

**Evolution and Survival of the Local Heritage in Don Wai River Market:
An Anthropological Study**

By

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This research aims to study the evolution of Don Wai River Market in Nakhon Pathom province and the changes that have impacted on its local identity and cultural heritage. These changes are linked to the process of modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation that have affected Thailand as a whole but have also transformed the Don Wai River Market into a favourite tourist attraction for middle class visitors, particularly from Bangkok. The research also studies the awareness of the significance of cultural heritage and the degrees of participation and involvement in cultural heritage management and preservation among stakeholders in this local context.

It has been found that Don Wai River Market has three important evolutionary stages. Firstly, the market originated as a main trade centre for agricultural products and groceries among local communities along Nakhon Chaisri River bank. Later on, a period of decline happened when the market was almost abandoned and the popularity of the river as a trading route decreased as a result from modern development and urbanisation. Finally, as a result of the cooperation among local residents, assistance from the mass media and influences from consumerist culture, the market has been revitalised again and has become a much well-known tourist attraction as a centre of exotic local food and desserts during the past few years.

Although the high level of tourist visitation seems at present to guarantee the market's future viability, there are nevertheless some problems that need to be resolved, such as uncontrolled expansion of the market area and emergence of products that are not compatible with the local context of the place. These changes directly affect the unique cultural identity of this traditional local market. Furthermore, conflicts among the vendors, the residents and the local authorities, accompanied by other problems such as the great amount of garbage, the determination and control of product costs and qualities and the incidence of crime must be solved through the solid cooperation among all involved stakeholders, including local authorities, central government agents, local residents and the visitors, in order to manage the local cultural heritage appropriately for its sustainable existence into the next generations.

Architectural Heritage Management and Tourism, Graduate School, Silpakorn University, Academic Year 2005

Student's signature.....

Thesis Advisors' signature

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Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract.....	c
Acknowledgments.....	d
List of Figure.....	g
Chapter	
1 Introduction.....	1
Statements and significance of the problem.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Goals and Objectives.....	4
Research Questions.....	5
Scope of the study.....	5
Research Methodology.....	6
Process of the Study.....	9
Theoretical Frameworks and Relevant Documents.....	9
Concepts and significance of cultural heritage.....	10
Anthropology of Tourism.....	15
Development, globalisation, tourism and the local context.....	37
Postmodernism, Consumer Culture and Cultural Heritage Management Approach.....	47
2 General Background and Cultural Heritage Assessment of Don Wai’s Heritage Significance.....	67
General information about Don Wai River Market.....	67
General background of community settlement in Nakhon Pathom.....	67
Geographical and historical backgrounds of Don Wai River Market.....	69
Origin of the local market in Don Wai Community...	74
Significance Assessment of the Cultural Values of Don Wai River Market.....	80
Tangible cultural heritage in Don Wai River Market and its significance assessment.....	81
Intangible cultural heritage in Don Wai River Market and its significance assessment.....	90

Chapter	Page
Cultural Heritage of Local Community as Cultural Capital and its Economic Aspect.....	101
Community Involvement in Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation and Impacts from Tourism Development...	108
3 Evolution and Survival of Cultural Heritage in Don Wai Community.....	121
Evolution of Cultural Heritage in Don Wai River Market.....	121
The Traditional Local Market.....	123
The Period of Decline.....	126
A Great Shift to the Heritage Market for Tourism....	128
Don Wai River Market at present.....	131
An Overview on Cultural Heritage Conservation in the Local Community.....	135
4 Roles of Stakeholders in Local Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation.....	137
Roles of local authority, local leader and local active group in management and the maintenance of cultural heritage.....	137
Roles of central government authority in local cultural heritage management in Don Wai Community.....	146
Local Community Residents and Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation.....	155
Cultural Heritage Consumption and its impacts by visitors in Don Wai River Market and Community.....	177
Finding the most appropriate ways for local cultural heritage management and preservation with tourism development.....	190
5 Conclusion.....	200
Bibliography.....	209
Autobiography.....	224

List of Figure

Figure		Page
1	An anthropological view of a tourism system.....	18
2	A map of Nakhon Chaisri River, canals and local markets.....	68
3	A map of Don Wai River Market and community.....	74
4	A walkway in Don Wai River Market.....	79
5	A map of Don Wai River Market (2).....	82
6	A map of Don Wai River Market (3).....	84
7	A map of Don Wai River Market (4).....	85
8	A Chinese Goddess shrine.....	123
9	Inside Don Wai River Market.....	124
10	Inside Don Wai River Market (2).....	130
11	The new extended rental bazaar at the market.....	132
12	Water rafts at Don Wai River Market.....	143
13	The division of areas at Don Wai River Market at present.....	152
14	Car park availability at the market area.....	161
15	The new extended 'Don Wai Centre Mall' at the market.....	187
16	The new commercial buildings at the market area.....	189

Chapter 1

Introduction

Part 1: Statements and significance of the problem

1. Introduction

At present, many people in Thailand, especially urban dwellers who are always busy all the time in their daily lives have a strong desire for something that will release themselves from anxiety and stress. Consequently, each of them tries to search the best suitable ways providing different experiences and fulfilling their needs to consume senses of relaxation such as participating in sports and games, spending time with hobbies and as tourists, taking a day trip or a longer journey. In the context of consumerist world like our Thai society, tourism is considered as an important tool for people to move themselves toward new sets of meanings apart from their ordinary lives. These urban residents are also eager for exoticness such as different social contexts, people, ways of lives and attractions.

This situation happens in Thailand with respect to the increasing number of tourists, not only foreigners but also domestic visitors. Anyway, the interesting thing about this is an occurrence of tourist attractions nearby the city especially Bangkok with respond to the urban residents in only few years. Due to the government policy, the infrastructure development has been established and generated into the local communities of suburbs and municipalities such as Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Samut Songkram and Nakhon Pathom, then make them more accessible among the visitors from the city. Meanwhile, these local villages have evolved and adapted themselves into cultural heritage attractions to meet desires of urban tourists who want to see and feel experiences of local environment that are different from those what they live with everyday.

As a result of this, some local communities consider this situation as a good chance to generate income and career opportunities for the residents and gradually developed their local setting such as villages, markets, temples or old buildings into a new form corresponding to the needs of the tourists or visitors. This is quite a same thing that takes place in Don Wai, the crowded weekend market located nearby the riverside in Nakhon Pathom province looking for something to eat and to buy. At present, this popular local market is very well known among visitors for its various kinds of products such as tasty food, delightful Thai dessert and fresh fruits from both the community itself and the other areas. Moreover, while the visitors are excited at shopping products from each food shops in the classic and traditional-style market, they can also enjoy with the beautiful scenery of the riverside, local villages, temples and different lifestyles of the community residents apart from their urban lives. Another important factor enhancing the popularity of the river market is convenience of transportation to visitors especially from Bangkok.

By the way, considering with the prosperity of the market due to modern development and tourism that bringing about great income into the community as its success, it is important to state that the market has been developed so far since it was established until present. Back to the past, it was one of the local markets nearby the riverbank functioning as a centre of trading activities among local residents along the river emphasizing mainly on agricultural products from the orchards and vegetable gardens. In addition to this function, the market was also a place of meeting and daily interaction between the local residents who were usually close relatives or neighbours. As time passed by, modern development, infrastructure and transportation gradually entered into the community due to an expansion of metropolitan area into the provincial area and then led to changes in community contexts and lifestyles of the people.

At present, it is quite usual to see groups of visitors with many shopping bags and also many busy merchants eager to sell their products. However, these active economic activities might not enough to guarantee that the whole community can gain positive benefits from tourism and modern changes or this process of development will go into the right direction and last long. In fact, there are some obvious evidences

showing that this local community is changing little by little; for instance, many residents change their job from agricultural section to service section such as vendors, fruit-sellers or boat riders in the light of more income for themselves and their families. This might lead to greater dependency of the local community on modern economics because local residents have to earn their livings from merchandising products rather than agriculture like in the past and development in the future and might have remarkable effects on local socio-cultural contexts including ways of heritage management and preservation.

Although in general we think of modern development as a positive factor that brings modernity, transportation, education and also income to the local community, the other important concern about this issue is its negative results toward the contexts and fabrics of the community and its heritage both tangible heritage (traditional market, temple and houses) and intangible heritage (people's ways of lives, traditions, customs, etc). In this case, the government is regarded as an active role player in case of determination of development policies and bringing modernisation to local communities. However, because of these policies often lack of consideration on particularity and different needs among each community, so changes happening from development plans may lead to negative effects to the community rather than the positive ones.

Nonetheless, this does not mean that local communities can act only passive roles. At present, many communities learn from their past experiences or from the experience of other communities that modern development does not always good for them or fit to their ordinary socio-cultural contexts. Often new development that brings tourism into the local community may cause environmental problems from overcrowded tourists such as garbage and pollution. Moreover, tourism and development also cause great impacts on local or cultural identity to respond needs of visitors and tourists. For example, changes in functions of houses or halls into the commercial buildings or restaurants for tourists, modification of traditional places without concerning with its original fabrics. This also includes a creation of local or traditional senses that are quite different or not the same as in the daily lives of community residents mainly for commercial purposes such as cultural shows

or performances and souvenir shops rather than acknowledging tourists to have awareness on heritage significant and importance of heritage management conservation and preservation.

After all these mistakes due to heritage mismanagement, it is still fortunate that some local residents become more aware about this issue and try to gain cooperation among all affected stakeholders including community residents, related government agents, private sectors bodies and tourists in support of heritage management, preservation and conservation. To achieve this goal, comprehensive research is crucial to examine how effectively a heritage management and conservation in the local community can work and how such stakeholders can be brought together and cooperate in the plan or project. Consequently, this research will focus mainly on the evolution of Don Wai River Market from its first beginning stage as a local market, transitional stages due to modern development and policies from the government, adaptation of the market toward development and competition with other markets, an emergence of tourism. The impacts of this evolution on the fabrics of the market and ways of lives of people involved, will also be studied, as, too, will the process through which the heritage management plan was made and implemented to preserve ordinary contexts of the market in the middle of modernization streams. Lastly, it is necessary to develop a concept of sustainable development for the market that will guarantee its existence in the most sustainable way in the future.

2. Goals and Objectives

1. To study the process of development in Don Wai River Market since its establishment until the time of prosperity through tourism
2. To explore and examine the effects in socio-economic, cultural and other changes on Don Wai River Market challenging the community to find ways of adaptation and reaction toward changes
3. To outline a management approach to the protection of local heritage of the market and cooperation between the stakeholders
4. To analyse any factors enabling the survival of Don Wai River Market and to suggest ways forward to achieve sustainable development.

3. Research Questions

1. Which are the important factors relating to evolution and survival of Don Wai River Market?
2. How does the local community react responding to modern development and to protect and preserve its tangible and intangible heritage within the context of the market?

Sub-questions for the research

- What kinds of cultural significance does the market occupy and how can we describe them?
- What are the differences of perception toward heritage in the local community between the local residents and visitors coming from outside?
- How does the market have been changed through the periods of time and by which factors?
- How do changes happen to the market influence to the living of local community?
- What are the remarkable results from modern development and tourism toward the fabric of the market?
- Does the ways of maintaining and preserving the market sustainable enough?
- Who are the significant players in local heritage management of the Don Wai River Market and how do they do it?

4. Scope of the study

1. Area of study: the emphasis will be on groups of traditional commercial buildings of Don Wai River Market in Nakhon Pathom. This involves observing and exploring changes within the fabric of the heritage and also people relating with them
2. Focus of the research: Examining and analysing changes and heritage management toward market contexts and lives in the community within three phases: as a traditional market for the local community; a market in transition; and as a market at present responding to development and tourism. The research will also consider the ways forward for the market and community

3. Target groups: categorized into four groups of stakeholders related to the market and community consisting of local institutions (local leaders or activists), community residents, concerned people from outside agents, and visitors / tourists visiting the river market

4. Examination and exploration of changes occurring in Don Wai River Market. This will include both tangible (changes in heritage management and conservation of the built fabric of the market) and intangible (changes in ways of life and other related aspects)

5. Research Methodology

This research will concentrate on qualitative methods. These methods will be very useful in terms of a capability to gain in-depth data and detail about the issues studied. This approach will focus on specific content and subject of research and then investigate it in almost every aspect to understand and see the dynamics of the issues.

In this case, a process of qualitative method will be carried out as follows:

1). Documentary research about related information from any related resources and a primary survey that can help for basic understanding and background of a heritage context from the past until today. Also information or data of what this community or heritage is involved into the government policy of promoting cultural tourism must be observed.

2). A field study with community profiling to explore and investigate the context of the site and whether it corresponds to the documentary data. This will focus so much on the condition and state of the shop houses that are considered as an important heritage for a community.

3). Observation, which is the important approach to study in cultural anthropology. This stage of study provides a good chance for a researcher to interact and participate with the people or residents in the setting and to become familiar with each other. Moreover, because of its setting as a market, it will be quite easy to observe and see an interaction between any stakeholders involved with the heritage.

4). A next step of research is a basic interview with some informants in the setting from which we can know and understand primarily about what they think is the

importance of their heritage, whether they recognize the necessity of preservation and conservation and how the market will be managed for the future generation, etc. Actually, it is likely that there will be difference within these sets of answers, but this may illustrate the level of the community's concern for heritage management and lead to the next step.

5). An in-depth interview with specific targets will be carried out next. In this case, an interview schedule with exact and clear questions or themes will facilitate the process of interviewing. A target for interviewing will be classified according to the stakeholders in the community as followings:

- Pioneers and activists in a community who are groups of people initiating new idea of developing and managing Don Wai River Market and promoting it as a remarkable tourism attraction, such as the abbot of Don Wai Temple, community leader and boards of the local authority. Until present, these people still play important roles in operating and managing the market and taking care of the community as well. Consequently, any effort or action for preserving their heritage shop houses that generate values in many ways will come from these groups as well.

- Agents from governmental organizations who have their own rights and duties of monitoring and taking care of any communities while at the same time facilitating and acknowledging them with information, technology and innovation. In this case, we want to know their roles in a sense of heritage control and managing methods for heritage preservation according to a formal way of national law in conservation a heritage. It is quite interesting to see whether they and community representatives have the same or different idea of heritage management.

- Back to the community residents again, attitude toward changes and opinions through the time will be useful information. Interviewing and exchanging opinion with them will illustrate our understanding in terms of ordinary people who live their daily lives in the community. It is essential to know senses of participation and cooperation of residents in

heritage management also an adaptation and reaction of them toward tourism and development when there are more and more outsiders coming every day and how they think their community will be in the future.

- The last informant interview will be with visitors. These groups of people come to visit for their pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction and then leave but contribute quite many impacts later. Last interview section focusing on visitors will aim to understand the mutual objectives and expectations of visitors when they enter the community. Furthermore, a significant aspect about visitors is their perception of the market and the community as a cultural heritage. Eventually, from this information combined with those collected from the other three groups of stakeholders will clarify and then lead to an analysis of the research result.

5). In this stage, analysis of the results will follow in accordance with these topics:

- State of value and significance: analytical frameworks toward value of the market including aesthetic, historic, social and cultural.
- Early step of evolution: the market at its beginning in relationship and existence with the community and community and heritage management.
- Transition period: declination of Don Wai market due to modern development and rise of river market.
- Adaptation: recognition of community to rearrange the market and the community setting for cultural tourism industry.
- Impacts: changes in community and heritage management accompany with an emergence of tourism and also interference form outside factors.
- Survival, struggling and existence: Factors enabling or disabling an existence and preservation of the heritage market and tendency that the market and community will go in the future.

Finally, it is expected that the research will make suggestions for community, government agents, and other involved about heritage preservation and management by integrating and cooperating method between any stakeholders. Thus, after learning from lessons time to time, we hope that Don Wai River Market will be able to find their appropriate way in sustainable development of heritage preservation while at the same time let minimum impacts to the community and still keep their own uniqueness belonging to the local to their future generations.

6. Process of the Study

1. Research planning and preparation
2. Primary documents research relating to the topics
3. Primary community survey / observation and community profiling
4. Defining states of cultural significance of the heritage and how heritage management methods work in the local community
5. Participant observation, in - depth interview, group interview or focus group with main key informants according to specific four target groups
6. Summarizing a primary report at the end of first stage
7. Content analysis of information whether it corresponds to the research objectives and hypothesis
8. Proposing a final report of the research

Part2: Theoretical Frameworks and Relevant Documents

This part focuses on important concepts and theoretical frameworks needed for acknowledging backgrounds of this research and also includes reviewing of relating documents and researches. This begins with concepts of what are the things we call **'heritage'** and how significant they are and how they will be managed or handled in the most appropriate way. Next, the concept of cultural anthropology and anthropology of tourism are very crucial for understanding about four necessary concepts to study the evolution, changes and survivals of local heritage consisting of Anthropology, tourism, tourists and culture. Moreover, this part will explain how anthropological

study will be beneficial and helpful in community study (with its methodology). Then, it is also essential to look at concepts of globalisation and modern development and its effect toward community contexts that are what kinds of socio-cultural phenomena among several developing countries. So it will divide into main four parts consisting of:

1. Concepts and significance of cultural heritage
2. Anthropology of Tourism
3. Development, globalisation, tourism and the local context
4. Cultural Heritage Management Approaches

Concept 1: Concepts and significance of cultural heritage

Firstly, to have a comprehensive understanding about concepts and significances of cultural heritage is very important for preservation and conservation measures because the cultural heritage is a largely non-renewable resource. Although new items can be added, they cannot replace existing treasures. The cultural heritage matters to individuals, ethnic groups, nations and the international communities (Cleere, 1989: 5-10). The values of cultural property are various: symbolic, historic, informational, aesthetic and economic (Costin, 1993:27).

- **Symbolic Value:** Cultural property provides awareness of and pride in cultural identity. In the postcolonial world, the idea of a national cultural heritage is of particular importance to emerging nations, and the protection of cultural property is a highly political issue (Williams, 1978:138).

- **Historic Value:** The cultural heritage represents eras and sometimes civilizations that have passed. Much of this heritage symbolises a florescence of a region's traditions and cultures. Heritage is often of particular importance to non-literate societies and to segments of literate societies often ignored in conventional 'historical' documents. (Creamer, 1983:11).

- **Informational Value:** The cultural heritage is essential to both public education and scholarly research. Archaeologists, historians and ethnographers use material culture to study ancient and traditional cultures. Information about how other cultures met challenges to their existence can help us as we meet the demands of our own world. The study of other cultures can also lead to new intellectual achievements. For scholars, the greatest informational value comes in studying cultural property within its original context. (Costin, 1983: 27).

- **Aesthetic Value:** The cultural heritage can provide an aesthetic, emotional experience for the viewer, leading to personal growth and development. Moreover, these kinds of buildings, artworks and artefacts can serve as a creative inspiration for contemporary artists, both those working within traditional forms and those working in a modern style.

- **Economic Value:** Cultural property – comprising archaeological sites, monuments, historic buildings and quarters and archaeological and ethnographical materials in museums – is an important focus of tourism in a lot of nations. As such, this tourism, which can be local, national or international, generates employment and revenue.

We can also divide the terms ‘**cultural heritage**’ into two parts consisting of tangible and intangible heritage. This research will focus on intangible cultural heritage, as defined in the Convention that was adopted by the 32nd Session of the General Conference of UNESCO, means in the first place the practices, representations, and expressions, as well as the associated knowledge and the necessary skills, that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. The intangible cultural heritage, which is sometimes called living cultural heritage in the following domains:

- Oral traditions, expressions and language;
- The performing arts;
- Social practices, rituals, and festive events;

- Knowledge and practices about nature and the universe;
- Traditional craftsmanship

The intangible cultural heritage, while being transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their historical conditions of existence; the intangible cultural heritage provides people and groups of people with a sense of identity and continuity. The safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage promotes, sustains, and develops cultural diversity and human creativity.

Given the values of cultural property, many problems are created when such material is damaged, destroyed, removed or changed from its context. Those losses include the damage or loss of buildings of historical importance, archaeological sites, monuments and objects; the loss of traditional knowledge and scientific information; the loss of access to objects of cultural or national importance and the alienation of people from their culture or the loss of national pride.

In addition to these cultural values, understanding about the assessment of cultural significance is also the essential first step for cultural heritage preservation and protection. According to Burra Charter (1999), cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is a concept helping in estimating the value of places. The places that are likely to be of significance are those which help an understanding of the past or enrich the present, and which will be of value to future generations.

In this case, it is necessary for several reasons to state clearly all the values of a given place. First, an articulated statement about the significance of a place is an essential piece of information for any planner to consider in making basic decisions about the place's future. Second, the comprehensive enumeration of all its values is needed for the formulation of a successful conservation plan (Sullivan, 1993:22). In this case, the process of significance assessment may reveal that the main value of the object is actually architectural, and that it requires stabilization or restoration. Or the

main value of the item may be as a living spiritual or symbolic icon, which gain its significance by ongoing use, change and development.

The decision on how to proceed in such a situation will depend very much on the value(s) the particular society gives to the place. So, the concept of assessment of value is loaded with cultural assumptions and cultural interpretations, which make the process both very exciting and of necessity, subject to differing processes and outcomes. The best type of cultural significance is one of that is all embracing, such as that promoted by the Australian Heritage Commission and the Australian chapter of ICOMOS. The cultural significance of an asset comprises its aesthetic, historic, scientific or social value for past, present and future generations.

Basic criteria for assessment of significance include an asset's rarity, research or teaching potential, representativeness, visual appeal, evidence of technical or innovative processes and associations with special individuals, cultural practices or spiritual beliefs. A statement of significance is produced as the basis for outlining the cultural values of the heritage asset. The statement should be succinct, clear, comprehensive, and assist in setting the priorities for the management and commodification of the asset. There are a few issues of further importance in the process of significance assessment. (Sullivan, 1993)

- Significance is almost always multifaceted. The cultural value of a place or object seldom (if ever) resides in a single definable value. Moreover, its value will be different for different elements in society.
- Significance assessment therefore demands a careful balance between empiricism and humanism
- Cultural significance cannot be assessed in a cultural or geographic vacuum. The cultural context of the site needs to be assessed, and the site needs to be seen as one manifestation of a complex and changing human society, in order for its value to be fully revealed.
- The multifaceted nature of significance has important implications for significance assessment methodology. It is important to ensure that all the key interest groups are involved in significance assessment.

- Significance or cultural value is always comparative. Ideally, we need to know the universe of such sites before we assess an individual sample. At the very least, sites must be assessed in a regional and local context.
- Significance is a dynamic concept. The significance of a site may change as knowledge increases and as society's values change.
- Significance or cultural value assessment is more often practiced for places than for objects.

From this point of view, cultural heritage evaluation and conservation process is driven by a series of international protocols housed in codes, charters or guidelines, which are endorsed by all members of the heritage community. Moreover, the scope of heritage planning and the management of heritage places and their accompanying cultural property are complicated by the differing scales. Anyway, heritage planning tends to follow a four-step process that leads to the development of a site management or conservation plan and possibly a risk-preparedness strategy. The following four stages are often broken down into intermediate steps for large-scale projects.

- The identification, classification and documentation of the heritage asset and its components with a defined area
- The assessment of the cultural values evoked by the physical fabric of the asset
- An analysis of the opportunities and constraints which will have a bearing on the production of a management policy that will in turn direct the conservation of the cultural values of the heritage asset
- The implementation of decisions and recommendations devised earlier in the process including that of ongoing monitoring or detailed recording prior to removal of heritage asset (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995)

Concept 2: Anthropology of Tourism

This concept is very useful to explain the interaction between four important factors consisting of anthropology, tourism, tourists and culture. Its objective aims at describing that tourism is more than a collection of business transactions, a process or set of impacts. It is a complex assortment of systems that includes economic, built and natural environments, ownership patterns, relationships between generating and receiving countries, and the relationship between the locale in which tourism and the wider society. Its objective is to explain how anthropology is the window through which tourism dynamics may be properly analysed and evaluated. So, short comprehension on the definition and composition of anthropology, tourism, tourists and culture that relate directly to this research will be explained and discussed in this section.

✦ Anthropology

Anthropology is one of social science and a study of humanity. It seeks to understand and explain how human societies work. It was formerly emerged during the mid nineteenth century in which influenced by colonialism, missionary societies and Darwinism (Burns, 1999: 6). Due to imperialism and discovering of new colony in North and South America, Asia, Africa and Australia, Westerners then encountered native people they had not meet before. These people were totally different from them in almost all aspects of life, including language, clothing, manner, way of living and religion. Consequently, as desire for colonialism appeared among these European explorers, another curiosity about those primitive people led to a study of them in terms of their world view, value, attitude and beliefs. Later, there were some scholars really interested in anthropology and conducted some ideas about the evolution process of human kind such as Edward B. Tylor, Henry Lewis Morgan and James Frazer. They believed that humans evolved themselves in form of a direct line from a level of savagery to the most developing state at the civilization level in which European people were at this stage.

However, this theory was taken for granted to support idealism that Europeans were superior to rest of people in the world who were still in the stage of evolution to

civilization. Thus, it's the right for civilized European to occupy and taught primitive people with civilized culture. After early Europeans scholars were criticized about their theory in case of leading to ethnocentrism and stereotype, there was an effort to develop new theory in anthropology that concentrated much on cultural differentiation and cultural identity among groups of people in the world. Franz Boas was a significant pioneer on diffusion and cultural particularism theory aiming at conducting an in depth research on every aspects of human or holistic approach as well as a study of ethnography. In addition to these theory, functionalism, structural-functionalism, multi-linear evolution, interpretive, symbolic meaning, and post-modern theory were created by several scholars in the light of explaining of humanity of how they think of the world and how the world react to their thinking and action. Actually, the integrated themes that unify anthropology are explained by Haviland in Howard (1990: 3 – 8) consisting of:

1. Universalism: all people are fully and equally human, none more 'important' than another.

2. Holism: all aspects of the human condition (economic, social order, technology etc.) are inextricably linked.

3. Cultural Relativism: mechanism against inherent ethnocentrism; evaluating other societies within their cultural context.

4. Adaptation: cultural and technological coping mechanisms that deal with ecology and the wider environment.

5. Integration and the world system: various aspects of life function together; this is then seen as part of a complicated local – global nexus.

The immediate post-colonial period (roughly the decade of the late 1940s to the middle 1960s) is paradoxical times for anthropology. On the other hand, excellent ethnographic fieldwork and theoretical developments continued (for example Edmund Leach's work in Burma, Levi-Strauss's work on linguistics, myth, social organization etc.) while on other hand, some assert that there was an occurrence of the applied anthropology. It is defined by Howard (1996: 400) as 'research and activities intended to produce a desired socio-cultural condition that optimally will improve the lives of

people concerned'. At that time, it would not be quite right to make too much of the links between anthropology and colonialism, but they did exist, even if only in a small way. However, in the face of certain paradoxes, the subject has found new directions. For the purpose of the present volume, prime among these has been anthropological involvement with Development Studies where anthropologists have brought new insights to the impact of development projects or plans. Anthropologists have been acting as go-between in discussions between local people and central (or other) planners or indeed foreign developers. As Howard (1996) said again

Typically, the local population distrusts the planners. Such distrust may be warranted because planners often lack knowledge about the local culture and the specific needs and goals of the local population. To bridge the gap between the people and the planners, the anthropologist must 1) identify and explain the local decision – making processes and 2) help both residents and planners adapt local structures to better meet development needs as expressed by the residents.

Consequently, it will be very useful when we apply anthropological study to tourism and its effect toward social and cultural context because anthropology and tourism (as a field of knowledge) have obvious synergy, both seek to identify and make sense of culture and human dynamics. Moreover, tourism is a global set of activities crossing many culture, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the consequences of the interaction between generating and receiving tourism societies (Burns and Holden, 1995). As Smith (1981: 475) stated

Anthropology has important contributions to offer to the study of tourism, especially through....basic ethnography....as well as the acculturation model and the awareness that tourism is only one element in cultural change.

The main point in an anthropology of tourism are stated by Nash (1989) in his essay, which had a powerful influence on the work of many who study tourism from a social science perspective. According to Burns (1999: 78), these themes may be summarized as dependency and acculturation

- Analysis of touristic development should not take place without reference to the productive centres that generate 1) sufficient surplus to enable tourism (in the sense of leisure travel) and 2) tourists themselves.
- This relationship is totally geared towards supplying whatever the tourist wants including that which may not ‘naturally’ or ‘traditionally’ be found such as fast food, air conditioning, swimming pools and imported food and beverages: a supporting infrastructure is thus developed.
- Transactions with local people are inherently unequal and that it is this inequality that frames the relationship between ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’.
- A tourism system may develop (especially in countries with a very limited economic base) which may subsume the general economy into a service economy geared towards meeting the needs of transient, leisured strangers and their sponsors.

The main themes in anthropology of tourism emphasizes on five keys: the nature of culture, culture and survival, the formation of groups, the search for order and change and the future. The way in which these broad concepts interface with tourism can be explained through the current work of Jafar Jafari (1995) shown in this following figure.

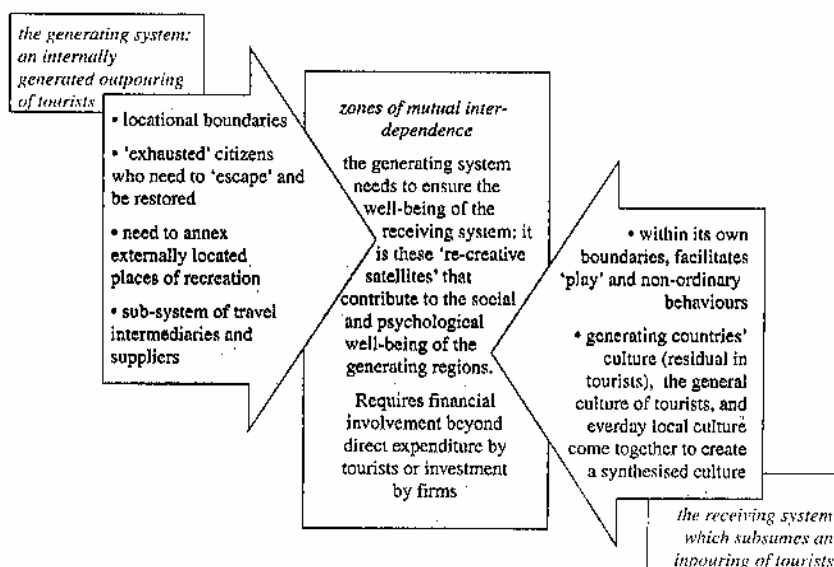


Figure 1: An anthropological view of a tourism system

Source: After Jafari (in Witt and Moutinho), 1995.

What Jafari suggests is a way of analysing tourism as two sub-systems, one look for the generating regions, which provides the influx of tourists, and the other for the receiving areas which supports the influx of tourists. He then places these two sub-systems within the context of a third: the zones of mutual interdependence. From this point of view, it helps us to understand the interaction happening between local community and the impacts from outside factors such as development and tourism.

✦ **Tourism and Tourists**

The reason why I have to mention a concept of tourism and tourists within this research is because tourism and modern development bring about vast impacts and changes to the local community. And by these changes, it will influence to a management approach of community heritage at the same time. So, summarized idea about these factors must have been observed in its definitions, characteristics, influences, impacts and so on. First, we have to that defining context of tourism is a quite a hard task because of its complexity like Van Hassel (1994:3) stated that

It is difficult, and perhaps misleading, to generalize about tourism and tourists. We lack a commonly accepted definition of tourism partially because of the complexity of tourist activity and partially because different interests are concerned with the different aspects of tourist activity.

At first, it may be useful to understand the nature of tourism because few people understand about it and it is often blamed for its impacts toward the fabric and ordinary social context of the community with tourist attractions. These characteristics of tourism are discussed by McKercher and du Cros (2002) as followed:

- **Tourism is a commercial activity:** we have to accept that tourism is a large commercial activity. If we look at the relationship between business and tourism, it can be seen that businesses enter the tourism sector with hopes of profiting by providing goods and services for the

hundreds of millions of people who travel every year. Destinations pursue tourism because of the economic benefits it provides and for the ensuing social benefits that accrue from its generations of wealth (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 27). Although we may travel to satisfy inner needs such as escape, rest, recreation status or learning (Hawkins, 1994), destinations pursue tourism for the economic benefits it provides. But tourism is unique because the majority of revenue is generated by facilitators of experiences rather than by experience providers. The tourism industry enables tourists to consume experiences but does not necessarily provide the experiences themselves. Indeed, only a small fraction of the cost of a tour is spent at what can be called attractions; the rest is spent on transport, accommodation, food, drink, tips, sightseeing and commissions to the travel trade. Yet it is these attractions that draw tourists to region in the first place, enabling the rest of the benefits to accrue (McKercher and du Cros, 2002).

• **Tourism involves the consumption of experiences:** tourists satisfy their personal needs by consuming enjoyable experiences (Urry, 1990 and Sharpley, 2000). Tourism presents an insidious form of consumption (McKercher, 1993). Unlike most other economic activities that enjoy virtual exclusive rights over the use of their resource base, tourism resources are typically part of the public domain or are intrinsically linked to the social fabric of the host community. Furthermore, tourism activities can be invasive, especially when the perception exists that they have been imposed on the host community (Gorman, 1988). As a result of this, it may lead to the radical different needs between tourist who travels to seek experiences and the community seeking some financial benefit from the traveller.

• **Tourism is entertainment:** tourism experiences, especially many cultural tourism experiences, have their basis in entertainment. To be successful and therefore commercially viable, the tourism product must be manipulated and packaged in such a way it can be consumed easily

by the public (Eden, 1990). In other word, tourism products must often be modified to provide regular show times and a guaranteed experience. Anyway, while it is also argued that learning opportunities can be created at the same time tourists enjoy with any kinds of attractions, but their primary role is to entertain (Ritzer and Liska, 1997). In fact, only a small number of tourists really seek a deep learning experience when they travel. So, it could be assumed that tourists accept entertainment or commodified experiences as being a manifestation of the modern consumerist lifestyle; tourism becomes an end in itself and not a means to some loftier goal (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 30).

• **Tourism is a demand-driven activity that is difficult to control:**

tourism is fundamentally a demand-driven activity that is influenced more by market forces (tourists and the industry that seeks to satisfy tourists' needs), rather than by governments that try to control or manage it. The ability to control tourism must be predicated on the assumption of being able to control tourists. Therefore, the best thing that governments can do is hope to influence the direction tourism will take. Furthermore, although tourism is driven by attractions or demand generators (in marketing terms) not all tourism attractions have equal demand generation potential. A clear hierarchy of tourist attraction exists that can be defined according to the degree of compulsion felt by tourists to visit. The more dominant the attraction is, the greater the sense of obligation to visit (Bull, 1991). On the other hand, the purchase decision becomes increasingly discretionary for lower-order attractions, until visits to the lowest-order ones are typified by low involvement decisions involving little effort required on behalf of the visitor.

In addition to this, cultural heritage is known and admitted as parts of tourism. At present, a wide array of publicly and privately owned cultural tourism products are available (Prentice, 1993 and Swarbrooke, 1995), including cultural tours, art galleries, museums, heritage buildings and other historical assets. Nevertheless, this does not mean that every cultural asset have tourism potential because cultural heritage places

are usually designated by communities for reasons other than their tourism potential (Jamieson, 1994). They may be locally significant or locally unusual assets.

On the other hand, cultural heritage places with tourism potential share a number of common features. They are known beyond the local heritage community; they provide experiences that can be consumed; they are interesting and unique; they are robust; they can absorb visitation and they are accessible. Most important, they provide the tourist with some compelling reason to visit, even if they are lower-order attractions (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 33). Thus, a temple is a temple unless it offers something unique or unusual for the tourist that entices a visit. Festivals provided for the benefits of local residents may be intriguing events but may have little appeal or relevance for tourists unless they satisfy the criteria above.

Complexity in understanding may come from its four primary elements. These are travel demand, tourism intermediaries, destination influences and a range of impacts. Thus, there is a critical paradox about tourism that it can be seen through opposing schools of thought: tourism as business and tourism as problem or set of phenomena). Furthermore, it is not automatically seen in isolation from its political, economic or social environments. In addition to this, complexity of tourism that makes it quite difficult to understand show obviously from its wide ranges of definition, but as long as the underlying assumptions and purposes framing the definition are understood then the explanation can be taken in its proper context. For example, considering with this definition of tourism concentrating on postmodernism concept of Urry (1990) explained

How and why for short periods people leave their normal place of work and residence. It is about consuming goods and services that are in some sense unnecessary. They are consumed because they supposedly generate pleasurable experiences that are different from everyday life.

From this point of view, Urry (1990:2) also discussed the wide ranges in characteristics of tourism and postmodernism as stated below:

Tourism is a leisure activity that presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work; tourism relationships arise from a movement of people to, and their stay in, various destinations; the journey and stay are to, and in, sites which are outside the normal places of residence and work; a substantial proportion of the population of modern societies engages in such tourists practices; places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy of intense pleasures....anticipation constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, television, literature, magazines, records and videos, that construct and reinforce the gaze; an array of tourist professionals develop who attempt to reproduce ever new for the tourist gaze.

It is also important to understand about factors influencing to the visitation levels that will effect to tourists behaviour and range of impacts. First, access and proximity are crucial concerns that dictate the potential number of visitors. According to the distance decay and market access concept suggested by Greer and Wall, 1979; Drezner and Drezner, 1996, demand for tourism attractions varies inversely with distance travelled; that is, demand declines exponentially as distance increases. Similarly, market access states that demand is influence by the number of similar, competing products or destinations available between the tourist's home and the perspective product or destination. The basic rule of thumb is that attractions located close to large population or tourist centres will attract significantly larger numbers of visitors than more distant attractions. Therefore, readily accessible attractions will enjoy greater visitation levels than out-of-the-way assets, unless the compulsion to visit them is so great that remoteness becomes a non-issue.

Also, because most tourists travel on finite time budgets, with many having their time strictly controlled by tour operators or children, they often have only limited amount of time available at any one destination and, being rational consumers, will choose to spend that time in the most cost-effective manner. As such, many tourists will seek to consume as many as experiences as possible during their stay and will show a predilection for those activities that can be consumed quickly, easily, and

where they feel certain they will get a guaranteed experience. However, to acknowledge tourists with sufficient information on cultural heritage significance often demands that substantial amounts of time or emotional effort to be expended to appreciate fully the experience. This would be a great challenge for cultural heritage manager to decide whether methods providing experiences consuming for tourists should be manipulated.

So, the best way to control tourists and, therefore, to limit the adverse impacts of tourism on cultural heritage, is to control the tourism experience. The best way to control the tourist experience is to standardise, modify, and commodify that experience (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 36). Yet the standardisation, modification and commodification of the experience represents a pragmatic means of controlling the movement of people through an asset, while ensuring that the visitors gains as much from the experience as possible. It is for this reason that purpose-built heritage products often function better as tourism attractions than extant assets, especially if significant asset modification is required to cater to the needs of the tourist. Then, a problem usually happens when the experience is being standardised and commodified for the benefit of tourism of tourism operators and not by heritage managers or asset owners as the best interpretation and protection of the asset's fabric (Vukonic, 1996).

In fact, most tourists want to consume senses of 'authenticity' but indeed not necessarily reality. Authenticity is a social construct that is determined in part by the individual's own knowledge and frame of reference. Many tourists are interested in cultural heritage but most have minimal knowledge about the past. As such, they may be travelling to have their stereotypical or romantic images of a destination reinforced or possibly challenged, depending on their political learning, in the other word, people going to cultural heritage attractions are seeking a stereotypical image of the past (Sizer, 1999). It has been observed that travel is about reaffirmation, not change, and the resources that make up tourism are transformed into elements of a symbolic system (Craik, 1999). Moreover, many tourists wish to experience what they are happy to believe to be authenticity at an attraction but not necessarily reality. Authenticity lies in the eyes of the tourists as consumers. This is a reason why a lot of communities or local markets are so popular because its context and fabric such as tranquil

atmosphere, groups of shop-houses and ways of ordinary lifestyles can offer senses of unique experiences to tourists and they are also satisfied with them a lot with little curiosity to know whether these things are authentic.

In summary, it can be assumed that Urry is interested in analysing the motivation behind touristic travel, but rather in the sense of motivation as a form of social response to the post-modern condition (for example, the sense of alienation from nature and rejection of that which has gone before to be found in post-industrial societies). The other character of tourism is its inexorable links with culture. Bryan Turner writing on post-modernism and globalisation has this to say on cultural tourism:

Tourist fantasy permits the self to assume diverse social roles in exotic settings; tourism invents and demands empathy to play out short-term fantasy roles. Tourism tends to make cultures into museums, as cultural phenomena that can be viewed as quaint, peculiar and local. Tourism paradoxically is a quest for authentic local cultures, but the tourist industry, by creating the illusion of authenticity, in fact reinforces the experiences of social and cultural stimulation. The very existence of tourism rules out the possibility of authentic cultural experience (1994: 185).

