conditions. The outcome of these two dimensions is generally defined in globalization literature as the local-global nexus.

In the case of World Heritage, the particular concept of 'outstanding universal value' has become promulgated on a global (universalist) level and implements a particular framework for assessing, nominating and managing sites. However, variations in cultural contexts mean that this universalistic framework can be interpreted in different ways and adapted to fit the particularized context and thus 'glocalized'. This 'glocalized' space is the local-global nexus in the politics of World Heritage; a space where global ideas about World Heritage and the management of sites can be adapted to fit the particular cultural context, taking local values, local ways of knowing and local ways of looking after sites into much greater account than heretofore. The recognition of the specific qualities and local values that are associated with World Heritage sites can also form a counterpoint to globalization.

Case study: African World Heritage Fund

The greater use of community-based traditional management systems in the management of World Heritage sites, with local people working in partnership with government officials, is a form of community development which can empower local people to benefit from heritage on an economic and social level. A positive example of the use of World Heritage to promote community development is the work currently being carried out by the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF).

The AWHF is the culmination of a series of discussions between South Africa, Benin, Nigeria, Egypt and Zimbabwe. These countries represented the continent over concerns that Africa's World Heritage sites are in dire need of funding for maintenance, capacity-building and awareness-raising, and in need of help in the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* (SouthAfrica.info, 2005). Since the fund was launched in 2006, it has worked with the African Union (AU) Member States who are signatories to the Convention, to assist them in the conservation and protection of Africa's cultural and natural heritage. The AWHF represents a new approach to World Heritage management and is the first regional funding initiative within the framework of the *World Heritage Convention* (AWHF, 2008).

Africa is a continent of great ethnic, cultural and regional diversity; nevertheless there is an emerging sense of an African common humanity and as such, a pan-African approach to the challenges faced by many African countries regarding the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention* was seen as the best way forward. The key function of the AWHF is to mobilize African governments and their counterparts, donor bodies, NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs) and the private sector to attend to some of the challenges faced by African countries in the many facets of the implementation of the *Convention*, such as the drawing up of Tentative Lists and nomination dossiers, the development of site management plans and the training of site managers and also, the safeguarding and presentation of sites in the region (Rajak and Murimbika, 2008). The Fund will also rely on several other international strategic partners such as the World Heritage Centre, the African Union and the Advisory Bodies of the World Heritage Committee: ICCROM; ICOMOS and IUCN. All the information garnered through strong partnerships with heritage bodies will be applied to different local contexts from a single African brand; this will help the Fund to produce valuable knowledge resources that are practical and relevant to the African context. Furthermore, the AWHF proposes to use the African cultural resources as vehicles of sustainable development through poverty reduction, community empowerment and social inclusion. The participation of local communities in the management of World Heritage on the African continent is seen as one way of empowering local communities and equipping them to tackle issues of extreme poverty with their own communities (Rajak and Murimbika, 2008). Recognizing that, as a developing continent, the preservation of its sites could benefit local economic development, the AWHF set up a marketing and branding arm, NHERIT, to ensure that Africa's World Heritage sites are sustainably managed and utilized in enhancing tourism, enterprise development and education, as well as being promoted to the world (Rajak and Murimbika, 2008). Through this project, the AWHF aims to:

- create awareness about Africa's heritage;
- encourage visitors to Africa's World Heritage sites;

- stimulate enterprise development in local African communities;
- build pride among Africans and the rest of the world about [African] heritage to create a more positive image of the continent (Nherit, 2008).

From this brief case study it is apparent that the African World Heritage Fund represents a localized approach to the implementation of the *World Heritage Convention*; one which has as its goal the democratization of heritage discourses and the promotion of community development programmes through World Heritage site management. It highlights the potential within the local-global nexus for programmes which can empower and benefit local communities; in this case, the global ideas and values of World Heritage have been adapted and applied in a regional context to create a unified African brand for the promotion and management of African World Heritage sites. This regional approach will then be applied to the local context, with the cooperation of local people, for the economic and social benefit of the local communities.

Conclusion

People involved in the care and protection of World Heritage sites can take inspiration from the Local Agenda 21 programme, one of the outcomes of the Rio World Congress, which highlighted the need to take environmental action at all spatial and political levels, as well as environmentalist slogans such as 'Act Locally, Think Globally', which encouraged a grassroots approach to environmental protection while being globally aware. These ideas underline the links between the local and global level in the protection of the environment and this sentiment is one which can be applied to the management of World Heritage sites, that is, the need for both local values and global values of heritage to be equally recognized and respected, while involving key stakeholders from each spatial level.

The World Heritage system has recently begun to embrace bottom-up approaches to site management involving local communities to a much greater degree than before. While still encouraging the States Parties to adopt adequate top-down legal and regulatory systems, the World Heritage Committee now promotes community involvement and public participation in management strategies, recognizing the importance of traditional forms of management and protection. The basic premise is that heritage is best protected not only through strong laws, but also through a widely shared understanding of heritage values and their importance in community development (Stovel, 2004). World Heritage sites may have been recognized as the 'heritage of humanity', but in the long run it is the local community which has the future of World Heritage in its hands, and which needs to be effectively empowered to manage and protect it.

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Models of best practice for communities

4

Protected areas and rural livelihoods:
the case of a World Heritage site in Western Uganda

James Ilukol Okware and Claire Cave

Introduction

Biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation are two critical challenges facing the global community today. The WWF *Living Planet Report* indicates that between 1970 and 2003 populations of terrestrial vertebrate species declined by approximately 30 per cent (WWF, 2006). When this trend is broken down into tropical and temperate species it reveals an average decline of tropical species by 55 per cent. This alarming rate of population decline is accompanied by an equivalent loss of natural habitat through human disturbance. Virtually all the Earth's biomes have suffered habitat loss, degradation and fragmentation through human activities. A study of human land-use patterns over the last three hundred years has revealed that forest or woodland has declined in area by 29 per cent, steppe or savannah or grassland by 49 per cent, shrub-land by 74 per cent and tundra or hot desert or ice desert by 14 per cent (Goldewijk, 2001). There is no sign that these trends are slowing down: natural habitats continue to be converted for cropland, pasture and other uses at a rapid rate.

The ultimate cause for concern is the growth of the world's human population, which is currently estimated at 6.15 billion people and projected to increase to 9.1 billion by 2050 (UN Population Division, 2007). Almost half the world's population, 2.7 billion people, live on less than US$2 a day and over 700 million poor people live in rural areas and depend on the productivity of ecosystems for their livelihoods (IUCN, 2006).

These problems have called for an unprecedented set of international commitments to alleviate poverty and conserve biodiversity during the past decade. In 2001, the international community adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) one of the key targets of which is to halve global poverty by 2015 and ensure environmental sustainability. Similarly, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), signed in 1992 at the Rio Earth Summit, sets the global agenda for the conservation and wise use of biodiversity. The objectives of the Convention (Art. 1) are threefold: 'The conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components, and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of genetic resources'. In 2002 during the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg the international community

made a further commitment to achieve 'by 2010, a significant reduction in the current rate of loss of biological diversity'. In 2004 the 7th Conference of Parties (CoP) of the CBD set a series of targets as part of a framework to monitor progress in achieving the CBD objectives and the 2010 biodiversity target. These targets include that:

- at least 10 per cent of each of the world's ecological regions are effectively conserved (by 2010);
- areas of particular importance to biodiversity are protected;
- the status of threatened species is improved and the decline of species populations is reduced;
- unsustainable consumption of biological resources is reduced;

As indicated in these objectives and targets, the creation of protected areas is a key world conservation strategy to battle habitat loss and to curtail biodiversity loss. Governments, conservation organizations, civil society and individuals have responded to species loss in the last century by creating protected areas (Adams, 2004). The World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA) includes 113,707 sites covering an area of 19.6 million km^2 (Lockwood et al., 2006). The 5th World Parks Congress in 2003 celebrated one of the significant achievements of the last century: the establishment of protected areas over 11.5 per cent of the Earth's surface (Mainka et al., 2005). This represents almost a fourfold increase from 1962 when protected area coverage was 3 per cent of the Earth's surface. Significantly, the growth of protected areas in the last decade has been in developing countries and within terrestrial ecosystems. Large gaps still remain in relation to coverage of protected areas in the marine, freshwater and coastal ecosystems (Fisher et al., 2005).

The *World Heritage Convention* clearly plays an important role in the global efforts to achieve the CBD aims and the 2010 target. Designated natural World Heritage sites have been inscribed on the World Heritage List because they are:

(i) outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, freshwater, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals; and/or

(ii) they contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation (WHC, 2005, II.D.77).

To date the World Heritage List is made up of 890 properties; 689 of which are cultural, 176 are natural and 25 are mixed. The area of natural and mixed World Heritage sites is greater than 1,713,118.34 km^2 and covers around 1 per cent of the Earth's surface. All the biomes (as defined by Udvardy, 1975) contain World Heritage sites (except cold winter deserts) and there are representatives of over half of the 193 Udvardy biogeographical provinces among the natural sites listed (Magin and Chape, 2004).

However, throughout the world and particularly in tropical areas, protected areas are under severe threat and suffer from extensive illegal resource use leading to loss of biodiversity (Carey et al., 2000). At present most threats to the protected areas' integrity and conservation values originate in the neighbouring communities. Many people living in close proximity to protected areas tend to rely directly on natural products and services for their livelihoods and survival. Protected areas and their associated resources directly or indirectly contribute to about 90 per cent of the livelihoods of about 1.2 million people living in extreme poverty and support the natural environment that nourishes agriculture and food supplies of nearly half the population of the developing world (Fisher et al., 2005; Mainka et al., 2005).

This situation is evident in the natural sites on the World Heritage List. The *World Heritage Convention* includes a process whereby sites in immediate peril of losing the very properties whose outstanding universal value ensured their successful addition to the World Heritage List, can be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This is a mechanism to highlight the plight of these sites and to mobilize increased national and international support to mitigate the threats. Despite the fact that there are almost four times the number of cultural sites (689) than natural sites (176) on the World Heritage List there are only slightly more cultural sites on the List of World Heritage in Danger (seventeen cultural and thirteen natural including one transboundary site). Similarly, of the twenty-four sites that were placed on the World Heritage in Danger List in the past and have since been reinstated, twelve were cultural and twelve were natural. Table 1 lists the threats affecting natural sites on the Danger List.

