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**An Ethnographic Study on Tourism and
Heritage in Luang Prabang, Lao PDR**



立教大学大学院観光学研究科博士課程後期課程

SENESATHITH Simonekeo

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ラオス人民民主共和国ルアンパバーンにおける
観光とヘリテージに関する民族誌的研究

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to study the relationship between heritage and tourism based on an ethnographic study of heritage and tourism in the town of Luang Prabang. The relationship between heritage and tourism in this research refers to emotional efficacy derived from the value of physical cultural artifacts. This is created by local people within the context of traditional culture and religious practices of society, which involves interaction with tourists and local culture. The main part of this research discusses tourist impressions of Buddhist religion, which construct the notion of 'heritage value' in Luang Prabang town. As Buddhism is the official religion of Lao PDR and Luang Prabang the wider community views it as a cultural heritage of the town and Lao PDR. Moreover, this research is set to bridge the gap between cultural heritages'. In addition, this research further attempts to provide a new perspective on heritage studies, which many scholars are yet to discover the meaning of 'heritage value' in the field of cultural heritage tourism.

The framework of 'heritage value' consists of two relationships. The '1st relationship' is the relationship between the laypeople and religion (e.g. Theravada Buddhism is followed by the people of Lao Lum, which account for sixty percent of the total population in Lao PDR). This relationship reflects the values granting to a religion by laypeople. In the first stage, there is no consideration for the tourists as outsiders. However, with tourists entering communities, and encountering 'values granted by local people/laypeople and their religions', the 'second relationship' appears, which refers to the relationship between tourists and the locals in the boundary of local cultural observation/perception. Therefore, the combination of the first and the second relationship results in 'heritage value'.

This research is based on an ethnographic method, which shows how heritage value is placed in the context of multi-situations: 'heritage value' contributes to local economy by their utility of local cultures to attract tourists and to sustain locals' culture, tourism development, touristification and heritage preservation. Moreover, this research still mentioned to the ethnic cultures, in the chapter six, which are interpreted on the handicraft products made by ethnic groups such as Hmong ethnic groups and Lue ethnic group. As a result, this research explores the construction of a new notion: 'heritage value' in the area of cultural heritage studies in the town of Luang Prabang. Furthermore, this research illustrates how the notion 'heritage value' has affected the tourism industry. As a result it had led to contrasting influences: tourism development and heritage preservation as presented in the World Heritage site of Luang Prabang. Lastly, this research depicts the local life and how it is utilized 'heritage value' as a part of heritage property, such as traditional housing and the heritage handicrafts from variety of ethnic groups: Lao Lum, Lao Sung, and Lue; to attract tourists as presented in chapter six, which also proves how the notion of 'heritage value' has been applied to local situations in the town of Luang Prabang. This resulted through tourists interacting with local culture, by purchasing cultural handicraft products from ethnic groups and tourist interaction with local ritual practice such as the Lao New Year ceremony. To sum up, this research presents the perception of tourists toward local culture and locals' perception toward tourists and the World Heritage Site of Luang Prabang.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents	v
List of Abbreviations	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables:	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background Study	1
1.2 Objectives of Study.....	6
1.3 Scope of Study	7
1.4 Study Questions.....	8
1.5 Study Methodology.....	8
1.6 Study Structure.....	9
Chapter 2: Theoretical Issues in the Heritage Tourism.....	12
2.1 Culture, Heritage and the Heritage Tourism	12
2.1.1 Definition of Culture.....	12
2.1.2 Heritage Concept	13
2.1.3 Heritage, History and Cultural Heritage.....	17
2.1.4 Cultural Tourism and Heritage Tourism	20
2.1.5 Heritage, Identity and Authenticity.....	21
2.2 Cultural Heritage Consumption	23
2.2.1 The Demand and Supply of Heritage Attractions.....	24
2.2.2 Heritage Scale of Demand: Global, National, Local and Individual	26
2.2.3 Cultural Commoditification.....	27
2.3 Heritage Tourism and Its Transition	28
2.3.1 Tourism, Globalization and Socio-cultural Change.....	28
2.3.2 Converting Local Heritage into Universal Heritage.....	30
2.3.3 Issues in Heritage Preservation.....	30
2.3.4 Local Residents` Perception of Tourism.....	31
2.3.5 The notion of “Heritage Value” Construction.....	32
Chapter 3: Research on Tourism Development in Lao PDR and in Luang Prabang.....	37
3.1 The Shaping of Lao PDR.....	37
3.1.1 People and Classification of Nationals.....	38
3.1.2 New Economic Mechanism, Tourism and Poverty Reduction	39
3.1.3 The Promotion of Tourism Policy and the Preservation of World Heritage Sites.....	45

3.2 Tourism Development in Luang Prabang	51
3.2.1 Legend and History	52
3.2.2 Tourism in Luang Prabang before its World Heritage Site Status	60
3.2.3 Tourism in Luang Prabang after becoming a World Heritage Site	61
3.2.4 The Impact of Tourism on Luang Prabang Town	63
3.3 Conclusion	67
Chapter 4: Resources for Cultural Tourism in Luang Prabang	69
4.1 A Framework of Heritage Tourism in Luang Prabang	69
4.1.1 The Case Study on Luang Prabang’s Heritage Site Management by a French Agency in 2004	74
4.1.3 Tourism Business Development and Locals	77
4.1.4 Ethnicity and Tourism	80
Case Study 1: Hmong and the heritage tourism industry	82
4.2 Heritage and Tourism in Luang Prabang	84
4.2.1 Practicing Theravada Buddhism by Locals	84
4.2.2 The Buddha Images with Ritual Practices	86
Case Study 2: The Lao New Year Festival and Pu Nyer Nyar Nyer	89
4.2.3 Buddhist Teachings Represent a Norm of Society	94
Case Study 3: Phalak Pharam, the Lao version of Ramayana	96
4.2.4 Monks and Touristification	97
4.3 Conclusion	98
Chapter 5: Tourists’ Perceptions of Heritage in Luang Prabang	99
5.1 Tourists Arrivals in Luang Prabang	99
5.1.1 Tourists and ‘Heritage Value’ Interaction	101
5.1.2 Tourists’ Photographs and ‘Heritage Value’	104
5.2 Tourists and Ritual Practices	106
5.2.1 Case Study: Tak Bath (alms giving) Ceremony	106
5.2.2 Tourists and Cultural Consumption at the Night Market	107
5.3 Tourists Experiencing ‘Heritage Value’	109
5.3.1 Invented Tradition and Nation Building	109
5.3.2 Mediation of Ethnicity and Tourism	111
5.3.3 ‘Heritage Value’ and Edutainment	112
5.3.4 Tourist Expectations of Luang Prabang	113
5.3.5 Tourism and Heritage Preservation	115
5.5 Conclusion	117
Chapter 6: The Utility of ‘Heritage Value’ in Luang Prabang	118
6.1 Cultural Heritage and Actors in ‘Heritage Value’	118
6.1.1 Different Values to Different Stakeholders	119
6.1.2. Local Government	120
6.1.3 House of Heritage	121
6.1.4. The Local Businessmen	122
6.1.5 Locals’ Perception of Tourists	130

6.2 Utilization of Heritage Property and ‘Heritage Values’ for the benefit of locals	132
6.2.1 Antiques Heritage and Traditional Style Houses	133
6.2.2 Lao Ethnic Festivals	134
6.2.3 Alms Giving by Locals for their Business	135
6.2.4 Handicraft Market: Heritage Products by Ethnic Groups.....	139
6.2.5 Art Performances	149
6.3 Conclusion	150
Chapter 7: Conclusion	151
7.1 The Relationship between ‘Heritage Value’ and Tourism in Luang Prabang.....	151
7.2 The Contribution of ‘Heritage Value’ to the Tourism Industry of Luang Prabang	152
7.3 The Future of Heritage and Tourism in Luang Prabang	153
References.....	156
Appendix 1.....	174
Appendix 2.....	176
Definition of Terms.....	177

List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBT	Community Based Tourism
DED	Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst
DAN	Development Analysis Network
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
JABIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic
LNTA	Lao National Tourism Administration
LWHA	Luang Prabang World Heritage Agency
NEM	New Economic Mechanism
PSMV	Safeguarding and Preservation Plan
PTD	The Provincial Tourism Department
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
SCOT	Scheme for Territorial Coherence
WHS	World Heritage Site
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
UDAA	Urban Development Administrative Authority
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	The United Nations Development Programme

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Forms of Cultural Heritage.....	19
Figure 2.2	Example of Cultural heritage Classification in Luang Prabang	19
Figure 2.3	A Common View of Cultural Tourism and Heritage Tourism.....	21
Figure 3.1	Map produced by the NSC, National Statistics, July 2003.....	44
Figure 3.2	The Increase of Tourist Numbers in Lao PDR Since 1990.....	47
Figure 3.3	The Growth of Revenue from Tourism Since 1990.....	47
Figure 3.4	Tourists' Satisfaction in Tourism Products and Services in Lao PDR...	51
Figure 3.5	The Study Area (Heritage Zone in Luang Prabang Town).....	52
Figure 3.6	Growth in Tourism-Related Businesses in Luang Prabang (1997-2010).	62
Figure 3.7	Tourist Arrivals to Luang Prabang (1990-2010).....	64
Figure 3.8	Revenues from Tourism to Luang Prabang (1997-2010).....	65
Figure 4.1	A Model of Dynamic Heritage Tourism in Luang Prabang Town.....	70
Figure 4.2	The structure of Tourism Stakeholders in Luang Prabang Town.....	73
Figure 4.3	Luang Prabang's Heritage Site Management by French Agency.....	74
Figure 4.4	Heritage Preservation Zone (PSMV).....	77
Figure 4.5	Urban Development Project of Luang Prabang Town.....	78
Figure 4.6	Framework of 'Heritage Value'	84
Figure 6.1	The Three Main Agents in Tourism Mechanism of Luang Prabang Town.....	120
Figure 6.2	Documents and Regulations Related to Preservation of Luang Prabang, World Heritage Site.....	121

List of Tables:

Table 2.1	Classification the Types of Heritage	16
Table 2.2	The Growth of International Tourist Arrivals Since the second World War.....	25
Table 2.3	A Sample of Heritage Attraction Supply and Types.....	26
Table 4.1	Prediction Population Growth in Luang Prabang City until 2013.....	75
Table 5.1	Tourists' satisfaction after visiting Luang Prabang.....	101
Table 5.2	Tourists motivation for traveling to Luang Prabang city.....	113

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background Study

The notion of heritage is vague, as is the definition of culture, cultural heritage and cultural tourism. Each term has its own boundary or scope, which can independently stand-alone or overlap in ways to encompass aspects of each other. The work of heritage study is also rooted in culture; consequently, the term ‘cultural heritage’ was derived. Hitchcock, King and Parnwell (2010), Smith, Messenger and Soderland (2010), Timothy (2003), are academics who have attempted to identify this term. However, the concept of ‘heritage’ is also well known in UNESCO’s work:

“Heritage means something that has been inherited from the past and which can be passed on to future generations. A heritage site is a specific area or site, which can be as large as a region or landscape, or as small as a building. The meaning of the term ‘cultural heritage’ has evolved over the last decades. Originally, it referred only to masterpieces of artistic and historic value; now it is used more broadly and covers everything that has a particular significance to people”. (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006:1-3)

The definition of ‘heritage value’ is widely discussed and defined by Hitchcock (2010), Smith (2010), Timothy (2003), but it is yet to result in a common definition of ‘heritage value’. Thus, the meaning of the term remains vague and unclear with the meaning overlapping among the terms heritage, culture, cultural heritage and cultural tourism. Each academic or researcher has his own way of defining heritage value in the context of tourism studies. For instance, UNESCO defines “heritage value” as follows:

“The discussion of heritage values using the terms aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual is an approach aimed at teasing out the values in a methodical way, but describing values only in these terms may inadvertently obscure attributes related to more than one value and which may be more cogently described using other terms that combine values, for example terms

that relate to class or type of place”. (The Illustrated Burra Charter, 2004 in UNESCO, 2006, P: 3-1).

Smith, Messenger and Scoderland (2010) asks, ‘*What is the heritage that people value*’ which refers to the values of the heritage; *and what they want preserved?*, I turn it suggests only important or special selected heritage should be conserved by people in society and around the world. Smith, Messenger and Scoderland’s (2010) definition of heritage value is below:

“Heritage values are contested values. The issues of dispute vary according to the region and history of a particular country, though the contest is rarely between ‘good guys’ and ‘bad guys’;.....Heritage values are integral to national identity and to international perceptions of this identity;.....The discussion of heritage values in this book speaks to the socially responsible development of a global world”. (Smith,G.S., Messenger, P.M. & Soderland, H.A., 2010:9-12).

It must be noted that these scholars have not addressed the issue of heritage studies, which is the underlying meaning of ‘heritage value’. This dissertation will discuss this issue. This definition neither simply deals with the values of heritage nor the general meaning of heritage in the context of cultural tourism. Therefore, this research attempts to ‘fill the gap’ and provide further opinions on values of heritage, to contribute to the studies of heritage issues, which many scholars have not yet addressed in exploring the ideology of ‘heritage value’ in the field of cultural heritage tourism.

This research will further contribute to new developments; ideas and knowledge based on heritage studies, examining new concepts or notions to further develop the discussion in order to find a comprehensive definition. The dissertation, will present engrossing ideas, which explores ‘heritage value’ within the realms of multiple scenarios: localization, globalization, tourism development, touristification and heritage preservation. The ‘heritage value’ is complex, as it must confront a range of situations, so that the cultural heritage of a town such as Luang Prabang is resilient while society falls under a multitude of contradictions. One other aspect of ‘heritage value’ is hidden within the context of cultural heritage preservation under touristification of a town. This term ‘tourstification’ means, outside influences that

have diminished out many of towns' original traditions, making them less visible and transforming them into newly invented values, while other parts of the traditions are under promoted for conservation. In addition, the research will explore the construction of the new notion: 'heritage value' in the area of Luang Prabang. The research examines how this notion has been affected by the tourism industry under two influences of tourism development and heritage preservation. Furthermore, this research examines the application of the new notion 'heritage value' in a local community by studying the methods of processing and utilizing heritage properties to attract tourists to the World Heritage Site of Luang Prabang.

The notion of 'heritage value', in this research, is an abstract emotional efficacy derived from the value of physical cultural artifacts granted by people within the boundary of traditional culture and a set of religious practices in a given society. This study mainly focuses on local culture and tourism. Heritage consists of two elements: tangible and intangible. For instance, tangible elements are Buddha's image, old temples and traditional architecture, which embrace cultural perspectives such as the Lao traditional houses and folk handicrafts. Moreover, in this study, the monk is an aspect of tangible heritage. Intangible elements refer to beliefs in Buddha's image, the Buddhist teachings, and the local way of life and ritual practices by locals, which reflect cultural practices that are attached to physical heritage (tangible elements). Furthermore, there is also a connection between locals and ritual practices, as well as outsiders (tourists), who interact with local culture, creating a new heritage perspective which relates, to the notion 'heritage value' in this study. Locals make use of this notion to attract tourists and to promote local economic growth.

The historical town of Luang Prabang is urban and represents a cultural city in Lao PDR. The town of Luang Prabang is not only a national heritage but also a world heritage site. This central urban city, there are varieties of ethnic groups which have imprinted their cultures in the form of tangible and intangible elements from the Lao traditional architecture, to the handicrafts made by Hmong ethnic groups. Therefore, the preservation of heritage in this city is vitally important for all tourist stakeholders and for the core values of heritage in 'heritage value'.

In Luang Prabang, localization, globalization and touristification have impacted this city both positively and negatively in regards to heritage preservation. Tourism presents economic and financial support to locals and cultural conservation. However, tourism changes the daily lives of locals in that it causes a change in the city's atmosphere; the gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots'; and the transformation of the cultural heritage itself in order to be a commodity for tourists.

The scale of heritage can be examined from local to national level and one country can be printed as a multi-culture country. Furthermore, culture has linked to identity. Thus, a country can identify itself through identity, such as, in Lao PDR there exists multi ethnic groups and each ethnic group has their own culture. Previously, Lao PDR considered there are three main ethnic groups represent the country's solidarity: the Lao Lum, the Lao Sung and the Lao Thueng. Stuart-Fox (2008), states that the Lao Lum (Low Land People or Lao of the Plain) account for 65 percent of the population (2005 census), followed by the Lao Sung (Hmong or Lao of the mountain top), 12 percent (2005 census) and the Lao Thueng (Lao of the mountain slopes), 23 percent of the population (2005 census), (Stuart-Fox, 2008: 177-191). According to the Lao National Assembly, Lao PDR consists of 49 ethnic groups. Each ethnic group has a different set of beliefs, for instance, the Lao Lum believes in Buddhism, while the Hmong and the Lao Thueng believe in Animism.

“The meaning of cultural heritage has overlapped with that of cultural tourism” (Timothy, 2011: 5). ‘Heritage value’ in this study excludes the idea of values in heritage but it is the values derive from the cultural aspect which interpreted in the peoples’ belief in a religion, e.g. Buddhism. This is especially true for the Lao Lum people as handicrafts are made by local ethnic groups. Therefore, cultural heritage is considered as the main attraction for tourists who visit Luang Prabang town and the cultural heritage has significantly contributed to local economic growth.

The way in which heritage contributes to the construction of national heritage derives from people in a community or from within a nation, who share a common sense of

which particular patterns of culture are important and should be preserved as a part the nations' identity. In Luang Prabang, cultural heritage is considered to be Lao PDR's treasure, as the heritage is encompassed in the cultural element itself. This is to say that, the cultural heritage contributes to building local identity, which in turn, has become a national heritage and is recognized worldwide, as a result of Luang Prabang's World Cultural Heritage Site status.

This research will give a new insights into thoughts and ideas on 'Heritage Value' in the area of cultural heritage and tourism studies. According to Darvill (1994), Carman (1996), Susan (1996), and Nyaupane (2010), "... 'Heritage Value' refers to material objects, which are embodied by a value system". However, in this dissertation, value consists of local knowledge which relates to particular heritage attractions such as the values attached to handicrafts made by ethnic groups, traditional architectural values and daily cultural practices: the alms giving ceremony, the Lao New Year and Hmong New Year.

'Heritage value' is a new notion in this study. This new notion is derived from a combination of concepts based on general heritage for tourism, encompassed with specific concepts of living heritage in Luang Prabang town. 'Heritage value' in this study is the notion made by tourists or outsiders who observe the ritual ceremonies of local people in Luang Prabang town.

Since Luang Prabang town was added onto the World Heritage List in 1995, the city has developed through socio-economic, cultural and environmental aspects. Heritage tourism has contributed to local economic growth and sustains local culture. The notion 'heritage value' is reflected in Luang Prabang's cultural heritage town. This notion states the cultural aspects and the relationship made between humans and their beliefs in religious faith (e.g. Buddhism or Christianity).

Therefore, this study is a reanalysis of the background of living heritage in the town of Luang Prabang and how the valuable definition of heritage has been interacting with tourists or non native locals, who practice daily praying and adhere to the Theravada

Buddhist doctrine. Tourist interaction contributes to the construction of new thoughts ‘heritage value’ and tourism in Luang Prabang.

The social phenomenon of Luang Prabang town can be seen in its traditional culture, economic development and tourism industry. Moreover, its mixed ethnicities and large number of domestic tourists as well as foreign tourists are substantial reasons to support the creation and notion of ‘heritage value’.

Finally, the notion of ‘heritage value’ is a new idea in this study, derived from a relationship between local people practicing traditional culture and interaction with tourists within the boundary of Luang Prabang town. Moreover, this research will attempt to ‘bridge the gap’ and build on research, which has already been contributed, by various academics for a model of values related to heritage within the boundaries of World Cultural Heritage Sites. Furthermore, this research proves that the notion of ‘heritage value’ contributes to local economic growth by illustrating how locals utilize the tourism industry in order to attract tourists and to earn a living. (For example, the local merchants, who sell food for *Tak Bath* [Alms Giving] each morning).

1.2 Objectives of Study

This study is set to ‘bridge the gap’ in heritage tourism theory by presenting research on the new notion of ‘heritage value’ in the area of cultural heritage tourism studies based on a case study of Luang Prabang town. There are seven objectives in this study:

1. To provide new ideas on ‘heritage value’ and tourism in Luang Prabang.
2. To understand a model or the mechanism of tourism in Luang Prabang town after its World Heritage Site status by analyzing the roles played by tourism stakeholders in Luang Prabang town.
3. To identify the nature of the new notion, ‘heritage value’ by researching the relationship between the laypeople, the religious practitioners or religious holders and tourists in Luang Prabang.
4. To understand the importance of the new notion ‘heritage value’ to the local

community and how it contributes to the tourism industry in Luang Prabang town.

5. To clarify the tourists' perceptions toward the locals' heritage, such as the notion of 'Heritage value', in Luang Prabang town.
6. To discover how locals utilize 'heritage value' in the tourism industry in order to attract tourists, to foster economic growth and to sustain their culture.
7. To analyze the future of 'heritage value' in tourism studies in the town of Luang Prabang.

1.3 Scope of Study

Due to the broad meaning of concepts related to heritage, cultural heritage and cultural tourism, this dissertation is focusing on the study of a new notion 'Heritage value' in the area of cultural heritage and tourism based on a case study from the town of Luang Prabang. Cultural heritage is based on tangible and intangible heritage that mainly refers to Buddhism, which is the official religion of Lao PDR (Buddhism is practiced by the Lao Lum ethnic groups who account for more than sixty percent of the Lao population).

The scope of this study covers firstly the construction of a new notion 'heritage value', based on native locals (who believe in Buddhism) and the Buddhist religion, as well as the involvement of the tourism industry to create interaction between tourists and local culture, especially Buddhist practitioners, such as during the *Tak Bath* (Alms Giving ceremony) and the Lao New Year celebration. In addition, tourists consume the culture of ethnic groups in Luang Prabang town, which can be seen in the handicraft products sold to tourists at handicraft markets or night markets. Secondly, the research examines the study of a new notion, 'heritage value' by applying this notion in practical situations in Luang Prabang town. The application of this new notion is based on many case studies whose observations include tourist consumption of local rituals: the Lao New Year, Alms Giving, the Monks' chanting, and the purchasing of hand made products from local ethnic groups. Thirdly, the study looks at how locals utilize heritage properties such as locally owned traditional houses, in order to attract tourists and maintain local culture.

1.4 Study Questions

The main question of this research is “how does the notion ‘heritage value’ affect tourism in Luang Prabang”? In order to answer the main question, there are some questions that need to be asked:

1. What is the mechanism or the tourism model for Luang Prabang town?
2. Where does the notion of ‘heritage value’ derive from?
3. Why are the new notions of ‘heritage value’ and World Heritage status important to local communities in Luang Prabang town?
4. How do tourists interact with local culture to create ‘heritage value’ in Luang Prabang town?
5. Why and how do locals utilize ‘heritage value’ to attract tourists and improve the local economy?
6. What is the future of ‘heritage value’ in Luang Prabang town?

The answers to these questions are addressed sequentially in the chapters of this dissertation.

1.5 Study Methodology

This study applies a sociological and an anthropological approach to the research based on ethnographic methodology. The ethnographic method applied to the fieldwork was based on case studies through direct-observation and recorded in-depth-interviews, which were later transcribed. Furthermore, the research uses official statistics and examines reports as a part its quantitative approach, to show proof of tourism development and revenues from tourism in Lao PDR and in Luang Prabang. The statistical report is used to demonstrate the notion of ‘heritage value’ and how it has contributed to local economic growth (such as locals who make a living from utilizing the heritage houses by converting them into guesthouses; the sellers of products for *Tak Bath* ceremony; and the Lao New Year).

Before conducting the fieldwork survey, this study applied the method of documentary analysis in order to narrow the meaning of heritage related to tourism studies and

cultural heritage in the context of UNESCO's World Heritage Convention. The ultimate goal is to prove the notion of 'heritage value' based on the context of a case study: in the town of Luang Prabang.

An ethnographic method is applied to the fieldwork and research incorporating interviews. Some of the interviews are in-depth, while others involve all tourism stakeholders, which were conducted more briefly. The ethnographic method uses field study time in order to observe the daily life and to study the patterns of social phenomenon of the site: the town of Luang Prabang. Moreover, ethnography is a scientific description of people and cultures with their customs, habits and mutual differences.

1.6 Study Structure

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 looks at the background of the research and explains its relevance, while explaining what the research will encompass. The main objective of this research is to deal with the relationship between local culture and tourism in the World Cultural Heritage site of Luang Prabang. First, this paper will provide a literature review on cultural heritage studies; following this it will outline the research objectives, provide a study scope, illustrate the research questions, discuss the research methodology and finally sum up the new notion of 'heritage value' in tourism studies.

The objectives of this research are to clarify the notion of 'heritage value' and apply the ideas of 'heritage value' to local situations in Luang Prabang town, which is shown in chapter four and chapter six. Chapter six explains how locals have utilized heritage properties by turning them into guesthouses in order to set up business related to tourism, to attract tourists and increase their income from tourism, while also maintaining the roots of traditional culture.

Chapter two provides a literature review of cultural heritage concepts, which are related to this study. It focuses on theoretical issues of heritage definition and the meaning of cultural heritage, which is related to tourism studies. It also includes the

ideology of localization, globalization, modernization, and cultural consumption. The main idea focuses on the definition of cultural heritage as given by UNESCO's convention and other heritage concepts related to tourism studies. Moreover, this part introduces the construction of a new notion 'heritage value' considering previous research in the field of tourism.

Chapter 3 provides an introduction to tourism in Lao PDR and Luang Prabang. The chapter discusses how the Lao government has welcomed the tourism industry and opened its doors to foreigners. As a result of the country's poverty in many ways, since 1975, has seen a number of improvements: such as the development of local infrastructure, economic restructuring, and an improvement in living standards as well as the implementation of the new way of thinking 'Chintanakan Mai' along with the New Economic Management (NEM) direction towards a market oriented economy. These are criteria that assisted Lao PDR to adopt tourism as a tool for poverty eradication by supporting the sector for economic development in which tourism helps by creating revenues, through providing jobs, exchanging information and culture, and by providing opportunities for locals to get direct income from tourists. In doing so, Lao PDR expects the country to eradicate poverty by 2020. Predictably, when tourism embraced Lao PDR, the tourists went to the most attractive site, which was Luang Prabang. Since tourists have entered the city it has been impacted both positively and negatively. Therefore, this chapter is an introduction to the nature of heritage tourism in Luang Prabang town, while chapter four, five and six will focus on the contents of the research.

Chapter four presents an overview of the research design, which focuses on details of how 'heritage value' was affected by tourism, while tourists visit local culture in places such as Luang Prabang town. The first part of the chapter looks at the framework of cultural heritage tourism in the town of Luang Prabang with a model for dynamic heritage tourism. However, the main point in this chapter is the construction and notion of 'heritage value' examining a case study of Luang Prabang town, such as, the traditional Lao worshipping of Buddha images by locals during the Lao New Year ceremony and the ritual ceremony of worshipping of ancestors 'Pu Nher Nyar Nyer'.

Chapter 5 examines tourists' behavior and tourists' perceptions of cultural heritage in the town of Luang Prabang, while they visit or encounter the local culture. This chapter deals with the types of tourists and the way in which tourists consume the local culture and perceive 'heritage value'. For example, tourists visiting temples, observing the local daily life, purchasing handicrafts products from local ethnic groups at the night market or handicraft market and souvenir shops. Moreover, tourists participate in or observe the ritual ceremony Alms giving, listen to the monks' chanting inside temples, and consume the traditional practices shown by locals within Buddhism. Moreover, tourists help to promote and preserve the local culture and generate income for the local community. Furthermore, tourists are entertained and take part in cultural exchanges with locals. Finally, the chapter talks about the tourists' comments and their perception of Luang Prabang after visiting the town.

Chapter six illustrates the methods in which locals make use of 'heritage value' and heritage resources, which refer to the tangible and intangible heritage resources of Luang Prabang in tourism industry. Moreover, this chapter provides views on locals who are involved in the tourism industry and the heritage of tourism, how the notion of 'heritage value' contributes to their livelihoods.

Chapter seven provides an overview summary of the researchs' findings and a conclusion. The chapter firstly sums up, how each stakeholder is involved in the construction of the notion of 'heritage value'; secondly, 'heritage value' in Luang Prabang, is particularly recognized by Thai tourists; and third, how 'heritage value' is a useful framework to support local economic growth for the sustainability of local culture.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Issues in the Heritage Tourism

2.1 Culture, Heritage and the Heritage Tourism

This chapter will examine the concept related to culture, heritage, history and cultural heritage in tourism studies. The definition of cultures is dated back since 1871 to the year 2000. The definition of cultural heritage and heritage tourism has been overlapping each other. On the other hand, the heritage studies still include the study of identity and authenticity.

2.1.1 Definition of Culture

There exist different definitions of culture, heritage and cultural heritage. Culture, in the form of anthropological studies: “is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (Edward Tylor, 1871, cited in Monaghan, 2000: 35). According to Raymond Williams the term ‘culture’ is described as ‘a kind of social superiority’ or ‘as an active word for writing poems and novels, for making films and drawing paintings, or working in theaters’; culture is ‘powerful but not explicit. It possesses a central formation of values’ as well as ‘a being which makes it almost equivalent to society: a particular *way of life* - American culture, Japanese culture’. (Monaghan, and Just, 2000: 36). However, in the words of Franz Boas (1930) “culture embraces all the manifestations of social behaviour in a community, the reactions of individuals as affected by the habits of the group in which a person lives, and the product of human activities as determined by these habits” (Monaghan, 2000: 37).

The definition of culture has evolved enormously over the years. Malinowski (1944) stated ‘culture is the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers’ goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs. Whether we consider culture a very simple or primitive culture or an extremely complex and developed one, we are confronted by a vast apparatus,

partly material, partly human and partly spiritual, by which man is able to cope with concrete, specific problems that face him’.

Levi-Strauss (1983) further contributed to the history of cultural development and specified, “Culture is neither natural nor artificial. It stems from neither genetics nor rational thought, for it is made up of rules of conduct, which were not invented and whose function is generally not understood by the people who obey them. Some of these rules are residues of traditions acquired in the different types of social structure through which, each human group has passed. Other rules have been consciously accepted or modified for the sake of specific goals. Yet there is no doubt that, between the instincts inherited from our genotype and the rules inspired by reason, the mass of unconscious rules remains more important and more effective; because reason itself is a product rather than a cause of cultural evolution” (Monaghan, J. and Just, P. , 2000)

2.1.2 Heritage Concept

The next section will show the connection between the definition of culture and heritage, examining theories identified by scholars since the 1980s.

Hitcock (2010) provides a historical literature review on meanings related to concepts of heritage. However, he also states that, “heritage is a concept which is difficult to define” (Hitcock, King & Parnwell, 2010: 2) . Therefore, in my opinion, the meaning of heritage has been presented, re-presented and developed over time based on demands, motivations and the impact of heritage tourism “*from the study of one particular society to the general situation around the world*” (authors’ idea). However, according to the work of Boniface (1993): *Heritage and Tourism in the ‘Global Village’*:

“In the good old days, a historic site was a preserved old monument; and a museum was a collection,....., but nonetheless one which allowed individual interpretation of it” (Boniface, & Fowler, 1993: 150).

“A building, however, is but an assemblage of materials, a hill but a hill. Any ‘meaning’ beyond that is acculturated, that is conceptualized

by the human mind, applied to the object, and passed on to other humans. The hill does not see itself as a battlefield; nor is it perceived as one by the sheep grazing on it. Indeed, nor would the hill be perceived as the site of a battlefield, and therefore as having a cultural value as well as a meaning, by anyone who had not learnt to perceive it in those terms” (Boniface, 1993:157).

In this sense, Boniface’s (1993) idea is a starting point for a basic explanation to granting meaning and value to a particular material object and landscape. The audiences’ perceptions toward a particular object (or the subject of an issue) might be different from each other. Some might see and agree with his idea (thinking) toward a particular subject/issue; but others might see the same subject in a different way, as a different form of thinking (idea). This is because different people have different ideas, and views towards particular issues underlying causes of social phenomenon and the world in which we live.

Therefore, the notion of heritage can be reinvented and developed as a new definition based on particular research (including literature on previous studies on the notion of heritage and based on case studies and experiments on a new notion). In this way, the meaning of a new notion ‘heritage value’ is invented based on the case study of Luang Prabang town, which is considered a UNESCO World Heritage Site and shares similar characteristics with other World Cultural Heritage Sites in the boundary of heritage criteria II, IV and V.

Heritage may be simply defined as a legacy from previous generations (Lomine, 2007: 90-92). According to the work of Timothy (2003), “heritage is linked to the past and represents some sort of inheritance to be passed down to current and future generations in terms of cultural traditions and physical artifacts” (Timothy, 2003:2). Aside from this explanation, heritage is selective because heritage refers to elements of the past a society wishes to keep, and not all heritage is what society values; what is desirable to keep are selections from the past (Ibid: 2). This may be an intention, as society filters heritage through a value system, which undoubtedly changes over time

and space, and across society. In this way, I argue his contextualization of heritage is linked to a social phenomenon of one society. The social phenomenon of one society is passed down over generations- over time, through the care of ancestors. It is not possible for one person to preserve heritage, it is the work of a whole society and a community of people. In this way, the next generation can observe and witness their heritage with their own eyes and feelings, and create their own views and memories.

According to Boniface (1993), *Heritage and Tourism in 'the global village'* is important for understanding the framework of heritage tourism for most heritage sites around the world. Boniface (1993) mentions that, the tourist stakeholders who are dealing with the tourism industry are both directly and indirectly involved. However, there are criticisms of her work related to the tourist sites, which are referred to as sites designated as heritage sites, which can maintain the locals' interests while at the same time manage sustainable preservation of a sites' heritage property.

2.1.2.1 Components of Cultural and Natural Heritage

In tourism studies as well as in the Law of National Heritage in Lao PDR, there is a distinction between cultural heritage and natural heritage. In regards to the law of heritage tourism, Lao PDR has divided National Heritage into Cultural National Heritage and Natural National Heritage. In this way, cultural heritage means the monuments and buildings of historical importance, while natural heritage refers to sites of outstanding beauty. Moreover, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972 provides a useful definition framework for heritages' definition:

Cultural heritage is composed of:

1. Monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archeological nature, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.
2. Groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science.
3. Sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites, which are of outstanding universal value from the historical,

aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO: World Heritage Convention, 1972).

Natural heritage is composed of:

1. Natural features consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view.
2. Geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.
3. Natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty.

(UNESCO: World Heritage Convention, 1972).

Heritage is assumed to contain some aspects of personal value and is marked as personal or family heritage. While these values are recognized by nations or communities, they become ‘our’ heritage. Heritage as labeled by a community and a nation that shapes a collective identity by way of symbols, icons and even mythologies (Timothy & Boyd, 2003: 2).

Many different views exist regarding the meaning of heritage as the term ‘heritage’ is applied through two different sorts of phenomena. First, in terms of the description of culture and landscape, which is cared for by a community and passed on to future generations to serve peoples’ need, providing a sense of identity and belonging. In this sense, in the ‘heritage industry’, the word has become synonymous with the manipulation (or invention) and exploitation of the past for commercial ends (Timothy & Boyd, 2003: 3). Therefore, the term ‘heritage’ has been classified under different types of meanings as can be seen in Table 1, below:

Table 2.1: Classification the Types of Heritage

Tangible Immovable Resources	Buildings, rivers, natural areas.
Tangible Movable	Objects in museums, documents in archives.
Natural Heritage	Protected areas such as national parks.
Intangible	Values, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles, and including experiences such as festivals, the arts, and cultural events.

Living Cultural Heritage	Fashion, food, customs.
Built Heritage	Historic cities, cathedrals, monuments, castles.
Industrial Heritage	Elements of a region' past that were influential in its growth and development (e.g. coal, lumber activity, textiles).
Personal Heritage	Aspects of regions that have value and significance to individuals or groups of people.
Dark Heritage	Places of atrocity, symbols of death and pain, and elements of the past some would prefer to forget.

Sources: Timothy (2003) 'Heritage Tourism'; And Training Handbook: Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide (UNESCO, 2006).

In the Training Manual, 'Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide, Program for UNESCO World Heritage Sites', the types of World Heritage have been classified into three categories: Cultural Sites, such as the Great Wall in China; Natural Sites, such as the Sundarbans in Bangladesh and India; and Mixed Sites includes natural and cultural heritage, such as Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia. (UNESCO & Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006: 2-3)

2.1.3 Heritage, History and Cultural Heritage

Heritage is linked to history and culture. History is the recording of the past but heritage is a part of the past (history) and includes a range of aspects such as language, culture, identity and locality. History is a means of producing knowledge about the past, but heritage is a means of consuming the past (Timothy & Boyd, 2003: 4). Thus, 'History is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on' (Turnbridge & Ashworth, 1996). In short, heritage is not simply the past but the modern-day use of elements from the past whether they are tangible or intangible, cultural or natural. (Ibid: 4).

