

CHAPTER III

CULTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND TOURIST DEVELOPMENT POLICY AS TECHNOLOGY OF POWER

Even though Luang Prabang had been the capital city of the Lan Xang kingdom, it is located in the deep, rough, forest mountain, difficult to reach and far from the modern cities. Its population is sparse with average of 24 persons per one square kilometer (Lao government, 2006), and its prior economic development base is agriculture. However, most of the land is defined as unused land. In the whole area of Luang Prabang province, there are only 77,000 acres of arable land, mainly along the riverbanks and the low valleys. From this number, swiddening areas, the widest arable land, covers 17,350 acres (Lao government 2000-2005, 2005a).

This geographical domination, low population level, and a self-sufficient economy in the surrounding areas meant that Luang Prabang never developed into an important economic pole on a regional scale. Furthermore, the absence of a sizeable foreign trader's quarter in Luang Prabang indicates the comparative lack of trade. This surrounding has always restricted its economic progress, and the living standard of its people remains low. People living in this self-sufficient province have a long tradition of working hard. To fight against poverty, and mainly to eradicate slash and burn for agriculture, the provincial government has had to find out another way to enhance an alternative economy (Lao government, 2005b). Since the government had faced challenges of agricultural economic difficulty, it began efforts to strengthen tourist development by encouraging the heritage site to become a place of tourist attraction.

Despite the difficulty of economic development, Luang Prabang coexists with its complicated history, excellent ancient heritage, and is covered by a rich green forest, which can be promoted as various tourist destinations. Especially, in Luang Prabang city there rich architectural temples, vernacular, Western and Vietnamese architecture and compounds with rich in nature, nestled in a green forest and located at the confluence of the Mekong and Nam Khan Rivers. Luang Prabang people also have a unique culture with many activities associated with their space. Moreover, Luang Prabang can also be reached by international air flight, the Mekong River, and

by road No. 13. From these landscapes and their geographical importance, the provincial government attempted to plan Luang Prabang as a tourist center linking province it with northern Laos (Lao government, 2003b).

To the same extent, since 1986, Lao PDR has introduced the Innovation Policy called “*Nayobai Chintanakan Mai.*” which is a catalyst opening the country to the global economic market. The government has made large efforts to establish development strategies aiming to eradicate poverty through many programs and projects. As a result of implementation of this new method of economic development, there has been a boom in construction and a number of other changes in other parts of Laos, such as in Vientiane, Savanakheth and Champasak. In doing so, the Lao government and UNESCO perceive that the features of the ancient Royal City are going to disappear. In other words, the cultural heritage would be devoured by this modernization. The main reasons, which the Lao government and UNESCO worry about very much, are changes of local livelihood strategies, which have pertained to this ancient space for thousands of years. This action prompted the Lao government and UNESCO to find another way to protect Luang Prabang City as a heritage city and as a tourist attraction site. In order to ensure that Luang Prabang heritage exists, the government issued various appointments, decrees and decisions while conducting many projects. However, Luang Prabang residents are different in group structure, and have different assets, occupations and ways of life. They may have different opportunities and different impacts in dealing with the new government policy (UNESCO, 1996).

This chapter explores the characteristics of conservation policies and their contribution to Lao development, and examines which measures the Lao government and UNESCO are taking to protect Luang Prabang’s heritage and promotion of tourist development, and how they convince local people to co-operate in the implementation of cultural heritage conservation and tourism development policy. Finally, this chapter explores how this policy creates positive and negative impacts or advantages and disadvantages for different groups of people.

3.1 Characteristic of Conservation Policies and their Contribution to Lao

Development

3.1.1 UNESCO's Programme on World Heritage Conservation

Perceiving that historical monuments, archaeological sites, traditional towns and villages, cultural landscapes, rituals, traditional performing arts and music of Asia and Pacific are under threat, UNESCO acknowledged that both these tangible and intangible expressions of Asian and Pacific history and culture are of immeasurable value to its people and are also of immense interest and appeal to visitors. UNESCO's World Heritage mission's purpose is to:

- Encourage countries to sign the World Heritage Convention and to ensure the protection of their natural and cultural heritage;
- Encourage States Parties to the Convention to nominate sites within their national territory for inclusion on the World Heritage List;
- Encourage States Parties to establish management plans and set up reporting systems on the state of conservation of their World Heritage sites;
- Help States Parties safeguard World Heritage properties by providing technical assistance and professional training;
- Provide emergency assistance for World Heritage sites in immediate danger;
- Support States Parties' public awareness-building activities for World Heritage conservation;
- Encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage;
- Encourage international cooperation in the conservation of our world's cultural and natural heritage.