Another important role player for us to concern according to development of tourism business is behaviour of tourists when they enter into the new set of worldviews, culture, attitudes and values such as foreign tourists or in this case tourists from the city who have quite different lifestyles and ways of thinking and beliefs compared to the community or local residents. A main point might stress on the interaction between two sets of culture meeting with one other: the modern one from the city and the traditional one from the community and surely results from processes of cultural adaptation, acculturation, assimilation, integration and also conflict that may lead to points of cultural survivals and changes due to domination of modern culture.

According to Ryan, (1991) because each tourist destination has a different pull (that draw the tourists into the destination) and push (that drive the tourists out to the destination) motivation toward tourists and that different types of such tourists will place different demands on destination locations; so, some of which will be very intensive. As a result of this, there are several definitions and typologies of tourists depended on their contexts and situations. For example, Cohen (1974) classified tourists into four groups consisting of organised mass tourist, individual mass tourist, explorer and drifter that may have different levels of interaction to the context and fabric of the destinations visited. Among these groups, Cohen explained that mass tourists might have, so it is said, minimal engagement with the locals and relatively little inter-cultural contacts as they remain in the 'environmental bubble' (Burns, 1999: 44) of the familiar.

Whatever they take for the broad definition of tourism, there are still a number of authors who have linked tourism with consumption (Greenwood, 1989; Burns and Holden, 1995 and Ritzer, 1998). Selwyn (1996) draws the inference that as material and spiritual traditions interact on a commercial level with tourists, culture undergoes 'a process of commoditization under the influence of tourists culturally drenched by commodity fetish' (1996:14). This is what we mention about consumerism culture encouraging an individual to release their needs for fulfilling everlasting desires of humans through consuming goods, products and pleasures.

One of the biggest cultural shifts seen in countries with advanced economies is the change in attitude towards spending and buying, the change from generally buying what was necessary to the idea of shopping for shopping's sake. According to MacCannell; 'Consumers in capitalist societies today know that they do not need what they buy' (1992:67). In this case, one of the most universal terms applied to the phenomenon of contemporary tourism is the expression 'mass'. The movement of people across international boundaries has facilitated the development of an industry serving a wide cross-section of the public and meeting the needs of the post-modern consumer.

For tourism development to fulfil the needs of mass consumerism (the mass tourists), many of the characteristics needed for mass consumption, which are referred to by Barley (1983) must be fulfilled. These will include:

- Mass production and trans-global repetition of services to meet the needs of hundreds of millions of people moving annually around the globe
- Investment from governments to provide the necessary infrastructure and financial incentives essential to attract corporate investment from global organisations viewed as necessary to provide the facilities for tourism
- Long lead times by governments that wishes to have tourism master plans drawn up and trans-national corporations associated with strategic planning
- The standardisation of products such as package holidays that may be purchased from the travel agent or by telephone or internet with the minimum of inconvenience

In addition to this, of particular to the tourist is the role of the travel intermediaries (loosely defined as the travel trade) in providing the link between demand and supply. It is the intermediaries who have had a major influence in the development of destinations, influencing speed of growth, type of development and the markets it will serve. As Cooper et al (1993: 189) explained:

The principal role of intermediaries is to bring buyers and sellers together, either to create markets where they previously did not exist, or to make existing markets work more effectively and thereby to expand market size....In all industries the task of intermediaries is to transform goods and services from a form which consumers do not want, to a product that they do want

✦ Culture

It is quite unavoidable for this research not to mention about significance and importance of culture toward the whole local community. Culture is a fundamental and central concern for this cultural research. It covers family relationships, ethnic identities, technology, gender positions, migration and exclusion: all that makes up the human society (Burns, 1999:54). At one level, it might be said that 'culture is everything' including socially learnt experience, social institutions, sciences, etc. In fact, the concept of culture has a range of meanings according to context. Thus in this culture is about the interaction of people and how they learn from each other. It promotes the idea that learning can be accumulated, assimilated and passed on through a range of oral and written traditions.

Then, if we want to apply concepts of culture with tourism, we shall find that the complexity of tourism's social and economic dynamic, both as an act and as an impact, means that it can not be seen as an integrated, harmonious and cohesive 'whole'. This is very important in two ways:

- Culture can be seen as a commercial resource, especially culture that is perceived to be unique or unusual by actors including tourism marketing specialists and planners
- Understanding the links between tourism systems and culture might help prevent or minimise negative impacts on a host culture occurring through the act of receiving tourists

So, cultural study has to relate with these main components including place, space and people, then deeper analysis becomes essential that the commoditisation (a process by which some object or other 'thing' is ascribed value by the price put upon it. According to Nash, (1996:14) he stated that 'the concept of commoditisation was used to describe the tourism-induced transformation of the meaning into spurious superficialities associated with market exchange', it may well have lost much of its relevance now with the growing sophistication of tourism analysis and the forces of globalisation) of culture for tourism can be addressed. The extent to which components

of culture are adapted and offered to tourists for consumption is likely to be framed by at least two factors:

- The relative difference and thus the relative novelty between cultural components of the visitors and the visited and
- By the type and number of visitors

It is culture that distinguishes one group of people from another. In this sense, the culture of the industrialised and modern world can be distinguished from another culture by a way of interpreting the world about us known as *post-modernism* and a response to this known as *consumerism*. These phenomena are making a vigorous contribution to discussions about tourism, tourists and motivation and so it is worth briefly exploring the issues. So, the discussion on post-modernism above can be enlarged enabling us to think about the two linked phenomena that underpin and arise from post-modernism: consumerism and commoditisation. Consumerism impacts on destinations through tourists bringing with them the urban attitudes of the consumer society in which they live. This will include expectations of service levels, and that 'things have their price'. Moreover, a main point of this concept is that places of consumption are far more than accidental mixes of geographic locations and attractions. They represent both post-modern social dynamics and symbolic edifices wherein everything (including recreation) is for sale: a commodity (Burns, 1999:64)

In summary, Baudrillard, Eco and Greenwood (1996:14) identify six important assumptions underpinning the concept of commoditisation consisting of:

1. Commoditisation is part of a general consumer culture which is itself defined by a culture of unfettered individualism
2. The imperative for this culture derives from the nature of advanced economic systems which produce unlimited quantities of consumer goods
3. Post-modern consumers resemble either infants [sucking on the mammary gland of consumerism] or schizophrenics [disorganised, bizarre and delusion behaviour]
4. That culture is defined by commoditisation and consumerism are in some specific senses democratic

5. The commoditisation of social and ritual events leads to an erosion of their meaning and that this loss of meaning is accompanied by a parallel loss of feelings of social solidarity and
6. Tourist-induced commoditisation and consumerism lead inexorably to states of dependency, including cultural dependency, in tourist-receiving regions

From these points of views, concepts of anthropology and tourism (as a field of knowledge) have obvious synergy. Both seek to identify and make sense of culture and human dynamics. Because tourism is a global set of activities crossing a lot of culture, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the consequences of the interaction between generating and receiving tourism activities (Burns and Holden, 1995). As Smith (1981:475) indicated:

Anthropology has important contributions to offer to the study of tourism, especially through...basic ethnography...as well as the acculturation model and the awareness that tourism is only our element in culture change.

Following this concept, we are able to link between anthropology and tourism according to the key themes underpinning anthropology consisting of its characteristic *comparative framework* (studying a variety of phenomena in different locations in order to identify common trends), *a holistic approach* (taking account of social, environmental and economic factors) and pursuit of *deeper level analysis*. In addition to this, Nash (1981) also made the point that it is the cross-cultural encounters and the consequential social transactions 'that provide the key to the anthropological understanding of tourism' understanding of tourism'. Furthermore, he continues explaining that this encounter will have many variations, not least of which is that one group (the tourists) are at play, while another group (tourism employees) are at work. We could also add a further group, the local residents, who might be classified as both active and passive observers.

Several themes arise of Nash's essay that have had a powerful influence on the work of many who study tourism and its impact toward the community contexts from a social science perspective are summarised here:

- Analysis of touristic development should not take place without reference to the productive centres generating 1) sufficient surplus to enable tourism (in the sense of leisure travel) and 2) tourists themselves

- This relationship is totally geared towards supplying whatever the tourists want including that which may not 'naturally' or 'traditionally' be found such as fast food, air conditioning, swimming pools and imported food and beverages: a supporting infrastructure is thus developed

- A tourism system may develop (especially in countries with a very limited economic base) which may subsume the general economy into a service economy geared towards meeting the needs of transient, leisured strangers and their sponsors

These ideas will lead to the key themes of anthropology that are very crucial for this research on evolution and survivals of local heritage in Don Wai River Market focusing on:

1. The nature of culture
2. Culture and Survival
3. The formation of groups
4. The search for order and
5. Change and the future

The way in which these broad themes interface with tourism can be explained through the current work of Jafar Jafari (1995). His way of looking at a tourism system is first of all to set up two sub-systems, one for the *generating regions* providing an 'outpouring' of tourists and another for *the receiving areas* subsuming an 'inpouring' of tourists. In addition to Jafari, there are the other writers focusing on anthropology of tourism in cultural perspective; for example, Linda Richter (1989) and her work on the

politics of tourism, Philip Pearce (1982) with his contribution to the social psychology of tourism; and also Roland Barthes (1984), etc.

When mentioning about the definition of Anthropology of Tourism, Malcom Crick (1989) stated that three interesting themes informing anthropology of tourism according to this;

- **Semiology**, the study of meaning and relationships between an image or symbol (the signifier) that is informed by a society's denotation and connotation of the particular image
- **Political Economy**, issues of power and control and the forces shaping touristic development at a particular destination
- **Social and Cultural Change**, within both the generating and receiving areas, in particular commoditisation of place and culture, cultural outcomes of being visited, and tourism as a search of authenticity

This search for authenticity can be explained as a sort of compensatory process by which 'the alienated worker seeks a less alienated, more authentic existence during a vacation abroad' (Nash, 1996:66). This view is based on Boorstin's thesis (1964) that the modern tourist intentionally seeks out inauthentic experiences, the so-called *pseudo-events* as part of a generally superficial lifestyle at home. Moreover, Urry (1990:11) also supported an idea of deeper motivations among tourists by referring to general notions of liminality and inversion as a release from routinised social structure. He continues that 'one key feature would seem to be that there is a difference between one's normal place of residence / work and [the tourism experience]...because there is in some sense a contrast with everyday experiences'. Furthermore, Selwyn (1996) also convinced that it is the search for other (an authentic, unspoilt thing 'out there') and the search for authentic self (in the sense of coming to terms with living in a post-modern society) that create the tension that underpins the social science approach to analysing tourism.

It seems to be in this case that we often judge tourism for leading negative changes in social, culture, economics toward local communities. Indeed, it is also a fact that culture continually changes, even when tourism and tourists are not present. Even so, tourism is certainly associated with change, but demonstration of an association does not necessarily mean that tourism has actually caused that change. Association and causality is not inevitably the same thing. Tourism is not automatically a main cause of change, but only one of a number of channels for the transmission of new ideas. Thus, when we look into real situations or impacts happened as tourism and modern development come into local contexts.

In this sense, we should consider thinking about the encounter between ‘host’ and ‘guest’ because they can contribute to profound importance in the study of anthropology of tourism. At least two main themes occur. First, ranges of cross-cultural interactions becoming heightened significance for our purposes when there is a disparity between the visitors and visited. Second, there is a range of arguments surrounding the notion of ‘hosts’ and ‘guests’. The key point here is that the words are used in an ironic sense; the special rules that apply to willing hosts receiving invited guests in their home are suspended. The transaction becomes a commercial one. A problem arises when expectations have been raised:

- On the side of the ‘host’ where government campaigns have stressed or overstated the direct economic benefits arising from tourism and
- On the part of the ‘guest’ who may have been exposed to exaggerated advertising literature from tour operators prompting the ‘friendliness of the natives’

The second theme concerns the concept of ‘*strangerhood*’ (Burns, 1999:99). These touristic encounters, as Cohen (1972) and Nash (1977, 1981) have described, involve a relationship between strangers coming from different culture or subculture. The complex nature of these interactions will vary according to several factors such as:

- The type of tourists
- Their length of stay, attitudes and expectations (which will affect their capacity to make relationships)

- The number of tourists (in the sense that fewer numbers means that tourists remain a novelty and with increasing numbers become just part of the scenery)
- The length of season (which will affect the local employment and give periods of 'rest' from tourists) and
- The role of the 'culture-brokers' or 'marginal-men'

This last category is an interesting one. Culture-brokers or marginal men (Smith, 1977) are defined as multilingual and innovative mediators that can control or manipulate local culture for tourists' purposes. Culture-brokers can introduce change within their society. During periods of rapid and stressful change, these marginal men, more imaginative, may assume positions of leadership and may become successful innovators. According to Mathieson and Wall, it is explained that 'they are in a position to manipulate local culture for tourist purposes without affecting the cultural identity of the host society in a detrimental manner' (1982:163).

However, opportunities for intercultural interactions may be limited when the relatively small number of encounter possibilities is restricted to an insignificant part of the local population, mainly those directly or indirectly employed in the tourism industry and perhaps to those living in the surrounding area or close to special tourist attractions and places of interest. Another important aspect of this limitation is the fact that tourists' interest in being in contact with locals may not be the main objective of their vacation, on the contrary, they may be seeking leisure, pleasure, and escape from everyday cares and normal patterns of life. Four other areas of host-guest relations need further explanation at this stage consisting of:

1. The demonstration effect

This effect refers to the process by which traditional societies, especially those who are particularly susceptible to outside influence such as youths, will 'voluntarily' seek to adopt certain behaviours (and accumulate material goods) on the basis that possession of them will lead to the achievement of the leisured, hedonistic lifestyle demonstrated by the tourists (Burns, 1999:101). With the coming of what globalisation

theorists call ‘the compression of the world’ (Robertson, 1992) it has become almost unrealistic to attempt differentiation of social impacts caused by tourism and the general process of modernization. Where such impacts have occurred in the past, they have been derived from the following:

- Misconceptions and stereotyping about the tourist; in the local’s eyes, they may appear both wealthy and indolent and
- The development of an inferiority complex in the local community which sets off a process of imitation. The apparent material superiority of the visitors is seen as desirable and as a model of lifestyle to be copied

In summary, two types of results can be observed in locals. First, changes in the value system, attitudes and language, and second, changes in dress, eating habits and demand for consumer goods (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

2. Internal or external change

As we know that there are no cultures that remain static and unchanged over time because cultural change is induced by two process:

- **Internal** by evolution through invention, driven by necessities or capitalism and
- **External** through changes forced by outside economic, political, environmental and cultural influences

Internal changes involve creativity, invention and innovation and are thought to occur at a more rapid pace in technologically complex and consumption-oriented societies (where all aspects of life are changed by the sheer pace of transformation is driven by hyper-competitiveness) than in less-developed ones. External changes through the process of modernisation or westernisation, and external pressures have induced the greatest amount of cultural evolution, tourism being only the channel. While tourism is clearly one of a range of catalysts for change, its ubiquitous nature means that it has the added capacity to profoundly affect the host community.

However, the prevailing force remains the inexorable power of modernization, like Freda Rajotte (1980: 8) explained that:

The most evident impact of tourism is in intensifying the change from a primarily non-monetary subsistence agricultural economy to wage-based, profit motivated tertiary activity.

3. Acculturation and cultural drift

Cultural drift is characterised by a temporary transformation in the hosts' behaviours only for the duration of the encounter or interaction between hosts and guests (a phenotypic change). The contacts are more permanent and continuous and a change happens to the norms, values and standards of hosts from one generation to another. In fact, acculturation is the process by which a borrowing of one or some elements of culture takes place as a result of a contact of any duration between two different societies. Acculturation is said to happen when contact between two societies results in 'each becoming somewhat like the other through a process of borrowing' with the exchange of ideas and products. This exchange process, however, will not be balanced, but an asymmetrical borrowing, because the stronger culture (with no connotations of superiority) will dominate and begin to change the weaker (not meaning inferior) culture into something of a mirror image.

4. Cultural symbiosis and assimilation

Both these terms are derivatives of the concept of acculturation. They mean the replacement of one set of cultural traits by another (Spicer, 1968:21). In this case, Gee, Makens and Choy (1989) conducted an analysis of the impacts of tourism. They created a model of stages and effects of the evolution of inter – cultural interactions on local residents. It goes like this:

- Initially, there is what they term toleration or accommodation, when the limited numbers of visitors and locals co – exists in some kind of harmony.

- The second stage is segregation, when social distance and separation affect the interrelationship by means of either avoiding or remaining confined to special tourist areas.
- This segregation turns to opposition, when tourists are rejected by members of the host population. In the other hand, the hosts are rejected by the tourists.
- The last is diffusion (as mentioned above) when the two cultures begin, through a process of symbiosis and borrowing, to converge.

In these models, relations are predetermined and will pass through the same process arriving at the same end. Considerable objection can be made to this determinism, particularly to the last stage of diffusion. Although diffusion plays an important role in cultural change, diffusion or infusion do not necessarily come about as a result of a saturation of the level of tolerance of the hosts because cultural phenomena such as diffusion and infusion can have both positive and negative implications. Moreover, while socio-cultural phenomena such as the demonstration effect, acculturation, cultural drift, cultural symbiosis and assimilation have certain value, they are by no means 'proven' by empirical evidence but they are still have significance for understanding impacts of modern development and tourism toward the local community.

Concept 3: Development, globalisation, tourism and the local context

This section will focus on an idea of relationship between globalisation, modern development, urbanisation and prosperity of tourism industry and also their effects toward local community's cultural heritage. As Don Wai River Market is being in a process of massive changes due to a lot of visitors and tourists who go there for senses of exoticness apart from their boring daily lives in the cities and also search for authenticity of traditional cultures.

To lead to deeper understanding about this, we need to know that changes within the socio-cultural context of local community in many cases are caused by process of modernisation and modernity. To make it clearer, we use a term

'modernisation' to refer to that process of economic, social and cultural change which, through transformations in communications and economic relations, gives rise to transformations in geographical and social patterns, leading to a condition 'modernity' which is characterised by the conspicuous extraction of time from space and place from space. By 'place', we refer to the meaning conferred on particular spaces by groups of people through sustained association at various levels (Askew and Logan, 1994:3).

Therefore, it is quite necessary to know how development, globalisation, tourism and local context relates with one another and might lead to many unexpected effects. It is obvious at present that the importance of tourism as a money-earner is now so patently evident that economic planners may make many decisions encouraging its expansion without full appreciation of what this may mean for the continued preservation of the cultural heritage. Normally, we can observe a process of development starting from globalisation and then follows with modern development spreading from a centre of a country or urban area to local authorities. After that local communities might be promoted through tourism promotion policy by the government. In this case, we might accept in some aspect that the tourism industry is the other form of modernisation process like industrialisation. While industrialisation was seen as the main means of economic growth under modernisation theory, the 'soft' industry of tourism was also identified as an important tool for economic development. Tourism was assessed as having great growth potential and it was also seen as a means of providing employment in the formal economy (Clancy, 1999).

Proponents of modernisation also felt that tourism development could encourage social development through the spread of new skills and technology and that growth of tourism would go hand in hand with infrastructure improvements in areas such as transported and communications. Moreover, government money was invested in establishing infrastructure for tourism in the specific promoted areas while the basic infrastructure needs of citizens in other places are pushed aside (Scheyvens, 2002:24). Then there are problems caused by the need to provide special facilities to accommodate tourists. Direct impacts can be occurred from deterioration of tangible cultural heritages causing by too many tourists wandering into the places. These can

encumber the place and especially when not properly planned, can destroy views, atmosphere, fabric and authenticity of the local context.

To understand a process of globalisation and modern development (includes tourism), post-modern theory is a useful idea helping us to gain a deeper conceptual thinking of tourists, of tourism as a process, and of the way in which tourism and destination communities interact. It enables us to see, for example, the very real way in which people and places are constructed as objects of interest to be consumed by tourists. Thus, postmodernists ask questions about representation of people and places (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998), the production of tourist landscapes (Ringer, 1998), social relations between tourists and those living in destination areas (Urry, 1990) and commodification of culture and authenticity (Cohen, 1988). They are also concerned with cultural identity and cultural politics, considering for example how people have manipulated or adapted aspects of their own culture in the face of tourism development (Potter et al, 1999).

In addressing such issues, post-modern analysis differs significantly from grand theories such as modernisation and dependency. Rather, both the post-modern paradigm and the non-populist paradigm have the following attributes in common

- Reject modernisation
- Embrace diversity
- Support local action and respect local voice
- Recognise that power relations inform the construction of knowledge and the establishment of research agendas and development priorities
- Reject the notion of a single truth
- Accept that the meaning of development is contested, and subjective (Blaikie, 2000:1045).

So, postmodernism is particularly concerned with searching for the complexity of ways in which the tourism process works and interacts with local people and environments, thus rejecting simple dualisms, such as the suggestion that mass tourism is inherently bad for local communities while alternative forms of tourism are

inherently good (Scheyvens, 2002). Postmodernism questions the impacts approach to tourism studies at present, which tends to assume that tourism is an external force eroding local culture and undermining local economies and societies (Wood, 1998).

Thus, post-modern analysis of tourism reveals in demonstrating the myriad of ways in which local people have responded to, and sometimes resisted, tourism development, rather than assuming that they are victims of a burgeoning, unstoppable industry. This alternative approach recognises that while the engagement of local people with tourism is not always positive, they are nevertheless active agents who may be able to adapt tourism process to suit their own circumstances (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Parnwell, 1998). On the other hand, Pagdin (1995: 195) stated 'locally affected people are not shaped passively by outside forces but react as well, at times even changing the conditions of the larger system'.

The important idea contributing to deeper understanding in a relationship between a process of tourism development and its affect toward community is tourist gaze by John Urry (1990). It considers ways in which local communities residents are constructed and commodified as objects that can be experienced and enjoyed by tourists. Urry used this concept to express the curiosity we have about other people and places, which is part of our motivation for taking holidays. Consequently, we go to gaze upon new and interesting landscapes (Scheyvens, 2002: 38). The suggestion is that in seeking out 'exotic' or 'out of the way' destinations such as local, rural areas or other wilderness, we are seeking encounters with 'the other'. So, food, products or souvenirs belonging to local can be packaged and sold to tourists: 'For the vast majority of people, otherness makes the destination attractive for consumption by establishing its distinctiveness' (Hall, 1998: 140).

Urry explained that our holiday experience begins even before we leave home in terms of the anticipation of what we will encounter. This anticipation is largely fuelled by tourism imagery as presented to us by tourist brochures, television and magazines, but also through other sites of advertising such as the internet, and through travel writing in the guidebooks, newspaper articles and novels about our destinations. This is an obvious example for Don Wai River Market in case that it is much promoted

by the mass media. In the past, the market was only well-known by local resident for many years until the famous columnist wrote about it in the newspaper. After he had mentioned and recommended that this market was very worth seeing due to its traditional local context, uniqueness of products such as food, dessert and souvenir, a thousand of visitors came to visit it since that time until present.

From the point of view that tourist destinations are much influenced by a dominant role of mass media, Hall (1998b, 140) also stated that ‘The tourism phenomenon...perhaps more than any other business, is based on the production, reproduction and reinforcement of images’. The way in which the industry chooses to represent ‘The Other’ as an interesting and attractive destination has only recently become an important area of academic research and this is connected to the concept of the ‘geographical imagination’ (Scheyvens, 2002).

Geographical imagination refers to ‘the way in which we understand the geographical world, and the way in which we represent it, to ourselves and to others’ (Massey, 1995: 41). There is no neutral means of understanding the geographical world. For instance, while images of destinations are critical to the success of the tourism industry, these images are highly selective and biased towards beauty and exoticism. This causes Cater (1995, 189) to speculate about how genuine tourism promotion is

How real is the image of a destination that is gleaned by whatever means? In promotional literature is undoubtedly superficial and idealised. The place has become a commodity to sell and so nothing to detract from the magazine and reduce its value will be presented

Cater goes on to explain that visual images are especially superficial, failing to show the complexity of life in destination areas. Idealised representations can be easily set in our imaginations due to the development of communications technology. Thus, ‘otherness’ is framed by the geographical imagination in a particular way that obscures certain truths. Furthermore, we often see that particular destinations have been socially constructed in ways deemed to attract certain types of tourists. This idea is explained by Marshment (1997, 27) that local people together with their geographical and

cultural landscapes are ‘offered up to the tourist gaze’ through the photographs in brochures and books.

Maybe it would be possible in this consumerism world that the important objective for travelling among tourists are desires to search for authentic experiences. Many postmodernists have often cast a different interpretation on issues of authenticity, stressing that many tourists enjoy attractions even they know they are contrived. In any case, Cohen (1988) is adamant that authenticity is negotiable. He explained that genuineness or authenticity of a tourism setting is not a real property of tangible asset, but instead is a judgment or value placed on the setting by the observer (Moscardo and Pearce, 1999: 418). This would be supported by those who see culture as something constantly evolving rather than fixed in time and space.

Nevertheless, it is also a remarkable aspect that the more the visiting of tourists into the local community context, the more its authenticity has been changed and even hard to observe. This seems to be likely what Cloke (2000: 842) mentioned that ‘every niched packaging of adventurous or exotic place-experience has the effect of narrowing the scope of tourism which are yet to be encountered’. It is an astonishing fact that we are attracted by the exotic other yet the exotic other changes in response to contact with outside tourists. Therefore, the tourist gaze shifts over time, reflecting cultural / social change and its dynamic. Then, the following needs for wherever tourists attractions is to sustain a certain level of tourism interest by different kinds of tools.

In conclusion, post-modern analysis has made a number of contributions to deepening our understanding of tourism processes. It has introduced concepts such as the tourist gaze and geographical imagination that help to reveal how subjective our impressions of this world and its people are, particularly with regard to popular tourism destinations. Postmodernists have further deconstructed representations of people and places in tourism literature and advertising to show how shallow, inaccurate or harmful they may be.

In addition to post-modern concept, the development process and changes of local community fabric and context due to tourism also affect from expansion of

town area and urbanisation. At present, a crucial concern among many developing countries is effects resulting from urbanisation into the rural areas because its impact on the environment and the quality of life of local community resident are important features in the current pattern of change in Southeast Asia. Urbanisation and urban growth has been the conspicuous partner of industrialisation and structural economic change over the past twenty years in particular, both reflecting and promoting internal transformation in the demography and government of the countries of Southeast Asia, as well as responses to an increasingly globalised economy (Askew and Logan, 1994: 1).

Looking back in the past, we will see that many Southeast Asia countries encountered with massive changes in various ways such as economy, politics or social after the end of World War II especially among countries that gained great amount of financial and technological support from The United States at the cold war period. Since the main mission for country development is economic growth, then urbanisation and expansion of modern development and infrastructure are manipulated by the government with the effort to spread development into the rest of country. Within a few years, while urbanization process brought modernity and development to the outer area of the city, it also bring a new kind of factor that the government used for increasing economic growth which was tourism.

There are obvious evidences showing that tourism in Southeast Asian has expanded rapidly over the last decade, with tourist numbers multiplying threefold from an estimated 7 million to over 21 million per year between 1981 and 1990 (United Nations, 1992). A conspicuous facet of globalisation, international tourism has manifested a range of transforming effects on regions and localities in terms of culture, economies and the natural environment (Askew and Logan, 1994: 2). However, while the government was satisfied at a great amount of income from industrialisation and tourism, problems also arose from their impacts toward communities in terms of transformation in social and spatial patterns of places. This is a global economic process inducing not only changes in economic structures and relationships, but also transforms the socio-cultural foundations of these societies.

Levels or impacts of changes of communities especially in the developing countries usually influenced by the state, government authority and the private sector that continue to play a key role in the reconstitution of urban culture, expressed in symbolism, iconography, historical interpretation and the usage of urban space. This process of creating culture in urban settlements is expressed in tourist promotion, preservation of structures or re-creation of precincts. In addition to this, there is an accelerated level of change and destruction of the urban fabric (Askew and Logan, 1994: 6). The reconstituted main streets, the gentrified inner suburbs, the open-air historical museums, the overblown claims of localities to uniqueness, and the manufacture of civic ceremony are testimony to modernity's striking tendency to separate time and space and the voracious ability of capitalist institutions to destroy the unique by mass production and commodification.

The most appropriate explanation why commoditization happens to be more important with tourism industry at present is that most tourists actually want to have their experience controlled and amenable to having the asset presented in a manner that facilitates easy consumption. Because tourists wish to get the most out of experiences, standardizing the presentation of the cultural heritage will ensure that as much as possible, the quality of the experience can be maintained at a consistently high level experience as many visitors as possible. This quite surely leads to any kinds of impacts toward the authentic fabric of community context. Nonetheless, the attitude usually seems to be that the benefits of economic development outweigh any adverse costs such development may have. Such an attitude was common in the developed world forty or more years ago, when it too was undergoing the type of massive expansion seen elsewhere today. However, after facing with problems and impacts arising from modern development and tourism, a more balanced approach to tourism is advocated, acknowledging both its beneficial and detrimental effects on host communities and their cultures. By the way, here are some examples of impacts that modern developments can have on both tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

1. Negative Impacts

- **Overuse by tourists:** Effort to serve the needs of tourists may cause problems to local communities such as an increasing of crowding,

parking area, garbage and also shortage of some resources such as water or fuel.

- **Tourism Dependency:** Large sections of the community become dependent on tourism at the expense of other industries, leading to loss of self-reliance and traditional-style activities.

- **Tourist Behaviour:** Impacts from tourists may come from lacking of awareness, courtesy or sensitivity to local custom or being ignorance with tourist etiquette with an attraction.

- **Unplanned tourism infrastructure development:** This involves altering the amenity of places for the community; altering the visual appeal and visitor experience for tourists.

- **Limited beneficiaries:** Income flows to limited sectors of the community; high packages; creation of divisiveness and discontent within the community.

- **Loss of control over cultural property:** Communities and traditional bearers can lose control of cultural property if it is not under copyright or special protective legislation.

- **Physical deterioration:** Unless appropriate methods are conducted to preserve cultural heritage assets, severe damages will happen and will result in a permanent loss of cultural significance and heritage fabrics. Moreover, with an influence of rapid modernisation, urbanisation and tourism development, the local community might lose its potential to exist by itself and then has to depend very much from the outsiders. In this sense, the most important concern must be placed on the behaviour of local residents, particularly young people as they abandon traditional customs in favour of this culture.

2. Positive Impacts

- The appropriate presentation of cultural assets can assist the tourists' understanding of the need for the conservation and retention of important cultural heritage assets in general.
- Opportunities can arise to develop local economies to be more entrepreneurial and self-reliant.
- Revenue from tourism can be directed to local infrastructure improvement.
- Reinvigoration of traditional culture can occur.
- Cultural exchange with tourists can lead to greater tolerance of cultural differences in multicultural societies.
- Revenue from tourism can be reinvested in documentation, planning and management of cultural heritage assets. This is important for the sustainability of cultural assets that attract heavy visitation.

In conclusion, we have seen that almost every part of our lives is surrounded by an influence from an idea of modernisation and development. They generate many kinds of facilities, communications, and equipments that are claimed to improve peoples' standards of lives. It is also this idea that transforms our lives into a consumerism world where everything can be estimated and sold as a product, especially to satisfy the needs to consume different kinds of experiences (for those who can afford enough financial resources). Accordingly, even culture can be changed and transformed into cultural capital generating very much income and revenue in a worldwide tourism development business. Then, problems and impacts generally take place with fragile cultural heritage in the local community due to inappropriate awareness and cultural heritage significance recognition. At present, we always mention about 'staged culture' or a representation of culture according to the visitors' needs regardless of an authenticity of its cultural value and this raises several concerns to cope with it in an effort to maintain and preserve the heritage assets. Consequently, how importance of cultural heritage management is and which ways to manipulate it suitably will be discussed further in the next section.

Concept 4: Postmodernism, Consumer Culture and Cultural Heritage Management Approach

Due to various kinds of impacts generated from modern development and tourism toward local communities, an approach of cultural heritage management (CHM) should be understood as an important tool among both local residents and visitors to maintain local's fabric and its authenticity in the long term. Cultural heritage management is the systematic care taken to maintain the cultural values of cultural heritage assets for the enjoyment of present and future generations (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 43). Since tourism in local community is reliant on the use of a destination's cultural or heritage assets, finding ways to manage cultural assets in a truly sustainable manner is clearly in the best interests of the asset and those who manage it and the community also. Tourism is increasingly being recognised as one of the potential uses for heritage, placing greater pressure on tourism and cultural heritage management stakeholders to collaborate for their mutual benefit (TCA, 1998). Ultimately, the better understanding each has of the other's philosophical framework and requirements, the better the partnership will be.

Because there have been much attentions paid to heritage preservation and conservation in the recent years, several kinds of concepts and approaches have been made and implemented in the light of how the heritage should be managed in the most suitable ways. Among all of these, one is environmentalism, which has expressed concern about the countryside, wildlife, shorelines, the effect of industry and urban development, transportation and pollution toward existence of both natural and cultural heritages throughout the world. Another is tourism, a big and broad activity involving with various kinds of role players who try to interpret heritage and make it accessible to consumers of all kinds. Moreover, it is quite surprising to state that one of the incredible tools making consumption of heritage experiences possible and available for everyone is the wireless technology especially The Internet; which transforms the local heritage into the form of products for mass consumption as never before in this postmodernism and consumerism world. To emphasise on this, lifestyles and the media come together in making us-local people and also tourists-enthusiastic consumers of heritage.

For the best background knowledge of this concept, we should go back to what Theodore Adorno said about the culture industry. He tried to criticise the ways in which cultural artefacts and experience have been ‘commodified’ by being easily reproduced in mechanical forms, just little like the same thing that came as a result of capitalism according to The Marxist approaches. Adorno also suggested that from the process of mass production, it is easily capable to reproduce cultural artefacts in thousands of identical forms (to respond the needs of consumers) and then this had the inevitable effect of devaluation of cultural uniqueness. For example, by making pictures and photographs of cultural heritage will make them accessible for experience consumption among millions of people that may not limit only in the context and boundary of the community itself.

Such developments produce cultural products for consumption by a mass audience and use technology to achieve it. By doing this, cultural values and meanings have to be reinterpreted and expressed in forms of a commodity easily to understand experience by the viewers. In the framework of consumerism world, there are no border lines between each cultural values and meanings because they will be merged into each other in a relativistic kind of way, producing a complex mixture of true and false, genuine and fake, ordinary and modified meanings, which will affect surely about standards and morality of cultural identity of each own contexts. Thus, even a sense of ‘reality’ is transformed from something socially constructed into something of dubious identity. What we see is mere spectacle or image, existing in a world where the image or the sign have more impact than what might be regarded as the ‘real thing’. This is the most important concern for cultural heritage management because nowadays we can see many examples of ‘arranged culture’ in which new factors are added into the ordinary local contexts to suit the needs of visitors such as an emergence of cultural performances or local souvenirs that do not ordinarily exist before for the entertainment purposes.

Another important aspect of the modern world is the way in which different things are placed side by side. Individually, they may be taken from their historical or cultural context and their meaning is both disassembled and reassembled in a new context. In consumerism world, it also lets a chance for something to derive its new

definition and set of meanings; since meanings is signification, this signifies the heterogeneous variety of modern experience, appears to place equal value on anything and everything, allows each artefact to derive meaning from its placing next to the others, and overall presents itself as an object in its own right. When it comes to the world today, important themes emerged directly to what we discuss about cultural heritage and cultural tourism. We may observe a world where many of the experiences are outcomes of synthesis of the authenticity and artificial. The past has been made to live and has become a commodity with a large economic industry on its back such as those we have seen in theme parks or cultural centres where various kinds of cultural experiences are displayed and arranged for the visitors to enjoy and indulge on them.

As a matter of fact, it is quite usual to see what consumerism contributes to vast impacts onto the fabric of local communities. We often see such cultural values marketed and managed as 'authentic' and 'experiences'. Cultural arrangements such as shows or performances also encourage and enhance the experience of visitors. In this sense, visitors as consumers have an appetite to experience, to take part in the authentic knowing that it is artificial and finding no cognitive difficulty with the paradox. Furthermore, consumerism at the same time let an opportunity for the urban consumers to experience with heritage more easily because we almost consider the things that passed from the previous time as heritage.

Because we have to face with several kinds of tension, stress and depressions from struggling urban ways of lives, it is quite usual for us, as an urban dweller, to look back for good sake from lives in the past or country lives with less competition and hurry in daily lives. Then the past, like Hewison (1987) said, is being manufactured more and more and is replacing its ordinary background and context. Obsolete industries like fishing and agriculture are generated heritage centres to celebrate bygone ways and crafts, many local communities are promoting themselves as never before, and create fantasies of things that never are, put our capacity for creative change at risk, and stifled the culture of present.

To make this clearer, there is the other ambivalence in heritage consumption of interest. The past is not just a place of things that have happened; moreover, it is a

domain of events in which we invest feelings of affection or fear, particularly when we get older and become part of the living past ourselves. To exemplify in the real lives, we may heard about the story of young people who left their motherhood community due to poverty and immigrated to the big city to find better opportunities for them. At least there would be some of them who eventually succeeded and then had strong desire to look back for their past. Surely, these people still want to see the pictures of everything in the community relating to them or help in reminding them to those old days. So, the past is a commodity which can be easily manipulated and shaped into things worth selling or providing for others. It is a domain of nostalgia and a motive force behind our interest in finding and looking for being a part of lives in the past.

Considering with the tourists themselves, we will find that many of them visit the places in search not only just for temporary enjoyment, pleasure or difference on such holidays (something different from their experience of everyday, often urban life; for instance, different lifestyles, environments and socio-cultural contexts). They are also in search of 'meaning' of the genuine or authentic holiday too. It is very crucial to state that this emotional dimension to cultural experience is very important to explain and understand how fragmented lives are in post-modern society. The experience that we can feel, even true or false, is accepted in that intermediate ground as being both and either and neither, so it no longer matters. This seems to be like what Hannabuss (1999) said below

Add intentionality (such tourists are determined to enjoy and soak up the experience) and commerce (they pay well and willingly for it), and we have an irresistibly appealing product.

There is also an aspect relating with the matter of identity. At present, almost heritage places especially those with dynamic movement such as the local community encountering with great changes form both inside (local residents tend to change their daily ways of lives) and outside (by tourism and modern development supporting by the government). These things reveal series of contradictions and tensions. Set amid the political and economic reality of the social fabric, and the industry which commercialises or commodifies the culture, there is the image of culture itself.

However, how and what kinds of meanings and interpretations of cultural values to the tourists or visitors are the most important concern in this case because cultural tourists might get caught up in the groundswell of this refracted set of images, willing to believe in what they are experiencing while at the same time unaware perhaps that other (deeper) realities exist.

Another aspect of the post-modern world influencing with an existence of cultural heritage is the illusion of reality. Among these theorists, Susan Sontag explained that everything has become a photograph. This is not just because tourists regularly take photographs to ‘mark the spots’, but that such behaviour represents something bigger – the way in which we experience life today. It would be stated that life is a series of quickly-viewed events of ‘pseudo-events’ (if you believe that they do not really represent the authenticity of what is there), or what John Urry called ‘staged authenticity’.

When the authenticity of culture is staged by means of cultural theme park or local community cultural centre, the past might be brought to life along with several kinds of presentations, then make it vivid for children, make it fun for adults and convey arranged values or messages to the audiences in exciting ways. Nevertheless, what we see is only a partial representation of the truth of what is there. Moreover, we mainly go in order to experience something so different and unique because we have to spend our routine and repetitive lives in a capitalist consumerism society where culture is commodified for hedonistic consumption, and where we have become skilled consumers of every product, including heritage itself.

Within a sphere of consumerism world, it provides us with a shortcut to experience and interpret cultural heritage by the media. To watch a beautiful scene of the local community, fascinating boat trips, elegant local food and dessert through the monitor of our television is sometimes enough to persuade us to go there and get the same experience as offered. Thus, heritage, tourism and commercial interact with one another and create an interesting challenge today. Consequently, postmodernism approach provides a probingly particular insight into heritage and cultural tourism because they encourage us to see the links between heritage consumption and late

capitalism, issues of personal and community identity, issues of authenticity and spectacle and of social fragmentation and its implications for tourist choices and behaviours. In this research, this concept is useful to explore how consumerism and capitalism affect to a necessity of the local residents to maintain and search for their cultural survivals to respond needs of urban tourists wanting to experience sense of country lives. This surely relates to the existence and future of cultural resource management in the context of this local market.

Considering with heritage itself, it is essential to know what the real definition of 'heritage' is. Unlike the word 'resource' which implies that the asset being considered has an economic value and can be exploited, 'heritage' on the other hand, recognises the non-economic values of the asset and further acknowledges its legacy, which implies certain obligations and responsibilities. According to McKercher and du Cros (2002), core concepts of cultural heritage management consists of important principles as followed:

1. Conservation of a representative sample of cultural heritage: it is acceptable that we are now living in the fast changing world. Due to the widespread of effective telecommunication, almost part of the world have been explored and known by the outside people who do not belong to that social fabrics or contexts. After that, when tourism industry has been promoted to the heritage places, much of cultural heritage; both tangible or intangible, is maybe at risk of being lost either through physical destruction or loss of knowledge. Thus, to preserve a cultural heritage asset's significance for the next generation in the future is needed unless we may lose certain types altogether or be overwhelmed by others in a way that gives a lopsided view of a culture or historical period. Furthermore, ranges of cultural assets also includes not only just icon attractions or highly visited places, but also includes more mundane examples that represent normal, everyday life, values or traditions.