Heritage is linked to culture, as heritage is a part of the cultural landscapes of the past and present. For instance, "cultural attractions range from historical monuments to handicrafts or artifacts, from festivals to music and dance presentations, and from the bustling street life of a different culture to the distinct lifestyles of indigenous people" (Timothy & Boyd, 2003: 4). According to the specialist guide in the UNESCO Training Manual for Cultural Heritage (2006), cultural heritage is the creative

expression of a persons existence in the past, near past and present that has been passed on to the present generation by the past generations. It tells us of the traditions, the beliefs and the achievements of a country and its people.

Cultural heritage contributes to humankind in many different ways. Some ways are easy to identify, while other ways are not. Economic contributions are the easiest, as cultural heritage attracts tourists and tourism that brings economic growth to a country. Moreover, cultural heritage has made contributions to human knowledge as edutainment. By telling us about our past, it is possible to learn about cultural heritage, such as archaeological sites, historic town centers, religious structures, rituals and festivals. It provides knowledge about history values, technological and artistic excellence. Cultural heritage is not something that happened in the past. It links to our present by showing us what has been achieved in the past and how society has evolved. Cultural heritage is fragile and requires careful care and attention. More simply, cultural heritage is a creative expression of peoples' existence in the past, near past and present. It tells us of traditions, beliefs, and the achievements of a country and its people. (UNESCO & the Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006: 3-36).

The forms of cultural heritage created by the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention in 2005, have a similar structure to the classification of the types of heritage identified by Timothy & Boyd (2003). In this sense, cultural heritage can be distinguished under two categories: tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage is that which exists in material forms, artifacts, and physical structures, which are touchable and visible. (e.g. monuments, buildings, world of art, paintings and objects.). Tangible heritage comprises of immovable artifacts, which cannot be removed from its place of origin, such as buildings and movable artifacts that can be easily moved from one place to another, such as objects. On the other hand, intangible heritage is that which exists in the immaterial form such as music, dance, literature, theatre, languages, knowledge and local traditions.

Figure 2. 1 and figure 2.2 below explain the structure of cultural heritage and heritage

classification in Luang Prabang, whether the cultural heritage is material or immaterial, must be linked with the cultural values of a society that produced it.

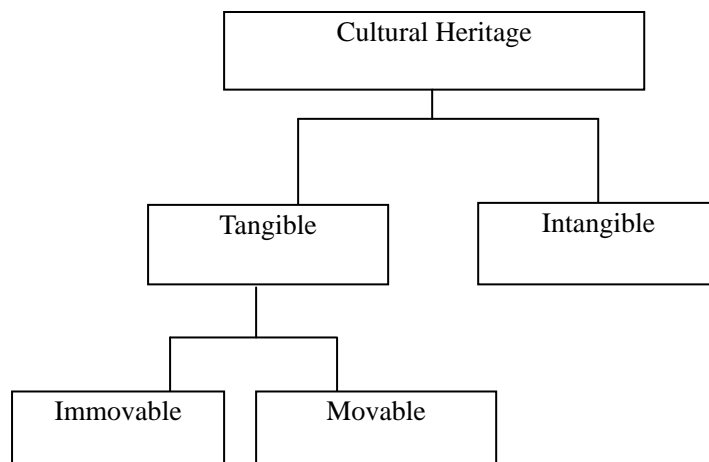


Figure: 2.1 Forms of Cultural Heritage

Source: Training Handbook, Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide, (UNESCO, 2006).

Tangible-Immovable Heritage	Monuments	(e.g. That Markmo temple)
	Old temples	(e.g. Wat Xieng Thong Temple)
	Colonial Architecture	French architecture (e.g. office of House of Heritage, National Museum)
	Vernacular House	(e.g. old Lao style houses (Huean Chan),
Intangible Heritage	Way of life	(e.g. selling activities at morning market and night market)
	Religious belief	(e.g. Buddhism and Animism)
	Craftsmanship	(e.g. handicrafts made by ethnic groups, Hmong products at Hmong market)
	Food	(e.g. Chaew Bong sweet chilly sauce, Khay Phaen Mekong riverweed, dry buffalo skin, Khao soi noodles)
	Ritual Ceremony and Festivals	(e.g. monks praying inside temple, <i>Tak Bath</i> ceremony, Pu Nher and Nhar Nyer's dance, Lao New Year)
Natural Heritage	Geological and Physical Formation	(e.g. ponds and green scenery at Chomphet village, Phusi hill)
	Landscape and Cityscape	(e.g. confluence between Mekong River and Khan River)
	Waterfalls	(e.g. Kuangsi waterfall and Tad Sae waterfall)

Figure 2.2: Examples of Cultural Heritage Classification in Luang Prabang

Source: By Senesathith Simonekeo

2.1.4 Cultural Tourism and Heritage Tourism

‘Cultural tourism’, ‘heritage tourism’, ‘ethnic tourism’ and ‘art tourism’ are interchangeable in their usage. Culture is derived within each area: the idea and way of life, produces the outcomes: buildings, arts, artefacts and customs. Therefore, cultural tourism does not only consist of visiting the sites and monuments but also includes local consumption and lifestyle in the regions visited (Ibid:5).

Many scholars argue that cultural tourism includes both heritage tourism and arts tourism: “Cultural tourism is experiential tourism which is involved in and stimulated by the performing arts, visual arts and festivals. Heritage tourism is previewed by visitors based on the form of landscape, historic sites, buildings or monuments. They are experiential tourism in which tourists seeking an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a places” (Timothy, 2003 & Lomine, 2007: 5). Therefore, heritage tourism has been perceived as one form of cultural tourism, while ‘heritage’ is generally related to culture in the form of buildings, arts, well-known places, material artefacts, and modern-day people who practice ways of life that are thought to reveal their heritage.

Heritage Tourism is a phenomenon based on tourists’ motivations and perceptions rather than on the specific site attributes. There are three types of heritage tourism.

- (1) Sites tourists visit, they want to be a part of that heritage.
- (2) Heritage sites tourists visit, though unconnected with their own heritage.
- (3) Heritage sites tourists visit, although unaware of the designation.

Heritage Tourism is sometimes referred to as historical tourism, and is considered religious tourism (Timothy, 2011: 392). It may be defined as a form of cultural tourism with a particular focus on cultural heritage. In terms of World Cultural Heritage sites, heritage is divided by meaning into tangible and intangible heritage. It fulfils travelers’ interest in history and historical attractions such as monuments and sites of important past events, as well as traditions and various expressions through the arts or popular lifestyles. Furthermore, responding to nostalgia is a motivation for many tourists; as heritage tourism has become more popular over the past decades,

which has fueled criticism in regards to the extent of exploitation and over-commercialization.

Heritage tourism may have a very personal significance for travelers who are seeking family roots, for example in the case of second or third generation migrants who wish to discover their heritage. Interpretation plays an important role in heritage tourism; this may be a sensitive political territory, especially in the case of what has been called dissonant heritage. In regards to heritage tourism, heritage studies and the heritage industry have become increasingly important. As a result, scholars have researched and produced literature on this topic based on a variety of meanings. However, it is difficult to find a concrete conclusion for the definition of heritage and heritage tourism.

At times, the definition of culture overlaps with that of heritage. In this way, I further agree with Timothy (2011) as shown in the graph below:



Figure 2.3: A Common View of Cultural Tourism and Heritage Tourism
Source: (Timothy ‘*Cultural Heritage and Tourism*’, 2011: 5)

2.1.5 Heritage, Identity and Authenticity

Two important dimensions of identity construction are buried in heritage and history. Heritage sites are tangible expressions of identity and provide room to explore the meaning and construction of ‘place’, especially ‘historical place’ and identities, which are often associated with particular locations (Hitcock, 2010:12-13). Heritage serves the construction of identity but in order to construct heritage, it is necessary to look at

identity and ethnic cultures in one particular society based on these elements: collective histories, spirits, personality and personal biographies of that particular (heritage) site, which overlap and interact with each other. Sometimes (in multiethnic countries groups), ethnic divisions are symbolized by ethnic markers selected to promote tourism, and are reconciled with national integration and the assertion of a national identity. It is involved with the issue of politics and the balance of powers or conflict over power resistance and competing goals between actors in issues of interests and expectations on the part of those who live in that site.

In the promotion of ethnic heritage for tourism, it is necessary to consider multiple identities, the arena of national image-making and local constructions of identity as the subject of heritage (conceptualized as a tangible and accessible representation of the past and of established traditions), which plays an important role in ethnic heritage tourism. Therefore, from the perspective of heritage tourism activities, there is a trend to observe ethnic groups who are often powerless and overlooked. However, there is usually no common image, rather there are several images and meanings which define and characterize particular sites. Thus, heritage sites provide opportunities for 'different ways of 'seeing and valuing' and they are rarely unchanging embodiments of traditions' (Hitcock, King, & Parnwell, 2010: 13).

The view in which tourists seek authenticity is different from the way scholars define the meaning of authenticity (Cohen, 1988). In many cases, tourists are unable to identify the difference between authenticity and real heritage experiences (Timothy, 2003 & Agouridas, 2012). Tourists consume or perceive the local environment, people and places of the WHS, which is at the fore front of heritage (inauthenticity). However, the real heritage is values and traditions, or cultures that are attached to humans in a society (authenticity). The real heritage which is authentic and true is difficult for a tourist to empathise with (Timothy, 2003). Moreover, some tourists might not be interested in real authenticity, they just want to experience the forefront of heritage (inauthenticity) for their own purposes such as relaxation and enjoying the sites.

Authenticity, on the other hand as in the context of World Heritage Sites, refers to the

genuineness or masterpieces or originality of a site (UNESCO, 2006: 3-8). Moreover, the concept of authenticity is also applicable to intangible heritage, such as, for performing traditional rituals and dances, which is a part of culture. In addition, authenticity of a site can be classified in many ways, with labels such as 'monument' or 'historical city'. In term of a monument, the conditions of authenticity may not be met if the monument is restored without paying attention to its original material, design, workmanship or setting (Ibid: 3-8). For a historical city or a cultural landscape, authenticity may depends on its use and function, or traditions, techniques, setting, as well as other forms of intangible heritage.

The view of authenticity varies between cultures. Therefore, the judgement of authenticity must consider the cultural context of the site. The Nara Declaration on Authenticity provides guidelines for judging authenticity in different cultural contexts. For instance, 'Values and Authenticity' or 'Integrity or Entirety' as to how intact a site is and its attributes. At other times, the authenticity of a site constitutes the attractiveness or completeness of a site (UNESCO, 2006). On the other hand, authenticity may also be considered as a marketing tool (Timothy, 2011: 286-290). In doing so, the integrity of a site can be compromised in order to create visitor facilities or gain economic objectives through development. Therefore, if the elements which are necessary to express the value of a site are absent or further developments have impaired these elements, the site will not meet the conditions necessary to maintain its integrity (UNESCO, 2006: 3-9). Consequently, it is necessary to involve communities and share the benefits within the community to preserve World Heritage Sites.

2.2 Cultural Heritage Consumption

The growing number of tourists at World Heritage Sites has put tremendous pressure on those sites. International agencies such as the UNWTO (World Tourism Organization) have predicted that tourist numbers will continue to rise over the next decade, particularly in Asia. In turn, such growth will broaden the existing problems at WHSs which include damage, a lack of awareness for cultural and heritage significance, overcrowding issues and cultural commodification. On the other hand,

even with the growth in the niche market of cultural tourism (the groups of culturally-sensitive and learning-seeking tourists) or ‘special interest tourism’, there is a need for improvement in tourism systems and industries at destination sites, which include educating the heritage guides, better planning of policies and the good management of the sites in order to deal with and reduce the negative impact brought by tourists to sites.

Millions of people travel each year in search of cultural experiences. Many travelers focus on visiting cultural areas and heritage sites. Serious cultural tourists or heritage tourists have a desire to learn or enliven their hobbies. Casual heritage visitors are less inclined to engage deeply with historic places but enjoy spending time with loved ones or having a relaxing experience (Timothy, 2011). Many factors determine demand for heritage products at a global and personal level. Among these are socio-economics, worldwide political relations, demographic characteristics, climatic differences, physical abilities or disabilities, temporal constraints and available leisure time. Demand for heritage tourism is growing rapidly, as people realise the importance of the past in their current lives. Thus, there is no doubt it will continue to grow as long as there are cultural resources to satisfy need and demand.

Heritage tourism consumption is the use of cultural resources: tangible and intangible heritage, as attractions. Every place has heritage although not all heritage resources appeal to tourists, even if they are important for local residents. Those involved in heritage tourism consumption include a wide network of consumers and providers, including tourists, travel agents, tour operators, information brokers and others (Timothy, 2011:15-31).

2.2.1 The Demand and Supply of Heritage Attractions

In tourism studies, the demand in tourism products relate to tourists or consumers. From an economic perspective, tourism is seen as an, ‘invisible export industry’ because the product of tourism (the travel experience) is intangible, paid for by outsiders who bring new money into a local region, which is exported from the destination where it is created. In this way, “the consumption of the product of tourism

by travelers is referred to as demand” (Timothy, 2011:15).

The general pattern of tourism demand in heritage tourism is based on a framework of international travel or the growth of global tourism. Since the second World War, the growth of international tourists worldwide is an estimated 25 million (See table 2.2). UNWTO’s Tourism 2020 vision forecasts that international arrivals are expected to reach nearly 1.6 billion by the year 2020. Of these worldwide arrivals in 2020, 1.2 billion will be intraregional and 378 million will be long-haul travellers. In 2020, the top three receiving regions will be Europe (717 million tourists), East Asia and the Pacific (397 million) and the Americas (282 million), followed by Africa (77 million), the Middle East (69 million) and South Asia (19 million), (UNWTO, 2010).

Table 2.2: The growth of International Tourist Arrivals since the second World War

Year	Number of International Tourists	Year	Number of International Tourists
1950	25 million	1990	457 million
1960	69 million	2000	698 million
1970	166 million	2010	940 million
1980	288 million	2020	1.6 billion

Source: Timothy, 2011., UNWTO 2011 (Overview of International Tourism in 2010).

Heritage supply refers to attractions and services. Cultural heritage tourism is a unique sector in which supply precedes demand (Timothy, 2011). As the heritage market continues to mature and grow, other services develop to cater for particular needs, including lodging, transportation and food services, creating employment opportunities and other positive economic benefits at a given destination.

Heritage supply includes tangible and intangible heritage attractions, in terms of living culture, built heritage and cultural landscapes are important elements of the attractiveness of most tourist destinations. Therefore, many communities all over the world have begun to realize the importance of preserving their past, thus more resources will appear on the fore front of heritage tourism for tourists and local residents. Heritage resources, which are categorized as heritage supply and are utilized by tourists and locals, are shown in Figure 2.3.

Table 2.3 A Sample of Heritage Attraction Supply and Types

Cultural Heritage Supply	
Tangible	Intangible
Military attractions - Battlefields, museums, cemeteries, war memorials, military installations	Arts - Art traditions, handicraft skills, foodways and gastronomy
Dark attractions - Sites of terrorism, cemeteries, places where famous people died, sites of mass murder or torture, prisons concentration camps,	Languages - Ethnic languages, unique languages, music
Historic settlements - Historic cities, villages, redeveloped waterfronts, rural settlements	Folkways - Dress, farming methods, behavior, folklore, faith, stories
Archaeological sites/historic buildings - Ancient ruins, archaeological digs, castles, churches, historic homes, museums	Music and performance arts - Dance, music, opera Sport - Plays, rules and methods
Industrial attractions - Ports, railways, mines, factories, beer breweries	Religion - Beliefs, practices, rituals, ceremonies, gender roles
Religious attractions - Churches, cathedrals, temples	Festivals and pageants - Ethnic festivals, religious pageants food festivals,

Sources: Timothy (2011) "Cultural Heritage and Tourism: An introduction"

2.2.2 Heritage Scale of Demand: Global, National, Local and Individual

According to Timothy (2011), scale is an important geographical concept in understanding many aspects of heritage tourism, including demand, supply and impact. The scale of attractions appeal to different audiences on a global, national, local and personal/individual level. For example, attractions that fall under the category of global heritage include sites and monuments that are well-known throughout the world and have come to symbolize certain regions, countries, ethnic groups or eventful periods of time that have impacted the entire world, such as The Great Wall of China, the Pyramids in Egypt, the Roman Coliseum, Machu Picchu, Stonehenge and Hadrian's Wall. Likewise, Luang Prabang relates to a world scale as it is awarded with the status of a World Heritage Site (WHS).

At a national level attractions and sites are associated with the development of a nation state. Although these appeal primarily to citizens of the countries where they are located in as a result of a personal link, the sites might also attract foreign visitors who are already in the country for other purposes. These features have come to signify national unity and patriotism. Monuments of this caliber symbolize a country's struggle for independence or a period of time that was crucial to the development of a national identity. Visits to these attractions can increase a nations' solidarity and often stir emotions that may be described as spiritual, patriotic or nationalistic; in many cases the past is manipulated by national governments to do just that.

Another aspect to consider is local and regional scale of tourism. One way of doing this is by marking locations and buildings that have played an important role in the patrimony (heritage) of a region, town, village or other communities, and promoting them as a tourist attraction. In this sense, the site is less about tourists visiting than attracting local visitors. Subsequently, Luang Prabang meets this condition and can be placed on the local heritage scale. This is because Luang Prabang is considered as a holy and sacred place in Lao PDR, and is a representative symbol of Lao as a cultural city. Moreover, Luang Prabang has a unique history and is therefore respected by local visitors; as well as Thai tourists who find the unique cultural aspect of Luang Prabang interesting.

Finally, it is important to consider individual/personal factors. The scale of heritage is most meaningful for each individual as it features people, places and events associated with ones' own familial past. Personal heritage travel is particularly important in the fast-paced modern world, where people seek out their own roots to find stability and a sense of belonging. Members of diasporic groups travel back to their homeland; individuals conducting family history or genealogy research away from home, people visiting friends and relatives or a person visiting places he/she has lived in at some point in the past are all manifestations of this type of heritage tourism.

2.2.3 Cultural Commodification

The 'comodification of culture' is considered as a negative impact of tourism when the

inherent meaning of cultural artifacts and performances are lost, as they are modified to suit tourist markets (Timothy, 2011 & Cole, 2008). This occurs when tourists demand tangible and intangible culture or heritage tourism products, that drives the production and ‘package’ of heritage for tourists to consume. The problem with this is that in the process of commodification, the traditional values of heritage are lost as they are performed as merchandize for mass consumption by tourists (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

A common view in literature on tourism anthropology is that tourism turns culture into a commodity, resulting in a loss in authenticity. Researchers have examined how crafts, performances, hospitality, heritage and identity have been transformed by the presence of tourists. For instance, the *Wayang Kulit* shadow puppet theater in Indonesia, which originally lasted many hours and sometimes a couple of days during a major celebration. Original *Wayang Kulit* and *Wayang golek* puppets were handmade with great care and artistic detail, for they are considered performers for the royal family, and there is also a spiritual element associated to the shows. However, in current day tourists buy *wayang* puppets that are mass produced and made of cheap materials by people who have little connection with the traditional form (Timothy & Boyd, 2003: 154). This is similar to the case study on Pu Nyer Nyar Nyar dolls in Luang Prabang town.

2.3 Heritage Tourism and Its Transition

The next section will explore the tourism and the globalization trend impact on socio-cultural of a community, the issues in heritage preservation, the local resident’s perception of tourism and the construction of the notion “heritage value”.

2.3.1 Tourism, Globalization and Socio-cultural Change

In the field of tourism research, the social and cultural impact of tourism has received significant attention from sociologists and anthropologists, with special interest given to changes brought about due to contact between different people (Cole, 2008). Like other outsiders, tourists are direct agents of contact between cultures causing a

phenomenon such as acculturation. Socio-anthropological studies of people in tourist destinations and cultural change have resulted in two inter-related ideas: the political economy of tourism and development; and cultural commodification, homogenization and the associated processes of globalization. This trend is also occurring in Luang Prabang town.

Like many other societies in developing countries, while entering a stage of tourism development, Luang Prabang has faced globalization issues and socio-cultural changes. The current generation might live in a different context from past generations based on the society's situation, which they live in. As a result, society in the past was assumed to be a primitive. It had less contact with other societies but since then, there have been small exchanges and gradual adaptations in other cultures, which have evolved considerably from its original culture. Past societies may have encountered different types of internal and external influences. More recent change refers to change in society itself based on development and new policies. Earlier societal changes refer to outside influences and conflicts with other countries such as wars for independence or a fight against natural resources.

Current society is encountering globalization on such a scale that everybody in the world will face the same norms of culturalization in the future. In history, during the 19th century Europe was empowered, while in the 20th century America has risen to power, capturing American culture, which continuously appears in each corner of the globe, such as McDonald's and American movies. On the other hand, Japanese culture is also popular around the world and it is considered as a popular culture. For instance, Japanese cartoon 'manga', Japanese food 'sushi', the former traditional cultures 'samurai'. These reputations result in tourists visiting Japan in order to experience the origins of these products. Furthermore, recently, globalization is perceived through social media using the Internet, Facebook, or twitter and is changing the way people think as it is a form of homogenization from around the world.

2.3.2 Converting Local Heritage into Universal Heritage

‘World Heritage’ originates from the time a decision was made to build the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. The proposed dam would have flooded the Abu Simbel Temples, one of Egypt’s most important heritage sites. The government of Egypt and Sudan appealed to the international community for help, and in 1959 UNESCO launched an international campaign to save Abu Simbel. Fifty countries donated half of the total cost of \$80 million US dollars to renovate the temple stone by stone from its original site to reassemble on nearby dry ground (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006: 2-1). This case demonstrates that some sites are exceptional and have outstanding universal value. These sites belong to the local community, the nation states as well as to people of the world.

The old traditions and ancient monuments of human ingenuity in many parts of the world have become important iconic symbols with international acknowledgement and recognition. Some countries use these ancient relics as their national symbol, such as Angkor Wat, which is placed on the Cambodian currency and the Great Wall of China on the Chinese currency (Timothy, 2011: 346). In Lao PDR, Luang Prabang is considered as the nations’ cultural city symbolized through the iconicity of Pu Nyer Nyar Nyer.

Many countries have branded and marketed the ancient sites, historic buildings and archeological monuments, which are important components of heritage-scapes and are considered as a national symbol of many countries. Those heritage resources are one of the most salient and beloved elements of cultural tourism. They are non-renewable resources that must be protected at all costs, and it is up to managers, community members and the visitors themselves to assure their sustainable use in the future.

2.3.3 Issues in Heritage Preservation

Cultural and Natural Heritage is among the priceless and are considered irreplaceable assets, not only of each nation but humanity as a whole. Their loss, through deterioration or disappearance constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage to the

wider global community (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, p.2 and UNESCO, 2006: 1).

Communities living in a heritage site can play an important role in the conservation of a site, as they should be familiar with the site. Moreover, in many places, local communities are the direct descendants of the people who created the heritage site and in this case may be living in the heritage sites as guardians of the site. A community which is not aware of the value of its heritage or which is not supportive of conservation activities can damage a site more than outside people. On the other hand, a supportive community can be the best partner in safeguarding the heritage. Therefore, public education about the value of heritage through different activities is one way of creating community support. However, the most effective way to achieve support is to share the benefits that are gained through the various heritage-related activities, such as tourism (UNESCO and IFT, 2006: 3-10).

Tourism should bring benefits to host communities and provide motivation to care for and maintain their heritage and cultural practices. The involvement and cooperation of local and/or indigenous community representatives, conservationists, tourism operators, property owners, policy makers, those preparing national development plans and site managers is necessary to achieve a sustainable tourism industry and to enhance the protection of heritage resources for future generations (UNESCO). Moreover, heritage guides contribute to the protection and management of heritage sites by mediating and communicating the values of heritage and the core notion of 'heritage value' to visitors in order to develop a good understanding of the importance of a site, which leads to appreciation and care for heritage. Heritage guides can also help bridge the gap between host communities and visitors, as a tool to encourage visitor etiquette in tourism initiatives (UNESCO and IFT, 2006: 3-10).

2.3.4 Local Residents` Perception of Tourism

One avenue for sustainable tourism is to balance needs of insiders and outsiders (sustainable tourism gateways). In the case of the world heritage sites in Luang Prabang town, the understanding of locals is very important to ensure the success of

its sustainable long-term tourism development program. Consequently, the participation and perception of local residents in tourism development and their conservation efforts is essential as a part of the tourism industry. Therefore, the local community should be treated with respect; in regard to their concerns and ideas (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Most studies in tourism initiatives related to the WHS focus on relationships between tourism and the management of cultural heritage, visitor management and the impact of tourism (Leask, 2006 & Ap 1992). However, very few studies focus on local residents' perception of tourism and conservation amongst World Heritage Sites (Nicholas, Thapa & Ko, 2009).

The World Tourism Organization defines its mission related to local perceptions based on areas: 'attitude indicators and concern of the community in respect to key issues based on community perspectives'. These ideas access actual opinions of tourism and their effect on tourism development related to economic benefits, social-cultural benefits, and environmental and cultural conservation. (WTO, 2004).

On the other hand, host communities should be able to gain a lot of benefits from tourism. This means the host community should care for and preserve their cultural heritage resources. Maintaining positive perceptions of tourism and the cooperation of local residents: 'tourism operators, environmental conservationists, heritage enthusiasts, policy and culture preservers, and other stakeholders' are essential in ensuring the sustainability of tourism development and heritage preservation (Chakravarty, 2008).

2.3.5 The notion of "Heritage Value" Construction

The basic question in Heritage studies is how heritage is constructed and how some objects, places, and traditional practices are transformed into a heritage and others are excluded others (Pearce, 1996: 86). The construction process of heritage or heritage values needs to be analyzed based on some particular social phenomena, which forms the product in a particular society. Moreover, time is important for the process of transforming objects into heritage as a value or a personal notion, nationally or globally.

The concept of value has been acknowledged by various scholars; such as, Dumont (1980) in social anthropology, 'on value', and later Thomson (1979) on the study of *heritage value* in 'the creation and destruction of value'. Moreover, Pearce (1995) discussed the notion of value in relation to '*collecting processes*' in Carman's (1996) work in relation to *archaeological materials*.

Value refers to the concept of worth, ethics, personal identity and culture. However, the theory of value consists of approaches on understanding how, why and to what degree humans should value things, whether the thing is a person, idea, object, or something else. The concept of ethics, value in a property of objects, including physical objects as well as abstract element that represent their degree of importance (Jacques, 1995: 91-101). However, Hitchcock (2010) and Timothy (2003) define heritage as having the same meaning as values.

Nevertheless, there are few studies on how specific, broadly contemporary, cultural sites and their material culture have gone through with their transformation from 'ordinary things' into valued heritage. Therefore, the concept of 'heritage value' in this paper is a newly invented notion based on an assumption based on heritage studies and value system as follows:

Pearce's (1996) perception of heritage is as a social concept, as heritage that lives within its traditional practice, and then transforms in order to gain the status of heritage. In this case, there should be some criteria for the material objects and even the landscape, attached to its people, in order to be eligible for heritage status. These are in accordance with the basic fundamental criteria of heritage selection based on the principles outlined by UNESCO (UNESCO, 1972). It does not mean that all material objects have to be considered for world heritage status, but at least it is valuable to consider this in the selection process. Therefore, if any objects or traditional practices obtain a world heritage status, they should be masterpieces or at least considered as exceptional heritage and match with one of the ten criterias for world heritage selection (UNESCO, The Criteria for Selection).

In this dissertation, the construction of heritage values is derived from the work of

Pearce (1996) and Darvill (1994). Pearce's (1996) work opened the way for *heritage* construction:

It begins from universal recognition, one's ownership of material with possession the prime importance in the construction of culture, and hence the potential of gaining heritage status and their significance as cultural beings in the western tradition. However, this tendency has considerable historical depth, the object itself is implicit in notions of history and heritage, as they are a crucial element in our capacity to recollect, culture as either collective or individually. Particular materials have to be selected to carry the past and to provide the physical presence which can carry it into the future (Pearce, 1996: 86-87).

Moreover, Pearce's (1996) study also refers to the relationship between values and things or material objects. His research focuses on the selection of social ideas which are embodied by actual individuals and in concrete material. In this way, interaction between people and objects have created and sustained culture and social existence at sites. Furthermore, it also produces objects that are attached to particular memorials or 'heritage' qualities.

In regards to the work of Darvill (1994) on value systems which examines archaeological resources, 'value means different things to different people' (Darvill, 1994: 52). Darvill's (1994) work did not focus on economic aspects but sociological interpretations, which set out broadly- constituted and socially- determined assumptions, beliefs and knowledge-sets, which may be termed 'value systems'. Moreover, there are various values perceived by people in regards to heritage, especially in the archaeological heritage sphere. In this way, his research focuses on the study of nature as a value system and gradients with reference to archaeological resources. The results of his research include three main value gradients: 'use value' based on present requirements, 'option value' based on future possibility and 'existence value', which acknowledges value because it is there. Perhaps, his work relates to the notion people have in a society towards archaeology resources, as notion being one value.

‘Use Value’ is based upon the fact that demand or uses are placed upon the archaeological resources by contemporary society (Timothy, 2011 & Darvill, 1994). ‘Use value’ is based on consumption, even though the act of consumption is also creative. Society’s ability to use the archaeological resources depends on two things: first the existence of some evidence, records or memories of things we care about, drawing upon things such as ancient artifacts including structures and objects. Second, a person’s ability to attribute meaning to what society has (structures or objects). Such meanings are not necessarily right or wrong, they are a part of the process of recognition, derivation, and renegotiation into future states. The meanings, which is created from cultural heritage carries symbolic messages, and are cast in a language which we hope others will understand. (Darvill, 1994: 55-56)

‘Option Value’ infers *production* rather than *consumption*. However, the process of production is deferred because it is not the *present context of value* but rather some specific time in the future. This is in accordance with *new invented value* by one society which granted the other meaning to that value.

‘Existence Value’ relates to the *existence of (archaeological) resources: built architecture*. The temporal context is the present. Central to the realization of these values is the *recognition of a set of feelings* of well-being, contentment, and satisfaction – the ‘feel-good’ factor. These feelings are triggered in people who may never expect to use or see the resources itself by knowing they exist (Darvill, 1994: 59).

As a result of Darvill’s (1994) work there is proof of the link between buildings and values, which are embodied in archaeology. Therefore, the temple of Wat XiengThong in Luang Prabang, and the Angkor Wat Temple in Cambodia present value systems. When applying the theory of heritage construction to these archaeological sites Boyd (2003), Darvill (1994) and UNESCO (1972), argue that the Angkor Wat temple and Wat XiengThong temple in Luang Prabang are considered as heritage, which embodies a value system. Therefore, the term ‘heritage value’ is derived from the meaning of heritage and embodies the value system of any selected heritage objects.

A sociological and anthropological study recognized the physical heritage of Wat XiengThong temple as a heritage property. Consequently, it should receive recognition from people in the community as Wat XiengThong temple is the product of the local people, and there is a certain history of religious practice in the community attached to this temple. At the same time, people in that society have already granted the value system of Wat XiengThong temple. This situation further builds on the notion of 'heritage value'.

'Heritage value' is the notion of value, as a result of physical heritage produced by locals and includes local customs. Heritage is the product of personal, familial and societal events. 'heritage value' has two sides: first is that of tangible or physical objects. Second it is the establishment of relationships between locals and the physical heritage. However, there is a possibility that 'heritage value' is different from local wisdom. It involves the daily life of local people, as well as cultural or traditional practices, which should be preserved for the long-term benefits of local culture.

In conclusion, the idea of heritage originated from humans and then become a part of human value. Human value applies to an object, and becomes a man-made product. In other words, it is a man made relationship and is granted value in this way. It is related to time; as time that has passed and the object has a history and is now a part of the past of past generations. Subsequently, this object can become heritage, and have values attached to it. Therefore, Wat XiengThong temple is perceived as a product of heritage, values that have processed. Wat XiengThong temple is a man-made product of society; a physical heritage attached to values invented by local ideas that contain local knowledge and is respected by locals themselves.

Chapter 3

Research on Tourism Development in Lao PDR and in Luang Prabang

This chapter will present research on the tourism industry's development in Lao PDR and in Luang Prabang town. First, the chapter introduces the people and ethnic groups of Lao PDR. After independence in 1975, the country announced its 'new economic mechanism' (NEM). This was a turning point for socio-economic sectors in Lao PDR, which included the tourism sector. Tourism was considered an important tool as it contributes to socio economic development and provides support for policy on poverty reduction in Lao PDR. However, tourism has not brought only positive impact but also negative consequences for Lao PDR and to Luang Prabang town.

3.1 The Shaping of Lao PDR

Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) or Laos, is a land-locked, developing country situated in Southeast Asia. Lao PDR shares its borders with five nations extending the length of more than 1,700 kms from north to south and between 100 kms and 400 kms from east to west. The country has an eastern border of 1,957 kms with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a western border of 1,730 kms with the Kingdom of Thailand, a southern border of 494 kms with the Kingdom of Cambodia and northern border of 416 kms with the People's Republic of China and 230 kms with the Union of Myanmar (WTO, UNDP, 1998:25).

In the past, Lao PDR was a "land-locked" country as it was unable to access the sea. However, with an open door policy and a market-oriented economy, the new strategy has changed the term from 'land-locked' to a 'land-linked' country. This has been possible through its integration into ASEAN communities, of which Lao PDR became a member in 1996. Furthermore, Lao PDR is a part of the ASEAN plus three (China, Japan and Korea) and the Greater-Mekong Sub-region cooperative framework (Vietnam, China, Cambodia, Thailand and Myanmar).

Lao PDR consists of 16 provinces and one prefecture with 142 districts; of which 70 districts have been identified as poor and 47 districts have been identified as very poor. Lao PDR has two seasons: the rainy season, which extends from May to October, followed by a dry season from November to April (Harrison & Schipani, 2009).

3.1.1 People and Classification of Nationals

Population diversity is an extremely important factor for shaping Lao PDR. There are approximately 6.2 million living in Lao PDR of which 3 million are female. In addition, about 85% of this population live in rural areas (Stuart-Fox, 2008). Furthermore, in 1995, the Lao Front for National Construction recognized 49 ethnic groups in the country (Kislenko, 2009: 5-9). The Lao Government used to classify the ethnic groups into three categories according to topography: Lao Lum (Lowland Lao or Lao of the Plains), Lao Theung (Lao of the mountain slopes), and Lao Sung (Highland Lao or Lao of the mountain tops) (Khanstrup-Jensen, 2007). The ethnic groups are also classified according to four main language families: Lao Lum or Lao Tai (8 ethnic groups, 66.2 percent), Mon-Khmer (32 ethnic groups, 22.7 percent), Hmong-Yao (2 ethnic groups, 7.4 percent), Tibeto-Burman (7 ethnic groups, 2.9 percent). According to Kislenko (2009), Goudineau (2003) and Stuart-Fox (2008), other groups include the Chinese Yunnanese and Vietnamese, who make up the remaining 4 percent. Lao Lum is the largest group, and their mother tongue is also the official language. In addition, they also identify with widely practiced religions in Buddhism. The Lao Theung and Lao Sung are composed of several other ethnic minorities with different agricultural techniques, traditions, customs, beliefs and languages. In 1954, Laos gained independence from France and set out to build a modern society. Consequently, western nations, mainly America came to have influence over local life in Laos (Chaleunsin, 1996).

Ethnicity is an important social marker in Lao society, as there are significant differences in living conditions, social status, and power between ethnic groups. The Lao people are characterised as Lao Lum, Lao Theung and Lao Sung. These people have common characteristics following traditional geographic habits as the Lao Lum live in the lowland, the Lao Theung live on the mountain slopes, and Lao Sung live in

the mountainous areas. Pholsena (2006), an academic in Lao has done considerable research on the politics of culture, history, and identity in Lao PDR. Regarding ‘transformist hegemony’, with relevance towards the relationship between ethnic groups in Lao PDR, Pholsena (2006) states:

The ‘transformist hegemony’ seeks to create and define both the national (normal) and the ethnic (deviant) identities. As a consequence, those outside the mainstream are now defined as ‘ethnic’ or ‘minorities’, racially differentiated because culturally stigmatized, as opposed to the ‘non-ethnic’ members of the nation sharing a seeming cultural purity. These deviant groups outside the mainstream will not become full members of the ideologically defined nation unless they stop claiming their rights to a self-defined cultural identity. Their sole authorized contribution to the nation’s patrimony will then be de-politicized traditions turned into harmless and colourful folk elements (Pholsena, 2006:15).

Besides this, it is believed that the Lao language is one of the around 82 languages spoken in Lao PDR and the mother tongue of the majority group is Lao Lum. It is also the official language and the sole language of instruction in the education system, in spite of the fact that about half of the population in Lao PDR has a different mother tongue (Kosonen, 2005 & Chounlamany, 2011).

Colonial heritage, political economies, geography, history, traditions, culture, religion and gender patterns are important factors for not only attracting tourists but also for influencing the development of tourism in Lao PDR. Lao PDR is a small country in the mainland of South East Asia, but it has significant tourism potential based on its cultural, historical and natural assets. The existing forest covers 41% of the country’s landmass, with 20 national protected areas harboring a wealth of biodiversity and globally important species (WTO, UNDP, 1998: 59-62). Additionally, the abundant Mekong River flows through the country, which ensures its beautiful scenery and archaeological sites with its distinctive art and heritage. Along the river exists 49 ethnic groups with diverse lifestyles, cultural practices and customs.