(UNESCO, 1999a)

UNESCO also assumes that tourism can generate financial support to fund the revitalization of historical buildings and conservation areas. Through tourism development, lost traditions, arts and cultural practices can be revived, and tourism also can provide the impetus for artisans to continue their traditional handicrafts, and provide new livelihood opportunities for large numbers of local people. However, UNESCO acknowledges that tourism is a double edged sword, and doesn't always create positive impacts on the local people's lives, but robs a community of its

ancestral heirlooms, undermines its traditional cultural values and alters the physical character of a tourism destination through inappropriate development and infrastructure (UNESCO, 1999a).

To make sure that future generations are able to access their authentic heritage and, at the same time, provide reasons and motivation for visitors to come to attraction sites of the Asia-Pacific region, UNESCO assumes that tourism, for UNESCO and host countries, plays a driving force for the conservation of the tangible and intangible cultural and natural heritage aspects of the Asian-Pacific region. If tourism does not contribute to the conservation of regional environments, cultures and traditions, then there will be no place for tourism in the future development of the region. Therefore, if all stakeholders, including local and international stakeholders, work together, it will effectively safeguard the wide range of heritage resources that exist across the region (UNESCO, 1996).

To fulfill its goal of conservation and tourist development strategy, UNESCO's Local Effort and Preservation (LEAP) program and the associated UNESCO project on Culture, Heritage Management and Tourism: Models for Cooperation among Stakeholders, has been designed. The project is a process designed to create sustainable tourism industries in historic towns, implemented with the participation of eight test pilot sites. Luang Prabang is one of these pilot sites. The project emphasizes facilitating dialogue between the tourism industry and encouraging responsibility for the conservation and maintenance of cultural heritage properties. The project addresses how heritage presentation and tourism development activities can simultaneously create new livelihood opportunities and aims to form mutually-beneficial alliances that are both economically profitable and socially acceptable to lead inhabitants and other stakeholders (Fetcher, 2001 and UNESCO, 1999b).

Local stakeholders have developed the project across the region. The project is directed to organize stakeholders, plan tourism, develop products, manage strategy and monitor and evolve the projects implementation. The project sets up models, which aim to open and structure avenues of communication between the tourism industries and those responsible for the conservation and management of cultural heritage properties.

3.1.2 Heritage Management as Technology of Power

3.1.2.1 World Heritage Programme in Luang Prabang

In order to protect the authenticity of Luang Prabang City and make sure that Luang Prabang exists as a heritage site and as a site of tourism attraction, the government, and UNESCO shared the duty of conservation. The government is responsible for preserving intangible heritage, including cultural ceremonies, while UNESCO is responsible for visible heritage, especially architecture. The government, firstly, has begun to legislate Luang Prabang city for UNESCO's listing. Later various regulations were formulated, followed by many cultural heritage conservation projects, including infrastructural improvement and city beautification to make sure that Luang Prabang becomes not only a world heritage city, but a significant service center for the Northern provinces of Laos (UNESCO, 2002a and Lao government, 2003).

To make sure that all Luang Prabang residents proudly take part in participation of cultural heritage conservation, before cultural heritage conservation implementation, the concerned authorities convinced people that, through tourist development policies, local people could encourage their self-sufficient economy and reduce risks associated with livelihood failure. Additionally, through cultural heritage conservation, local people could directly and indirectly receive international assistance in the form of infrastructural improvement and provision of all materials for construction and reconstruction of their heritage, as have been listed for conservation. Before implementing the regulations, they have been disseminated to local people in order to ensure they agree with these regulations (UNESCO, 1999a and Fetcher, 2001).

It is clear that the interest of UNESCO in heritage conservation has influenced the perceptions of government regarding infrastructural improvement and poverty eradication through tourist development. In order to make sure that the existing and potential issues of heritage conservation can be approved by international organizations, the Lao government has, since 1989, begun to create new heritage legislation and established institutions specializing in heritage conservation, with international organizations and with donor countries. However, the process of legislation has already begun since 1987, when the Lao government ratified the world

heritage conservation bill. In order to submit Luang Prabang's dossier for UNESCO's World Heritage listing in 1993 under the Ministry of Information and Culture's domination, the authority for heritage conservation and development had been established. The next year, with support from the French government, the French architectural firm, Ateiers de la Peninsula, was employed to assess existing historical conditions, including vernacular, western and Vietnamese buildings in Luang Prabang (UNESCO, 2004). A few months later, a new urban master plan for Luang Prabang was drawn up by the Vientiane-based institute of technical studies and town planning, along with the Ministry of Communication, Transportation, Post and Construction, and had been approved by the Prime Minister's Office in 1996 (Lao government, 1996). In the same year, the government admitted Luang Prabang as a national heritage site, aiming to use it as for a basis for determining the heritage protection zones and forming part of the supporting documentation for the submission to UNESCO as a world heritage listing. As a result of surveys and assessments of the historical buildings in Luang Prabang, 33 monasteries and 111 private buildings have been listed as heritage buildings. In order to make Luang Prabang city more valuable, the city's natural resources, including trees and ponds, must be protected. Table 3.1 shows the main authorities that are responsible for heritage conservation.