2. Conservation of intrinsic values: the main purpose of cultural heritage management is to preserve the intrinsic cultural values of heritages. In fact, the value of an asset comes from its meaning to a community or its existence value, not from its revenue-generating potential. However, it may take much time and effort to achieve on

this goal because the intrinsic values often lie as core cultural value of that socio-cultural context (such as in the world views, ways of lives or attitudes) and once it has been changed by any factors, it is quite hard to turn things as it used to be. Unfortunately, we often observe that some cultural values of heritage places have been changed that affect to how local community manages it and then lead to declination or destruction of heritage such as a plan to transform heritage places for other purposes such as commercial.

3. Most assets are to be presented and interpreted to the public: after recognising a significance and necessity on existence of cultural heritage, the next thing to do is deciding which ways and how they should be interpreted and represented to the public or made accessible to present generations. Good presentation of tangible assets requires that cultural values of those assets are fully interpreted in a way that visitors of all kinds can understand. Information on intangible heritage can also be presented as part of the interpretation of tangible assets, particularly when a close association exists between them (NTHP, 1999). So, planning for preservation to visitors of a heritage asset is an important part of its ongoing conservation and management is necessary. An important goal is to achieve a balance between education and entertainment when presenting assets. However, entertainment-oriented presentation may serve to broaden the market base for an asset, presenting an opportunity for heritage managers to transmit the message about the value of heritage to more people, thus enlisting greater support for it.

4. Tangible and intangible heritage are important: we have to accept that cultural heritage management involves more than just the conservation of tangible assets. It also recognises that intangible heritage, cultural landscapes, and traditional embodied in such things such as folklores, storytelling, customs associated with worship, festivals, and other expressions of cultural traditions must also be protected. So, much effort has to be pushed on to preserve both tangible and intangible heritage assets forming the base for many cultural tourism products. Many evidences show cultural heritages are adapted or transformed to suit the commercial purposes such as cultural performance, arranged social setting such as craftwork demonstration that maybe something the local residents do it especially for the tourists or visitors.

5. Assets differ in scale, complexity and management challenges: each cultural asset are not purpose built and often have uniqueness of their own qualities such as scale, complexity, periodicity and use, which inevitably complicate and shape the way how they should be managed. Anyway, any decisions or policies of how national heritage assets are managed may depend on each country's heritage protection legislation, the understanding of the asset's cultural significance, political goodwill, and the way in which such parties involved can be organised to oversee the planning and implementation of any conservation policy. Moreover, scale can play an important role in heritage management as resources often do not allow tradition bearers to manage such cultural heritage assets nor political or financial goodwill to allow management of these assets.

6. Conservation and cultural heritage management are ongoing structural activities: cultural heritage management and conservation are structured activities that are part of a process requiring ongoing input about the condition or situation of heritage assets and their use among different groups of stakeholders. In addition to this, a process to develop international codes and conventions is required for effective and systematic management. At present, many developing countries typically rely on such codes as a basis for conducting cultural heritage management and enacting or amending protective legislation; furthermore, a usage of or adherence to international standards and principles is increasing. Such charters and associated documents emphasise the importance of making sure that conservation of heritage assets is an ongoing process, as is the pursuit of sustainability.

7. Sustainability: in every step of cultural heritage management, the principle concern is long-term preservation or conservation planning in order to maintain the resource at a sustainable level. It must be recognised that each cultural heritage asset has its own meanings and cultural significance, and must be understood in different social or cultural contexts. These conditions mean that each asset must be considered individually in relation to its physical and cultural robusticity (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 57). Sustainability considerations also relate to the amount and type of use that is permitted before the intrinsic values being conserved are threatened (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995).

8. Stakeholders: This is a main focus when mentioning about cultural heritage management. Cultural heritage managers should recognise that key stakeholders must include host communities or cultural groups living near a heritage asset or attaching to it culturally, schools and universities that use it as an educational resource, government heritage authorities that may be responsible for managing it, and commercial users such as tourists. One of the great challenges in managing any cultural or natural asset is the need to mollify many stakeholders. Generally, there is an assumption that the number of stakeholders is limited to traditional owners and user groups on the one hand and the tourism industry on the other. In fact, most cultural assets have multiple stakeholders with differing degrees of connectivity to the asset, differing levels of legitimacy in being considered as a stakeholder and widely differing viewpoints about how assets should be managed. However, a further issue on stakeholder that is especially relevant to tourism is that an external stakeholder may, in fact, have more power over how the cultural assets should be managed and presented to the public than the owners of the asset. In addition to this, some heritage management plans and implementation are even done in the ways responsible to needs of tourism purposes due to dependency of community toward economical benefits from tourism industry. At present, numerous examples can be seen around the world where the asset managers seem unable to stem the tide of inappropriate tourism uses even though they ostensibly control the asset.

From the principles summarised above, even we know that an urgent plan, effort and cooperation must be done in order to preserve the significant fabric of cultural heritage; however, many limitations and problems may occur as obstacles to achieve a conservation goal. In this changing world today, it seems likely that some tensions can emerge resulted from the different needs of tourism and conservation. The situation is especially critical in developing countries where mass tourism occurs before suitable cultural heritage management legislation is enacted. Unless tourism is controlled, significant damage can occur from overuse and misappropriation of cultural property. Because of inappropriate plan on cultural resource management, it often makes the heritage vulnerable and easily damaged or declined by an invasion of tourism, especially when governments regard these assets as potential revenue

generating resources and heritage rarely receives much of the revenue generated by tourism in the light of conservation expenses, even though these assets may act as primary attractions drawing visitors to the areas.

Nonetheless, tourism needs are not the only consideration in cultural heritage management because tourists are just one of many possible stakeholders, and the needs of tourists are just one of the many considerations that must be made when determining how to manage and present cultural heritage assets. The needs of tourists can be similar or different to those of other user groups because of different levels of knowledge about the asset, different interests in the asset, different cultural backgrounds and different expectations. This may mean that presentation of an asset for local users maybe inappropriate for tourists. The pursuit of tourism; therefore, requires a concern of how well the management plan is compatible among local people and outside visitors. Consequently, decisions about the compatibility of tourism and other users, coupled with decisions about the most effective way to present the asset for different user groups must be made.

Cultural heritage management also involves a preservation and protection of both tangible and intangible heritage amidst the commercial need and modern development. Perhaps the ultimate goal of this approach is integration between commercial need of tourism industry with the substantially different social objectives of cultural heritage management. In case of Don Wai River market, there are both tangible heritage (local shop-houses, bazaars, houses, piers) and intangible heritage (ordinary community ways of lives) needed to be managed properly unless it will be changed, damaged or disappeared in the near future. For our understanding, the term 'tangible heritage' includes all assets that have some physical embodiment of cultural values such as historic towns, buildings, archaeological sites, cultural landscapes and cultural objects or items of movable cultural property (UNESCO, 2000a). At present, tangible heritage is vulnerable to a wide range of processes that can damage or destroy the asset and its cultural values. Tourism is one of many stressor agents that can either accelerate destructive natural processes or encourage development and modifications that damage sites or compromise authenticity (Wang, 1999 in McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 65).

Heritage management regimes selected will vary due to the nature of the asset. In this case, three different classes of assets are discussed (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 67) that are buildings and archaeological sites, heritage cities, routes and cultural landscapes and movable cultural property and museums. To succeed in a conservation plan, it is increasingly recognised; however, that cultural heritage management needs to adopt a community wide or regional perspective rather than focusing on individual buildings or sites (Rossler, 1994: 59 – 70). Any kinds of development plan toward towns and cities fabric should be carried out and controlled through town planning guidelines, laws, zoning structures and policies that may include special regulations for heritage precincts or conservation areas. Traditionally, urban planners have controlled the planning and management process and; therefore, ultimately set priorities for historic precincts. Their decisions have occurred with varying amounts of cooperation from and participation by heritage professionals, individual property owners and the general public. One of the desires of cultural heritage managers is to become more involved in the actual decision-making process of planning.

Another important remark about cultural heritage management is a notion of ‘authenticity’. As the concept of heritage can be related with financial benefits or generated revenue, the idea of being able to guarantee authenticity became vital when evaluating assets. Also with the advent of increasing mass production and a greater homogeneity of material culture in this century, the focus of much conservation work shifted to the preservation of mostly pre-industrial heritage existing before time of rapid and widespread urbanisation. The resulting treatment tended to emphasise the importance of maintaining the original fabric of the heritage asset with as little intervention as possible and sometimes at the expense of the overall significance or meaning (Jokilehto, 1995). Indeed, the Venice Charter also notes that an asset should be ‘imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses to their age-old traditions (ICOMOS in Petzet, 1995: 85). However, to preserve the cultural heritage assets in the midst of a prospering tourism industry seems to be quite difficult to achieve at present. So, an effective method for heritage preservation and management is an establishment of ‘feeling value’ among the visitors or tourists. Most often people experiencing a

heritage attraction for the first time are assailed with its 'feeling value' or apparent authenticity, even when little is known or understood about the monument, object or site. In other word, the 'feeling value' will convey a sense of history, aura or the trace of something almost nostalgic such as seeing a scene of country village will create a sense of tranquillity or familiarity during childhood among someone who pays a visit at the place (Walle, 1993).

Defining who the stakeholders are and what they expect is important for setting the priorities in the conservation process (Hall and McArthur, 1998). As with most conservation practice, in order to understand the needs of stakeholders, the issue of cultural value must be considered or stakeholders must be consulted at the time of its initial assessment. Australian ICOMOS also notes that 'the cultural significance of a place is embodied in its physical form or 'fabric', its setting and contents, in associated documents, its uses, or in peoples' memory and associations with the place' (Australia ICOMOS, 1998: 3). Understanding cultural significance and how it ties socially constructed meanings to the physical is at the basis of dealing with community stakeholders. Moreover, there are other factors that we have to take into account in the conservation planning process such as the owner / managers needs and resources, reasons for potential risk, current physical condition and likely future impacts.

It also becomes apparent that one stakeholder can overrule the views of others or dominate discussions of conservation or commodification priorities (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). This stakeholder may be the owner of a freehold title heritage asset and not the cultural heritage manager or tourism sector representative. If not handled carefully, the impact on the asset could detract from its value for conservation of tourism. Furthermore, issues about maintaining authenticity in terms of what kind of intervention is required to conserve the physical fabric and its cultural values needed to be discussed. When setting commodification priorities that can affect both fabric and cultural values, tourism can be a more powerful stakeholder than the host community or the heritage manager because of their economic potential. As a result, how an arrangement can be reached among all these stakeholders is a very crucial concern.

Unlike tangible heritage, ways of which intangible heritage that relates to traditional culture, folklore or popular culture that is performed or practiced within a sphere of such socio-cultural contexts are quite complex and need more deep conceptual understanding to handle them. Moreover, in terms of anthropology, we use the word ‘cultural particularism’ to explain that each set of culture has its own uniqueness such as world views, beliefs, traditions and customs. This ensures that the ways to manage the intangible heritage should be designed to suit with the nature of culture and lifestyles of people in those social contexts. If tangible heritage assets represent the hard culture of a community, its places and things, then intangible heritage assets represent its soft culture, the people, their traditions and what they know (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 83). According to UNESCO (1998: 5), intangible heritage is defined as ‘folklore (or traditional and popular culture) that is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognised as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity’. Moreover, because an existence of intangible heritage does not locate on the solid ground; on other word, a visible thing like tangible heritage, then much carefulness must be aware. For intangible heritage is intrinsically linked to a place or context. Consequently, removing the heritage asset from its context may affect its authenticity.

Before a process of intangible cultural heritage will be started, an assessment of cultural significance of the places and fabric might be very useful for planning what kinds of presentations, tools and methods must be designed for provoking awareness and cooperation in conservation process among every stakeholder involving. Perhaps promotion of its cultural values to the wider community by appropriate dissemination or display would also be an important part of any management plan. As a result, responsible marketing and commodification of cultural assets by the tourism sector should also be an important element of any conservation strategy. At present, intangible heritage raises a number of interesting issues for the tourism sector. At a most basic level, it is an interesting that while tourism is regarded as negative factors bringing changes to cultural fabric of the local context, but at the same time it can act as a potential factor enabling tourists to gain deeper understanding of the destination

being visited and surely the significance of cultural values of the places. Intangible cultural heritage is presented manifestly through live performances, festivals, events, storytellers and local markets. Indeed, these things may help tourists in ‘absorbing’ the local culture as their means of consumption.

In fact, what actually happens in the post-modern consumerism world today about the intangible cultural heritage is that considering with tourists merely consume and understand the surface meanings of the heritage through what they experience while visiting the place, so they can not reach to the authenticity of cultural context and less awareness on cultural significance is generated. For example, the criterion of little use of complex technology, a sound and light show or costumed animation at a theme park would not be considered intangible heritage because it hardly conveys messages of cultural significance of intangible heritage to the audiences while a display of traditional dancing might be a better representative of authenticity. At present, much recognition is carried out in several countries by both governments and also by political activists of indigenous groups and other parties for intangible heritage management. Moreover, this must include tourism industry as a key benefactor as well as an important initiator of this process, with interest by outsiders being recognised as providing the motivation and economic rationalisation for indigenous communities to rediscover their own culture (Jafari, 1996 in McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 86).

Since 1989, UNESCO has been an important role player in intangible heritage preservation through the adoption of the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. This document provides a generalized overall framework for identifying and preserving this form of heritage. The following summarises the core elements of this policy as followed (McKercher and du Cros, 2002: 86 – 88):

- **Identification and Inventory:** The governments should conduct, support, or encourage surveys to gather information to be fed into regional and global level administered by folklore institutions or organisations.

- **Conservation:** Documentation and storage of intangible heritage can contribute to understand a process of tradition changes.
- **Preservation:** This is to guarantee the status and economic support for intangible heritage both in the communities that instigate it and beyond.
- **Dissemination:** This section recommends that measures be taken to disseminate intangible heritage for increased understanding and respect and for the groups for which it forms a part of their cultural identity.
- **Protection:** Intangible heritage should be protected in a manner similar to other intellectual property. Copying and commercial use of such heritage is of concern to the tradition bearers and owners who would like to be in greater control in such processes.
- **International Cooperation:** Cooperation is sought between different nation-states to ensure that development and revitalization programs for intangible heritage are carried out appropriately and in a timely and systematic fashion.

For the past few years, there has been much evidence that tourism imposes changes on intangible heritage presented for tourist consumption. Limited time budgets, lack of a deep understanding of the cultural context, and the desire to be entertained mean that most presentations of intangible heritage assets will tend to be somewhat superficial. It is quite necessary to explain this argument that culture is not a static concept. At stake is the rate of change, the purpose of change, the instigator of change and its relationship to the context of the core values of the culture. Significance adverse impacts can be felt if the rate of change is too swift or abrupt. Similarly, if change is imposed from the outside for the benefit of outsiders, with few benefits to the asset holders, the merits of such change must be questioned.

On the other hand, if the community can control both the absolute amount of change and the rate of change, adverse effects can be minimised. Indeed, commodifying intangible assets for tourism use need not be a negative thing if commodification is controlled by the asset-holders and if the content is still

understandable. Converting traditional secular activities into performances may produce a number of positive social and economic benefits for the community. Moreover, if these performances are presented in their own venue, their net impact on extant traditions and activities can be minimised.

Consequently, cultural assets must be used or presented in a culturally appropriate manner. Many examples come to mind when intangible heritage and its use by contemporary society are considered. For many people, cultural assets are sources of comfort away from hectic modern life. Anyway, indigenous people, likewise, rely on aspects of their intangible heritage to connect them with their cultural identity. More than any other at the moment, these groups are under pressure from external economic, social, cultural and political forces. Issues such as intellectual property rights, the misappropriation of cultural assets for profit, and abuse from inappropriate use in tourism promotion, development and copyright issues are a concern for most indigenous groups. Intangible heritage is becoming increasingly important in the environmental management side of sustainable development. Sustainability in this context would mean that cultural equity is therefore closely linked to political equity for many stakeholders, as they are still negotiating their relationship with others in relation to land and tangible cultural management issues. The preservation of intangible heritage is therefore of great significance to them in this process.

In several Southeast Asian countries at present, we can observe an emergence of cultural heritage management with respect to a development of infrastructure, industrialisation, rapid urbanisation and vast impacts from mass tourism industry. In Thailand, for example, an effort to preserve both natural and cultural heritage assets originated from a perception and recognition that heritage assets are damaged due to a modern development plan. A great deal of cultural heritage assets, especially those located in or nearby the urban areas, are affected by a widespread land use changes for urban purpose such as construction site and commercial area. Furthermore, it is quite obvious that any effort for cultural heritage preservation and management often comes so late that some socio-cultural contexts or social fabrics are changed in many ways or damaged.

This situation also happens in Thailand where several communities have developed themselves to respond the needs of tourism and urban development. A good example to demonstrate the impacts of urban growth and traditional community areas is at Phuket in the southern part of Thailand where urban conservation faces with tourism promotion. This town had its past originated from a small island that developed itself through the promotion of mining industry and foreign trade. Due to this interaction, it created a local culture of Phuket through custom and tradition especially the town's architecture that gave its urban environment a special identity. Many significant examples demonstrated the typical character of the shop-houses architecture that was built during the period 1877-1927. All of them were two-storey shop-houses covered with the gable roofs that run parallel to the frontage (Thaitakoo, 1994: 140). This style of shop-house architecture has been characterised as the 'Sino-Portuguese' style. In summary, the Phuket people have created a local architectural identity through employing the vocabulary of Chinese and European architecture, and achievement that contributes strongly to the physical expression of the local history and culture of the community.

Following the policy decision in the 1970s to make Phuket both the centre of tourism development and economic growth in the southern part of Thailand, there were increasing numbers of domestic and foreign tourists coming to visit it every year. At that stage, we can observe certain kinds of changes of social fabric such as shifts in career paths from tin-industry and agriculture to tourist businesses. Thaitakoo (1994: 142) describes the impacts of these changes in Phuket in the following way:

With seven tourists for each islander, and well-documented changes to the economy and natural environment of the island, one can quite reasonably hypothesise that the process is likely to result in the gradual eclipse of the local culture and environment are particularly resilient, or supported in some way.

To respond to the needs of consumption from tourism industry and widespread urban growth, a lot of local structures and precincts were turned into high-rise hotels, modern-style shop-houses, department stores, restaurants, bars, hospitals and housing

areas. Moreover, it was obvious that those kinds of new architecture styles were made mainly to serve the taste of Western tourists and the design preferences of commercial architects. It seemed to be that the local built fabric was transformed to suit the urban consumer as used to be happened in other places like the famous tourist attractions of Pattaya, Hua Hin or Samui. This meant that Phuket might lose its sense of locality.

Even the traditional characteristics of Phuket town were affected by these rapid impacts. Many new shop-houses have replaced the old ones that could not serve the new requirements of commercial activities. Most of them made little effort to embellish the existing historical elements of the townscape, impacting purely by virtue of their height and mass. It was likely that these uncompromising new architectural styles were not compatible with the old ones; for example, large modern hotels were built alongside old-styled buildings and shop-houses. These scenes of new urban environments showed neither an awareness of cultural heritage in architecture and site planning nor any sense of place. The reactions of local residents due to these changes varied in many ways. Some people, especially long-term residents, feel acutely a sense of loss of their social identity. These remarkable changes often happen mainly with people's ways of lives, such as a decline in speaking local dialect, the rarely worn local costume and also the demolition of old familiar buildings in the townscape. Some people specify that modernisation (fashion, manners, consumer tastes, behaviour) which the tourists bring to Phuket is the major cause of changes in the character of the town cultural identity.

As a result of this, more and more problems associated with such impacts occurred. For example, modern resorts, hotels, golf courses, shopping centres and housing estates were established. Moreover, these changes brought both tourists and migrants from other parts of Thailand. However, an existence of authentic local heritage is also important and necessary for the local residents. At present, it is a undeniable fact that local events, such as the vegetarianism festival, bring a lot of tourists and surely great revenue into Phuket even though it is thought to cause deteriorative impacts to the social fabrics and cultural contexts. As a result of this, there is a strong support from many people (local people, newcomer residents, and

tourists) for the view that the maintenance of an authentic cultural identity is important for the Phuket people's ways of lives and for the appreciation of it by the visitors.

This emerging effort has led to many studies on the urban conservation of the town fabric. In 1976, The Tourist Organisation of Thailand started a survey for the first Tourism Master Plan for Phuket. This development policy aimed to preserve the local identity of Phuket and then followed with the natural environment, the development of Phuket as an international recreation area and the conservation of the town character (Tourist Organisation of Thailand, 1979: 2). In this project, academic institutions were also involved in this effort to find a solution to the problem of development threats to Phuket town. Moreover, one research report also argued that cultural heritage assets in Phuket had important roles for tourism development strategies because this relates to what we mention about the authenticity of cultural fabric; so, by preserving the original precincts of the townscapes of Phuket will help a lot in tourism promotion. In fact, many problems are arising from over-urbanisation and modern development. These include an expansion of tourism sectors, an emergence of international resorts built for tourism purposes and also the threats to the traditional townscape and to local identity posed by building speculation and development and tourism promotion.

It seemed likely to be that the master plan project would not achieve much of its ultimate goal because local residents had little participation in decision-making process of the project. Neither individuals nor the community ever had an opportunity to set the direction that they might have wanted for developing their homeland (Thaitakoo, 1994: 145). In this case, the most important concern for other urban conservation plans has been to involve local residents in the process because they are the people who experience the actual problems and recognise the necessity of maintaining their cultural heritage assets in the community and passing them on to the next generations. Thus, the government should support such programs or activities encouraging and building a sense of pride in and good will towards heritage preservation among local residents with the light aim of ensuring sustainability into the future. Moreover, other measures from the government, such as zoning regulations and technical assistance, are still necessary as well as cooperation from considerate tourists

and responsible investors, which will lead to an achievement goal to prevent the loss of this valuable local identity.

This is the only one example showing a transitional stage of cultural heritage management in Thailand and also other developing countries pushing their effort to promote modern development and tourism to bring economical benefits to the country. Even though in the earlier stage of development may illustrate several kinds of impacts toward the delicate socio-cultural fabric of the communities due to an interaction between local community and modernity from outsides, there is fortunately also an effort of heritage preservation among many groups of people after learning from past experiences. Similarly, this research will emphasise the cultural heritage management of Don Wai River Market, and the evolution of the town and its heritage features on its each evolution stage. It will also focus on how local residents manage their important cultural heritage assets against the time of gradual changes and how they think of the potential to maintain or exists the authentic cultural fabrics of the market in the future.

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์

Chapter 2

General Background and Cultural Heritage Assessment of Don Wai's Heritage Significance

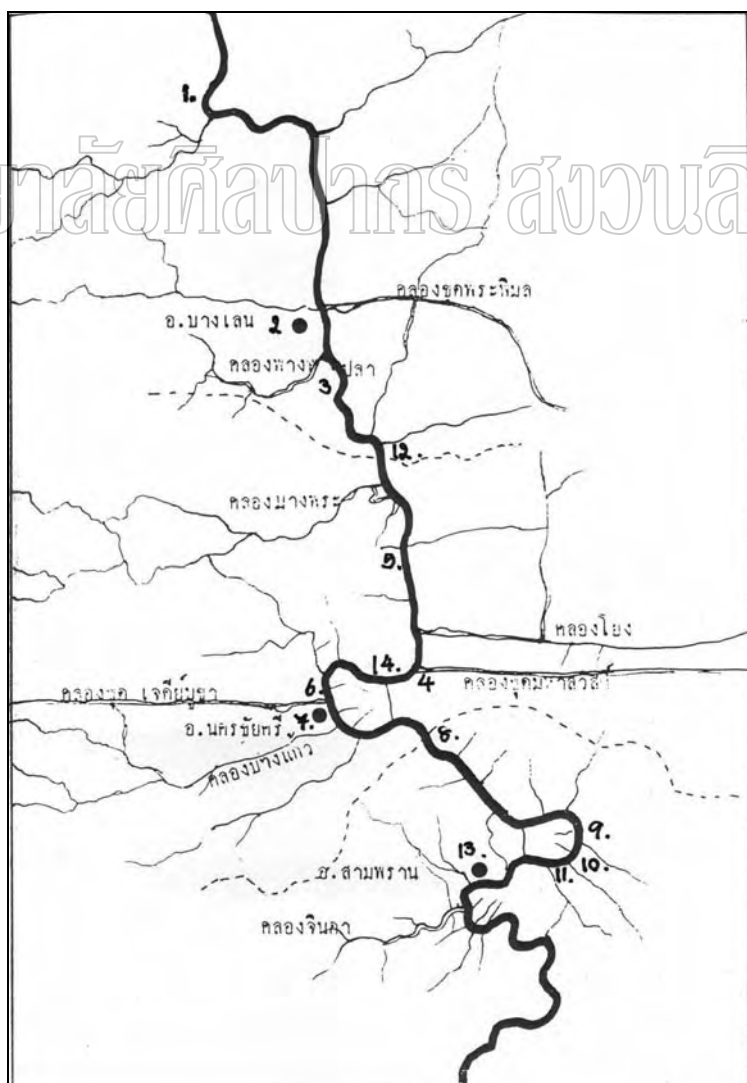
Part 1: General information about Don Wai River Market

1. General background of community settlement in Nakhon Pathom

According to an important notion in cultural anthropology that culture gradually evolves from the ways of which human beings adapt themselves to the surrounding environments; so, it may be very useful before studying details about Don Wai River Market to know about its geographical and historical background. This market is located in Nakhon Pathom in the central region of Thailand. This province has a long historical background tracing back to the Dhavaravadi Kingdom. Evidence from Chinese archives shows the population settlement of the kingdom between Burma and Khmer Kingdom in 607 A.D. Moreover, several historic archaeological remains such as Buddha images are found here also. The prosperity of Nakhon Pathom continued gradually and became the important inner town of the kingdom in Ayutthaya and Rattanakosin period. Its main general geography consists of many river basins attaching to Tha Chin or Nakhon Chaisri River. This river separates into many canals that have attracted a lot of population settlement along the river banks and canals. Furthermore, these communities also benefit from the fertility of the basin soil that is very helpful for agriculture such as rice and fruit farming.

From its total area of 2,168.37 kilometres squares, Nakhon Pathom is divided into seven districts consisting of Muang, Nakhon Chaisri, Sam Pran, Don Tume, Kampaengsaen, Bang Len and Buddhamonthol. There are a lot of ethnic groups making up the population in Nakhon Pathom other than Thai people; for example, Khmer, Laotian, Mon, Hindu, Chinese and Thai Song living scattering in some districts. In the past, Nakhon Chaisri River played the most important role as the

transportation means, and thus it was found that communities often emerged along the riverside and canal. Furthermore, there are some remarkable local markets near the river that existed until the present time such as Bang Len Market and Lum Phaya Market in Bang Len district. Nakhon Chaisri Market in Nakhon Chaisri district and also Don Wai River Market in Sam Pran Market. In this case, a map showing locations of local market along Nakhon Chaisri River bank is illustrated below. However, because of a rapid expansion of road construction, the role of rivers as a means of transportation began to decrease sharply or was limited to merely conveying and loading goods such as rice and sand. Even though the role of rivers as transportation means is decreasing, the river's roles as a means for developing tourism is happening at the same time, which we will discuss in the next chapter.



Names of the local markets

- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Bang Luang Market | 2. Bang Len Market |
| 3. Bang Pla Market | 4. Ngyu Rai Market |
| 5. Huay Plu Market | 6. Ton Son Market |
| 7. Tha Na Market | 8. Bang Keaw Market |
| 9. Don Wai Market | 10. Tha Pood Market |
| 11. Rai Khing Market | 12. Lum Phaya Market |
| 13. Sam Pran Market | 14. Klang Ku Wiang Market |

Figure 2: A map of Nakhon Chaisri River, canals and local markets

ที่มา: นุกูล ชมพูนิช, *วัฒนธรรมลุ่มแม่น้ำนครชัยศรี* (กรุงเทพมหานคร: โรงพิมพ์การศาสนา, 2544) 119.

2. Geographical and historical backgrounds of Don Wai River Market

Don Wai River Market is one of the popular local markets at present located in Bang Kratok sub-district (the name means the land with loud sound of happiness and joyfulness during the festival) in Sam Pran district (which means three brave hunters). During the weekends, many visitors come to enjoy shopping and buying unique local products such as food and desserts (Although there has never been a survey, it is believed that there would be over thousands of visitors coming to the market during the weekend and this number may double or triple during the special occasions such as New Year's Day or Songkran Festival). Perhaps the most important attraction drawing visitors to this market is the uniqueness of the local identity of the community expressed in the cultural fabric of the market and also in the relationship between the residents, way of lives and the river. Another attracting factor of the market comes from its simple and local Thai architectural style that facilitates shopping. Walking through the market, the visitors can enjoy with many kinds of products from a flea market located in the area of the temple, which is a symbol of the entrance to the market. Next to this is a long row of traditional-style wooden shop-houses attached directly to the river bank with 10 – 12 piers. These shop-houses are also used for both

commercial and residential purposes. In addition to these wooden shop-houses, the area of the market has been extended increasingly from wooden shop-houses into vegetables and fruits market and rental bazaars around the areas nearby the temple and school. Besides, there is a Chinese goddess shrine located at the back of the market to imply its Chinese trait also.

Considering the historical context of Don Wai River Market, we can see that the existence of the market comes mainly from cohesiveness of the community residents and effectiveness of the local authorities. A historical background of the market can be traced back about one hundred years ago during the reign of King Rama VI. Previously, the main area around the market used to be a large rice field. At that time, a community still had a small number of residents who typically earned their livings mostly on fruit and rice farming. The main centre of activities in the community was the Buddhist temple after which the market was named. It was built in 1807 with support from the abbot named Puk and the cooperation of the local residents. After the first abbot passed away, the latter abbots also had many great contributions to the local community such as renovating the temple, and also developing the community and the market as well. However, the market in this early stage was quite small and did not have many shops like at present because its target customers were the local residents in the community. Moreover, most families already had capacity to sustain themselves such as growing rice or fruits; consequently, they only came to the market to buy groceries and there was less necessity for them to go to the market so often.

After that, the market began to emerge when more people came from other provinces to work as labourers in the rice field. More kinds of goods and services were made to meet the needs of new groups of consumers such as food shops and retail shops. The market became more popular during The World War II because of the development of transportation along the river side and functioned as a main station for conveying groceries, agricultural products and construction materials. At present, some evidence related to that time can still be observed such as the old warehouses near the river bank. Meanwhile, more infrastructure systems especially road construction and transportation services were built because of the government

policy to develop the rural area. This was the first turning point of change toward the community fabric. As the community became much developed and the number of residents increased, some people tended to move their careers from agriculture to other fields such as opening a grocery or food stall in the light of more profits and income for their families.

The importance of the river as a mean of transportation became less after World War II when a lot of roads were more constructed. By building roads, it meant that a local community also had a new chance to contact or interact with the outside social groups and then led to an exposure of the community as well. This also implied that a market was less important when people could go out to buy some goods by using the cars and other vehicles instead. Moreover, when it came that a lot of areas of rice fields had to be changed into roads, some workers began to move out from the community to find other workplaces that made the situation and existence of Don Wai River Market worse. At that time, little effort was made to solve the problems even many people knew that the market would have ended if the situation had continued. To make the things worse, the popularity of neighbouring Rai Khing Temple, which was broadly known for the sacred and charismatic Buddha image, drew a lot of visitors there, especially after the new concrete road to the temple was built. According to the elder resident near Don Wai River Market, that was the hardest time since the market was built. Many shops and stalls were closed due to lacking of customers, some of merchants even moved to open their shops at Rai Khing Market.

Due to a period of decline happened to the market since 1957, the temple also lacked good maintenance and declined gradually, as well the traditional wooden shop-houses of the market; no additional building were built or repaired, and the shop-houses were mainly used for residential purposes. The situation continued for many ten years until the abbot The of Don Wai Temple called for awareness and cooperation among the local residents and local authorities to refresh the temple and the river market. Then an integrating plan to recover and promote the local community was made mainly by the residents and with support from the government authorities. Finally, it was agreed the community would revitalise the market again by promoting it for cultural tourism as a source of local food and products; in fact, there was several

local products especially food and desserts that had been already known for others as they could be found and bought only in this market.

After the plan was launched in 1997, the development plan of the temple and market received financial support from the donation and help from everyone in the community. For example, the land owner of the market reduced the rental prices for merchants to persuade and draw them back to the market or the local authority brought the products to promote at other areas. It was quite fortunate that the development plan was very successful. This results in the number of more visitors from the neighbourhood areas and provinces coming to the markets that increase gradually each year. The new face of Don Wai River Market was broadly known especially after the columnist of *Thairath*, the most popular tabloid newspaper in Thailand, wrote his impression on the magnificent and tranquil atmosphere and delicious food and desserts in his article just over ten years ago.

In terms of current status, the market has been generally known among visitors especially those from Bangkok who find this market is easy for accessible because of the short distant and convenient roads. Besides, the popularity and development of the market contributes it unique forms that it can expand itself gradually and seems to be at positive direction in the future. This seems to be a surprising aspect because except from Don Wai River Market, other local market in Nakhon Pathom and other provinces in Central region of Thailand are facing great problems treating to their existence due to the rise of modern superstores. This gives it quite an interesting place for studying of the method of heritage management and cooperation of preservation among several stakeholders relating the market context.

At present, Bang Kratuk sub-district in which Don Wai River Market is located occupies an area of 12.847 squares kilometres or 8,029.38 Rai in Thai language. It has about 7,366 residents comprising 3,569 males and 3,797 females in eight villages under the control of an autonomous local authority. The original residents in the community include Thai and Chinese-Thai people who migrated afterwards to the community about hundred years ago. Nowadays, the market is considered as a centre of activities in the community and also contributed a programme to the outside such as

vocational training for interested people and community development programme. The market itself consists of about 495 shops (most of them sell food, desserts and beverages) according to four areas owned by the temple, school and private property:

1. The area around Don Wai Temple is the place for vegetables and fruits stalls where visitors can also show respect to the Lord Buddha and make merit with the temple
2. The area around the playground of the school is used for a lot of food stalls and flea market in the weekend and also with food shops on rafts
3. The area of original market area is the most remarkable highlight of the market where visitors can walk through the local wooden shop-houses and find out many fine products
4. The area around the Chinese Goddess Shrine is the new extended area of the market which has many kind of food and opens for private rental (at which the new commercial building are being built)

For further understanding, a map below illustrates a location of Don Wai community including the market, the temple, the school and residential houses.

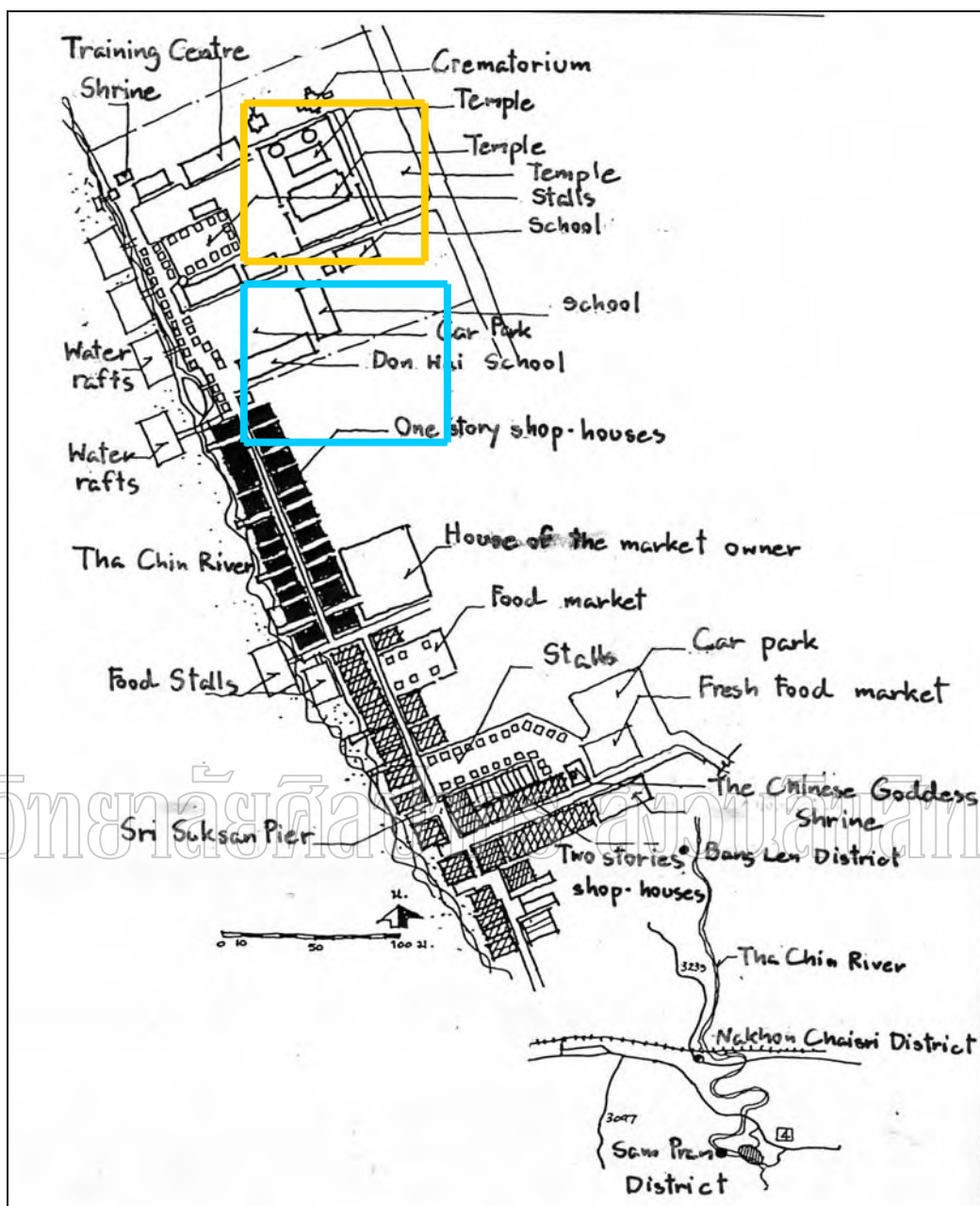


Figure 3: A map of Don Wai River Market

ที่มา: อรศิริ ปาณินท์ และ สมคิด จิระทัศน์กุล, เรือนค้าขายพื้นถิ่นในชุมชนเมือง: ชุดโครงการความหลากหลายของวัฒนธรรมภาคกลาง (กรุงเทพมหานคร: เจ. พีรพันธ์, 2544) 249.

3. Origin of the local market in Don Wai Community

Considering the historical background of Don Wai River Market, it is quite obvious that the geographical location plays an important role in an origin of the

market. Furthermore, an emergence and development of the local market also relates with the daily activities of the residents in the area too. In the past, most local markets were typically founded at the location next to the river or canals banks, which were popularly used as transportation means for both people and goods. In addition to the locations, another important factor enables the emerging and developing of local market is a role of immigrating ethnic people such as Chinese, Mon and Khmer especially Chinese people. Formerly, Chinese people migrated from Southern part of China to Nakhon Pathom for earning their livings such as vendors trading the agricultural products along the river sides and usually settled in their boats at the certain river banks or piers. In addition to selling goods, they would work as labours or open small shops such as coffee stalls or groceries and would eventually assimilate with Thai culture and integrating themselves by marriage with Thai people.

When these Chinese people became richer, they would establish their own businesses such as rice mills and trade stations that led to an increasing of economic exchange activities along the river. When economic activities nearby the riverside were not convenient, then it came to be a land market attached to the river sides. In the early stage, these might be not held as permanent markets but typically flea markets where the sellers and buyers met one another on every fifteen days or a month. After that, when economic activities became important requirements, flea markets would change to be permanent local markets since that time. From this point of view, it can be assumed that the factors relating with an emergence of local market relate with these following:

1. Water transportation
2. Accessibility to the market (both by land and river)
3. The density of population around the area and the neighbourhood
4. Variety of local products used for trading

The other important thing making the uniqueness of local market is a relationship between contexts of market with the people's ways of lives. It usually seems that most of pioneering Chinese families are the richest residents in the

communities and become the main actors in developing and expanding the market like the family of land owner in Don Wai River Market. In addition to the economic roles, these people also contribute their cultural identities to the local community from their strong needs to maintain their respectful culture. In Don Wai River Market, the existence of the Chinese Goddess Shrine, Chinese spirits houses in many shop-houses and other yearly religious activities such as Chinese New Year Day are the most appropriate illustrations for the survivals of Chinese culture based deeply in minds of the residents. Every year, there is a religious rite for worshipping gods and goddesses with Chinese operas, which is the greatest festival of the market in each year.

In addition to the dominating Chinese customs, there is also a variety of practices following out of Thai culture. These include religious activities held at the temple, such as making merits and Buddhist monk ordination, which is popular among Chinese residents as well. Supernatural and beliefs about spirits still exist and are practiced among local residents. However, there is no conflict between these beliefs; moreover, they can integrate very well with people's ways of lives because the practitioners regard these things as good fates that will make to success in their lives, jobs and health. These beliefs and practices are transferred from generations to generations that can last very long time and can be regarded as intangible heritage of the community.