3.1.2 New Economic Mechanism, Tourism and Poverty Reduction

In 1975, the Lao Patriotic Front took control of the whole country officially and

formed Lao PDR (Chounlamany, 2011: 30). The era post-1975 can be divided into two phases with different implications for the country's development and socio-economic direction along with its strategies to develop. During the first period between 1975-1986, attempts were made to form a society from a planned economy perspective. However, the planned economy was replaced in 1986 with an open door policy by what is known as the NEM (New Economic Mechanism), which represented a move towards a market, oriented economy. Before 1986, Lao PDR was under the Eastern Bloc and received support from Eastern Bloc countries (e.g. the Soviet Union). However, after 1986, the NEM was prompted due to the Eastern Bloc deterioration, which disabled Lao PDR's former partners from a position of supporting Lao PDR. Consequently, this forced the country to seek support from countries outside the Eastern Bloc (Chounlamany & Khounphilaphanh, 2011: 30).

The second period is from 1986 to present day, after the introduction of the NEM in 1986, which resulted in Lao PDR opening up its global market system. Consequently, the Lao government began to reform almost every sector including the tourism sector with the goals of linking tourism development more closely to local socio-economic factors, in order to remove Lao PDR from the list of developing countries' by 2020 (Mongkhonvilay, 2006). Therefore, the Lao government asked for assistance from the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and the World Tourism Organization (WTO) to outline the National Tourism Development Plan for Lao PDR (Lao National Tourism Administration, 1998).

Tourism development has made a remarkable contribution to the socio-economic development of Lao PDR for more than two decades since 1975 to 1986 and again from 1986 until present day. The tourism industry has played an important role in the country's development ever since the foundation of Lao PDR in 1975. However, the country was not fully prepared to welcome international tourists at that time, and most of the foreign visitors were members of official delegations (Development Analysis Network, 2007: 91–93). In 1986, a new open door policy was put into operation, and the country adopted a 'market-oriented economy'. At this time, tourism came under focus as a sector for commercialization. Subsequently, the first *National Tourism Plan*

was published in 1989, which focused on building a modest tourism industry based on high-end and tightly regulated group tours (Harrison & Schipani, 2007: 200). By 1995, tourism had become a priority sector, especially after the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) added Luang Prabang to its list of World Heritage sites. The second *National Tourism Development Plan* was published in 1999, and it emphasized conventional sightseeing, eco and adventure tourism, cross-border tourism, and domestic tourism (Harrison & Schipani, 2009).

In 1999, Lao PDR globally promoted its campaign, ‘Visit Lao Year’, which ran from 1999 to 2000. Since then, the number of tourists has increased dramatically. The average growth rate of the tourism industry is 20.53% and the industry is now a major contributor to national income, generating about 7% to 9% of the GDP (Statistical Report on Tourism in Lao PDR 2009). Consequently, in 2004, the *National Tourism Strategy for Lao PDR* emphasized the role played by tourism in several developmental aspects such as poverty alleviation, strengthening the position of traditional culture and ethnic minority groups, CBT development, and the improvement of tourism-related infrastructure and sub-regional cooperation.

During the last two decades, tourism has played a vital role in the country’s socio-economic development by generating foreign exchange earnings for the country as well as income for local people. In doing so, tourism also promotes local products, creates job opportunities in many economic sectors in the country, and encourages local people in remote areas to develop and promote agricultural products, handicrafts, and other artifacts. In addition, it creates jobs and spreads wealth to local communities and people, through the sale of local products abroad and in other communities, while preserving customs and traditions.

3.1.2.1 Community-Based Tourism and Poverty Reduction

Since 1989, the tourism industry in Lao PDR has been active in welcoming international tourists (Harrison, 2007), and within just two decades, tourism has assumed a very important role in the socio-economic development of Lao PDR, from

its northern region to its southern areas. In fact, the nation has been able to utilize tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation, using various forms of tourism such as “community-based tourism” (CBT), ecotourism, and pro-poor tourism.

The tourism planning and development strategy of Lao PDR at present, and up to 2020, defines the concept of community-based ecotourism as follows: “The role of ecotourism or community-based tourism is to advance the conservation of cultural and natural resources, local socio-economic development, and tourists’ understanding and appreciation of places they are visiting, as well as to generate income through tourism in local communities” (LNTA, 1998: 19). Based on this, CBT, pro-poor tourism, and ecotourism are utilized as a means to alleviate poverty in Lao PDR. These approaches have resulted in successful tourism projects in areas such as the Nam Ha Ecotourism Project (NHEP) in Luang Namtha, in various villages in Luang Prabang, a World Heritage site, and in the form of CBT in Khammouane and Champasak, located in southern Lao PDR.

Tourism achievements have been accomplished with the help of aid provided by several international donors, who were the main institutional agencies providing financial subsidies and technical assistance during the first stage of CBT management for NHEP. Since 2002, these international agencies include, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), which funded a feasibility study for priority tourism projects in Lao PDR, Cambodia, and Vietnam (Harrison & Schipani, 2009), and the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), which through collaboration with the United Nations Volunteer Program provided technical advisors for CBT in rural areas. Initially, SNV supported NHEP by providing the local artisans guidance on how to make handicrafts and market them. Following this project, SNV began implementing similar programs in several provinces such as Luang Prabang, Houaphanh, Savannakhet, and Khammouane as well as at a national level, under the government’s authorization. Three agencies have played a major role in these programs: UNESCO (assisted NHEP and provided an office for the project in the House of Heritage in Luang Prabang), a German development agency (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)), a German development service (Deutscher

Entwicklungsdienst (DED)), and a Canadian volunteer organization by laying down objectives and undertaking the role of assisting ecotourism-related management in Lao PDR (Harrison & Schipani, 2007: 202–210).

On the other hand, the international organization ‘Development Analysis Network (DAN) 2007’ has reported instances of community-based urban tourism in Luang Prabang, while pointing out that local people involved in tourism-related businesses earn more than families working in the farming industry. Moreover, families residing near tourist sites have a greater chance of earning incomes that is higher than families living far away from tourist sites:

The survey found that most villages in citites (four out of five) close to tourist sites and (three out of four) villages slightly further [from] tourist sites claimed to benefit from tourism through employment opportunities offering a stable income through providing services for visitors. On the other hand, one out of four villages ... located away from the town and far from tourist sites stated the same tourism benefits. Twenty percent of the provincial budget was devoted to tourism, while 14% of the total labor force [was] engaged directly in the tourism industry and almost 30% in the town of Luang Prabang (DAN 2007: 112–21).

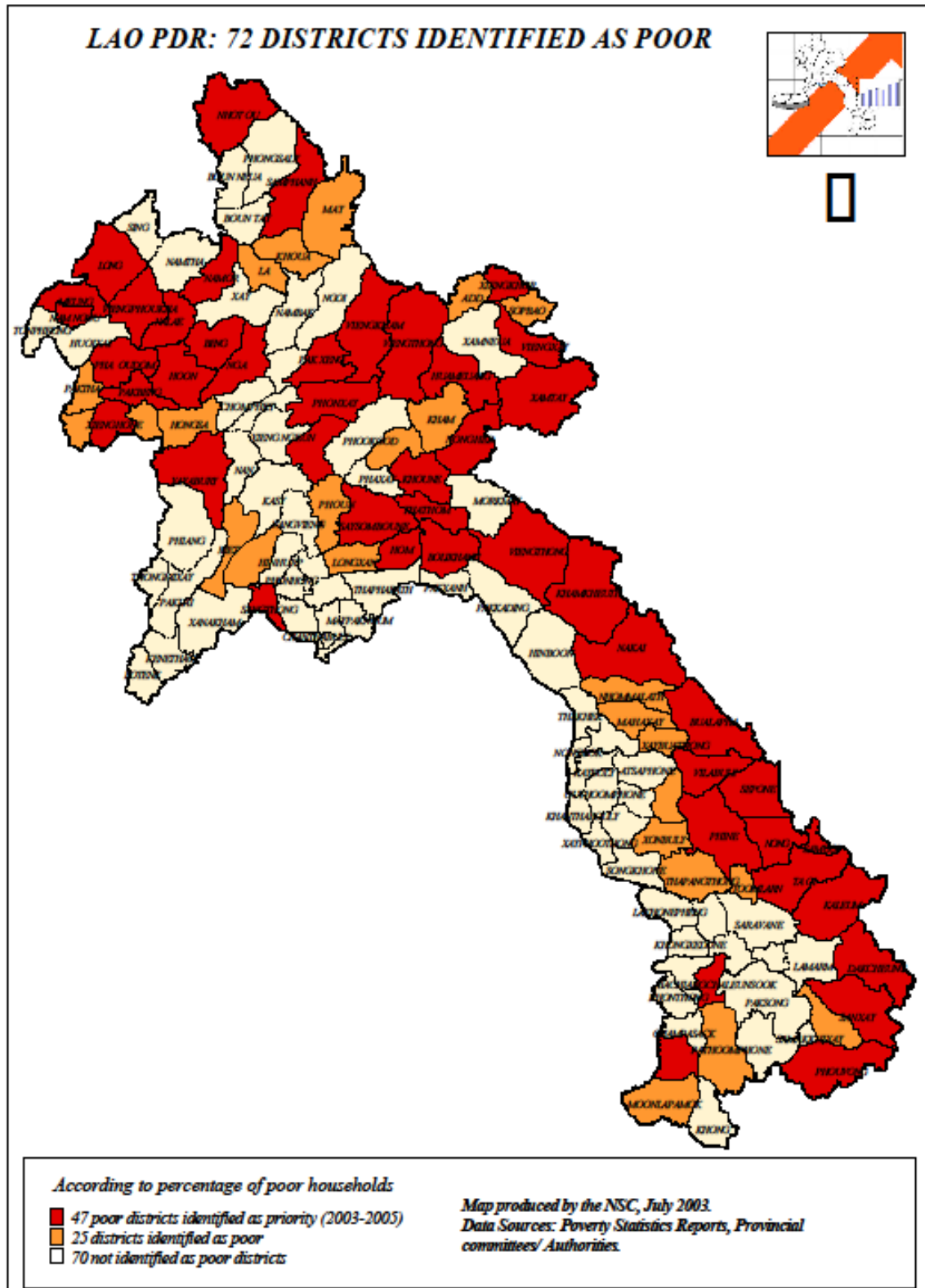


Figure 3.1: Map produced by the NSC, National Statistics, July 2003.
 Sources: Poverty Statistical Reports, Provincial Committees/ Authorities.

This study demonstrates a link between tourism and improved standards of living for many villagers. In regards to their own perceptions, they are able to earn higher income from the increasing number of job opportunities, have better access to markets and main roads, and benefit from the growth of tourism. In addition, many villages recognize that tourism can bring them better health care, better provision of electricity, and further improvements in public transport networks, which will not only provide people in remote areas with easier access to cities and markets but also increase the possibility of attracting more tourists. Consequently, poverty has been virtually eradicated in villages on the outskirts of cities, although there are still some pockets of poverty left in villages outside the city (DAN 2007:110–122).

In Luang Prabang, CBT has become important as a means of poverty reduction. Consequently, family-owned tourism-related businesses are more like to directly benefit from this industry than family-owned farms. In addition, families who reside near tourist sites have better opportunities of benefitting economically than those who live farther afield. However, tourism is also a part of a supply chain, with farmers cultivating agricultural products and supplying them to the tourism industry. Thus, local people can make a variety of souvenirs and products to sell to tourists, which helps to create employment opportunities, generate income, and spread wealth in local communities.

3.1.3 The Promotion of Tourism Policy and the Preservation of World Heritage Sites

Lao PDR has made an effort to support and develop the tourism industry over the past 20 years (1990 – 2012). Consequently, this sector has expanded rapidly and Lao PDR has received compliments from tourists, such as ‘Jewel of the Mekong’ and the ‘Land of Kindness’. Moreover, tourism has played an important role in socio-economic development, commerce, investment, cross-cultural exchange and international cooperation. It helps people to better understand one another and encourages international peace and friendship. As a result, the Government of Lao PDR has placed tourism as one of the priority sectors to contribute to the country’s

socio-economic development, with a focus on development for sustainable tourism based on cultural, natural and historic resources, so that Lao PDR becomes a place for recreation, cultural exchange and learning for both regional and long-haul visitors. Based on this vision, the main policies concerning tourism development in Lao PDR are:

1. To implement an open-door policy concerning cooperation with foreign nations in economic and cultural matters;
2. To promote tourism development that alleviates poverty and stimulates local production;
3. To create employment opportunities;
4. To generate and distribute income to the multi-ethnic Lao People;
5. To promote and conserve the arts, culture, and fine traditions of the Lao People;
6. To conserve and protect ancient archaeological sites, the natural environment and historic monuments.

When Lao PDR first opened its door to international tourists in 1990, only 14,400 international arrivals were recorded. By 2005, the number had risen to nearly 1.1 million arrivals that generated over 146 million dollars in foreign exchange. By 2011, the number of arrivals was 2.7 million, with revenue of 406 million US dollars. For the past 20 years, tourism has been the number one earner of foreign exchange, outpacing garment manufacturing, electricity exports and the mining sector (LNTA, statistical report 2011). Over 70% of tourist arrivals to Lao PDR are regional tourists with the remaining 30% from the long-haul market that includes Europe, America and the Asia-Pacific region. Some priority markets for the tourism industry are Thailand, America, France, The United Kingdom, Japan, Australia, Germany, Canada, Viet Nam and China (LNTA, Statistical Report on Tourism in Laos 2011).

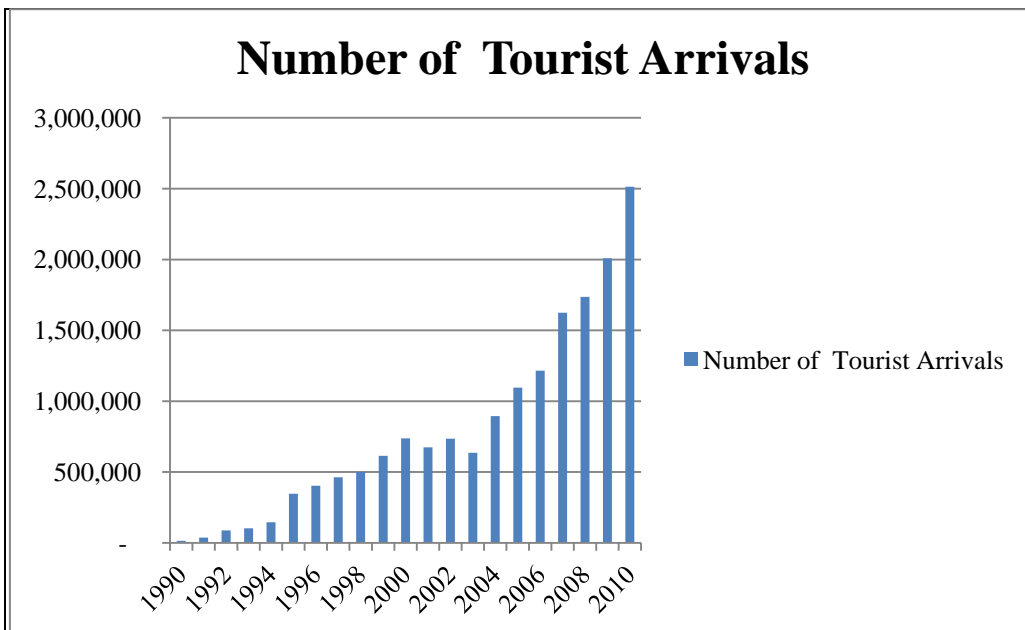


Figure 3.2. The Increase of Tourist Numbers in Lao PDR Since 1990
(Source: Lao National Tourism Statistical Report 2011)

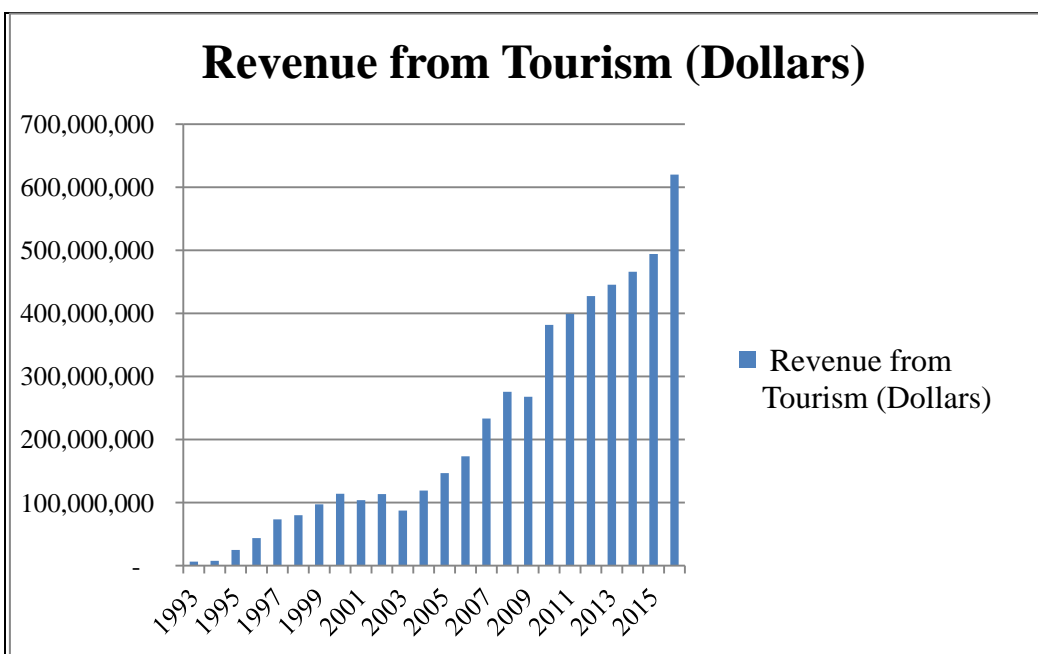


Figure 3.3. The Growth of Revenue from Tourism Since 1990 - 2020
(Source: Lao National Tourism Statistical Report 2011)

The Lao Government has made significant investments to promote growth and investment in the tourism sector. There have been large investments in the road network from north to south and east to west that now conveniently links the Lao PDR to neighboring countries. Three international airports are open in Vientiane, Luang Prabang and Pakse. Furthermore, the national electricity grid, water supply and other

public infrastructure have been upgraded and expanded. As well as this, communication tools allow easy and reliable communication with the outside world. There are 17 international immigration checkpoints, of which 13 checkpoints issue visas on arrivals. In addition, the country supports visa-free agreements with 8 ASEAN countries; and exempts visa requirements for Japanese tourists for a period of two weeks.

Despite substantial progress as a developing country, Lao PDR still requires large investments in infrastructure and the Government is actively encouraging foreign investment as outlined in the 2004 investment law. Foreign investment is encouraged in all production and service industries in all areas that do not have a negative impact on national security, the environment, and do not adversely affect peoples' health or their culture is welcomed. Foreign investors and their property are entitled to full protection under the Laws of Lao PDR.

Foreign investors are permitted to invest in Lao PDR in three ways: first, as a business cooperation by contract; second, as a joint venture between foreign and domestic investors where foreign equity should not be less than 30% of the total registered capital; or as a 100% foreign owned enterprise.

According to the 2005 Tourism Law, foreign investment is encouraged in the following sectors:

1. Activities involving tourism promotion;
2. Activities involving tourism communications;
3. Activities involving tourism transportation;
4. Investment in the accommodation sector;
5. Investment in the food and beverage and entertainment sector;
6. Handicrafts and souvenirs;
7. Investment in tour companies.

Investment in the tourism sector has been liberalized to allow 100% ownership in hotels and restaurants. Furthermore, foreign investment in tour companies is set to a minimum of 30% and a maximum of 70% for foreign shareholders.

In 2009, Lao PDR had a total number of 1.493 tourist attractions, an increase of 985 designated tourist sites from 2005. Currently, there are 435 cultural sites, 849 are natural sites and 290 historical sites. Of these, more than 500 sites are still awaiting investors to develop facilities and services at the sites. There are 364 sites that are currently opened for business but many are in need of further investment and improvement. (LNTA, Statistical Report on Tourism in Lao PDR, 2011).

At the same time, Lao PDR has been improving its management of tourism, its administrative systems and strengthening its private sector tourism-related businesses. For example, the Lao National Tourism Administration has been elevated to Ministerial level and the Lao Association of Travel Agents and the Lao Hotel and Restaurant Association have been established. In 2009, there were 166 registered tour companies (in 2003, there were only 41 tour companies), 1.148 restaurants, 357 hotels and 1.344 guesthouses with a total of 26.558 rooms. The average room occupancy rate was 54% in 2009 compared to 45% in 2003. (LNTA, Statistical Report, 2009:18-24).

Tourism is the second largest economic contributor to Lao PDR after the mining sector. In 2009, the revenue from tourism was 267.7 million US dollars, while the mining sector was worth 539.4 million US dollars. In 2011, the revenue from tourism was 406 million US dollars, whereas the mining sector was worth 1.237 million US dollars (Tourism Development Department, 2011). Consequently, the industry currently employs over 30,000 people, including many village based guides and other village level service providers that have been trained by the various community-based ecotourism programmes active in the country.

Lao PDR is a small country in mainland Southeast Asia, but tourism has the potential for development based on cultural diversity as well as, historical and natural assets. The existing forest covers 41% of the country's land mass, with 20 national protected areas harboring a wealth of biodiversity and globally important species. The Mekong River harbours beautiful scenery, archaeological sites and distinctive Lao arts and heritage. There are also many historic sites (the Plain of Jars, Vat Phou Champasak

and Luang Prabang) and 49 ethnic groups with diverse lifestyles, cultural practices and customs.

One example of Lao PDR's heritage is Luang Prabang town, is a living UNESCO World Heritage Site first settled in the 14th century. This town has become a "Tourism Mecca" in Southeast Asia, which is popular with both regional and long haul visitors. Another example is Vat Phou Champasak and the Ancient City of Settapura that dates back to the 5th century; the Plain of Jars in Xieng Khouang with over 3,000 large stone urns spreading over 60 major sites, with each jar weighing from 2 to 3 tons and believed to be about 3,000 years old. This exceptional heritage was expected to gain World Heritage status in 2007. In Houaphan Province, the Hin Tang Archaeological Park and the historic caves at Viengxay exist, one of fifteen National Heritage Sites. (LNTA: Tourism Guide Book, 2010).

Some of the exceptional natural tourist attractions are Li Phi, and the Kone Papheng waterfalls, the largest waterfall in terms of its volume in Southeast Asia and the 7.5 km Konglor Cave underground river can accommodate small tourist boats. There are 20 National Protected Areas, and some with established community-based ecotourism programmes. One successful project is the Nam Ha Ecotourism Project, recognized as a "best practice" poverty alleviation project by UNDP that received both a UN Development Award and British Airways Tourism for Tomorrow Award. Other tourism destinations include the charming towns of Muang Ngoi in Luang Prabang, Muang Sing in Luang Namtha, Vang Vieng in Vientiane Province, Pak Beng in Oudomxay, Don Sao in Bokeo and Don Khone-Don Det in Champasak. In addition, Lao PDR has many traditional festivals held every month throughout the year.

Lao PDR clearly sees the importance and a benefit of tourism, therefore the Lao government continues to support and strengthen the role of the tourism sector through its enactment of a tourism law, marketing and promotion, and the public-private sector cooperation. Moreover, Lao PDR has cooperated with ASEAN and international organizations such as the UNWTO (United Nation World Tourism Organization) and the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) to improve the Veing Xay historic

caves, to draft the tourism law decree, and to work on some projects in southern Lao PDR. In addition, priority areas that require improvement are building human resources, developing infrastructure and upgrading services in the tourism sector and through the implementation of community-based ecotourism projects in Houaphan, Luang Namtha, Luang Prabang, Khammouane, Champasak and other provinces.

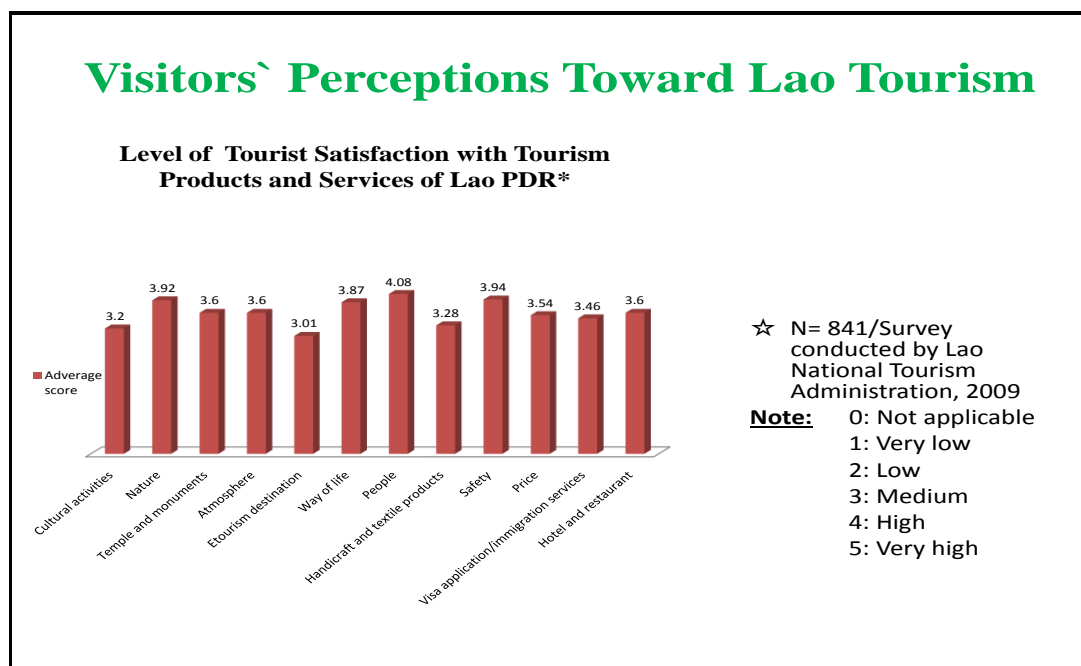


Figure 3.4: Tourists' Satisfaction of Tourism Products and Services in Lao PDR (Source: Lao National Tourism Statistical Report 2011)

3.2 Tourism Development in Luang Prabang

In Lao PDR, there are two World Heritage Site, which are considered the main tourist attractions in relation to the nations' income; Luang Prabang town and Wat Phou Champasak. However, the most outstanding example of Lao PDR's heritage is Luang Prabang town, a living UNESCO World Heritage Site. The town has its own characteristics in terms of location, old and traditional architecture, tangible and intangible culture and good town planning. Luang Prabang was the former capital of Lao PDR. However, the former Lao King moved the capital city from Luang Prabang to Vientiane city in 1560 in order to protect Luang Prabang from an invasion by Burmese troops (Sengpaserth, 1991).

Luang Prabang towns' town planning is considered to be well made, as it is located on the peninsula with two merging rivers; the Khong River and Khan River in the North-East Part of the town. Luang Prabang is surrounded and has lots of green spaces both inside the town and on the opposite side of Luang Prabang town across the Mekong River. It is believed that there is plenty of flora and fauna.

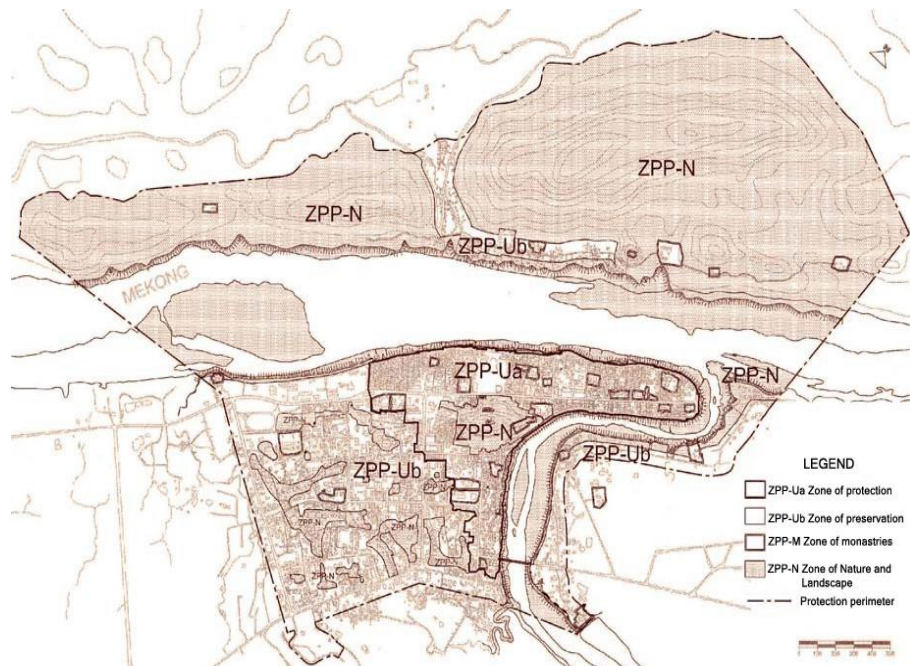


Figure 3.5: The Study Area (Heritage Zone in Luang Prabang Town)
 Source: Heritage Preservation and Development Master Plan, House of Heritage Regulations on Heritage Protection Zone, UNESCO

Luang Prabang was added to the World Heritage list in 1995 (based on criteria II, IV and V) (The Criteria for Selection, UNESCO) and defined as a masterpiece of human creativity, its human values, outstanding architecture, with buildings and technology ensemble which illustrates a significant state in human history.

3.2.1 Legend and History

Luang Prabang is an extraordinary place embodied with mystical legends and history creating the name Luang Prabang. The history of Luang Prabang is divided into two periods: *pre-history* and *pre-modern history*.

3.2.1.1 Pre-history of Luang Prabang Town

The mystical legend of Luang Prabang states that the Buddha left a number of footprints when travelling through the land, which is now called Luang Prabang (one of the footprints is said to be close to the top of Phusi Mountain). ‘The Buddha told his disciple Ananda that this city would be a rich and powerful capital city’. (UNESCO, 2004: 5) Another theory or legend is that two hermits were seduced by the beauty of the area and decided to build a city there. The hermits were first attracted by the mountains (known as Phusi Hill during this time), which resembled a mound of rice. The second attraction was the junction between where the Mekong River and Khan River merged. Also, at the tip of the peninsula, a large tree ‘*Ton Thong*’, a flame tree with magnificent flowers and fruits, red like lacquer blossomed. Therefore, the hermits placed a big slate of rock at the base of the tree and proclaimed that in this city a palace would be erected, and in future times a virtuous monarch would govern from it. Taking a stream known as Nam Dong as the southern limit and the tree ‘*Ton Thong*’ as the northern limit, the hermits called this place Xieng Dong-Xieng Thong. Near this spot, is the city’s oldest and most famous temple ‘Wat Xieng Thong temple’ (Mixay & Lafont, 2004:18).

According to one *Bailan* record, the story of the first humans to arrive was of the Kha people. The Lao people entered the city under the legendary Khun Lo, who attacked and defeated the Kha chief, Khun Xua. After that, Khun Lo named the city as ‘Muang Xua’ in honor of the brave chief he had defeated (Mixay & Lafont, 2004). Furthermore, another legend traces back its origins to Luang Prabang and the history of Khun Borom who was the son of Thane principality. The Khun Borom led the Thai people from Nong Sae-lake and NanChau, and settled together with the Austro-Asiatic population in the Southeast Asian peninsula during the 10th to 13th century. Khun Borom had seven sons, who established seven municipalities of their own. The eldest son, Khun Lo, formed the town of Luang Prabang (Khouththao, 2006: 7).

According the Cri Cudhamanagari manuscript, the city’s first king originated from Ceylon while the second was from Khmer. The eighth king, a humble betel-merchant who came from Vientiane, is credited with founding the first Wat Xieng Thong and the

That (stupa) at the Phou Si Hill. The Cri Cudhamanagari puts the reign and fall of Khun Xua in the ninth century, marking the legendary beginning of the Lao era (Mixay, 2004).

3.2.1.2 Luang Prabang Town's Pre-modern History

The Lao people are a part of the Thai language group, who are thought to have migrated from south of China, from Yunan and the Sichuan provinces. Chinese historians call those who settled in what is now Laos, the Thai Lao people. These people founded individual kingdom territories or *muang* along the rivers, mainly the Mekong River, the Nam Tha River, Nam Beng River, and Nam Ou River and began irrigated agriculture. Some settlements flourished and the population spread until their most famous city, Muang Xua, claimed influence over the people who ranged from Xishuanbanna in southern China down to the Mekong falls at Liphithan (Khonphapheng falls in the southern part of Lao PDR), and from the feet of the Annamite chain in the east to the Khorat Plateau and the Lan Na frontier in the west. The name Muang Xua is first mentioned in the thirteenth century stele found at Sukhothai, which is said to be the oldest record in the Thai language. The stele is attributed to the reign of the Siamese King Rama Khamhaeng, and conveys that Rama Khamhaeng's son concentrated his forces around Muang Xua in event of an attack against his southern enemies, the Chams. French historian Paul Le Boulanger (1934) that the Chao or King of Muang Xua, 'was a vessel of Siam during 1320-1330, he chased from his state his son Thao Phi-Fa for having seduced one of his concubines, Nang-Ok-Khong'. Following this, Thao Phi-Fa and his son, Fa Ngum, fled to the court of the Khmer King at Angkor; where they were granted exile. When Fa Ngum was old enough, he married Yot Keo, the pious daughter of the Khmer king. Then the Khmer King gave Fa Ngum an army of 10,000 men, whom they led north to his home city between 1340 and 1350 to re-conquer the kingdom.

3.2.1.3 The Lan Xang Period

From Muang Xua (a vassal of Siam between 1320-1330), the new King united the *Lao Muang* as a single political entity for the first time in history, and renamed his home

city *Xieng Thong*. Upon marching south again to consolidate his territory, Chao Fa Ngum (1374) called his kingdom: '*Lan Xang Hom Khao*', *the Land of a million elephants and the white parasol*'. During his ruling period, Chao Fa Ngum introduced Theravada Buddhism to the Lan Xang Kingdom by bringing a Buddha Image from Cambodia named Prabang which is one of the greatest treasures of Lao PDR.

Chao Fa Ngum was deposed around 1374, after his authoritative style of rule antagonized the leading families. His son, Samsenthai consolidated the new Kingdom through strategic marriage but stability proved only temporary. The next King, Lan Kham Deang, died after a short reign, provoking a crisis of succession. The unity and power of the Lao kingdom was under pressure from Annam (Vietnam) until the late fifteenth century when alliance with Ayudhya bolstered Lan Xang once more.

Consequently, King Vixun (1501-1520) installed the Pha Bang statue in the temple, which still bears his name and his successor Phothisarath (1520-1547) who married the princess of Lan Na. When Ayudhya attacked Lan Na in 1546, the army of Lan Xang marched to defend their Northern neighbor, and Phothisarath's son Setthathirath was made King of Lan Na. In the following year, he also acceded to the throne of Lan Xang, and for a brief period the 'city of Pha Bang' controlled a large area of the Tai World.

During a short alliance between Lan Na (northern Thailand) and Lan Xang (northern Lao PDR), Lao culture benefitted through the noble families and artisans that joined Setthathirath back in Luang Prabang. Among the cultural treasures that came with them to Luang Prabang was the Pha Keo, or Emerald Buddha, Lan Na's own fabled palladium. King Setthathirath was at the height of his power, and in 1561, he manifested this golden age through the building of Wat Xieng Thong temple. Lan Xang was unable though to keep control over Lan Na, which fell first to internal plots and then to the Burmese kingdom of Pegu. The threat from Burma was so great that it would eventually persuade Setthathirath to move his capital south to Muang Vieng Chan (Vientiane). To legitimize his new royal city, the king took the Pha Keo with him, leaving the Pha Bang in the north. Wars with Pegu followed, Lan Xang suffering

invasions and temporary occupation. Following the death of Setthathirath in 1571, the Burmese dominated the throne until the time of King Soulignavongsa (1638-1695). When his long reign ended and the Lan Xang kingdom split into separate entities, with the Kingdom of Luang Prabang, the Kingdom of Vientiane and the Kingdom of Champasak to the south. Each kingdom sought help from outside powers as they sought to rule what had been Lan Xang. Thirteen monarchs followed in the kingdom of Luang Prabang, but a succession of wars and invasions meant few of them were truly independent.

The destruction of Vientiane by the Siamese in 1827 restored Luang Prabang to its position as a pre-eminent town of the former Lan Xang, but this was now a fragmented nation and its capital did not control more than a fraction of its former territory. The sacking of Vientiane was a disastrous end and a war begun under King Chao Anou's rule. However, it was a struggle to regain the lost territory and Siam took direct control over most of the Lao People.

Luang Prabang was forced to pay tribute to Siam, while the other Lao territories split into small Kingdoms that became the vassals or neighboring empires. Luang Prabang's King Mantha Thulat had remained studiously neutral during Chao Anou's fight with Siam, and continued to hedge his bets as Siam expanded. His Kingdom was weak, and he looked to Siam for protection against opportunist looters.