It is important to note that before implementing cultural heritage conservation regulations, the main responsive authorities for this policy implementation (such as the department of communications, transportation, post and construction of Luang Prabang's province, the heritage house and Urban Development Administration Authority (UDA), along with local organizations) have been united. Three of those were found in direct response for cultural heritage conservation, the heritage house in 1996, aiming to ensure that conservation work in Luang Prabang was carried out in accordance with international world heritage standards. It serves as an advisory service to the municipal government and to local organizations, providing advice and management on issues of heritage conservation in Luang Prabang in cooperation with

Table 3.1 Responsibility of Concerned Authorities

Authorities	Responsibilities
1. The Ministry of Communication, Transportation, Post and Construction	Advisor
2. The Department of Communication, Transportation, Post and Construction of Luang Prabang's province	Planning urban in outside UNESCO's protection zone, and redesigns urban infrastructure
3. The Urban Development Administration Authority	Urban infrastructure construction, reconstruction, management, manages construction, and reconstruction of buildings, designs of buildings, environmental management, management of riverbank erosion and flooding, and decoration the city in all areas of UNESCO's protection zones
4. The Heritage House	A local capacity building. Preparing conservation regulation in cooperates with the department of communication, transportation, post and construction and the department of information and culture of Luang Prabang's province, and in implementation of conservation regulation and joint venture between those departments with the French city of Chino.
5. The Local Organization	A coordinator for local people, whenever they find problem in implementing cultural heritage conservation regulations, or whenever they require assistance from concerned authorities. This organization will bring the issues to report or negotiate with concerned authorities

French and Japanese volunteers. The urban development authority and the local organizations were established in 1998 (Lao government, 2005d).

3.1.2.2 Land Use Planning

In order to claim new rights over land use controls to protect cultural heritage (in other words, to replace the former land use regulations), the government and UNESCO attempted to introduce conservation regulations and mapping protection zones. They are also responsible for the architectural, cultural and natural selective process of sites of tourism production and consumption (Nuala, 1999).

According to UNESCO's heritage conservation map, the protection zone covers an area of 78,053 acres that covers all of the peninsula's area and its southern part, ranging across the two riverbanks of the Mekong and Khan rivers, and Phou Thao Phou Nang Mountain (see figure 2 for further discuss). The boundary of the protection zone begins in the north from *ban* Nakham and ranges along the Phou Yhao Phou Nang mountain up to the level of 300 meters high and runs parallel with the Mekong river and reaches *ban* Chan's area. From the east, the boundary line ranges from *ban* Nakham to the Mekong River and across the river to *ban* Phonesaat, and encompasses *ban* Phonesaat, *ban* Phaneluang, and *ban* MuangGna. These three bans are located long the Nam Khan River. From the south, it ranges from *ban* MuangGna, across the Nam Khan River to *ban* Meunna to Phovao hotel. From the west, it ranges from the Phouvao hotel to Wat Phabathtay, which is located on the bank of the Mekong River (Lao government, 2003a).

According to provincial population statistics from 2006, the protection zone includes 31 villages from a total of 62 villages in the whole city (Lao government, 2006a). The zone encompasses a population of 21,288 from a total of 49,200. Really, the area is divided into four zones, including an ancient town zone, a historical town zone, a natural zone, and religious zone. But in fact the area is divided into three zones, because the religious zone is scattered amongst the other three zones and some pieces of the natural zone, such as the wetland area, is also scattered in the ancient town and historical town zones, because all of these four

zones are different in character, and in geographical conditions, and are used for different purposes.