Armed conflict and the consequent mass influx of refugees are major problems. For example between July 1994 and September 1996, some 1.5 million to 2 million Rwandans took refuge in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and settled where they could, including national parks and World Heritage sites. The resulting increase in demand for fuel wood, foodstuffs and building material placed enormous stress on the natural resources within the protected areas. The next most widespread threats indicated in Table 1 also relate to unsustainable resource use, and these are grazing, cultivation and poaching – a universal problem for protected areas. Historically, the attitude taken in the creation of protected areas has been to reserve places for nature and to exclude humans; to create pristine wilderness areas. The establishment

Threat	Number of sites affected*
Poaching	8
Political unrest, armed conflict, war	5
Refugees	5
Grazing	4
Deforestation	3
Cultivation	2
Mining	2
Tourism and urbanization	1
Pollution	1
Invasive species	1
Dam development	1

* Some sites are threatened by more than one factor so the total number of sites is inflated. Eleven of the sites are located in Africa.

Table 1: Threats to the thirteen natural sites on the World Heritage in Danger List.
Source: WCMC (2008).

of protected areas typically involved the eviction and/ or exclusion of people as residents, restrictions on the extraction of natural resources and activities of indigenous peoples and the prevention of consumptive use; a so-called fortress conservation approach (Adams and Hulme, 2001). This practice spread from the first national park, Yellowstone, declared in 1872, to other countries and continents and was particularly enforced by Western authorities in Southern Hemisphere countries. It was characterized by a centralized, state-based, authoritarian approach (Lockwood and Kothari, 2006).

As international awareness of the concept of sustainable development grew, following the *Brundtland Report* in 1987 and the UN Conference on Environment and Development at Rio in 1992, a change in attitude towards the exclusionary approach to protected area management evolved. The concept of sustainable development encouraged the management of natural habitats, species and ecosystems as exploitable natural resources to the benefit of both developmental and conservation goals (Hulme and Murphree, 2001*b*). This 'paradigm shift' was supported by a growing recognition of the rights of local and indigenous communities to their environments and to have a say in decisions that affect them (Lockwood and Kothari, 2006). Slowly but surely the belief that an exclusionary approach was the most effective management tool to ensure the conservation of protected areas was eroded, not only because of concern for local communities but also because evidence mounted that it was not working. Protected areas were suffering from inefficient management and lack of supervision. Frequently, park staff were underfunded and ill-equipped to deal with increasing incursions from local communities and incidents of poaching and sabotage. There was a lack of local support from the communities that had originally been excluded from the areas gazetted as national parks, often with little or no compensation.

Models of best practice for communities

For example, Simien National Park (Ethiopia) was gazetted in 1969 and inscribed as a World Heritage site in 1978. Roughly 2,500 Amhara people lived in the park, but some 1,800 were forcibly evicted in 1978–79 and 1985–86. This was a much-resented policy, which continues to fuel animosity among the local people towards the park today. Initial policies to manage the park in cooperation with its inhabitants failed due to the central government's apparent concern for wildlife rather than the local communities. In 1996 the World Heritage Committee placed the park on the Danger List because of a serious decline in the population of Walia ibex (*Capra walie*) due to human settlement, grazing and cultivation (WCMC, 2008).

At Manas Wildlife Sanctuary World Heritage site (India), the Bodo tribal people live in the surrounding area. Forests adjacent to the park have been logged by paper and timber industries and immigrant farmers have illegally moved in and purchased the cleared land. This has forced the Bodo tribal people to use the protected areas' natural resources for consumption. Therefore, denial of access for subsistence by park officials has created conflict. This culminated in a violent occupation of the park by separatist members of the local All-Bodo student union campaigning for the right of their people to use forest lands. The ensuing chaos created an opportunity for poachers and smugglers to infiltrate the park and as a result hundreds of animals, including rhinos, elephants and tigers, were killed. In 1992 Manas Wildlife Sanctuary was placed on the Danger List (WCMC, 2008).

These situations are typical of many protected areas today. However, as countries realize their commitments to the Millennium Development Goals and the CBD, through poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSP) and national biodiversity action plans (NBAP) there is an ever-increasing pressure on protected areas to involve local communities in their management (Western et al., 1994; Hulme and Murphree, 2001a; Scherl et al., 2004). Similarly, given the alternative land use options that protected areas can be put to for generating local and national income, there has also been increasing pressure to justify the economic contribution of protected areas to national development and livelihoods of communities adjacent to these areas (Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000). This pressure is partly due to the under-appreciation of the role protected areas play in livelihoods of communities in their vicinity and the fact that local communities adjacent to these areas have livelihood strategies that fail to take advantage of the opportunities provided by protected areas. There is a global consensus that we need to enhance rural livelihoods, conserve biodiversity and increase productivity at a landscape level.

For protected areas to succeed as venues for biodiversity conservation they need to enlist local support for conservation by addressing the livelihood needs of adjacent communities. To achieve this there is a need to understand the current impact of protected areas on the livelihood and survival strategies of the communities.

This insight will enable management, together with stakeholders, to identify appropriate sustainable strategies for local communities to meet their livelihood needs and to reduce destructive practices in the park environment. To date there has been little attempt to systematically assess or measure the use of resources by people living near protected areas (Salafsky and Wollenberg, 2000).

One of the research priorities of the ten-year management plan for the Rwenzori Mountains National Park World Heritage site in Uganda is to understand the role the protected area plays in the livelihood of the local communities and to address the issue of planning for community involvement in conservation. In an effort to tackle these issues, a six-month preliminary research project was carried out in sixteen villages located in eight sub-counties adjacent to the park. The villages sampled ranged from 4 m to 9 km away from the park boundary. In all, 240 households were randomly chosen and surveyed and data were collected with reference to household socio-economic characteristics (Okware, 2006).

The Rwenzori Mountains are a component of the Albertine Rift and straddle the equator along the border between Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Western Uganda. Over 75 per cent of the mountain range is located in Uganda with the rest in DRC. The park is nearly 10,000 hectares in area and covers most of the centre and eastern half of the Rwenzori Mountains National Park range. Some of the range is also part of the DRC Virunga National Park which is contiguous with Rwenzori for about 50 km (Figure 1). The Rwenzori Mountains rise to an altitude of 5,109 m and contain the third, fourth and fifth highest mountains in Africa. The peaks are snow-capped despite their closeness to the equator (although the cover of snow and ice is decreasing due to climate change) and the mountains are the most permanent source of water for the Nile. The mountains support the richest montane fauna in Africa and traditionally are the homelands of the Bakonzo and Baamba peoples (WCMC, 2003).

The majority of the 211 households surveyed during the project were Bakonzo (87.9 per cent). The households closest to Rwenzori Mountains National Park were all Bakonzo and other tribes appeared (Batoro, Alurmade, Samia, Banyankole and Lugbara) with increasing distance from the park. Approximately 60 per cent of the households surveyed were settled in the area less than thirty years: 7.9 per cent of household heads confirmed they had arrived within the last five years, which indicates the rate of arrival of new immigrants. The major reasons for migrating to the area were the presence of a relative already settled (around 50 per cent), the availability of land (35 per cent) and employment potential (5.8 per cent).

The respondents had few assets to generate a means of survival. The majority of people had acquired their land by inheritance of a portion of their parents' holding (75 per cent).
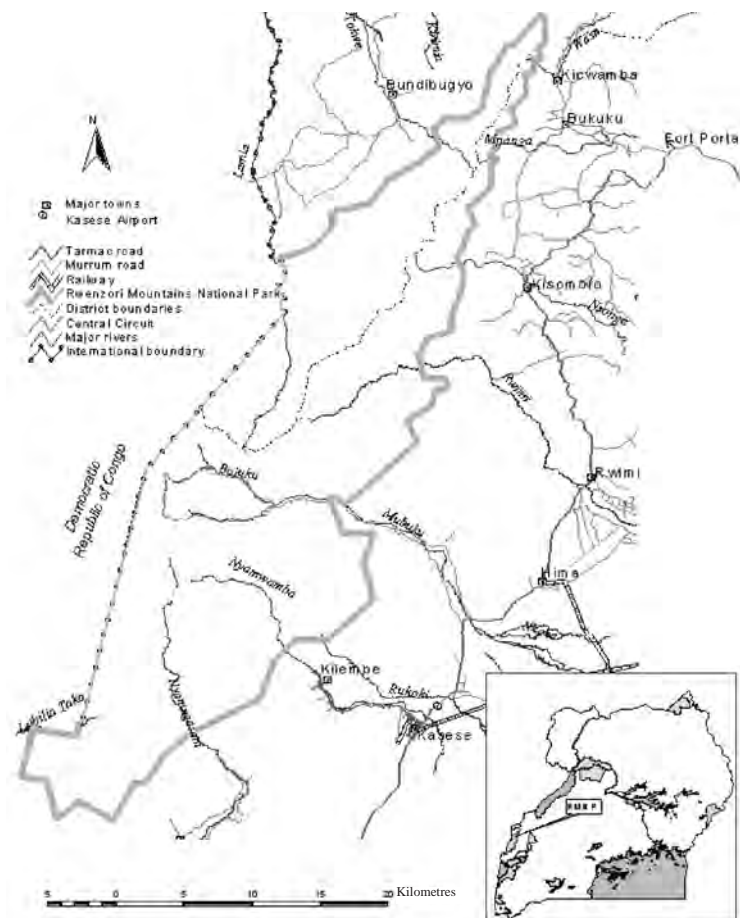
Figure 1: Outline of Rwenzori Mountains National Park borders (heavy line). Inset: location of park within Uganda.
Source: Rwenzori Mountains National Park

This subdivision of property from one generation to the next will be severely limited in the future as households are restricted to progressively smaller and more fragmented areas of land. Indeed the mean area of land owned per household is 1.15 hectares. The majority of households (90) subsist on 0.2 hectares (range: 0.2 to 2.4 hectares). The area of land owned by a household was not dependent on distance from the park. With regard to education, 37 per cent of the respondents had had no education at all, 45 per cent had only primary level education and the remaining 18 per cent had reached ordinary level education with some achieving certificate and diploma level.

The majority of respondents were farmers (87 per cent) and agriculture is the main livelihood strategy dominated by crop farming and, to a lesser extent, livestock rearing. Coffee is the dominant cash-crop contributing to 78 per cent of the income from crops. A small number of respondents (5.4 per cent) were self-employed, selling goods from shops, stalls or along the roadside and the remainder were public servants, blacksmiths, a student and a tourist guide. Table 2 indicates the different activities that households were involved in to make a living and the estimated contribution that each activity contributed to the livelihoods of the respondents.