3.2.1.4 The Pre-Colonial Period

Luang Prabang and its territory were still, nominally, independent of foreign rulers, and it was to the northern town that European diplomats ventured when the colonization of Southeast Asia was being negotiated in the second half of the century. The area was under pressure from rivals east and west, and was also a soft target for the notorious marauding brigands of the Muslim Chinese Haw, ethnic refugees who had fled China during the Panthay rebellion. A mission to the region by the French naturalist Henri Mouhot, and the rediscovery of Angkor Wat, aroused great excitement in Europe and brought Luang Prabang to the attention of colonial powers. Henri Mouhot's journey came to an end in 1861 as a result of an agonizing fever, which

ended in death just outside the Lao royal city. His tomb can still be seen today in the city.

Seven years later, Doudart de Lagree left Saigon, travelling up the Mekong in an attempt to discover an inland commercial route to China. They came to Luang Prabang in 1868, as chronicled by a member of his party, Navy Lieutenant Franis Garnier. The Lan Xang throne was by that time simultaneously paying tribute to the King of Bangkok, to the Annamite Emperor in Hue, and even to China. Despite such difference, the city was ultimately unable to find protection against the threat of the Haw. One faction of the Haw, the Yellow Banners, ravaged the lands in the east of Luang Prabang kingdom in 1875, leading to King Ounkham's government asking for assistance from Bangkok. Siam installed a garrison in the city in 1882, ostensibly to protect the city but also to use it as a base to extend influence into Tonkin (northern Vietnam) region.

A city near Luang Prabang's border with Tonkin was Muang Lai, the capital of the White Tai, who were Thai and Chinese descendants. Luang Prabang's royal family regarded the head of the family Muang Lai, the Deo as kin and allies. When the Deo spurned diplomatic but expansionist overtures from Bangkok, Siamese troops captured three members of Chief Deo Van Tri's family and held them hostage in Luang Prabang. In response, Deo Van Tri mobilized an army that included mercenaries from the black Banner wing of the Haw and marched on to Luang Prabang in 1887. As they approached, the Siamese garrison fled and prestigious temples, which they attempted to destroy with fire. Fortunately most of them were eventually spared. According to a traveler named Raquez, 'Deo Van Tri decided not to burn the temples because of his Buddhist education that he received in Luang Prabang during his childhood'. Frances' vice-consul in Luang Prabang, Auguste Pavie, was in the city at the time and is said to have organized the escape of the King in his canoe. The attack gave him ample opportunity to claim that becoming a French Protectorate would be advantageous to the kingdom. To legitimize the colonization process, the French used Luang Prabang's nineteenth-century tradition of paying tribute to Annam as a pretext for preventing the influence of Vietnam in Luang Prabang. The Kings'

acceptance of this arrangement was the signal for France to push Siam out of Lao territory east of the Mekong, and to recreate something of a Lao state as part of French Indochina.

3.2.1.5 During the Colonial Period

The arrival of the French united Laos as a political entity, albeit under a foreign master. Gunboat diplomacy persuaded Siam to relinquish its domination of Lao territory, and even to return the province of Sayaboury to the King of Luang Prabang. The country officially became a French Protectorate with the Franco-Siamese treaty in October 1893. The new administrators arrived to manage their new territory, which to the Europeans seemed an unstructured geographical space. They assigned themselves the task of creating a capital and urban centers capable of supporting subsequent colonial development. As a result of France's political and financial interests elsewhere in Indochina, Laos was overlooked in terms of economic exploitation and considered primarily as a territory for strategic interest; a savage hinterland with difficult access. The colonists focused on military control and the territory's borders. This proved difficult, because of the mountainous landscape, the small population and the decline of traditional power. The ruling class was the first to receive the benefits that the new power could offer as the French sought to establish clients and urban centers to stabilize their position. In 1896, the first French school in Luang Prabang was opened at Wat Si Khoet. A young prince, Phetsarath Ratanavongsa, was among the first educated people to receive an education from the French.

3.2.1.6 Closing the Colonial Epoch

The Second World War passed in a comparatively gentrified fashion in Lao PDR, but it still left its mark on Luang Prabang. Following Japan's invasion of the Southeast Asian peninsula, Vichy France signed a joint commitment to the defense of Indochina with the Japanese. This allowed the French to stay on as the administrative power in their territory, while the Japanese would commandeer all military facilities and economic resources. Meanwhile, the Thai government sensed an opportunity to regain

Lao territory, previously lost in the 1893. A treaty pushed on the people of Laos by Paris, requested the Japanese to force France to command the provinces of Sayaboury and Champasak to Thailand. The loss of Sayaboury province was deeply resented by King Sisavangvong in Luang Prabang.

The French were seen to be illusory: the French appeared unable to fulfill their obligations to Luang Prabang, and the King threatened to abdicate and enter a monastery. To placate him, the French and Japanese enlarged the Kingdom of Luang Prabang by adding to it the Houaysay, Xieng Khoang and Vientiane Provinces. Although this may seem an attempt to restore power to the city and the Lan Xang family, it was no doubt a gesture to appease the King. As the war drew to an end and the Japanese contemplated withdrawing from mainland Asia, political developments in Luang Prabang were gaining peace. On April 8 1945, King Sisavang Vong, under pressure from Prince Souphanouvong and the Lao Issara freedom movement issued a royal proclamation declaring Laos' independence from France to embrace Japan's co-prosperity sphere. Four months later, the war was over and the Japanese had departed.

Peace left a power vacuum in Laos and tension in the royal family. In Luang Prabang, the king and crown prince hoped for the return of the French. In Vientiane, the Lao Issara formed a 'Free Lao Government'. They had the active support of the Princes Phetsarath and Souphanouvong, who backed independence. In November 1945, there was an uprising in Luang Prabang against the king. A force of around 100 men marched on the palace, disarmed the guards and took over the court. The king was informed that he had been overthrown.

Independence proved short as the wartime Allies backed the French reoccupation of Laos in 1946. The Lao Issara reinstated the King as a constitutional monarch in a bid to add legitimacy to their government and ward against the return of the French. The Luang Prabang monarch thus became king of all of Laos again for the first time since the death of King Souvignavongsa in 1694. The French returned with a military force, taking Luang Prabang in May of 1946. The Lao Issara split, with most of their leaders

going into exile in Thailand. Prince Souphanouvong led another group to Vietnam, where he joined the Viet Minh. His fighters became the Pathet Lao and returned to invade Laos almost reaching Luang Prabang in 1953. By that time, an independence movement throughout Indochina had impacted the French, and the colonial officers were on their way home. In 1953 full independence was granted to the Royal Lao Government.

3.2.1.7 To Gain Independence Again

For the Pathed Lao and Prince Souphanouvong, the struggle would begin once more against a new foreign power and a new king, as war engulfed the region from 1959-1975. For the town of Luang Prabang, the American war in Indochina provided the silver lining of limited development; the isolation caused by fighting was probably instrumental in the town's ability to preserve its character during the second half of the twentieth century.

The town of Luang Prabang suffered little damage during the war, despite major battles being fought in its province. The war paralyzed development in Laos and destroyed the road infrastructure, meaning that the royal city became something of a hidden legend. It remained a spiritual magnet throughout the fighting, with both sides sending delegations to the 'Blind Bonze of Luang Prabang,' a monk who developed a reputation as an oracle. The 1975 revolution, which overthrew the monarchy and established a one party state, brought peace and stability to the country but it was not until the late 1980s that the Lao People's Democratic Republic began to open itself to the world once more. Luang Prabang, a former royal kingdom is carrying on the legend and periodical history of the town.

3.2.2 Tourism in Luang Prabang before its World Heritage Site Status

The Government of Lao PDR has been promoting international tourism in Lao PDR since 1989. Luang Prabang as a tourist destination between 1989 and 1995 was not popular for the international community, and therefore, Luang Prabang relied on regular domestic tourists. During this period, the town had not been developed and

had poor infrastructure, which was also inconvenient. Electrical supply in the central district was very limited, rationed to only a few hours a day from seven to nine in the evening. Additionally, water supply in some areas of the town was in shortage during the dry season, especially during large events such as the Lao New Year. Telecommunications remained underdeveloped, with only a few telephones in homes throughout the town. There was no standard airport or terminals, besides a very small building, which resulted in passengers having to stand under trees. Moreover, flights from Vientiane on occasions were not on schedule, and road conditions were very poor and difficult for tourists to use for travelling to tourist destinations outside the town. Passengers who traveled on land to or from Vientiane usually took one to three nights to reach their destinations due to poor road construction. Transportation between districts and tourist destinations was very limited. People preferred to travel by boat, especially during the rainy season when the Mekong swelled, however most of the boats were slow. Facilities and accommodation were difficult to come by due to the small number of tourists. Luang Prabang at that time was in an environment of natural beauty, surrounded by greenery, landscape and plenty of fresh air, where people lived in a peaceful environment (Thongsavath, 2004).

3.2.3 Tourism in Luang Prabang after becoming a World Heritage Site

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) established Luang Prabang town as a World Heritage Site in 1995. Since, Luang Prabang has steadily seen growth in its tourism sector, which is valued to be about \$22.5 million per year (G.Tara and R.Paul, 2008). Therefore, the socio-economic development in Luang Prabang has been heavily influenced by tourism as shown in Figure 3.6 Below:

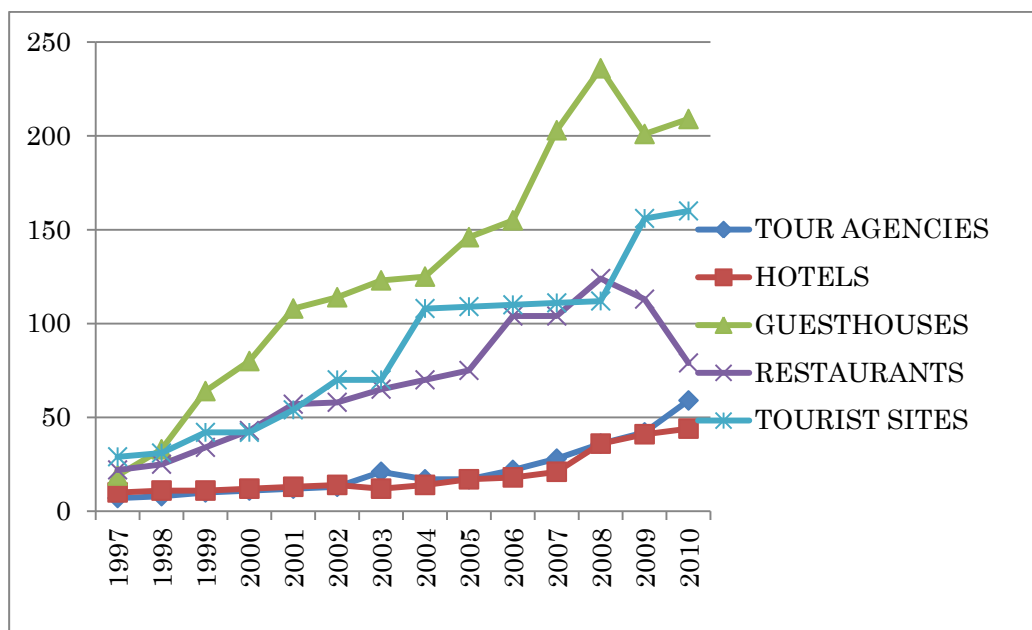


Figure 3.6: Growth in Tourism-Related Businesses in Luang Prabang (1997-2010)
 Source: Luang Prabang Provincial Tourism Department, Statistical Report, 2011

According to Figure 3.6, the tourism sector has sharply increased and developed since the 1990s. This corresponds with a rapid growth in international tourist arrivals. Additionally, the number of tourist attractions, including natural, historical and cultural sites located inside and outside of the town, has increased steadily, from 29 tourist sites in 1997 to more than 160 tourist sites in 2010 (PTD, Statistical Report 2011).

There are more than 26 tour operating companies under the umbrella of 9 main companies with the rest acting as branches. Local people run more than 80 souvenir shops, with the majority of the products produced locally. Also, more than 20 travel agents have been set up as a result of more international flights. In addition, there are more than 20 Internet cafes; with the majority of customers foreign visitors, as well as about 10 entertainment groups; who mainly work in the tourism industry, performing folk music, traditional dances and performances, which were previously forgotten and recently three nightclubs opened up; located mostly in the suburbs of the town. The Provincial Tourism Department (PTD) also organized evening markets (Night Bazaar), starting from 5 in the evening until 10 every night. This has attracted many tourists who buy souvenirs, mostly handicrafts and food from the local food booths.

Furthermore, Luang Prabang has hosted several regional as well as international conferences, which has also supported tourism activities in the region. The development of tourism has contributed to socio-economic development in many ways, such as with the improvement of infrastructure, the healthcare system, better communication technology, accommodation and various other service sectors. However, it is important to remember, the impact of tourism can have different effects over time as a result of human behavior.

3.2.4 The Impact of Tourism on Luang Prabang Town

Luang Prabang is the first World Heritage Site in Lao PDR, which is aiming to establish itself under the umbrella of sustainable tourism. As a result, the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Luang Prabang is now threatened under tourism development and reduced poverty in communities. In this way, tourism can act as a ‘double-edged sword’, unless managed accordingly. Tourism can be a positive force for the promotion and preservation of heritage values in Luang Prabang town as the tourism industry includes many sectors and components, which link and support each other. However, each component is sensitive and can affect other parts as a complex web. Therefore, the impact of tourism is creating a positive and a negative effect on heritage values based on the economic, social-culture and environment which are explained in three points below:

3.2.4.1 Economy

The Government of Lao PDR believes tourism is a tool for economic development to reduce poverty (LNTA, 2006). Tourism contributes to boosting the economic sectors, so like many other countries, Lao PDR seeks the quick expansion of tourism to increase employment, spread incomes among locals, and to contribute to the growth of national revenues. In 1991, revenue from tourism was set at 2.2 million US dollars, compared to 1995 when it was 24.7 million US dollars, and then later increased to 406 million US dollars in 2011 (Laos Tourism Statistical Report, 2011).

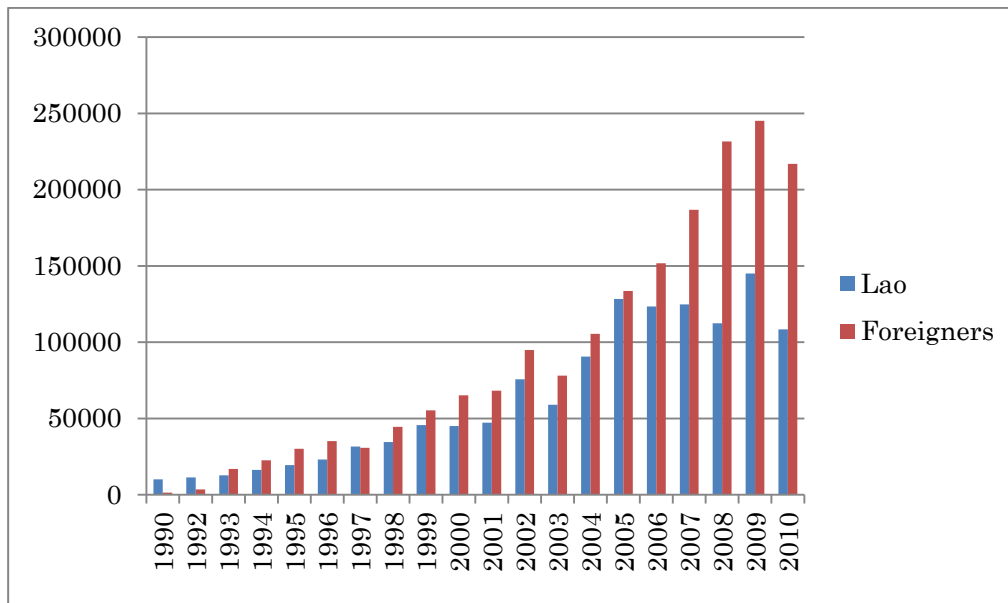


Figure 3.7: Tourist Arrivals to Luang Prabang (1990- 2010)

Source: Luang Prabang Provincial Tourism Department, Statistical Report, 2011

For Luang Prabang, tourism helps to boost local merchants' economic power through direct income, including ethnic minorities by encouraging them to produce more products such as handicrafts and handmade products to support the market demand. Moreover, the number of souvenir shops owned by ethnic groups is rising due to economic-based tourism. However, in Luang Prabang, the growth of the tourism industry causes many problems and seems to further increase problems in regard to land and property as cost is increasing; better locations are taken over by foreign investment for the construction of hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, golf courses and other service facilities. As well as this, another problem relates to native locals, who previously lived in the center of the town but now moved due to higher living costs. Furthermore, native locals are also renting or selling their properties to foreign investors for economic gain and moving out of towns to live elsewhere.

Various business sectors have opened up in the town, which demonstrates the difference between rural and urban areas and also reflects on the job market and its transformation. For instance, there are changes in occupation such as a move from cultivation and farming to working in the tourism industry, becoming waiters in restaurants; working in hotels or guesthouses; or becoming tuk tuk (traditional taxi

cars) and boat drivers. Additionally, there are many Hmong and other ethnic groups who have become merchants; selling their own handmade souvenirs at night markets and others who are creating small and medium sized enterprises.

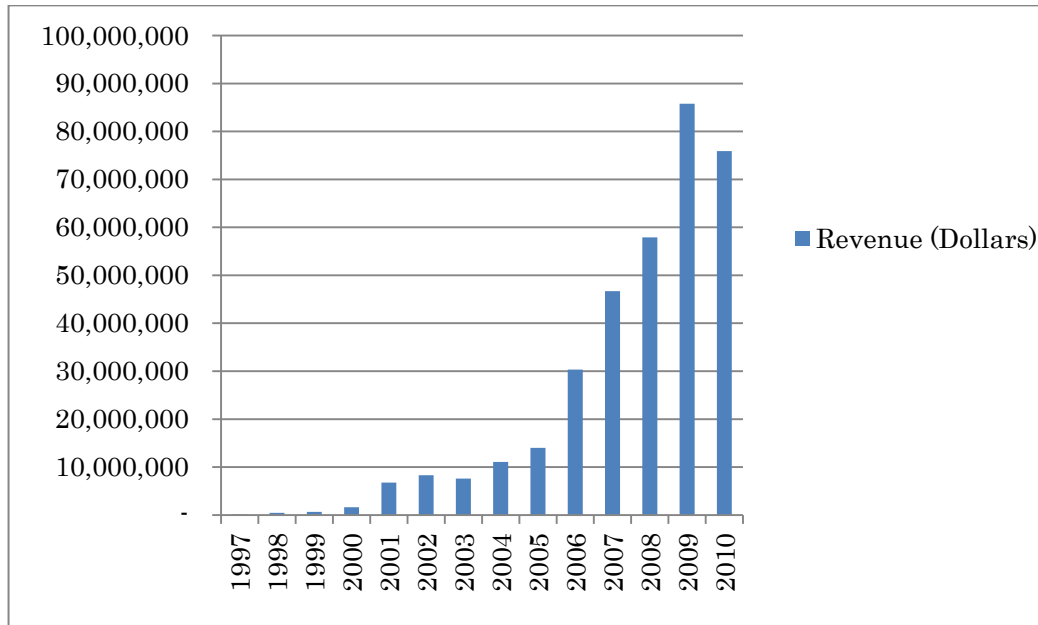


Figure 3.8: Revenues from Tourism to Luang Prabang (1997–2010)
 Source: Luang Prabang Provincial Tourism Department, Statistical Report, 2011

3.2.4.2 Social-culture

Tourism somewhat acts as a means for globalization when foreigners or outsiders enter a closed community (Michael, King and Parnwell, 2010). As a result of increased income in local communities as a result of tourism, material consumption has also changed and brought change to Luang Prabang town (Tara & Paul, 2008). For instance urban dwellers, mostly teenagers, imitate western culture and behavior, such by wearing shorts and more revealing clothes, applying makeup, which is sometimes deemed immoral and can be disrespectful of local culture (Vongdavone, 2006). Drugs and prostitution are also considered to be major challenges in the tourism development process. Western culture influences impressionable teenagers, as does the rise in night tourists, which inevitably causes social problems.

Since LuangPrabang became a world heritage site, ordinary life and religious life has begun to change. This is not because of tourists, but because people in the town are

moving out to suburban areas (Sisavath, 2005). For example, outsiders who are investors and living in the town are not interested in practicing in alms giving in daily life, each morning. Furthermore, the growth of tourism industry as well as the economic expansion in Lao PDR has affected the mindset of its people who are more 'money hungry', leading to changes in materialistic cultures of communities with locals living in the tourist center preferring to use ready-made products (Vongdavone, 2006).

It is important to remember that Luang Prabang is not just a tourist destination; it is a home to thousands of people. As tourism exists in Luang Prabang, the threat of globalism is also present (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2010). Today, the familiar tasks of everyday life, such as alms giving in the early morning, gardening, weaving fabric, or building a house are considered as new values and are somewhat cultivated as products in tourism. The traditional culture of Luang Prabang is no longer private and limited to an area of a local community (UNESCO, 2006).

3.2.4.3 Environment

An increasing population; the migration of rural people to urban cities and vice-versa; rising density and rapid changes in lifestyle are the core environmental issues in Luang Prabang. While tourism is not the only factor, an increasing number of tourists have a knock on effect on the local capacity (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). These include problems with waste disposal, increased traffic jams, air and noise pollution, drainage issues and the destruction of wetlands and waterways. In the future, the environmental conditions in Luang Prabang will suffer serious threats, which will affect World Heritage values; therefore effective management is essential in order to prevent these unwanted problems. For example, air pollution can damage the surface of old buildings. Moreover, there is also a need for a community-wide educational campaign to empower local people to recognize the importance of environmental issues in regard to the tourism industry and for ecological reasons as well as for the preservation of heritage assets in Luang Prabang town.

3.3 Conclusion

In terms of its social-culture sphere, tourism has provided chances for Lao PDR to introduce the nation to the world as a new tourist destination site. Many people have been able to learn more about the country with the government encouraging the rediscovery of its nation, under the principles of; study, research, sight-seeing, travelling and experiencing Lao culture, nature and history. Thus, tourism helps to promote the preservation of Lao culture throughout the country.

However, as a result of opening Lao PDR up to tourism and interacting with the global community, the negative impact of tourism is possibly the changes in social and cultural behavior. For instance, fashion; the fashion of wearing jeans, singlet's or shorts, which are not traditional clothing; the rising popularity of European food: pizza, spaghetti or hamburgers, which has come about due to foreign demand, which influences consumption behavior in Lao culture and society; and some locals providing services to tourists by working in entertainment facilities that are immoral in the Lao traditional culture.

In terms of its environmental sphere, tourism has been a central point for the conservation of forestry and national protected areas. Keeping the town clean and green is vital for the country in order to benefit from tourism in the long term and for the health and well being. Luang Prabang and other locations in Lao PDR can benefit from a pleasant environment. However, increased tourism leads to pollution and puts pressure on shrinking natural resources, resulting in garbage problems; drainage issues in crowded tourist places; traffic congestion in popular tourist areas, water pollution and the erosion of river banks, while local agriculture can also be impacted through the growth of products to serve the tourism industry.

In terms of its economic sphere, tourism is a primary catalyst for the economic improvement of Lao PDR. The positive side is that tourism creates jobs, brings in more foreign currencies and generates income for the nation and individuals in local communities, which assists in poverty alleviation. However, although the ability to

turn to tourism to increase income is welcome in the local communities, it can become too dependent on economic development in one industry (tourism industry), which can have a negative impact on the society and the people who are involved in it. For example, if tourist numbers decrease, income will decrease resulting in an economic crisis.

Poverty alleviation is a direct consequence of the tourism industry in the case study on community-based ecotourism in NHEP and CBT in Luang Prabang. Yet, issues concerning distribution and benefits from tourism and tourism leakages are worth considering. As in the case study of Luang Prabang, community-based tourism raises the question of whether the benefits of tourism leave the province at the exclusion of local enterprises and business, as the host cannot meet tourist demands in relation to equipment standard, food and other products. However, according to DAN, that leakage is relatively small and a large part of current tourist expenditure is spent locally. Tourism remains to have an impact on other industries such as agriculture (food supplies), and handicrafts. However, the trend is that tourists in Lao PDR prefer guesthouses, use local transport and spend money in ways that benefit small to medium enterprises (DAN, 2007: 122).

Chapter 4

Resources for Cultural Tourism in Luang Prabang

This part will show findings on the notion ‘heritage value’ in the relationship between cultural heritage and tourism influences in Luang Prabang town. It explores the host-guest relationship such as the relationship between locals and the tourists; the relationship between monks and Buddha images in the practicing of Theravada Buddhism, such as the monks praying and chanting in front of Buddha’s image inside a temple; the connection between the laypeople and the monks in order to maintain the everyday ritual ceremonies such as the practice of Alms giving.

4.1 A Framework of Heritage Tourism in Luang Prabang

Tourism in Luang Prabang consists of many types of stakeholders who have different functions in the promotion and preservation of Luang Prabang’s cultural heritage, which constitutes the structure of tourism in this town. Therefore, the model of tourism in Luang Prabang has been drawn up as follows based on: Dynamic Heritage Tourism in Luang Prabang town.

The figure 4.1 below will explore the new framework of mechanism of heritage and tourism in the town of Luang Prabang. This framework has been created by adoption and adaptation of the ideas from the work of Boniface (2001): *Dynamic Tourism* and Boniface (1993): *Heritage and Tourism in the “global Village”*. This framework consists of many tourism stake holders who have involved in tourism industry. Each stakeholder has the role plays differently and connects with each other. Therefore, the connection and the relationship between tourism stakeholders are combined and expressed in the model “Dynamic Heritage and Tourism in Luang Prabang Town”. This model is useful for functioning each stakeholder’s responsibility for impacts of tourism to the local cultural heritage. The purpose of this goal is to achieve the sustainable cultural heritage as well as the sustainability of “heritage value” in the town of Luang Prabang. The relationship between tourism stakeholders are expressed in details in Figure 4.1 below:

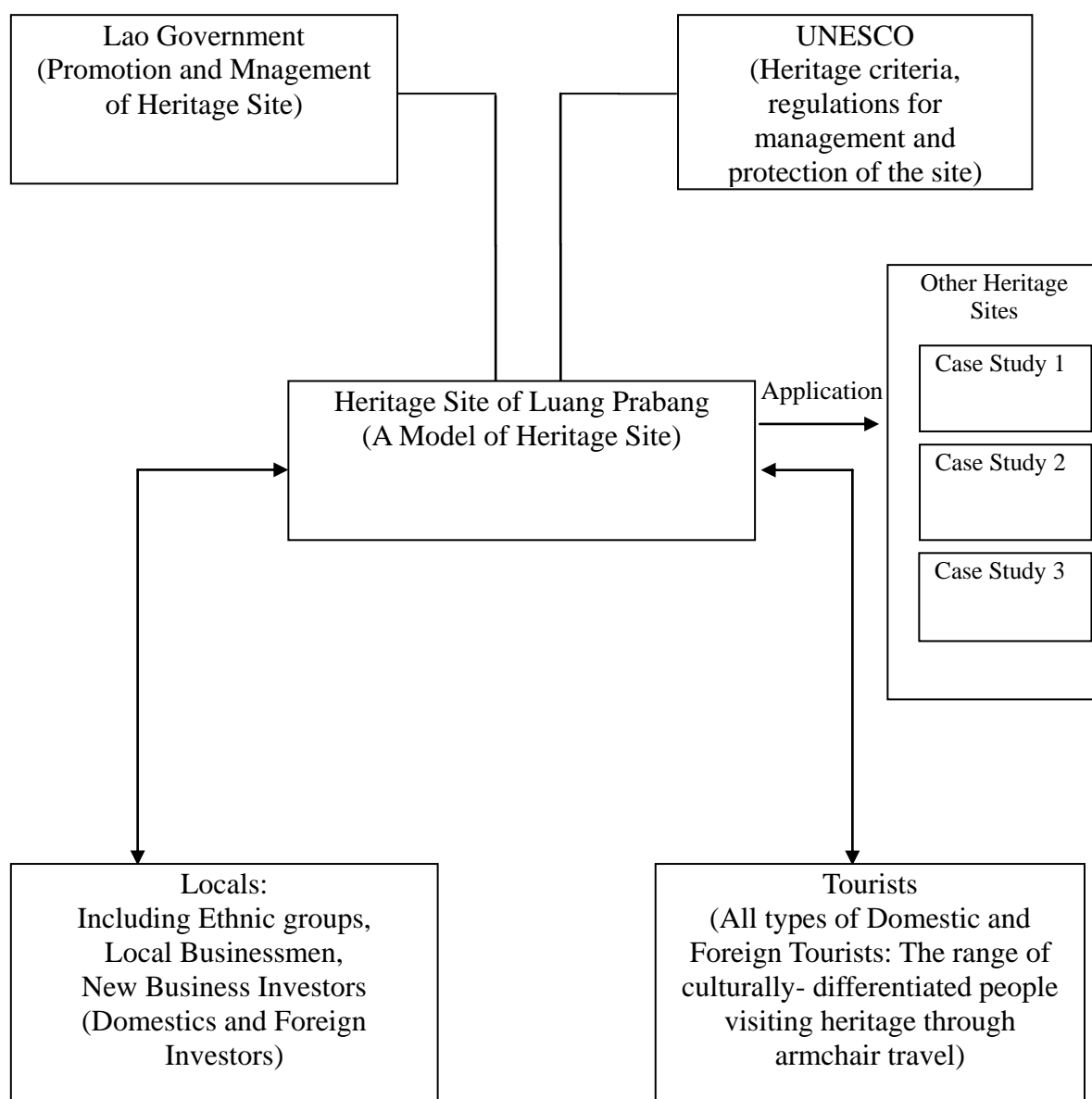


Figure 4.1: A Model of Dynamic Heritage Tourism in Luang Prabang Town

Cultural heritage and the living heritage in the town of Luang Prabang (see definition of terms attaches at the end this dissertation) is a hidden notion, as ‘heritage value’ in the model of heritage tourism in Luang Prabang. ‘Heritage value’ involves detailed analysis of the relationship between locals and the traditional cultural heritage, which is affected by the tourism industry. Based on the framework of heritage tourism it includes many tourism stakeholders and each has a role to play. In Luang Prabang town, there are many stakeholders involved in tourism, with each having responsibilities for the management, promotion and preservation of a site; whether or

not they have been following the trends in tourism development and modernization along with the regulations enforced by UNESCO.

As mentioned, fieldwork for this dissertation was undertaken in the town of Luang Prabang, thus, the framework for heritage tourism can be identified in this way: first is the tangible heritage which includes built architecture, such as temples (*sim or Wat in Lao language*), which reflects the old traditional Lao architecture; the historical colonized architecture as a result of the Chinese, Vietnamese, Siam and French invasion, which left evidence of their occupation in forms of housing like Chinese-Vietnamese Houses '*Ban Jeck in Lao language*', along the Sisavangvong road; the French architecture '*The House of Heritage*'; and the Thai influence found at Wat Pa Huak temple, which can be seen when looking at the pediment pattern at the entrance of the sim. A second perspective is produced by the use of holy sites as sacred heritage by the Lao ethnic groups who respect the beliefs of Buddhist Teaching in Theravada Buddhism. This includes intangible heritage, linked to ritual ceremonies conducted by monks inside temples by praying in front of Buddha every evening and early morning, 'Alms Giving' made by monks to collect food from the lay people and tourists; and ethnic group festivals, celebrated annually, which have become the main attraction for domestic and foreign tourists.

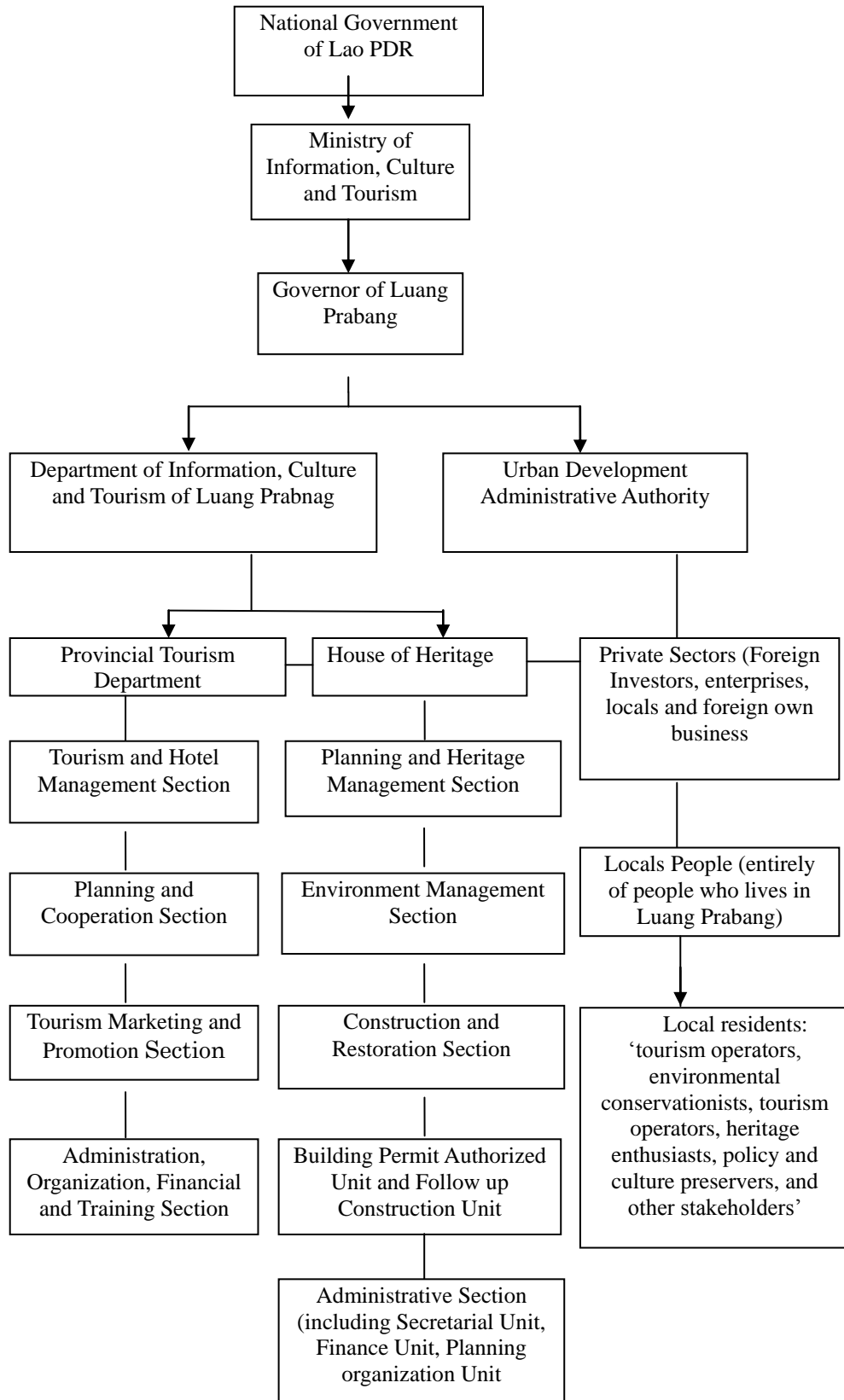
The framework of Heritage Tourism in Luang Prabang is controlled by local governmental organizations, UNESCO and SNV. These organizations have directly managed the town of Luang Prabang. However, interestingly, the local government representatives of the Urban Development Administrative Authority (UDAA) and the Provincial Tourism Department, which belong to the Department of Information and Culture of Luang Prabang, are under the direction of the central government, which conduct policies on the promotion of tourism in Luang Prabang town. Conversely, in contrast with the promotion of tourism development is the preservation of cultural heritage sites of Luang Prabang by the 'House of Heritage'. The 'House of Heritage' establishes and conducts the implementation of regulations made by UNESCO in order to control the preservation, management and improvement of heritage in the town, ensuring sustainable tourism.

Tourism in Luang Prabang contains an important element that is the local people. In this town, locals consist of many ethnic groups and national classifications (Lao Lum, Lao Sung and Lao Thueng) and ethnic groups such as Mien, Lue, and Yao. Each ethnic group has their own culture and it is sometimes coincides. For instance, the people of Lao Lum believe in Buddhism and Lue and Tai Dam and also participate in Buddhist beliefs. Other ethnic groups such as: Lao Sung (Hmong) and Yao have a similar language and they believe in animism. In this way, the fusion of ethnic mingling has added to the uniqueness of Luang Prabang town.

The business sectors (private sectors) play an important role in its contribution towards tourism development and in the promotion of Luang Prabang town. According to the Lao national policies for planning and investment, the government encourages foreign and domestic investors and enterprises to make investment in many sectors including local infrastructure development, tourism industry, commerce, mining and power industry, etc. In Luang Prabang, the role of the private sector is building up the accommodation, food supplies, service facilities like golf courses, and expanding the airport. The government and the investors under the government's directions and mutual interests govern private sector investment.

Cultural heritage tourism in Luang Prabang has not excluded cooperation and collaborations from business, which provide basic accommodation for tourists. Beside the establishment of the accommodation, business agents are important forces in driving the changes for urban heritage landscape both positively and negatively. On the positive side, businesses are booming in the service sector; hotel accommodation, guesthouses, restaurants, and other service facilities, which support the tourism industry. This business agent includes foreign business investors, outside investors from Vientiane, and some local people themselves who run the tourism business and rent out their houses or heritage properties to foreign investors. Then the results are the newly invented housing styles, the degradation on locals' participation on Alms Giving and changes in cultural heritage values in Luang Prabang town.