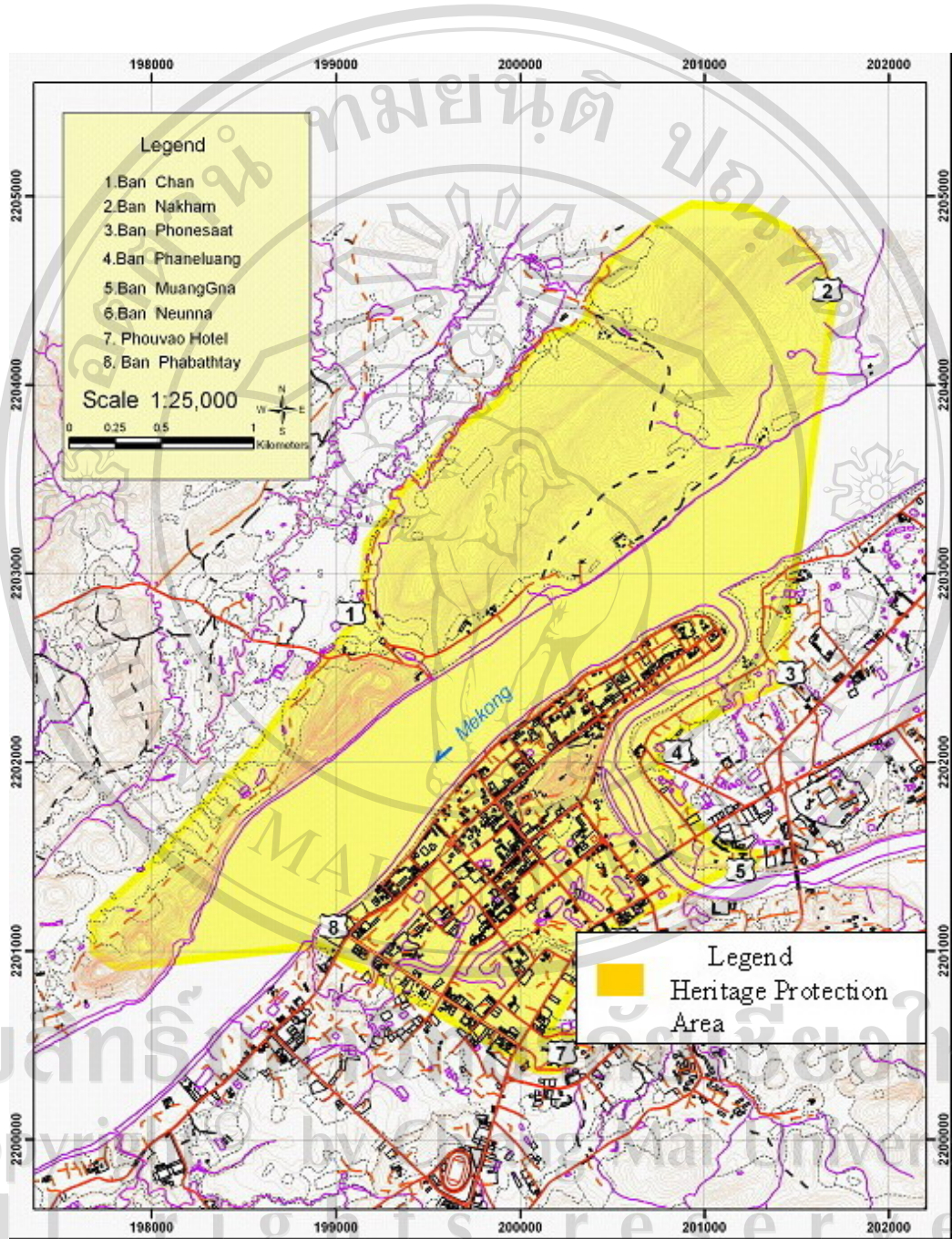


Figure 3.1 Luang Prabang’s Heritage Protection Border

(Source: National Geographic Department, 2007)

Table 3.2 Household Distribution in Heritage Protection Zone

Order	Villages	Households	People	Male	Female	Zones
1	Chiang Thong	40	210	104	106	ZPP-Ua
2	Phone Heuan	96	540	302	238	
3	Watsene	66	479	196	283	
4	Watnong	78	482	293	288	
5	Chiang Moune	60	283	154	129	
6	Choum Khong	68	351	182	169	
7	Khily	42	230	130	100	
8	Pakham	117	697	375	322	
9	Visune	128	667	331	336	
10	Aphay	68	445	184	261	
11	Aham	65	363	188	175	
12	Khamyong	68	317	177	140	
13	Meunna	128	693	324	369	
14	Watthat	67	342	186	152	
15	Hochiang	89	581	310	271	
16	That Bosoth	119	736	378	358	ZPP-Ub
17	Viengsay	95	413	217	196	
18	Muang Gna	321	1928	958	976	
19	Phane Luang	261	1663	881	782	
20	Phonsaat	152	119	426	393	
21	That Luang	189	1052	526	526	
22	Thongchaleuane	60	351	180	161	
23	Phabath	354	1242	656	586	
24	Mano	180	1101	555	546	
25	Phonephaeng	147	791	416	375	
26	Pngkham	205	1215	619	596	
27	Naviengkham	248	1330	679	651	
28	Vieng Keo	79	495	263	232	
29	Xiang Man	82	472	242	230	
30	Nakham	56	340	167	173	
31	Chan	62	359	173	186	
	Total	3672	21078	10772	10303	