Livelihood from Rwenzori Mountains National Park includes collection of honey, palm oil, vegetables and mushrooms, and activities such as pit sawing. Almost all (70 per cent) of the communities around the park also depend on the park for supplies of items such as firewood, water, medicinal plants, bamboo and building materials. Bamboo is not cultivated outside the park although it is used for construction, musical instruments, food, fuel and craft materials. However, the likelihood of households using park resources decreases with increased distance from the park. Similarly, the proportion of households with members employed by the park is greater for villages nearer the park than those farther away. The majority (78 per cent) of households did not have members or relatives employed by the park and the main jobs were boundary demarcating and acting as guides to tourists. Furthermore the park does not provide a market for crafts. Only 1.1 per cent of crafts were sold through the park; the bulk of sales were local, through markets and community groups.

As the number of people who buy wood increases with distance from the park, people are adapting to this demand and scarcity of firewood by planting trees in woodlots and trading wood as a source of livelihood. Firewood is the

principle affordable energy resource for most developing countries and in Uganda it is the main source of fuel. Demand for fuel by local people adjacent to the park constitutes a problem for day-to-day management and fuel shortage imposes a high financial and social cost on households. Sourcing firewood is a priority for women and children of the household and travelling long distances in search of firewood places women and children at risk as well as making it difficult for children to go to school.

Respondents were asked to identify the biggest problems that their households faced and the foremost concerns were crop diseases (84.6 per cent), lack of money (74.2 per cent), inadequate land (69.8 per cent), inadequate food (54.2 per cent), problem wild animals (56.7 per cent) and high food prices (54.2 per cent). Crop farmers also identified soil exhaustion and soil erosion as key concerns. Disease, lack of land and thieves were the main threats to livestock. These problems reveal a measure of how vulnerable the communities are to external factors beyond their control. The World Bank (2001) defines poverty in three dimensions - lack of assets and income, powerlessness and vulnerability, and lack of economic opportunities. Vulnerability is a measure of how susceptible poor people are to external factors, such as natural disasters, markets, droughts, seasonal trends in food availability and prices, etc., which can have severe negative impacts on their ability to survive. The villagers explained that they coped through difficult periods by reducing the number of meals and the quality of food consumed, borrowing money, selling firewood and other household assets, migrating for periods and sending their children to stay with relatives.

One of the greatest stresses that the people have been subjected to is war. Rwenzori Mountains National Park was used as a base camp by rebel groups from 1997 to 2001 during the Ugandan Civil War; the forested mountains provided a refuge for the rebels and a source of food, water, natural medicines and fuel. Many people were displaced during the conflict and were forced to flee to protective camps. The collapse of law and order made it impossible for park staff to control and manage the area, intensive hunting for bushmeat and other resources escalated and as a result

the wild buffalo is now extinct in Uganda and many species formerly abundant are now rare (Okware, 2006; WCMC, 2003). The park was placed on the Danger List in 1999 and eventually removed from the Danger List in 2004. Although the situation in Rwenzori Mountains National Park has improved, the neighbouring Virunga National Park in the DRC is listed as a site in Danger because of the presence of armed conflict and the inadequate management capacity to manage the protected areas. As a result, security is still a serious concern in the park. In fact, in the survey, people living nearby confirmed that they would be willing to pay if it were possible to ensure that peace was maintained in the future.

Contemporary conservation policies and practices in Uganda hark back to the fortress conservation approach of the British colonial authority. Gazetting and subsequent management of protected areas led to the displacement of the local people that were using the natural resources. However, there are now processes in place for the reform of land-use policies and for enacting legislation and strategies to alleviate poverty and protect the environment for conservation, including provisions for highlighting community issues and community-based conservation. The constitution provides that the State shall protect important natural resources such as land, water, wetlands, minerals, fauna and flora on behalf of the people of Uganda and create and develop parks and reserves to protect the biodiversity of Uganda (Barrow et al., 2001; Okware, 2006).

The management of wildlife and protected areas, including Rwenzori Mountains National Park, is guided by the Uganda Wildlife Act of 2000 (Chapter 200 in the Laws of Uganda published in 2000; Okware, 2006). The Act authorizes the Ugandan Wildlife Authority (UWA) to assume responsibility for wildlife management in Uganda, both inside and outside its protected areas. Under the Act, a Board of Trustees is appointed by the Minister of Tourism, Trade and Industry as the governing body of UWA.

The Ugandan Government has developed Vision 2025, a framework for the long-term development of the country. The Vision is popularly stated as: prosperous people, harmonious nation, beautiful country. It articulates strategies

Livelihood activity	Households involved in activity	Estimated contribution of each activity to overall livelihoods of households
Agriculture	87	27
Casual labour	51	16
Petty trade	44	14
Collecting natural resources from Rwenzori Mountains National Park	44	14
Crafts	43	13
Support from relatives living away	21	5
Park employment	22	6
Migration	15	5

Table 2: Livelihood activities of households (%). *Source:* WCMC (2008).

to focus on strengthening policies for sustainable utilization of environmental resources, enhancement of women in environmental management and developing a pollution-free and beautiful environment (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development). The government has also established a poverty eradication action plan (PEAP). It recognizes that one mechanism to directly increase the ability of the poor to raise their incomes, is to ensure that the environment can continue to support agricultural production, alternative energy sources and food security, etc. In support of these commitments, one of the purposes of UWA is to strengthen its capacity to become a wildlife service, oriented to contribute to the government mission of poverty eradication in rural areas. In the same vein, one of the research priorities of the approved ten-year management plan (2004–2014) for Rwenzori Mountains National Park is to carry out a livelihood analysis of the people around the park to establish how much they depend on the protected area. Furthermore, in order to highlight community issues, community protected area institutions (CPAIs) have been established. These are local community committees which work with UWA to address issues that affect community/park relations, and they were established upon the recommendation of the 2003 UNESCO-IUCN mission which travelled to Rwenzori Mountains National Park while the protected area was on the Danger List. The outcome of these activities is an improved relationship between park staff and communities bordering the protected areas. However, the CPAIs are elected by the chairpersons of the respective villages, parishes, sub-counties and districts, and involving politicians in protected-area institutions could cause future political tension and challenges.

The results of this project, a preliminary livelihood analysis of the people living adjacent to Rwenzori Mountains National Park, confirm that the local people depend on the protected area. The park is the source of resources such as honey, firewood, medicinal plants, wild fruits and vegetables, palm oil, craft material and bamboo. The extent of poverty in the study area is high and is characterized by the smallholdings, large households, low income, lack of education facilities and gender differences.

This project has made the initial steps to quantify the role that Rwenzori Mountains National Park plays in the livelihood of the local communities and the value placed on it by local people. The surveys indicate that the value placed on the park by local people may fluctuate depending on external circumstances and the impact of factors such as food prices and crop disease on food availability. The use of park resources by the local people is widespread; of the 240 households surveyed, 152 agreed that they benefited directly from its natural

resources. However, despite the enabling policies and positive legislative environment for sustainable resource use in Ugandan protected areas, there is no signed Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the park authorities and the surrounding communities on the use of resources by local people. Consequently, the current use of resources is considered illegal. The project results identify the need to develop an understanding of how and when local people may use resources and, in order to prepare a MoU, emphasize the need for local realization that resources are limited. The value of Rwenzori Mountains National Park to the local people, as an investment against temporary downturns in agricultural production, is an important incentive for community involvement in protecting and maintaining park resources to guarantee local access to specific resources when necessary.

The park also has the potential to create jobs for the local people, either directly through their involvement in park management or indirectly through tourism. The survey highlights the undeveloped potential for tourist revenue through the sale of crafts and locally produced foodstuffs for example. There is also the potential to review and expand the local communities' involvement in the provision of tourist services. Rwenzori Mountains National Park is one of the few protected areas in Uganda where concessions have been awarded to the local community to provide services to tourists, in this case through the Rwenzori Mountaineering Services, a local NGO, which maintains the main tourist route for mountain climbing and hikes through the park.

The promotion of beekeeping and the growth of woodlots for wood fuel are examples of strategies to support local livelihoods and alleviate the pressure of unsustainable resource use within the park. For example, the Bunyangabu Beekeepers Community is an NGO in Kabarole District, which promotes sustainable beekeeping among farmers and provides access to external markets for the sale of honey. Furthermore, policies developed in cooperation with local farmers to mitigate the effects of problem wild animals and protect livestock from thieves would reduce the impacts of some of the external factors on the farmers' livelihoods.

Finally, all the surveyed households located adjacent to the park boundaries were the Bakonzo people. The Rwenzori are central to the historical, social, political, economic and spiritual life of the Bakonzo (Stacey, 1996). It is important that any policies put in place to manage Rwenzori Mountains National Park should consider the Bakonzo and the value of their knowledge of managing natural resources. Adequate representation of Bakonzo in the CPAIs and Park Management Advisory Committee is essential to promote local partnerships in conservation.

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Managing World Heritage sites as a tool for development in Ethiopia: the need for sustainable tourism in Lalibela

Elene Negussie and Getu Assefa Wondimu

Introduction

With a population of approximately 79 million, Ethiopia is in economic terms one of the poorest countries in the world, with 78 per cent of its large and rapidly growing population living on less than US$2 per day. Ranking 169 out of 177 countries on the UNDP Human Development Index, and 105 out of 108 countries on the Human Poverty Index (UNDP, 2007a), its development indicators are significantly worse than the average for sub-Saharan Africa, the poorest region in the world.

However, Ethiopia has a wealth of cultural and natural heritage which has the potential to attract both international and domestic tourists. If correctly used and managed this can be utilized as a significant resource for economic development. Heritage is increasingly recognized as a tool for economic development, partly due to its inherent capacity as a tourism generating activity. International strategies to achieve the United Nations' poverty reducing Millennium Development Goals to be achieved by 2015, have embraced the link between culture and development (UNDP, 2007b). UNESCO plays a leading role in promoting such strategies through its Programme for Culture and Development and its promotion of World Heritage sites. In Ethiopia, the government aims to make the country one of the top ten tourist destinations in Africa by 2020, by utilizing heritage assets with the view to maximize the poverty-reducing impacts of tourism and transform the image of the country.