Figure 4.2: The structure of Tourism Stakeholders in Luang Prabang Town



Sources: Khomthavong, 2010:88, Administrative Structure in Luang Prabang

4.1.1 The Case Study on Luang Prabang's Heritage Site Management by a French Agency in 2004.

Through the preservation and enhancement of its outstanding heritage value, over the years Luang Prabang has become a centre of tourist and economic development. Thus, the challenge for the city today is to achieve a balanced and sustainable development.

The Scheme for Territorial Coherence (SCOT) (French Agency and House of Heritage, 2004) identifies the strategy, priorities and territorial development guidelines, in respect of the city's cultural identity (architectural heritage, landscape and pre-urban agricultural areas) and the guidelines of the Heritage Safeguarding and Enhancement Plan.

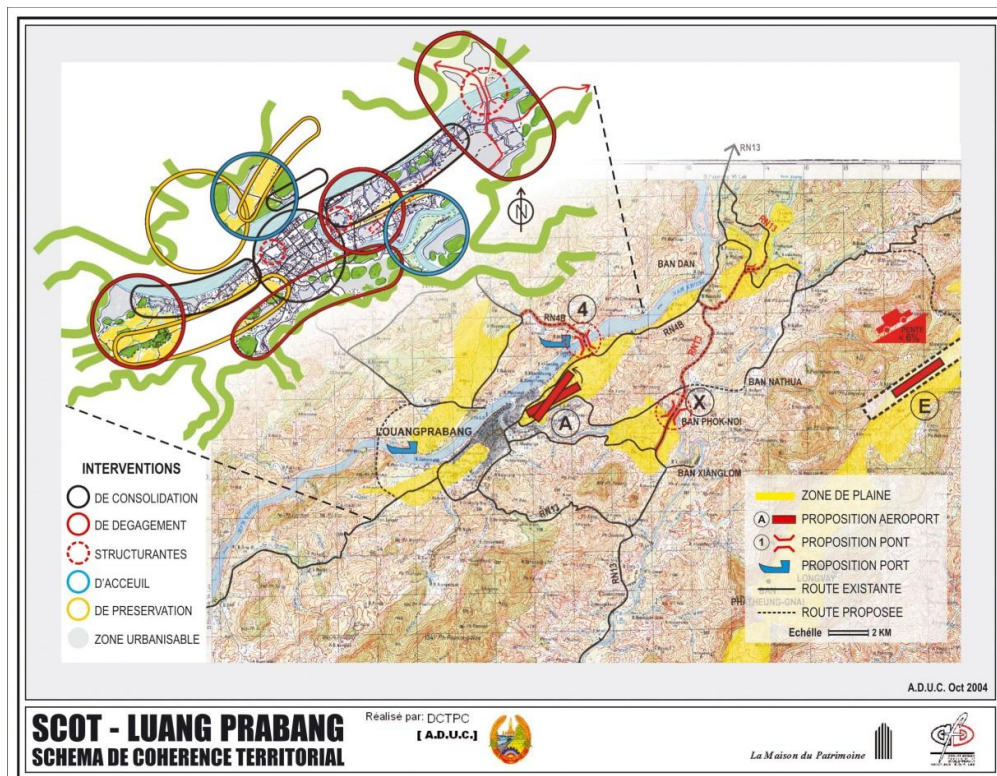


Figure 4.3: Luang Prabang's Heritage Site Management by French Agency, 2004
Source: (French Agency and House of Heritage, 2004)

This urban development tool addresses the following paradox: How can heritage managers balance the need to preserve the city's unique cultural ambiance and traditional way of life under increasing pressures of a tourist economy threatening that very way of life?

The Scheme for Territorial Coherence extends beyond the historic city limits and its immediate surroundings. The zone includes a town extension area, which covers a 375-km² area (15 kilometre wide and 25 kilometre long). The study also targets major tourist sites located a one hour distance from Luang Prabang town and likely to be eligible for heritage, environmental or cultural development activities.

Based on the outcomes of the study, examined against other similar South-East Asian cities (Siem Reap in Cambodia and Chiang Mai in Thailand), the population growth is likely to reach 5%, i.e. the average level or slightly higher (see table 4.1). This growth rate is equal to the 2002-2003 rates. According to these figures, the predictable outcome would be that Luang Prabang's total population would reach 90, 000 inhabitants by 2013 as compared to 55, 000 in 2003. The expected tourist rate per year is estimated at 200, 000 per year. This very sensible forecast could only be realized through a carefully implemented policy in which tourism and economic activities develop gradually. This policy involves the Lao authorities, which oversee the migration policy and conservation programs, as well as control tourism through price regulation. However, it should be noted that the figures on visitor numbers in 2004 are higher than what was originally estimated; Luang Prabang received over 100,000 visitors.

Table 4.1: Prediction of Population Growth in Luang Prabang Town until 2013

	(Low) Hypothesis	(Medium) Hypothesis	(High) Hypothesis
Rate	1.8%	5%	10%
No. of Residents	66, 000	90, 000	143,000
No. of Tourists	80, 000	200, 000	350, 000
The City Expectation	60, 000	80, 000	100, 000

Source: (French Agency and House of Heritage, 2004)

The town of Luang Prabang, as with the rest of the country, has undergone major political, economic and social change, characteristic of developing countries. While the population has doubled within less than twenty years, urban areas that were virtually unchanged over the previous 600 years, have multiplied seven-fold (from 55 ha to 375 ha today). Luang Prabang needs to embrace development; educational and administrative functions so as not to become a museum-city. As a cross-roads city, in the midst of South-East Asian routes connecting Thailand, Vietnam and China, Luang

Prabang should expect to host new populations (French Agency and House of Heritage, 2004:3).

The challenge for the city is to reach a balanced and sustainable model of development, based on interactions between different functions. Major goals are:

- To restrain urban development:
 - to preserve agricultural areas as a part of its heritage and as a main source of income for the local community, particularly the poor.
 - to improve the efficiency of urban services and facilities.
- To improve access to the city and traffic control.
- To identify existing and new housing areas, as well as new centres for economic development.

Furthermore, zoning plans can be at risk of becoming outdated. The Scheme for Territorial Coherence addresses this problem by providing an action plan; guidelines for the city to target a harmonious urban development through specific interventions. This includes:

- road and transportation facilities.
- increase building density in existing urban areas.
- the creation of new centres for economic development and urban facilities outside of the peninsula.
- the creation of housing areas to host new populations.
- the preservation of agricultural and landscape areas.

The outcome is a territorial guideline for the city and a project oriented strategy. Designed in six months to restrain urban pressure, this scheme benefited from existing tools (documentation and thorough studies, a GIS) and a dynamic local team with a “bottom up” consultative policy (French Agency and House of Heritage, 2004:15).

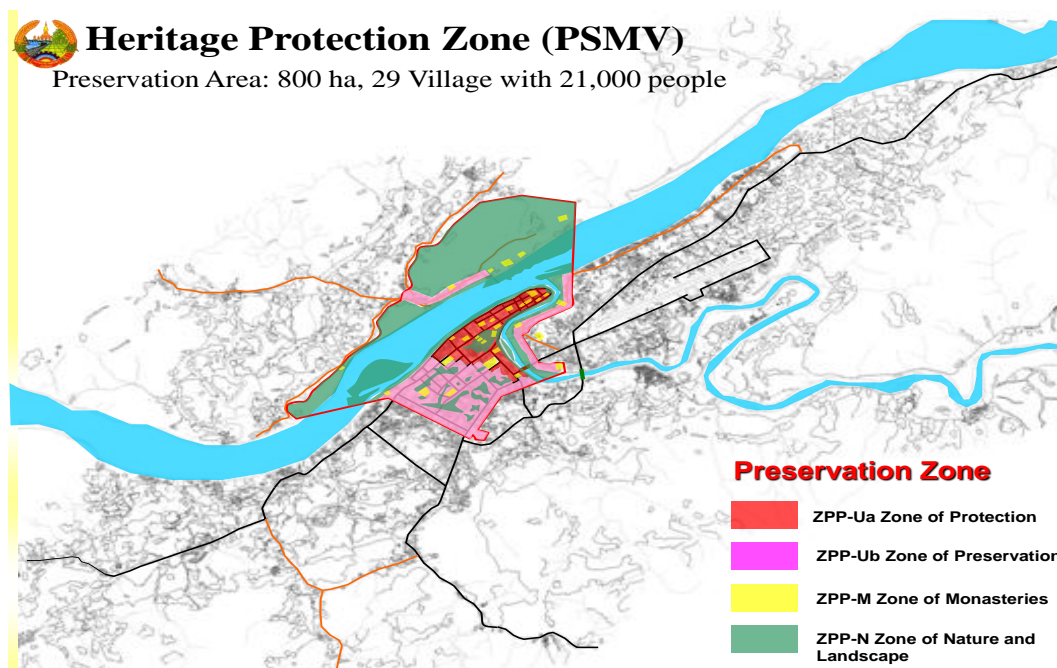


Figure 4.4: Heritage Preservation Zone (PSMV)
 Source: House of Heritage, Luang Prabang 2009

4.1.3 Tourism Business Development and Locals

The reputation of Luang Prabang town as a World Heritage site creates opportunities to develop attractions through both domestic and foreign business investment; accommodation, hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, travel agencies, tour operators and other service facilities. The main donors and business investors are from China, Vietnam, Thailand, and Korea, France, Japan, America, and Canada (Planning and Investment Department of Luang Prabang, 2011). Business investment is based on many forms such as cooperation between two parties: government and foreign investors (e.g. the Lao government and Korean investment loan), and domestic and foreign enterprises. The loans for investment are mainly focused on renovation and local infrastructures such as restoration of Luang Prabang's airport, which was funded by the Chinese government. (See figure 4.5)

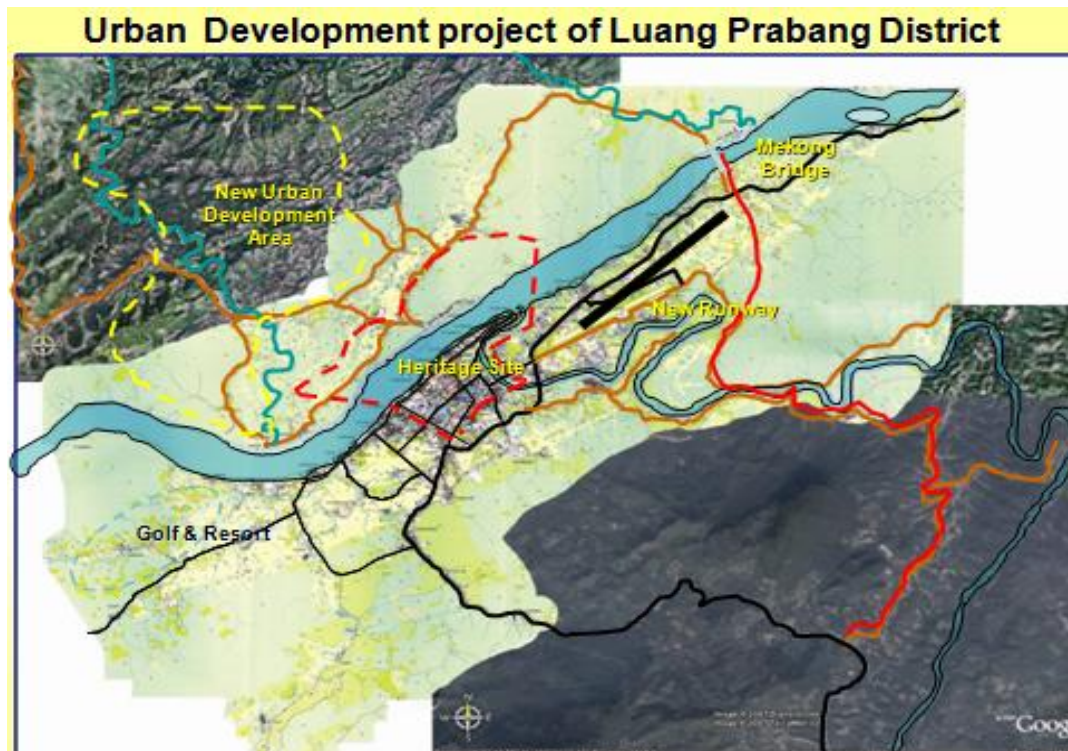


Figure: 4.5 Urban Development Project of Luang Prabang Town
 Sources: Presentation on ‘Preservation and Development of Luang Prabang town’, House of Heritage (Phongphichit, 2009)

Investment in the tourism sector is mainly foreign occupied, with a higher percentage of investment than government. This is one reason why the government of Lao PDR encourages the foreign investors to invest in local infrastructures and other service facilities to support tourism development specifically and to support policies on NEM ‘New Economic Mechanism’ (Ministry of Planning and Investment of Lao PDR, 2006) in general. NEM refers to ‘New Thinking’ or ‘Chintanakan Mai’ and was introduced by a party in the congress of Lao PDR in 1986, after the country achieved its independency in 1975. Since then, the Lao government has applied a central planning system and shifted towards a strategy of market liberalization and regional economic integration (Ministry of Planning and Investment of Lao PDR, 2006).

According to the New Urban Development Project, there is a large area of the town under development on the other side of Mekong River, which contradicts the heritage value of Luang Prabang town. This project is funded by Korean investors to construct a new project name a *‘Diamond City: The Luang Prabang’s new city integral*

development project at Chomphet city, Luang Prabang' (See figure 4.5). This project consists of 300 ha land area with the loan investment of more than US\$ 200 million. The project supports local infrastructure development: road construction, electricity and water supply, the construction of a bridge and transportation stations, agricultural industry and processing of agricultural products. Moreover, the project will create a cultural center, five stars hotel, resorts, and golf courses with 36 holes, and a banking system (Somphanvilay, 2011).

On the other hand, the local government has developed the production of tourism in Luang Prabang province, which is measured by the improvement of tourist attractions. In the year 2011 there were 32 natural sites, 6 historical sites and 32 cultural sites, with an increase of 12% compared to the year 2007. Moreover, there were 355 accommodation establishments in 2011 compared to 163 accommodation establishments in 2005 with room occupancy of 3965 in 2012 compared to an increase of 1722 rooms in 2005 (Tourism Development Department, 2011).

As for entertainment establishments in Luang Prabang, they are set along the Thai-Lao Friendship road from Sport Stadium to Phousi Market. The Thai government, said to cost 19 million Thai baths funded this road. Therefore, there are a lot of Thai investors buying land along this road in order to build pubs, bars and other entertainment facilities.

The tourism business in Luang Prabang town is mainly financed as a result of foreign donors and investors, who play chief role in the development of the tourism industry. They invest in big business such as hotels, travel agencies, and new cities; 'Diamond City'. For the local residents, they invests in small business, such as owners of restaurants, guesthouses, which require less funding or turn their own houses into guesthouse.

The idea on running business related to tourism, accommodation (for hotel and guesthouse) originated as a result of the former cornel, Nai Phone Cheang, and former president of national tourism departments' encouragement. He encouraged local

families, in every province of Lao PDR, who have a private home to use two or three rooms as a guesthouse, as there were not sufficient room to accommodate all foreign tourists in Lao PDR at the time. This idea initiated the first policy to start tourism businesses under self-sufficiency in the Lao economy. Since then, many locally run guesthouses have accommodated foreign guests on home stays and were booming in late 1990s, especially in Luang Prabang town after becoming a WHS (stated by a local who ran the guesthouse business in Luang Prabang).

4.1.4 Ethnicity and Tourism

In relation to the framework of heritage tourism in Luang Prabang town it includes one important element on its ethnic population, which contributed to a context of living heritage in Luang Prabang town. Within the small space of the city, there are various ethnic group classifications, who embody different cultures: Lao Lum (the main population in Lao PDR); Lue ethnic, Lao Soung (Hmong), Yao, Mien ethnic groups, Lao Thueng (another classification of nations), Khmou ethnic and others ethnic groups. Among those ethnicities, Hmong is one outstanding ethnic group with its own cultural identity in the town of Luang Prabang.

Tourism development has affected the social life of each ethnic groups in Luang Prabang as local have transformed from their former occupation, working in the farming industry, into cultivation, working selling handicraft products to tourists. In addition, ethnics who affect tourism development trends are all classification and nations and ethnic groups. Those are Lao Lum, Hmong and Lao Thueng; Yao ethnic, Tai Dam ethnic, Lue ethnic and Khmou ethnic, which we can observe at night markets. Thus, tourism influences the ethnic life styles due to the governments' wishes to diminish poverty and want each ethnic group to have an opportunity to participate in the tourism sector as a part of community based tourism.

Pro-poor tourism and community-based tourism are two of the main policies of the Lao government and are applied to almost all tourist destinations in Lao PDR. However, Luang Prabang town has special characteristics in regard to its urban tourism policy, and there are many actors both inside and outside of the community to

form this community-based tourism initiative. Another reason is due to the geography of Lao PDR, which consists of many ethnic groups who live together in one community in each province within Lao PDR. The identification of ethnic minorities depends on the majority of ethnic groups in each area. For example in the Vientiane capital city, the majority ethnic group is the Lao Lum people and other long-ago migrations Lao-Vietnamese, Lao-Chinese. In Xiangkhouang Province, Phuan is the main ethnic group. Akha, Mien (Yao) are ethnic groups of Hmong language classification type, are found in the north of Lao PDR: Phongsali province and Luang Namtha province (Stuart-Fox M. , 2008:7).

Luang Prabang town is a living heritage (UNESCO, 2006), whose sub-ethnic groups celebrate different cultures, combine to form a common identity or to unify identity (Williams, 2011: 88). Ethnic culture is considered a heritage perspective based on cultural norms of beliefs and practices (such as tangible heritage, implied in clothes, handicrafts, tools for agricultural cultivations and animal hunting tools, housing equipment and houses (accommodations) for living such as temples, and intangible heritage in cultural ritual practices created by each ethnic group.

Therefore, tourism calls for the participation of each ethnic group by through culture in order to attract tourists and to support the purpose of solidarity, celebrating Lao identity, and to achieve the community goal, based on tourism established by the government. The participation of ethnic groups in the tourism industry are observed at night markets or handicraft market because this market provides a variety of ethnic hand made products based on their own culture (Engelmann, 2002 & Somphanvilay, 2011).

The cultures and the classification of nations and ethnic groups in Lao PDR contribute to heritage tourism which is shown in human relationships and religious practices in each ethnic culture. Exchanges and acknowledgement exist between those who believe in different faiths such as buddhism and animism. For example, Lao Lum respects buddhism but acknowledge some beliefs in animism and spirits from previous generations or ancestor. Moreover, animism is believed by Hmong, Khmu

and Khmer. However, the Lao people in general respect each others' ethnic culture, so that every ethnic group can live together in one community under the umbrella of one nation. This is a positive aspect for the Lao tourism industry, which Lao PDR can shape the Lao identity.

Case Study1: Hmong and the heritage tourism industry

The idea of ethnicity and a multi-cultural nation began early before Laos's revolution from foreign invaders in 1975. Therefore, on the bank notes of Lao Kip (50 Kip), appears a picture of three main ethnic groups in Lao PDR: Lao Lum, Lao Sung, Lao Theung. These ethnic groups reflect the multi-culturalism, which existed and showed the identity of Lao PDR. Due to one reason of the ethnic groups' solidarity and sacrifice to the country, fighting against foreign invasions, thus the country was able to gain independence and formed Lao PDR in December 1975.

Before tourism development, the relationship between ethnic groups in Luang Prabang was good; there were always exchanges between ethnic groups: Lao Sung and Lao Lum. (Normally, Lao Sung and Lao Thueng are the people who practice slash-and-burn for their cultivation in the high mountainous and mountain slope areas; therefore, they rarely came down to the plain area, where the Lao Lum people lived their lives (Stuart-Fox, 2008). However, nowadays, due to the country's development and modernization, there are needs for improvements in education, health-care systems, communication systems, electricity supply, roads and transportation to increase convenience. Many other local infrastructures have been developed and other service facilities have become available to reach the local population in urban and remote areas.

Therefore, due to the government directions on modernization, each ethnic group has an opportunity to obtain an education at a public school and to obtain treatment at public nursing centers or hospitals. These services affect all in Lao PDR, which was the cause of ethnic people (young generations), who looked for development and modernization.

Moreover, the basic nature of humanity is always exchanging, from labor exchange (the pattern with without money charging) between families in the community to the

level of small market exchange: products-money-products or money-products-money (political economy subject). This pattern has occurred in almost every living community, which encounters the stages of socio-economic development. Therefore, in Luang Prabang town, Hmong ethnic groups as well as Lao Lum ethnic groups created small scale of merchants of ethnic groups along the Sisavangvong road prior to independence. In addition, the merchandize continued even after independence until the early 1990s before Luang Prabang became a World Heritage Site. After becoming a World Heritage Site, the space for merchandize among Hmong ethnic groups was arranged by the local authority due to new urban development plans. Therefore the Hmong stalls have been developed and exaggerated.

Every day at the corner of the main road, Sisavangvong road, which is across from the tourist information center, there are small groups or some stalls of handicraft products made by Hmong people. The products are distinctive fine arts and reflect their culture, history own tribe and their identity. The products are mainly hand-made by sewing and embroidery with special materials and decoration in various styles and colors. Some tourists perceived their products as arts, ethnics' wisdoms, and cultural information related to this tribe which the products reflect the reconstructing process of their identity by utilizing their limited skills.



Plate 1. Hmong Market in 2002,
Photo by Professor INAGAKI Tsutomu (College of Tourism, Rikkyo University)

4.2 Heritage and Tourism in Luang Prabang

The notion of ‘Heritage Value’ originated from a relationship between laypeople and their beliefs in religion. The framework of ‘Heritage Value’ is shown below:

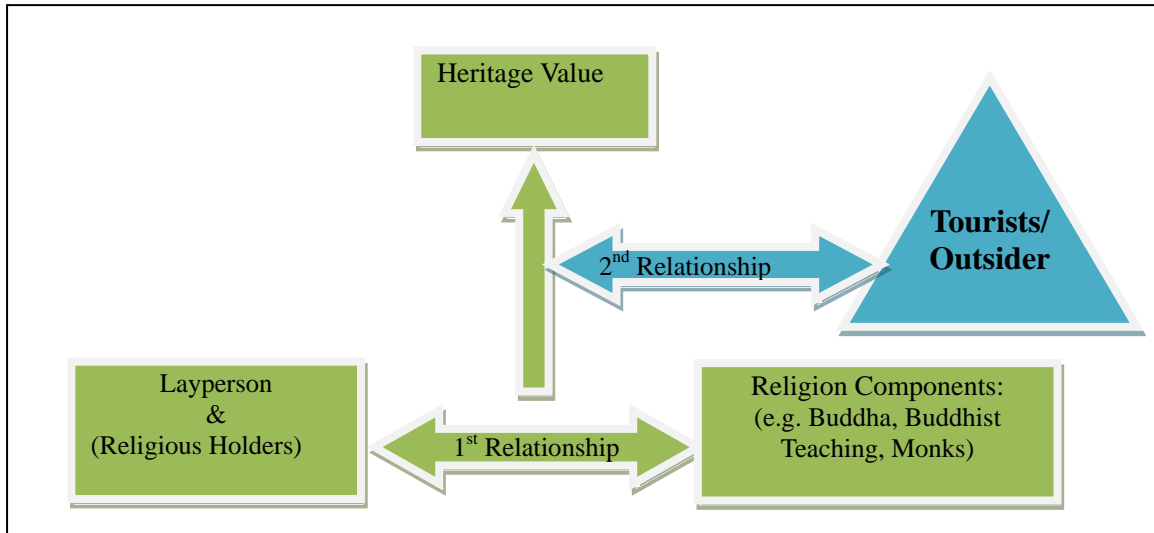


Figure 4.6: Framework of ‘Heritage Value’

According to the framework of ‘Heritage Value’, the explanation of the ‘1st relationship’ focuses on the layperson that respects a religion (such as, Theravada Buddhism). This relationship creates the result of values being granted to a religion by a layperson. At first, there is no consideration about the tourists or outsiders. Then after the tourists enter the community, the tourists encounter the ‘values granted by locals/laypersons to their religions’, and the second relationship is formed between tourists and the locals regarding values granted by religion. Therefore, the combination of the first and the second relationship results in the term ‘Heritage Value’.

4.2.1 Practicing Theravada Buddhism by Locals

In regards to the framework of heritage tourism in Luang Prabang town, it contains the notion of ‘Heritage Values’, which are affected by tourism. The people who settled in Lao PDR pre-historically practiced Animism-as a form of worship involving a variety of nature spirits. Following this, an Indian influence brought both Hinduism

and Buddhism to mainland Southeast Asia. Hinduism was the religion of southern Lao PDR during the Zhenla period, when the great temple complex of Vat Phou was first constructed. Soon thereafter, Theravada Buddhism began to spread by Mon monks who made contact with new ethnic groups migrating into the region, the Lao and other Tai groups. When the Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang was founded in the mid 14th century, it was with Buddhism as the state religion.

Buddhism (*Phuttha sasana* in Lao language) started when Siddhartha Gautama founded, the universal religion of Buddhism in northern India after he achieved enlightenment and became the Buddha. The earliest traces of Buddhism in Lao PDR date from the eighth century in the region of Viang Chan (now the capital Vientiane) and later in Luang Prabang. (Stuart-Fox, 2008: 33)

In the practicing of Theravada Buddhism, laypersons in the local community conduct the ritual practices in many ways according to their traditional culture based on Buddhist religion and Animism. For example, the celebration of Lao New Year, the celebration of Hmong New Year, the ritual practices on respecting Pou Nyer Nyar Nyar, the Basi ceremony, which is believed in *Pham* religion (in Lao Language which is meant to the form of animism).

4.2.1.1 Theravada Buddhism and the Animism

The majority of the Lao people believe in Theravada Buddhism. Theravada Buddhism is, literally, the ‘Teachings of the Elders’ which refers to the Hinayana (Lesser Vehicle) and the Mahayana (Greater Vehicle). The Theravada Buddhism in Hinayana faith is predominantly practiced in Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Cambodia, Thailand and Lao PDR. The Mahayana dominates in China, Tibet, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam. The Theravada claims to be nearer to the teaching of the historical Buddha, while the Mahayana has evolved a whole series of new teachings (UNESCO, 2004:16).

The ultimate goal of Theravada Buddhism is *nibana*- the extinguishing of *dukkha* (suffering) and is a state of freedom from the endless cycle of existence. *Nibana* can be achieved through the cultivation of wisdom, morality and meditation and through

good karma (action or behavior), such as righteous self-conduct and earning merit (Ibid: 16). Merit can be perceived in many ways, including through fulfilling ones' duties as a Buddhist layperson. One example is the daily practice of Alms Giving, in which monks receive alms or food from the laypeople in the early morning. As a result, they believe that most Buddhists are not able to reach *nibana* in this lifetime, thus the accomplishment of good *Karma* may lead to a better next life or decrease the number of rebirths (UNESCO, 2004:16-17).

Buddhism and Animism have blended in Lao PDR. Therefore, there is a belief in *Khuan* – certain spiritual powers that are part of every person and object. The *Khuan* are called upon in ceremonies such as *basi*, which are called *Sou Khoan* (*calling back the powers*). This ceremony is a common ritual practice in Lao PDR. It is a form of an animism belief by Lao people.

Theravada Buddhism is the core importance of Luang Prabang's heritage, as it provides the basis for the norms, beliefs, social activities and cultural practices of the community, giving routine to daily life.

The prevalence of Theravada Buddhism means that temples are an important feature in the Lao landscape, serving as physical and social landmarks in villages and towns. Each village has its own temple/monastery (Wat) where monks from the community reside. Moreover, the temples have been used as schools, libraries, clinics, social center and residences for orphans, or visitors from other provinces. In the past, the monks were not only spiritual leaders but were the teachers in village societies.

4.2.2 The Buddha Images with Ritual Practices

In Lao PDR, the Buddha images are respected throughout the country, in homes and offices, as well as in Buddhist temples. There are many sizes, from huge statues meters high down to tiny images hung on a necklace around a persons' neck as a protective talisman. The Buddha image for temples are made of stone, bronze, wood, and nowadays concrete. And the smaller Buddha images are made of more precious materials, including gold, silver, and crystal.

The relationship between Buddha image and a layperson has been demonstrated in many ways. For example, Buddha statues have an important role for laypeople when used for meditation (while meditating inside a temple) and in the practice of ‘calling for rain’ (for a person who farm and cultivate crops). In general, the laypeople usually pray to Buddha in order to call for happiness, success, prosperity, protection, and for luck and to rid them of bad luck inside a temple. There are four Buddha images which have been respected in Lao history. One of the most famous Buddha images is Pha Bang (Prabang in Luang Prabang), palladium of the former Lao Kingdom;

Moreover, the relationship between Monks and Buddha images is also considered as an important element in the notion ‘Heritage Value’ in Luang Prabang city. This relationship is based on the daily beliefs and practices in Theravada Buddhism. The monks can usually be seen chanting in front of Buddha images every evening from 17 p.m to 18 p.m. (This situation was observed by the author in the Buddhist practices of monks in Wat Xiengthong temple).

4.2.2.1 The Image of Pha Bang

One of the most respected Buddha images in Luang Prabang is Pha Bang, with another being image is the Pha Marn (preserved in Wat Xiengthong Temple since early 1990s). Pha Bang is 83 cm tall, standing with both palms pointing up as in the *abhaya mudra* posture. Pha Bang is a gold, silver and bronze alloy statue which is said to have been brought to Lao PDR from Cambodia in the 14th Century as a gift for Chao Far Ngoum by the King of Cambodia at that time. However Pha Bang was not installed in Xieng Dong Xieng Thong city (now Luang Prabang city), because at that time the local people still believed in Phi (Spiritual ancestors) or animism. Pha Bang was returned to Luang Prabang by King Mongkut in 1867, and now Pha Bang resides in the National Palace Museum (Stuart-Fox, 2008: 262).

The history of Pha Bang has contributed to the heritage aspect (intangible heritage) of Luang Prabang town. Through it, we can tell a mythical story of Luang Prabang,

which local Lao people always believes. The story can be explained the origins of Luang Prabang city's construction and illustrate the notion of 'Heritage Value' (the relationship between the laypeople, the former Kings of Laos and the Pha Bang from previous generations up to the present) by showing the relationship between a layperson and Buddha image based on the local beliefs on the power and the holiness of the Buddha images (such as Pha Bang). The history below reflects the notion of 'heritage value' created between the Laypeople and the Pha Bang Buddha image.

[According to *Phongsavadan Lao* (the Lao Historical Annals), Prince Fa Ngoum was born in Xieng Dong Xieng Thong (now Luang Prabang) in 1361 AD. Fa Ngoum was the son of Chao Fa Ngio or Khun Phi Fa, the King of Lan Xang, the Kingdom of a Million Elephants. As the Prince Fa Ngoum was born with a completed set of 33 teeth, which was considered a bad omen (threat), the Prince was placed in a care of nurses and soldiers on a raft and sent afloat down the Mekong River. When the raft arrived at Li Phi (in southern Lao PDR), the blocked fast-moving water which cut the river, he was saved by a Khmer monk, Pha Maha Pasaman, who raised and educated the Prince. When Fa Ngoum was seven years old, he was sent to the court of the King of Angkor, at Angkor Thom, where he received a significant education. Later, the Prince married the King's daughter, Nang Keo Keng Yna. When the Prince was 33 years old, Prince Fa Ngoum requested the King of Angkor to give him an army to start the re-conquest of his Kingdom of Lan Xang. In 1349, Prince Fa Ngoum, accompanied by his wife and his soldiers, left for the Lao Kingdom at the head of an army. With troops of Lao soldiers who joined Fa Ngoum army, he restrained a large territory stretching west which includes Khorat and Xieng Mai in the Northeast, and North to include Sip Song Phan Na in Yunnan (China) and Northeast as far as Sip Song Phan Na Chu Tai (Dien Bien Phu, in Vietnam). Fa Ngoum took over Vieng Chan (Vientiane), Vieng Kham and finally Xieng Dong Xieng Thong and was crowned King in 1375. The Queen, a devoted Buddhist, wanted to rid her new country of the animist practices, which succeeded at that time. The Queen dispatched a mission to Angkor to request the Khmer King to send monks with Buddhist texts to Lan Xang. The King of Angkor sent Pha Maha Pasaman, Fa Ngoum's spiritual master, together with 20 well-known monks and a number of Buddhist scholars. The King also sent a solid gold Buddha image called Pha Bang and a set of Tripitaka scriptures (the sacred principles of Theravada Buddhism, written in the Pali language). King Fa Ngoum sent thousands of people to welcome the Pha Bang image and Pha Maha Pasaman, the King's spiritual master, in Vieng Chan and lead them to Xieng Dong Xieng Thong through the town of Vieng Kham. When the retinue was leaving Vieng Kham for Xieng Dong Xieng Thong, the porters could not move the Pha Bang image, which used to be easily carried by eight men. Sixteen porters could not move the statue. Even the efforts of twenty four men were not able to get through. The monks thought the Pha Bang wanted to stay in Vieng Kham and it was decided that it would remain there for some time. Only later was it brought to Xieng Dong Xieng Thong. In 1560, when King Setthathirath moved the capital of Lan Xang to Vieng Chan, he brought with him two sacred images of Buddhas: Pha Keo and Pha Saek Kham, but left Pha Bang in Xieng Dong Xieng Thong, which was named Luang Prabang since then.

Pha Bang is believed to have been cast (shaped) in Lanka (Sri Lanka). According to various sources, the people of Lanka gathered a rich treasure trove of precious things and wanted to have a Buddha image cast with the treasures. They went to see the most respected monk, Pha Maha Cholla Nakateng. The people asked the monk's advice on how to cast an image with a mix of gold and other precious metals and diamonds and other gems. Each devotee wanted his offering to be part of the image. The monk went to Pratom Okap, in the Himalayas, where 20 hermits lived. He consulted with the two most senior ones. Pha In (Lord Indra), heard the wish of the Lanka monks and persuaded the hermits to go to Lanka. When the hermits arrived in Lanka, a considerable amount of treasures had been collected; including gold donated the King of Lanka to make the heart and the feed of the Pha Bang statue. The hermits took the treasures

and went back to the Himalayas to cast the image. When they returned to Lanka with the image, people prepared a huge festival to welcome the statue. Among the numerous presents to the Buddha image was a gold tray containing four bones of the Lord. After the King said a prayer, the four bones encrusted themselves in the precious image, one in the forehead, one in the throat and one each hand. Angles threw thousands of flowers on the ground around the image, which was given the name Pha Bang. Through seven successive reigns, the sacred Pha Bang brought about happiness on the Kingdom of Lanka. Pha Maha Pasaman, who went to study Buddhism in Lanka, on his return, reported the existence of the sacred image to the King of Angkor. The King of Angkor sent a mission to Lanka to request his friend, the Lanka King, to give him the image as gift. The King of Lanka agreed. That was how the Pha Bang statue went to Angkor. The sacred image stayed in Angkor Thom during the reign of seven Kings. Then, it came to the Kingdom of Lan Xang under the reign of King Fa Ngoum and, later, gave its name to the city of Luang Prabang. (Mixay, 2007: 22-24)』

This history contains the notion of ‘heritage value’ due to the relationship between the laypeople, the Buddha image, Pha Bang, the monks and the Buddhist teaching based on their story telling of Buddha’s image in Theravada Buddhism. For example the King Far Ngum brought the Buddha image and Pha Bang the Buddhist theory from Cambodia to Luang Prabang in order to educate people in the Luang Prabang at that time. This belief has been passed down for countless generations. Aside from Pha Bang’s story, there is another story as well. For example, some activities related to the Lao New Year, are rooted in beliefs from ancient history. The precise history of Phanya Kabilaphom, for instance is unknown. We do not know when the story started but now people consume the folk tales based on it is a part of their culture. People practiced the activities according to the stories they heard, which then became ritual practices and finally a tradition. See the story of Lao New Year in case study 2. As former generations conducted ritual practices, the younger generations continue previous traditions and follow the norm of society, which attaches it from generation to generations based on the cultural belief. Therefore, story telling is a part of heritage (intangible heritage) and contains the notion of ‘heritage value’ and its two stages- the first being laypeople-Buddhism and the second involving the interaction of tourists.

Case Study 2: The Lao New Year Festival and Pu Nyer Nyar Nyer

Lao New Year is an age-old tradition, which is also called ‘Pimai Lao’. This case study will prove the existence of the notion ‘heritage value’ in a community of Luang Prabang town. The notion of ‘Heritage Value’ is created through relationships between monks and laypeople, monks and the Buddha image (Pha Bang), laypeople and the Buddha image, locals and tourists. The Lao New Year celebrations are organized

yearly in the middle of April with a joyous atmosphere all over the country. It is the most important celebration in Luang Prabang with its old traditions and colorful ceremonies. In Luang Prabang, the festival lasts many days and is participated by people from all walks of life throughout the Luang Prabang province. People come from other provinces like Vientiane as do Lao expatriates and even foreigners as tourists. Hotels and guesthouses are fully booked from the end of the outgoing year. Late comers may have no place to stay, except perhaps in temples or on the grounds of the guesthouses.