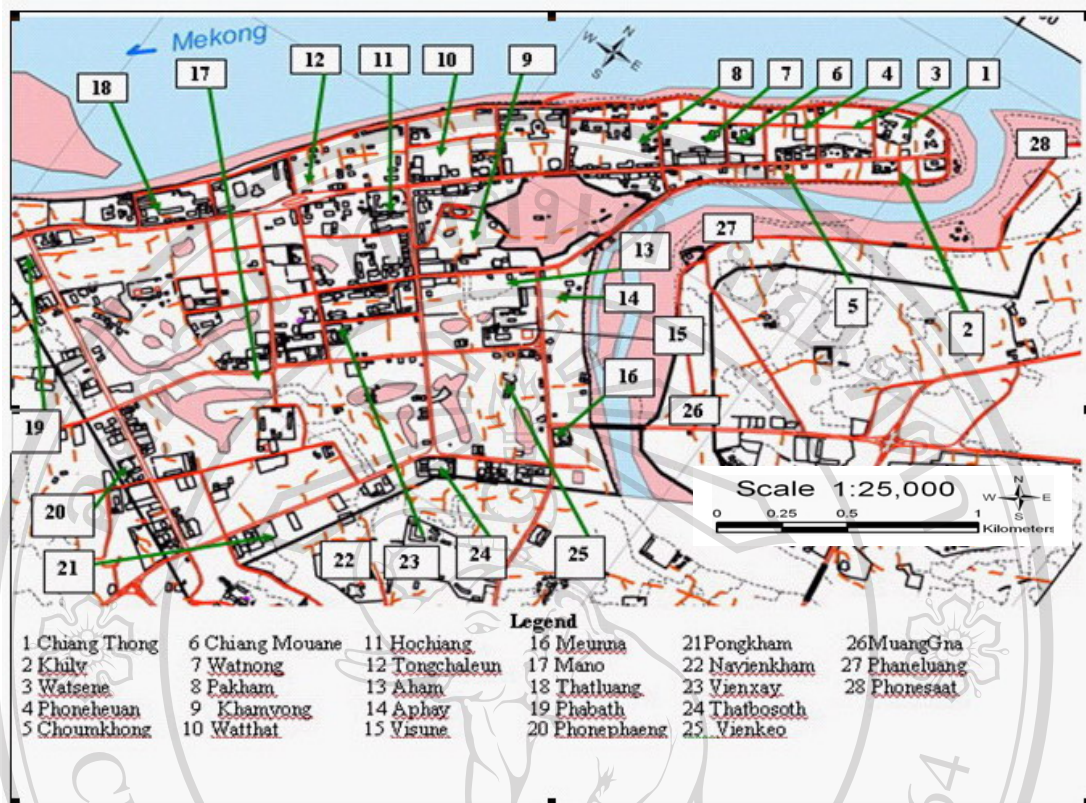


Figure 3.2 Map of village's Administration Border in the Protection Zone

(Source: National Geographic Department, 2007)

According to UNESCO's report (2002), ZPP-Ua is on the peninsular zone, and covers an area of 6,712 acres, containing 15 villages, and with a population of 6,681. The zone covers also natural areas such as the land along the two riverbanks and Phousy Hill. The zone is defined as the ancient town zone with a rich agglomeration of monasteries, vernacular, and nineteenth century colonial styles, Vietnamese, Chinese hybrid architectural buildings constructed with specific construction materials such as bamboo, hard wood, stucco, and torches and is a densely inhabited living area. This zone is also identified as a significant place, functioning as a sacred place, a royal city of the Lan Xang kingdom and a colonial administrative area. This zone must be imposed with strict regulations in order to protect the historical value of the city's landscape, and to manage environmental pollution. To ensure the goal, this zone must be also free from noise pollution, such as from a furniture factory, bar, garage, and also from a tank. The domestic animals must also free from this zone. Factory and storage must be free (UNESCO, 2002b).