Nevertheless, while tourism may contribute to socio-economic development, it can also lead to irreversible damage and loss of cultural environments and inestimable heritage resources. This stems from an inherent conflict between the use of heritage as a cultural resource and heritage as an economic resource (Graham et al., 2000). For example, commodification of cultural heritage into products for the tourism industry may lead to the erosion of their intrinsic value as cultural manifestations (Pedersen, 2002). Therefore, a key issue to consider is how to balance tourism with sustainable heritage conservation. Poor countries and local communities are particularly vulnerable to the adverse impact of tourism on heritage sites. This vulnerability has been noted in several sub-Saharan African countries where there is a need

to prioritize 'long-term development of effective conservation measures' through inclusive and sustainable capacity-building efforts (Breen, 2007).

This chapter discusses opportunities and challenges of tourism development at World Heritage sites in the Ethiopian context and the need to establish integrated management plans to ensure their proper protection through participatory means in order to achieve sustainable development. Furthermore, it discusses heritage tourism in a development context and explores benefits for the local population at the monolithic Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela, dating from the late 12th century and listed by UNESCO in 1978 as one of the first twelve World Heritage sites. It draws on a pilot research study which examined tourism management based on a triangulation of perspectives, including heritage site conservation, local community benefit and tourist satisfaction (Assefa Wondimu, 2007). Such an approach embraces the idea of sustainable development resting on key cornerstones such as environmental conservation, including both natural and cultural dimensions, social progress and economic development. While sustainable development can be viewed from a multitude of perspectives and against a myriad of priorities, successful management strategies for World Heritage sites must address conservation as the overriding goal while also seeking to balance tourism needs and local community benefits.

Cultural heritage and tourism in a development context

The relevance of cultural heritage as a tool for development is increasingly recognized and utilized in strategies to reduce poverty. The World Bank, UN agencies and national governments alike have incorporated into their development agendas the notion that heritage constitutes a cultural asset which can be used to achieve socio-economic development. National trust funds have been established within international donor and lending agencies to achieve development through culture. For example, the UNDP/Spain Millennium Development Goals Achievement Fund (MDG-F) was established in 2007 in order to channel an amount of €528 milion towards key Millennium Development Goals (MDG) over a period of four years through the UN system. The MDG-F seeks to address key development challenges central to the achievement of the MDGs, stipulated in the Millennium Declaration as a means to reduce world

poverty (UN, 2000), and related development goals including the integration of culture and development (UNDP, 2007b). The idea is that 'culture can clearly facilitate economic growth through job creation, tourism and the cultural industries' with culture as an economic sector for production, consumption and access (UNDP, 2007c).

Furthermore, national governments and agencies have sponsored cultural heritage as a subsidiary part of bilateral development projects to alleviate poverty, particularly in relation to World Heritage sites. For example, the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) has worked in partnership with heritage organizations in order to integrate preservation with development assistance in developing countries, for example renovations of the Stone Town of Zanzibar (United Republic of Tanzania) and the Old Royal Palace of Luang Prabang (Lao People's Democratic Republic). Furthermore, through its promotion of World Heritage sites, UNESCO has become an important actor in capacity-building efforts linked to heritage management in a development context. While its World Heritage Fund provides international assistance towards World Heritage sites on request by any of the States Parties to the *World Heritage Convention* (e.g. for technical cooperation, training or emergency assistance) such assistance is particularly significant for heritage preservation in developing countries. ICCROM has likewise undertaken capacity-building partnership projects such as Africa 2009, a training strategy especially for cultural heritage expertise in African countries.

In the Ethiopian context, the World Bank granted a loan in 2002 for a cultural heritage project to enable the Ethiopian Government in its efforts to achieve cultural heritage conservation through site planning, conservation of historic buildings and sites (e.g. the medieval castles of Gondar), the development of heritage inventories and preservation of crafts-based activities in order to maximize the tourism potential. Furthermore, UNESCO has promoted an international campaign to safeguard the principal monuments and sites of Ethiopia, in partnership with the Ethiopian Government, including implementation of the reinstallation of the Aksum obelisk and a shelters project to protect the Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela (see below).

Tourism plays a key role in the utilization of heritage resources for economic development. For instance, with agriculturally based livelihoods and extremely low levels of other income in Ethiopia (UNDP, 2007a), the link between tourism and poverty reduction has been recognized by the Ethiopian Government. Tourism is one of the focal sectors of its plan for accelerated and sustained development to end poverty 2006–2010 (MoFED, 2005). However, unless properly managed, tourism can contribute to irreversible damage and destruction of heritage resources. As economic gain is seen as a priority most poor countries are especially vulnerable to such effects. Thus, while optimizing the link between culture and tourism, there is a need to acknowledge the tension between the use of heritage as a cultural resource and as an economic

resource. Graham et al. (2000) suggest that 'a growing commercial heritage industry is commodifying pasts into heritage products and experiences for sale as part of a modern consumption of entertainment'. In this process, the authentic value of heritage as a bank of knowledge, history and culture may be compromised or even destroyed.

In order to come to terms with the negative effects of tourism, sustainable heritage tourism frameworks seek to address issues relating to authenticity, interpretation, access and equity, with planning and management methods which ensure acceptable limits of use, restricted access to sensitive sites through zoning and participation of both local communities and tourists in responsibility for heritage sites (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). New methods of financing heritage must also be introduced in order to restore, maintain and present heritage sites, for example by ensuring that a share of the income generated from visitors to World Heritage site is channelled to meet such costs. Sustainable heritage tourism needs to consider three main perspectives: site conservation, the local community and tourist needs. The empowerment of local communities to participate in planning and management of the site is crucial in order to enable them to share in the economic benefits of tourism. This also helps to foster responsibility and a sense of ownership which has a positive effect on conservation.

Tourism and World Heritage sites in Ethiopia

As far as tourism is concerned, Ethiopia has a wealth of cultural and natural resources, ranging from medieval castles, ancient churches and monasteries, archaeological sites, historic towns and monuments, traditional cultures and festivals, to various fascinating landscape features. Along with Tunisia, it has the highest number of World Heritage sites in Africa, including seven cultural sites, one natural site, and three proposed sites on the Tentative List. Most of these were inscribed in the first implementation phase of the *World Heritage Convention* between 1979 to 1980, for example Aksum, Gondar, Lalibela and the Lower Valley of the Omo. However, Harar Jugol, the Fortified Historic Town, was inscribed in 2006. According to the World Tourism Organization, given the international significance of the country's cultural and natural heritage resources, Ethiopia is underperforming in the tourism market. This is partly due to the country having struggled with famine, civil war and political instability, which has diminished opportunities for international tourism.

A tourism industry was established relatively early in an African context, with significant steps taken to create a tourism sector during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. During the 1960s, tourist arrivals grew at a yearly rate of 12 per cent. By 1961, tourism was considered a key economic growth sector and in 1966 a tourism development master plan was developed. Guided by this plan, the government invested heavily in tourism infrastructure in the subsequent decades, including Ethiopian Airlines routes

with both international and domestic access, airfields and hotels at key tourism sites, and the establishment of the National Tourism Operation (NTO) as a tourist agency. The 'Historic Route' was established as a main tourist attraction, including visits to the historic sites of Aksum, Gondar and Lalibela facilitated by Ethiopian Airlines.

During the communist regime in the 1970s and 1980s, in spite of investments in tourism infrastructure, the tourism industry suffered from the adverse effects of a prolonged civil war, recurrent drought and famine, strained government relations with non-socialist tourist-generating countries, and restrictions on entry and free movement of tourists. The tourism sector has remained almost entirely Ethiopian-owned, either by government, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church or the private sector. This closed and relatively controlled system seems to have slowed down the development of the industry. For example, in 1998, the total number of international tourist arrivals in Ethiopia was 112,000 (Figure 1), while in Kenya the equivalent figure was 857,000. Furthermore, the contribution of the tourism sector towards the GDP from international tourists was only 0.5 per cent compared with 2.0 per cent in Kenya (ETC, 2002).

With the increasing use of World Heritage sites as a means of achieving economic development through tourism, proper management of these is imperative.
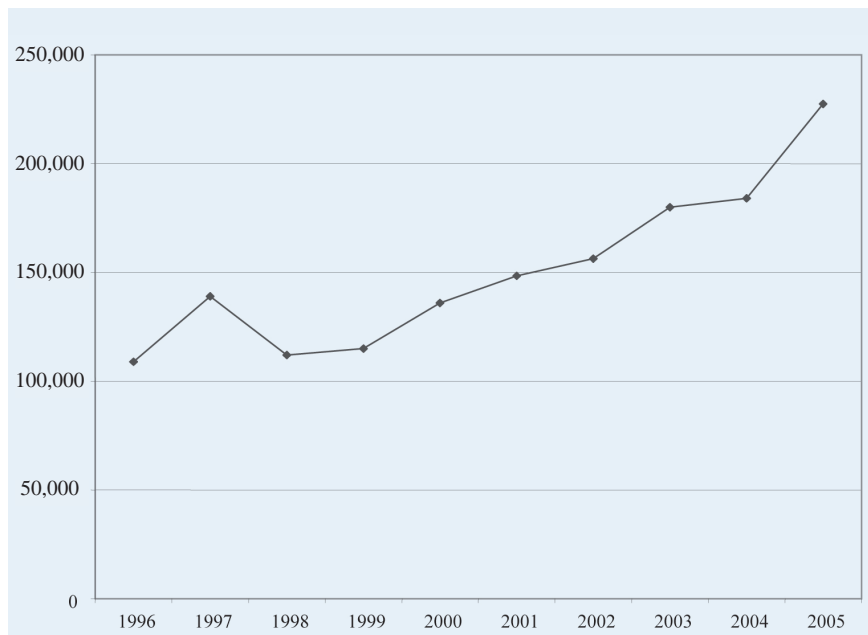
The establishment of management plans for World Heritage sites is a compulsory requirement under the *World Heritage Convention*. The *Operational Guidelines* stipulate that '*each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means*' (WHC, 2005). To date, all of Ethiopia's eight World Heritage sites, including Lalibela, lack such plans and a proper management system. Nevertheless, progress has been made in the development of management plans for sites placed on the Tentative List (e.g. the palaeo-anthropological site of Konso) since this has become a requirement for new inscriptions on the World Heritage List. Furthermore, the establishment of inclusive management plan processes has become a focus for recent capacity-building efforts.[1]

Lalibela World Heritage site

The eleven monolithic Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela, date from the late 12th century and were one of the first twelve sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1978. Lalibela was nominated as a cultural site based on the first three of the six criteria defining cultural properties under the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO, 1972). Already in the early 16th century, the Portuguese traveller Francisco Alvarez, the first foreigner known to have visited the churches, described them as creations 'the like of which cannot be found in the world' (Pankhurst, 1960). He also wrote 'I am weary of writing more about these buildings, because it seems to me that I shall not be believed if I write more … I swear by God, in Whose power I am, that all I have written is the truth' (Beckingham and Huntingford, 1961).