Luang Prabang, which is rather a quiet city during the rest of the year, becomes lively and excited in April. People are busy cleaning their houses and putting decorations around the temples and city. In temples, novices clean the *Vor*, the golden palanquins in which abbots of the main temples are carried in the processions. *Pou Nyer*, *Nyar Nyer* (Great Grandfather and Great Grand Mother) and their lion cub *Singkaeo-Singkham* is at the center of the ceremonies. *Pou Nyer* and *Nyar Nyer* are masks of the legendary ancestors of the Lao people. Legend says that, at the beginning of time, a huge vine obscured the earth so that people could not grow rice, vegetables and cultivate the land; men and animals were facing certain death. The King asked people to volunteer to cut the vine, and an old couple accepted the task of removing a particularly stubborn and dangerous section. Knowing that they would inevitably be crushed to death by the falling vine, the old couple requested the following generations to remember them. This is the reason why, in Luang Prabang, before people do anything; they invite the ancestors to join in by saying: *Ma Nyer!* *Kin Nyer!* (Come, Nyer! Eat, Nyer) and *Kin Nyer!* (Eat, Nyer), *Pai Nyer!* (Let us go, Nyer). This reflects the spirits or ritual belief by laypersons. It is a form of Animism but mixed with Buddhism.

The masks of *Pou Nyer* and *Nyar Nyer*, which are kept in chests in *Hor Thevada Luang* (Sanctuary of the Great Divinities) at *Wat Aham*, near *Wat Vixun*, are invited out of their boxes to join *Pi May Lao*. A young man wears each mask, while another man wears the *Singkaeo-Singkham* (the lion cub). *Pou Nyer*, *Nyar Nyer* and their lion cub perform several duties during the *Pi May Lao* celebration. First, they must go and get

water at a spring on the bank of the Nam Khan River, called Bor Nam Kaeo (Spring of Crystal Water). This water is brought in procession in small earthen jars and poured by Pou Nyer and Nyar Nyer on Pha Bang, the sacred Buddha image on the second day of the New Year. The ancestors' masks (Pou Nyer and Nyar Nyer) participate in the two processions called Hae Nang Sangkharn or Hae Vor. When the first procession starting from Wat That Noi Temple arrives at Wat Xiengthong Temple, the masks will dance there for the prosperity of the nation. Upon the second procession starting from Wat Xiengthong temple and arriving at Wat That Noi temple, the ancestors will dance again for the prosperity of the Lao people (Mixay, 2007).



Plat 2. The masks of Pou Nyer and Nyar Nyer with Lion cub behind
Source: House of Heritage in Luang Prabang

There are three main days to the Pimay Lao cerebration. People start the cerebration by splashing each other with water even two weeks before the three main days and it is a further two days after the main celebration before the Pimay Lao celebrations are finally brought to a close. On the first main day of Pimai Lao, a traditional market is erected on the main street from the Kaysone Phomvihan Memorial Park and That Luang Grounds to the Hong Saerk Sports Club and Phousi Hotel crossing. All kinds of handicrafts are on sale on both sides of the road. However, two items are very popular: animals and banners. Animals including birds, fish, turtles and snails are bought and then released into nature. This act of giving freedom and life is believed to bring good merit to those whom perform it. Colourful vertical banners depicting mythical animals

of the Lao zodiac, serve to decorate sand stupas that are built in the afternoon on another side of the Mekhong river (Chomphet village side). It is believed that each grain of sand delivers the devotees from a sin. At the same time, a Baci is performed for guests attending the event and traditional sports games are organized on the sand banks of the Mekhong river. People can visit temples on the opposite bank of the river: Chomphet temple, Long Khoun temple and the deep cave at Tham temple.

The second main day of Pimai Lao is called Mue Nau. This is a special day, which belongs neither to the outgoing year nor to the new year. Nobody should work or sleep during this day. Hae Vor (Procession of the Palanquins) is now well-known as Hae Nang Sangkhan (procession of the Goddess of the Year). This procession derives from a very old legend, that of Phanya Kabilaphom. The seven daughters of Phanya Kabilaphom symbolise the seven days of the week. Nang Sangkhan is always the girl representing the last day of the outgoing year and is seen riding the animal that symbolizes the New Year. Nang Sangkhan is seated amongst the most beautiful girls of Luang Prabang through a beauty contest style election involving several stages.



Plate 3. Hae Vor Ceremony (Procession of the Palanquins)
The procession of the Pha Bang Image. Source: House of Heritage in Luang Prabang

On New Year day (the third main day) early in the morning, people dress in traditional style (women wearing *Sinh*), holding silver bowls and rice boxes and perform Tak Bath or the Alms Giving ceremony, the offering of foods to the monks. Many tourists observe and take photos of this activity while others actively participate. In the alms giving ceremony, hundreds of monks and novices in saffron robes from all the temples around the city walk in a single file along the streets and devotees (laypeople) give offerings including sticky rice and sweets in their alms bowls. After Tak Bath, laypeople climb Phousi, the sacred hill in front of the Palace Museum. They place small rice balls along the staircases and pray at the stupa on top of the hill, which is the foundation stone of the town of Luang Prabang.



Plate 4: Tak Bath (alms giving) Ceremony
Source: House of Heritage in Luang Prabang

During the Lao New Year, while family-members and relatives are gathering together for the occasion, Baci ceremonies are organized in most of the homes to wish members of the family and friends good health, happiness and prosperity. Young people perform the Khailava Somma custom, which consists of asking the elder members of the family to forgive their shortcomings or misbehavior. In hotels and guesthouses, the management also organizes Baci for their guests (see plate 5). In the afternoon, the second procession takes place, starting from Wat Xiengthong temple,

proceeding back to Wat Mahathat temple (Wat That Noi). In the evening, the Naga, a mythical serpent who is the protector of Luang Prabang, accompanied by hundreds of schoolchildren holding lamps, winds its way down from the top of Phousi Hill to the pond in the Palace Museum where it resides.



Plate 5. Baci Ceremony
Source: House of Heritage in Luang Prabang

On the first main day, the Pha Bang image is taken in a solemn procession from the museum to Wat Mai Souvannaphoum Aram. When the statue is installed at Wat Mai, Pou Nyer and Nyar Nyer, the legendary ancestors of the Lao people, (and considered as representatives of Lao culture while talking about nation building), pour lustral water on it, followed by dignitaries and the people. The statue stays three days at Wat Mai temple for three days to be worshiped by devotees before being brought in another procession back to the museum. In the evening of this day, one episode of Phalak Pharam, the Lao version of the Ramayana, is performed in the grounds of Wat Mai. After that, several dozen Nang Kaeo, celestial deities, perform a 14th century dance for the people.

4.2.3 Buddhist Teachings Represent a Norm of Society

Sangha is the monastic order in Lao society, as in other Theravada Buddhist countries (Stuart-Fox, 2008). Sangha is controlled by the chief abbot, known as the *Sangkharat*

(from the Pali Sangha-rajā), together with the Buddha himself and his dharma, or truth. The Sangha constitutes one of the Three Jewels of Buddhism, which all Buddhists must venerate or worship. This is why even the king was obedient to the Monks. Though the Sangha, theoretically stood apart from secular affairs, senior monks acted as royal advisers. In former times, in the case of succession disputes, monks might take one side or the other. This occasionally led to ‘purification’ of the Sangha by the winning claimant through purging any opponents.

In Lao PDR, the Sangha provides a means of upward social mobility and represents the only social institution that reaches down to a village level. Buddhist teachings based on Buddhist philosophy form the norms of society, which aim to train the human mind (subconscious) to behave in good ways. Laypeople’s belief in Buddhism results in positive behavior as they endeavor to make good karma.

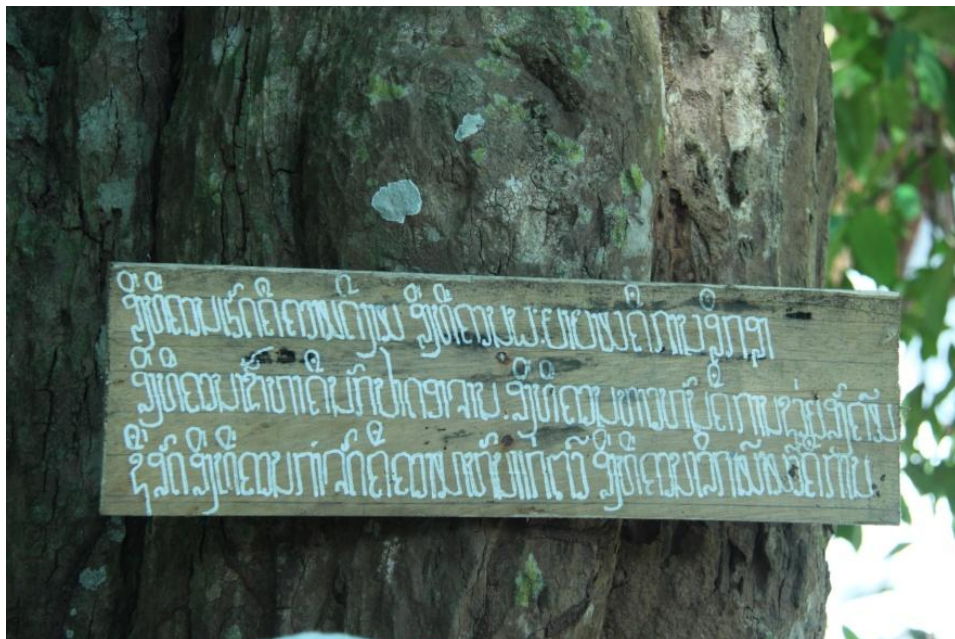


Plate 6. A signboard showing the Buddhist teaching at Lao Temple
Source: by author Senesathith Simonekeo

Plate 9 is an example of Buddhist teaching on the board at Wat Long Khoun Temple in Chomphet village. The board is written in the Lao Lum language for the purpose of education as a reminder to the subconscious mind of how we should behave in society. The content on the board states: ‘Merit is attained through good behavior, education through endeavor and consideration through meeting with teachers and scholars. Selfishness must be erased and ostentation avoided’.

Case Study 3: Phalak Pharam, the Lao version of Ramayana

Ramayana, an Indian epic was written by Valmiki, a bandit turned poet, some 200 years ago in Sanskrit before the Christian era. It tells the story of Rama, Prince of Ayodhya, who was sent into exile, as a result of palace intruders. He was accompanied by his wife Sita and his brother Lakshana. In a world filled with gods and demons, evil ogres and good apes, the heroes undergo numerous trials, which they overcome thanks to their supernatural powers and their superior qualities. The epic, which has a great educational quality, remains an important influence in Indian society at present too. Places where Rama had been to, who is an incarnation of Vishnu, are said to be sacred sites of pilgrimage for Hindus.

The epic spread all over Southeast Asia. It was introduced to Laos in the 15th century by King Phothisarath. It was translated and adapted to the local environment with the name Phralak (Lord Lakshana) Phraram (Lord Rama). The ballet was transformed and improved throughout the centuries and was regularly shown at the court of Luang Prabang under successive sovereigns. An old master performs the chant telling the story, while dancers and musicians illustrate it. The performances were interrupted in 1975 and most of the aged masters have passed away. In 1986, the Information and Culture Service of Luang Prabang province and the Institute for Research on Culture under the Ministry of Information and Culture decided to revitalize the royal ballet. They received strong support from the Governor of Luang Prabang, Mr. Chansy Phosikham. After several more or less successful attempts, finally, with the support of various sectors, including the Francophonie organization, a group was set up. Some major artists in the fields of chanting, choreography and music were gathered and revived the Luang Prabang Royal Ballet. They were not able to perform all nine episodes of the Phralak Phraram yet, but several fragments, such as the Golden Deer, the Abductions of Sida and the ordeal of Sida are now shown. Dances of the Army of nobles, the Army of the Nyak (Yaksha), and the Army of the Monkeys were also performed.

Other cultural traditions of Luang Prabang such as Khap Thoum, Annangsue, Salang and Sansao and several dances are also performed: the Well Wishing Dance, the

Dance of Nang Kaeo (celestial deities) and the Dances of the Swords and the Jars of the Phounoi's ethnic group. Some artists visited Cambodia to join a performance with several Southeast Asian countries at the Ramayana Biennale.

4.2.4 Monks and Touristification

In Theravada Buddhism, it is expected that every man will ordain as a monk at some time during his life and some men will remain Monks for their whole lives. However, many young men join the monastic community called the Sangha for only a brief period of time (or at least before marriage). In taking monastic vows, monks submit to the discipline imposed by the 227 rules of the Buddhist monastic order (Sangha), laid down in the Vinaya, or canon of discipline. When they first enter the monkhood, boys study the Buddhist scriptures (Tipitaka) and attend daily prayers. Monks traditionally perform two additional tasks: teaching and care of the sick through performance of religious rituals and recommendation (and sometimes preparation) of medical remedies. Performing the duties of a Monk generates *merit*, but conversely, evil deeds will create 'bad *karma*'. Monks who remain in the Sangha may rise up its hierarchy to gain the title of *Phra Maha* (Great Monk) or *Achan* (teacher) (Stuart-Fox, 2008).

Moreover, monks who stay longer in the temples, have the chance to train and study basic literacy skills in addition to the fundamentals of Buddhism. Therefore, many monks also receive training in the artistic skills of woodcarving, sculpture, mosaic inlay and mural painting. These works are shown to the people to visually transmit the message of Buddhism. For the monks who choose not to remain in *Sangha* for a lifetime, they can take the skills they have attained while training in temples with them when they return to their secular lives in their villages. The monks of Luang Prabang have played a vital role in the preservation of Luang Prabang's heritage. In addition, their role in creating an intimate spiritual bond between the communities or laypersons and temples, they are responsible for constructing, decorating, maintaining and restoring temples (UNESCO, 2004).

As a result of touristification, monks have become influenced by tourists and want to

learn English in order to communicate with foreigners. Joining the monkhood is a chance for many monks to study English and other technical subjects at the temple. Since the rise in tourism became famous in Luang Prabang, some monks have left the monkhood in order to enter the tourism industry by becoming a guide. The monkhood is also hindered by tourists especially during the daily alms giving when every monk has to walk past crowds of noisy tourists, and begging children. Some monks have even become short sighted due to the flashing from tourists' cameras. Therefore, some monks have requested that the Alms giving take up residence at temples on the other side of the Mekong River, in Chomphet village.

4.3 Conclusion

All activities, related to cultural heritage practice in Luang Prabang town (including the history of the Buddha image 'Pha Bang'), involve main actors in the construction of 'heritage value': the laypeople, the Buddha image and the monks, the tourists, and the governmental agencies and international organizations who engage in the heritage tourism industry, for example: UNESCO, SNV and JABIC. The ritual ceremonies, like Alms Giving, Monks' chanting and Lao New Year, reflect the strong relationships between the laypeople practicing Theravada Buddhism, and interaction with tourists, which has supported the framework of heritage tourism in Luang Prabang town and the notion of 'heritage value'.

Chapter 5

Tourists' Perceptions of Heritage in Luang Prabang

This chapter shows tourist opinions as outsiders visiting the community of Luang Prabang and focuses on tourists' idea of 'heritage value'. Data used in this chapter is based on the survey questionnaire distributed to tourists by Luang Prabang's Department of Information, Culture and Tourism for the purpose of asking foreign visitor opinions on cultural heritage and tourism in the town of Luang Prabang. Moreover, this chapter also includes the data collected by the author during fieldwork study in 2009, 2011 and 2012.

5.1 Tourists Arrivals in Luang Prabang

This section examines the general situation of tourist arrivals and tourist behavior in Luang Prabang. Chapter 3 discussed the continuous increase of tourist arrivals to Luang Prabang town since its registration as a World Heritage Site in 1995. In doing so, it considered the trend in tourism development in Luang Prabang town with Butler's (1980) theory on his 'Destination Life Cycle Model'. Luang Prabang is now set at the fifth stage - the stagnation state, which is the highest stage concerning tourism impact on a community. As for the state of tourism in Luang Prabang, it is said to be positive from a businessperson's perspective in the tourism industry. According to analysts, Luang Prabang's resources, especially ecotourism products can supply the growth of tourist markets. Thus, they predict continuous development in Luang Prabang and foresee a rejuvenation stage after a stagnated period.

According to the survey questionnaires conducted by Luang Prabang's Department of Information and Culture, of a sample of 450 tourist arrivals to Luang Prabang in 2011, the highest percentage of arrivals were from the United Kingdom at 20.9 %, followed by America at 17.1% and Australia at 12.9% (Luang Prabang Department of Information, 2011). The proportion of tourists entering Luang Prabang from Luang Prabang international airport was 47.6%, while that of Wattay International Airport and Lao-Thai Friendship Bridge combined was 38%, with the remainder arriving by boat or bus.

The main types of tourist arrivals to Luang Prabang were retired tourists, those working for private companies, self-employed tourists and students. The statistics show the majority of tourists are people who have some knowledge of the local culture, and would like to relax, thus they visit Luang Prabang. This situation reflects that Luang Prabang has a reputation for having a relaxed atmosphere. The two main purposes for visiting Luang Prabang were for a holiday (94.7%) and for business (3%). The majority of tourists were visiting for the first time (55.6%); however, there was a considerable proportion who had been before (29%). Those who arranged their own travel occupied the highest rate (50.4%), this means that the type of tourists coming to Luang Prabang are often back packers or people who prefer to find information about Luang Prabang by themselves. However, there was quite a high percentage of tourists (46.7%) who used travel services for their travel arrangements to Luang Prabang. In regard to tourist accommodation in Luang Prabang, hotels or resorts were occupied the most, with nearly 50% staying in hotels or resorts, compared 45% staying at guesthouses. These results suggest that the future of Luang Prabang town looks to be that of a resort destination for relaxation combined with the attraction of it being of a cultural heritage site.

Tourists who visited Luang Prabang were interested in cultural sites such as Wat Xiengthong temple, which attracted the largest proportion of tourists (68.7%), followed by the National Palace Museum (66.4%), Phousi Hill (56.9%), Park Ou (55.6%), and Kuangsi Falls (53.8%). These results show the interests of tourists mainly focus on the heritage or the architecture and Luang Prabang's traditional and authentic attractions, such as Wat Xiengthong temple, as well as the natural landscape the Phousi Hill to view the town. Tourists were also attracted to the history of Luang Prabang: the former King's governance, the former French colonialism and the religious heritage. History is a part of cultural heritages' construction; as it reflects in the identity of Luang Prabang town. Moreover, tourists visited natural heritage sites like Kuangsi Waterfall and Parkou Cave, both of which are a mix of natural and cultural heritage, due to their historical relation to local culture and the fact that they are surrounded by nature. These sites garner the most attention, as they are well-known, and must-see sites, which are often already included in package tours.

Tourist activities in Luang Prabang include visiting ethnic villages, which occupy the highest percentage of tourist activity in the region, standing at 33.6%. This means that most tourists already know Lao PDR is a multi-cultural ethnic town before arriving. Therefore, it seems tourists want to experience the different cultures among ethnic groups in Lao PDR as this is a part of Lao identity, which has become a particular point of interest. Furthermore, around 17% of tourists go trekking and kayaking, which are activities relating to ecotourism. In terms of the average time spent in Luang Prabang by tourists, it is an average of three days and the assumption for tourists to revisit stands at 80 percent. While, the average amount of money spent by tourists was 61-70 US dollars per day (18.9%) and 21-30 US dollars per day (10.4%). Furthermore, interesting features of Luang Prabang for tourists include, culture (72.7%), which encompass temples and monuments (64.4%), and nature (56.7%). The survey also focused on tourist satisfaction after visiting Luang Prabang town. The results show that 197 tourists out of 450 tourists (43%) were satisfied with Luang Prabang. See Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1: Tourists' satisfaction after visiting Luang Prabang

No.	Tourist's Opinion	Frequency	Percent
1	Much higher (than anticipated)	143	31.8
2	Higher	197	43.8
3	Same	90	20
4	Lower	17	3.8
5	Much lower	3	0.7
	Total	450	100

Source: (Luang Prabang Department of Information, 2011)

5.1.1 Tourists and 'Heritage Value' Interaction.

Tourist interaction with heritage values depends on the scale of their interests. Some tourists are attracted to nature and the cultural atmosphere of Luang Prabang town. Other tourists consider the city's atmosphere as a resort site a focus of enjoyment. However, 60% of tourists were interested in the culture of the city (Luang Prabang Department of Information, 2011).

For local residents, tourism businesses and enterprises were considered an economic benefit as a result of the towns' World Heritage status (Gujadhur, & Rogers, 2008). The World Heritage status has contributed to a growth in visitor arrivals by more than 400% and the creation of a tourism sector valued at roughly 22.5 million US dollars per year (Luang Prabang Department of Information, 2011). The image of Luang Prabang as an attractive, sleepy and charming town is leading to a growth in high-end arrivals, yet it remains to be seen how this shift in emphasis will affect local earnings.

The tourism industry in Luang Prabang not only provides a vital contribution to local economic development but also supports the construction and notion of 'heritage value' in this study. When tourists enter Luang Prabang town, they are already aware that it is a town that has cultural heritage status. However, some tourists do not pay attention to the cultural heritage; and prefer to opt for adventure, which is available outside the town, such as the elephant camp village.

However, tourists who would like to embrace local culture, history, colonial architecture and the magnificence of local lifestyle, spend their time touring the city first before going out to view other attractions outside the city. When tourists enter a temple or/and consume ethnic cultures at Hmong Market and the Night Market (Handicraft Market), they take note of locals' behavior and relationships between laypeople, monks and Buddha images (see plate 11). Moreover, the consumption of local ethnic culture at the markets supports the local family income.

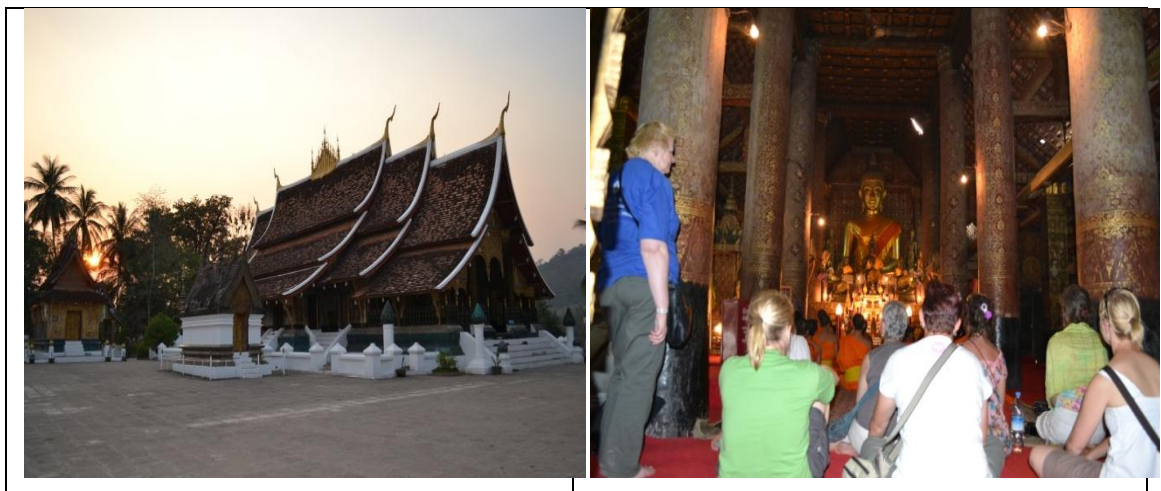


Plate 7. Wat Xiengthong Temple (2011) and the tourists listening to monks' chanting inside temple. Source by author, 2011.

When we look at the notion of 'heritage value' we can see it starts from a relationship between the monks and the Buddha images or the practicing of cultures based on Theravada doctrines, then the tourists' interaction with local culture. This is the point in which heritage value is created. Tourists are taking note to the core value of cultural heritage in the photo above in plate 7. Tourists are observing the attitudes of the monks to the Buddha images and listening to their calm, relaxing chanting to the Buddha.

The Buddha's chanting ceremony performed by monks inside the temple welcomes everybody to observe. Therefore, tourists can sit and participate in this ceremony, which starts daily five to six o'clock in the evening. Based on this point, there is a suspicion that the monks may not be happy about the interruption to the ceremony by tourists, because in former time, the laypeople, especially women, were not allowed to enter. However, in present day, due to trends in tourism development, foreigners or outsiders as tourists, whether men or women can easily cross the boundary into what is a strict form of Buddhism (Theravada Buddhism). Yet, tourists who dress in revealing wear, such as short pants or skirts, or expose their shoulders when entering a temple are seen as inappropriate, as it is considered a sacred boundary for many local laypeople. Therefore, it is necessary to show consideration to the monks, whether they are truly able to stick to the values of cultural heritage. Otherwise, there will be two directions for the monks: first, those in support for tourism development, which leads to the issue of touristification. There is a great deal of evidence that monks support tourist attractions, such as learning English through making conversation with foreigners (mainly young monks). However, according to the original monks' rules, they are not allowed to talk with women laypersons (stated by elder people in Luang Prabang town). However, with the rise in the number of tourist visitors, it has been difficult to avoid in recent years. Traditionally, temples are places for training and giving education to men who cannot afford to study in regular schools from primary through to high school level. The passing of knowledge became a traditional culture for the monkhood's in order to sustain the Theravada doctrines and to teach or guide laypeople, as well as to transfer knowledge between older monks to the younger generation. In this way, the monk has a role as a teacher to guide laypeople. This

concept was very strong in former times; therefore, many laypeople had the utmost respect for monks and religious culture. Nowadays, new developments in technology mean the speed of exporting ideas and creatively in the world has magnified. Knowledge can easily move around the world outside the boundaries of its traditional existence and cultural roots, due to globalization, which transforms local communities. Tourists are considered as outsiders who have greater knowledge and who are well educated compared to the monks. Therefore, as the country develops, there are many school subjects which require improvement; the facilities and curriculum in order to catch up with new educational trends in the world. Thus, some laypeople have developed teaching careers in higher education. With the monkhood, the highest level of education is the 'great monks', who have studied to Ph.D level (For example, some monks in Thailand have studied to a Ph.D level in Healthcare Education Management and others have graduated from overseas institutions, in research on Cultural Studies,). However, albeit the study, the monks always remain in the monkhood; once a monk leaves the monkhood, he cannot enter the monkhood again. The second possibility is the monks strictly adhere to the cultural values of Buddhism, thus sustaining the monkhood and continuing to practice the Buddhist teachings and Buddhist culture.

5.1.2 Tourists' Photographs and 'Heritage Value'

The notion 'heritage value' included the contribution of the third actor as tourists interacting with local culture. Some tourists have imprinted the image of pre-development in Luang Prabang through photographs and drawings. Therefore, these images can be considered as heritage when they support the explanation of cultural heritage's construction as well as the construction of (an) identity.



Plate 8. Wat Mai in 1894, from Tressor de Luang Prabang
Source: (M.Derepas, P.Gay, H.Rattnavong, 2000: 47)

Plate 9 shows the history of a temple, which is a part of heritage. The photograph is of Wat Mai in 1894 with its surrounding atmosphere underdevelopment. We can compare it with a recent photograph taken in 2012.



Plate 9. Wat Mai in 2012
Source: House of Heritage Luang Prabang, 2012

As other world cultural heritage sites, history is a part of heritage and tells us the meaning of what heritage is or what heritage represents, which is linked with culture. As a result, many people listen to heritage guides or read information about the history of the sites that they visit. As the proverb says, ‘a picture is worth a thousand words’; a photo can be very meaningful and a good memory of one particular heritage. Therefore, photos (and artifacts), which relate to culture are considered as very important for human society, and can be measured as a part of the heritage of a society.

Moreover, photos and particular artifacts contain a value in themselves, as intangible heritage. Furthermore, if the contents of photos are related to the relationship between laypeople and culture/religious practices and taken or appreciated by outsiders (photo of plate 12 was taken by a foreigner/tourist, who considered the value on that photo), then that photo consists of intangible content on the notion of ‘heritage value’. This phenomenon could be applied to any other objects, monuments, artifacts and handicrafts inside cultural heritage studies, resulting in the meaning of ‘heritage value’.

5.2 Tourists and Ritual Practices

Tak Bath is a ritual ceremony which practice daily in the morning. This activity shows the notion “heritage value” in which the relationship between monks and laypeople is observed by tourists.

5.2.1 Case Study: Tak Bath (alms giving) Ceremony

‘Tak Bath’ or *‘Say Bath’* are Lao words describing the Alms Giving ceremony. *Tak Bath* is an important part of everyday life in Luang Prabang town, where residents are closely linked with their village temple and responsible for the well being of the temples’ monks. Each morning, the monks and novices walk through the streets to receive alms, in the form of rice and other food, from devotees (see plate 14).



Plate 10. Devotees are sitting and handing rice and food to monks
Source: House of Heritage in Luang Prabang

As there are several hundred monks in Luang Prabang (more than 300 monks and novices), all dressed in orange robes, the sight of a long line of them receiving alms is

impressive and moving. In recent years, this has become a popular activity for tourists, which is generally acceptable to locals, but has also brought some complaints. These include tour buses disturbing monk processions, large crowds of tourists, tourists with large cameras interfering with the alms line, and foreigners participating while not properly understanding and respecting the underlying beliefs as they ignore the core value of Theravada doctrines. Efforts made by the Luang Prabang Department of Information, Culture and Tourism and the Police to educate and guide tourists on the proper behavior during this ceremony have resulted in only short-term improvements.

5.2.2 Tourists and Cultural Consumption at the Night Market

The Night Market is one of the tourist attractions in Luang Prabang. It is held on the main street of Sisavangvong road, which is now known as the Shopping Street, marked by four junctions between Chao Fa Ngum Road and the crossing road Kitsalat; and along the Sisavangvong road until the front of the National Palace Museum. This is a place where tourists can consume the handicraft products made by a variety of local people ranging from Lao Lum, Lao Sung and Lao Theung to Yao, Lue. However the number of stalls of Mien and other ethnic groups are more than the number of Tai Dam's stalls. There are many handicrafts from Vietnam into Luang Prabang and the products can find at this market. However, T-shirts which are made in Vientiane are one of the main commodities in the market. This place has been set up for tourists to shop after their daytime travels outside of the town. At this site, there are many tourist activities, which can be described as forms of tourist interaction with local culture that directly supports ethnic group incomes through the purchase of handicraft products directly from the owners. The pattern of tourists and culture consumption at Night market (or Handicraft market) is regarded as consumption of Asian Exoticism.

However, some tourists might not really pay attention to the meaning of the 'Night Market' as they directly go to the food stalls- which are located beside Ancient Luang Prabang Hotel- set on a narrow paved road lined on both sides with food stalls. Sometimes, the stalls are closed, except the stalls selling fish and meet grills, the stalls which do not have eat-in facilities are targeting for local customers while the stalls

equipped with tables and chairs are targeting for the Western tourists. The differences of these stalls are obvious. None of the Western tourists buy local fermented foods and the numbers of buffet which do not sell meat are decreasing now. There are food stalls sell westernized dishes such as sandwich and coffee at the entrance of Night market. The type of food is based on two styles. The first type is made for foreigners with relatively blend flavors in comparison with those for Lao people, which are spicy, salty, and sweet. The dishes for foreigners are fried noodles, sometimes mixed with vegetables, fried vegetables, beans and breads. The second type is classed as local Lao dishes: Lao traditional foods, fried chicken, fish fried or grilled and sweet chilly sauces, and Lao beer. The price for one buffet dish is 10,000k (1.30 US dollars, 2012). Therefore, some tourists who are considered as back packers enjoy the cheaper food price while drinking Lao beer. While tourists in Luang Prabang for the first time, or returning tourists, enjoy having dinner, talking, and making new friends at the food corners in the Night Market areas.

After dining at the food corner, some tourists will wander and shop at the handicraft stalls located on both sides of the street. Tourists browse the types of products and sometimes buy products from locals as souvenirs. There are many different types of products made by locals and imported products from China, Vietnam, Thailand, and Myanmar. However, Thai tourists, especially ladies, like to buy locally made silk products: scarves, purses, due to their cheaper prices and reasonable quality. These are often given to their coworkers on their return to Thailand. For foreign tourists, who are English native speakers, items of interest include locally made silk products and antiques, which are considered as heritage products related to the culture of ethnic groups. For example, these may include old Hmong skirts, old coins and hunting tools. These can also include animal parts, such as ivory, deer antlers and tiger teeth. However, nowadays there are regulations set by Luang Prabang's Department of Information, Culture and Tourism on the restriction and prohibition of wildlife and wildlife products' as commerce for tourists (Lao National Tourism Authority, 2004).

Moreover, all foreigner entering Lao PDR are given a small hand book of 'Do's & don't's in Laos', which provides much information on Lao society based on Lao

culture (Buddhism). One interesting point related to Lao PDR's cultural heritage relates to the trade in heritage antiques of Buddha images:

“Lao PDR loses a little of its heritage every time an antique is taken out of the country. Please do not buy antique Buddhas or other sacred items. Instead, support local craftsmen by purchasing new, quality handicrafts” (Lao National Tourism Authority, 2004)



5.3 Tourists Experiencing ‘Heritage Value’

This section will explain knowledge-based tourism, which locals perceive while interacting with outsiders as tourists.

5.3.1 Invented Tradition and Nation Building

The terms ‘invented tradition and nation building’ are not so easily understood, especially when traditions involved have been attached to the construction of a nation. Lao PDR is like other new nation in Southeast Asia, it has a history like older established countries based on the construction narratives justifying its birth and continued existence (Hitcock, King, & Parnwell, 2010: 73). The justification of the countries’ existence is perceived by literature and the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger, (1983) which relates to literature as the role of ‘invented traditions’ and ‘imagined communities’ in the evolution of modern nation states. Diverse and locally bound cultures in these new nations are superceded by standardized cultures, usually carried by literacy (Hitcock, 2010). National identity may be expressed in diverse ways, some of the commonest being the flagship; the construction of grand capitals laid out

according to symbolic principles (building with a national symbol like That Luang Stupa in Lao PDR), and the inauguration of the country's name such as Lao People's Democratic Republic, as well as the people of Lao PDR.

The nation building of Lao PDR is perceived by looking back at the history of how the country has been constructed. For centuries, Lao PDR was used as a pawn in a strategic game between neighbouring states and later, world powers. Despite this, and perhaps due to the Lao PDR's devout Buddhism and tolerance, nationalist aspirations were slow to develop and the shaping of Lao PDR as a modern nation state can only be traced back to 1945. During the WWII, and Japan's temporary occupation of French Indochina, kick started Laos' drive for independence, which was gained from France in 1949. Lao PDR then became a microcosm for the global struggle between left and right wing ideologies with the US and Vietnam funding and supporting opposing sides in the contest for Lao PDR allegiance. Following the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the Pathet Lao revolutionary movement set up the Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR) and remains the authority in Lao PDR today (Chaleunsin, 1996:22).

For invented traditions, we see an awakening of the old history of a specific site for tourism purposes. For example, the dance of Nang Keo, the former dance for the Lao King's wife (the Queen), has been reinvented again due to the trends of the tourism industry, which encourages reinvention of the old traditions to make use of them to attract tourists and at the same time, promote the preservation of traditional culture for new generations and to enable foreigners to learn about Lao culture.

On the other hand, the heritage of antiques of pre-revolution (before 1975), the antiques from the King's period of systems have been taken out and shown to tourists, with objects having been improved or remade according to the old original forms based on many existing patterns by adding new materials and reinventing heritage based on the mixing of old ideas and new ideas. This has been the case with artifacts, traditional house, temples and other cultural heritage artifacts.

Nation building in the context of tourism as it re-examines history of a nation in one country (the birth and continued existence), which reflects its issue of identity. Open-air village museums, at World Heritage Sites, like Luang Prabang town, are

examples that describe the notions ‘invented tradition’ and ‘imagined communities’, the construction of heritage and ‘heritage value’ and the reflection of identity.

5.3.2 Mediation of Ethnicity and Tourism

Upon examining the meaning of nation building, we examine the mediation of ethnicity. The town of Luang Prabang and many other parts of Lao PDR, consists of a variety of ethnic groups, which remain mixed and live together in a community (society). The proportion of each ethnic population divides ethnicity, such as the Lao Lum, the largest ethnic group in Lao PDR (Lao National Assembly 1995, Stuart-Fox, 2008:100). Therefore, the culture of the Lao Lum’s people is considered as common culture (in its nature) and therefore considered as the nations’ culture. In this case, the Lao Lum culture is a mediation of ethnicity, which is accepted by members of other ethnic groups in the country of Lao PDR. However, when talking about identity, the Lao Lum’s culture cannot include the entire nations’ culture, which must include every single ethnic culture. All culture together combines to create the identity of Lao PDR and its people.

While each minority adhere to their own culture and beliefs, they share the same Lao Lum language, as most of the ethnic groups learned it when they attend school or when they interacted with groups of Lao Lum people. Thus, the culture of mediation for Lao people (including all 49 ethnic groups) is language (Lao Lum). The cultural value, which all Lao people share is language, but beliefs and ritual ceremonies of each ethnic group are different based on their own traditions.

Mediators of tourism are actors who deal directly with the tourism industry in a community. Tourism is a systematically mediated activity in the form of a ‘middlemen’ structure, which mediates tourists’ experiences and their encounters with locals (Cole, 2008:103). Government can play an important role in mediating tourist perceptions and behaviour. For example, in granting tourists visa, by providing tourists with accomodation and information, marketing and promotional policies, attracting tourists and structuring tourists’ experiences. Other mediators are local guides, out-of-area guides, driver guides and tour leaders; all of which directly deal with tourists. Guides

have an important role as a good ambassadors and mediators between locals' culture and the tourists. Therefore, tourism is a driving force for the enhancement of cooperation between tourist stakeholders and ethnic groups.