The same applies also to beliefs and religious practices, and consequently the daily lives of local residents in Don Wai River Market have not changed much since the former time; indeed, many people still do the same activities in the past. In this case, it can be noted that ways of lives in the rural areas are quite different to those in urban areas because daily living cycles continue through twenty hour a day with activities repeated every day at the same time and in the same place, such as the following:

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 4.00 – 5.00 A.M. | Preparation for opening such as checking stocks or arranging display shelves |
| 5.00 – 8.30 A.M | Selling and buying activities at fresh food morning market or flea market (the prime time of the market) |

8.30 A.M – 3.00 P.M.	Selling and buying activities at fresh food market from late morning until afternoon
3.00 – 9.00 P.M.	Selling and buying activities at food shops and groceries
9.00 P.M. – 4 A.M.	Relax time for taking rest

In the case of shop-houses, there will be little difference in activities with the fresh market because the shops will open at 8.30 A.M. and close at 6.00 P.M. After that, the shop-owner will clear the stalls in front of the shop and take a rest such as chatting with neighbours or taking a walk. Moreover, there is a very tight relationship between each household because each shop-house are attached to one another and have a small pavements in the middle (just about three metres), so it lets good chances to interact with other people in warm and intimate atmosphere. Another important concern for this market is that everyone can share the ownership of the property in the community together such as pavements and piers. This social cooperation and solidarity can contribute many benefits; for example, sympathy and intimacy among the residents and flexibility and compromising in space usages in order to suit the needs of the community.

An important factor enabling the dynamic of local market is activity of merchandising products. This is a main pull factor drawing almost residents in the community to join and exchange their products with one another. In this case, each local market usually has its own 'unique' products as the results from each of folk wisdom and it is these products that make difference and distinctiveness between the markets. In case of Don Wai River Market, the famous products well-known for others are Chinese-styled ducks, Barbs in salty soup and unique taste Thai desserts. In addition to these original products made by the community itself, the market also acts as a station for vendors to drop their products they trade along Nakhon Chaisri River. Thus, it is quite common to find other products from other places too. However, due to some changes happening in the transportation system within the last ten years and increasing of main roads and streets, the trading route along the river side may be less important as in the past, but some trading activities still exist in some small canals also.

Conclusion, it can be stated that the transportation system especially those done along the river sides and canals are the significant factors affecting the dynamic existence of economic factors in the local community market so much. Moreover, supportive factors for existence of local market are depended on these three factors as followings:

1. The features of products in the local areas
2. Products from other sources by which transferred along the river
3. Products from other sources that are conveyed by roads and streets to the market

Above all, the settlement and location of the local community market make Don Wai River Market the best example of relationship between vernacular architectural styles and the people's ways of lives. It can be seen that most local markets in the Central region of Thailand usually have common architectural styles focusing especially on simplicity and solidarity in response to the daily lives such as their shapes, materials, spatial usages and also include folk wisdoms relating with the accommodations. In the work of Panin (2001) an evolutionary stages of the local market is stated as follow:

1. The earliest stage of the local market evolves from the boat piers that are used as stations for products. After that, the market began to appear in simple style. This may be occur as stalls and bazaars that will later aggregated to be an occasional flea market
2. When the flea market is more well-known among the residents in the nearby neighbourhood, it will be transformed into the fresh food market where more goods and products are available. Typically the fresh food markets are simply built on the ground with thatched roofs to prevent the sunlight and rain. When time goes by, they will be changed into zinc or ceramic tiles to suit for more permanent use. At this stage; however, the activities in the market usually takes place only at time when goods and products are delivered here by the merchants or vendors

3. This is the stage of permanent market that has the continuity of activities all days. Apart from the market itself, compounds of shop-houses are built attached to the market as residential areas and warehouses. Furthermore, there are more increasing in kinds of shop such as groceries, food shops, coffee shops or barbers. Main structures of the market are made of wood in two stories attached by the shop-houses in the similar style of the market

Another interesting aspect about the local community market is the systematic and appropriate way in which spatial arrangements have been made that suit the various kinds of market activities. The market is not only allocated mainly for selling products but also for providing enough spaces for residential purposes and other activities. This moderate calculation indeed contributes to benefits of saving in building materials and spaces. Moreover, the vernacular architectural style of Don Wai River Market also represents the folk wisdoms that are adapted to suit the livings of residents, such as the structure of wooden shop-houses with high roofs are designed specifically to help ventilating heat and facilitating air flow throughout the buildings. Furthermore, selection of timber as main construction material also benefit in decreasing the temperature in the buildings, especially for those located in such a temperate area like this community.



Figure 4: The high roof and wooden structure is commonly used in Don Wai River Market for ventilating heat and providing air flow throughout the day, especially in the hot and sunny day during summertime

In summary, it can be assumed that there are many factors making a lot of differences between the local community markets and modern department stores as shown below:

1. A relationship and uniformity of the local market toward its surrounding environments and locations
2. The main goods and products among each markets
3. People's ways of lives in each areas
4. Different architectural style compared with the modern department store
5. The continuity of socio-cultural identity existing until at present

Thus, they are these differences that make the distinction and reputation of Don Wai River Market. From the small bazaars near the river developed in the past, the market is gradually expanded every year and this results in more kinds of products available there. From the survey and observation conducted for this dissertation, it is shown that the new market area has extended along the river side. The new market includes the rental area for food stalls and flea market, bazaars and also the new three-storied commercial buildings that have already been finished. This rapid change will have a direct effect on heritage values of the places and sometimes environmental problems due to increasing of food shops. These impacts will be discussed in the next section.

Part 2: Significance Assessment of the Cultural Values of Don Wai River Market

To understand how cultural heritage management and preservation is important to the fabric of the cultural setting in Don Wai River Market, it is necessary to look at the cultural significance of the place and its setting. This includes the relationship between the market itself, the community, temple and school, which contributes to the formation of a unique townscape. According to the Burra Charter, the well-known code formulated by Australia ICOMOS on how cultural heritage should be managed appropriately, the cultural significance of the place can be categorised into four types of values – aesthetic, historic, scientific and social. Thus, this part will assess the significance of the cultural heritage setting in the market context, including both

tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and also how the community residents become involved in a management process to maintain the identified cultural values.

1. Tangible cultural heritage in Don Wai River Market and its significance assessment

The obvious tangible heritage of Don Wai River Market is a compound of groups of wooden traditional shop-houses that are the main centre of the market and also includes an area in front of and behind the market that is used as rental spaces for bazaars and food stalls. For many years now, the market has been gradually expanding its spatial usage, especially the expansion of rental bazaars, food stalls and parking lots into the area of the temple and school by renting the additional land, then providing the visitors with more spaces for shopping and buying products. However, the most attractive highlight of the market is the two compounds of wooden shop-houses where the popular local foods, especially the original desserts, are sold.

In the past, an emergence of the market started on the bank of Nakhon Chaisri River or Tha Chin River, which was the most important trading route for agricultural products especially rice and other heavy products. In the early years, the development and expansion of the market was led mainly by Chinese people who were pioneers and founders of the market. The market at its beginning stage was built in form of long and parallel rows of wooden shop-houses attached along side of the river bank. The most interesting characteristics of this group of shop-houses are that their inner parts were built out of land into the water. Each block of shop-houses usually has its own walkway connecting to the river bank in order to use as a pier for loading or shipping products from the freighters. Moreover, wood that was the main construction structure for the market still remains in good condition at present because of an effective air flow system that can lessen a risk of the structure damages.

The market can be sub-divided into three parts according to the time of construction. Firstly, groups of shop-houses consisting of parallel one-storied wooden shop-houses connected together with main walkway were built in simple vernacular style nearby the school area. Above the joint walkway was a big roof running from the entrance through the end of shop-houses. In this case, local wisdoms play important

roles in relation with the structure of construction to facilitate the residents, especially the air flow system. Because of the selection of wood as main construction material and a high-roofed structure of the shop-houses, the internal temperatures and humidity levels are reduced during the daytime. These features also provide a path for wind flow at night.

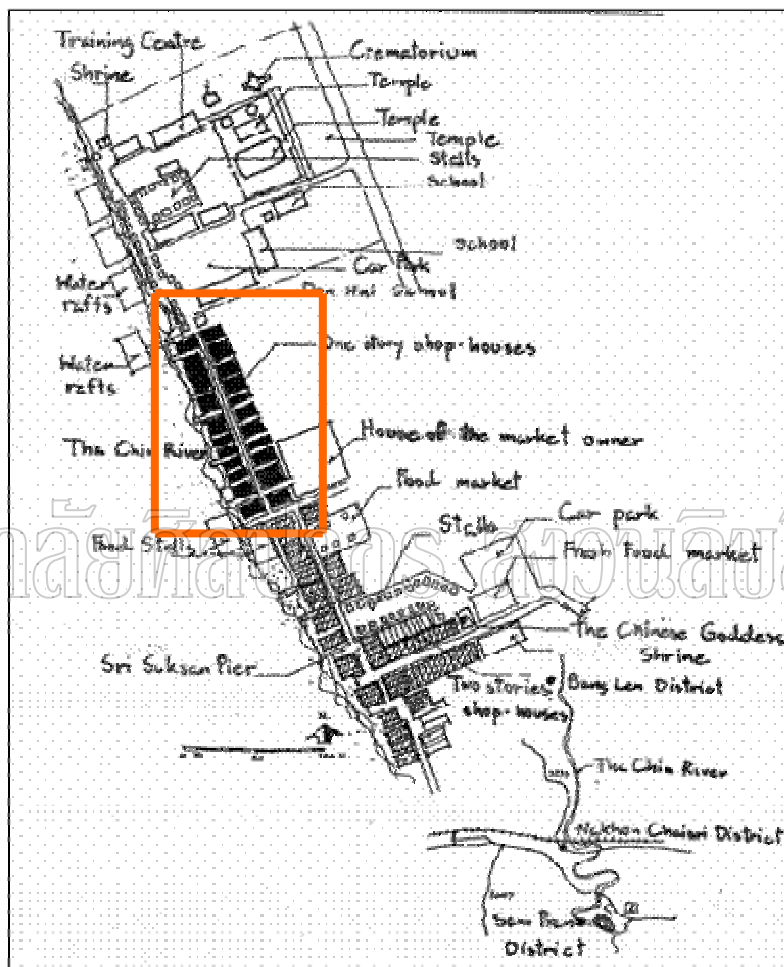


Figure 5: A map shows a stage of expansion in Don Wai River Market. Blocks painted in black signify the first compounds of traditional wooden shop-houses which were built at first as the market was founded next to the river bank

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In spite of its one story, the shop-houses can provide enough space to serve the different usage of residents both for residential and commercial. My survey and observation show that almost all shop-houses in this section are used for selling many

kinds of food, desserts and groceries due to the development of tourism to the market. Moreover, the original local products that make popularity to this market are sold here and it attracts a lot of visitors to come at the weekends. The movable stalls for selling products are usually built in front of the shop-houses attached to the walkway and the inner part of shop-houses is used as a house or warehouse. Among the shop-houses attached to the river bank, there are also rafts that are built on the river bank to serve as food shops where the visitors can relax and see a beautiful scene of Nakhon Chaisri River and the opposite side of the river that is still an original fruit orchard.

Many families who are the owners of the shop-houses still live here due to convenience of doing their businesses. This includes the market owner whose house was built in this area. Some of the shop-houses are used only for shops and warehouses in cases where the occupants, after many years of success in their business, move to live in the bigger modern-styled houses recently built not far from the market. Moreover, they still work here and pay high respect with these shop-houses as they are the source for their income and wealthy. This kind of thinking also relates with career ethics of Chinese people that they must pay the highest respect to places that they started doing their business. Another interesting aspect about the close intimacy between the residents and their community lies into the fact that there are very few people who permanently leave the community to other places.

The second group of shop-houses was built along side of the river bank south of the previous ones to serve more customers. They were wooden shop-houses with two stories that were built in response to the new concrete roads that represented a new means of transportation replacing the river. These two-storied shop-houses are more useful than previous ones about their availability of spaces. According to this architectural style, all spaces on the first floor are used for the shop's area with little space for a stair to the second floor. Also, there is an additional balcony on the second floor used for leaving clothes to dry and also for providing shade for the ground floor. Moreover, there are a few changes of architectural style between these two groups of shop-houses because they can function very well and suit the ways of life of the residents. Such changes occurring in the second phase shop-houses include increasing

in size of buildings and use of additional material like zinc roof that can help in reducing the total weight of the buildings.

Anyway, there are some interesting aspects about the expansion of the shop-houses in the second phase. Although most of shop-houses are used as shops and grocery stores, most visitors still preferred to choose and buy products sold in the first phase of shop-houses where original community food and desserts were available. So, they were less used and sometimes abandoned by the owners who then moved to do their business at a fresh food market and food stalls built later on because it can be easily accessed and seen by the visitors and tourists. As a result of this, the second shop-houses were used mainly for residential purposes or warehouses with few grocery stores are still opening for community residents.

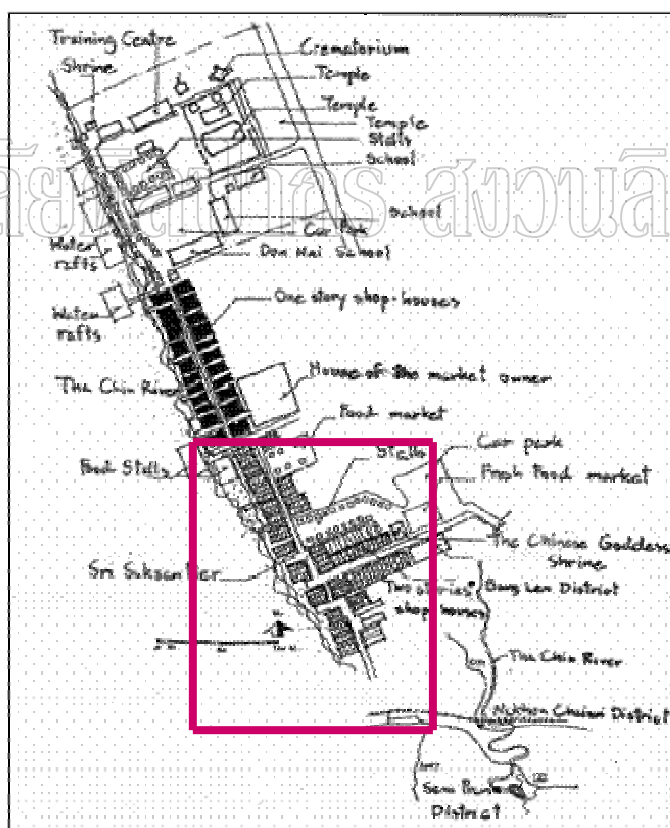


Figure 6: The second stage of expansion in Don Wai River Market illustrates in blocks painted in stripe to signify the latter compounds of wooden shop-houses which were built as the numbers of residents and shop-houses became increased

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Then, in the third phase, a series of buildings were recently erected that are very different from and strange compared with the previous vernacular-styled shop-house. These new buildings were an attempt to meet the needs of a lot of visitors coming to the market. They included a fresh food market, new food stalls and bazaars. This expanding area is prepared for renting from outside merchants. In some case, even a local resident who lives in the inner side of the shop-houses would rent a space for selling products because it can be easily accessed and seen by the visitors and tourists. This new area was built next to the parking lot in a very simple style and used less wood as construction material because it was more expensive at present. The main structure of the extending area usually consists of concrete ground and zinc roofs to provide enough spaces for market usage. In this new area, we may see more variety kinds of products from outside sellers who commute from other places such as Bangkok and nearby provinces everyday and especially at the weekend when the largest numbers of tourists come.

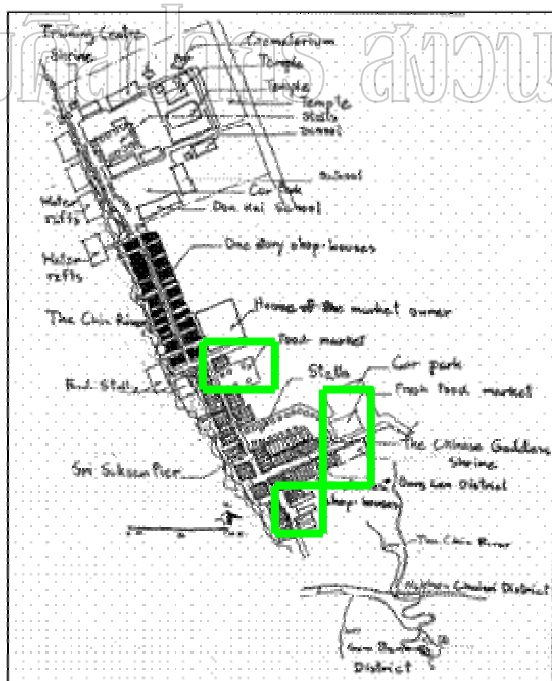


Figure 7: The third stage of expansion in Don Wai River Market illustrates in blocks painted in white below groups of two-storied shop-houses and include the fresh food market and new commercial buildings.

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Although it looks like that, by extending the new area for the bazaars and food stalls, the uniqueness of original products in the market might be affected, but a positive aspect appears to be that the market may become a centre of famous products from other sources. Visitors will be able to buy local Don Wai products, but also delicious chilli paste from the north provinces or meat sausages from the northeast provinces too. Moreover, a return of much income is an adequate motivation for the merchants and sellers to thrive for such high rental prices or travel very long distance from their home to sell the products at this market. Moreover, due to the positive trend of customers' feedback, there is a continual effort to expand the area of the market by building the new commercial buildings nearby the fresh food market. When completely finished, these new buildings are expected to respond for both residential and commercial purposes for the residents.

At present, the development and expansion of Don Wai River Market continues gradually. Even though some parts or areas of the market have begun to decline, a healthy financial basis is a critical factor allowing its existence and the financial situation seems to be still progressing. In this case, although there has not ever been a formal survey on an increase of income among the whole households in the community, at least almost residents who work as vendors at the market insist that they can gain much more income than in the past after many tourists have come here. A statement from the vendor of Thai desserts is a good example for this case.

My family has made and sold Thai desserts since a time of my grandparents about thirty years ago. In the past, the income was not much but at least enough to sustain our family. I suppose one thousand baht a week was quite satisfying for us at that time. Until a period of market boom about seven or eight years ago, there was a dramatic change in our income when a lot of visitors came. Since then, the monthly income has begun to increase approximately one or two hundred thousand baht per week, especially during the long public holidays.

(Statement from Pisarn, a 40-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 17 January, 2005)

In addition to this, it is also found that most community residents have lived here for about fifty years and have confirmed their satisfaction with the townscape and conditions of living here and also guarantee not to move to other places. This confirmation shows such a remarkable aspect when comparing with existence of other local community markets where many changes are happening such as an invasion of modern commercial or a decline of the market themselves. Nevertheless, the recent expansion of the market by building concrete commercial buildings is having a major impact on the traditional fabric of the market and on the authenticity of the local settings. This needs to be discussed further.

According to cultural significance assessment that is the key step in the process of cultural heritage preservation, it can be assumed that the tangible heritage of Don Wai River Market (the whole market including groups of shop-houses, bazaars, piers and its surrounded settings) can contribute cultural significance to the community residents in many ways. First, the market shows a remarkable aesthetic value about an application of folk wisdom to design the structures of shop-houses so that they may suit the various usages and ways of life of the dwellers. The selection of wood as a main foundation of the shop-houses and the high roof structures facilitating air flow and balancing the temperature and humidity has already been mentioned. Furthermore, the shop-houses are designed to gain the maximum benefits for appropriate spatial usage for both residential and commercial purposes in a very simple and vernacular architectural style.

Next, in terms of historic value, the market is one of the best examples of living cultural heritage in Nakhon Pathom province and it is still lively at present, with a number of community residents who are willingly to live with the traditional heritage and try to develop it in the most suitable way. In this case, a historic value of the market lies in the fact that it is the most obvious evidence representing a successful and progressive development of the market from its past to present. Today, walking through a small walkway along Don Wai River Market may remind the visitors with a scene of authentic rural community and a relationship of river and people's ways of lives. At present, many traces from the past can be observed such as vernacular-styled shop-houses that are changed very little since their first beginning, original boat piers

that were used very frequently to load a lot of products from the river to the inland market, Don Wai Temple which was the most important cultural icon of the community or the Chinese Goddess Shrine that reflecting cultural integration between Thai and Chinese since in the past.

The other important aspect about the historic value of the market is that it reflects a process of inculturation or cultural learning process among the generations of community residents. By living here, the community residents would have a good opportunity to know who they and their ancestors are, how people lived their lives in the past and how important the market has been a framework in which the dynamics of this community unfolded. For the community residents, this is very beneficial in acknowledging and encouraging of recognition of cultural heritage significance and awareness of heritage preservation among the dwellers at the same time. However, the ultimate objective for cultural heritage management must come from a cooperation between any stakeholders involving; thus, an effective tool to acknowledge the visitors on historic value is required much at present.

Considering the scientific value, the market contributes much information for study and research in many different fields. First, its unique architectural style provides an inspiration in a study of architectural structure to apply for with a modern style today. Nowadays, a retrospective concept of classic architectural style is very popular among several real estate enterprises and consumers. Indeed, it is clearly shown that the structure of Traditional Thai house style can contribute much comfort for its resident due to an application of knowledge in architecture and construction to match with ways of living (Panin, 2001). As a result of this, the existing shop-houses and residential houses in Don Wai community are surely beneficial for a study like this, on the other hand, they are the proofs that traditional Thai house has the satisfying air flow system within its inside. Moreover, because the market and community has evolved and developed through many years, so we can observe changes occurring in each stages of development such as changes in material, construction plan or usage objectives also.

Finally, with regard to social value, which represents the awareness and pride of local residents toward their community, identity, this value may be seen as the basic background including every aspect of lives among the local residents. In this case, the market itself does not function only as a place to sell and buy goods and products, but it is an integration of social value from such social organisations and local residents that create a strong solidarity and community strength too. In a view of resident, the market is a place where cultural identity of the community is learnt and transformed for several generations, in other words, most of life cycle has to relate with the market. Moreover, the market originates local wisdom such as favourite local food and desserts that is proclaimed to be very unique and different to those from other sources and is the prominent pride of the community at the same time. It is this identity that makes popularity to the market and draws a lot of visitors here. At present, a confirmation from local residents not to move out and the heightened effort being carried out to preserve the market are the best proof that there is an existence of cultural heritage significance in this community.

In addition to this, another aspect of the social value of Don Wai community is that it also represents a sense of authenticity to eyes of the visitors. By getting here, the things that most visitors want to see or experience is sense of local community and local market atmosphere; for instance, wooden shop-houses, fresh food market, food stalls, fruit bazaars, local grocery stores, houses and boat piers. In addition to the market itself alone, there are other influencing social fabrics making sense of 'local community' such as a temple, school and village. The social and cultural fabric can contribute much sense of authenticity to the visitors who want to consume senses of locality that they hardly have in an urban fabric of the big city. In an aspect of the visitors, the market provides them with different experiences apart from those they are familiar with in their routine lives and it also helps them to relieve their depressing tension from work. However, there is less cultural heritage significance recognition and awareness among the visitors because most of them think they are still visitors and take less part in heritage preservation. So, a persuasion for cooperation in cultural heritage management of the market is necessary.

From the statement shown above, it can be assumed that much of cultural significance in tangible heritage of Don Wai River Market has still existed at present among the community residents. Passing and evolving for many decades, the market has its own value for the resident as a source of careers and income and also as an accommodation or birthplace for many people. Until present, the cultural of intangible heritage of the market has not been changed much. The compounds of wooden shop-houses are still maintained in good condition because they are used for both commercial and residential purposes and there is a continual repair of the shop-houses already led by the residents. However, whereas the authentic fabric of the market has not changed much from how it was in the past and there is also awareness of cultural significance among the local residents, what is obviously occurring is a development and expansion of new fabrics that do not belong ordinarily to the community such as rental bazaars and new commercial buildings. These new things might have a significant impact of an existence of the market in the future that it may lose sense of locality and turn to be a new commercial area. Then, a measure or method to control and manage this growth is needed to be discussed in the next chapter about the cooperation of community in cultural heritage management.

2. Intangible cultural heritage in Don Wai River Market and its significance assessment

In addition to the visible tangible heritage, intangible heritage is also important in providing value to the cultural context of such social settings. In this sense, culture means the sum of total of learnt beliefs, values and customs that serve to direct and determine the worldviews and behaviours of the members of a particular society and will be transferred from generation to generation. For example, we often see that most local communities have their unique culture that is presented through ways of lives, languages, custom, traditions and others. However, in this fast changing world today where communication, transportation and modernity damage the boundaries between the urban and local areas, many changes often occur when local culture is replaced by popular culture derived from the outside, especially from the urban area. Sometimes these changes happen so heavily that much of intangible cultural heritage of the community are damaged or lost forever.

At present, we often regard these kinds of changes as common incidences that are happening in many countries, especially among communities of local or indigenous people. Much traditional culture is changed or adapted to respond to the needs of visitors when tourism come into the community and brings an amount of income larger than what local people used to obtain from agriculture. Then, culture can be transformed and commodified in ways suited to the tourists such as cultural performance show, cultural centre, festivals and so on. These things will lead to questions about cultural representation and survival of the sense of authenticity; in other words, it is significant concern how tourist sites and people are represented to tourists and how this representation affects the community residents. To say this, representation is powerful because it evokes emotion and connects with the desire for aesthetic beauty and the 'authentic' other.

The most interesting aspect about the intangible cultural heritage and maybe its weak point is that it can easily quite be changed or added some kinds of meanings or values to attract the visitors. For example, we usually evidence that musical parades, pageant contest or extravagant shows are added as parts of the cultural events in many places whereas they have not existed anymore in the previous time. Moreover, this addition might be regarded more important and attractive for the visitors than the actual cultural meanings of such events. In fact, most tourists who come from urban centres want to see exotic cultures, and various agents get involved in the tourist trade play up the representation of people and culture to meet the desire because representation is the core of tourist promotion.

However, problems often take place when discussion is raised about whether the tourists actually experience something 'real' or 'faked'. If truth be told, those involved in representing the 'culture' or the 'past' have to be centrally concerned with the reproduction and communication of cultural meanings. Because the tourists certainly have less chance to get familiar with the local context, then misunderstanding of intangible heritage is quite possible when misrepresentation of culture is done by groups of people whose only interest is in gaining income from tourism. So, perhaps tourism is a potential factor affecting to a reconstruction of cultural meanings of local

culture and also threaten fragile social and cultural context and fabric of the local community.

In terms of the intangible cultural heritage, it defines the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community expressed by a group or individuals, and recognised as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity (UNESCO, 1998: 5). It also includes, among other elements, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts (UNESCO, 1998). In a context of Don Wai River Market, it can be assumed that the intangible heritage is the ways that people live their daily lives in the community context including all aspects in life cycle from birth to death. This must include a strong influence from Buddhism believe that is represented through religious rites and rituals, festivals and other activities too. Also, with the origins of early local residents as Chinese immigrant, much of traditions, beliefs and practices of local community residents illustrate much on Chinese influence such as a ceremony to worship The Chinese Goddess Shrine, a celebration on Chinese New Year's Days or Chinese Lent. To emphasise more on this matter, there is no such kind of cultural conflict between Thai and Chinese faith due to a well-integrated of two culture; maybe from cross cultural marriage since the previous time. So, the children born from this kind of marriage will be taught to learn about both Thai and Chinese culture, have still practiced their traditions and passed on to their offspring until present.

Considering with the intangible culture of Don Wai Community, we may find that culture can be expressed differently through daily lives and on special social events. In this case, significance of cultural value lies on the ways the local residents live their lives as usual or by the ways it used to be in the past. According to the previous section, we will see that the daily life cycle of the market dwellers are still quite the same of those belonged to their grandparents. Moreover, the community still has its own unique aspect of culture in spite of rapid changes are facing with the social and cultural fabrics. For the residents in the shop-houses, daily lives usually start in the early morning when shopkeepers prepare the shops ready for opening such as setting

up food stalls, displaying goods on shelves, cooking food and desserts while at the same time doing their house chores.

After that, most shop will be ready to open in the morning (fresh food stands and ready made food might be ready since 6.00 a.m.). Buying and selling activities at the market will continue all day until the late afternoon when shops will be cleaned and a preparation for tomorrow will begin. At present, the activities at the market are always lively due to a number of visitors coming to the market especially at the weekend and public holidays. At that time, the market will be so much crowded that there are not enough spaces for standing or walking on the walkways of the shop-houses. After passing through many years of rapid changes, these ways of life still exist although some of their contexts have been changed. For example, an introduction of new concrete road as a new transportation mean may lessen significance of the river, also with a relationship of people and river too.

In addition to the traditional ways of lives among the residents in Don Wai River Market context, intangible cultural heritage is also expressed in the local wisdom that is applied to many social fabrics of the community. This concept is quite common in an anthropological study where culture is seen as a kind of tool that humans themselves create to blend and adapt with the surrounding environment (Burns, 1999; Haviland, 1990). in the most appropriate way. So, when considering a community that is located in the central region of Thailand where the temperature is quite high in summer, then the architectural style of shop-houses and houses is designed to provide comfort to residents through the use of features such as the wooden structure, high roof and a free space for air flow. Moreover, the concept of construction follows an important rule about the most reasonable spatial usage in the buildings too. Thus, these features have a significant level of cultural heritage authenticity that merits protection.

Next, intangible cultural heritage which is very famous not only for neighbourhood areas but also to other provinces is the local products especially unique and delightful food and desserts. In fact, Nakhon Pathom is a well-known province for its delicious food for a long time. Primarily, with fame of favourite Thai food and after that from a Chinese influence derived from early Chinese immigrants. This resulted in

varieties kinds of food and desserts from now on. To exemplify some of these popular dishes, duck cooked in aroma Chinese soup under a brand 'Nai Nub' is one of the remarkable menus influenced by Chinese cuisine that is enlisted as the most popular dish for the visitors who come to Don Wai River Market and also regarded as favourite product of Nakhon Pathom province too. Another interesting famous dish is a kind of Thai desserts made from sweet palm fruit or 'Khanom Tal' by 'Pa Khai' that has its unique aroma and taste and it is usually bought by the visitors like souvenirs of visiting the market.

In addition to these examples, there are other local products that have resulted from local wisdom transferred across many generations of the community residents. At the early stage of the market, these food-sellers merely started their business from a small shop or stalls selling food and desserts to local residents and neighbourhood villages. After that, when the new concrete road was built and the market has become more well-known for other people from outside, the business has grown gradually too. Furthermore, the market has become more popular when it has been promoted in the newspaper and magazines and broadcast on television programme as the authentic local community not far from Bangkok and has varieties kinds of delicious and unique products. At present, a lot of shopkeepers even expand their business by opening shops in other areas and distribute their products for retailers to sell in Bangkok and nearby provinces as well.

It can be assumed that a sense of cultural authenticity in Don Wai River Market community is represented through the people's ways of lives and it is this fact that attracts a lot of visitors here to experience the sense of locality, tranquillity of the river community and unique kinds of products different form those in their daily lives. However, this does not mean that intangible heritage of the local community has not been changed after several stages of evolution. Because of a community development plan is determined as an important policy for the government, modernisation has been brought gradually into the original socio-cultural setting of the community and has contributed some kinds of changes afterward. First, due to an introduction of new concrete roads that facilitates a transportation, people become get used to travelling by cars and motorcycles rather than taking water routes as in the past. At present,

a number of residents commute daily to study and work outside the community especially among those who can afford much income usually send their children to study at bigger schools in the town area.

Moreover, a critical concern must be directed towards the influences of modernity that are impacting on cultural authenticity and sense of locality. To respond to the needs of tourists, we may see an effort to revitalise the past in order to attract the visitors such as a maintenance of local precincts as much as possible like they used to be in the past and provision of different experiences for the urban dwellers. By visiting here, at least the visitors can make sure that they will enjoy the atmosphere differs from what they have in supermarkets or department stores. To achieve on this objective; moreover, any other activities must be arranged to bring sense of locality experience from the visitors such as a boat trip along Nakhon Chaisri River of which the visitors can enjoy cruising on old ferries and see a beautiful scenes of traditional-styled houses, temples, rice mills, rafts and fruit orchards and buy local products from merchant rowing on their paddle boats.

Perhaps it can be argued that Don Wai River Market and its residents succeed to some extent in representing the cultural heritage of their community. The best proof for this case can result in a great number of visitors that are much increasing on the weekend and public holidays so that the market has to expand a new area for the parking lot. Nevertheless, this development does not contribute only positive benefits to the local residents; instead there is some cause for concern too about the future of the cultural heritage management in the local context and also existence of the market's sense of authenticity. Changes have happened as the result of modernisation and urbanisation processes that not only bring people from the outside into the community but also persuade the local residents to move away from the community or to travel and adopt outside ideas. Today, we may need about half an hour to ride a car from Don Wai community to the city of Nakhon Pathom and a little bit longer to go to Bangkok.

Then, when the distant is not the critical matter between the community and the outside, it is quite usual to see the community residents go for a shopping in a big and

modern superstore in the town or even to Bangkok. At present, more than half of the consumer products in the community come from outside and many new facilities are added into the original social setting. Moreover, by exposure the community to the public on the one hand leads to economic benefits, but on the other hand brings a sense of alienation to the community as well. In the past, like other rural communities, the community consisted of groups of people relating with the family bond or kinship, so that almost community members often know one another well as their parental relatives. However, the more the community is attractive for tourism, the more the strangers have been brought to the community, thus creating to sense of alienation among the local residents and the outsiders.

In fact, it did not take a long time for Don Wai River Market and its community to become more popular among outside people since it was written and sited in the famous column in the most popular newspaper. After that, so many visitors came to visit the market that the previous labour workforce was not enough to meet the demand for services from the customers. As a result of that, a lot of people from different parts of the country such as north-east region or north region and from neighbourhood countries such as Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos, have been hired as workers in the food shops and other service sections. During my survey for this dissertation, it was found that about eighty per cent or nine out of ten shops owners in the market hired outside labours as their shop assistants. As a result, this action can add more different groups of people in the community because these people typically rent houses for living not far from their workplaces. Nevertheless, they can live mostly in peace with the local residents and are quite willingly to live and work here as long as it can provide them with satisfying income, working conditions and accommodations.

To summarise some interesting ideas on both tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the context of market through its evolutionary stages, it is manifest that culture has its own way to survive according to different space and time frames. If we take a look at the precincts around the market including shop-houses, houses, piers and others, we find that the architectural fabrics of shop-houses have remained unchanged so much since the time they were built because they have still responded needs

of local community residents as accommodations and workplaces at the same time. According to the key map of the market previously shown at the beginning of this chapter, the number wooden shop-houses in the first and second phase have remained stable at present since they have not been destroyed or rebuilt in other forms of architectural styles. Furthermore, when a presentation of authentic experience in 'country and traditional life' becomes more prominent in tourism promotion, then this contributes in positive aspect in some way that the community has to emphasise on an importance of tangible heritage and preserve it for the future. However, problems may happen so soon when more new precincts were built into the authentic fabrics such as commercial buildings, rental bazaars or others regardless a compatibility among original and new contexts. Consequently, any kinds of impacts that might occur from these kinds of things might be assessed and controlled in the most appreciate ways by cooperation of community and others involving.

Apart from the tangible cultural heritage, much concern and effort are needed to be careful on preservation and protection of vulnerable and fragile intangible cultural heritage that is quite easily changed or damaged. In this case, the intangible tangible is represented much on the ways people live their daily lives that they have learnt many kinds of folk wisdom from their past generations. At present, a presentation of ways of lives is a main attraction for the urban visitors who want to see and experience sense of locality and scenes that would remind them with the romantic past. Indeed, intangible cultural heritage should be best represented when it is real and belongs to the ordinary socio-cultural contexts of the community. Nevertheless, ways of lives are now changing quite fast due to a rapid urbanisation process bringing modernity to the community and impacting on the market's tangible and intangible heritage.

Above all, the impacts from tourism development toward a local community fabric may arise from an idea of authenticity too. According to MacCannell (1973, 1976) all tourists seek authenticity represented by the genuine, worthwhile and spontaneous experience of travel, which is obviously focused on environmental or placed related experiences in the notion of authenticity. Nevertheless, later there was an argument on MacCannell explanation that authenticity can be achieved either

though environmental experiences or people-based experiences, or an interaction both factors. Then, it is this search for such authenticity that drives the tourists onto new and previously ‘unspoilt’ destinations. To present them as such, destinations are soon transformed into ‘sites’ and ‘attractions’, causing contradictions between conservation and change of destinations in the tourism development process. So, there are existing inherent contradictions between conservation and change associated with the process of heritage tourism development due to the fact that viable culture evolves through time.

Linking cultural heritage and tourism requires the standardisation of cultural heritage forms for tourist consumption via production of packaged goods and lifestyles out of a destination’s cultural heritage. This accelerates a destination’s social / cultural and economic changes, causes potential erosion of cultural heritage authenticity and makes any conservation strategies difficult to form and implement. Obviously, this dilemma between conservation and change is a critical issue that we need to resolve in the process of heritage tourism developments. In case of Don Wai River Market, this reveals a complex phenomenon. While the market has been promoted and then booming and bustling with a lot of visitors and other commercial activities, it might be criticised for lack of spontaneity and authenticity in representing the real local community spirit. An incompatibility between old and new fabrics in the context of market such as a construction of new commercial building nearby the ordinary wooden shop-houses is one of the remarkable examples at present.

Perhaps a major challenge for practising cultural heritage-based tourism is the existence of the inherent contradictions between conservation and change associated with the process of tourism development. Williams (1983) defined three broad categories of modern usage of the term ‘culture’ in terms of the way in which it is used:

- A general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development
- An indicative of a particular ‘way of live’
- The works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity

However, the history of tourism indicates that tourism industry has moved away from regarding culture as the process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic cultivation toward the last two categories to consider culture as a product (Richards, 1996: 261-283). It links the two meanings of culture – as process and as product – to regard culture as the product of individual group activities to which certain meanings are attached. This transformation of culture as process into culture as product mean that history has become a commodity called ‘cultural heritage’. In this sense, cultural industry can be considered as a threat to conservation because it produces empty commodities and the commodified cultural heritage can be shaped to meet political and economic rather than cultural ends. Considering with its primary benefits, maybe cultural heritage is taken for granted to generate more development and progress within its area by letting chances for tourism promotion regardless of such negative impacts that might occurs afterward.

Then, when the government and local authorities attempt much effort for cultural heritage management and preservation by promoting heritage tourism campaign in the hope that the tourists or visitors will recognise cultural value of places and necessity of heritage preservation, the central challenge to link cultural heritage and tourism is how to reconstruct the past at the present through interpretation in order to satisfy the needs of tourists consumption. According to Nuryanti (1996), involved in the challenge are series of issues such as ascribing meanings of past events, cross-cultural sensitivity, reconstruction techniques and conservation planning. Unfortunately, general evidences have shown that few visitors come to visit the local community in the light of experiencing the local cultural heritage although continual effort has been made to make the cultural heritage presentable to the visitors. When mentioning of Don Wai River Market, it is very obviously clear that the visitors come here for shopping, sightseeing, dining and enjoying themselves in the context of rural community. Moreover, it is this vibrant contemporary life of the people in the community that constitutes the central appeal for visitors of all tastes to consume.

To summarise, tourism development and promotion in Don Wai River Market and its community raises an issue about impacts of outside influences toward an ordinary fabrics of the local precincts. To say this, it is quite prominent that the local

community has its own cultural value of tangible and intangible heritage according to its fabrics. Furthermore, the market can be considered as a living heritage with the present residents who are living their daily lives with and recognising cultural significance of the place and try to preserve them because they regard the market as one part of their lives. Afterward, when modernisation and development has been generated into the community on order to increase the potential of the community to serve with the outside visitors and then bring amount of income in return. So, heritage tourism has been chosen to do according to a suitable surrounding environment of the market and community that can fulfil needs of urban visitors who seek for authentic experience of rural community and different feelings apart from the daily lives.

A strategy of heritage tourism in Don Wai River Market may emphasize on a genuine record of the past, a raw material for visitors to digest themselves. In this sense, experiencing authenticity is not whether the individual does or does not really have an authentic experience, but rather what endows his or her experience with authenticity in his or her own views. Thus, this may not guarantee that the visitors will understand cultural significance values of the places or see an importance of cultural heritage preservation. So, there are some interesting points on how local community should appropriately do for cultural heritage management especially about a topic of cultural representation. First, authenticity should be evaluated in terms of whose narrative heritage tourism presents and what this narrative has left out. An accurate narrative of the genuine lifestyles of the local residents may leave out conservation concerns and business opportunities; thus being neither the narrative of the people involved nor of the industry that makes heritage tourism possible.