The town of Lalibela was founded by King Lalibela during the time of the Zagwe dynasty which ruled over Ethiopia from the eleventh to the mid-thirteenth centuries after power shifted southward with the decline of the Aksumite Empire (Hable Selassie, 1972). Originally called Roha, the town was renamed Lalibela after the king's death to honour his achievement

Figure 1: The growth of international tourist arrivals in Ethiopia, 1996–2005.
Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2005).

1   For example, UNESCO Capacity-Building Workshop for Site Management of the Aksum World Heritage site in 2008 and proposed partnership project between the World Heritage management programme of University College Dublin and the Ethiopian authority for research on conservation and cultural heritage.

of having excavated the rock-hewn churches. The monolithic churches were carved out of red volcanic tuff and were the most architecturally advanced buildings to be found in Ethiopia at the time of their construction. The reason for their construction is usually described as a result of Lalibela's desire to build a New Jerusalem in Ethiopia (Hable Selassie, 1972).

The architecture of the churches is thought to have been influenced by the early Aksumite architecture. As Lindahl (1970) puts it they were 'designed to be more Aksumite than the Aksumite itself' (Photo 1). Each building is architecturally unique with beautiful craftsmanship, and some are decorated with interesting wall paintings and carved figures. The churches are divided into two main groups dissected by a small seasonal stream called River Jordan, the first group consisting of six churches and the second group of four churches, connected through a system of tunnels, passages and courtyards. In addition to this is a single isolated church named Giorgis, or St George (Pankhurst, 2005) (Photo 2).

Photo 1: Monolithic rock-hewn church with features resembling Aksumite style.

The churches also have a wealth of ecclesiastical objects, most of them dating to the same period as the churches themselves, including processional crosses, bells and chandeliers of gold and silver, priestly vestments, robes and turbans, ceremonial umbrellas, as well as church paintings, icons, scrolls and manuscripts (Photo 3). Among these are King Lalibela's own hand cross and prayer stick which bear witness to his priesthood.

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Photo 2: The Giorgis Church at Lalibela: excavated in Greek crucifix form and 12 m in length, width and height.

Lalibela is a living heritage, constituting monuments with which the local population associates itself in a participatory way, both in a residential and a spiritual sense. The church buildings, ecclesiastical objects, religious rites and festivities form part of the daily life of the local community (Photo 4). It is also the most prominent pilgrimage place for believers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Particularly important ceremonies are the Ethiopian Christmas (*Genna*) and the Epiphany (*Timkat*), attended by a large number of domestic and foreign visitors and the inhabitants of Lalibela. These intangible aspects contribute significantly to its value as a unique historic and religious site. Another noteworthy feature in Lalibela is the vernacular residential houses (*tukuls*) built of irregular rubble bedded in clay mortar with conical and traditionally thatched roofs. These are round two-storey structures with a solid outside staircase leading to the upper floor (Photo 5) many of which are poorly protected and preserved, despite their cultural significance.

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Photo 3: Priest holding one of many old crosses stored in the churches.

The site of the Rock-Hewn Churches, Lalibela, is owned and administered by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which is credited with safeguarding a significant share of the country's movable and immovable cultural heritage. However, as a World Heritage site the State Party, represented by the authority for research on conservation and cultural heritage, has a shared responsibility for conservation and management of the site. In Lalibela, the church community members, 478 in number, all earn their living from the income generated from visitors' fees. Nevertheless, with the objective of increasing tourism it will be necessary to secure a share of visitors' fees for site conservation in the future in order to lessen dependency on external funding.

There are both actual and potential threats to monuments, objects and intangible dimensions of Lalibela's cultural heritage. A number of human-induced threats which can lead to total destruction and loss of cultural heritage have been identified, such as theft and illicit trade of cultural objects, vandalism and fire hazard. Other threats have a gradual impact such as uncontrolled construction and land-use, sanitation problems, environmental degradation caused by cutting trees, deterioration by age, and lack of appropriate maintenance. Some of the threats are directly exacerbated by tourism, such as damage to church paintings caused by camera flashes and erosive effects of shoes on flooring, pavements and steps. According to the Church, the spiritual value associated with the site is also threatened due to a shift towards a more materialistic and foreign-influenced culture. Such influences may have an adverse impact on the traditional values of the site.

In terms of naturally caused threats, erosion and water infiltration to the church buildings due to heavy rainfall, together with cracks from inherent faults in the stone and stresses from the carving, chemical phenomena such as the presence of salts as an efflorescence on the surface and as concretions under the surface, as well as biological phenomena such as microbiological attack and human factors, have had negative impact on the rock churches causing disintegration.

Several attempts have been made to protect and restore the churches in the past, although some of the early interventions are considered to have damaged the buildings. For example, the application of a bituminous layer to the external surface in 1954 halted the natural breathing of the rock and made it brittle. This prompted an initiative to remove this layer and that became the first restoration project sponsored by the World Monuments Fund from 1966 to 1972. More recently, an European Union funded projected has been implemented by UNESCO to build temporary shelters for five of the Rock-Hewn Churches in order to protect them from rainfall and erosion (Photo 6).

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Photo 4: Living heritage: priests gathering outside one of the churches.

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Photo 5: Vernacular two-storey residences (*tukuls*) at Lalibela.

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Photo 6: Shelters to protect the churches from rainfall.

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Photo 7: Young girl selling distinctive local leather crosses at Lalibela.

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Photo 8: Traditional cotton weaving techniques.

Lalibela is a small and poor mountain town located in the northern part of Ethiopia. The physical landscape is characterized by a rugged topography on a mountainside in a picturesque setting at an altitude of 2,630 m. Located in the centre of the town, the Rock-Hewn Churches are surrounded by densely built residential areas. The main means of income for the local community is directly or indirectly related to tourism.

While tourism is considered as the main actual and potential source of income, there is a need to diversify economic opportunities and tourism benefits, such as

through earnings from handicraft sales (Photo 7) and tourist recreation. Besides visiting the churches, activities for tourists are limited, the average length of stay being three days including the days of arrival and departure. Nevertheless, there are signs of improvements in this regard with a new visitors' centre under construction. Furthermore, there are also initiatives to help develop crafts-based activities to mitigate poverty, for example a partnership project between the Ethiopian Government, UNESCO and the Japanese Funds-in-Trust to help artisan farmers to develop traditional artefacts and techniques (Photo 8).

As concerns local community benefit from tourism, a number of issues have been raised by members of the local community. As revealed by a questionnaire survey (Assefa Wondimu, 2007), residents in Lalibela tended to strongly agree that the local community is benefiting from tourism mainly through infrastructural development and job creation, and thus general improvements in quality of life. In terms of infrastructure, the majority of respondents believed that tourism has a positive influence on community services, including increased numbers of schools and health centres, as well as improved electricity, telecommunications and public transportation. In general, respondents selected schools as relatively the most satisfying while drinking water was selected as the most dissatisfying among the infrastructural developments.

In terms of job creation, residents explained that tourism brings benefits through employment in tourism industries and increases the number of small-scale businesses, such as restaurants, bars and shops, and also that tourism enhances markets for handicraft products. In particular, residents strongly agreed that work as local guides at the World Heritage site offers good job opportunities for the residents. The survey results, however, suggested a gender inequality in job opportunities, male respondents expressing higher levels of satisfaction with job and training opportunities. Furthermore, employment in conservation works was also considered as a positive influence of tourism in Lalibela. Areas in which lower levels of satisfaction were expressed included jobs in recreation and entertainment, transportation and large business enterprises.

However, although residents strongly agreed that tourism had a positive impact on the local economy, they also agreed that it had a negative impact from a social and environmental point of view. For example, the residents stated that tourism exacerbates community problems such as litter, lack of sanitation, crime, begging, school drop-outs and the spread of HIV. Nevertheless, most of these impacts are not directly connected to tourists. Rather, these problems are aggravated by those who seek to gain short-term profits from the tourism industry.

Conclusion

To conclude, cultural heritage is increasingly preserved and promoted as a tool for development. In this context, the discussion focused on the significance of World Heritage sites in Ethiopia, and the benefits of tourism for the local community at the Lalibela World Heritage site. Other dimensions of cultural heritage may also be applied in a development context, for example the repatriation of cultural objects such as the Aksum obelisk, and cultural industries such as crafts development. The increasing commitment to cultural heritage in strategies for international development is linked to the idea that investment in infrastructure and human capital are keys to sustainable development and long-term reduction of poverty. There is also an increasingly established view that cultural heritage resources can be commercialized and sold as products for consumption as part of the tourism industry.

While the link between culture, tourism and development is crucial in economic strategies for local community development, it is necessary to recognize the potential conflict between uses of heritage as cultural and economic resources. In the context of World Heritage sites, the compulsory establishment of an integrated management plan constitutes an opportunity for the negotiation of such conflicts. A balance needs to be achieved between the use of heritage as an economic asset and heritage as a cultural resource, without compromising preservation or sustainable development.

The case of Lalibela showed that tourism and development associated with its legitimacy as a site of outstanding international importance has led to both positive and negative impacts for the local community. On the one hand, Lalibela has experienced economic growth reflected in infrastructural developments and job creation with an increased number of small-scale businesses related to the tourism industry. This has in turn had a knock-on effect on agricultural demands. Nevertheless, tourism has also exacerbated social problems such as litter, lack of sanitation, water shortages, crimes, begging and youngsters dropping out of school. Furthermore, it has put increased pressure on both tangible and intangible heritage resources.

What is needed is a sustainable strategy which takes a holistic approach to conservation, tourism and local community development. In a development context, capacity-building efforts for managing heritage should be based on inclusive methods which support long-term development of management capacities. Lalibela is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Ethiopia and its share from international tourist arrivals to the country is increasing. Thus the adoption of an integrated management plan for the Lalibela site is a key to its future conservation and enhancement. The management plan should identify opportunities, objectives and a long-term vision for the site. Based on stakeholder participation and interdisciplinary collaboration, it needs to strike a balance between conservation, access, local community interests and sustainable economic use. Nevertheless, the primary objective of the management plan is to ensure preservation of the site and its outstanding universal value.