5.3.3 'Heritage Value' and Edutainment

'Heritage value' and edutainment refers to cultural parks, where there are many activities on show or exhibitions for tourists, such as open-air museums, to understand cultural activities under conditions set for tourists. However, the cultural heritage site of Luang Prabang has not yet become an open-air museum, a living museum or a cultural park. Although Luang Prabang certainly resembles such a place, the suitable term for Luang Prabang is a living heritage.

The purpose of edutainment, tourists can visit temples at opening time, visit specific destinations to witness specific cultural ritual and practices by locals (for example the Lao New Year ceremony) and to see and participate in many ritualistic activities without paying money (such as, watching Phu Nyer Nha Nyer Dancing, Alms Giving ceremonies). These activities reflect the notion 'heritage value' by showing the relationship between tourists and the locals. As a result, tourists get knowledge and entertainment from activities in which they participate in and experience, however, some tourists might be irritated by some local activities due to different cultural differences and a different set of expectations. All shows and rituals performed by locals for locals, which domestic and foreign tourists watch and perhaps partake in, free of charge, entertain tourists and provide knowledge of local culture, thus it can be termed 'edutainment', which derives from two ideas: education and entertainment.

When tourists visit specific sites (or an area) exhibiting ideas of native locals' in the town of Luang Prabang as a cultural heritage town, it has a different atmosphere and different context. In Luang Prabang the Night Market can be a good example of tourists observing the activities of ethnic groups and learning about the native and endogenous knowledge based on handmade products showing original ideas, and incorporating their own traditional cultures or ethnic story-telling. However, in Night Market, the ethnic groups do not push their products, thus the tourist is able to receive

edutainment or perhaps only education, with those who are interested in ethnic groups and their products feel entertained.

5.3.4 Tourist Expectations of Luang Prabang

Various types of tourists with different expectations and opinions exist in tourist destinations. When tourists come to Luang Prabang, they may already be aware the town as a ‘World Cultural Heritage Site’, and thus might expect to see the locals’ cultural heritage as attractions provided for them. On this point, there is a requirement for a re-analysis and re-interpretation of the real needs of tourists, to enable local governments and tour operators to create successful tourism and marketing strategies to develop tourism ideas, as well as a plan for management and careful preservation of the heritage attractions available at a tourist site.

In a survey produced by Luang Prabang’s Department of Information, Culture and Tourism in 2011, (450 questionnaires were distributed), the researcher constructed the survey in 2009 (distributed 115 questionnaires), tourists were asked about their motivation for travelling to Luang Prabang town. The results showed tourists’ expectation towards cultural experiences and products in the town, with a high percentage of tourists stating they had an interest in Lao culture (72.7%). See the details for tourists’ expectations below in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Tourists motivation for travelling to Luang Prabang town

No.	Interest	Frequency (450 Questionnaires)	Percentage (100%)
1	Nature	255	56.7
2	Temples & Monuments	290	64.4
3	Culture	327	72.7
4	Minority Groups	134	29.8
5	Food	166	36.9
6	Shopping	117	26
7	New destination	172	38.2
8	Other	41	9.1

Source: (Luang Prabang Department of Information, Culture and Tourism 2011)

According to the results above, tourists still pay attention to the cultural aspect of Luang Prabang, which infers the reputation of Luang Prabang as a World Heritage site is still intact. Evidence of this is further shown when data on tourist satisfaction after

visiting Luang Prabang is examined, which is quite high at 43.8% (see Table 5.1). However, there were concerns raised by tourists in Luang Prabang town while conducting in-depth interviews during field-research (2011 and 2012) and in the author's questionnaires distributed during fieldwork in 2009.

The concerns on heritage issues in Luang Prabang town relate to maintaining a peaceful environment; its cleanliness and beauty and the preservation of Lao traditional culture, which consists of vast individual ethnicities. Respondents questioned whether Luang Prabang city could minimize the negative impact of rising tourist numbers. Based on tourist concerns, the solutions should be handled at a local government level, through international organizations such as House of Heritage and other tourism stakeholders: tour operators, tour guides and hotel-guesthouse.

An additional comment provided during fieldwork, by a western tourist was: 'the tourism industry in Luang Prabang should be careful because there are a lot of tourists in the city'. She had expected to see a rural image with a local atmosphere; she wanted to interact with the locals by speaking and talking with local people in order to get access to their lives and experience the reality of how they are as locals in the host country. Moreover, she compared her experience with visiting Myanmar before visiting Luang Prabang and talked about her origins. She stated that she had a better impression on Myanmar than Luang Prabang. According to her experience in Myanmar (Inle Lake and Bagan), she could interact with the locals' and the local atmospheres during her three week stay (as a result of her positive impression, she also prolonged her stay there): "While I walked along the streets, the locals called out to me and talked to me in a very friendly way. I could see parts, which were under-development in the community, but somehow, nowadays, there are a lot of tourists in Myanmar, which means that tourism in Myanmar is booming and one of the negative results is a lot of garbage around tourist sites".

"For Luang Prabang town, I stayed for short time, only three days, I had a good impression on this city regarding its culture, I wanted to talk to local people, but they did not seem ready to talk with me. Following this, I had an opportunity to meet with

a local, who asked me to help him to learn English, so I guided him on how to improve and learn English by talking to him at an internet shop, opening the Google webpage and typing some keywords. There were a lot of English lessons available there, which can be used to learn by one self. He was very happy and thanked me for helping him, thus I was happy too, because I could help him”.

According to a former survey conducted in 2009, upon which one hundred questionnaires were distributed to foreign tourists in order to ask their opinions on the cultural heritage of Luang Prabang town, both positive and negative comments were received. In regard to cultural heritage preservation, one tourist said: “I expect Luang Prabang to go from strength to strength’ (this comment provided to be impressionable, as I personally wish for Luang Prabang to remain in sustainable tourism development avoiding the fragile situation in Luang Prabang at this moment (as of 2009). Other tourists’ comments were related to the environment of the cityscape: “Nice people, good food, beautiful city and nature”, “People live a simple life, I like that, they seem happy but I know that this country is much poorer than Canada. The rivers are beautiful; people are also so friendly and beautiful”. Some other comments on tourist expectations of tourism in Luang Prabang were: (1) to keep the traditional culture; (2) everything is for tourists, if tourist change the city then Luang Prabang will be like Chiangmai; prohibiting motorbikes in the city is good; (3) new generations dress like tourists; (4) architecture should be preserved and reconstructed especially, the Wat Xiengthong Temple. (5) waste can be found along the Mekong River, if we had visited 15 years previous, the scenery would have been more beautiful than now; (6) sellers should be more polite to tourists; (6) some foreigners should behave properly in temples; (7) food is not tasty and is expensive; (8) transportation (tour bus fee is expensive) (9) traditional change - the city’s atmosphere is changing; (10) too touristic; (11) more assistance should be given to young people to earn enough money for education without having to work 7 days a week – studying.

5.3.5 Tourism and Heritage Preservation

In Luang Prabang town, the main organization that deals with cultural heritage preservation is the House of Heritage a representative of UNESCO in Luang Prabang

town. There are many tourists who support their ideas due to their awareness of the important aspect and the future of heritage in Lao PDR and of its World Heritage properties. There are indications that Luang Prabang is ending its era as a rural community and becoming exposed as a regionally and internationally recognized tourism destination. For tourism development, large hotel groups have successfully acquired major pieces of real estate and built golf courses. This increased exposure to Luang Prabang could mean better heritage conservation, due to international corporations having the capital, vision, and incentive to support the preservation of cultural heritage or poorer conservation if large investments cause local authorities to overlook transgressions in regulations. Apart from heritage use, the tourism market segment numbers, and visiting patterns have and will continue to change, and as a result, local services and products will evolve. Currently, Luang Prabang residents enjoy benefits from tourism, but with more foreign investment, larger projects, and increased scrutiny of heritage management, it will be crucial to have authorities making concerted efforts to protect local interests.

Tourism development has contributed to local economic development. High-class tourist spending on crafts contributes over 2 million US dollars per year (Luang Prabang Department of Information, 2011) to the crafts economy, which is roughly equal to the combined budget of mid-market (middle class) tourists. Thus, while a greater percentage of up-market tourists spending are not benefiting locals, on the whole the nominal benefits to locals are more than other market segments. It can also be argued that high-end tourists are more likely to contribute to heritage preservation measures through donations and indirect tax payments (through accommodation and restaurant spending) and so inject more money and income into the tourism economy with less impact on the World Heritage Sites.

It remains to be seen how a change in visitor patterns from low-end to high-end tourism will affect local earnings. In fact, an overall expansion of the up-market tourist segment does not necessarily imply a drop in the budget and mid-range visitors. Although the distribution of revenue to various sub-sectors of the tourism economy may change, the official benefit to the local people may continue to rise. With future

growth in the high-end and package tourists increasing, the tourism economy will also become more diversified and arguably more robust, offering more opportunity and greater sustainability of tourism that brings benefits for the local people to enjoy.

5.5 Conclusion

Tourist interaction with the cultural heritage site of Luang Prabang has created meaning for the local community in many ways. First, the economy has benefited from economic contributions to local ethnic groups, through handicraft commercial businesses. Second, the construction of a notion as ‘heritage value’ in this study has contributed to the community. Third, tourist opinions or perceptions given on cultural heritage and the preservation of heritage in Luang Prabang town has further provided support to the development of tourism in Luang Prabang. The tourism industry consists of many stakeholders, which play their roles in many different ways and gain interests as expected. Therefore, the tourism industry in Luang Prabang is essential for this towns’ survival, perhaps too essential due to the level of touristification it has already undergone.

Chapter 6

The Utility of ‘Heritage Value’ in Luang Prabang

This chapter provides information on the utilization of ‘heritage value’ by locals for the purpose of tourism attractions. The study will explain the methods of how locals create and make use of heritage attractions in order to attract tourists and maintain their traditions. Moreover, this part will discuss locals’ opinion (insiders) toward tourists and cultural heritage tourism in Luang Prabang town.

6.1 Cultural Heritage and Actors in ‘Heritage Value’

Cultural Heritage is a creative expression for peoples’ existence in the past, the near past and the present that was passed on to the present generation by the past generation. It tells us of the traditions, the beliefs and the achievements of a country and its people (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006).

There is a need to understand the definition of living heritage in the context of Luang Prabang town. Therefore, this study will identify the main actors involved in the construction of living heritage. They are the native villagers, laypersons (who have settled down and lived for many generations in Luang Prabang town). The domestic people (new comers, who have moved from other cities or other provinces in Lao PDR to settle down in Luang Prabang. The settlement has a shorter time than the native villagers). The foreigner or investor (the person who does not hold Lao nationality but lives in Luang Prabang for the purpose of working or doing business such as owners of hotels, guesthouses, restaurants and travel agencies).

Moreover, there are other key actors like the monks who play a major role in sustaining living, Buddhism in Luang Prabang town. The life of monks in Luang Prabang seems to strictly adhere to the morality of the Buddhist religion. Monks are considered people with better merits; teachers, and respected by laypersons. Monks pray to Buddha and respect the practicing of Buddhist faith. Therefore, laypeople respect monks as the master of humans and have a positive image of them in terms of their knowledge and purity of mind. Monks can teach and give direction to laypeople.

The laypeople respect and listen to monks' advice in order to behave well in society, which in turn leads to the civilization of family and finally society.

The role of monks is to provide a philosophy of morality for human behavior in society; this is especially true in Luang Prabang. However, the real judgment of the conduct is made by the laypeople themselves. They can act based on a belief in Buddhist teaching or they can behave according to their own decisions, uncontrolled by any other doctrines or opinions.

6.1.1 Different Values to Different Stakeholders

One cultural heritage issue in relation to a World Cultural Heritage Site is the locals' understanding of the meaning and importance of cultural heritage and the values granted to heritage preservation and sustainable tourism management in that society or community. Making sure all tourism-stakeholders understand the importance of cultural heritage is not only for the local community's benefit but for the whole nations' benefit, thus there should be cooperation between the actors, the management of the cultural heritage sites for sustainable tourism to be realized.

In Luang Prabang tourism stakeholders are the main actors who have the power to control the well being of society by enforcing many regulations on locals, who can sometimes view them as an infringement of their freedom. Therefore, there are questions regarding each stakeholder's individual purpose and their understanding on the management of World Heritage Sites in Luang Prabang. Thus, the following point will discuss the ideas and main interests of stakeholders in Luang Prabang based on the author's point of view and the real situation in Luang Prabang town.

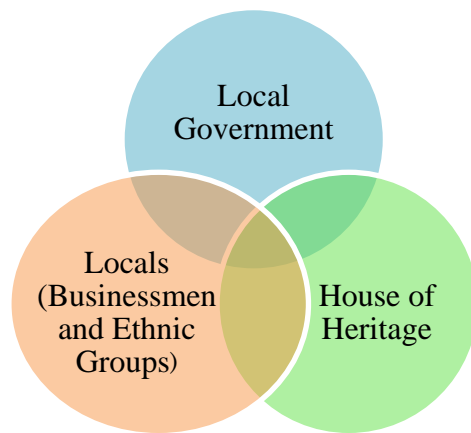


Figure 6.1: The three main agents in tourism mechanism in Luang Prabang town

6.1.2. Local Government

The local government is under direct control, under the Lao national government, through a top-down system. Therefore, all the tourism development strategies at a local level are designed by the central government. It means that the central government determines the direction of tourism promotion policies (theory not practice) and then transfers those policies down to a local level for implementation of national government policy (practice not theory). Therefore, those in charge of talking action are the local community, which has direct contact with tourists and the development of tourism. These are top-down policies, directions under a centralized government system. However, recently, the government has shown interest in a bottom up approach, with policies being decided on a local level and a move away from decentralization to allow locals power on the management of the issues, which should then be reported to the government. Clearly, it takes time for locals to have their own power to stand by themselves because every policy is linked to the government, thus there is always an exchange of ideas between the locals and the government.

The local government department in Luang Prabang that deals with tourism issues is the Luang Prabang Department of Information and Culture (previously the Provincial Tourism Department). It is responsible for the implementation and promotion of policies and tourism marketing for the promotion of heritage tourism in Luang

Prabang town. It is seen to be successful due to the high increase in tourist numbers in Luang Prabang town since 1995, when Luang Prabang becomes a World Heritage site (Luang Prabang Department of Information, 2011). The fast growth of tourism in Luang Prabang town has affected the lives of the local community in many ways: socio-economic changes, environmental and cultural impacts, with both positive and negative results. Therefore, the House of Heritage has raised its concerns regarding the preservation and management of Luang Prabang town as a World Heritage site.

Furthermore, local government is also focused on a pro-poor tourism strategy and the modernization of the urban town of Luang Prabang. However, this direction seems to be in opposition to the preservation and controllable management promoted by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang. Consequently, this cultural heritage of the town has triggered the interest of many scholars, researchers and preservationists on the issue of tourism development and the preservation of cultural heritage.

6.1.3 House of Heritage

Due to the sharp increase of tourist arrivals and the development of mass tourism in the World Heritage Site of Luang Prabang town in the last two decades, concerns have been raised on issues of heritage preservation for the House of Heritage, which is the representative office of UNESCO in Luang Prabang. The main interest of this organization is the management or control of a community through raising ideas on the preservation of its historical and cultural heritage for sustainable tourism growth. It tries to achieve a balance between preservation and development inside the community. Therefore, there are many regulations set by the House of Heritage for the community, such as those related to the construction of properties in Luang Prabang town.



Figure 6.2: Documents and Regulations Related to Preservation of Luang Prabang, World Heritage Site

UNESCO is the main donor for the improvement of and construction within Luang Prabang’s World Heritage Sites. In this way, UNESCO has a strong influence over management and preservation efforts of the town. When tourism impacted the town of Luang Prabang in 2007, UNESCO provided strict recommendations to local the government in order to improve tourism management.

6.1.4. The Local Businessmen

In this part, locals is not inclusive all tourism stakeholders in Luang Prabang city. The locals, in this part, refer to the laypeople and ethnic groups, people who conduct tourism activities under a community concept. Therefore, locals are the people who gain benefits from tourism in both direct and indirect ways such as businessmen and entrepreneurs: the hotel-guesthouse businesses, restaurants, travel agencies, tour operators, food sellers, and handicrafts such as souvenirs sellers. These are the local units that deal directly with tourists.

Local and foreign businessmen have been increasingly investing in hotel and guesthouse businesses and most of them have been successful in their business investment. Tourism development in Luang Prabang has also had an effect on the local guesthouse sector. Guesthouses are the largest provider of accommodation in Luang Prabang town. According to a report carried out by the Lao government, there were

114 guesthouses in 2002, which increased to 225 (Guesthouse and resorts) in 2011. Almost ninety percent of guesthouses are family-based businesses. These entrepreneurs started with their own investment capital and utilization of their heritage properties (heritage from their previous generations: grandparents and parents) such as the land, houses or other buildings. Most guesthouse businessmen appeared to run their business according to experience (basic marketing knowledge), which sometimes lacked management skills, but they are learning as they go along.

There are three main agents in the tourism mechanism of Luang Prabang town - the Local government, House of Heritage and Local businessmen (including ethnic groups), which have shared common goals on tourism promotion, cultural heritage preservation and sustainable tourism development. The local Luang Prabang natives are the actors, who utilize 'heritage value', and heritage properties, in order to attract tourists and earn money from the tourism industry.

Case study of a local person who utilizes his residential house as a guesthouse.

Phone is a local native Luang Prabang businessman, who was born in 1944 in Pa Kham village in Luang Prabang town. He belongs to the Lao Lum ethnic group and is the third of seven siblings. The first sibling was living in Vientiane but has passed away. The second sibling is in America; he has lived there since 1975 and is retired now. The fourth sibling was working in Xaignayabuli province, but has also passed away. The fifth sibling is a housewife in Vientiane. The sixth sibling, with whom he is still in contact, is in Japan, working for a Japanese company. The last sibling was in Vientiane, but she has also passed away.

This local man was married in 1965, and has four children, all of them are girls. The first one is living and working in Luang Prabang town. She works as a teacher at the College of Health Sciences. She received a Masters degree in Education Management from Indonesia. Moreover, she also helps him with his guesthouse business. His second child is now running a business in Vientiane, while his third child is running the guesthouse business with him in Luang Prabang. The fourth child works for the

Water Company in Luang Prabang. Two of his children were married but one is now divorced (the daughter in Vientiane). His first and the third child are still single and living in Luang Prabang. Phone currently has two granddaughters (ten years old and seven years old) belonging to his fourth daughter, (whose parents were born in Luang Prabang town).

Phone started his education in Luang Prabang town at Aphay primary school. After Primary school, he went to Xaignayabuli as his father was working for a legal department of a colonial company there, and could speak French. After studying at Xaignayabuli for one year, he came back to Luang Prabang in 1960 and entered secondary school. After a year, he quit the school to become a soldier (colonial soldier) in 1961. The reason he decided to be a soldier was because he did not have much knowledge at that time, and believed his options were limited to either the army or police force. In the 1960, there were armies in Luang Prabang and throughout the country. While he was a soldier, he worked in logistics but did not enter combat. His work was to distribute soldier clothing and other materials to units of military troops '*Kong Hoi and Kong Phan*' (one troop had 12 soldiers, one section troop 30 soldiers, one company 160 soldiers (*Kong Hoi*), one battalion 600 soldiers (*Kong Phan*)). He was a soldier for 15 years, upon which he began going to seminars 'Summanar' in Phongsali province, to learn about the country's new direction, organized and supported by the Lao government. His 'summanar' lasted four years, and he was provided with a salary and materials for daily life by the Lao government. Attendance at 'summanars' was obligatory for everybody at that time. After the 'summanar', he became a soldier again. However, he only served in the army for one more year. At that time he was 37 or 38 years old, but due to health problems, he then retired from the military.

After retirement, he became a head of the village. He worked with villagers until starting his own guesthouse business. When he worked as a village head, he did not receive any salary or subsidies from the government, because at that time, the nation was poor, so villages needed to be self-sufficient. However, nowadays village heads receive a salary. During this time, he generated income by gardening, planting crops

and vegetables serving for family in daily life. He also worked on a boat managing its cargo on a route from Savanakhet to Houaysay along the Mekong River. The boat center was moved in Vientiane and owned by his aunt. The boat carried goods for daily life from Savanakhet to Vientiane and to Houaysay. He stated that, “before the development stage, the Lao people used boat routes due to the poor road conditions. Travelling from Vientiane to Luang Prabang by road took three or four days, while traveling by boat from Savanakhet-Vientiane took three days or four days and from Vientiane to Luang Prabang six or seven days. Furthermore, if the level of the Mekong River was low; it took seven or eight days. Conversely, if the rivers’ level was high, it took six days”. He ran the boat business for eight years before entering the guesthouse business.

In 1997, Phone opened his own guesthouse; Phone guesthouse was not the first, such business were already beginning to exist. Therefore, at this time he decided to convert his property as the governor of the district and the province of Luang Prabang had organized the National Sport Games for the first time in Luang Prabang. At that time the provincial authority informed local households, who owned or rented their houses that they could turn them into guesthouse businesses.

When asked ‘why the government encouraged locals to open the guesthouse businesses at that time, his answer was that since 1997, the government encouraged local people to start businesses in order to create income from tourism. However, that was not the only reason; the government also said that after the first National Sports Games in Luang Prabang in 1997, there was to be a ‘Visit Lao Year’ in 1999. Therefore, there would be many guests coming to Luang Prabang from other cities, provinces and other countries, thus there was a need to prepare guesthouses to receive the guests.

This local man started his first guesthouse business at Mano Village, behind Wat Manorom. There was a large undeveloped area of land, which was owned by his grandfather and divided among family members. His grandfather distributed pieces of land to his fathers’ siblings and his father inherited a piece of land there. Now, his

fathers' land belongs to him. He also has his own house there, which he has turned into a guesthouse that was in business from 1997-2000. Currently, the house is rented by students from the College of Health Sciences in Luang Prabang.

The Lao government did not provide the locals' with subsidies to open their guesthouse businesses. They depended on the money, housing properties and ability of the local people themselves. Subsequently, it was difficult for him to run the business at first because, there were not many guests, and the length of the National Sport Games was short-term, only nine to ten days. As a result, the room was left empty until another guest visited. Moreover, during this time, it was difficult for foreigners to obtain a visa to enter Lao PDR.

When asked why he decided to open a guesthouse business, his answer was because he felt he was getting old, and had little employment opportunities. He had been thinking of new ways to make a living and decided to enter the guesthouse business after government encouragement to do so. In order to start the guesthouse businesses, at first, the government just encouraged local households by informing them of their eligibility. After authorization, government staff taught villagers about the guidelines related to keeping guesthouses. Since then, the tourism authority has issued certificates for locals to open guesthouse business every year.

When asked about how he gained knowledge to run a business, he said he just ran it according to common sense; doing basic business transactions based on renting the room, receiving money and paying tax, then reinvesting any small profit by converting one or two new rooms in his guesthouse. Furthermore, upon asking him regarding his methods he replied: "I didn't learn anything about making money or running a business, it just looks like basic trading. I just do basic business: buying and selling products at the market. Guests come and stay; guests go out and pay money to me".

When talking about the success of his business, he said that at first (Guesthouse at Mano village) the business was not good, until a number of tourists began arriving in 2005. He ran his Mano guesthouse business from 1997 to 2000, upon which he moved

to another property, which he rented from his aunt, in the Hoxien area. The reason why he moved to the second guesthouse was because his younger sister took over the former house. Furthermore, a tourism boom had hit the city. While the Mano guesthouse was in the suburbs, guests did not want to walk there, thus he established his second guesthouse in a central location. He restored the house and charged only 5-7 US dollars per night. Now, the aunt's daughter operates the guesthouse charging 50 US dollars per night.

In terms of capital investment in the guesthouse business, Phone stated that he spent around 25,000 US dollars on the first guesthouse. He did not borrow money from the bank; he used his own money and received interest free loans from relatives. When he made enough money, he paid these loans back. On his second guesthouse, he spent 15,000 US dollars. After initial investment, profit should show in four or five years. However, with his first guesthouse business in Mano village, he neither lost money nor made a profit. He said that sometimes, he had benefits, sometimes there were no benefits but when he calculated them against each other, the business could survive. Phone further stated that, he started a small business according to his ability, with his business philosophy being "this year I can open one room, then next year I can operate another two rooms by utilizing the profits from this year". His business progressed step by step and he did not borrow any money from the bank as he thought "if we borrow money from the bank, when there are no customers, we have to pay interest, when we can't pay the interest to the bank, then we will become poorer". Moreover, he said that "Some people sell land to invest in the guesthouse business but if it is a small business or family owned business, they just do it slowly, step by step. If a person has money they will borrow 100,000 US dollars but I could not afford to borrow that amount of money".

After working on the second guesthouse, he started to work on his third guesthouse in 2007. He moved to this guesthouse because it is his own property, which he inherited from his wife in 2008. When discussing the customers at his guesthouses, he said that his main customers were foreigners who come from Europe, Japan, Thailand, and so forth. There are very few Laotians because when Lao people come to Luang Prabang,

they stay at their relatives' houses. He communicates with customers based on his very Basic English skills, which sometimes he tries to improve by asking customers about words and taking down notes in a book. In addition, he knows basic French and sometimes he uses body language.

When asked about his contact with foreign customers while he ran the first guesthouse business, he said that he was not afraid of foreigners, because his thoughts were that tourists are good people and foreigners have visas, and policemen have already checked the visa. Also when tourists stay at his guesthouse, they check in by writing down their name and their personal information, if something happens, he is able to inform the police.

At his third guesthouse, he has a policy for the guests by which his customer can stay first then pay later when checking out. However, at other guesthouses, the guests have to pay one night in advance and pay the rest of the money when checking out. In this way, he said that the guests are happy with his ideas. Also, the types of customers have remained almost the same since the first guesthouse in Mano Village. Prior to 1995, there were not many tourists, while the year, 1997 was an important year for tourism in Luang Prabang, the effects of the tourist boom became evident in 2005, with many customers staying at his guesthouse.

In relation to the promotion of his guesthouse business, he discloses that he does not advertise, but guests who stay at his guesthouse return home and recommend it to others. Some tourists who like his guesthouse put information on the internet, advertising the guesthouse instead of him. Besides this, tourists come and collect data then publish the data in guidebooks.

Concerning the domination of World Heritage Sites at Luang Prabang, he views it positively. He states that, the heritage aspect is good for him because otherwise the world cannot support Luang Prabang by granting it World Heritage status. The only negative side (at the moment) is that the view of the town is changing. Previously, there were many big trees, and mountains (green landscape), now they are building

big hotels, so the view (scenery) has changed. The towns' beauty has deteriorated and this change is a recent phenomenon.

In regard to local opinion toward tourists' behavior, such as taking photos of monks, he said that "tourists want to have good photos of the monks, but women should not stay close to the monks and keep a distance of one meter". Regarding taking photos of local peoples' lives, he said that "you should ask permission first, if they allow you to, then you can take their photo, but if you take photos of Hmong people, especially Hmong children, they will ask for money. If you don't have money, you can give them candy, and then they are happy". As for taking photos of people in general, he said that: "people in general, who go to festivals, can often take their photos, some allow you to take photos, but others are shy. In general you should ask their permission first".

When asked about his feelings on Luang Prabang as a World Heritage Site, Phone stated that he is happy and proud of Luang Prabang, because the world has recognized Luang Prabang as a beautiful town. The world considers that Luang Prabang should have World Heritage status, as Luang Prabang is a source of pride for the nation and a representative of Lao PDR. Furthermore, because of people around the world coming to Luang Prabang, the town has got 5 or 6 gold medals (the UK travel magazine Wanderlust ranked Luang Prabang as the "best tourist destination" for three consecutive years from 2006-2008. In 2009 it dropped in the top 10, before again topping the list from 2010 to 2012). These awards are a cause for celebration in Luang Prabang as it celebrates its nature, peaceful city and people who have good hospitality toward tourists. For example, when tourists see local people, the local people say hello and goodbye to them which makes tourists happy. Even the small children can say 'bye bye' to foreigners. It means that Lao PDR is a lucky country in the world.

Why is Lao PDR a lucky country? To this Phone stated, "Because the world has come to examine Luang Prabang's situation whether Luang Prabang is suitable to be inscribed in a World Heritage status or not, they come for surveying first". Previously, the world did not know where Laos or Lao PDR was or anything about the country.

When people looked at a map, Lao PDR was a mere dot but now many people know about Lao PDR. Some tourists visit Thailand, and meet people who persuade them to visit Lao PDR, and then visit Lao PDR even when they do not know much about Lao PDR.

When asked whether the World Heritage status of Luang Prabang benefits his life, Phone stated, “yes,” with regard to business and the economy, for his life and for his relationships with the customers and guests. “When tourists visit they take photos and when they go back they tell others, so if tourists did not love or respect him as the owner of the accommodation, they would not take photos. Some customers had come and stayed here two or three times”.

In conclusion, the life history of this native local man shows the turning point from him being a normal local person to an owner of a guesthouse business through utilizing his own heritage properties (in his hometown of Luang Prabang town). Therefore, he has been involved in the tourism industry since the nomination of Luang Prabang as a World Heritage Site in 1995. At first, he worked in the army, and then the Lao government encouraging local people to open guesthouse businesses after the National Sport Games in Luang Prabang and Luang Prabang’s nomination as a World Heritage site. Therefore, his life history is a very good example of how local people in Luang Prabang make use of their heritage resources, inherited from previous generations, in the tourism industry.

6.1.5 Locals’ Perception of Tourists

This part examines the locals’ perceptions of tourism in the world heritage town of Luang Prabang. Luang Prabang is not only more economically dependent on tourism (this situation can also be found at other World Heritage Sites) but it has also been subject to more state intervention (local government, and the House of Heritage), more changes, and is more touristy than it used to be. As a result, perceptions of tourists and tourism differ between the villagers and locals (depending on who gets more or less benefits from the tourism industry and who deals directly with the issues of tourism in the community).

Based on the tourist-community interactions in the last chapters, this part discusses insiders' opinions on tourism with which there are similarities and differences to those of the locals. We will focus on mainly the overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards tourists and tourism development before talking about the minor problems locals face, which are caused by tourists. Locals, including villagers, tourism businessmen, and so forth; usually see and meet tourists when tourists visit villages and the communities.

According to the author's fieldwork during interviews with many tourist stakeholders in Luang Prabang (governmental level, international organization and ethnic groups), they all appreciate the tourists and want many more tourists to come. This point has shown that Luang Prabang is already a tourist town and that the locals' understanding of tourism has a strong influence on their lives since tourism is perceived to be a source of employment, revenue, and cultural development and preservation. Conversely, if too many tourists come, negative impacts increase (due to the lack of good management which is able to handle the negative impacts brought by tourism development). This has a knock on effect, damaging the towns' image with long-term impact on the socio-economic, environment and cultures of society. This leads to natural and cultural attractions being downgraded, resulting in their inability to attract tourists, with tourists choosing not to visit or re-visit the sites.

However, for the moment, local cultural heritage attractions are still able to attract many tourists from all over the world. Therefore, the local residents strongly support tourism and are not aware of the external threats, which are happening to the community. They are already concerned about the problems, which face Luang Prabang's tourism industry in the future, especially cultural destruction (due to advice from the ICOMOS, the House of Heritage); however, the locals still perceive the growth in cultural tourism in the town of Luang Prabang as positive and sustainable. This is partly due to locals, especially the Luang Prabang peoples', devotion to and practice of Theravada Buddhism, which can be witnessed in the relationship between the laypeople and the monks during ceremonies: Alms Giving and Lao New Year, which includes the Pha Bang processions and Phu Nhyer Nha Nyer's ritual practice.

Lao culture (and that of the Thai people) is based on the reliance of others, with members of a community always helping each other and staying in big groups; big families with a lot of relatives can always be seen. When there are guests visiting the house, the owner of the house will make dinner or a small ‘Basi Soukhoan’ ceremony for the special guests. This shows that the owner is very happy that the guests are visiting and when the guest leave, the owner prepares a lunch box (or cooked rice with food inside a package), which is handed to the guest. This tradition has been applied to the tourists who are considered as outsiders visiting the local community. Therefore, some tourists feel very welcome due to this warm hospitality.

Moreover, Lao people consider foreigners or tourists, who come from developed regions, especially Caucasians, as better educated, and as persons who have more money and foreigners are sometime seeing as strangers for the host community. However, locals are appreciated and welcome tourists’ who visit the town of Luang Prabang.

6.2 Utilization of Heritage Property and ‘Heritage Values’ for the benefit of locals

Culture contains heritage perspectives and it has been connected with the local life style for many generations (Khouthao, 2010). The purpose of introducing the meaning of ‘Heritage Value’ is to clarify a social phenomenon of tourism in the World Heritage Sites, in the town of Luang Prabang. ‘Heritage value’ consists of two sides. First is physical heritage or tangible heritage. Second, intangible heritage refers to religious beliefs and locals’ knowledge and the established relationships they have with particular physical heritage (like Wat Xieng Thong temple) based on value granted by locals to this physical heritage. Therefore, the main purpose of researching ‘heritage value’ is to determine elements, which affect the establishment and relationship between physical heritage and the locals, which add value to the physical heritage (based on beliefs and practice in Buddhism). This is the process which results in the application of a new notion ‘Heritage Value’ in the local community of Luang Prabang town.

In Luang Prabang, ‘heritage value’, the physical heritage and some traditional

practices have been invented and utilized for the purpose of attracting tourists. The utilization of ‘heritage value’ is the locals’ idea. This is local wisdom attached to Luang Prabang people, which they have carried for a very long time. It can be considered as traditional customs, which the locals have practiced since former times. However, at a certain point in time, when the country perceived economic development and changes in society, it further developed and some traditional practices were omitted. Hence, it has lead to financial limitations concerning the funding and support for the maintenance of cultural heritage preservation.

At a time when tourism is being promoted and developed, the utilization and application of ‘heritage value’ in heritage tourism has also been promoted. Therefore, there are some renovations and newly invented values based on former customs or the former traditional culture. However, the method applied for these invented values is based firstly on the use of former traditional culture, then the addition of new elements in order to bring new color to these special products, which can then be used as tourist attractions. There are many examples below:

6.2.1 Antiques Heritage and Traditional Style Houses

The newly invented heritage is based on the collection of antiques in places such as in the National Museum and the Art and Ethnical Center for the Northern Regions. The latter center is a place for collecting information from ethnic groups such as Akha, Yao, Thai Dam, and Hmong. Inside the center, there are exhibitions of ethnic clothing belonging to the various groups and photos showing their culture and way of life. These are tangible heritage mixed with newly invented values. For instance the centers’ building is purpose built and newly decorated, with exhibits re-organized and re-managed in order to attract the attention of guests.

Luang Prabang is famous for its architectural styles: Lao, colonial and its mix between the old and new styles. When deciding on a design for new properties such as hotels, guesthouses and restaurants, domestic and foreign investors usually preserve the old Lao style. Then, they design the internal decor of the houses in order to look beautiful

and modern. The decoration is mixed between wooden houses; equipped with an air conditioner, table, bed, wardrobes, fan, telephone and television, inside the houses. This kind of decoration is cozier and promotes a better comfort for guests, who stay in these types of traditional housing, such as the Mekong Riverview Hotel. However, in Luang Prabang the old properties are still being preserved, renovated and utilized as guest-reception houses, hotels, and guesthouses. The year 2006 was an outstanding year for tourism development in Luang Prabang. Previously many local residents constructed their houses according to their own needs and preferred styles, which used various non-traditional materials. However, later on, House of Heritage started controlling and limiting construction by applying regulations on housing construction for locals. As a result, locals have changed their mind and started to build their houses with traditional Lao material. Furthermore, some have rebuilt their existing houses in order to obtain greater economic value.

Around the town or at the Wat That village, there are some examples of Luang Prabang old-style houses, such as: Faed House (a house which has two roofs in one). The mix of colonial architecture (a two storey concrete house), and Lao traditional housing (wooden houses, rebuilt with firm construction by applying new modern technology) can be seen in Luang Prabang (Sourya, Vincent, Mixay & Lafont, 2004).

6.2.2 Lao Ethnic Festivals

In Luang Prabang, the relationships between ethnic groups are observed and incorporate the tourists' interaction (similar to edutainment in an open-air museum). For example, in the organization of ethnic festivals such as Hmong New Year. At this event, the Lao Lum and other ethnic groups have to contribute some money for the festival to join this event. The Festival is organized yearly at the end of November or early December. The location of the event is Ban Don Kao, Ban Phasouk. For Lao Lum, the festival is Lao New Year, where everyone in every community participates annually in April. This festival has drawn attention from domestic and foreign tourists.

6.2.3 Alms Giving by Locals for their Business

The daily alms giving ceremony every morning has been practiced for generations and now draws the attention of many visitors. At this activity, tourists can observe the locals' way of life which also reflects locals' culture. Early every morning, there are local people including visitors sitting along one side of the main road (Sakkalin Road), waiting for the Alms Giving procession. Hundreds of Buddhist monks walk past the waiting crowds in order to collect food and offerings from tourists and local people.