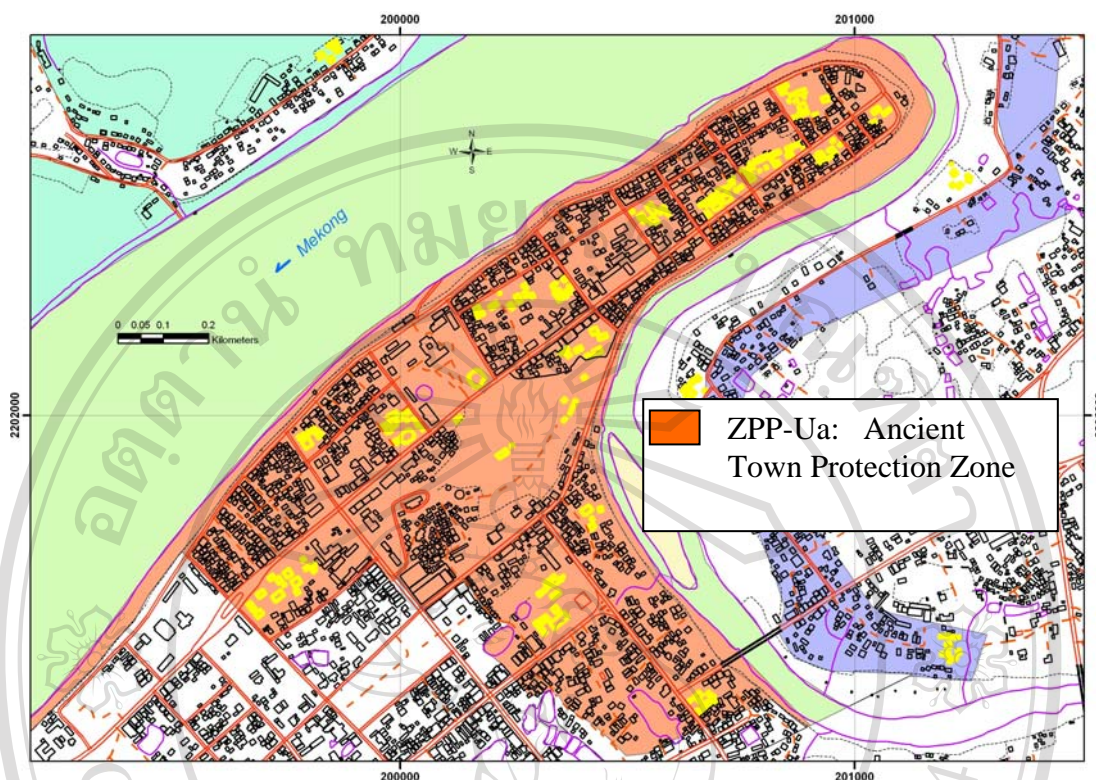


Figure 3.3 Map of Ancient Town Protection Zone

(Source: National Geographic Department, 2007)

ZPP-Ub is divided into three separate parts: the southern part, considered as wetland area, and other parts are located across the banks of the Mekong and Khan rivers. Therefore the zone is defined as historical zone, and an agricultural zone, which covers an area of 15,132 acres, 16 villages, and with a population of 13,807. The zone is imposed on with lighter regulations because the aim is to use it for further urban and economic development and to guarantee overpopulation and relocation of is the things now determined as illegal in the ancient protection zones such as furniture factories, entertainment bars, garages, and fuelling tanks from ancient parts, to make sure those things do not impinge on the authenticity of the ancient town. There are two bridges across the Nam Khan River in the eastern part of the zone. The old one was constructed during the American era, which now is used for motorcycles and as a walking bridge, while the new one was constructed by a GMS program. Other parts of the zone across the Mekong River, including ban Chiang Man, ban Chan and ban Nahay, can be reached only by boat, as there is no bridge across the Mekong to those villages.

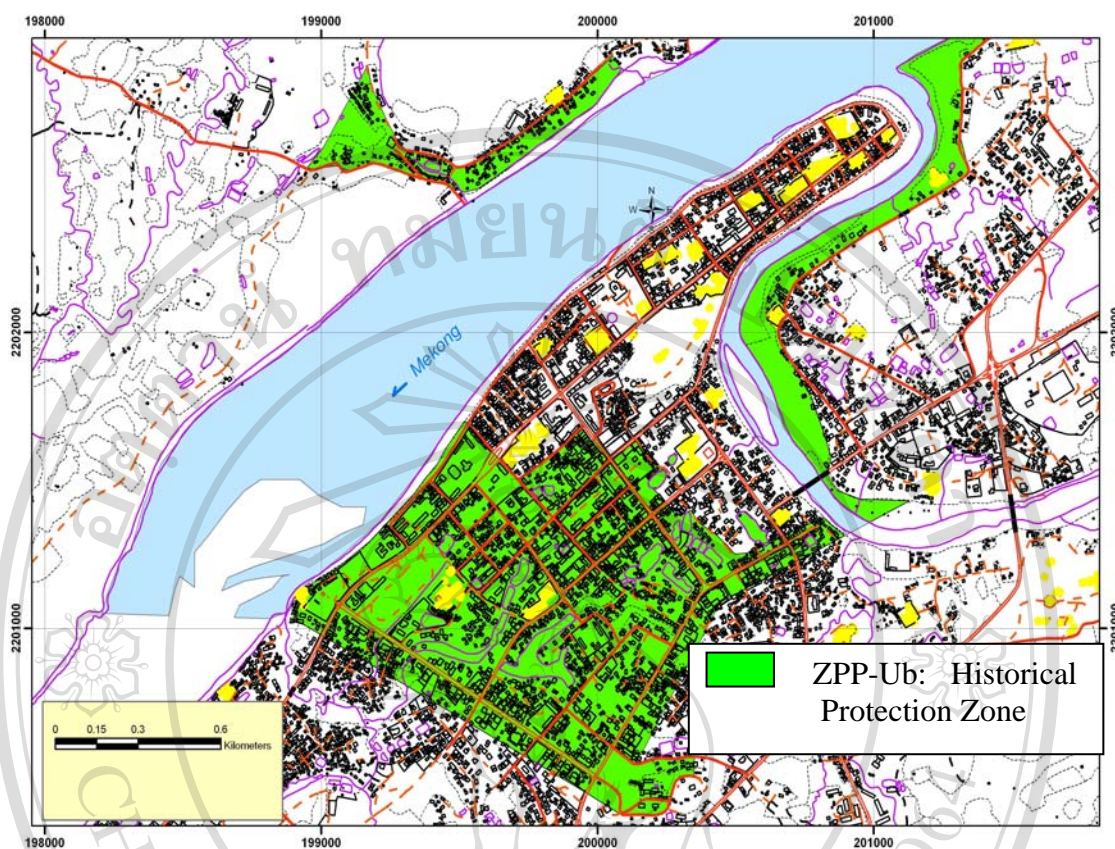


Figure 3.4 Map of Historical Zone

(Source: National Geographic Department, 2007)