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Poverty alleviation through World Heritage conservation: encouraging corporate partnerships at Temple of Preah Khan, Angkor

Fiona Starr

Introduction

Numerous examples of cultural heritage sites around the world demonstrate the positive effects of the associated tourism on the social and economic growth of local communities, particularly in developing countries. Cultural heritage tourism is therefore well recognized as a catalyst for poverty alleviation and sustainable development. However, numerous negative effects are also evident at sites where mass tourism has caused unsustainable growth in the surrounding area. An alternative means for heritage to influence more sustainable development in surrounding communities, is through the capacity-building nature of conservation projects. Jobs are created for local people, and training is provided to enable the future independent management of sites, empowering local people and contributing to poverty alleviation. This chapter presents a case study of the World Monuments Fund conservation programme at Preah Khan, Angkor (Cambodia), showing how ten years of privately-funded conservation work has created jobs and equipped the local community for the future management of the site. In light of the ongoing need for secure sources of conservation funding, this case study demonstrates how such projects have immediate sustainable development impacts, and are therefore ideal for corporate funding partnerships. Through corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes, many companies seek to have an impact on sustainable development, and use this rationale when selecting such projects to support.

Heritage tourism creates direct employment – in hotels, restaurants, tour companies, construction trades, transport and retail, and also 'induced' employment (Cukier, 2002) through local residents re-spending the additional money they have earned. However, heritage conservation projects also create direct employment and present opportunities for redistribution of capital, rather than relying on tourism as the only means by which heritage can influence economic development. Conservation projects create direct employment for conservators, architects, archaeologists, engineers, maintenance staff and workers. Secondary economic

benefits can also result for the local community, since a conserved site is made available as a sustainable income source for present and future generations. A well-preserved and interpreted heritage site that encourages tourists to stay longer and spend more, will also provide increased economic benefits for the community.

Many conservation projects focus on the stabilization of archaeological or built remains and, particularly in developing countries, expertise, equipment and materials are often imported to the site. However, such a strategy can be at the expense of local community development. While local people may not possess the necessary conservation expertise, they have the capacity to learn such skills, and to provide resources and labour for projects. As Greffe (2004) points out, in order for local areas to profit substantially from their cultural resources, they must be self-sufficient and train local people, without having to introduce external resources. Conservation projects, such as the LEAP (Local Effort And Preservation) programme pioneered by UNESCO in the Asia Pacific region, successfully acts in this way, empowering local people to play a leading role in the management of preservation, providing training in skills vital to the ongoing conservation and management of sites, and building a sense of stewardship among residents. The global fieldwork of the World Monuments Fund (WMF) also clearly demonstrates this involvement of conservation projects in promoting economic regeneration, particularly the WMF work at Angkor (Cambodia).

Angkor is a vast Hindu-Buddhist temple complex constructed by the various Khmer empires between the ninth and fifteenth centuries AD, and is perhaps the best-known and most visited World Heritage site in Asia. The principal and most famous temple is Angkor Wat, but the 400 km² World Heritage site is scattered with over a thousand temples of a range of sizes and designs, surrounded by dense forests and farmland. Many of the temples are decorated with elaborate Hindu and Buddhist stone carvings such as *Apsara* (celestial nymphs) and *Naga* (many-headed serpents). The major temples are surrounded by moats and built in a pyramidal or mountain design representing the mythical Mount Meru. None of the non-religious buildings have survived, but Angkor could have once supported a population of 1 million people.

From 1907, French archaeologists with the École Française d'Extrême-Orient began excavation and documentation of the temples, but this ceased with the outbreak of war in the 1970s and the subsequent takeover of the country by the Khmer Rouge. Angkor then suffered from looting, warfare and lack of maintenance and more than 1,100 Cambodian site managers and workers at Angkor disappeared during the genocide (Stubbs, 1996), leaving an expertise and knowledge gap among the surviving population. Conservation work resumed after the war, and since 1993 work has been coordinated by French and Japanese teams and by UNESCO's International Coordinating Committee on the safeguarding and development of the historic site of Angkor.

Tourism in Cambodia

After Angkor was added to the World Heritage List in 1992, some adventurous tourists began to visit, with just 7,650 the following year. Today, tourism is booming, with almost 900,000 tickets being sold in 2006, worth US$25 million (Smith, 2007). Over 1.7 million international visitors arrived in Cambodia in 2007, most of whom visited Angkor for only a few days (Ministry of Tourism, 2008), and 3 million visitors are expected in 2010.

Siem Reap province, surrounding Angkor, is home to thousands of displaced people, relocated there since the civil war. Despite the local development due to tourism, Siem Reap still has one of the highest rates of poverty in Cambodia, with 54 per cent of residents living on less than 50 US cents per day (De Lopez, 2006). The protected zones of the archaeological park are home to over 100,000 residents (Fletcher et al., 2007), most of whom are descendants of the original Angkorian population. Their villages are also characterized by poverty and underdevelopment, with lack of access to water, sanitation, education, energy, dwellings, and assets. There are vast wealth inequalities, lack of community participation and local development is uneven (Winter, 2007).

A recent survey of local residents (De Lopez, 2006) found that 40 per cent of households rely entirely on tourism for their income, but 80 per cent of villagers and souvenir vendors agreed that tourism has made little or no improvement to their lives. Respondents had an average income of US$55 per month, and 43 per cent of adults were illiterate. About one third of all houses were built with thatched roofs and walls, with 53 per cent of households building a fire to cook food, and 29 per cent using bucket stoves for cooking. In the absence of an electricity grid, sources of lighting included accumulators (charged by door-to-door battery chargers that use diesel engines) (32 per cent) and oil lamps (88 per cent).

Unofficial estimates say that international tourism to Cambodia in 2005 probably generated over US$1.3 billion in output, US$800 million in domestic income, US$139 million in government revenue, and sustained over 150,000 jobs (Dao, 2006). It has been recognized however, that this revenue is benefiting only a small number of individuals rather than the country's disadvantaged groups,

and that tourism is having negative impacts for the local community (Dao, 2006; Serey, 2006; Winter, 2006). There is substantial economic leakage of tourism expenditures (40 per cent or more), and the linkages between tourism and other sectors of the economy are weak. Food is imported, souvenirs are made in China and Thailand and some tours, hotels and restaurants are run by foreign companies (Tyler, 2007). Access to natural resources has decreased, some villagers have been displaced and some traditional activities have been abandoned (Luco, 2006).

Despite its contribution to wealth inequalities, tourism is recognized as an integral part of the country's development strategy, as it stimulates foreign direct investment and local incomes through job creation in construction, transport and the service sectors (Ballard, 2003). The Authority for the Protection and Management of Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap (APSARA) estimated that as many as 1,000 people from nearby villages found employment in construction, and APSARA itself employs about 800 people as guards, cleaners and grounds maintenance, renovators and staff. Of the guards and cleaners working in Angkor, 90 per cent live in the villages located in or near the park, as APSARA has a hiring policy that prefers park residents. Over the past two decades, millions of dollars have been donated by more than twenty countries for restoration and archaeological research, however it was later recognized that this focus was neglecting issues of local socio-economic development. As Winter (2007) argues, the 'living heritage' values of the site have been largely ignored, by policies focused on structural conservation and tourism. Also, while the international heritage community regards tourism as causing unsustainable development which threatens the future of Angkor, the Cambodian Government sees Angkor tourism as a 'cash cow' that can provide socio-economic development and livelihood opportunities in post-conflict Cambodia. As this chapter discusses, conservation activities may provide development benefits that are more sustainable in comparison with those provided by the existing tourism infrastructure. While monthly tourism incomes vary according to seasonal fluctuations of tourist numbers, well-financed conservation jobs, as discussed below, can provide consistent economic resources and jobs. The sustainable benefits of conservation projects can bring together the agendas of both the heritage community and development-focused governments.

World Monuments Fund Project

In 1989, the WMF undertook one of the first field missions to Angkor and in 1991 returned to begin a conservation and training programme that continues today at Preah Khan, and other monuments within the park. Preah Khan, one of the most significant monuments at Angkor, is a Buddhist monastic complex, commissioned by Jayavarman VII (c. 1181–1219) and built in 1191. Constructed from sandstone and laterite using dry masonry in large blocks, the complex has four concentric walls enclosing a labyrinth of shrines, courts, halls, and pavilions, covering 56 hectares, with the outer wall protected by seventy-

two sculpted mythical winged *Garudas*. The invasion of vegetation and erosion caused by high humidity have both contributed to structural failure, and war, hurricanes, drainage problems, theft, and construction defects, have also left the complex in desperate need of help.

The principal objective of the WMF programme has been to train a new generation of Khmer craftspeople and professionals to replace those who were lost during the war, allow the local community to fully engage with the project, promote economic self-sufficiency, and build local capacity through training and education. WMF's philosophy at Angkor is based on a double challenge, 'to preserve a magnificent heritage site and to ensure that its Cambodian custodians possess the expertise required for its care and management' (WMF, 1991).

A lack of historical data and the substantial preservation work required meant that the ruined complex of Preah Khan was to be stabilized and preserved as a 'partial ruin'. WMF developed a methodology for structural stabilization and architectural conservation of the temple, and undertook protection of fragile stonework, clearing, restoration, and construction of an interpretive exhibition hut. Before beginning any stabilization work or reconstruction of collapsed structures, all stones were measured and drawn to scale, and then individually numbered to allow for accurate reconstruction. Cleaning tests were conducted, copper sulfate solution was applied to the cleaned areas as a biocide and stone preservatives were also tested and applied (WMF, 1994).

As with all its projects, WMF aimed to use locally available materials and equipment (except stainless steel and epoxide), and simple techniques and methods of implementation that conform to local conditions and capabilities of the local work force (Sanday et al., 2001). Failed beams, cracked columns, and load-bearing vaults were strengthened with steel bars and belting. The technology used was low cost and mechanical equipment was kept to a minimum, using only steel scaffolding and block and tackle hoists with hydraulic jacks to move stones (Stubbs, 2005).

All projects at Preah Khan have been staffed and managed by Cambodian architects, archaeologists, engineers and other workers, all part of a team of approximately seventy workers trained on-site in restoration crafts and conservation technology (Photos 1 and 2). In 1992, twenty-five students from the Department of Architecture and Archaeology at the Royal University of Fine Arts, Phnom Penh, began training in the history of Angkor, the philosophy of building conservation, general survey methodologies, and archaeology. These students assisted with the planning and supervision of works at the site. Seven of these students later joined the WMF team to study heritage conservation, by working and studying at Preah Khan, spending four months per year for five years making survey records and receiving on-site training in conservation technology by WMF international consultants. They assisted with documentation (measuring,

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Photo 1. WMF Khmer architect and draftsmen preparing for structural consolidation of western gate, Preah Khan.

drawing), analytical studies (planning for and execution of reconstruction of repaired masonry), project management (day-to-day site maintenance and conservation operations), and design and construction supervision. Up to fourteen graduate students in architecture and archaeology participated each year in the WMF missions. Over twenty students have directly benefited from the experience, and many have since been employed by the project and become largely responsible for the ongoing work.