Next, while many of the physical conditions can be restored to achieve a degree of constructed authenticity, ways of living can not be so easily represented. Therefore, when the government authorities seek to create a heritage tourism atmosphere evoking the past and reintroduces traditional activities, they will have to present a form of selective and possibly distorted authenticity that avoids, as much as possible, areas of contention and controversy over the dilemma of conservation and change. Moreover, they will also need to make the destination an appealing one for tourists or visitors to come to and spend money in by satisfying their needs for consumption. The associated

economic effects will benefit the industry whose support will make the conservation and renovation of cultural heritage financially sound, and eventually benefit the residents who would like to see the continuity and up-to-date representation of their cultural heritage in this new era.

Essentially, the inherent contradictions between conservation and change associated with tourism development constitute resources more than threats for heritage tourism. The resolution of the contradictions will place the government and local authority in the position of both promoter and regulator of cultural heritage conservation, while validating a community's awareness of the significance of the tourism industries as well as the legal rights of, and the responsibilities for protecting the resources crucial to the success of the heritage tourism. So, consideration of relationship between conservation, tourism and modernity is very important. Often it is because a cultural, historical or natural site has value to tourist development that it is spared from the greed of private capitalist enterprise or the modernising zeal of government authorities for development. For heritage tourism, it is necessary to keep a balance between tourist development and the local people's interest. From this perspective, it is important to promote tourism development concerning with conservation and with an involvement of local residents and ensuring that the development of tourism is beneficial to the communities.

The next section of this dissertation will discuss the importance of cultural heritage as cultural capital with its economic impact and community involvement in cultural heritage management and preservation and also explore the situation at present and the plans for future activities made by the community to meet a goal for heritage preservation.

Part 3: Cultural Heritage of Local Community as Cultural Capital and its Economic Aspect

To generate more understanding of cultural heritage significance, it is necessary to discuss the idea of cultural capital which might be very helpful in exploring the relationship between economics and culture and how culture can transform into a kind of capital for the community's and outsiders' use. In an

economic sense, cultural capital provides a way of presenting culture which enables both tangible and intangible manifestations of culture to be expressed as long-lasting stores of values and providers of benefits for individuals and groups. To distinguish cultural capital from ordinary economics assets, we need to look at the different sorts of value to which they give rise. Cultural capital gives rise to both cultural and economic value whereas ordinary capital provides only economic values.

Apart from the three conventional broad forms of capital in contemporary economic analysis consisting of physical capital (the stock of real goods such as plant, machines, buildings which contribute to the production of further goods), human capital (the embodiment of skills and experience in people that are considered as important as physical capital in producing output in the economy) and also natural capital (the stock of renewable and non-renewable resources provided by nature), cultural capital may be seen an asset that embodies, stores or provides cultural value in addition to whatever economic value it may possess (Featherstone, 1992; Throsby, 2001). Like the conventional forms, cultural capital still has its 'stock' and 'flow'. However, the stock of cultural capital typically refers to the quantity of such capital in existence at a given time, measured in terms of any appropriate unit of account such as physical quantities or an aggregate valuation. This capital stock gives rise over time to a flow of services which maybe consumed or used to produce further goods and services.

Cultural capital exists in two forms (Throsby, 2001). First, it maybe tangible, occurring in the form of buildings, locations, sites, precincts, artworks and so on, thus including tangible cultural heritage. Such capital may have much the same outward characteristics as physical or human-made capital. Like physical capital, it is created by human activity, lasts for a period of time, can decay if not maintained, gives rise to a flow of services over time, can increase through investment of current resources in its manufacture, can generally be bought and sold and has a financial value that could be measured (Throsby, 2001: 46). Its cultural value either as stock or flow could in turn be identified using the sorts of indicators or criteria of cultural value referred to the previous discussions. Secondly, cultural capital maybe intangible, occurring as intellectual capital in the form of ideas, practices, beliefs and values which are shared

by a group (Throsby, 2001: 47). This form of cultural capital exists also in the form of artworks such as music and literature and cultural performances and displays which occur as public goods. Like tangible cultural capital, the stock of intellectual capital can decay through negligence or can increase through new investment. Indeed, it gives rise to a flow of services over time. Both the maintenance of existing intellectual capital and the creation of new capital of this type require resources.

Considering the relationship between economic and cultural value in the context of cultural capital, we will find that tangible cultural capital such as historic town or local community may have economic value which derives simply from its physical existence as a building and irrespective of its cultural worth. But the economic value of the cultural asset is likely to be augmented, perhaps because of its cultural value. As a result of this, we can see a causal connection that cultural value may give rise to economic value. For example, people as consumers maybe willing to pay for the embodied cultural content of the asset by offering or paying for a price higher than that which they would offer for the physical entity alone. In other words, an authentic local community may embody 'pure' cultural value according to one or more of the scales proposed earlier and also have an economic value as an asset derived from both its physical and its cultural content. The asset value of other forms of tangible cultural capital would be construed similarly, although the significance of the elements may differ. For example, artworks such as handicrafts may derive much of their economic value from their cultural content since their purely physical worth is likely to be negligible (Throsby, 2001: 47).

Intangible heritage, on the other hand, has a different relationship between cultural and economic value. The stock of traditions, rites, beliefs or languages may have immense cultural value but no economic value since they can not be traded as assets, except in so far as rights to future earnings can be bought and sold ((Throsby, 2001: 47). In fact, it is really the flows of services to which these stocks give rise that yield both the cultural and economic value of the assets. Again, some part of the economic value of such flows exists in purely physical or mechanical terms as public goods demanded for purely economic reasons such as a usage of background music to generate more attention and attraction among audiences in cultural performances.

Conversely, the economic value of the flow of services from these cultural assets is likely to be extended in most of their uses as a result of their cultural worth. Subsequently, these considerations suggest that although cultural and economic values are independently determined, there is still a close relationship and significant influence between each other.

To apply the idea of cultural capital in this research, we need to pay attention to the transformation process of culture into the capital or, in other words, the presentation of local culture to respond to the needs of consumption. In this case, both tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the context of the market and community can be expressed as crucial attractions to draw the visitors to the site. In fact, the built fabric of the market and the community's intangible heritage, expressed through people's ways of lives, already have their own values. However, at present, these values are gradually challenged when a strategic use cultural meaning on 'authentic local community' is necessary for the community to transform 'culture' into 'capital'. Thus, the cultural elements in the community can be used for the visitor's consumption. Scenes of local market, traditional shop-houses or the river sides can be converted into capital in form of photographs or souvenirs, also with local products and ordinary ways of life. Eventually, an objective on conversion cultural capital will focus on a return in term of economic benefits to the community. Moreover, like in other business activities, it is necessary to invest in cultural capital to guarantee more benefits in the future, so it is quite imperative to manage and preserve the cultural heritage in the stage that can serve and respond consumption needs as long as it has been thought to provide benefits for local.

However, we must not think of cultural heritage as a benefit provider alone. At the same time we also have to decide and choose the most appropriate and sustainable ways to use the cultural capital of the community for the future and for people of next generations. In this sense, sustainable development can be defined as a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This notion can contribute much understanding in cultural heritage management and preservation because cultural capital exists as a source of cultural goods and services which provide benefits both

now and in the future. As individuals or as a society, we can allow cultural capital to deteriorate over time, we can maintain or augment it; in other words, we can manage it in a way that suits our individual or collective purpose. To serve this objective, important principles might emerge defining sustainability in its application to cultural capital.

First, the flow of cultural goods and services produced from cultural capital provides both material and non-material benefits for people as individuals and as members of society. Any means to identify the value of those benefits would be provided by the specification of economic and cultural value as their core components. A first criterion to judge sustainability is the production of 'material' benefits in the form of direct utility to consumers, deriving from these economic and cultural value sources. In addition to this, we may also identify 'non-material' benefits flowing from cultural capital. These are the wider public-good benefits accruing to the collective as a result of cultural capital that might be summarised as enhancements to the quality of life to which culture give rise (Throsby, 2001: 54).

Then, the next idea is what Throsby (2001: 54) refers to as 'intergenerational equity' or 'intertemporal distributive justice' by which he means fairness in the distribution of welfare, utility or resources between generations. Even though the principle involved in this concept can be applied to a relationship between any series of generations at any time, practical interest in it has focused primarily on the concern among those of us alive today for the well being of the future generations. In this case, intergenerational equity can be considered in relation to cultural capital because the stock of cultural capital is what we have inherited from our forebears and which we will hand on to future generations. Intertemporal equity issues arise in regard to access to that capital and to the products of that capital. When it comes to cultural capital, because of the critical difference between cultural and other forms of capital lying in its generation of cultural as well as economic value, the application of efficiency criteria to intertemporal investment decisions in cultural capital will be insufficient if the generation of only economic value is considered. The intergenerational equity has to do more with the moral or ethical obligation that might be assumed by the present generation on behalf of the future. In cultural terms, this means ensuring that future

generations are not denied access to cultural resources and are not deprived of the cultural underpinnings of their economic, social or cultural life, as a result of the heavy cultural heritage declination happened today.

Apart from intergenerational equity of cultural capital, intragenerational equity is another crucial principle asserting the rights of the present generations to fairness in access to cultural resources and to the benefits flowing from cultural capital viewed across social classes, income groups and so on. An idea of equity or fairness plays an important role in general economic and social policy, although they have become overshadowed in recent years as a result of preoccupations in policy-making with questions of economic efficiency. In fact, matters such as the distribution of cultural resources, access to cultural participation and a provision of cultural services for local community residents are all aspects of equity or fairness in the conduct of cultural life that may be overlooked in the pursuit of efficiency-related outcomes. Consequently, the principle of intragenerational equity requires attention to the questions whether sustainable use of cultural resources is to be achieved.

Next, maintenance of diversity is another important concept for the sustainability of cultural capital. The diversity of ideas, beliefs, traditions and values yield a flow of cultural services which is quite distinct from the service provided by the individual components. Similarly, diversity is an important attribute of a cultural capital particularly because it has the capacity to yield new capital formation. For instance, to the extent that creative works are inspired by the existing stock of cultural resources, a greater diversity of resources will lead to the creation of more varied and more culturally valuable artistic works in the future. Thus, looking for the ways to guarantee diversity is very important in maintaining cultural systems in any kinds of social settings.

Then, awareness of a precautionary principle should be emphasised so that decisions which may lead to irreversible change are approached with extreme caution and from a strongly risk-averse position because of the imponderability of the consequences of such decisions (Throsby, 2001: 57). At present, the destruction of an item of cultural capital may be a case of irreversible loss if the item is unique and

irreplaceable; in such a case the precautionary principle would appropriately be applied if the item were considered of sufficient value to warrant it. According to Throsby, the principle does not assert that irrevocable decisions are never to be taken in regard to cultural capital, but rather that it is appropriate to exercise a higher level of care in cases where irreversibility is involved, bearing in mind the other principles of sustainability which assist in determining the decision.

Finally, to guarantee the sustainability for the cultural capital belonged to the local community, it is very significant for maintenance of cultural systems and recognition of interdependence. In this respect it can be suggested that cultural capital makes a contribution to long term sustainability which is similar in principle to that of natural capital. It is understandable that natural ecosystems are essential to supporting the economy and the neglect of natural capital through overuse of exhaustible resources or unsustainable exploitation of renewable capital stocks may cause such systems to break down, with consequent loss of welfare and economic output. In this sense, a parallel proposition can be put in regard to cultural capital. As we will see at present, it becomes clearer that cultural 'ecosystems' underpin the operations of the real economy, affecting the ways people behave and the choices they make.

Similarly, negligence towards cultural capital by allowing cultural heritage to decline and deteriorate, by failing to sustain the cultural values that provide people with a sense of identity and by not undertaking the investment needed to maintain and increase the stock of both tangible and intangible cultural capital, will all place cultural system in trouble and may cause them to break down, with consequent loss of welfare and economic output. Consequently, this final principle is very important in drawing together the entire concept of sustainability when applied to cultural capital, providing an overall framework within which the other more specific principles can be seen to operate.

In conclusion, the concept of cultural capital might be very useful in understanding the close relationship between economic and cultural heritage. Consideration of heritage as cultural capital can provide the means of integrating the interests of conservationists, who are concerned with the protection of cultural value,

and economists, who look at heritage projects as problems of allocation of scarce resources between competing ends. Moreover, recognition of both economic and cultural value is essential if the two sides of this division are to be joined. Economic investment appraisal methods, geared particularly to assessment of non-market benefits, can tell us a lot about the value of heritage projects and can assist decision-makers enormously in their task. However, these are not the whole stories and an extension of the cost-benefit framework to accommodate the incorporation of cultural value seems possible in both theoretical and operational terms. It is quite apparent that a principle of sustainability is an important mean of finally integrating the economic and cultural assessment. We have necessarily to take these considerations into account if we are to develop and implement an effective conservation plan to guarantee the survival of the local heritage for the next generations.

Part 4: Community Involvement in Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation and Impacts from Tourism Development

Because rapid and vast changes from tourism development scheme and the urbanisation process are challenging the continued existence of local cultural heritage, careful cultural resource management planning has to be conducted that effectively engages the solidarity of the host community members and the cooperation of involved external agents. Indeed, close personal ties, intimate relationships and solidarity are very critical to the formation, maintenance and existence of the community structure. In a cultural anthropology approach, identification and analysis of the factors that create close personal ties and a basis of solidarity for cooperation and sustainable development are a primary issue of concern. One interesting aspect suggests that close personal ties are the products of shared culture and lifestyles. In fact, because a community has its own primary function to satisfy its members' needs, thus when local residents have similar cultural background, they would tend to identify with and help each other achieve their common goals. This relationship is cohesive due to the integrative forces of sharing the similar cultural background.

In Don Wai River Market community, the close relationship and social bonding that exist and the shared social organisations such as temples, schools and markets will

make it quite easy to generate awareness about and encouragement of cultural heritage management. This can be seen in many activities that will be outlined below. By the way, by making use of resource in the community context, it may be taken for granted that this will provide incentives for community members with one another and maintain solidarity as a 'positive sense of togetherness' (Wilkinson, 1986). Furthermore, the local communities also develop social norms to control their members. In this sense, the community functions both to satisfy members' needs and to influence members' behaviours. Thus, when such impacts take place in the community context, they may not only have an influence at the individual level but also on the sentiment of the individual toward the community. The community can influence its members, thereby strengthening interpersonal bonds and solidarity. Likewise, local residents may think they have an influence on the community, a belief that further enhances their sense of solidarity.

Besides, another important issue relates to the shared culture viewpoint and also the crucial approach to understand solidarity among group of people is the feeling of belonging and self-identity with others. In some case, we can see that the shared viewpoints are strengthened when the whole community has to experience changes happened from outside factors including modern development, urbanisation and tourism promotion. In other words, self-identification as a member of a community provides a sense of security. In reality, we can see that local members usually identify themselves as part of the community according to their relationship and intimacy with the socio-cultural settings. This is clearly seen, so find the statement from one of the elder resident in the community interviewed for this project:

My mother was an early resident who lived in this community with my grandparents for several decades ago. After she married to my father who lived in a nearby village, they began to open a small grocery store here since the market has not been big and popular like today. I and my family have lived here so long that we have a strong relationship with it as it is one part of our lives.

(Statement from a 65-year-old shopkeeper, 14 December, 2004)

In addition, Poplin (1979: 19) stated that ‘whatever psychological security and stability individuals enjoy come to them by virtue of their membership’. For local residents themselves, membership provides them emotional safety and reinforces a sense of belonging which is usually more highly valued in the traditional rural communities than in urban areas. In this sense, individuals use their community membership to protect themselves from threat. So, what the community choose to do is creating its own cultural identity in order to separate ‘we’ from ‘they’ or ‘insider’ from ‘outsider’. Indeed, to have and enjoy membership and resources belonging to the community means that personal investment from the residents in form of involvement is very necessary and considered as a key element. The degree of members’ involvement will determine the strength of personal ties. The more people invest or participate in their community, the more they share with one another, and the more emotionally committed they become, the stronger their identification and attachment to the community.

Incidentally, to decide which kinds and how cooperation and solidarity among local residents would be depends on several influential factors. Among them, tourism might be assumed as one of the most important factors because the impact of rural tourism on community solidarity is commonly associated with the potential conflict of interest in relation to decisions whether to develop tourism or not. If rural tourism is developed from outside the community, resistance and conflict may occur. Moreover, it seems likely that intrusion of a different culture on a local community may influence solidarity. Because tourism development brings tourists into a local community, the potential exists for one culture to intrude upon one another. If a local community loses its own culture, then residents could lose their shared identity with each other. Thus, the maintenance of personal ties and solidarity could be affected due to the loss of shared culture. Nevertheless, there are still some cases that the local communities cooperate together to survive the intrusion of tourists which is likely to happen in Don Wai River Market community where there is an effort to establish a process of cultural heritage management for the community.

Indeed, a strong intention and also goodwill of community cooperation is very much needed to maintain significant cultural survival as shown in several studies. For

instance, in a study of rural tourism in the Amish community of Pennsylvania, Buck (1978: 234) speculated that the gradual creation of a tourism industry has contributed to Amish culture vigour and personal strength. Siegel (1965: 205) also reported similar findings in his study of Taos Indians that the proliferation of intruding tourists created a 'nativistic movement' directed at cultural survival. Similarly, from a study of two Austrian villages, Meleghy, Preglau and Tafertshofer (1985: 181-99) provided an evidence to indicate that a gradual and limited development of rural tourism has the potential to ensure the survival of traditional rural community life and residents' identification with the community. Personal ties and community solidarity are being explored in relationship to rural tourism development. Some personal ties may survive and grow stronger, while others may weaken and perhaps disappear. However, it is expected that community solidarity will be influenced by tourism development and a relationship between these two things may need to be investigated.

Looking back at the relationship between tourism development and its impact on solidarity and cultural survival of the community in Don Wai River Market, we see that by its nature tourism brings outsiders into a local community. Some outsiders may eventually decide to move to the local community that once served as their tourist destination. This statement is obviously clear among the commuters from other areas who decide finally to do their business here after their visits. In this sense, a potential impact of rural tourism development is to transform a 'relatively homogeneous' rural community into and an 'urban and heterogeneous community' (Dogan, 1989: 216 – 36). Increased population due to immigration has brought other culture and value systems into the community which would lead it to be a multicultural community. After that, with varying experiences in lifestyles and social values, newcomers and old-timers may have divergent expectations regarding their community. Negatively, varying lifestyles and social values could cause disagreements between newcomers and old-timers regarded community responsibilities in the future.

However, whether or not there would be an internal conflict of cultural resource usage among the local residents, tourism development in rural communities has strong psychological impacts on residents' perception of their own town. At least, it is indicated that tourism development improves the residents' own images of the

townscapes. Indeed, residents are generally aware of the image created by the tourism industry of their town and the expectations that visitors have concerning the town's events and the residents' behaviours. In this sense, residents may try to fit their behaviours into their perception of tourists' images of them and their community. In addition to this, Boorstin (1987: 198) explained the development and influence of images in our present society. He mentioned images as having a self-fulfilling nature. By depicting an image as an instrumentality or means to some end, an image eventually became realised. A characteristic of images is their shared or social foundation which furnished images with powerful inducements for conformity. As Boorstin (1987: 192) stated that 'we have become thoroughly accustomed to the use of image as invitations to behaviour'.

In Don Wai community, the local residents seem sensitive towards the idealised images of the townscapes. Despite there are many kinds of problems that would affect the ordinary fabric of the community, most residents still have a conservative attitude regarding the authenticity of the town scene and want it to remain stable as it was in the past. In this case, even the newcomers of the community agree quite strongly with the old-timers about the negative impacts from modern development in the community. Moreover, these newcomers tend to become attached to and get familiar with the ordinary image of Don Wai community and thus would be quite sensitive to such kind of development that would compromise this image.

Consequently, it would be assumed that residents and tourists share a general perspective of the image of the community. This image has been created by tourists, residents and tourism developers. Many local residents reported receiving compliments from tourists that their small community is wonderful and worthwhile visiting. Compliments from outsiders can affect residents' perception of their own community and can ultimately influence their behaviour as well. The local residents reported that they seem generally satisfied and proud of Don Wai River Market community as being an ideal community in Nakhon Pathom and among a lot of outsiders from other areas. Additionally, they want to preserve this image and are willing to work hard to maintain it. In other words, the residents of Don Wai community appear to be reaffirming their ideal town image through their contact and awareness of tourists. This is much the

same conclusion as Buck (1978) reached concerning the intrusion of tourists in Amish communities and the tendency to reaffirm residents' traditional values and lifestyles.

In order to cope with the challenges that might generate impacts on the fabric of the local community, a firm interaction and social bond are likely to be made among the residents, by both old-timers and newcomers. A lot of activities are planned and carried to serve this goal such as a sport contest, anti-drug activity, healthy days including many local events such as Songkran Day (a celebration on the ordinary Thai New Year's day) and educational activities; for example, vocational training for small and medium entrepreneurs for the interested groups that are the continuing activities. In almost activities usually receive much attention and cooperation from the local residents at a satisfying level. This cooperation might result from both a shared culture and also from the outside driving forces. The expectations of tourists encourage residents to fill roles that befit an idealised image of the community. It is these everyday efforts of residents to accommodate tourists' expectations and behave in accordance with an ideal image that bind people together. In summary, the solidarity generated by the willingness of residents to work together to achieve the expected image of Don Wai community is an important force to integrate its local residents. Although all residents may not share the same cultural background, they cooperate with one another to reach the same goal.

The psycho-cultural perspective of community indicates that shared culture and psychological investment are two elements binding people together and maintain solidarity within a community context. However, there is another interesting aspect on a relationship between the old-timers and newcomers. When outsiders come and move into the local community, original residents view their community from a different perspective. The community is not their own, and original residents have to share it with others of potentially different cultural backgrounds and social values. In this case, solidarity could weaken due to the disappearance of the integrative forces of shared culture. Moreover, it might be the newcomers who would discourage the old-timers involvement in community affairs, causing old-timers to retreat to their own world and detach from the community. On the other hand, the delineation of social boundaries could exclude the newcomers from developing a sense of belonging and self-identity

with the community and its residents. Some newcomers may remain dependent on other population centres because of either a weak reinforcement function from their new community or the lack of secure feelings generated by community membership in a sharing of cultural resource.

The changed meaning of community activities is another concern regarding social impacts. According to Fox (1977: 27-28) and Greenwood (1977), it has been suggested that once local culture is transformed into a commodity, it becomes a staged culture. Although this staged culture can be utilised as one mechanism to protect native people's privacy, it is also believed that this kind of culture is less meaningful to residents (Cohen, 1988). In Don Wai River Market community, evidence indicates that existence of staged culture regarding the traditional or local events such as an annual celebration of the temple. Whereas community events were once for local people and the affirmation of the local traditions, today these events are connected with involvement of visitors. At present, perhaps something emphasising a notion of community still exists there as it used to be in the past as the community event, but today the primary attraction is again to bring the visitors in.

Furthermore, the basis for community solidarity would be changed in this local community. Instead of maintaining bonds through shared culture, residents develop bonds as a result of the psychological investment of working together to develop the community's image. A shared image motivates residents to work and cooperate with each other regardless of any kinds of distinctions. Cooperation among local residents is also evident in several areas. In this case, a strong effort in cooperation comes from sharing extended amount of time and space together during their efforts to develop their community. To discuss further this issue, through community development processes, residents begin to establish personal ties based on factors other than shared culture. They create their own shared history by achieving their image of their community. In this sense, various social groups can become attached to the community due to their investment in image maintenance. They become members together and then identify both with each other and with the community image.

It can be assumed that unlike the city dwellers who are already familiar with cultural pluralism and a diversity of lifestyles, residents of rural communities may be more homogeneous. With the intrusion and eventual integration of outsiders, original residents need time to adjust to increased pluralism and community diversity. This situation is quite very obvious in a changing community at present that is facing with such impacts from outside influences. It looks like that the more the exposure of local community to the outsiders, then the less opportunities local community can sustain itself effectively and thus affect to existence of the community as well. At present, tourism controversies were not found to have substantially polarised Don Wai River Market community. Through several interviews with the local residents on this research, some conflicts related to personal benefits such as dispute from selling goods might occasionally occur, but this is still not a serious problem for the community. Perhaps due to the gradual development of tourism that was perceived by the local residents as being mainly community-created, negative social impacts regarding community solidarity were not apparent. According to the local residents, the dynamic of working together to develop the community's image binds residents and encourages identification with the community. This force may inevitably replace a shared culture as a facilitator of bonding between residents and may strengthen residents' identification, and consequent dependency on the community.

It is quite accepted that at least some kinds of impacts may occur when modern development enters into the local community context. Tourism is also considered a critical factor bringing vast changes to the community fabrics. According to Dogan (1989: 216-36), tourism has been a major source of intercultural contact and it has influenced either positively or negatively the socio-cultural structures of most countries that experience heavy tourism. As a general conclusion, Dogan also noted that

In a community previously dominated by a particular response to tourism, a diversity of responses will emerge as tourism develops, and groups with different interests and characteristic responses to tourism will be formed within the community.

From this point of view, understanding the local residents' perceptions of tourism impacts is fundamental to heritage management, tourism planning and development. Generally, it is suggested that when an exchange of resources (expressed in terms of power) between residents and tourism is high and balanced, or high for the host community, tourism impacts are viewed positively by residents. On the other hand, when an exchange of resources is low and a balanced or unbalanced exchange occurs, the impacts are viewed negatively. For clearer understanding, look at this positive statement taken from an interview of the local residents in Don Wai River Market:

Too many visitors may sometimes confusing when there are many strangers whom you have never known wandered pass in front of your houses with loud noise or they will leave with much of trash that will make our walkways so dirty; but I am still optimistic about this because these are not too serious matters which we are able to cope with at present. Above all, this may be a highlight that gives 'liveliness' to the market. How do you think the market will be the market when there is person pay no attention to it

(Statement from a 45-year-old merchant, 14 December 2004)

From this statement, it can be seen that the local residents know about the negative impacts resulting from tourism development, but they still have a degree of tolerance towards the impacts due to recognition of tourism's overall benefits. In this sense, the ways host people perceive tourist is highly influenced by their socio-cultural background as well as by the level of change effected by tourism. This aspect is crucial for tourism planning and development as residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism may impact positively or negatively on new projects. Moreover, it has been shown that the consequences of living with tourism on a daily basis cause residents to be more acutely aware of negative impacts from tourism development.

At present, due to an occurring awareness on the impacts of tourism, local community members tend to strongly promote heritage tourism that will acknowledge the visitors to be conscious about the authenticity and significance of unique local

community culture and thus encourage an effort of heritage preservation and management. However, while heritage culture-based tourism practice may help conserve a local cultural heritage, its development might later accelerate some changes to the local context and in the process the authenticity of the cultural heritage may be lost. On one hand, it is believed that heritage tourism may help conserve the cultural heritage depended on a variety of factors among which government policy and guidance are primary (Henderson, 2002; Swain, 1990; Teo and Huang, 1995). It seems likely that such area that dedicates maximum efforts for conserving its unique cultural heritage instead of exploiting it for tourism would fail in business terms. On the contrary, an area with few strategic plans for cultural heritage management and conservation but increase maximum goals of developing tourism based on its cultural heritage would see the loss of its culture and tradition in the development process (Wight, 1994).

From this point of view, it appears that efforts to develop heritage tourism will have to deal with a series of challenging issues involved in the inherent contradictions between conservation and change associated with the development process. Furthermore, it is typically in the many cases where changes or negative impacts are taking place that an appropriate awareness for heritage preservation is made. So, with an aim of heritage tourism, it is expected that the visitors or tourists may have their chances to learn about, witness and experience the cultural heritage of their travel destination. It caters to the tourist's experiential consumption of a destination's cultural heritages which manifest a variety of features including archaeological and historic towns, buildings, locations and facilities that have a cultural significance to the community (McIntosh, 1999). Although there is a lot of arguments made by the scholars relating to the idea of heritage tourism, it is acceptable that tourists want more cultural heritage experiences whether they are meaningful and authentic; a vacuous, shallow form of entertainment packaged as unauthentic 'pseudo-event' (Boorstin, 1964) or an opportunity for people to produce and create their own meanings from the tourism experiences.

Moreover, we can see an interesting aspect about a contradiction between heritage and tourism. Heritage is viewed as part of the cultural tradition of a society

whereas tourism is a form of modern consumption dynamic in nature. As Don Wai River Market is encountering with rapid changes from outside context, it generated a great challenge in an effort of reconstruct the past in the present through interpretation amidst a satisfaction of tourism consumption needs. In this sense, consumption is an important matter mentioned with heritage tourism and consumption of experiences. Consumption is a purchasing process based on a number of motivations that are influenced by certain social, cultural and personal factors (Bocock, 1993). A socio-cultural perspective emphasises that consumption has changed over time and will continue to change as society evolves (Urry, 1995). One significant theme in a study of modern consumption is the consumption made by tourists, the so-called 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1995). This is quite a complex process because tourism experience depends on particular objects upon which tourists gaze, such as old-style commercial buildings, shop-houses, piers, food or local people's ways of lives.

In reality, the actual consuming process in tourism such as buying a tour, accommodation, meal or ticket is often incidental to the gaze that may be no more than momentary view. Therefore, central to tourist consumption is the act of looking individually or collectively at aspects of landscape or townscape that are distinctive and signify an experience in contrast with everyday experience. To explain more specifically, most urban visitors are usually eager to consume and experience something different from skyscrapers, downtown areas, crowded roads, traffic problems, noisy houses and also other kinds of depression such as anxiety, stress or struggling from their routine jobs. The process of tourist consumption is; thus, sensory, complex and involves much of emotion-laden, presenting a potential difficulty for cultural heritage managers in an effort to achieve fuller historic understanding on the context of the area so as to affirm authenticity (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999).

Indeed, the tourism industry has become a highly dynamic network of consumption and as such is implicated in some of the critical theoretical issues of current concern in various fields. Most of studies and researches mainly focus on how the rise of global economy, particularly in the tourism and service sectors has provided new opportunities for destinations to develop and promote their cultural and natural resources as well as recreational facilities (Goeldner, 1992). As a result of this, the

social organisation of different tourist gazes has a significant impact on various natural and built-environment that are main concerns for cultural heritage management and preservation. In this case, an important idea emphasizes much on the term 'authenticity' which can be referred quite precisely by Ralph (1976) to that which is genuine, unadulterated without hypocrisy and honest to itself, not just in terms of superficial characteristics but in depth. In a study of Heidegger (1962) named 'Being and Time' proposing authentic human existence to be most appropriately what one already is. From his point of view, it can be assumed about authentic of individuals toward places that they are direct and genuine experiences of the entire complex of the identity of places. They come from a full awareness of places for what they are as products of human intentions and the meaningful settings for human activities or from a profound and unselfconscious identity with place.

In the next chapter, there will be further discussions on such impacts that have been made by modernisation and tourism development into the community fabrics of Don Wai River Market. As we are acknowledged that the market itself has its own step of evolution in correlation with the community settlement. As the community has begun to expand that resulted in an increasing number of population including ordinary residents, outside immigrants and other commuters, the market then have been expanded to respond for the needs of product consumption. And at present when the market has been exposed to the visitors' needs for tourism, many kinds of impacts have happened and surely affect to cultural identity of this local community. The market today; so, has its important objective as a market for tourists rather than serving with local residents as it used to be in the previous time. During each step of transition period, it has been unavoidable that some cultural aspects or sense of authenticity might have been changed or abandoned when it could not compatible with the new things generated from outside but regarded much importance as tools of development and modernity.

Fortunately, the cultural identity of the community has been completely changed or diminished. Besides, some of cultural features survive in the community belonged to the market fabrics. However, there is a challenging issue on the suitable way in which cultural heritage should be presented and displayed to the outside

visitors. At present, tourism is considered as a critical factor which enables continuity and existence of the market after it used to decline at once in the past. In this sense, maintenance or revitalization of the past experience are very important things for satisfying the needs of visitors whose money can spend for enjoying exotic experiences. With experience on life in the past context is needed for visitors, so it is quite fortunate that some cultural heritage is allowed to exist as an evidence of the past that the visitors also want to indulge themselves in such as the atmosphere of shopping along the small walkways of the market, enjoying with exotic food, desserts and local products, cruising along Nakhon Chaisri River to trace back what lives used to be in the pleasant past.

With a recognition of how importance cultural heritage can generate the benefits into the community, this calls for many forms of cooperation between the involving stakeholders of the market such as local authorities, local institutes, government agents and community residents themselves in heritage management and preservation. Consequently, it can be assumed that tourism is a factor with high relationship with the existence and survivals of local heritage. The next chapter will illustrate such impacts from tourism development and effort in cultural heritage preservation among the stakeholders consisting of a local authority, important activists, government agents, local residents and visitors. The set of details from these informants will show their opinions on heritage significance on local community context and how they will do to manage and preserve them for the future.

Chapter 3

Evolution and Survival of Cultural Heritage in Don Wai Community

Part 1: Evolution of Cultural Heritage in Don Wai River Market

Before we take a look at a relationship between involving stakeholders in cultural heritage management and preservation in Don Wai River Market and its community, we may need some description on a process of cultural evolution in the market and community context that will help much in further understanding about impacts and change agents involving in each step of the market evolution. Previously, many communities and villages have been established along Nakhon Chaisri river bank. Because Nakhon Pathom has been developed and renovated since the reign of King Rama IV and King Rama V, it made Nakhon Pathom a new centre of development around this neighbourhood area, especially with the construction of railway. Nevertheless, water transportation was still popular among a lot of local residents in the community along Nakhon Chaisri River. Moreover, as sugar manufacturing has been important to the national economic, areas around Nakhon Chaisri River were used mainly for sugar cane plantation and sugar manufacturing factory since 1855.

As well as the development of sugar industry, there was also an expansion of rice farming on many fields near the river. As a result of this, about two hundred canals have been dug to serve for a purpose of irrigating the rice field, plantation and fruit orchards. In addition to this, the canals themselves, almost all of which were interconnected, provided benefits the local community residents in that they could be used as means for transportation and merchandising of agricultural products. At that time, the people's ways of lives depended largely on agriculture to supply products for household consumption. Formerly, each community or village was usually located independently along the river bank away from one another because of the availability of land at that time. But from 1917 until 1933, much of the land that was used to be a

forest and field was sold, occupied by the rich families and turned into the rice field. Until after 1957, modern development has been generated throughout the area and the traditional ways of lives have begun to change, particularly after new concrete roads were introduced as well as an expansion of factories. The arrival of new-comers from other regions also led to many kinds of social and cultural changes.

Don Wai River market itself has originated back about one hundred years ago during a reign of King Rama VI. At present, its location is attached with Don Wai Temple in the north, with private property in the south, Tha Chin River in the west and concrete road in the east. Firstly, the market was founded by first groups of Chinese pioneers who did their businesses along Nakhon Chaisri River, an important means of transportation and commercial activities. Apart from an emergence of Don Wai River Market, there were also establishment of other local markets along the river led by the Chinese such as Bang Luang Market, Bang Len Market, Bang Pla Market, Huay Plu Market, Tha Na Market, Ton Son Market and Sampran Market. Since the reign of King Rama V until The World War II, a lot of local markets along Nakhon Chaisri have been founded, many of them have still existed until present although some of them were abandoned and declined when water transportation has been replaced by an emergence of new concrete highway roads. For example, Sampran Market that used to be located nearby the river bank has been moved into Sampran district at present.

Considering with Don Wai River Market, we will find that there were Chinese immigrants who realised an importance of water transportation along the river bank and then attempted to start their small businesses as vendors selling products on boats to ordinary local dwellers. After that, when these vendors could gain enough profits from merchandising products, they might begin to settle their own small shops selling food, beverages or groceries. Generally, it is these small coffee shops that are perceived as a communal spot for the community residents especially the elders to join, read newspapers and chat with one another on such daily topics such as politics or economics and this thing still rarely changes at present. For one interesting aspect, these Chinese immigrants might then integrate into a part of the community by their marriage with Thai women. However, what makes Chinese culture remarkable is a strong relationship and cohesiveness between people, culture and tradition. Although it

seems that the Chinese immigrants can easily blend themselves into other cultures, in fact, they still maintain their unique cultural identity through many traditions, rites and religious activities. As a result of this, we can see an outstanding evidence of Chinese influence in this community, which is the Chinese shrine erected for worshipping sacred Chinese gods and goddesses who bring happiness, joyfulness and prosperity to the people.



Figure 8: A woman pays her respect at the Chinese Goddess Shrine, which is regarded as an important spiritual symbol of the community, to bring good luck and prosperity for herself and family

Following this short description, we will now divide the evolutionary process through which the market has passed into stages to see what kinds of changes were made and how they have affected the local people's ways of life and the physical fabric of the market settlement.

1. The Traditional Local Market (About 1900 – 1967)

About one hundred years ago, a small local market was established consisting of small shops run by Chinese families. At that time, the popular products on sold were vegetables, condiments, food ingredients, agricultural tools, kerosene and many kinds

of groceries which were sold mainly for residents living in Bang-Kratuk and Bang-Toey sub-district. Without a construction of concrete roads, then travelling by boats was very popular among community dwellers who paddled from their home to buy and exchange products at the market. At present, many boat piers built along the river have been the best evidence of prosperity in water transportation. The most crowded area with most residents was a compound of wooden shop-houses that were used for both residential and commercial purposes. Most residents rented a space to build their own houses attached closely with ones of other residents due to narrow spaces of rental spaces. Besides from grocery stores and food shops, there were also tailor shops and barbers that were very well-known in the nearby neighbourhood.



Figure 9: The narrow walkways in the inner zone of traditional wooden shop-houses at the market, which are used mainly for residential purposes and have remained unchanged from their earlier times

The most prominent symbol of the Chinese presence in Don Wai River Market is the shrine of the Chinese Goddess. Previously, the shrine was built from wood and was relocated many times until it was settled at the rear of the market. From the recent renovation in the past few years, the shrine at present was built permanently from concrete and has still acted as a collective symbol among the local dwellers. In the market itself, it has been quite common since in the past that almost shops have been run by Chinese people. In this case, a whole family may consist of a father who was a head of family and shopkeeper as well with help mainly from his sons who would run the shop after his father. Then there became a Thai wife and daughter who were

responsible for such chores such as cleaning a shop-house, cooking food and so on. Look at this statement from a female resident whose Chinese father married with her Thai mother:

In the past, my family used to open our own shop at the market. My father was a Chinese immigrant who later married with my mother who lived across the river bank. Our shop sold some kinds of groceries such as rice, sugar and other condiments. My elder brothers usually helped my father to look after the shop while I and my sister assisted my mother in cooking food and desserts sold for my neighbours.

(Statement from a 48-year-old resident, 5 January, 2005)

From the beginning stage until present, most shops in Don Wai River Market have showed us a unique and fundamental business concept among Chinese entrepreneurs that a business must be run by the family members only. This can be illustrated from a structure of administration in almost every shop which has been run by the family members from generations to generations. Significantly, although we might observe success and achievement in many shops and enterprises today in gaining much income from their products, but their historical backgrounds can explain better on how hard they try on an adaptation and change their business forms until it is best suited nowadays. A statement below is one of a suitable description for this example:

Previously, my grandfather and grandmother opened a shop in the market selling noodles and coffee mostly for residents in nearby areas. Their business went quite well due to few numbers of competitors at that time. When it came to my father and mother, they shifted from selling food to clothing and many kinds of plastic utensils such as baskets, bins and so on. In my turn, I saw an opportunity to sell Thai desserts to the visitors, so I persuade my parents to quit selling such products and helped me in this new enterprise and it worked quite well from now on.

(Statement from a 50-year-old shopkeeper, January, 2005)

It is important to remark that it is in fact the family members and sometimes include their close relatives who have made success to the enterprises in the market. For quite a period of time that the business has grown strongly enough, then the pioneers usually hired labours immigrating from north and north-eastern region of the country to work in their shops. However, this may not signify that each family would concentrate mainly on their business and had little contact with the others. On the contrary, the market at the beginning stage has an intimate and close relationship and solidarity of social cohesiveness and interaction between its members. Moreover, the relationship was possible because of an involvement in kinship among every family in the market and community. One reason for the ordinary residents to work on their own may due to convenience in administration and from the point that they usually sold their products daily, so there was no need for hiring extra labour workforces. For example, for one family who is very well known for delicious desserts always make sure that the products will be sold out in the evening every day.

In this stage, the expansion and development of the market focus mainly on groups of wooden shop-houses that were used as residential and commercial objectives and there were few numbers of outsiders living in the community as well. In fact, the market at this time could be considered as a local market where such kinds of products were sold and bargained mostly for the local residents and neighbourhood areas. Indeed, sense of cultural authenticity existed everywhere in people's daily lives while less changes were generated from outside. The local residents regarded the whole community as part of their lives because they lived and worked with it. This condition had continued for many years until the market entered into the next evolutionary stage of decline.