As a result of this Buddhist cultural activity there are food sellers who are native Luang Prabang people selling sticky rice, ready-made food and snacks for visitors in order to give to the monks. The local food selling business activities happen in the early morning at 4am, before the start of the Alms Giving ceremony and finish at 6:30 – 7:00am. There are two types of food sellers at the Alms Giving. The first type refers to the sellers who set up their instant shop with many kinds of food and snacks available for customers or tourists who want to practice Alms Giving with the monks. At these shops, the main product is sticky rice. When you tell them you want to do Alms giving for monks, they will arrange a basket of sticky rice (sometimes accompanied with other snacks) for you and provide you with a mat and a small, soft sitting pillow. The money for the sticky rice is paid when returning the mat and pillow after the ceremony has finished. This type of business, started by local people, and originated as a result of tourist interest in the Alms Giving ceremony



Plate 11. First type of food seller conforming to the regulations set by Luang Prabang Department of Information, Culture and Tourism, photo by Senesathith Simonekeo 2011



Plate 12. Sample basket of sticky rice and a plate of snacks provided by the food sellers. Photo by Senesathith Simonekeo, 2011

The second method food sellers are carrying baskets of ready-made food and snacks (the same products available from the first type of food sellers). These kinds of food are sold on trays and are quite expensive compared to other products available at the market. However, these types of sellers are quite interesting because they always carry their products on trays and then rush to tourists who just want to observe the Alms giving ceremony and do not intend to buy their products. However, they are very persistent and often manage to persuade tourists to part with their cash.



Plate 13. Second type of food seller, photo by Senesathith Simonekeo, 2011



Plate 14. Food sellers selling products to tourists, photo by Senesathith Simonekeo, 2011

The author also had the opportunity to ask for tourist opinions on the second method of selling food for the Alms Giving ceremony. One Dutch lady responded that, ‘the food sellers should not insist that tourists buy their products, and she felt uncomfortable about the sellers as she only bought the products she wanted to buy. Moreover, Tak Bath is different from her culture so she was only interested in observing the activity’.

When the author asked a layperson who practiced Tak Bath the person replied that, the second method of selling food had been restricted by tourist police, as the tourism

office had enforced a ban on them. However, it has had no effect because the food sellers do not listen as they say that it is necessary for them in order to earn a living.

The activities, which the two types of food sellers do for the Tak Bath ceremony are done by local businesses; small individual business by which they can earn very little from tourists. Sometimes, they cannot sell any trays of food to tourists because tourists are instructed by the guides not to buy the food from the second type of food sellers as ready-made food is not clean and when the monks consume it, they get a stomachache. Moreover, at some big hotels, they also provide information to guests that state they should not support the second type of food sellers' activities and that tourists can buy the food from the first type of food seller.

However, the food sellers' activities are local ideas for the utilization of the 'Heritage Value' in the Tak Bath ceremony for the purpose of selling food for business, in order to earn a living. The food sellers' main customers are tourists; those interested in the local culture and the local way of life. Therefore, without tourists buying or supporting the sellers, they would cease to exist.



Plate 15. Group of Thai tourists at Tak Bath ceremony, Photo by Senesathith Simonekeo 2011

The Tak Bath ceremony garners much attention from tourists, especially Thai tourists. The reason why so many Thai tourists participate in the Tak Bath ceremony, by practicing food offering to monks, is because Thailand and Lao PDR share the same Buddhist culture. Therefore, most Thai people visiting Luang Prabang have the intention of participating before arrival.

6.2.4 Handicraft Market: Heritage Products by Ethnic Groups

The Night market, or Handicraft market, is where ethnic cultural ideas are interpreted into handicraft products and sold to tourists. In Luang Prabang city, there are two names for the space, which is located in the middle of the town at the ancient parade square (Sisavangvong road at the moment). The handicraft market includes more than 700 stalls with about 500 sellers (one seller can occupy two or three stalls) under the management of Pa Kham Village and Choum Khong Village. The market is open from 17:00pm to 22:00pm daily. During the day, the sellers sell their handicraft products at Hmong Market and after 4pm, the sellers move their goods to the Night Market (or Handicraft market) and set up their stalls there.

The place where the Handicraft Market is located was previously the parade square and was used as an Evening Market at the same time that was called “Talat Laing Tai”. The former trading at this place was stopped between 1950 and 1955. At this location many official ceremonies have been carried out in the past. During the colonial era, the French authority celebrated “14 juillet”, which is the French National Day; the traditional sport “Tee Key” was further performed in the place (Somchit Boupha and Soudaphone Khomthavong, 2004) and other important official ceremonies such as Lao New Year, which included the procession of Monks, the procession of Pha Bang, the procession of Nang Sangkharn (seven daughters of Phanya Kabilaphom), and Hae Vor (the palanquin procession).

This handicraft market consists of many ethnic groups selling a variety of products. At this site, many relationships are formed between the tourists and the ethnic groups' products. The products express their cultures and their own tribes, such as the Lao

Sung (Hmong, Yao), Lue, Lao Lum, and Thai Dam. Therefore, the ethnic handicrafts contain heritage perspectives and are linked to the tourism industry. In this case, tourists directly interact with the cultural heritage of locals through ethnic tourism.

The handicraft market was established in December 2002. At this market, the percentage of Hmong sellers is larger than other groups because many Hmong insisted on being allowed to sell their products at this place. Due to the majority of Hmong sellers at the Hmong Market, moving to the night market at 4pm in order to continue selling their products. Here the Hmong sellers represent 73 percent of the total vendors. Lao Theung, Yao, Tai Dam only represents 7 percent with Lue and Lao Lum making up the remaining 20 percent. At the handicraft market, most of the Hmong sellers come from Ban Muang Nga, Naviengkham, Nasamphan, Khuathineung, Kokva, Thabosoth, Pongkham and Naxang Veuang Villages. The normal Lao Sung population occupied 119 sellers or 69, 18 (%) who has moved from the countryside to live in Luang Prabang town because of two Lao government policies and their own aspiration. The first policy is to stop the cultivation of the poppy in order to reduce opium production among minority groups in Lao PDR. The second policy is to reduce the slash and burn shifting cultivation. Hmong ethnic groups have a desire for their children to study in a more civilized, urban environment like Luang Prabang, and want to have a better life in the city despite government effort to develop rural areas, which has received considerable international assistance.

Therefore, due to a rush in immigration from rural areas to the city (Luang Prabang town), between 1990 and 2002, the Lao government made efforts to develop four out of eleven districts in Luang Prabang province. The four districts are Luang Prabang, Pak Ou, Pak Xeng and Phone Xay; and with the assistance of the EU project, they will also develop the Chomphet and Viengkham districts.

Focusing on Luang Prabang town, the Hmong population is scattered throughout the city and their lives are related to tourism in direct and indirect ways. For instance, directly, they become sellers at Handicraft market or become employees at restaurants and guesthouses; and indirectly, they become taxi drivers, Tuk Tuk drivers or Sam Lo

(three wheeled motorbike) drivers. About 12 percent of the Lao Sung population lives in Ban Nongkham village, Ban Phabath Tai village, Ban Done Kang village, and Ban Saylom village. Ban Muang Nga, the protected area of Luang Prabang town, became the most populous area for the Lao Sung with 30 percent of all sellers at the Handicraft market living there.

Hmong sellers are mainly middle-aged women, between 38 and 45 years old, who already have families. However, there are also many sellers aged between 50 and 60 years old selling their handicraft products. The reason why there are many middle aged women selling at this market is because women aged over 41 start to abandon hard work (like farming) for light work, which does not require much energy, like sewing clothes and embroidery. On the other hand, some Lao Sung women under the age of twenty also work at the market, helping their mothers or sisters sell products during the school holidays and sometimes having their own stall. The young sellers seem to speak several languages, such as English, Japanese and Thai; and are able to greet tourists in many others, which they learn from school and sometimes from tourists. In addition to this, they make use of their own language while communicating with customers and calling for the tourists' attention in order to sell their products.

When talking about their main jobs, most of the Lao Sung women working at the market considered it to be selling. However, 70% of them also did embroidery which they considered as their second job. Moreover, they still work cultivating rice, gardening, teaching, and also study while working as a saleswomen too. Some Hmong saleswomen began working in 1994, before the Luang Prabang's nomination as a World Heritage Site, however, since the number of sellers have increased yearly. Some saleswomen (around 40%) do not have any helpers because their children are still too young and family members in the house are working somewhere else. However, a few Hmong saleswomen got help from their spouse in terms of carrying products from their house to the market and picking them up after work.

All the ethnic groups (including Hmong sellers, Lue sellers, and Lao Thueng sellers) at the handicraft market who do not receive any help for making products do not do so

for many reasons: First, members of their family have other work to do. Second, selling at the market is small business, which sometimes earns little profit. However, some sellers can make a substantial income which can support the whole family. Some sellers stated, 'they made a profit but they spent it on their children's education'. The third reason is that sellers' children are too young to be able to help their mothers or their children are all boys.

For the production of handicraft products at the handicraft market, only about 30% of Hmong sellers made products at home using the Lao Sung style. There were 30 sellers who were Lao Lum, who made products based on the Lao style. About 40 sellers buy already made products, and 70% of sellers sold products of mixed origin, while 30% of all sellers made products at home. The handicrafts market is a place where the ethnic groups (Lao Lum, Lao Sung and Lao Thueng) display and utilize their culture by interpreting it into products (handicraft products) to sell to tourists. The handicraft products which are available for tourists that gain their attention the most are the Hmong handicraft products; products from the Lao Lue ethnic group and the Thai Dam ethnic group, such as silk products, Lao cotton shirts, wood carvings, accessories, jewellery, Sar paper, pictures paintings of the cultural heritage sceneries of Luang Prabang, as well as food. Around 28% of the sellers made the products at home-especially Lao Sung sellers. Some Lao Lum sellers also made Lao Sung products. Of all the market traders, about 490 are Lao Sung, who makes products in the Lao Sung style. Of particular interest to tourists is the Lao Sung Skirts, Lao Sung blankets and bed covers, which were sold at good prices.

The products of each ethnic group are distinctive with individual features depending on their skills, ideas, designs, and methods of producing the products. For example, the products from the Hmong are hand sewn or embroidered using needles with colored cotton or silk in order to produce as well as to decorate the products. Moreover, they apply the story of their own culture and their own tribe into the piece of sheets incorporating a background of storytelling with the depiction of men and women figures, animals such as tigers, chickens, and buffalos, as well as plants, houses, wells, rice motors or rice mills using human labor to grind the rice and extract

the rice from its husk. Each character in the story is embroidered in color cotton according to the nature of the tribes' human ecology and biology. For example, a main character in a story is embroidered as a man wearing Hmong clothes blue long pants and a shirt; wearing his own traditional hat; the female character has more colorful clothes, such as blue skirts, colored shirts and a brightly colored decorated hat; tigers are embroiled in yellow and black and the trees in green. Most characters are hand sewn and put in different positions based on the stages of storytelling. These pieces of clothes are made to decorate blanket covers, used as a decorative sheet for hanging on the wall inside the house, or sometimes made into purses or pencil bags, etc.



Plate 16. Hmong's storytelling embroidery on blanket covers, 2002
Photo by Professor INAGAKI Tsutomu (College of Tourism, Rikkyo University)

The Revolutionary Handicraft Market or Night Market from the year 2001 to 2012.



Plate 17. The pattern of Handicraft Market in the year 2001. Photo by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang



Plate 18. Handicraft Market in 2004, Photo by Department of Tourism and Hotel Management, National University of Laos.



Plate 19. Night Market in 2009, photo taken by Senesathith Simonekeo
The Yao ethnic clothes: Black suit with red scarf hanging in the stall



Plate 20. Night Market in 2011, photo by Senesathith Simonekeo



Plat 21. Sample of traditional clothes for Hmong women.
Photo by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang.



Plate 22. Sample of traditional clothes for Lao Lum women.
Photo by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang.

The Lue people is classified in the Lao Lum ethnic groups. However the language of the Lue people is rather different from that of the Lao Lum. The Lue ethnic groups, who are sellers of products at handicraft market, mainly come from Ban Phanom Village, a weaving village, which is about ten kilometers from the center city.



Plate 23. Products by the Lue ethnic group from Ban Phanom, a weaving village.
Photo by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang town.

Plate 23 shows a sample of hand made products by the Lue ethnic groups. The Lao Lum people and the Lao Lue ethnic groups prefer to make products related to daily use such as their hand woven traditional clothes made with Lao silk. The traditional handicrafts of Lue ethnic groups sold to tourists at the handicraft market include Lao traditional scarves, Lao cotton shirts and T-shirts (are popular products at this market), Lao traditional skirts called ‘Sinh’, and hand woven sheets. Most of the products made by the Lue ethnic group are of interest to Thai tourists, who buy them for souvenirs and consider Lao silk beautiful and cheap compared to Thai silk. The patterns for weaving vary; some are simple, while others complex. For example, the creation of traditional Lao patterns for scarves. This creation is based on two steps: first, taking the old or traditional patterns of the scarves to be woven. Then, second, mixing and adding new colors and new patterns while weaving. The products are colorful and of a high quality. Moreover, the patterns for scarves are uniquely Luang Prabang style, and

different to those from other provinces in Lao PDR. Thus, tourists like to buy the scarves as souvenirs.



Plate 24. Weaving methods of Lao traditional scarves with the Lue ethnic group and Lao Lum people. Photo taken by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang town.



Plate 25. Other handicraft products made by Lao Lum people.
Photo taken by House of Heritage in Luang Prabang town.

At the Handicraft market, there are Thai Dam saleswomen who come from Mueang Sing District in Luangnamtha province. They wear their own traditional clothes and

speak in a different language to the Hmong and Lao Lue people. There are around 30 sellers from the Thai Dam ethnic groups at this market. They travel between Luangnumtha and Luang Prabang in order to sell their products to tourists at this market. When they come to Luang Prabang, they rent low cost accommodation and after their products sell out they go back to Luangnumtha. In regard to the sale of goods, there are some inconveniences; during the rainy season the roofs of stalls are not strong and cannot withstand the strong wind and rain.

6.2.5 Art Performances

An example of art performance that tourists can observe in Luang Prabang is the theater-play. The performance is based on traditional dances but the dancers have integrated new styles into the performance. For example the composition of new music and song lyrics in order to persuade, entertain and attract the audience. Another example is Lao traditional dancing. There are many types of dance, and dancers have also invented new dance performances by mixing the traditional ways of dancing with new techniques. This has resulted in attractive spectacles, such as Sao-Lao Muan Suen's dance performance and Sieng Toey Jark Thong Na, which can be seen as invented culture.

Along with the arts performance, there is local song writing, which incorporate cultural heritage, using locals for tourism purposes. The methods of composing a song by mixing and adding the old melodies with new lyrics, creating newly invented songs to use for tourist activities during the art performances of Nang Keo Dancing, in theater plays, to play in restaurants or even to sell to the locals themselves.

Nang Kaeo Dancing, a traditional Lao cultural dance is being utilized for tourist performance. It is considered as a special dancing performance of Luang Prabang and mainly available in this city only in Lao PDR. The Nang Kaeo Dance was created in the fourteenth century to honor Queen Kaeo Keng Ya or Kaeo Nhot Fa, the daughter of the King of Lane Xang. Ever since, the dance has been known by the name of the queen. Formerly, the dance was performed once a year, for the occasion of Pi Mai Lao

New Year, at the royal court. Nowadays, the Nang Kaeo dance is performed for visitors, tourists and the people of Luang Prabang in front of the new Phabang temple or in the courtyard of the neighboring Wat May Soubannaphoum Aram, usually in the evening of the second day of the New Year. It is a very slow and solemn dance. The dancers wear a long sinh (Lao traditional skirt) and a light blue narrow cloak studded with golden stars. They sport a golden crown. Formerly, they were members of the Royal Ballet and were recruited mostly from Phanom village. Nowadays, the Nang Kaeo, whose name has become a synonym of celestial beings, are students from various art school.

6.3 Conclusion

The relationship between tourists (outsiders) and locals proves the notion of 'heritage value' in the study of cultural heritage tourism. The case studies above shown the intentional and unintentional interaction of tourists with local cultures, (which is akin to them entering a cultural theme park in Luang Prabang as living heritage in the town) both traditional and invented culture, such as the housing styles, the Tak Bath, the Lao New Year and Hmong New Year as well as the ethnic handicraft products. On the other hand, the interactions or invasion of tourist numbers creates a situation or the cause of nation buildings and invented traditions, 'heritage value' and edutainment. However, from mediated ethnicity and the aspect of tourism, tourism is the driving force for the enhancement of cooperation between tourism stakeholders and ethnic groups. Tourists ensure the government supports them by understanding local culture like 'heritage value'.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This chapter will provide a summary of the research results and discussion based on the main ideas explained in the previous chapters. The summary is based on the three main points: the relationship between ‘heritage value’ and tourism in Luang Prabang, the contribution of ‘heritage value’ to the tourism industry in Luang Prabang and the future of heritage and tourism in Luang Prabang.

7.1 The Relationship between ‘Heritage Value’ and Tourism in Luang Prabang

The new notion of ‘heritage value’ comes from a relationship between human beliefs towards religion, which they respect. This relationship is divided into two layers based on the people who believe in a religion (e.g. Buddhism, Christianity). For example, Buddhism, demonstrates ‘heritage value’ as follows: the first layer is the relationship between the monks and the Buddha’s image, the relationship created between laypeople and the monks - laypeople and Buddha’s images, while the second layer, is the interaction between tourists and the local culture.

The first layer is the closest attachment, by monks in regard to the Buddha’s image, which is expressed by the monks’ chanting inside the temple every evening. Also this layer is expressed by laypeople praying to the Buddha’s images in a serious and non-serious manner. Serious prayers are carried out by those who used to belong to the monkhood and know about the Buddhist teachings through studies of religious theory. Moreover, the people who believe in the sanctity of the Buddha’s image are also considered as those who strictly believe in Buddhism, thus those who travel on a pilgrimage to a tourist site are also considered serious tourists. On the other hand, those considered as non-serious are the people who visit a temple with friends or family.

The second layer is the relationship between tourists and local culture (the relationship is expressed mainly through Buddhist activities. UNESCO has recognized Buddhism as a part of Luang Prabang and Lao PDR’s culture; therefore, this study of Buddhism

as its reference. The relationship is identified by ‘an observation made by tourists while they visit a cultural heritage site or while making a pilgrimage’. Some tourists are interested in local culture as they can experience new experiences by observing the ways in which locals interact with to each other and how locals keep practicing traditional cultures. Sometimes, serious pilgrims’ will behave in accordance with the first two layers. For example, tourists participate in alms giving and pray to Buddha in the temple. However, not all tourists will take note of religious practices in the local sphere. Tourists want to know and experience new places which are named as World Cultural Heritage Sites, so they travel to cultural heritage sites and enter local communities intentionally or unintentionally during what is perhaps a random visitation or possibly in transit to other sites.

7.2 The Contribution of ‘Heritage Value’ to the Tourism Industry of Luang Prabang

‘Heritage value’ does not only contribute to the local economy in terms of providing employment, it also increases the income to local people, who are involved in heritage and the tourism industry. Tourism activities can support the development of the agriculture industry, transportation, the telecommunication industry, trade-investment as well as other service sector industries in Luang Prabang. (In the year 2010, the GDP growth rate was 11.5% with an average yearly/monthly income of 821 US dollars per person in Luang Prabang province, with a population of 429,924 people (Xaysompheang, 2010)).

In order to improve the local economy, it is necessary to utilize heritage properties and ‘heritage value’ to attract tourists, (for instance, ethnic vendors at the Night Market, hotel and guesthouse owners, and local food sellers for the alms giving ceremony). These are activities which locals created by utilizing ‘heritage value’ in order to attract tourists, to boost the local economy and to sustain the local culture.

With the development of the tourism industry, the number of tourists who visit cultural heritage sites have steadily increased. This further illustrates the existence of cultural heritage and tourism as a factor that has contributed to the local economy. The

measurement is the rising number of tourists and revenues from tourism (e.g. in 1997, there were 62,000 tourists, in 2005 there were 261,950 tourists, in 2010, there were 216,864 international tourists (excluding 1,084,320 domestic tourists) visited Luang Prabang increasing the revenue to more than 130 million US dollars (Xaysompheang, 2010:14). However, the number of tourists focused on various products in the tourism industry, including nature, culture and adventure. Amongst these, culture was the main interest for tourists who were visiting Luang Prabang. Therefore, along with the increasing tourist numbers, there is also evidence of the development of tourism in terms of the number of hotels and guesthouses in Luang Prabang (e.g. in 1997, there were 29 hotels and guesthouses, with 7 travel agencies; in 2010, there were 245 Hotels and Guesthouses with 43 travel agencies and tour operators (Xaysompheang 2010).

On the other hand, the contribution of 'heritage value' to a local economy as well as to the tourism industry of Luang Prabang is expressed by tourists' consumption of local cultures. Tourist interaction in 'heritage value' can be identified by the tourists' activities of visiting to temples, the monks' praying inside temple, the Lao New Year ceremony, the Tak Bath ceremony, the purchasing of hand made products from ethnic groups at night markets and some souvenir shops, and tourists staying at guesthouses and hotels, which have been transformed by locals' into heritage properties or traditional houses.

'Heritage Value' is a useful notion to explain the culture of heritage tourism in Luang Prabang, to support the increasing local economy and to sustain local culture by utilizing 'heritage value' to attract tourists. Moreover, the framework of 'heritage value' is a new model, which contributes to research already found in the field of cultural heritage tourism studies.

7.3 The Future of Heritage and Tourism in Luang Prabang

Based on the context of tourism development and the heritage of Luang Prabang town, concerns have been raised in regard to the preservation of cultural heritage in a sustainable way. Regardless whether development is outside the boundary of the heritage zone, such as a new golf course, the heritage town is under threats due to the reduction of natural landscape. Moreover, there is a plan to build a new road from Luang Prabang to Xayabouli by the government, to provide better convenience, thus,

resulting in additional threats to the quiet landscape of Luang Prabang town. Therefore, the heritage city of Luang Prabang is changing its atmosphere from what was a peaceful and sacred city, into a town geared towards the relaxation of visitors.

According to the business investors, Luang Prabang possesses a long-term potential for attracting tourists. Currently, there is business enterprises related tourism, such as hotels, guesthouses, resorts, restaurants, travel agencies and tour operators, massage shops, which are impacting on other services and creating further benefits for the economy. Moreover, in Luang Prabang, there are other tourist attractions such as natural sites (32), historical sites (6) and cultural sites (32) near the World Heritage site of Luang Prabang, and with further improvements to roads, tourists can access them more easily. Therefore, many business investors predict that Luang Prabang has excellent potential in terms of long term revenues from tourism industry.

The future of 'heritage value' exists through the locals. However, the new generation may not seriously practice traditional culture, leading to a hybrid culture or changed heritage values. This can happen when the younger generations are not well trained in Buddhist teachings at the temples; moreover, they perceive new cultures from foreigners through interaction with tourists and the mass media. In turn, it is easy to forget the origins of traditional culture and enjoy a new modern life (the 'New Thinking' ideology).

The preservation of heritage as well as 'heritage value' might face some difficulties due to two contrasting trends in tourism development (modernization) and the preservation of World Heritage Sites. As stated by Dearborn (2010) in the book *'Inconvenient Heritage: Erasure and Global Tourism in Luang Prabang'*, this statement is also provided by the UNESCO's office which Luang Prabang become uncomfortable town while this town is developing. There are locals who do not benefit from the tourism industry, creating a gap between the rich and poor; and this is also true to some extent for the business investors themselves, because they know that Luang Prabang is a cultural heritage town and that visitors go there to experience the city's heritage products. Therefore, if the value of heritage in the town diminishes or disappears, it will affect the number of visitors and Luang Prabang's reputation in general. This will, in turn, affect the whole mechanism of tourism in Luang Prabang,

especially for business investors, as it is as a result of tourists that they are able to receive an income. Without tourists, business cannot survive.

Finally, even though the notion ‘heritage value’ has been affected by the tourism industry, the desire to preserve this value is still strong and will not be eradicated easily from the local community. This is largely due to the local people (laypeople) and their strong belief in the sacredness of the Pha Bang image and their continuous practice of traditional culture each day. In this way, the Lao culture will always be attached to the local community in many ways. That being said, the values of cultural heritage will continue to change as it depends if tourism development continues, as the town of Luang Prabang receives more visitors, the town will suffer from touristification, which results due to revenues from tourism.

In regard to heritage preservation, the future seems equally mixed. It has been argued that a lack of education on heritage values for local residents has resulted in tourism benefits and the perception of heritage is closely following after it. Tourism earnings and employment have been the most tangible benefit to ensue from Luang Prabang’s World Heritage status. At the same time, however, these economic benefits and their related socio-cultural impacts also contribute to the erosion of traditional values, of heritage and intangible heritage, therefore which can lead to the changing of the nature and physical form of the towns’ tangible heritage.

The complexity of development cannot be underestimated; moreover, improved living standards and the preservation of cultural heritage and ‘heritage value’ are important. Economic development and heritage preservation can also have a combined effect, in terms of local people that gain greater wealth and experiences from tourism. Consequently, they also gain economic advantages and better educational to support both in the preservation of heritage buildings and the continuation of traditional culture. Hence, the future of heritage and ‘heritage value’ in Luang Prabang will be defined by the level to which officials, heritage managers, and communities support greater education and awareness, building the image of intangible heritage’s, in such a way, that will not depress modern economic growth against heritage preservation.

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Lao PDR / SNV World

<http://www.snvworld.org/en/countries/laos/Pages/default.aspx>

Lao Tourism Organization

www.laotourism.org

Tourism in Laos: Sabaidee Laos – Welcome to Laos’ Official Tourism Website

www.tourismlaos.org

Ecotourism in Laos – by the Lao National Tourism Administration

www.ecotourismlaos.com

JICA – ASEAN LPP Tourism Promotion Component

<http://www.lpptourism.org/nl1210.html>

Appendix 1

The Terms of Fieldwork Research in Luang Prabang City, Lao PDR And Research Interview Questions

<p>Fieldwork research is divided into two periods:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Period I: February 2011 - May 2011 ◆ Period II: December 2011- January 2012 	
<p><u>Research Activities in the First Fieldwork I</u></p> <p>Starting from February 2011, the researcher conducted activities for secondary data and Primary data collection in Vientiane and in Luang Prabang, Lao PDR. The data collection method included visiting and interviewing officers from many governmental and non-governmental organizations in Vientiane and Luang Prabang. Activities are listed as follows:</p>	
<p>Activities in Vientiane, Lao PDR</p>	
<p>First - Second week in February, 2011</p>	1. Visited the Department of Tourism and Hotel Management in National University of Laos
	2. Visited the LNTA (Lao National Tourism Administration)
	3. Visited the UNESCO Office in Ministry of Information and Culture
	4. Visited the Tourism Business Association
	5. Visited the Hotel-Guesthouse Association
<p>Activities in Luang Prabang, Lao PDR</p>	
<p>Third week in February to the second week in May, 2011</p>	1. Visited the Luang Prabang Provincial Tourism Office
	2. Visited the Maison du Patrimoine of UNESCO (or House of Heritage) in Luang Prabang
	3. Visited the SNV (Netherlands Development Organization) for Luang Prabang
	4. Visited the National Museum in Luang Prabang
	5. Visited Luang Prabang National University
	6. Visited The Urban Development Administration Authority (UDAA) of Luang Prabang
	7. Visited the Department of Communication Transport Post and Construction (MCTPC) of Luang Prabang
	8. Visited owners of tourism related businesses in Luang Prabang, such as owners of hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, handicraft & souvenir shops.
	9. Made contact with local household's ethnic groups in preparation for interview and participant observation
	10. Participant observation and conduction of interviews with heads of villages from 10 selected villages and local people from several ethnic groups: Hmong, Lao Lum, and Lao Thueng.

	<p>11. Returned to Japan and reported preliminary findings from the fieldwork to the supervisors. Modified the fieldwork plan according to advice from the supervisors. Reviewed the survey methods with the AIC assistant professor who was scheduled to visit in May. (Contacted professors and AIC assistance professor via emails or telephone calls from Japan to Laos)*</p> <p>12. Revisited the field work sites and discussed major findings from the fieldwork with local counterparts</p> <p>13. Returned to Japan and continued writing dissertation</p>
	<p><u>Research Activities in the First Fieldwork II</u></p> <p>From December 2011 to January 2012. This period of research involved revisiting the fieldwork site and conducting in-depth interviews with further questions in order to get a deeper and a wider understanding of the research. Research time was quite short but productive.</p>
<p><u>Research questions</u></p>	<p>The aim of this research is to investigate the model of tourism in Luang Prabang by studying the local community's subjective contribution to tourism development in Luang Prabang in accordance with the local government's directions. Therefore, in order to fulfill tasks for this research, the following questions should be answered:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is the history of ethnic groups involved in tourism development in Luang Prabang? 2. What are the contributions of ethnic minorities to tourism development in Luang Prabang? 3. And what are the effects of tourism on ethnic minorities in Luang Prabang? 4. How do they perceive tourism development after the government moved them to live in the city? 5. What is the newly invented value by locals affect tourism in Luang Prabang city? 6. How do locals utilize heritage value to attract tourists? 7. How do tourists perceive the values of heritage in Luang Prabang city? 8. How do locals perceive the importance of tourism in Luang Prabang city? 9. How do they feel about the tourists and the status of Luang Prabang as a World Heritage Site?

Appendix 2

ສາທາລະນະລັດ ປະຊາທິປະໄຕ ປະຊາຊົນລາວ
ສັນຕິພາບ ເອກະລາດ ປະຊາທິປະໄຕ ເອກະພາບ ວັດທະນາຖາວອນ
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ກະຊວງສຶກສາທິການ
ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລແຫ່ງຊາດ
ຄະນະວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມ

ເລກທີ.....ຄວຄ/ 2011
ວັນທີ.....// 2011

ໜັງສືສະເໜີ

ຮຽນ: ທ່ານ ຫົວໜ້າອົງການພັດທະນາ ແລະ ບໍລິຫານຕົວເມືອງຫຼວງພະບາງ
ເລື່ອງ : ຂໍສຳພາດ ແລະ ຂໍເອກະສານທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງກັບຫົວຂໍ້ຄົ້ນຄວ້າ

ອີງຕາມ : - ຄວາມຈຳເປັນໃນການຍົກລະດັບຄວາມຮູ້ຂອງອາຈານພາຍໃນຄະນະຄວຄ
- ຄວາມຕ້ອງການຂໍ້ມູນຕ່າງໆເພື່ອປະກອບເຂົ້າໃນການຮຽນ, ການຂຽນບົດລາຍງານວາລະສານ
ວິຊາການ ແລະ ບົດວິທະຍານິພົນຂອງນັກສຶກສາລະດັບປະລິນຍາເອກ

ຄະນະບໍດີຄະນະວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມ, ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລແຫ່ງຊາດ ຂໍຖືເປັນກຽດຮຽນສະເໜີ
ມາຍັງທ່ານ ເພື່ອອະນຸຍາດໃຫ້ ອາຈານ ນາງ ສິມອນແກ້ວ ແສນສະຖິດ ຈາກພາກວິຊາການທ່ອງທ່ຽວ ແລະ
ການໂຮງແຮມປະຈຳຄະນະວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມ. ປະຈຸບັນກຳລັງສຶກສາລະດັບປະລິນຍາເອກຢູ່ມະຫາວິທະ
ຍາໄລ ລິກກຽວ (Rikkyo University), ປະເທດຍີ່ປຸ່ນ ເພື່ອຂໍສຳພາດ ແລະ ຂໍເອກະສານທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງ
ກັບຫົວຂໍ້ຄົ້ນຄວ້າ: “Newly Invented Value by Locals Affect Tourism in Luang Prabang”
(ຄຸນຄ່າທາງດ້ານວັດທະນາທຳທີ່ສ້າງຂຶ້ນໃໝ່ໂດຍປະຊາຊົນ ທ້ອງຖິ່ນຕໍ່ກັບການທ່ອງທ່ຽວຢູ່ຫຼວງພະບາງ).

ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ຈຶ່ງຮຽນສະເໜີມາຍັງທ່ານເພື່ອຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ແລະ ພິຈາລະນາຕາມຄວາມເໝາະສົມດ້ວຍ
ຮຽນມາດ້ວຍຄວາມນັບຖືຢ່າງສູງ
ຄະນະບໍດີ

Definition of Terms

1. **Culture**, in the form of anthropological studies ‘or civilization, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’, Edward Tylor, 1871 (Monaghan, J., 2000:35).
 - Another former famous scholar, Franz Boas, defined the term thus: ‘Culture embraces all the manifestations of social behaviour of a community, the reactions of the individuals as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives, and the product of human activities as determined by these habits’ Franz Boas, 1930.
 - **Culture** is ‘the integral whole consisting of implements and consumer goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs. Whether we consider a very simple or primitive culture or an extremely complex and developed one, we are confronted by a vast apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual, by which man is able to cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him’, Bronislaw Malinowski, 1944.
 - **Culture** is ‘neither natural nor artificial. It stems from neither genetics nor rational thought, for it is made up of rules of conduct, which were not invented and whose function is generally not understood by the people who obey them. Some of these rules are residues of traditions acquired in the different types of social structure through which, each human group has passed. Other rules have been consciously accepted or modified for the sake of specific goals. Yet there is not doubt that, between the instincts inherited from our genotype and the rules inspired by reason, the mass of unconscious rules remains more important and more effective; because reason itself is a product rather than a cause of cultural evolution’ Claude Levi-Strauss, 1983. (Monaghan, J. and Just, P., 2000)
 - Culture is the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively. Culture refers to the ideas, customs, and social behavior of a particular people or society (Oxford English Dictionary).
2. **Cultural Heritage** is the creative expression of a people’s existence in the past, near past and present that has been passed on to the present generation by the past generations. It tells us of the traditions, the beliefs and the achievements of a country and its people. (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006).
 - The meaning of the term ‘cultural heritage’ has evolved over the last decades. Originally, it referred only to masterpieces of artistic and historic value; now it is used more broadly and covers everything that has a particular significance to people. (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006)
3. **Heritage** may be simply defined as the legacy from previous generations (Lomine, L. and Edmunds, J., 2007). Heritage is selective because heritage refers to elements of the past a society wishes to keep, and not all heritages are what society values; what are desirable to keep are selections from the past. This might be an intention, but society filters heritage through a value system which undoubtedly changes over time and space, and across society (Timothy, D.J. and Boyd, S.W.,

2003).

- **Heritage:** property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance. Valued objects and qualities such as historic buildings and cultural traditions that have been passed down from previous generations (Oxford English Dictionary).
- 4. **(a) Heritage Site** is a specific area or site, which can be as large as a region or landscape, or as small as a building.
- 5. **Heritage Tourism** (sometime called historical tourism) may be defined as a form of **cultural tourism** with a particular focus on **cultural heritage**. (Lomine, L. and Edmunds, J., 2007). In terms of World Cultural Heritage sites, heritage is divided in meaning into tangible and intangible heritage. It fulfils travelers' interest in history and historical attractions such as monuments and sites of important past events, as well as in traditions and their various expressions through the arts or popular lifestyle.
- 6. **(A World) Natural Heritage** consists of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations, which are of outstanding universal value from the aesthetic or scientific point of view; geological and physiographical formations and precisely delineated areas, which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of sciences or conservation.
 - **Natural Sites** or precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science, conservation or natural beauty. (Cultural and Natural Heritage are defined in Article 1 and 2 of the World Heritage Convention). (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006: 2-6)
- 7. **Living Heritage**, as opposed to dead sites, includes heritage sites that are still being used by local communities. Examples of living heritage include historic towns and centers and religious sites, such as, mosques, temples, shrines, churches, etc. (UNESCO, 2006:3-10)
- 8. **Native villagers** are those who have settled down and lived for many generations in Luang Prabang city.
- 9. **National Heritage** refers to items produced by mankind or formed by nature that have outstanding cultural, historical or natural value, thereby becoming precious assets and property of the Lao national community, some of which are adopted as regional and world heritage.
- 1. **National Heritage** consists of cultural, historical and natural heritage existing in the form of tangible objects, intangible rites, moveable or immoveable property, and living or non-living organisms, reflecting the history of the Lao nation and the Lao people in each different era. (SIPHANDON, Khamtai. *The Law on National Heritage (Lao Version)*. Vientiane: The Law Committee of the National Assembly of the Lao PDR, 2005).
- 10. **Outstanding Universal Value:** Cultural and/or natural significance, which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 2005).
- 11. **Personal Heritage:** Aspects of the region that have value and significance to individual people or groups of people present within the settings.
- 12. **(a) UNESCO World Heritage Site:** Listed cultural and natural heritage sites that are considered to be of outstanding universal value to humanity. A site becomes a

World Heritage site when it is inscribed on to the UNESCO World Heritage List for its **outstanding universal value**. (UNESCO and Institute for Tourism Studies (IFT), Macao SAR, 2006)

13. **World Heritage sites** are the testimony to the natural wealth of the earth and the cultural excellence of humankind. They represent the best and most important examples of our cultural and natural heritage. By focusing on World Heritage sites, we are protecting our most valuable heritage.