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Photo 2. WMF team constructing scaffolding for emergency consolidation of western gate, Preah Khan.

In addition to this highly specialized training, the project also employed a workforce of craftsmen and labourers, as many as 110 people in 1992, but reduced in subsequent years. The workforce consisted of three stone work teams, three labourer/clearance teams, a carpentry team, a blacksmith team, and guardians/storekeepers (WMF, 1997). Each team consisted of about seven men under a *sous-chef de chantier* (foreman) and all received on-site training, giving them a diverse range of skills for the ongoing management of the temple complex, including vegetation removal, recovery of half-buried fallen stones, hoist lifting of 3 ton lintels and epoxy gluing.

WMF staff at Preah Khan are paid using a graded wage scale, and the organization supports the payment of fair wages to all workers employed at historic structures within the Angkor region, recognizing their skills and experience. During field campaign III (1994), the assistant manager earned US$380 per month, the *chef de chantier* earned US$100 per month, the *sous chef de chantier* earning US$60, the administration assistant earned US$40 and the site guardian US$28. Team workers were paid daily - the *chefs de groupe* earned 4,500 riels (US$1.10) per day, *ouvriers* (workmen) earned 4,000 riels (US$1), and *flottants* (casual workmen) 3,500 riels (US$0.85) (WMF, 1995). Even in 2006, the average daily income for 54 per cent of residents near Angkor was less than 50 US cents (De Lopez, 2006), so the wages during 1995 were considerably higher than the average Cambodian income at the time.

In addition to work at Preah Khan, WMF has in recent years conducted work on the main gallery at the intermediate level of Angkor Wat, at the temple of Ta Som, and at the remote temple complex of Banteay Chhmar. Khmer architects and archaeologists who have worked previously with WMF and specialists at the APSARA Authority are playing a prominent role in this ongoing work. For example, a technical proposal for Ta Som was completed by Cambodian members of the WMF project team in 2000, based on the model developed at Preah Khan, including site documentation, an emergency stabilization programme, and an inventory of all the fallen decorated stonework. The WMF team then began conservation including structural repairs, allowing greater access for visitors (WMF, 2004).

The Siem Reap office of WMF currently employs forty-four locally-sourced contract staff: thirty involved with conservation, six in documentation, four in management, two archaeologists and two office staff (von zur Mühlen, personal communication, 2008). Most were trained by WMF and some were trained by other conservation organizations working at Angkor, demonstrating the sustainable benefits of conservation training, through transfer of conservation skills to jobs with other organizations.

The consolidation of the Preah Khan complex has made the structure more secure for years to come, and the training and employment of local people as labourers, stonemasons, caretakers, architects, and archaeologists has had capacity-building effects, allowing for skilled

management of the historic site into the future, providing jobs and reliable incomes which contributes to the onward flow of foreign capital into the local community. In addition, the work has used local resources and has enabled longer-term use of the site as a tourism resource, also assisting in bringing foreign exchange into the local area, and acting as a catalyst for much needed post-conflict social and economic regeneration.

For the people of the Angkor region, and for Cambodians everywhere, Angkor is a source of cultural identity and pride. Conservation of the temples therefore contributes to national pride and social reconstruction and development, as one Cambodian stated, 'Angkor is Cambodia's history. It is the pride of our country. It is important for the Cambodian people to see what our ancestors have built…' (Winter, 2007). Another man noted that 'Cambodians need to be proud of their heritage … it is important for them to see Angkor rebuilt, it gives strength to our poor country'.

Community-based approaches to conservation are essential at living heritage sites such as Angkor, as the livelihood of local communities is influenced by the economic potential of the site. Economic linkages must be created between local resources and the international- or corporate-funded conservation projects. Budgets must be used in ways that reduce economic leakages and import of resources and personnel, allowing for secondary uses of the foreign capital in helping villages to finance shared access to electricity, water, sanitation, communication, health and education, roads, public spaces, and overall raising of living standards. As Luco (2006) notes, 'Development cannot proceed in a sustainable manner unless the local communities are involved in the management of World Heritage sites'.

Since 1993, conservation of the temples of Angkor has been funded by millions of dollars donated by over twenty countries, which have organizations and national research teams working within different areas of the park. In the same manner as the Preah Khan programme, these conservation projects trained a new generation of Khmer specialist historians, archaeologists, architects, stonemasons, sculptors, and craftsmen, in addition to employing perhaps thousands of unskilled labourers from the local area and providing reliable income for local families. However, for many lesser-known World Heritage sites, government funds and international attention is more limited than at Angkor, so it is essential that such sites attract corporate support, allowing for foreign private funds to assist developing countries with what is lacking at the local level.

The work of the WMF at Preah Khan has been sustained by substantial private funding, a key financial partner being the American Express Foundation. Through the Partners for Preservation Program, the WMF secured US$5 million from American Express to safeguard the world's most precious cultural heritage sites. This represents only the latest contribution from this company, which for over a decade has supported the WMF. In 1995, American Express was the founding sponsor of the

World Monuments Watch List, and has since contributed US$10 million, which has assisted in leveraging US$150 million from other sources (WMF, 2005/06), for the preservation of 126 sites in 62 countries.

Through support of conservation projects such as Preah Khan, American Express has created livelihood opportunities for local communities, while also demonstrating its concern for the impacts of tourism on heritage, an industry that produces substantial revenue for the company. Preah Khan is an exemplary case study of the immediate sustainable development benefits that may be brought to a community through privately-funded conservation work, and may be used as an incentive to motivate future conservation partnerships with World Heritage. As former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said in a speech at a business action for sustainable development event '...more and more we are realizing that it is only by mobilizing the corporate sector that we can make significant progress. The corporate sector has the finances, the technology and the management to make this happen' (quoted in Wade, 2005).

Corporate social responsibility

An increasing number of CSR initiatives are supporting the preservation of World Heritage sites. Some companies provide in-kind support, such as *National Geographic*'s World Heritage maps, IBM's online reconstruction of the Forbidden City in Beijing, and Japanese television station NHK which produced television documentaries, all to promote greater awareness of World Heritage sites. Other companies provide direct financing for conservation works such as the Portuguese cement company CIMPOR at the World Heritage site of the Convent of Christ in Tomar (Portugal) and Vinci, which has financed the restoration of the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace and Park of Versailles (France). Tourism operators such as Expedia offer heritage-friendly tourism packages and some mining companies demonstrate responsibility by mitigating the impacts of their activities, for example as Shell did while constructing a gas pipeline across China, cutting across the Great Wall of China. Such initiatives do not have the same direct socio-economic benefits for local communities as conservation projects that train local people, however these initiatives are vital to the preservation of World Heritage, and through creating public awareness and maintaining the sites for the future, the corporate support has indirect benefits for local communities.

By engaging in corporate social responsibility programmes, many companies acknowledge that they must play a role in community development, but many have little experience in dealing with complex community and social issues, particularly in developing countries (Miller and Butler, 2000). Through CSR, companies work beyond legal compliance and maximizing financial returns for shareholders, to address social, cultural and environmental responsibilities to the community. Elkington's 1994 phrase 'Triple Bottom Line' has come into popular usage,

implying that companies should work towards not one bottom line (profits), but three – economic, social and environmental performance. In recent years, CSR has become a central part of the international business agenda, positioning corporations as part of the solution to global problems, rather than just part of the cause.

CSR often involves cause promotion, cause-related marketing, corporate social marketing, corporate philanthropy, community volunteering and responsible business practices (Kotler and Lee, 2005). These activities are used to improve competitive advantage, align social and economic goals and improve long-term business prospects. Reputation enhancement is widely considered a primary motivation of CSR, and it is also variously influenced by the potential to achieve increased profitability, access to new markets, greater consumer loyalty, licence to operate, higher employee morale, market positioning, risk profile management, ability to attract top job candidates, improved investor relations, and sustainability (Roberts et al., 2002). Companies therefore strategically search for projects that will fulfil these objectives, considering whether their involvement will be effective both for the recipient and their own business goals.

Public-private partnerships and initiatives that fulfil these corporate objectives commonly involve approaches to achieving sustainable development by addressing some of the major problems troubling the world, including hunger and poverty, global warming and climate change, HIV/AIDS, water shortages, literacy, biodiversity, improving education resources, and environmental concerns. Through mechanisms such as the Global Reporting Initiative, companies are required to report annually on a range of impacts including carbon footprints, energy, packaging and waste-reduction efforts, recycling, charitable and community support, responsible sales and marketing. Microfinance and socially responsible investing are providing seed funding and assisting communities in developing countries to build capacity and manage their own socio-economic growth.

There is little dispute that poverty poses an urgent global problem and business leaders and commentators are all questioning how the private sector can help to transform the lives of the poor. The Millennium Development Goals, the United Nations' initiative to promote sustainable development, are providing benchmarks and driving many CSR initiatives. As demonstrated by the previous discussion of Preah Khan, MDG goals one and eight – 'Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger' and 'Develop a global partnership for development' are directly addressed by conservation projects, as they create livelihood opportunities for the local community. As Klein and Hadjimichael (2003) simply note, 'To escape from poverty, the poor need jobs', and it is through job creation that heritage conservation projects can meet the corporate objective to address issues of poverty alleviation and sustainable development. Partnerships such as those with cultural heritage sites also allow companies to draw

on complementary or additional skills, connect to new social networks, benefit from local knowledge, assist in new approaches to development, make community development efforts more sustainable, and engage governments, communities and other stakeholders.

The CSR agenda is not only central to business strategy now, but has been predicted to become a future driver of business growth. By 2050, 7 billion people will be living in the developing world, and it is these high-growth areas and emerging markets that will be the main source of growth for many multinational companies.

As Cescau (2007) argues, the companies that make a positive contribution to economic growth and poverty reduction will be better placed to grow.