2. The Period of Decline (1967 – 1996)

There was a moment in time when Don Wai River Market fell into decline and when most shop-houses were abandoned, closed or used for residential purpose only. This declination went on gradually when several shops were closed. Many merchants and shopkeepers who used to open a shop moved to do their business outside the community. For an explanation of what caused to this decline, it is necessary to

consider the great shift in mode of transportation away from Nakhon Chaisri River and to the newly built concrete roads. As a result of this, many people tended to move their home from the river bank to the new roads and then the market began to decline. In fact, this was a common phenomena happening at the same time with a lot of local market along the river bank. Nevertheless, declination of the market might not come from change in mode of transportation alone, but this also originated from various causes such as changes in family structure. For example, look at this statement from one of the resident who is now selling desserts told why she had to move out from the market and at present come back there again:

My family consisted of eleven members when we moved out from the market because our ordinary house was too small and crowded for all of us. Although I was born in 1950 and used to spend my childhood in the market, but when I grew up I and my sisters too had to move to live with my aunt across the river bank. Moreover, it was agreed among the family that my elder brother would run a shop after my parents, so the rest of us moved to live with our family when we grew up and married. Finally, I came back here again after death of my husband because I was not able to look after his factory to make a living for me and my children.

(Statement from a 54-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 5 January, 2005)

From the above statement, changes happening among Chinese families in Thailand might be various and due to many reasons. Obviously, it seems to be that a traditional role of father as head of the family has been declining in recent years as structures and values of many families have become more westernised. Perhaps a son may not able to maintain a leading role in the family successfully as his father had done. So, some conflicts or dispute such as financial management or decision making in business planning among family members in some families may occur afterward. Furthermore, as the community have had more interactions with the outsiders and modern trade has begun to replace the traditional trade and ethics of the local community, most people in new generations may usually shift from the household business to work in the modern business sector in the city instead. In fact, the parents

in pioneer generations are willing very much in supporting their children to undergo a formal education system and want to see their children working in professional career such as physicians, lawyers, soldiers or government officers rather than running his / her business; as a result of this, causing some household business to be declined. For further explanation, look at this statement taken from another local resident:

My house where I was born is located next to the Chinese Goddess shrine. In the past, my father used to run a small grocery shop in the market until he was too old to do it. Previously, I did not intend to run a grocery shop like my father because I already graduated a bachelor degree and had a permanent job as a bank clerk until I was fired out and unemployed during the economic crisis in 1997. After a while, I came back to reopen my shop to sell goods for the local residents and the visitors until present.

(Statement from a 42-year-old grocer, 5 January, 2005)

In addition to a shift in attitude among the local residents in Don Wai River Market that affected to ways of lives or intangible cultural heritage, changes also happened with tangible heritage or the cultural fabrics of the market. Due to a decline in the market, traditional wooden shop-houses, piers and bazaars were abandoned and at that time there was no collective community cooperation in cultural heritage management and preservation, so the local precincts were left unused or used for living only. More residents went to trade at other markets such as Rai Khing Market which was more popular among the outside visitors due to a sacred Rai Khing Buddha image at Rai Khing Temple nearby. However, Don Wai River Market was still fortunate and revitalised again in the third stage of market development in which we can observe much progress about it.

3. A Great Shift to the Heritage Market for Tourism (1996 – Present)

After suffering decline for a period of time, Don Wai River Market finally recovered again when Mr. Buncha Vuttisugkha was elected as a director of Bank Kratuk Tambon (sub-district) Administrative Organisation during 1995 to 1999. He is

reputed as a person who recognised the existence of significant cultural heritage assets in Don Wai River Market. He pointed out that with the context of local market where famous local products such as Chinese-style duck and Thai desserts have been made can be the remarkable aspect of the market which could attract a lot of tourists. Then, he called for cooperation among shopkeepers in the market in a plan for revitalization the market. As a result of this, many of them came back again to reopen their shops with an effort to promote the cultural market for heritage tourism. Moreover, after General Opas Bhothipat, who was a famous culinary guide columnist, wrote about delicious duck, exotic Thai desserts and beautiful of riverside local market in his column, Don Wai River Market was known publicly afterward and then thousands of visitors came in.

To promote heritage tourism in the market, its image has been needed to fit with the concept of living heritage. What has been changed is a style of trading from common groceries into local and exotic food and desserts accompanying with an image of the traditional market to attract the urban visitors. The revitalisation of the market was aimed at the urban visitors who want to look for different shopping experiences different from common things found in the supermarket every day. In addition to fascinating shopping experience that has been provided, there was also an involvement of short excursion such as cruising along the river bank to provide authentic experiences in cultural perception among the visitors as well. In this case, what makes popularity to Don Wai River Market might stem from its reputation as a source of favourite local products such as food and desserts and associated with authentic locality experiences. Moreover, as the market has begun to expand rapidly, products from other provinces can also be found there at present too.

In this more prosperous stage, there are many supporting agent that have contributed much in promoting the market; for example, mass media, local leaders, government authorities and Tourism Authority of Thailand. The market has now been promoted in several newspapers, magazines, tourism journals, television programmes and on the Internet so that it has become very well-known among many people and its products are transferred to retailers in Bangkok and nearby provinces. Besides, a development of administration system in the market by cooperation of entrepreneurs

such as an agreement on shops zoning according to types of products. For example, the areas in groups of traditional wooden shop-houses are allocated for authentic local products only such as Thai desserts or favourite local food. Moreover, this also includes the ways to facilitate the visitors such as determination on reasonable prices of products, control on products quality and hygiene and a provision of car park which is now expanding very much because of an increasing number of visitors especially on weekends and public holidays.



Figure 10: A lot of visitors gather around the narrow walkways of the traditional wooden shop-houses in order to buy unique local products

Thus, it can be concluded that a process of development in Don Wai River Market comes from solid cooperation between the many parties involved, especially including the mass media, which is a potential factor generating popularity of the market and persuading visitors to go there. Moreover, local leaders and shopkeepers in the market are very important in promoting and managing images of the market to be best suited with needs of middle class consumers from the city too. To achieve the development goal, it can be seen that cooperation has been the main driving force to push out any projects to empower community strength, generating income and development into the local community. If cooperation is based on goodwill and is sufficiently well planned, it can guarantee sustainability and existence of cultural local heritage in the future too.

In the next part, it will focus at the roles of and impacts on the main stakeholders involved with cultural heritage in the market, including the local authorities, local leaders, government agents, shopkeepers and local residents as well as the visitors who might generate such impacts on the ordinary cultural fabric of the Don Wai community.

4. Don Wai River Market at present

Since the construction of new highway roads and connecting streets, the market is now easily reachable. Moreover, its location is also beneficial in attracting the visitors who live in Bangkok and other neighbourhood provinces. The most attractive point of the market must come from the fact that it is a tourist place that is not too far from Bangkok and has a highly appreciated atmosphere; thus it has become very popular as the destination of day trips by city dwellers. At present, the market covers the areas along the river bank from the temple, the school, ordinary areas of Don Wai community consisting of traditional wooden shop-houses until it reaches the new expanding area behind the market used for rental bazaars and fresh-food market. Besides, the rest of area is allocated for parking lots run by private enterprises to serve the visitors with twenty baht for service fees.

Most visitors, especially those coming from Bangkok, come here with their private cars or sometimes with coaches on group tours. There are two main reasons to explain why most visitors have to come here by private cars. First, although new concrete roads have been built so far, it is still inconvenience for the visitors to reach the market due to a lacking of mass transportation system to facilitate them. Next, because the market can provide experiences for whole family visitors to enjoy and spend their time together on weekends such as shopping unique and delicious local products, cruising along the river bank on the traditional boats or dining nearby the river side, so the market is suitable for urban visitors who have private cars. This expression can be illustrated by the numbers of cars at the parking lots that are merely full at weekends or public holidays.

Arranged to meet the needs of urban consumers who want an authentic of the sense of locality, the market can appropriately serve urban visitors in many ways. First,

the market provides a chance for the of adventurous to seek out authentic sensations in the world of food, with about ninety shops selling delicious and exotic products that are certified by several food experts and are published in many printed media. Second, the market provides a good opportunity of an ideal notion for the whole family members spending time together in travel and relaxation because most urban family members hardly have free time to join with one another in the busy daily lives. Indeed, the market can respond to behaviour of city residents who are not used to cooking for themselves by providing many selections of products to be bought at home too. Third, the market can be represented as a place that provides a collection of multipurpose and various activities from taking a trip, travelling with families or friends, shopping local products, sightseeing scenic views of the market and river bank, making merit at the temple to even getting Thai massage and so on.

In addition, the market projects its own image and cultural identity as a local and traditional market. With a presentation of cultural image, the visitors can feel sense of traditional and local atmosphere from images of wooden old shop-houses, narrow walkways of the market and varieties of exotic Thai food and desserts. Furthermore, with much promotion from mass media, it is not so difficult for the market to fascinate the urban visitors who pay a visit here. It seems to be that the settings of the market can suit with many visitors who search for authentic experiences of traditional market. Finally, an extension area of the market from the ordinary location also contributes some benefits as well. Apart from shops in wooden shop-houses, the new area provides the visitors with mainly agricultural products such as plants, flowers and products from other areas that are other interesting attractions for the market.



Figure 11: the new extended area of the market used as a rental bazaar for several kinds of agricultural products

It is likely that the most powerful force encouraging liveliness of the market is a presentation of cultural image on existing cultural heritage in the community. As consumption of products' images and meanings for pleasure and exotic experiences has been given much importance in the present consumerist society, so what really attracts the visitors at Don Wai River Market is a successful presentation and integration images and meanings of real local products with the convincing local atmosphere. In fact, almost every visitor takes for granted what they see and experience as authentic feature and that is quite enough for relaxing themselves and relieving tension and anxiety from the routine lives regardless questioning about sense of cultural authenticity. As a result of this, what is really authentic in perception of the visitors is the image of the market itself. The remarkable feature of Don Wai River Market as described in the information leaflet is that it is a local market located nearby Nakhon Chaisri River with soothing and natural atmospheres. The market can also provide the visitors with several selections of Thai desserts as pleasant souvenirs and delicious Thai food from elaborate folk wisdoms and Chinese influences. In addition to this, many kinds of plants, fruits and vegetables without contamination from insecticides are available here too.

In fact, it might not be doubtful for the usual visitors for Don Wai River Market that there are more than half of total products sold at the market consisting mainly of food and desserts. However, some questions may occur which relate to impacts affecting the intangible heritage of the local community and undermining the sense of authenticity. If we walk through the market, we will find that there are many shops selling two main famous products of the market that are Chinese-style steam duck and toddy palm cake. Meanwhile, each shopkeeper usually claims that he or she is the first pioneer who created and initiated the menus and made popularity from them to the market. Consequently, a competition between such shops typically happens by using of different strategies such as showing a certification from food experts or articles about the shops published in printed matters in front of the shops or demonstrating of products to attract the visitors.

In this sense, it is very vital to discuss the consumption of cultural meaning rather than the products themselves. From this point of view, what the visitors buy to their home are not only local products such as food and desserts but also cultural meaning emphasised on authenticity of local products. Indeed, certain words such as 'old-timed', 'traditional' or 'local' are associated with the logos of their packages. This is very important especially in some cases such as certain types of Thai desserts claimed to be derived from a court receipt where, in fact such a product would not belong ordinarily with the market. But the cultural meanings of these products are pushed into an effort to integrate them with the authentic setting of the market as belonged to local community. By doing this, it would place intangible heritage at risk when at present the ordinary cultural meanings and contexts are threatened by invasion of many outside products; for instance, woodcrafts from northern Thailand, jewellery shops, gift shops and food from other various areas which will affect to the existence of authenticity in the context of market in the near future. When the market is much diversified and lose its identity, the visitors then may change their directions into other interesting places and will lead to declination of the market again that; thus, must contribute great impacts to both tangible and intangible heritage of the whole community.

Another good example of the negative impact on the sense of authenticity in the market context might be the case of the fruits and vegetables sold there. In fact, the market tries to offer the visitors with authentic local products from local residents and also present that these are real natural products without contamination from any kinds of pesticides. However, this still crates a paradoxical impression of the products themselves. On the one hand, we will find that the products are presented as being related to the agricultural ways of life among local residents. So, types of vegetables or fruits sold here are those grown primarily for household consumption by local methods and not the same things which are usually sold commercially at other places. Nonetheless, in spite of these agricultural products regarded as local-made, most of them are generally sorted by size, beauty and quality and wrapped in plastic foil before placed on shelves like those displayed modern supermarket in the city. This kind of

product display is surely different from what we often see in local market where products are usually mixed and let the buyers choose what they want themselves.

What is happening here creates an interesting issue, therefore, for the quest for cultural authenticity of the market. At least the urban visitors who come here believe that authenticity has still existed in an acceptable ways. With a surrounding socio-cultural context of the market emphasising much on sense of locality, everything happens within a sphere of built-experiences are always allowed to be authentic in perception of visitors regardless the fact that whether this cultural presentation is real or local-oriented. Maybe only consumption on the surface meanings of any cultural objects might be enough to fulfil a sense of authenticity on local community and local market for the visitors who mostly want pleasure from visiting here.

5. An Overview on Cultural Heritage Conservation in the Local Community

Many rural provinces of developing countries are now turning to tourism development as a means of attracting revenue from their more affluent neighbours. In fact, the benefits are many, especially the employment provided for unskilled and semiskilled workers who in developing regions, are usually in strong supply. Moreover, tourism development might be thought as an ideal industry for such regions. The small scale of developing regions makes them an attractive change of pace for visitors who live in congested cities. In addition to this, the colourful and exotic lifestyles of local residents are major assets which the tourism industry can exploit to advantage. Consequently, a core concept such as cultural conservation is essential for heritage management and preservation among the involved stakeholders in such socio-cultural contexts.

Generally, the cultural conservation movement seeks to help traditional people and indigenous populations to have more power to decide the way of life they wish to follow and the environment they want to live in, to preserve their unique cultural heritages where appropriate and to deal effectively with the outside-and typically dominant-mainstream culture (Walle, 1993: 15). In this sense, careful attention must be given to preserving the dignity of people and the viability of cultural traditions as the society is transformed. Besides, ultimately traditions help people to cope with the

stress of 'future shock' (Toffler, 1970). So, the traditional culture should be taken care of, not merely influenced by tourism development for short-term benefits. In summary, a cultural conservation approach aims mainly on managing appropriately and mitigating the relationship between traditional people and the mainstream culture. Significantly, a concern must be emphasised that changes in one area of culture typically trigger other transformations which may be both unanticipated and negative.

At present an increasingly relevant point is that the marketing promotion of cultural heritage in the tourist destination can be profoundly disruptive and may inequitably affect the local people. However, tourism and development also have its own paradoxes for the existence of local culture. Negatively, tourism development even if well intended, can disturb social relationships and thrust local people into a whole new web of life: the mainstream culture which brings new attitudes and values from the outsiders that sometimes might generate declining or loss of ordinary cultural fabrics. On the other hand, it can also validate local culture and lead to solid recognition among local community people on cultural heritage significance and awareness for cooperation and their accomplishments. The respect many visitors show for local traditions is a good example of that potential.

To achieve an effective goal for cultural heritage conservation, the promotion of culture is one of the most important things to be carefully managed. In this case, promoting culture may not merely involve support from advertisement and public relations in order to enhance market potential of cultural heritage in local community and build public awareness alone; it is also essential that promotion of culture is implemented with a sophisticated view of the impact it might exert upon local community people. In the next part, roles of involving stakeholders with cultural heritage in context of Don Wai River Market will be discussed in order to understand the ways of which cultural heritage is managed and preserved in the community.

Chapter 4

Roles of Stakeholders in Local Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation

Part 1: Roles of local authority, local leader and local active groups in management and the maintenance of cultural heritage

Many local authorities have responsibility for maintaining a part of the cultural heritage, which may be in danger of serious deterioration due to the lack of suitable management and preservation measures. If the local authority can work effectively with other stakeholders involved with the cultural resources within the community, then the potential to use tourism development as a crucial tool to enhance community strength will be strengthened. This is in with what Brohman (1996a: 60) argued in relation to the forms of tourism that can enhance the well-being of local communities.

Community-based tourism development would seek to strengthen institutions designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social, and cultural well-being of the popular majority. It would also seek to strike a balanced and harmonious approach to development that would stress considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of tourism with other components of the local economy; the quality of development, both culturally and environmentally; and the divergent needs, interests, and potentials of the community and its inhabitants.

Regarding the impacts on tourism development, it is suggested that local communities which have local authorities as the representatives of the whole residents, should be central for tourism planning and cultural heritage management and that the voices of those most affected by tourism should be heard. This may be in the shape of formalised systems of local level planning which actively involve the local

communities or, at the other extreme, protests by community groups dissatisfied with the way tourism is impacting on their society and environment. Consequently, it is quite essential to focus on local authority and development strategy. A development focus is apparent when local concerns become a priority of tourism development. Too many efforts at implementing environmentally and culturally sensitive tourism have focused on conservation of resources and failed to embrace the development imperative; thus, neglecting the livelihood needs of local communities.

So, a concern for livelihoods should be integral to development efforts (Chambers and Conway, 1992), based on the recognition that local residents need to benefit from the existence of natural resources in their areas rather than suggesting that these resources all be diverted to enhancing tourist experiences. Thus, one of the most effective ways in which tourism can both conserve local heritages and improve local livelihoods is through community approaches to natural and cultural resource management (Ashley, 2000). In this sense, local authorities play an important leading role for community members' participation and empowerment in cultural heritage management. For further understanding on participation, look at this statement concerning with community involvement in tourism planning or tourism ventures by Mowforth and Munt (1998: 103-4):

The debate is currently not one of whether local communities should be involved in the development of tourism to their areas, but how they should be involved and whether 'involvement' means 'control'. This struggle for power and control over the tourist activities and financial benefits is at its sharpest at the destination end.

Nonetheless, it is important to point out that even a typology of 'participation' can identify different levels ranging from manipulative participation at one end of the spectrum to self-mobilisation at the other. From this point of view, a simplified dichotomy arising from this typology is active and passive participation. At the passive participation level, it might imply that local residents might be involved with tourism industry in the community while exerting no control over the nature of tourism development or their involvement. On the other hand, active participation should mean

that communities have access to information on the process and consequence of tourism development and are directly involved in planning for and managing tourism and also heritage preservation in line with their own interests and resources. Consequently, the local authorities and active local leaders can have important roles in supporting heritage management and preservation and should be encouraged to follow the principles suggested by Scheyvens (2000: 213):

1. Information and awareness-raising for communities: this role involves with provision communities about ways in which they can be involved with tourism development before they decide whether or not this is viable or desirable path for them to follow. Moreover, this also includes an effort of local authority to encourage participation of other community residents in community planning and development also.
2. Building capacity and raising confidence: local residents are needed to generate confidence in facing with challenges and impacts occurred from tourism development as well as preparation of tools and methods for coping with tourists and visitors to build awareness on cultural heritage significance and preservation.
3. Networking: due to the relative lack of power of local communities in relation to other stakeholders involving in the heritage management context, networking can provide an important means of sharing information and forging partnerships. This can involve bringing different stakeholders together to work on tourism issues or projects.
4. Promotion of responsible tourism among visitors: this is the most outstanding role relating with making the visitors aware of their travel options and providing information such as through cultural interpretation to guide their behaviours in the tourist destinations. Also, local authority is responsible for promoting good tourism practices among its community members.

In summary, in addition to influencing tourism development through their preferences as consumers, civil society actors in the local community also have exerted

their agency by responding to inappropriate tourism development or attempting to influence the nature of tourism development in their areas. It is much more likely that communities will be able to influence tourism development in such ways when they have strong internal organizations which encourage participation by a diverse range of interests such as youths, women and other groups.

In Don Wai River Market's development process, it is likely that roles of local leaders are the main factors influencing with local heritage management. Up to the present, there have been many social actors in the community who have contributed much in a promotion and development of the market to be well-known by a lot of visitors and accepted by the government authorities as a prime model of local community development for others too. Among these people, we would begin with an experience from Saman Suksamai, an ordinary community resident who recognised cultural heritage significance in the community and pioneered in the market promotion despite he has been a janitor in the community school.

Previously, other people regarded what I have done as a ridiculous thing. About eight o'clock in the morning everyday after I had finished cleaning school's toilets, I usually went in front of the temple with a pen and a piece of paper to count numbers of cars passing by until in the afternoon. After I had been doing this thing for three months, I began to recognise that there were many cars passing by the community, so this might be a good chance to develop a place around here for a visitation or tourism.

(Statement from Saman, 5 January 2005)

Assisted by the abbot of the Don Wai temple, Saman first began his plan in 1996 when he tried to manage the river bank area of the temple to be 'a sanctuary of fish'. At this point he gathered a great amount of fish to attract a visitation from the visitors who wanted to enjoy a river scene and atmosphere and also to make merit by feeding fish at the same time. The project began from a loan supported by the abbot in transfiguring and cleaning a landscape nearby the river bank and then made a raft for the visitors to enjoy and feed fish. However, his plan did not achieve much at that time

and the visitors often complained much about the lack of fascinating tourist spots; furthermore, other people in the community were also doubtful and even thought that his project would be short-lived. According to Saman, that was one of the hardest times in his life.

However, after the raft have been built, Saman and his friends cooperated in the renovation of the surrounding area by building a compound of bazaars with financial support from a donation to the temple for merchants who wanted to sell their products. Meanwhile, the market itself has begun to be more popular because of the growing reputation of delicious Chinese duck by 'Nai Nuub', and also with more shops opening in the market. Besides, the abbot of the temple contributed much in developing the place by attending in religious activities to meet and pray a blessing to the visitors everyday. So, this has created co-benefits between the temple and the market in a sense that the visitors coming to the market usually made a donation at the temple while at the same time used an area around the temple as a car park as well. From that time, this cooperation has made a solid ground for development strategy of Don Wai River Market to serve with three main objectives that are the market for relaxing and dining, the market for cruising services along Nakhon Chaisri River and the market providing take away products for the visitors.

Since that time and up to present day, Saman has continued to play an important role in managing, administering, regulating and zoning the rental areas around the temple. At present, there are more than 349 shops located around the temple's area (Bang Kratuk Tambon Administrative Organisation, 2001). To standardise the regulation of such shops, every shopkeeper has to pay forty baht per day for a rental fee. According to Saman, a main criterion to determine which kinds of shops can be here depends mostly on that such shops should sell local products such as plants or fruits. Furthermore, a priority or consideration has often been made mainly for local residents in Bang Kratuk and Bang Toey sub-district according to the agreements among two local leaders who are the committee of the temple. In this case, every kind of products can be sold here except for meat due to a religious belief.

In addition to the rental area around the temple, water rafts used as food shops are other interesting attractions for the visitors coming to the market too. At this time, there are four water rafts to serve the visitors and each of them is owned by different owners who are usually well-known families in the community. For instance, the first and biggest water raft belongs to Buncha Vuttisungkha, a former village chief of Don Wai Community and now a village headman of Bang Kratok sub-district. Primarily, these people were invited by Saman to built water raft as food shops for the outside visitors. Another interesting aspect about these water rafts are that apart from many kinds of food sold there also included with Chinese-style duck which has become outstanding symbol of the market. In addition to this, the owners of water rafts do not have to pay rental fees to the temple but have to be responsible with construction expenses themselves. In fact, a case of water rafts is another good example of cultural presentation because later on water rafts have no longer been used for a long time since many communities moved to located in land but water rafts have been revitalised and rebuilt to fulfil a visitor's experience in sense of locality. In order to respond to a need for relaxation, water rafts are allowed and regarded by the visitors to be blended with the surrounding context of the place.

Besides, other activities are added to create a sense of cultural authenticity and to convince the visitors that the market has an atmosphere of traditional and local context; for instance, the cruising services that have been created mainly for tourism and excursion purposes. According to Saman, he persuaded his friend who was the owner of shipyard in Bangkok to initiate cruising business at Don Wai Temple without rental fee payment to the temple but usually contributes in form of assistance or donation. After that, Saman's friend brought his son with him to be a ticket seller for cruising trip and opened a small shop beside the water raft to sell bread for feeding fish in the river and this activity interests a lot of visitors especially at the weekends. So far, activities around the temple has continued and expanded under the concept that such activities should correspond with a socio-cultural frame and context of the place as local-generated and traditional-oriented ones.



Figure 12: Several water rafts used as floating restaurants and cruising services have been built to respond with the visitors' needs at the weekends

Anyway, another activity involving the development process of Don Wai River Market and Don Wai Temple is the car park service that is very necessary for such place very favourite for tourism development. Formerly, Saman said that the temple provided an area for car park without parking fees. But when the market and temple has become much more popular, an existing car park was considered too small for the increasing amount of visitors, so the temple began to extend the car park into the area beside it that derived from donation twenty years ago. Then, the new area was cleared and turned into another car park and built a small concrete bridge to connect with Nakhon Chaisri River. As well as other development projects within the temple, the car park project was financially supported financially from donations from of the temple. Consequently, increasing numbers of visitors coming to the community also resulted in an increasing number of donations, so that the temple could afford to hire security guards to take care of safety around there and facilitate with the traffic as well.

Regarding Saman, we will find that he has been an important pioneer and activist for a development plan and project within an area of Don Wai Community including the temple and the market. Moreover, a survey also found that most merchants and vendors doing their business at the temple area generally regarded him with considerable respect. This might come from the fact that anyone who wants to open a shop in this place has to make a contact with him first to deal terms of

conditions of rental fees. Besides, he has been a committee of the temple who has been in charge of rental areas in the temple that has made him so respectful among other local residents. In addition to this, an income generated from donation from the visitors has been used in many useful activities such as a renovation of the temple, repairing a crematorium, building a belfry and golden pagoda, contributing as scholarship at the community school and a preservation programme for Tha Chin River.

Apart from Saman, Buncha Vuttisungkha has also been another leading pioneer in community development. With his origin as an ordinary local resident and his work position as a village chief, he has drawn much cooperation from a lot of government agent in Nakhon Pathom to support and promote Don Wai community to be an important tourist destination in the province. By doing so, he invited many government officers in the province to travel to Don Wai community and began to arrange such great activities at the community such as a programme to acknowledge on folk cuisine of Don Wai Community such as Chinese-styled duck and toddy palm cake. Moreover, with his well-recognised position and cooperation from his brother who was a director of Bang Kratok Tambon Administrative Organisation, he was very influential in calling for awareness for market development among local residents especially most favourite food shop owners who eventually came back to revitalise a livelihood of the market.

After that, a community committee in the community has been founded by bringing together several local residents and with Buncha as a board of director, Saman as committee member responsible for the rental area in the temple, and other local leaders and main shop owners in the market. The committee will be in charge of managing, monitoring and controlling standards of the market including hygiene, product prices and qualities that would be sold to the visitors, planning for market development programmes and so on. At that time, Buncha invited General Opas Bhotipaht, a famous culinary guide columnist to consult him a strategy to present the unique identity of Don Wai River Market for tourism development. Firstly, they intended to present a market as 'floating market' with floating boats on the river selling local products to visitors like that one in Ratchaburi province, but they thought that this plan might not possible because of unstable stream of Nakhon Chaisri River.

Finally, they agreed to develop the market in a theme of traditional local river market to draw the visitors and would promote it as centre for unique and fascinating local food and desserts as well as a provision of activities related with local atmosphere such as cruising along the river, experiencing local ways of lives, sightseeing, enjoying and shopping various kinds of products. This came up with a solution that a new concept for market development was that it could provide multi-purpose activities to respond with different needs of each visitor. After General Opas wrote about a reputation of the market in his column, there came a lot of visitors travelling to the market since then.

In addition to encouragement and support from these active local leaders, popularity and reputation of products in the market have been other influential factors in the revitalisation of Don Wai River Market after its period of decline. Results from a short survey with the visitors can indicate that most of them come to taste the many interesting dishes here and it is quite usual for them to return for a second visit to the market. According to a statement from an owner of Chinese-style duck 'Nai Nuub', at least it was a period of time when the market was very quiet. At that time, the rich often went to work outside the community while the rest who had no better choices had to stay and work in the community until his shop has been promoted in the newspaper column as stated before. Then, more visitors continued to visit the market to buy his duck and that would make a good opportunity for other residents to begin their businesses.

In fact, the dynamic driving mechanism for the market is quite complex with many influential factors. In any case, we have to admit that the strategies of local shops in the market in presenting and displaying their products are vital factors relating in persuading and drawing attention for a lot of visitors to visit the market and to return there again. In addition to this, local leaders play an important role in drawing a potential of the place to be presented and illustrated so effectively including helping in public relation of the local community and the market, planning for tourism development within community context, managing and regulating spatial usage among shops and stalls, facilitating the visitors in terms of provision for a convenient car park and creating standards of tourism image of the community to satisfy most visitors.

Consequently, it is a strong cooperation among local community that makes it possible for community development at present.

Part 2: Roles of central government authority in local cultural heritage management in Don Wai Community

Apart from the encouragement and support from local leaders that contribute to a development of the community and the market, government central authority is another player in local heritage management. Governments have incredibly important roles and responsibilities when it comes to tourism development which would generate various ranges of impacts in the developing countries especially in local communities, if they are concerned about issues of sustainability. In this case, sustainability can only be achieved when tourism is managed in a controlled and integrated manner and is soundly based in careful and effective legislation restriction (France, 1997c: 213). Thus, it depends on the government to set the ground rules or regulations within which tourism development takes place and it is the governments that have the power to establish policies to preserve the integrity of social, cultural and environmental features belonged to the countries.

However, when faced with immediate developmental challenges such as poverty and other economic problems in rural areas, it is not quite surprising that the government does not always accord tourism planning a high priority. It is generally not a lack of planning as such but a lack of effective planning and implementation of plans that is the main impediment to appropriate tourism development in the country. Rather, it seems that despite the macro plan for tourism and community development including local cultural heritage management might not effective in many cases but activities or plans initiated first by local community themselves seem to be more useful within the local context but still needs some kinds of financial or technical support from the government as well. According to Ashley and Roe (1998: 30), there are a number of strategies government authorities can enact to support community involvement in tourism and cultural heritage management and preservation, including ways in which they can plan for and regulate tourism development and facilitate community access to training and credit.

In Don Wai Community, although assistance and guidance from the central government in cultural heritage management and preservation came quite late and in fact it was the local member who recognised significance of heritage asset and seek the ways out to use it for community development, it is quite acceptable that the central government authority still has contribution in tourism development and support infrastructure services including transportation system and road construction to facilitate convenience for tourism in the community. However, the situation at the Don Wai market was quite terrible in a period of decline, without assistance from the central government authority as expressed in the following statement:

The market had begun to be very quiet since many people turned to work outside the community. Moreover, the situation got worse for Don Wai community when compared with nearby Raikhing community that was very popular for the sacred Buddha image, so there came as much as ten million baht of donation per year.

(Statement from a 55-year-old resident, 5 January, 2005)

The governmental support in community development was very obvious when the office of Bang Kratok Tambon Administrative Organisation was moved to be located right in front of an entrance of Don Wai Temple. In fact, a foundation of Tambon Administrative Organisation was a recently policy carried out by the central government since 1995 to empower the local community by giving it an autonomous and independent administrative structure. The main reason for moving the office of the organisation was a priority concern about Don Wai River Market as an important tourist destination, so the office was moved in order to facilitate tourism activities and community development. In this case, a policy of Bang Kratok Tambon Administrative Organisation about Don Wai Community aims mainly on support of tourism development whereas in other communities the policies often focus on general issues such as development plan on natural environment, protection plan on drug abuse, development plan for water supplies or development in public health scheme. For example, according to the developmental plan of local administrative organisation in 2002, an objective to support tourism in Don Wai River Market and establishment of sustainable local economy was also included into the plan.

According to a master plan for tourism development in Don Wai community formally launched in 2001, there has been a continual allocation of funds from the local authority budget to community support for tourism development. Among these projects and plans, most of them were construction plans for building new bridges, roads, pavements, walkways and resting points for visitors. For the past few years, there has been a very large amount of investment from the local authority budget to promote tourism development in Don Wai community. For example, about one hundred million baht was spent by the local authority in a master plan for tourism promotion and development alone (Bang Kratok Tambon Administrative Organisation: 2003), this did not include budget funds used in other fields such as economic development planning, infrastructure development planning, public health services development planning and so on. From this point of view, it can indicate high level of attention among local authority in tourism development support in this community.

In addition to a support from the local authority in promoting tourism development in Don Wai community such as appointing signs of directions to the market, there are also other kinds of assistance including services requests by visitors, local residents or vendors who have trouble or problems within the administrative boundary of the local authority. Among these, the most common problems appear to be:

- Narrow walkways in the market
- Insufficient car parking
- Congested traffic
- No products such as food or desserts provided for free tasting
- Too expensive product price
- Unsatisfactory service from the car park staff
- Lacking of cooperation on car park arrangements
- Risk of fire accident resulting from the use of cooking gas
- Problems from pickpockets and thieves

(Source: Information leaflet of Bang Kratuk Tambon Administrative Organisation, no date)

The local authority has created many useful plans for the market so far such as an installation of automatic telling machine to facilitate the visitors, the regulation of car park including those operated by the temple and private owners and the provision of staff to take in charge of safety and security in the car park, rubbish collecting service and setting up public telephones in the market too. However, after short dialogues with vendors in the market, most of them are still not satisfied by the level of service provided by the local authority. Many thought that the assistance had been inadequate for them not only in the promotion of the market but has also in other issues such as rubbish services. In regard to the latter, the places for dumping garbage are not enough at this time and the amount of rubbish in the market is an eyesore. Even the visitors often complain about where to dump the rubbish. The following complaint from a vendor in the market is an example of this concern:

It is quite very inconvenient to deal with the rubbish problem because a community dump is very far from here and we have to carry the rubbish to there by ourselves because there is no any officer available from the local authority to deal with this case due to lacking of staffs and also supporting budget also.

(Statement from a 38-year-old vendor of Thai food, 17 January, 2005)

The personal views of many vendors toward assistance from the local authority tend to be quite neutral or a little negative because they think that they really get less help from the authority. In fact, they think they can depend on themselves in managing with their shops and stalls or true assistance may come from a promotion from the mass media that makes popularity of the market instead of assistance from the local authority. Moreover, a lot of vendors begin to complain about increasing of rental fees for the bazaars and stalls which they think it is quite expensive compared with the monthly total income derived from selling products. In this case, Somjai, a vendor at the bazaar behind the market, is one of the vendors who had an opinion about this issue as follows:

It is quite bad that the rental prices for the stalls have gradually increased. In fact, I have to drive from my home in Bangkok to open my shop here every day. Only driving alone spends a lot of money due to increasing of fuel prices, no wonder to think about others such as cooking gas, rice and chicken; everything seems to be more expensive. Moreover, it is quite worse that my daily income has been still unstable such as on the rainy day. At present, this rental fee rate is acceptable for me although it is quite high but I have no idea what to do if it increases more in the future.

(Statement from Somjai, a 35-year-old vendor of Indian-style rice with chicken, 17 January, 2005)

Somjai is not the only vendor faced with this problem in the market: in fact, this issue relates quite directly with a matter of shop location in the market. So, we have a prime area that is an area of shops in groups of wooden shop-houses that is the most crowded spot for visitation in the market; this results in profitable income of the shop owners within that area. On the other hand, the bazaars and stalls including those in the area of the temple and those extended into the back of the market are less popular among the visitors. The appropriate reason to explain this difference may come from the fact that most visitors always take for granted that the 'real and authentic' local products promoted in the mass media that they can not miss are mainly sold in the wooden shop-houses. In their opinions, the visitors regard that by only walking through the narrow walkways of the shop-houses can guarantee the authentic experience on sense of locality and also an obvious evidence confirming for their visitation to the market.

In contrast, other areas apart from the wooden shop-houses are not given much attention from the visitors. This might happen from difference in types of products from those sold in the wooden shop-houses. Although the products sold in the temple area are claimed to be local-originated, but many of them are often considered as so common products such as fruits, vegetables or flowers which can be available also in the supermarket or shopping mall in the city. In addition to this, by collecting various kinds of products from different parts of the country at the extending bazaars behind

the market might not enough in drawing an attention for paying a visit because these products can be found even more in Bangkok. Perhaps the can serve only as by-products of visiting the market but are not thought as real souvenir from the local community.

In fact, it may not easy for the local authority to assist or facilitate all vendors in the market because the shops are gradually increasing as the market has been extended. The following table provides further detail, including the number and types of shops located at Don Wai River Market.

Table 1: Numbers and Types of shops at Don Wai River Market

1. The area around Don Wai Temple

Greengroceries	Fruit Stalls	Cloth Stalls	Wood Carving	Others	Total
50	45	1	2	78	176

2. The area around the yard of Don Wai School

Greengroceries	Fruit Stalls	Food Stalls	Thai Desserts Stalls	Others	Total
1	8	10	5	15	39

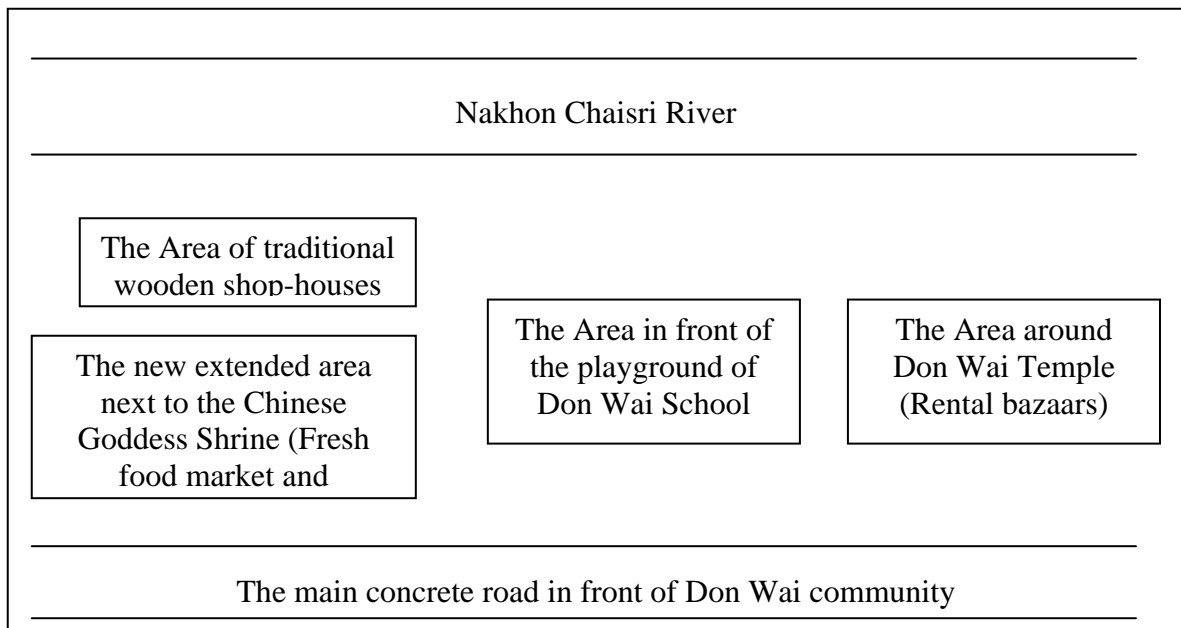
3. The area of ordinary market (wooden shop-houses)

Greengroceries	Fruit Shops	Cloth Shops	Food Shops	Thai Desserts Shops	Others	Total
7	5	3	14	24	4	57

4. The expanded area from ordinary market to The Chinese Goddess Shrine

Greengroceries	Fruit Shops	Food Shops	Thai Desserts Shops	Others	Total
1	17	22	1	36	77

Source: Bang Kratuk Tambon Administrative Organisation, Nakhon Pathom



With 349 shops and stalls located within an area of market, temple and school, it leads to difficulty for the local authority in implementing the regulation of such shops or cope with the problems occurring. Thus, this does not mean that the local authority has absolute authority in heritage management and preservation within a boundary of the market. Besides, the legitimate power also has some limitations especially to cope with a management method in the area of private owner such as the new extending area behind the ordinary market. At present, there are evidences showing that cultural heritages in Don Wai community have been continually maintained and preserved in a satisfying condition, at least in the area used for a visitation or tourism purposes. For the example, the temple already has its own financial resources come mainly from donation for the renovation plan. Regarding the market itself as a living heritage, the residents usually try to repair and maintain the shop-houses as their accommodations in good conditions. The following statement from one of the residents in ordinary shop-houses in the market area makes this point clearly:

We have lived here in this shop-house since the time of my grandparents, my parents and then me and my family about forty years. Though this shop-house looks quite old, but we try to maintain it in a good condition always, so you can observe that there are few changes

done with it and I think that it can be used for a long time unless deterioration will happen with wood or building structure.

(Statement from a 45-year-old resident and grocer in the market, 17 January, 2005)

However, the situation does not happen in the same way throughout the market. At present, there are also deteriorated buildings and shop-houses in the area behind the market because they have not been used for tourism purposes. So, most shop-houses are usually paid for less attention for heritage management and preservation than those ones that have been visited much by the tourists. In this case, it is still doubtful about how the local authority will cope with this problem in the future. Another interesting issue is what happens in a rental area owned by private owner. At present, we can observe some strange things happened within the market area and might surely have impacts on the local fabrics, which is an expansion of the market and construction of new commercial buildings. At this time, the three-storied commercial buildings have been completely finished and have been let for rental as well building of food centre, but these projects have not seemed to be very successful much because the visitors still prefer shopping or dining in the area of ordinary market which they regard as the authentic market.