The natural zone was added to make Luang Prabang a green city with forest trees, a perimeter zone. The zone is divided into four areas. First, the Phou Thao Phou Nang hill is located on the other side of the Mekong River, and defined as the forested mountainous area. Second, Phousy hill in the middle of the city is defined as a religious and natural area. Third, the area along the riverbanks, the Mekong and Khan basin are defined as agricultural areas. Fourth, wetland areas including fruit gardens and man-made ponds are determined to be water reservoirs in order to ensure the overflow of water in the rainy season and to conduct research of Luang Prabang city's wetland ecology such as the various flora and fauna species and for local people to practice agriculture. The meanings of the zone definitions are related the original daily life of the local people. When the rivers recede during the dry season, gardens are planted along the two riverbanks. Ponds play a role of providing water for their gardens and fruit, and as a place where people can fish. Therefore, the use of the pond is a part of local daily life. To make the cityscape combine with local livelihood,

ponds and gardens are part of a protection zone. Therefore, the conservation in this zone is not mainly focused on protection of architecture, but nature associated with the local traditional life (Lao Government, 2006c).

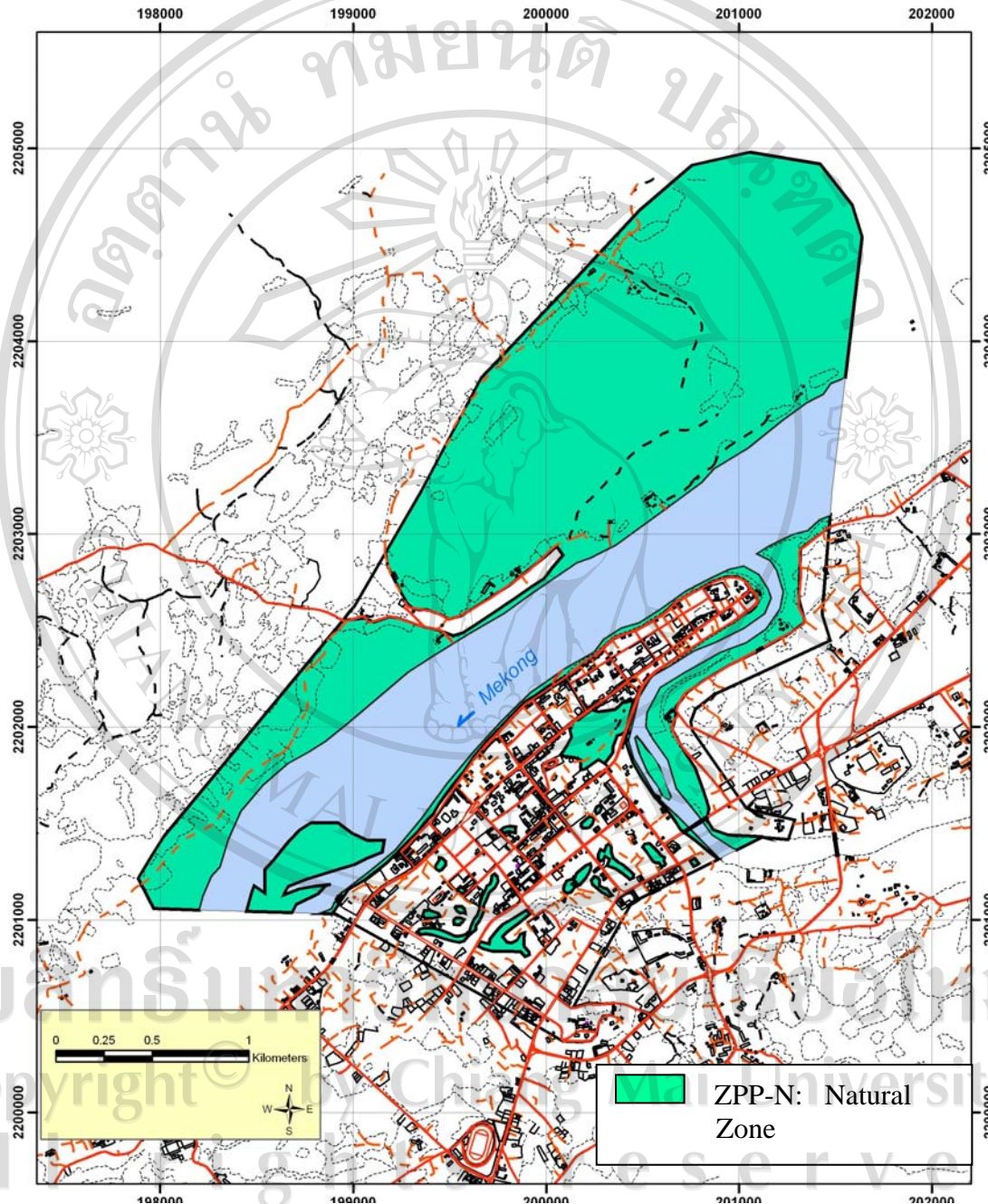


Figure 3.5 Map of Natural Protection Zone

(Source: National Geographic Department, 2007)