Many CSR projects seem to be generally accepted by the private sector as contributing to the sustainable development cause, but while cultural heritage is often discussed within the heritage industry as a tool for sustainable development, it does not seem to be recognized yet by the private sector as such. For heritage managers to mobilize further private-sector support, the importance of the sustainable development agenda to the private sector must be considered. There must also be ongoing reporting of the poverty alleviation impacts of conservation projects, in order to give a higher profile to heritage within the corporate sustainable development agenda.

Conclusions

Heritage tourism around World Heritage sites has successfully contributed to economic development in many developed and developing countries, however as Goodwin (2007) suggests, the stark truth is that in some of the poorest places on Earth, tourism has failed to benefit the poor. Conservation projects can present an alternative use of heritage that brings more sustainable socio-economic benefits to the poor, stimulating growth and building capacity among local communities.

The example of the conservation programme at Preah Khan, Angkor, demonstrates how privately-funded projects can act as avenues for capital redistribution, through job creation, training and capacity-building. The partnership between Preah Khan and the World Monuments Fund (and its private-sector sponsors), addressed the corporate objective for engaging in projects that assist with sustainable socio-economic development, reinforcing the business case for private sector/conservation partnerships, and forming a model which may be presented to encourage the private sector to engage in partnerships. Participation in such partnerships can be considered by companies as part of corporate strategy, contributing to reputation and competitive positioning, as the outcomes of the company's investment in the project contribute directly to livelihood creation and sustainable development.

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Epilogue
Kakadu National Park: a 50,000-year-old mirage?

Visiting Kakadu National Park twice in two years is a rare privilege, for the one year in between my visits allowed a different understanding of the spirit of this special place. The year in between two Sharing Our Heritages (SOH) visits allowed for deep reflection. It made me understand that no two trips to the same place are alike for various reasons. First, one is a year older the second time around. Second, one's mental frame evolves and an interesting superposition of old and new understandings of the place occurs.

The Sharing Our Heritages programme was born in 2004 between two distant regions of the world, culturally and geographically: Australia and the European Union. A kick-off meeting was organized in Sydney in spring 2005 for faculty members. Lengthy discussions took place on how to coordinate academic credits and calendars. Administrative matters needed to be shared first.

Then the content of the programme was debated. We all agreed that there was a need to give SOH a significant added value, in order for it to be more than just another academic exchange programme among thousands of others. The idea of having a special programme within the usual exchange visits was soon expressed. Someone called it a Master Class, in the musical sense of a master transmitting first-hand knowledge to young disciples in a unique manner to transmit energy, experience, soul and heart.

An interesting concept then arose: a Master Class composed of two compulsory sessions, one in Europe and the other in Australia, to be held within six months of one another. In Europe, students would get first-hand information from programme specialists at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. They would also have a unique opportunity to meet the Val de Loire (The Loire Valley between Sully-sur-Loire and Chalonnes, France) World Heritage site managers. In Australia, students would have access to Kakadu National Park rangers, the Traditional Owners and the Joint Management Board of the park. Both in the Val de Loire and Kakadu National Park, the role of students would consist of site visits and analysis, to be followed by practical recommendations to site managers to help them to improve their work. Both sites were selected as cultural landscapes (although Kakadu National Park was not inscribed as a cultural landscape [criteria (i), (vi), (vii), (ix) and (x)], it was considered by the group as such), which are totally different in the interaction between people and nature, and in the way their management is conceived.

The 2006 visit to Kakadu allowed me to meet for the first time Traditional Owners who are, for example, guides, rangers and members of the Joint Management Board. This encounter was a shock as it gave me an instant feeling of being connected through them to the beginnings of humanity. The site has been occupied with no interruption for at least 50,000 years, during which time people developed their traditions and way of life without significant interruptions. Despite the introduction of modernity with its four-wheel-drive cars and satellite telephones, the wisdom developed over the centuries is still in evidence. Traditional Owners know exactly the story 'behind' the meaning of each rock-art painting found in the escarpment. They learned it from their parents and grandparents through oral transmission.

Traditional Owners knew long before the European exploration where to find uranium on their territory, in the judiciously named 'Sickness' Country which they carefully avoided. Traditional Owners know exactly what they are willing to divulge and what not. What is to be kept secret and what may be 'interpreted' to visitors. It is this tension between giving and keeping that fascinated me during my first visit. It was also this unique direct connection with the descendants of the first inhabitants of this country some 50,000 years ago which was so emotional.

Being in the presence of Jacob Nayinggul was like being at the side of a living treasure. It was a privilege to listen to him. He makes you understand that if left alone in the middle of Kakadu National Park, you would have no chance of surviving for more than a few hours: how could you possibly acquire 50,000 years of intimate knowledge of seasons, storms, heat, rain, floods, patch burning, game hunting, animal print reading, birds singing, plants healing and water holes within a few hours? In listening to the old man, you realize the sum of ancestral wisdom incarnated in him. He sits in front of the group like a sphinx and I wonder: what does he think of us? For him are we perhaps just a group of privileged students and academics from Europe and Australia wishing to know more about Kakadu National Park and aspiring to make recommendations for the management of this park after just a few days' visit? Who are we to him? He would not say, as he would not make eye contact with us in the traditional polite way he was taught.

The second visit in 2007 was very different, as I realized completely how much we were indeed the Traditional Owners' guests. We went across their country, as one would be invited to walk in a neighbour's backyard. As a guest, I felt much more honoured and better understood that 'country' is so sacred for them that you need to have an invitation card, a visiting permit to go across the East Alligator River. Also, I was grateful to this country for providing us with food, water, shelter and much inspiration. However, for how long will it be capable of hosting its thousands of visitors during the dry season?

Speaking with the Traditional Owners made us understand their awareness and concern about climate change. How could they possibly continue their traditional way of life if the traditional six-season calendar was to be completely disrupted by longer rain seasons than ever recorded in their oral tradition? Life cycles will be disorganized and Aboriginal cultures modified. A new awareness of future threats was voiced. Not only do the Traditional Owners face a new generation of young people who want to live according to the same standards as the rest of their generation: world music, jeans and soft drinks. They also face the pressures of climate change on their way of life. This conjunction of major changes may be fatal to their traditions and cultures. Also, it may be fatal to them as human beings as they cannot dissociate themselves from their country.

Indigenous communities worldwide offer many clues for the future of humanity. Not only do they have the keys to understand their respective countries, but their connection through oral tradition with an immemorial past provides them with a distanced judgement on what is currently occurring. This judgement is precious to us all. Their connection over 50,000 years with their ancestors is a unique asset for humanity.

As an example, their knowledge of medicinal plants and their use is the result of ancestral traditional knowledge. This unique legacy is fragile as it depends on the existence of indigenous people. It is also vulnerable as it is subject to predators from worldwide pharmaceutical, mining or industrial lobbies whose interests are purely materialistic.

Traditional knowledge of existing uranium ore on the periphery of Kakadu National Park has not prevented multinational companies from developing major mining projects. It seems as if the existence of this unique human legacy does not possess enough weight in political decision-making as the uranium ore resource located at the borders of this park makes up one-third of world reserves. Kakadu National Park and its surroundings are a living illustration of the existing tension between the world of conservation and the world of politics. The timeframe is radically opposed, as the long-term timeframe is the scale of conservationists while the short-term timeframe is the dimension of politics.

The non-indigenous world is poor in comparison, as it has lost this crucial connection with the first generations over many centuries. Losing the Traditional Owners' connection with our common past is like dropping the key to many current issues in the ocean. Our future may depend to a significant extent on indigenous communities whose knowledge may enable us to face future challenges. Yet people are barely conscious of this.

After these two memorable visits to Kakadu National Park, I look back with a certain sense of this site as a mirage: a mirage of its theatrical interpretation and tourism setting, as it keeps its secret story, its Dreamland trails. It also keeps concealed what should never be divulged to the 'Other'. A mirage of its authenticity as the park seems to be so different culturally and in terms of its nature from the neighbouring country, Owenpelli (Arnhem Land). A mirage of its wealth as the park's prosperity is linked with the many thousands of visitors in the dry season. A mirage also as to what might be left of the values for which Kakadu was inscribed on the World Heritage List for the 'invisible stakeholders', our descendants.

In this context, it is possible to understand why, a few days before we returned to Kakadu National Park in 2007 for our second SOH Master Class, the World Heritage Committee decided to adopt a fifth 'C', Communities, as another pillar of the World Heritage philosophy. After considering the first four 'Cs', Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication, Paramount Chief Tumu Te Heu Heu, the first indigenous chairperson of the World Heritage Committee, felt that the best legacy he could leave was this fifth 'C'. He felt that enhancing the role of communities was a most needed principle which gives a human meaning to the other four 'Cs'. A new era was born: the principle fully recognizes the idea that sites, whether inscribed on the World Heritage List or not, cannot be dissociated from their communities. Conservation for the exclusive sake of preserving World Heritage sites is meaningless. It is the social dimensions of conservation that provide meaning to communities and visitors. Conservation can indeed generate many human values. These human values provide meaning and contribute to public awareness-raising. They contribute to peace and dialogue.

Kakadu National Park without its thousands of years old patch-burning tradition implemented by its communities would not have been transmitted to us in its present condition. It would have soon become a desert after continuous thunderstorms and consequent burning followed by seasonal floods. The park landscape would have been radically different in terms of appearance and biodiversity. It is this long interaction of its communities with their environment which has produced this unique landscape.

The *World Heritage Convention* is ratified by governments. Properties are nominated by governments, but once inscribed on the World Heritage List, governments will always need site communities as they are truly the best custodians of properties of outstanding universal value.

The SOH programme was based on the idea that heritage is a unique tool for intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding. In this respect, this programme responded to our expectations. In order for these results to be sustainable and to disseminate them across the world, we decided to produce this publication and hope that readers will grasp the invaluable first-hand information provided during the programme.

Above all, the SOH programme was an exceptional opportunity to obtain irreplaceable emotional knowledge, which cannot be learnt in an academic manner. For this reason, this programme should be replicated in other language areas or other contexts around the world and other types of World Heritage sites. It is hoped that this publication will help other universities to set up similar programmes and experience similar challenges in the near future. The programme was made possible through the recognition of the Australian Government and the European Union of the importance of opening the minds of future young conservationists to a global understanding of our common values.

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Marie-Theres Albert, teacher in higher education, since 1994 has held the Chair of Intercultural Studies at the Brandenburgishe Technische Universität Cottbus, Germany, and since October 2003 a UNITWIN UNESCO Chair in Heritage Studies. She has undertaken several activities in research and education, in consultancy and projects as well as work stays in several countries in Latin America and Asia.

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