In addition to Bang Kratuk Tambon Administrative Organisation who is directly takes in charge of development plan and heritage management in Don Wai community, there are other involving government agents contributing support to the community too especially in promoting attraction and popularity of the place in the web site of Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) or the ministry of interior. Also, the ministry of public health has given assistance in monitoring of hygienic control among agricultural products including food, desserts, fruits and vegetables sold at the market. However, these kinds of support from central government agent are not generally obvious like those of the local authority and quite often the local residents or the vendors at the market think the assistance is unnecessary or not in great demand for them; moreover, they also express their opinions that achievement of the market did not mainly come from the central government but from the cooperation from the local people themselves.

In conclusion, the roles of the central government authority in control and encouragement of tangible heritage management and preservation is quite not prominent presently. Most of effort done by the central government authority mainly aims at the formal method such as development of infrastructure to facilitate tourism promotion in the local community, but among plans and projects have been launched, there have been emerging problems taken occurred afterward with the local fabric and ordinary precincts of the community. Problems have arisen from a great amount of trash, crowded people at the weekend or building with incompatible fabric with the ordinary ones such as new commercial buildings or food centre that is eventually left abandoned regardless with appropriate plans are obvious proofs that there are limitations for the local authority to cope with heritage management issues in the community. However, this does not mean that the local authority has failed in its mission because at least it can achieve in drawing cooperation from the local community members through such activities such as sport contest, anti-drug activities or on special events such as traditional Thai New Year's Day, Elders Day, religious-related events and so on.

It should be mentioned here that the central government can enact to support community development in tourism, including ways in which they can plan for and regulate tourism development, market tourism and facilitate community access to training and credit. The government can also make a commitment to directing assistance to the enterprises using and maximising local skills and services, and secondly, to promote tourism based on local technology and wisdom including transport, food production, handicraft and other services. Besides, the government could put more effort into dispersing tourism areas both to help avoid problems which arise when tourism grows too quickly in one destination and to spread the benefits of tourism. In doing this, it does not need to keep opening up 'undiscovered areas', rather it can assist other mainstream destinations to market themselves (Shah and Gupta, 2000).

In reality, it is frequently shown that local people often lack the experience and resources needed to establish successful tourism ventures. As a result of this, some institutional support is required, which can come from the central government involved

provision of information, networking opportunities and capacity-building through skill training. The government can play a crucial role in providing or coordinating appropriate training to enhance skills of local people engaging in tourism enterprises. Training in small business skills, management and marketing is particularly relevant. Such training is particularly relevant and should be available to both those operating formal and informal enterprises. Furthermore, it should also ensure that findings from monitoring and research on tourism issues are publicised widely. In many cases, appropriate action may be for a community meeting with government officers where entrepreneurs or vendors can propose possible solutions and solve the existing problems.

Thus, it is very important to review the question of how a notion of sustainability will be effective in the local development plan to generate a moderate sharing in cultural resources usage in the community in the most appropriate ways. In this case, it may not be a duty only for the local authority alone but it also is very necessary to gain cooperation from other involving stakeholders. Among them, local residents are important factors who can activate in cultural heritage management and preservation. Apart from the written policy of the government agent to bring tourism for community development, they are the local residents who receive direct impacts happened from tourism development. Some of them may regard tourism as a good benefit bringing more income to their family and generate infrastructure development for the community whereas others may think that tourism creates lasted-long problems in community dirt, crime problems or deprivation of their privacy because their community are always visited by the strange outsiders. Consequently, the next part will mention on the impacts generated by tourism development toward the local residents, how they react with that issues and effort and cooperation in cultural heritage preservation also.

Part 3: Local Community Residents and Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation

In the past, I used to sell fruits from my orchard such as bananas, pomelos and coconuts and fish caught from a canal of my home at the

market. When a lot of visitors came in the period of market boom, I try to add more kinds of products at my stalls included pumpkins, garlic, red onions, sweet palm sugar and fried fish and succeeded quite well with satisfying feedback from the customers.

However, only fish from a nearby canal was no longer enough to supply the increasing number of tourists as well as fruits and vegetables, which were usually sold out every week. To solve the problem, I had to order products from other places outside the community to ensure that I would have enough products to sell at the weekends.

(Statement from Naree, a 35-year-old vendor of fruits and vegetables, 17 January 2005)

According to Urry's concept of the 'tourist gaze' (1990), local community residents are the groups of people receiving direct impacts from tourism development. The local community may have to take cultural risk when making contact with others coming from outside in a relationship between host communities and guests. Commonly, tourism has the power to cause some changes in the ordinary local fabric, especially in terms of intangible heritage relating with ways of lives, customs or traditions in the community. At present, many kinds of social and cultural changes can be observed in the local communities coming into contact with tourism development. In some cases, the situation is made worse when the new culture brought by the urban visitors is regarded as better than the previous one that belonged ordinarily to the local communities for the old culture will be eventually abandoned or lost. Moreover, another concern often places on an issue about cultural presentation of which some certain rites, ceremonies or activities are arranged specifically for the visitors. However, although this cultural presentation might be attractive, unique and fantastic to the experiences of visitors but most of them can not generate further recognition or awareness on cultural heritage significance that much.

The situation happening in Don Wai community is somewhat similar to other local communities coming into contact with tourism development. Due to a rapid change generated in the context of local community, there have been several impacts

and changes that will eventually affect with the community's ordinary and traditional ways of life among the residents. These kinds of changes and impacts related much with an issue on cultural heritage management and preservation will be discussed in the following pages:

4.1 Rapid economic growth in the local community

The local economy has been changed so much since tourism has been introduced to the community. In the past, most vendors in the market usually made only a little amount of products to sell mostly for local buyers in the nearby neighbourhood areas. Another reason was that some ingredients in Thai food and desserts such as coconut milk and sweet palm sugar could easily stale if they were left for more one night, so the food and desserts vendors generally made them daily. Moreover, the situations happening at present astonish many elder people in the community who have not ever thought that this thing would happen in the past. For example, look at the statement from one of ordinary Thai food vendor in the market.

In the past when I was a teenager, I had to go far away from the community to sell food made by my mother because we could not sell much of it in this quiet market. At present, everything totally changes when there are many visitors coming to the market and surely make good benefits to my family. We can get income about ten thousand baht per day instead of one thousand baht like in the past. A business goes very well that even I, in my seventies, have to help my daughters and nephews in the shops at the weekends.

(Statement from a 71-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 17 January, 2005)

In addition to changes occurring at the market, the surrounding areas including the fresh food market, bazaars and stalls also derive a lot of benefits flowing from tourism development in the community. For instance, consider with changes with a flea market happening later after a time of market boom, a word frequently used by the local residents to refer a stage that the market has become very popular among outside

visitors. Normally in the past, the flea market usually opened twice a week on Tuesday and Friday, but after the market has been more famous, the local residents could gain more income from tourism and spent much money in shopping at the flea market. Thus, the flea market took this opportunity to extend its opening into four days per week to respond needs of local residents and sometimes for the visitors coming to the market at the weekdays too. According to more income from opening shops for visitors, this creates much motivation to draw a lot of local residents to return to their hometown and begin their own business. Moreover, even some of these people quite the previous jobs to do business in the community only because it is more profitable than the routine income.

Surely, the temple is another social unit gaining benefits from tourism and community development. As the number of visitors has increased continually for the past few years, the temple has derived much income especially from donation and rental fees. In fact, this does not mean that the temple can gain all rental fees from the vendors in the market area because the temple only has authority to charge for rental fees with the vendors at the areas in front of the temple. Consequently, it is really this donation helping in renovation plan for the temple such as improvement and repair of a chapel, crematory or toilets. According to Boon-Chouy, a maid who is in charge of taking care of the toilets at the temple, the good aspects of tourism development as far as the temple is concerned are as follows:

A lot of visitors surely contribute to positive benefits to the temple in terms of more income, mainly from donation of outside visitors. In fact, the ordinary residents will come to make merit at the temple only when they want to whip off bad luck or welcome fortune for doing their businesses. In addition to this, there will be occasionally religious events each year when local residents join in making merit at the temple. However, much donation still comes from the outside visitors rather than the local residents since the period of market boom. Luckily, my wage has increased too, especially at the weekends when there are many visitors using the toilets.

(Statement from Boon-Chouy, 17 January, 2005)

The revitalisation of Don Wai River Market and its community not only brings a lot of visitors to come to this place, but also brings many of its residents back to their community also. As a demand for labour workforce becomes necessary to continue activities in the shops, the offspring of former vendors or shopkeepers then come back to help their parents in producing and selling products because they can gain profitable income more than their regular jobs. Moreover, this positive aspect is beneficial too to the present generations in terms that they have no need to apply for any jobs after their graduation. In this case, what really encourages an effort of the later generations to return back to the community might be an impact from a severe 1997 economic crisis in Asian countries especially Thailand. At that time, several big companies were closed and thousands of officers were faced with layoff and the number of unemployed increased dramatically.

Consequently, there was an emerging shift in a notion of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) that encouraged people to be new entrepreneurs and start their own business in a small and medium scale. Among these enterprises, the most favourite ones for many people are opening privately run food shops, bakeries or coffee shops with much support from the government authority and the owners of new enterprises usually were unemployed people affected by layoff or the ones who felt insecure about the present jobs and who tried to set up businesses by themselves. As a result of this, with its existing basis as a place with local wisdom in traditional and unique food and desserts, the Don Wai community can be very attractive for people wanting to start the new jobs or run the business after their parents. According to Pen, a former secretary in a big company in Bangkok, it was actually the economic crisis that stimulated her that even she had a well-paid jobs with good benefits, but it could not guarantee her future that she would not be fired and left unemployed. After thinking carefully about this, she then decided to quite her job and return to help her mother in Thai desserts shop in the market.

It was quite a hard decision for me whether to quit my job at that time. But I decided to do it eventually amidst very much surprise from my boss and colleagues. At present, I am sure that my decision is not wrong, although this job might provide less income than my previous

one, but I am proud that it is on my own. Anyway, I was so lucky that I returned in a period of market boom, so this resulted in much of income from selling Thai desserts especially from Toddy palm cake. Furthermore, it is not just me who think like this, but there are also other people too, especially the new graduates who want to run the shops after their parents.

(Statement from Pen, a 38-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 17 January, 2005)

Nevertheless, the number of shop assistants in each shop is still not enough, so there is an extra demand for labour workforces to be hired at the shops. For example, for more than ten year the Somporn Thai desserts shop is one of the enterprises which have been recruiting temporary shop assistants from students wanting part-time jobs. Each shop might have its own strategy to create motivation among labours such as provision of over time payment or facilitating in accommodations because recent workers often come from other regions such as the Northeast. Most workers are not walk-in applicants but are rather recommended by cousins or friends who have already worked before in the community. Thus, it may be concluded that a revitalisation of Don Wai River Market does not only provide a good opportunity in career path for the local residents but is also regarded as a labour market for migrating workforces from other parts of the country too.

4.2 Creating more various types of occupations in the community

Don Wai River Market has been transformed much from its original state as a common market for buying and selling ordinary products into a market developed for tourism purposes with some products that have been promoted to emphasise the community's cultural identity. In this respect, the main fields of residents' occupations tend to be more different than the former ones in the past. In Don Wai there are more careers in service sections such as cruising services, foot massaging and barbers. It is very obvious that the new kinds of services are aimed mainly at outside visitors rather than local residents. Moreover, also built to respond with increasing number of visitors who want to experience the scenic view of the place are water rafts which are plentiful

at present and built along the river side. Furthermore, to emphasise on a sense of authentic locality experience, there are boat vendors who paddle their boats carrying various types of agricultural products sold for tourists in the water rafts. This business is regarded as earning satisfying income to the vendors.

In fact, it is likely that an idea about boat vendors also has been revitalised to attract the visitors as well as revitalisation of the market. This is quite similar to a cultural setting at Damnoen Saduak floating market in Ratchaburi province that has become very well-known among foreign tourists as a symbol of Thailand. Significantly, the issue of boat vendors also raises the topic of cultural authenticity and cultural presentation. In talking with one informant in the community, it was found that, although the products sold on boat are claimed to be authentically from orchards, the fact is that not all of them comes from the orchard but are bought from the agricultural products centre in other provinces. However, this does not bother visitors much in terms of their feelings toward senses of locality.

Other types of employment emerging as the result of tourism development in the local community are car park officers, toilet maids, waiters or even burglars. In addition to an increasing in various kinds of activities provided for visitors, types of products sold in the market have become more various too. Snacks from Malaysia, potteries from northern part of the country, wooden furniture, handicrafts and much more products are available here in the market. For the past few years, there have been more shops opened around the market area but this change is not quite obvious when compared with a rapid emergence of careers in service sections.



Figure 14: Nowadays, more car parks are provided for the increasing number of visitors and working as car park officers has become a well-paid job

4.3 Changes in types of customers

As Don Wai River Market has been transformed into a heritage market for tourism, the types of its customers appear to have changed too. At present, more than half of the customers visiting the market both at weekdays and weekends come from Bangkok. The Bangkok proportion seems even higher during the long public holidays. Many shops; including those regarded as the famous of the market, claim that their customers are both Bangkok visitors and local residents too. In this case, Pen expressed her opinion about this as follows:

My customers are both people living here and outside visitors from Bangkok. In fact, local residents are still our customers as our shop has been here for a long time and they can buy the desserts whenever they want. However, when the market has been promoted to be a tourist attraction of the province, a number of visitors have increased a lot especially those from Bangkok, so much of products are sold mainly for them. ...I have various groups of customers, but I suppose that most of them are middle class people who can afford to buy this desserts because sometimes the product price might thought to be quite expensive for the local residents who are get used to cheaper products. Nevertheless, I try to be very careful in product quality and think that this price is reasonable, acceptable and affordable for the visitors.

(Statement from Pen, a 38-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 17 January, 2005)

Apart from an increasing number of domestic visitors, there has been an emergence of foreign tours visiting the market recently, generally on Mondays. However, most vendors said that they did not know who initiated this programme for the foreign tourists or where they came from. However, these tourists did not pay much attention or spend a lot of money at the market and usually took a short period of

time at the market before going on to other places on their itineraries. Thus, the main target customer for the market is certainly Thai people. Perhaps an extension of target customers of the market to the foreign tourists might not be easy at present, but it will be possible in the future if there is much more effective cooperation in arrangement of the tour programme between tour operators and local authority or widespread public relation to persuade the tourists as well.

4.4. More quality control and development of local products

Obviously, it is likely that more competition in selling products to visitors can encourage an improvement and development of the local products always in order to attract additional customers. Furthermore, the new generation of entrepreneurs is the key to implementing new marketing strategies aimed not only selling out their products but also satisfying customers' needs in the long terms. According to Mol, a 34-year-old vendor of Thai food, much competition in quality control of the products in the market can be beneficial to the market to be more sustainable because there will be more products with good quality on sold to the visitors.

In my opinion, an important concern must be placed on control of standard price and quality among the products sold in the market; this means that the vendors should not setting too expensive cost of products only to gain more profits. For me, there are many ways to gain more profits apart from increasing the product price such as enhancement of production or looking for new market, which becomes a successful strategy. At present, I also distribute my products to the retailers in Bangkok too. Thus, if we can maintain standard product price in a reasonable way, it will ensure existence of the business in the future.

Because I am an ordinary resident in this community, so I love being here and want the market to be with us for so long. Thus; as a community member, what we can best contribute to the community is to retain a good image of the market among the visitors, that is, to offer them good quality products with reasonable price.

(Statement from Mol, 21 January, 2005)

Apart from control of prices and product quality, many shops in Don Wai River Market also have other strategies to draw attention from the visitors such as adaptation of products to be more various, attractive and suitable to the needs of most urban visitors. For example, with the growing awareness happened recently among urban consumers about the importance of good health, some menus of food and desserts have been changed to reduce the amount of sugar or coconut milk ingredients or to add domestic herbs thought to be useful for health. According to vendor Pen:

At present, we use less sugar in the desserts than in the past because most visitors often complain that it is too sweet and might not be good for their health. Furthermore, most modern women usually worry that sugar and coconut milk will make them fatter. In fact, the real recipe derived from my grandparents determined that Thai desserts must need much sugar to emphasise on the taste, but we have to change a little bit to suit with the customers' needs.

(Statement from Pen, a 38-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 17 January, 2005)

Significantly, an effort among the vendors to adopt new changes to satisfy the visitors might not happen unless the market had been revitalised again. On the one hand, this change encourages the vendors to be more responsible with the product quality and guarantee of reasonable price; on the other hand, it has become obviously that much of recent effort has been paid for the new target customers who are urban visitors rather than the ordinary local customers at the same time.

4.5 A shift in form and mode of product transportation

Formerly, most vendors in the market had to take their products to sell at any other places themselves, but this system also has been changed at this day. At present, there are certain retailers who come to buy products at the Don Wai River Market almost everyday and bring them to sell at other places; thus, this is much more

convenient for the Don Wai Market's vendors. According to a statement from Sri, an ordinary vendor at the market, this recent change occurred in the following manner:

You can easily distinguish types of vendors at this market. The vendors in the shops are usually ordinary community residents while at the same time those at the stalls are the outside vendors from other places. In fact, most ordinary fruit farmers used to paddle their boats from the fruit orchards to sell their products at the market. But there is no need to do this since the last ten years because the retailers will buy them from the farmers and then distribute to other markets.

(Statement from Sri, a 65-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 21 January, 2005)

This change is considered to contribute positive benefits to the fruit farmers in terms of reduction in transportation costs especially at the time when fuel price has been rising and bring more convenience to them too. From an interview with the fruit farmers on 21 January, 2005, most of them said that there were no problems in dealing with the retailers and they were satisfied with product price agreement. However, although the fruit farmers usually gain a lot of benefits from distributing their products to the retailers, but this could happen only with the favourite products can be sold very well to the customers such as pomelos, bananas and coconuts of which their demands always very high. Nonetheless, for farmers growing areca nuts, their situation has not been improved like others because areca nuts are not considered as favourite products for the customers and the distribution markets as well.

4.6 More recognition and awareness on local cultural heritage significance

Many kinds of changes can be observed in the local community of Don Wai since it has been promoted as a main tourist attraction, not only in the people's ways of life but also in their views on the importance of cultural heritage. As the market and the community have become increasingly well known among visitors and others as a remarkable community in terms of the management and preservation of local cultural heritage, it seems likely that the sense of locality has been much strengthened among

the community residents. From interviews, almost every resident talks about the community with very much pride and asserts that most success comes from a vital cooperation among local residents who want to see that the market can be maintained in a suitable way. The most obvious evidence from this case is a statement from the residents that they are very proud that their community has a unique cultural heritage that interests the many visitors who want to experience an authentic sense of local lives and learn about the local inherited folk wisdom.

When asked about awareness of their local cultural heritage significance, most residents generally reported that they have very strong relationship and solidarity with the community and the market is regarded as their birthplace, home and workplace; consequently they want to live here always and do not want to move to any other place. This view is prominent even in a case of some successful vendors of the market such as the owner of Chinese-style duck Nai Nub. Even though his family has achieved much business success and have a very big and beautiful house built outside the community, they still commute to open their shop at the market everyday. In this case, this is related with an old Chinese belief that the first shops or enterprises which bring achievement to the owners must be paid the highest respect and should not be closed or moved to other places. Another person who expresses a close bond with the market is Sri, who commented that:

I've heard that other markets have tried to change themselves in the similar ways of ours, but eventually not achieve much success like this because they just bought favourite products from other places to be gathered at the market with many less authentic products belonged to the community or made by its folk wisdom. So, they can be only the product centres and the visitors might have no interest on them in the end. However, what happens here is quite different because we have our own unique products. This makes me very proud of my community.

(Statement from Sri, a 65-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 21 January, 2005)

Moreover, tourism development contributed positive benefits in the market in that the residents usually maintain the wooden shop-houses in a satisfying condition and put much effort into sustaining the original fabric of the market as in the past. However, as stated before, that the market has been changed and substantially transformed into a heritage market for tourism. Nevertheless many kinds of changes, such as new commercial buildings and new and unusual products, have been introduced into the market context, raising concerns regarding cultural heritage management and preservation in the future.

4.7 Increasing incidence of theft in the community

As a result of increasing visitors to the community and the market, there has been a sharp rise in the number of thieves. At present, there is usually an announcement from the local authority to inform the visitors to be aware of their belongings while shopping in the market. Indeed, many residents and vendors in the community think that the crime problem has originated from tourism development because there were not so many thieves in the past before the market was popular among outside visitors. However, most vendors think that the community with crime problem at this time might be better than the quiet community of the past, but effective measures to mitigate crime must be enacted by the local authority as soon as possible. For further detail about this, the statement taken from one vendor and resident is useful:

Crime problems in the community such as thieves and pickpockets have increased because of a great number of visitors around here. At least, most thieves take for granted that the visitors coming here might be rich enough for them to steal money and valuables. This situation has occurred since a period of market boom where the market has been crowded with outside visitors which we can not know who are thieves or common people. But I wish the market to have visitors rather than not because we still want to earn income for our living.

There are many forms of thieves nowadays that we can hardly recognize them. For the past few months, I have heard much about

steals and pickpocket. Sometimes these thieves even disguise themselves to be monks or taxi drivers and steal a lot of money or valuables from the visitors. Consequently, the local authority has to call for police officers to take care of security in the community both at weekdays and weekends, but there are more officers at the weekends.

(Statement from Suree, a 43-year-old grocer, 21 January, 2005)

Above all, in addition to the visitors who are affected from crime problems at the market, many vendors here reported problems on this issue too. This also includes troubles with pickpockets at the cash registers or cheats who use fake bank notes. The interviews suggest that assistance from the local or central government authority may be insufficient to cope with the whole problems facing with the residents and the visitors. Thus, most vendors have to carry out their own solutions in this case especially be more careful about the customers and keep money in safe places.

4.8 An emerging conflict among the vendors at the market

Sometimes the process of market and community development due to tourism does not merely bring positive benefits but also some kinds of conflicts among the residents in the social context. Moreover, the conflicts have arisen obviously since the period of market boom since 1996. Frequently conflicts occur between the ordinary vendors who are at the same time local residents, and the new-comer vendors who are usually outside people. Furthermore, conflicts may be quite serious when they relate to competition among the vendors selling similar products and having the stalls near each other. In this regard, Sunantha, a vendor of porcelain, shows considerable discomfort with her neighbouring vendor at the next stall:

I can not get along well with the vendor next to my stall and our conflict seems to be very common at present. I can observe much on her negative manners such as sarcasm and gossip. In fact, I have no idea why she does this because we have never had any fight or quarrel before and she even came to open the shop after me. So, we end up with

paying no interest to each other. I have never talked to her anymore, and she has too.

(Statement from Sunantha, a 34-year-old porcelain seller, 21 January, 2005)

Sunantha may not be a single case of a person faced with conflict in doing her business. From an interview, conflicts among the vendors can be observed commonly and even sometimes regarded as routine activities. Most vendors typically report that discontent often happens when they feel that there is a severe competition among the vendors selling similar products nearby one another.

Perhaps it becomes a nature of vendors when mentioned about quarrel. I think jealousy can easily happen when we can sell more products better than others. Moreover, problem may arise when our products are imitated by others who have no way out to be successful on their products and I think that is unacceptable for me. Consequently, conflicts may happen according to this way. Besides, conflicts become more heavily since a period of market boom because other vendors tend to do the same thing according to the successful ones. For example, the market used to have only one shop selling Chinese-style duck but at this time there are many of them around here. This is not considerably good because it would relate with a sense of authenticity among the visitors that they would not know whether which is the real or original shops or products. I know that many shops usually cheat the visitors by referring that their products are the same as ones at the popular shops but I do not know how to solve this problem.

(Statement from Pen, a 38-year-old vendor of Thai desserts, 17 January, 2005)

At present, such conflicts among the vendors at the market have remained unsolved; furthermore, these conflicts are thought to be critical factors damaging solidarity within the local community. Because of the conflicts are considered as personal affairs, the local authority can not take much part in solving them and this

comes from the fact that such conflicts are not too serious so that extreme measures are needed. However, there has been a recent concern that this problem might lead to further negative impacts relating to the management system of the market and cooperation among the vendors in cultural heritage preservation. Moreover, the conflicts among the vendors also result in another problem – that of competition over space for locating stalls, making the walkways in the market becomes narrower and less convenient for the visitors moving to through the market.

From this problem, the local authority used to look for a solution by extending the walkways, but this project might require cooperation by the local residents to give spaces in front of their shop-houses for the new extended walkways. However, the local authority found at the end that it was quite a hard job to persuade the residents to contribute their own spaces, so the project failed before taking into actions and the problem on walking spaces in the market has remained until this day. By the way, conflicts among vendors usually happen with those who have to rent stalls instead of having their own shops. Due to an increasing number of visitors coming at the weekends or public holidays, the surrounding areas around the temple, school and market have turned into the rental areas for stalls and bazaars; thus leading to conflicts on spatial usage among residents and inconvenience among visitors as well.

An obvious problem occurring at present is the lack of enough car park area. This is a problem that might affect directly the market because more than half of visitors here generally come by private cars. According to many visitors interviewed, the inconvenience in finding car park would discourage them from revisiting the market in the future. In addition to this, another important for the market is about much expensive products price at present that makes some visitors do not come again quite often as usual. In this case, the ordinary residents or ‘the inner vendors’ usually blame ‘the outer vendors’ or those who coming from outside that they are too selfish for thinking only to gain as much as profits and do not care about such impacts that would happen to the market in the long term. According to Mol, the situation is more serious at present when many people at the market have become strangers to one another because of too many vendors.

At present, not all vendors here are ordinary residents in the community. Moreover, when the market has become more popular, some families tended to change their former jobs into food or desserts vendors. For example, for someone who used to sell fabrics may turn their shops into food or desserts stalls because they can make more income. However, if they were not professional in cooking food or baking desserts, they would let front part of their shop-houses for rental purposes, and then there came outsiders running the shops instead.

I think most problems here usually originate from the outer vendors because they do not have intimacy or solidarity with the community like the ordinary residents. For me, I love my community because it is a source of income, so I want a period of market boom to be so long that I do not have to move to other places. Consequently, what I can do at this time is to keep the customers for long term although there might be some complaints about the visitors that the products have become much expensive as they used to be.

(Statement from Mol, 21 January, 2005)

Furthermore, the outer vendors are blamed for lacking care about safety in their shops and for practices as using fuel or cooking gas that might cause fire. Typically, many problems have been sent to the market committee for solution; unfortunately, nothing has happened so far to resolve the problems. Presently, there are increasing requests from inner vendors for the local authority to consider the qualification of outer vendors before granting permits making for them to open shops at the market. To conclude, we have to accept that conflicts exist everywhere, even in a community regarded as having solid cooperation among the residents like Don Wai community. In this case, conflicts among the vendors are aggravated by incompatibility between the inner and outer vendors relating to personal benefits. Moreover, conflicts can further lead to problems over spaces for shops and stalls, inadequacy of car parking, cheating by new-comer vendors who would discourage the visitors for coming here again and so on. Unless effective solutions are made to settle the problems by the responsible agents, it may affect to the existence of the market in the future.

4.9 Emerging conflicts between the community and the temple

Although a revitalisation of Don Wai River Market and its community used to gain much strong cooperation from the community and the temple, but the situation at present has changed quite a lot and creates a bitter relationship between these two units. According to a survey with some local residents in this research, it is reported that lots of local residents do not go to make merit or other religious activities at the temple as they had done before the period of market boom. Besides, the residents think that due to the market boom and increasing visitors, the temple can gain a lot of income from rental fees by using its area for rental spaces and also with a great deal of donation from the visitors as well. The main reason for discontent among the local residents is that, according to Buddhism belief, the monastic institutes are held in high respect as sacred bodies and thought to be independent from any profane activities, especially charging money from common people. For the past few years, with the temple being responsible for imposing its income without assistance from the board, much discontent has been created among the community toward the temple and monks.

From this point of view, one anonymous informant said that the temple used to assign the temple board for taking care of the assets and benefits. Unfortunately, what happened after was that a great sum of money was lost due to corruption among the board members and it was this incident that led to the deterioration in the relationship between the temple and the community. Since then, the monks in the temple have been in charge of keeping financial income without assistance from the board members. Nevertheless, the local residents have thought that monks should not have involved in commercial activities like this, so their attitudes toward the temple have begun to change unfavourably and a gulf has widened between them. At present, it is said that the local residents do not like monks at this temple and try to avoid participating in such activities held by the temple; moreover, they do not even invite the monks into any religious activities in the community as well. Consequently, without income from outside such as donation from visitors, it looks like that the temple can not gain much income from the local members.

One obvious question usually raised among the local members that leads to discontent with the temple is how the temple will manage the large income it is receiving at present. In fact, many residents confirm that they had never felt negatively about the temple until the market was promoted and the temple began to let its area for rental purposes and charged rental fees from the vendors. As a result of this, it has been regarded as unacceptable among local members to see the temple starting to do their business with the people. Although this kind of conflict is quite latent unlike that which occurred among the vendors or the residents, but it will generate long term impacts toward the community as well. If there is no suitable measure to control an expansion of rental areas at the temple, increasing numbers of outside vendors will lead to other problems such as conflicts among vendors, inconvenience of visitors, appearance of odd products which might low in quality and decay uniqueness of cultural products of the community too.

Apart from the conflicts outlined above, there is also conflict happening among the owners of rental areas around the market too. Since the period of market boom, there has been a division of the market's rental areas into three sections as follows:

1. A rental area in front of Don Wai Public School under the responsibility of the school;
2. A rental area around Don Wai Temple under the responsibility of the temple;
3. A rental area in the ordinary market belonged to the founder of the market under the current responsibility of three owners

Because the vendors in each area are independent from the others, it seems that there is less cooperation happened among them due to conflicts over personal benefits. As a result of this, there is usually no one who is responsible for coping with problems happening at the market and the three parties -- the temple, school and market -- often blame one another for not doing anything to look for solutions. Eventually, they leave the local residents to seek their own ways to cope with problems instead of achieving cooperation between everybody involved with the community.

Conclusion

It has been found that the development of Don Wai community has originated through its relationship with the river. In the past, the river played important roles with community member ways of life. The river provided water supply for household consumption and agricultural method and was used as a crucial mode of transportation among the communities near the river banks. In this sense, an early form of products exchange usually occurred among communities in close neighbourhood areas. After that, the market declined due to a construction of the new concrete roads built in 1967. During a period of decline, activities at the market existed in small numbers because local residents moved to do business in other more profitable places. However, the emergence of new roads at the same time brought outside people to come and work at the market more because of much convenience in transportation, but a rapid growth of the market really happened in the period of market boom.

As the market was promoted and became much well known among the outsiders, it provoked several changes to the activities among the sellers and the buyers at the market too. In the past, the agricultural products sold at the market came from the authentic orchards and gardens in the communities and main customers were local residents. When the market entered into the boom period and lots of visitors came in, an increasing demand to supply enough products for tourism encouraged a necessity for local vendors to bring products from other places for sold at the market also. The situation happened to most vendors has been quite similar to others because of a lot of visitors coming to the market. So, the impacts from promoting heritage tourism in the community might lead to subsistent economy of local residents into mass economy which depends much on outside factors such as outside product sources and outside target customers too.

Job classification in Don Wai community has been affected from tourism development also. Since a period of market boom, a number of people working as merchants, vendors, grocers, or hawkers have increased gradually. These people consist of ordinary local resident who have worked in these fields already such as Nai Nuub Chinese-style duck, Somporn Thai desserts and so on, people who changed their jobs into tourism-related fields such as fruit growers bringing their products to sell at the market and outside people who come here to look for better opportunity in their

businesses. It is these outside vendors who have brought various kinds of products from other places into the community from Bangkok to many distant provinces of the country. Although it looks like that products on sold at the market are very various, but all of them still have similarity on their concept of local-based products; for instance, wooden handicrafts, woven crafts, terra cottas and ceramic wares which are considered to be compatible with a local context of Don Wai community.

Because demand of consumption among the visitors has arisen so high in the past few years, it has affected a potential in production among the local residents too. Even almost products still have been produced at the market and community, but there has been extra requirement of raw material from other sources such as sugar, flour and coconut for making food and desserts because products acquired from community alone are no longer enough at present. In addition to changes happening at the market, there has been another shift in product distribution of Don Wai River Market since a period of market boom. For example, there has been an extension of target customer of the market from the dwellers in the nearby communities into middle class customers from big cities especially from Bangkok. Moreover, the products themselves have been distributed to other distant areas by the certain retailers who are responsible for selling products in their areas. At the same time, various kinds of products are delivered at the market too such as clothes, herbal medicines or movie discs.

Another interesting change at the market is consumer behaviour in buying products. It has been found recently that the local residents at Don Wai community or neighbourhood areas have not spent much money in buying goods at the market like in the past. Most residents complain that product prices are sometimes quite high to afford, they think perhaps that market are turned to satisfy the visitors' needs rather than the locals'. In addition to this, it seems to be that the local residents prefer to attend religious activities or buy products at Rai King Market because of its cheaper product prices. In fact, prosperity of Don Wai River Market has generated some impacts to the nearby communities such as Tha Pood and Rai King Community too. Ordinarily, Rai King Temple and its market used to be a main attraction for the visitors in this area due to a well-known Buddha image at the temple. At present, the two

temples and communities will plan to develop their market like Don Wai River Market in order to attract more visitors and generate income to their communities too.

According to interviews with the vendors at Tha Pood Temple, they want the market to be well-known and promoted for tourism development like Don Wai River Market with a lot of visitors coming in. In conclusion, a revitalisation of Don Wai River Market has contributed impacts in terms of efforts made by other communities to promote heritage tourism in order to attract visitors. In addition to Tha Pood and Rai King Communities, there are other communities in Nakhon Pathom and other provinces that are under decision to promote as tourist attractions such as Lum Phaya River Market, Taling Chun River Market, Tha Ka Market and much more. Thus, it could be predicted that there would be more competition among such communities to draw the visitors. In this case, the advantages will depend on the ways of which cultural heritage of the communities are presented to the visitors. However, with lacking of inadequate heritage tourism planning, tourism development might bring negative aspects to the local communities such as changes happened to cultural identities that are changed to suit the visitors' needs or the local communities will lose their potential to sustain themselves in the long terms.

The last part in this section will outline the influences of visitors on the over local cultural heritage in Don Wai Community. Since the period of market boom, Don Wai River Market has been changed from common local market into heritage market for tourism. It has targeted new customers who are usually middle class urban residents wanting to consume culturally authentic experiences of the local context. Furthermore, it is indeed the visitors' needs that led to the revitalisation of the market and local cultural identity and heritage are therefore presented for the visitors' consumption. Consequently, various kinds of changes happened as the result of tourism development as stated in the previous part. Part 4 will focus on the notion of Don Wai Community and its cultural assets as spaces of consumption for middle class consumers. It will investigate the impacts that this has had on the local fabric of the community, both social and physical, and will lead to the final conclusion of this research project.

Part 4: Cultural Heritage Consumption and its impacts by visitors in Don Wai River Market and Community

5.1 Views and behaviours of visitors toward the local market

Before discussing the impacts of outside visitors on the local heritage of Don Wai community, it is crucial to look carefully at the outstanding and successful role of the mass media in supporting market revitalisation and persuasion of tourists to visit the market in the past few years. Since the market began to be promoted about seven years ago, many visitors who come to visit tourist attractions and consume the products at the market have known its reputation from a variety of media such as television programmes, magazines, and Internet as well as promotional signboards made by the local authority. In addition to this, the fame of the market comes from personal communication among those who have already visited the market and were impressed by its products. Not so long, the market became very popular among the urban residents as a source of unique and delicious food and desserts. Most visitors who used to pay their visits agreed that they were attracted by a charm of the market due to its products, natural environment and sense of authenticity belonged to the local market.

Da, a 29-year-old freelance writer, found out about the market from the Internet, a form of communication with which she is very familiar in her daily life.

I had never known about the market before until I found it enlisted as a top tourist attraction on The Internet. At first, I thought that this place might be interesting because it was an old local market located nearby the river side and had different and delicious products from other places. So I decided to go there for travelling and looking for new experiences that would be useful with my job too.

(Statement from Da, 30 January, 2005)

Aim is another visitor who knows about the market from the Internet and from her friends who used to go there before.

I always use The Internet everyday because of my job and usually spend my free time searching for the exotic places for traveling at weekends. Once I found an article on this place on the Internet, it was quite interesting to pay a visit to an old market with tasty food and desserts. Moreover, my friends who used to go there also sheer me up to go there because of its nice view and near distant from Bangkok that would be easy for me who have to work five days a week.

(Statement from Aim, a 25-year-old office lady, 30 January, 2005)

Other informants also said the same things about their reasons to come to the market. Most of them come here according to the reputation of the unique and delicious food and desserts at the market. Others also want to experience the ordinary local market and a pleasant atmosphere of river community that they can enjoy cruising on small engine boats, eating on the water rafts or enjoying with various selections of food and desserts throughout the old market. Moreover, mass media plays an important role in illustration a picture of local and traditional market and community to the mind of urban visitors who are bored at the city lives and search for other ways to release themselves with consumption on experiences to fulfil their needs for pleasure. Thus, Don Wai River Market which has been considered as a place responsible to multi-purposes activities then is a good choice for paying a visit at weekends.

In this case, it is very obvious that at present the market is much obsessed by the middle class visitors, which is resulted from an idea of consumerism culture that creates and encourages needs for consumption among these people. Moreover, these middle class people are quite similar in terms of their desires to search for sense of cultural authenticity and the ideal image of pleasant life in the past. On the other hand, their behaviours in shopping or buying products are quite different from those who go to the market to buy products necessary for daily life. Generally, the market is a place nearby home where the community residents go to buy food or groceries for household usage. However, the reason why a lot of urban visitors come a distant way to Don Wai River Market is not to buy those such things, but they would rather come with desires

to taste delicious food and desserts and try to involve with such activities happened within the context of the community such as cruising along the river side.

In fact, a proportion at present of the local residents coming to buy products at the market for daily usage compared with the visitors is very low due to the increase in product prices after the period of market boom. So the ordinary residents usually go to buy products at other places and only buy some certain goods from two grocery stores at Don Wai River Market. Nowadays, it turns to be that main target customers of the market are outside visitors. According to a survey with the visitors in this research, it is found that the visitors coming to the market are typically groups of visitors (maybe two to ten people) consisting of family members or friends who want to feel their childhood experiences or nostalgia about the past that are no longer exist in the bustling and confusing city lives. Another crucial reason for visiting here is the desire to experience a sense of authenticity of food and desserts that are thought to be made from authentic local wisdom, unlike others sold everywhere. In fact, it is really a cultural meaning placed on certain local products that the visitors want to consume or experience when they come here.

The common aspects that most visitors coming to this market collectively have are that they are usually middle class city residents who have private cars. Most of them generally spend two to five hours at the market with quite similar activities such as looking and shopping for popular shops whose products are promoted through mass media, then having some lunch, go cruising along the river, feeding fish at piers and go back home. For the visitors, apart from suitable reasons that make Don Wai River Market to be an ideal place for relaxation at the weekends such as it is not far from Bangkok, can be easily-accessed and so economical in terms of money time and fuel, most visitors often state about its charming and exotic atmosphere that they can hardly see in the big cities. For example, Dao, a 25-year-old operator, is another person attracted by the cultural setting of the market. She said that she liked the market due to its many selections of products and its old settings that impressed her lots because she rarely saw these things at her hometown.

I am so excited with the settings here. It provides me tasty food and desserts with reasonable prices. Moreover, I really like these wooden shop-houses with high roofs that are well-preserved, old wooden houses scattered along the river banks and this place also has soothing atmosphere nearby the river side. I am sure that other visitors must think like me because we can not expect to see such scenes in Bangkok of which the rivers and canals are very dirty nowadays.

(Statement from Dao, 30 January, 2005)

Commonly, visitors usually reported that the atmosphere and setting of the market reminded them of lives in the past or their childhood which was considered as a pleasant moment of lives. For a further idea about this, look at statement from Karn who is another person coming to the market to search for an old feeling relating to the past.

My reason for visiting here is to experience an old community and actually I am really interested in historic town like this one. In my opinion, coming here can remind me about feeling I really miss in my childhood. My previous home where I used to spend my childhood with my grandparents was quite similar to the wooden shop-houses here. Though I have not lived there anymore, but walking through this market is likely to bring to back to that memorable time.

(Statement from Karn, a 38-year-old teacher, 30 January, 2005)

It is quite apparent that a cultural identity of the market and community that relates with a notion of old place and traditional community play important role to draw attention among the visitors, especially those who have nostalgia for life as it was in the past. Nevertheless, those visitors who return many times and who witness the rapid changes occurring in the fabric of the market express their opinions that they prefer the market not to be promoted so much and wish for it to remain as it used to be in the past. For instance, look at a statement from Pipat, a 40-year-old engineer, about this issue.

I love travelling, perhaps because I have to go to work in different provinces or abroad. For this market, I used to come here for the first time with my mother since I was a child. After that, I often came here about twice a year with my family. However, I feel that everything has been changed more or less but exactly not the same market I used to visit at that time. You can see evidences of changes happened such as new bigger roads and more visitors. I think these changes might decrease sense of the market's charm in some ways, but I still like the river side atmosphere and try to come here as usual.

(Statement from Pipat, 30 January, 2005)

Consequently, most visitors come to visit Don Wai River Market for the principal reasons of consuming the sense of authenticity and the cultural identity belonging to the community that consists of:

1. Scenic view along Nakhon Chaisri River bank;
2. Reputation of the market as a centre of various selections of unique food and desserts;
3. Image of well-preserved old and traditional market including groups of wooden shop-houses as highlights of the market.

It is undeniable in this case that Don Wai River Market is suitably arranged to meet the needs of visitors who want to spend their free time with other family members or friends at a place provided for many kinds of activities. Some people even rank the market as a favourite place for the whole family because of convenience in getting there and the fact that all family members can enjoy different activities according to their own interests. In this respect, Nida is another person who usually comes to the market with her family consisting of her husband and two boys.

My family always pays a visit at this market almost every month because it is not too far from our home and travelling here is very convenient at present. My children really like coming here to feed a shoal of fish at the pier and enjoy looking around shops providing

delicious food and desserts. Also, this is a place where my husband can enjoy buying plants and flowers especially beautiful lotuses for home decoration and I can buy food to eat at home and for my relatives too.

(Statement from Nida, a 36-year-old office lady, 30 January, 2005)

To take another example, Samorn, a 65-year-old visitor, always comes to the market whenever she comes to visit her children in Bangkok. She said she knew the market from a friend of her daughter who suggested that this place was worthwhile visiting. The first time she paid a visit at the market was in 1997, before the period of market boom. At that time, she described that there were not too many shops like at present. When she walked through the wooden shop-houses, she could see many kinds of food sold in front of each shop that really reminded her of the old market in Bangkok that she used to go with her mother in her childhood. Every time she went to the market, she always bought many things back home including tasty duck of Nai Nuub, Toddy palm cake, fresh fruits and so on. In addition to buying exotic local products, she also liked dining and cruising along the river to sightsee a beautiful river scene too. Her opinion toward the market is that it is a place where she can enjoy a lot with buying pleasant products for her family members and friends. The story of Samorn is a good example to illustrate the view and behaviour of middle class consumer who has a desire to search for sense of cultural authenticity provided here on such meanings of cultural elements such as authentic food and desserts or authentic setting of the ordinary local community also.

From many statements from the visitors at Don Wai River Market shown above, success of Don Wai River Market comes from the ways of which cultural heritage in the local context are displayed and represented to the visitors. In this case, visitors are convinced that they can experience sense of authenticity through consuming images of local community and traditional market or buying authentic local-made products; which are quite enough for the middle class visitors to believe that sense of cultural authenticity in this market or community really existed throughout their wonderful trip there. However, perception of local cultural heritage significance among the visitors here is likely to be autonomous and depends mostly on the individual's experience. In fact, the lack of appropriate strategy in cultural

interpretation to generate awareness on importance of cultural heritage preservation to the visitors is still a problem needed to be solved at present.

5.2 Local Heritage for tourism and consumption

The revitalisation of Don Wai River Market has occurred with a shift in tourism development within past ten years. After the successful development plan of Don Wai River Market and community was implemented and resulted in a large increase in visitation, there has been much effort to develop or revitalise other local markets in different provinces to respond with a prosperous heritage tourism development mostly among the middle class visitors from urban areas. In fact, what happened to these middle class visitors is a need to search for nostalgia amidst a period of modernisation that has transformed the country into industrial-based society rather than the traditional agricultural-based society that Thailand had once been. Community tension and personal depression increased after the economic crisis in 1997 and this has been a critical factor stimulating nostalgia among the middle class consumers. Indeed, the impacts from modernisation can much intensify the feeling to search for senses of nature and locality against the urban tension. In this sense, nostalgia can be related to tourism because it involves with a sense of alienation among an individual. In modern society surrounded by the results of cultural reproduction such as photographs or electronic media, it suggest to many individuals that it is very hard to find their own identities, senses of authenticity or even the reason for their existence.

As a result of this, many urban residents have become upset about depressing urbanisation and its surrounding environment and try to seek other ways to release their needs for authentic cultural experiences that are different from those associated with them in every day lives. Heritage tourism might be one of solution to respond to the quests for authenticity. In this case, what makes sense of authenticity to Don Wai River Market comes from an idea about specific area or ‘Yan’ in Thai word. In the past, specific area system was very significant in classifying each community which produced and sold different products according to their specialised skills that are much acceptable and popular for the public. For example, Don Wai has been very well-

known for delicious food and desserts, Koh-Kret for its elaborate potteries and terra cottas or Bann Buu for magnificent crafts made from brass.

However, the importance of the specific area system has been much decreased since there the opening of a department store or super store where the buyers can find and buy selections of products collected in one place. As a result of this, we no longer have to go from place to place to collect each product like in the past. Nevertheless, cultural heritage in the local communities still have been revitalised again, but at this time for tourism purposes. But this does not mean that a whole cultural context of the place is revitalised; in fact, only some cultural elements thought to be compatible and supportive to the heritage tourism objectives are selected or sometimes needed to be modified before revitalised. After a selection process by people who had influences over cultural heritage management, the new values would be placed into the cultural elements again in order to increase their values that would be quite helpful in selling or commodifying the cultural products.

The case of Don Wai River Market can be put forward an illustration of the successful transformation of an ordinary local place to become a most popular tourist attraction well known among many people. Moreover, it seems that the whole cultural elements in the community and market context are arranged and provided to respond with the nostalgia needs of middle class urban visitors. Consequently, cultural meanings are combined with heritage tourism activities in order to transform them into cultural products which can be commodified and sold to the consumers. In fact, it is very evidence that an idea of cultural authenticity are always emphasised on every cultural elements and products at the market through the specific terms such as 'traditional', 'old', 'ordinary', 'original' or 'truly local made'. With these emphasised cultural meanings associated with compatible surrounding environment involving a feature of old community and its natural scene, this is quite convincing for visitors to believe that sense of cultural authenticity really exists here and that is sufficient to fulfil their missed nostalgia.

A suitable example to explain the sense of cultural authenticity of the market relates to the various kinds of Thai desserts sold here. Although Don Wai River

Market has become very well known a lot for its tasty Thai desserts, which are now sold not only at the market but also in Bangkok and other provinces as well, it is nevertheless true that there have been only few shops at the market which made and sold Thai desserts since the period of market boom. In the past, there were only four desserts shops in the market that sold their products mainly for the local residents and the neighbourhood areas. Among these four shops; besides, there were two of them even closed during a decline period of the market. Nonetheless, when the market has been promoted in the mass media and popularity among Thai desserts has brought a lot of visitors back again, it has turned to be that there have been approximately ninety Thai desserts shops opened at the market. At this time, it is quite strange that almost every shop claims that their products are original or authentic in this community.

According to Sri, the owner of old-style Thai desserts shops and the ordinary desserts maker of the market, she was the first vendor of toddy palm cake having been here continuously since she was twenty six years old until today when she is seventy five years old, except for a short absence when she quit during the period of market decline. Since the period of market boom, she has begun to open her shop again, at this time with helpful assistance from her children who came back to run a family's shop. When asked about a customer feedback after reopening the shop, Sri said that she was very satisfied about her success because she still has her ordinary local buyers who often admire with unique taste of her desserts and come back to buy them always even her shop is located in the inner part of the wooden shop-houses.

I am so glad that my neighbour still admire with my desserts. If you ask the people around here about tasty toddy palm cake, they always think about desserts of mine. But my shop might be less known among the outside visitors because it is located at the inner part of the market which has less shops than the front part.

(Statement from Sri, 30 January, 2005)

In her opinion, Sri is also convinced that her desserts had the authentic sense of Thai desserts since a production process was elaborately made from selecting ingredients, kneading the dough to steaming it with specific techniques of her own. In

addition to the special methods, Sri stated that what makes her desserts so delicious came from the fact that she did not use any kinds of food preservatives in all of her products. Moreover, she said that all of her desserts are old-style recipes as they have been made for hundreds years and the methods were too complicated for the new-timers or amateurs to make them. Thus, a cultural authenticity of Sri's Thai desserts lies mainly on a notion of 'old-style' products that have been made for very long time for the past generations. However, some kinds of her desserts have been adapted to be much suitable for the needs of present customers such as change in a method to make toddy palm becomes softer. At present, Sri can gain much more income especially at weekend when all products are usually sold out by the end of days. In the future, she expects that if the rental bazaars and stalls at the temple area will be cleared in the next two or three years, it will be beneficial for her in terms of much more income if most vendors move to open their stalls nearby her shop.

According to the statement from Sri, it is clear that she believes that cultural authenticity of 'being ordinary and old-styled Thai desserts' really exists in her products. So, it is quite common for the outside middle class and well-educated visitors who usually have beforehand thinking about sense of authenticity in the cultural elements in a market context already. For instance, most visitors have already has their own notions about the unique identities of Thai desserts in terms of their sweetness, complicated ingredients and methods, cultural meanings as symbols of the rituals, illustration of lives in the past and representation of Thai identity. Thus, when they enter into the market context of which its cultural authenticity in the products are often emphasised and arranged to suit with quests for nostalgias, then it is inevitable for the visitors' needs to be involved or participated in these heritage experiences through consumptions of cultural products provided at the market.

Unfortunately, even though it seems to be that the majority of visitors have the desire to share in the cultural authenticity or a sense of locality within the social context of Don Wai River Market through many kinds of activities such as shopping, dining, cruising, or blending themselves with the local fabrics as much as possible, it is quite obvious that they still lack the ability to recognise and fully appreciate the cultural heritage significance of this local community. On the one hand, visitors might

express lots of their impression about sense of cultural authenticity which is represented through such cultural products in the community context such as an old townscape, exotic food and desserts made from local wisdom or the river side scenes. On the other hand; however, many problems have occurred in the market and community since it has been promoted as a tourist attraction.

Problems from too much garbage, too many crimes, and disputes happening among the vendors in the market in their effort to gain customers can affect the ordinary cultural identity of the place. These problems are thought to originate from tourism development and have come to represent a series of crucial challenges that need urgent and appropriate solutions. In fact, it looks like that Don Wai River Market has grown rapidly only in a past few years without suitable measures to control such dramatic growth. So, we can observe an expansion of rental bazaars and new commercial buildings that will eventually lessen the sense of cultural authenticity of Don Wai local community. Furthermore, if this uncontrolled growth continues, it will affect the cultural image of the place and Don Wai will be changed from being a local market with impressive tangible and intangible cultural heritage into a flea market where only general products can be found. If this occurs, tourists may pay little attention to this place and look for other places where they can fulfil their needs for heritage consumption. If this most negative thing happens, the market might have to experience another period of decline and this time a new campaign of revitalisation may be even harder to achieve.



Figure 15: The new extended area of the market called ‘Don Wai Centre Mall’, which will be soon let for rental purposes. This might be another problem affecting to the ordinary cultural identity of the local market

From the problems facing with the cultural heritage in Don Wai River Market and its community, it is obvious that the visitors have very less involvement in coping with the problems or making right solutions. In fact, they still regard themselves as ordinary consumers or customers who walk into the stores, enjoy themselves and then leave out with pleasure without having any idea that cultural heritage in the community is gradually declined by impacts from tourism. When we look at the frequent situations at the market at every weekend, we will see the apparent fact that most visitors only come to relax and enjoy themselves by consuming cultural products in the community for different and exotic experiences on sense of locality. In contrast; behind pleasant cultural fabrics presented for visitors’ pleasure, there are many increasing problems waiting to be solved and these duties can not be done by only local authority or local residents alone.

As tourism development has been thought of bringing revitalisation to Don Wai River Market and its community, it is very interesting to see that a long term development plan for the community also tends to be a tourism-oriented scheme too. As a matter of fact, it is quite clear that the present existence of the market and community depends very much on income derived from tourism; thus, the questions are raised as to what will happen to this local market if the beneficial support from tourism development ends and how will the local market for tourism be able to sustain itself. There are critical issues for all stakeholders. At present, even though lots of visitors are still have impressed by the market and the local vendors have gained much income from selling their products, some visitors have begun to express their negative aspects on the rapid changes of the market that makes it no longer be a place to search for the nostalgias:

I always came here in the past because it was a nice place for relaxation with tranquil atmosphere. However, the market has changed so much since more and more visitors came here. At this time, it is very

crowded with visitors especially on holidays, also with too many vendors who might only want to sell their products to the customers. It looks like that this market has become a flea market like Chatuchak weekend market where you can find anything you want, but lacking of unique identity of the market. This makes me not so enjoy that much like it should be when coming here.

(Statement from Niti, a 45-year-old veterinarian, 5 February, 2005)



Figure 16: As well as Don Wai Centre Mall, an establishment of new commercial buildings in the past few years might decrease the values of cultural significance and senses of authenticity of the market and community too

In summary, Chapter 4 has been aimed at clarifying how each involving stakeholder within Don Wai River Market thinks and deals with the cultural heritage in the local context. According to the research underlying the chapter, we see that the local leaders and activists played important roles in the revitalisation of the abandoned market and its transformation into one of the most popular tourist attractions in the Bangkok region. Beyond that, the local authority is seen to have had a crucial role in cultural heritage management and preservation such as a master plan for local community tourism development that generated necessary infrastructures and public services to the community to facilitate tourism development and called for cooperation among the local residents to assist in the plan too. In addition, local resident are another important set of stakeholders contributing much assistance and cooperation to

revitalise the market including returning to open their shops at the market and bringing liveliness back to the market again with unique and delicious local food and desserts.

However, the success of Don Wai River Market would have been hard to achieve without the assistance it received from the mass media in publicly promoting this place. After the market had been promoted in a gourmet guide column in the popular tabloid newspaper, travel magazines and television programme, Don Wai River Market was known among the public as a place where the visitor can experience authentic local market providing lots of ordinary Thai food, desserts, fruits and vegetables by local residents and also a local fabrics that will remind the visitors to the nostalgias of the pleasant past. Since the market has been promoted, it has gained a lot of income coming mainly from tourism development and such strategies have been used to satisfy increasing needs of visitors' consumption. On the one hand, it seems that a plan to draw attention from the visitors through a method of cultural presentation has been quite successful because at least most visitors usually think that this place can fulfil their senses of cultural authenticity in the local community from what they see, experience and consume and at last they can leave the market with pleasure.

Nonetheless, while the local authority and local residents are satisfying with many benefits generated by tourism and the visitors enjoy with the cultural products provided for their pleasure here, some problems have emerged gradually within the local context, which resulted in local cultural heritage changes. At present, cultural resources in this local community have been heavily exploited with little awareness among both local residents and outside visitors of what impacts might happen to threaten the survival of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage belonging to the whole community. Thus, it is the right time to emphasise the importance of cultural heritage management and preservation and the necessity of mutual cooperation among all involving stakeholders with the local market and community so that they look for the most appropriate ways of achieve sustainable tourism development and the survival of the community's cultural heritage.

Part 5: Finding the most appropriate ways for local cultural heritage management and preservation with tourism development

According to result of this research project, although tourism development might be thought to generate for negative impacts on the ordinary cultural fabric of the local community, in fact it also contributes many beneficial conditions needed for community development. Thus, what is needed for us is to search ways to achieve a mutual recognition of the two sides of the same coins: development and preservation. In fact, there is no blueprint for ensuring that tourism will work for development. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a number of general principles for enhancing community benefits. In this regard, Scheyvens (2002) explain the six important principles to achieve the ultimate goal of using tourism as a strategy for community development as follow:

6.1 Promote empowerment as a forerunner to community involvement in tourism

Empowerment is a means to determine and achieve socio-economic objectives. It is also useful to help breaking down the negative point of view among the local people that, external stakeholders such as visitor have control over tourism initiatives. All local residents needed to be empowered in terms of having access to a wide range of information about their options and the confidence to take part in discussions and negotiations before they can effectively decide whether or how to pursue involvement in tourism development. In this sense, it is essential that clear information dissemination occurs at the beginning point to ensure that the whole community is aware of both the risks and constrains to the venture and has realistic expectations of possible gains to be made. Moreover, empowerment of community members (through training courses, information sharing and participation on decision-making procedures) is necessary prior to and during tourism development and must spread beyond a small number of their representatives such as local leaders or local activist groups. Finally, much effort has to be pushed in psychological empowerment, which ideally means that a community is confident in its ability to participate equitably and effectively in a given tourism development. Indeed, recognising of self-worth is essential for local people so that they can perform suitable roles as active social actors who play important parts in determining the future and pushing out the way forward to their community.

6.2 Encourage active participation

The rationale behind an attempt to promote community involvement may mention on such issues about whether that participation will be active or passive. In this case, ‘participation of local communities’ as promoted by any agencies promoting involvement of local communities in tourism can simply be a public relations exercise or a means of placating the community to ensure they do not jeopardise the venture. Consequently, one way to achieve the goal of active participation is to ensure that communities participate in monitoring the activities that have taken place or to have community representatives sitting on local agencies which plan for tourism development. However, it is important to realise that by including local communities as more active participants in tourism ventures, there will be conflicts between the residents who thought they had lost their usual benefits or among communities and higher-level agencies wanting tourism-oriented plan to be implemented. Therefore, finding effective ways of resolving such conflicts will be critical the long-term success of such ventures.

6.3 Identify both tangible and intangible benefits of tourism

Communities investing their energy and resources in tourism initiatives naturally want to see tangible benefits, including an early and continuous flow of income. Awareness of this is essential for involving stakeholders with the local communities. It is simply unrealistic and unjust to expect impoverished communities to wait several years before realising any return for their hard work. In this case, although most local residents in Don Wai Community have gained satisfying financial benefits and others since the market has been promoted, but there is another interesting remark on intangible benefits relating with empowerment, skill development, perceptions of security, community cohesions or conflict, which are difficult to quantify and sometimes difficult for outsiders to perceive, but are likely to be significant to local residents.

6.4 Share the benefits and costs of tourism

When tourism is a strategy for community development, appropriate mechanism need to be in place to ensure that the benefits are widely dispersed, minimise the possible conflicts between involving stakeholders in the future and guarantee that benefits flow to most members of the community. Significantly, it should be noted that there are usually groups of people gaining benefits generated from tourism development on the one hand and the others losing them on the other hand; indeed, needs of these disadvantaged groups are required to be allocated also. In fact, it is excessively ideal to suggest that all members of a community will benefit equally from any tourism venture however, the opportunity for any venture to support equitable development and thus to be seen in a positive light by most residents will be increased significantly by encouraging active participation by wide segments of a community from the outset (Scheyvens, 2002: 241). Furthermore, equally important as sharing benefits is the need to minimise costs of tourism and to ensure that no group within a community has to bear a disproportionate share of the costs. In this sense, the costs of tourism development which are likely to aggravate those who have gained no benefits from tourism include the inappropriate behaviour of visitors or the inflationary effect of tourism on the prices of goods and services in their area.

6.5 Support diverse livelihood options

The fact that tourism has costs as well as benefits should raise some awareness about the danger of the community investing the majority of its energy, resources and skills into tourism development projects. Where tourism is being pursued as a strategy for development, it should ideally take its place alongside a range of livelihood options for the community, rather than suspending these other activities (Scheyvens, 2002: 242). Sometimes enthusiasm in supporting community involvement in tourism initiatives can be misleading for rural communities which have little experience in business and yet start to expect that tourism will bring immediate and substantial returns. As a result of this, it is very vital that when tourism is promoted as an option for sustainable livelihoods in the developing local communities, it should not be put forward as the only option for their development unless the communities might face with difficulty to sustain itself without necessary support from tourism industry. Indeed, tourism should instead take its place alongside other livelihood strategies for

the community. It is particularly important that pursuit of tourism should not overly interfere with primary production such as agriculture which may provide a community with their only source of income in times of economic downturn.

6.6. Develop positive relationships between communities and other tourism stakeholders

In fact, efforts by communities to enhance their own well-being through tourism ventures will rarely be successful without coordinated efforts involving other stakeholders. This is similar to a statement from Wearing and Neil (1999: 133) that 'partnerships between local people, the private sector and government open up a range of opportunities not restricted to any one group'. These stakeholders can help to ensure that the following requirements for community involvement in tourism are met. The ultimate goal for cultural heritage management and preservation with tourism development is that the local members can play an important role in determining and working towards meeting sustainable development objectives for communities. In this case, the local communities can also benefit through cooperation with other stakeholders who can assist in carrying out a suitable heritage management plan. Besides, working with a range of stakeholders can make sense because for tourism to work for development, it is also necessary to have integration of local and national level strategies.

6.7 Choose the most appropriate ways about presentation of cultural heritage to the tourists

If tourists are to behave in an appropriate and respectful manner when visiting groups of people with different sets of culture, it is vital that they are well prepared for their visits. Consequently, this really relates with the ways of which cultural heritage in local communities are interpreted and presented to the tourists. Use of or visitation to assets is an integral component of cultural heritage management. Presentation aims to encourage tourists to value heritage assets now, to support keeping them to the future. Indeed, cultural heritage management's main need in presenting assets to the public is to convey the message that they are valuable to society and therefore their ongoing conservation is important. In this sense, tourism development can play a crucial role. It

is seen as ensuring the “survival of places and the continued support of society for them...Intelligent and positive responses by the manager can mean more conservation funds, more employment, better place conservation and a more sympathetic community” (Pearson and Sullivan, 1995: 279).

However, a heritage place under pressure from heavy visitation with little attention to its conservation management will suffer physical damage that will in turn affect its cultural values and eventually compromise the visitor experience. Often the problem lies in the way such values are treated by the standardisation of visitor experiences (Dodson and Clarke, 1999). Therefore, setting commodification priorities properly becomes a vital element in the overall management policy. Commodification usually involves some form of interpretation or the development of products. At last, both tourism and cultural heritage management both mention about the same thing – presentation of assets. Interpretation tends to be a more all encompassing idea as Weiler and Ham (2001) suggested five main principles driving interpretation for the heritage places:

1. It is not teaching or instruction in an academic sense, although it does involve the transfer of information
2. It must be enjoyable for visitors, for if it is made to be fun and enjoyable
3. It must be relevant for visitors, and visitors must be able to relate it to their own frame of reference
4. It must be well organised so that visitors can follow it easily
5. It should be focused around a few discrete themes rather than simply presenting information in a disconnected manner

Alternatively, tourism tends to focus on use values. The management challenge for cultural tourism attractions is to try to achieve more than just the provision of entertainment. If the tourists can learn something, even subliminally, then the visit has been worthwhile. A further challenge to management is that cultural heritage assets must serve many ‘publics’ with diverse needs, of whom tourism is just one.

To encourage these publics or audiences to ‘need’ heritage as an important aspect of their lives, the presentation of heritage assets must include a wide array of activities. Such activities might include educational programmes for schools – special activities such as field schools and researches with different modes of interpretation to engage the interest of these diverse audiences and assist absorption of the core message. The assets will also be subject to research activity that will further the study of particular aspects of the past and can be used as part of the asset’s presentation. Moreover, the presentation strategy or strategies adopted for an attraction will continually grow and develop as its effectiveness is monitored and new information is included from research where appropriate.

In addition to these suggestions mentioned above, it is very important for the involving stakeholders at Don Wai River market to emphasise on significance of sustainable existence of the place including its ordinary fabric and unique cultural identity. Consequently, concept of sustainable tourism and community development must be kept in mind of every people to achieve an ultimate goal for cultural heritage management and preservation. In fact, the concept of sustainable development can be related to the conscious concern with social development that emerged a half century or more ago, particularly in the less developed or non-Western worlds. Up to present, since modern development has not been thought to bring only positive impacts to the local communities; thus, alternative development, that is, development which tends to put a little less emphasis on economic productivity as compared with social and environmental goals, has been thought of in various ways, and labels such as ‘soft’, ‘green’, ‘participatory’, ‘humane’, ‘non-exploitive’, ‘small-scale’ and ‘responsible’ have been used to refer to it (Nash, 1996: 122). Increasingly, one hears the word ‘sustainability’ used as a kind of shorthand way of referring to such alternatives.

For further understanding about the term ‘sustainability’, the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987: 43) defined that “Sustainability development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. In the simplest interpretation of this phrasing, a people can not project a course of development that goes beyond their own needs and those of future generations. This cautionary statement raises a host of questions about human needs

and the resources to satisfy them. Moreover, it also suggests that any developmental programme must take into consideration a broad range of human and environmental factors now and in the future. One might interpret this to mean that human needs must be satisfied over a long course, but so, also must the 'needs' of the environment with which humans are intimately connected.

Lele (1991: 609) points out the close connection between the concepts of sustainability and environmental concerns. He believes that for most people the term refers primarily to maintaining an environment that will support human life "at some specified level of well-being" now and in the future, which is one way in which the Brundtland statement can be taken. Interpreted in this manner, sustainability comes very close to the popular idea of carrying capacity, which according to Dewar (1984: 601), "reflects the commonsense notion that a limit on resources implies a limit on the number of consumers". However, because a limit for one person is not necessarily a limit for others; so, this suggests that socio-cultural factors need to be considered in any discussion of carrying capacity or sustainability; and in the Brundtland report, which Lele (1991: 611) believes to be representative of the thinking of most advocates of sustainable development these days, such a view is clearly evident.

In order to "meet the needs of present and future generations", the report argues for the kind of economic growth that is necessary because millions of humans are in want, and, indeed, an increase in productivity may be necessary to prevent the poverty-stricken from pillaging their environment; but such growth can not exceed the tolerance of factors on which human life depends (Nash, 1996: 126). In this sense, the environment must be used more intelligently by doing such things as developing more appropriate technology. Human needs also must be limited by various strategies including population control. Also, the fruits of economic growth must be spread around more evenly by the reorganisation of economic systems and by having the currently deprived take a more meaningful part in the developmental process. From this point of view, it suggests that the concept of sustainable development provides a kind of catch-all or umbrella term of many of the inherited concerns that have stirred alternative developmentalists in their opposition to mainstream development. These alternatives, according to Dorsey, (1991: 5) include at a minimum, maintaining

ecological integrity and diversity, meeting basic human needs, keeping options open for the future generations, reducing injustice and increase self-determination.

Thus, the more specific term 'sustainable tourism' was eventually coined and generally regarded as a subset of alternative. This term has become to represent and encompass a set of principles, policy prescriptions and management methods which chart a path for tourism development such that a destination area's environmental resource base (including natural, built and cultural features) is protected for future development (Hunter, 1997: 850). In this sense, a development focus is apparent when local concerns become a priority of tourism development. At present, too many efforts at implementing environmentally sensitive tourism have focused on conservation of resources and failed to embrace the development imperative, so neglecting the livelihood needs of local communities. A concern for livelihoods should be integral to development efforts based on the recognition that local people need to benefit from existence of natural and cultural resources in their area, rather than suggesting that these resources all be diverted to enhancing tourist experiences. Political ecology perspectives are of relevance here as they have helped draw attention to the roles of power in relationships between tourism stakeholders and how this influences the way in which stakeholders have access to and manage the local cultural heritage.

In conclusion, while tourism brings with it a numerous of potential pitfalls, it also offers considerable potential for bringing suitable development to local communities. It is very in the long term to find ways in which tourism can work for development as increasing numbers of populations in our country tend to be involved more and more with this rapid growing industry. Tourism is not the answer to development problems facing diverse communities, but it may provide assistance in meeting the goals of a number of these communities. As well as promoting economic development, tourism can help to meet social and political goals such as building capacity, strengthening community level-institutions, reinforcing cultural integrity and ideally, self-determination. As a result of this, all stakeholders of the local communities can facilitate local involvement any try to ensure that tourism development occurs in an equitable and sustainable manner. Meanwhile local active groups can monitor tourism development and put pressure on governments and the

industry to change when the rights and well-being of local communities are under threat.

At last, the most important issue for whether future tourism in the local areas like that in Don Wai community will contribute to or undermine local development rests on the nature of that tourism development. Local participation, involving both control over tourism and a fair share in the benefits of tourism is the key to achieve common, mutually beneficial goals, but this must be backed up by the reform of the industry and its powerful players, as well as more responsible behaviour on the behalf of tourist themselves. Cultural tourism can survive only if its asset base is managed in a sustainable manner and sustainability can be achieved only if tourism and cultural heritage management work in partnership.

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Chapter 5

Conclusion

In the past few years since tourism has been thought to be an important source of income within Thailand, we have seen many reactions from local communities seeking to exploit this trend by promoting their natural and cultural heritage for tourism development purposes. Among different types of tourism, cultural heritage tourism is regarded as a popular one among the tourists because it provides a good opportunity to learn and experience different people's ways of life in the ethnic groups or local residents in the rural community. Significantly, dramatic growth of interests in cultural heritage tourism may come as a consequence of widespread consumerism culture in modern societies, especially among those urban dwellers who are usually well-educated and relatively well-off, who regard themselves as stylish people and who really want to look for perfection in their lives. Unfortunately, because these middle class find it difficult to seek intimate relationships, solidarity or even a true identity of individual in a competitive and artificial urban society, they try to substitute their lacks through consumption of both products and experiences.

Among several choices, tourism is considered first thing thought to respond needs for enjoyment, entertainment and relaxation. Since an ancient time until present, tourism has been continually used as a crucial tool by the middle class consumers who have necessary financial support and economic potential to access and consume the cultural products provided mainly for their pleasures. In this sense, most people typically think of desires for tourism as rewards for their hard works in everyday life. Moreover, as modern societies have tended to become more commercialised, anything including culture can be transformed and commodified into products provided for mass consumption. So, the most significance goal for the tourism industry at present is to provide different experiences for the tourists or visitors in exotic places or communities where they will be fascinated and excited by different social contexts or people apart from their familiar ones. In addition to this, the most important things for

the middle class visitors are needs to search for a sense of authenticity that they scarcely feel in the modern society but might exist somewhere in the remote communities where ordinary cultural identities have been unchanged.

In many developed countries, tourism development has been thought to contribute advantages in terms of economic growth. Similarly, Thailand has also supported tourism development to generate income within the country after the end of World War II when there was rapid increasing numbers of foreign people coming to the country. In 1957, there was apparently a policy and master plan made by the government to support tourism industry and an organisation to take charge of tourism development was established; furthermore, many plans and projects to develop new tourist attractions have been approved and implemented. At that time, the local people were encouraged to develop tourist attractions located within their residential or neighbourhood areas while the government has launched concurrently a campaign to promote domestic tourism and increase visitation rates. In accordance with tourism promotion and development by the government, the Western-oriented lifestyle of Thai people is another important reinforcement for tourism growth. Tourism growth has been dependent on meeting the needs of middle class tourists and visitors as consumers who seek exotic experiences in different social settings different from the routine lives. Finally, it seems that most tourist attractions have been transformed into places readily available for middle class people consumption.

As tourism development has interacted with different cultural settings accompanied with the tourists and visitors going into tourist places, at least a relationship or encounter between the host and the guest might contribute somewhat kinds of impacts to the local fabrics including tangible and intangible cultural heritage in a community context. More often the different sets of cultures brought by the tourists lead to changes in ordinary cultural elements such as changes in the ways of life among local residents and also attitudes or methods that communities use in cultural heritage management and preservation. In this regard, Don Wai River Market is a good example to illustrate the ways of which local cultural heritage has been shaped to suit the needs of outside demand. Considering the historic background of the market, we can see a continual process of cultural transformation the place from a

common local market that developed and declined over the years, but was eventually revitalised. In this process, the cultural meanings of the place were exploited as a tourist asset that appealed to the consumerist culture of the middle class visitors.

The revitalisation of local cultural heritage has stemmed from the notion that the community and its residents might have a chance to gain benefits by commodifying their local heritage in the ways suited to the needs of urban visitors. In fact; similar to other cultural places, Don Wai River Market's first evolutionary stage originated from the needs of local residents to have a place for exchanging products for daily consumption. In this early stage, the market emerged near the river side which used to be a main route for transportation and trading between the local communities located along the river. In fact, the market at that time was a common place where customers came to exchange their products without any kinds of reputation on such things that would make it popular among the outside people. However, the market began to decline when it was faced with the emergence of new concrete highway roads accompanying increased urbanisation and modern development.

This kind of dramatic change then caused a major shift in the ordinary cultural fabric and ways of life among the residents within the community. One obvious piece of evidence for this change was the reduced role of the river as the main means for transportation, a change that also affected the existence of the market at that time. But later there was strong effort among the local community to promote the market for tourism purposes through the presentation of its cultural products such as Thai food and desserts and also a transformation a cultural function of the place from the local market to a heritage market for tourism. To achieve a goal in transformation of cultural products of the community that might suit with the needs of outside visitors, sets of cultural meanings have been selected and presented the new appearance of the market as follows:

1. The market as a source of delicious and unique Thai food and desserts;
2. The cultural meanings of the market as 'old', 'traditional' and local ways of lives that are represented through notions of 'old', 'original' and others

attached with the cultural product of the market and other activities including cruising along the river or buying authentic local-made products;

3. Calm and tranquil atmosphere of the river side community that facilitates activities relating with relaxation and enjoyment;
4. Religious activities that adds another important activity such as making merit at the temple for visitors rather than shopping at the market only

With the revitalisation of Don Wai River Market, we can observe many agents involved in the development planning, including government agents, mass media and the local residents themselves. The effort to transform this ordinary market into a tourist place also resulted in such plans and activities carried out to facilitate the outside visitors coming to the market; for example, a provision of public toilets, parking lots, public phone telephones. The market itself was expanded in size in response to the increasing needs of visitors. Since the market has been promoted, various kinds of changes can be observed in the community. Previously, the area in Don Wai community was used primarily for such local activities such as rice fields, fruit orchards or boat piers for commercial or transportation purposes. Until the industrialised period, the community was still served as an area for production, but at this time its main products are mainly machines that required advanced technology in a manufacturing process.

When the market was promoted for tourism development, another shift in area usage was changed again from rice fields or factories into shops, stalls and bazaars to meet the visitors' needs. So, a presence of the market indicates that it has been regarded as the centre of tourism and product consumption in Nakhon Pathom so far. From this point of view, four cultural elements in the community as stated before were selected and revitalised to create new cultural meanings of the market as a place available for buying local food and desserts, finding exotic experiences for urban visitors who want to escape from boring city lives, relaxing in a tranquil and natural atmosphere and blessed with good luck from making merit as well. Moreover, the new cultural meaning of the market is created to respond with consumerism culture obsessing most middle class visitors. Despite this, the market tries to present its

cultural identity as a traditional local market where the sense of cultural authenticity in terms of ordinary ways of life remains unchanged. This is the most important thing to draw attention from the visitors. Meanwhile, it can be observed that this cultural place has been undergone a systematic management from influences of urbanisation and consumerism culture in many ways.

In this regard, it seems that the administration system and systematic spatial management of Don Wai River Market are quite unusual things for any other common local markets. For example, the provision of car park for visitors, zoning of shops and stalls and forms of products displaying to suit with needs of middle class consumers such as wrapped vegetables or fruits like those sold at the supermarkets or availability of courtly Thai desserts that creates a great paradox to an authentic cultural meaning of the market as local community. In this sense, this revitalised market has become a melting pot of cultural meanings given to such cultural products in the socio-cultural context. So, the market has been given much complicated meaning according to an interpretation by the individuals associated with much emphasis on cultural identity of the place as locally generated that happens everywhere within the sphere of the market.

In conclusion; despite the market has faced vast changes for many times according to each evolutionary stage from a common agricultural community to a popular cultural tourist attraction at present with new sets of cultural meanings responded with present consumerism society, but at least a one true thing that has never been changed and also existed permanently is a presence of the 'place'. In fact, changes merely happen with the surface cultural meaning of the place in terms of its function and meanings according to interpretation by involving stakeholders by the period of time. Besides, a transformation of Don Wai Community into a heritage place for tourism to respond with middle class visitors has originated from the efforts of local residents, especially local leaders, who saw a good chance to develop cultural heritage within the community into cultural capital that might eventually bringing back benefits to the residents.

Meanwhile, revitalisation of the market has also been accompanied by the rising popularity in cultural heritage tourism among the urban and middle class

consumers with nostalgia for a sense of authentic past and locality. These people try to escape from their urban constraints and look for different and exotic experiences or sets of culture. As a result of this, Don Wai River Market has been thought a worthwhile tourist attraction for the visitors through a presentation four cultural elements in the community fabrics as stated before. The achievement of this local market appears to have come primarily from the community itself and also from promotion made by the mass media with less assistance from the government authority in the early period. Thus, at least the community has shown strong effort and cooperation to develop itself and generate income to its resident beforehand a policy of government, which should be regarded as a good example for other communities in terms of developing their cultural capital of their own.

However, the government role in supporting cultural heritage management and preservation is still necessary for the local community. In this sense, this indicates that government authority should be more active with the long-term sustainable cultural heritage preservation rather than promoting the place to be well known or attracting lots of visitors without carefully analysis of the impacts that modern culture can have on the whole community. So, although seeming quite successful in many ways, there will be several emerging challenges needed to be solved for Don Wai River Market and its residents. Among these challenges, the most important concern is how the community can maintain and preserve its unique cultural identity and cultural authenticity of being an authentic local market and community amidst invasive modernisation and urbanisation. In fact, the ways of life in the community have been so modernised that the residents no longer live their lives in a very different manner from those living in the cities, except for some areas of cultural meanings that are restricted for cultural consumption from tourism development.

In addition to this, effort and cooperation to preserve cultural heritage is very vital in terms of existence for the market and community too. As we know that there are increasing numbers of other local communities in the nearby neighbouring areas that have developed themselves for heritage tourism purposes. This situation might lead to competition of cultural heritage presentation between local communities in order to draw visitors in; moreover, it can be implied that cultural heritage would be

more heavily used or exploited. At the mean time, what we notice in Don Wai River Market are some kinds of negative changes that would decrease the sense of cultural authenticity and cultural identity of the place, such as the invasion of strange products coming from outside or the emerging modernised trend happening at the market including an establishment of new commercial buildings. If this continues and the fussy visitors think that authenticity no longer exists at this market, they will have the right to focus their interests on other places that can better fulfil their needs.

Consequently, so as to guarantee a more certain future for Don Wai River Market and its community, it is essential to gain mutual cooperation from every stakeholder, including the local authority, local leaders, local active groups and also all local residents. This is the time for everyone has to think whether the unidirectional growth of the market should be controlled or not and how to plan for the future without merely focusing on short-term benefits as they appear to be doing at present. Moreover, the community members have to decide which is the most appropriate way of representing culture for the visitors and how much this presentation is representative of their core cultural values. At least the revitalisation of Don Wai River Market for tourism purposes has been beneficial in the sense that local cultural heritage within the community context has been revived, developed and accepted in its existence amidst changes caused from rapid modernisation and urbanisation. As a result of this, cooperation among community members in systematic cultural heritage management and preservation is needed in order to guarantee the sustainable existence of this valuable cultural heritage in the future.

In order to achieve effective objectives of sustainable cultural heritage management and preservation of Don Wai River Market, it is very important to call for awareness and cooperation among every involving stakeholder with the market and community as listed below:

1. The local organisations such as local authority, school, temple and local active groups or leaders should maintain their efficient roles in cultural heritage management of the place including more rigid control about further expansion of the market in the future and suitable selection on type of products sold at the market that

can be compatible with the ordinary cultural fabric, quality and reasonable price control and also other emerging issues such as garbage, theft and congested traffic at the weekend by cooperating with the relating agents such as the police station to cope with these problems. Moreover, it should be emphasised that these active groups ought to be the middlemen who call for cooperation and generate integrity among the vendors including the old-timers or the new-comers and the residents in the community for cultural heritage preservation.

2. The central government should have more participative role on the community development programme including cultural heritage management and preservation, not only just rendering the budget alone. In addition to assistance in term of promoting the place and policy determination, the central government authority can also arrange any kinds of useful programmes or activities such as training courses or workshops aimed at empowering community strength and educating the community residents on what should be manipulated to sustain the local cultural heritage in the most appropriate ways. Besides, an educational programme for the tourists such as the cultural interpretation centre of the community must be useful to generate awareness on local cultural significance of the place.

3. The local community residents can also have active role in cultural heritage management by cooperation and participation with the local organisation in any useful activities such as maintenance and preservation of the market precincts, suitable control of environmental features in the community. In fact, it has been obviously seen that the local residents have had much awareness on significance of cultural heritage of their, especially when most vendors came back to reopen their shops in order to revitalise the market after a period of decline. Above all, it might be kept in mind among the residents that preservation of unique cultural identity of the community to guarantee sustainable existence of cultural heritage is very important too.

4. For the tourists, it should be remarked that paying a visit to the tourist attractions might not end with pleasure only; indeed, it is quite necessary for them too to have recognition or awareness on significance of local cultural heritage. Although this notion might be difficult to achieve, at least the best thing to do for the tourist

when they come into the local community is avoidance of any kind of disturbance the cultural fabric such as leaving the community with a great deal of waste, which is one of challenging problem in Don Wai River Market at present.

Eventually, as the modern societies have entered into an intensive sphere of consumerism culture where exotic experiences and authenticity fulfilment become a critical concern for most discontent consumer, cultural heritage will be reinterpreted and given new meanings or functions to suit the never-ending needs for cultural meaning consumption.

มหาวิทยาลัยศิลปากร สงวนลิขสิทธิ์

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