The temple zones are scattered in all the other three zones but mainly in the ancient protection zone in the peninsula. Over the centuries, the Buddhist faith of

Luang Prabang people lavished their funds and efforts on building the temples in the form of earning merit. This zone is defined as religious and community centered, a place where monks use to learn, community meets, cultural ceremonies are celebrated, and an area of the most culturally significant and architecturally wealthy in Luang Prabang, where the level of authenticity in temples was higher than that found in domestic buildings and where people introduced techniques and materials for construction. Therefore, for this zone, new material and techniques are restricted.

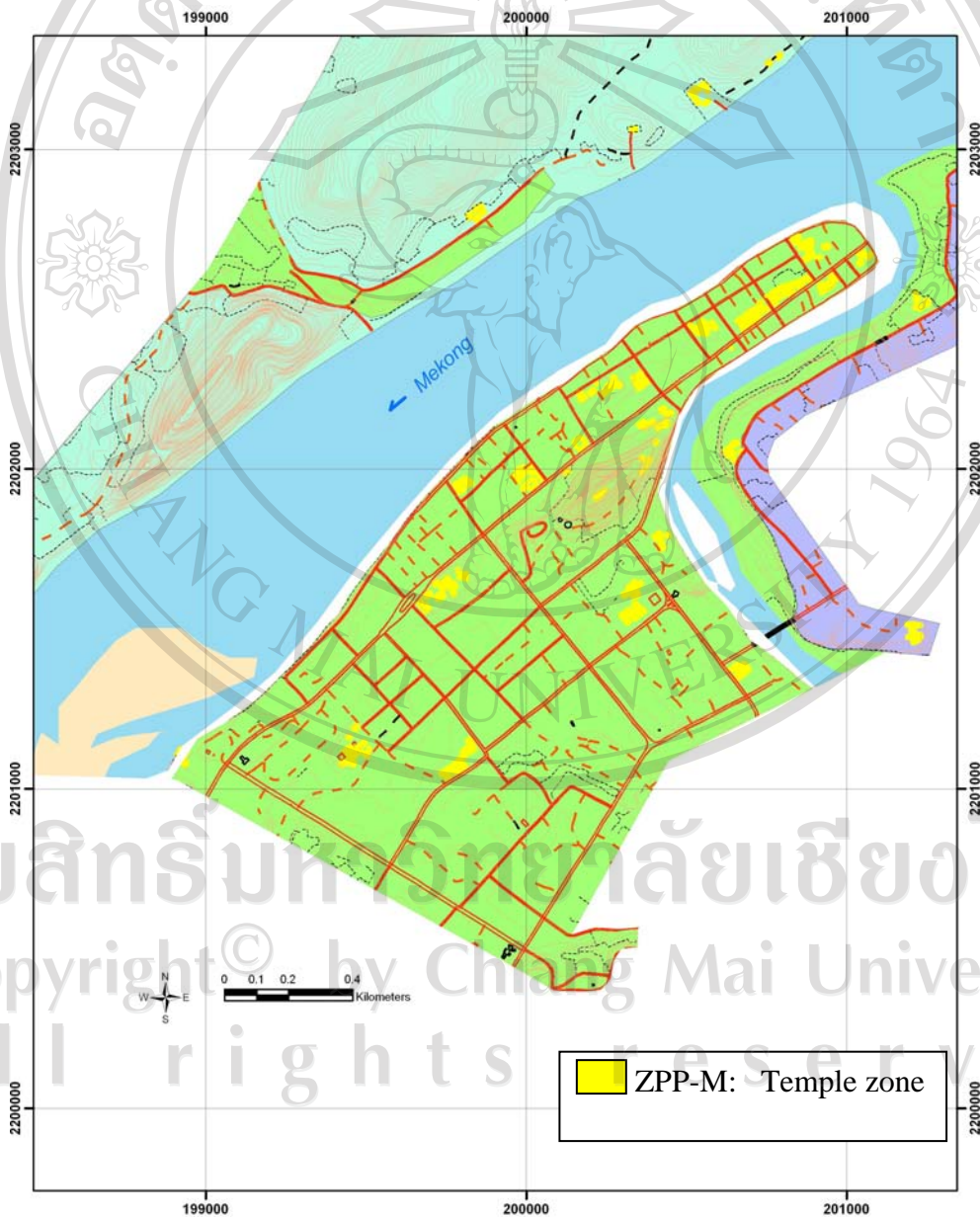


Figure 3.6 Map of Temple Zone

(Source: National Geographic Department, 2007)

Therefore, different regulations are imposed differently on each zone. However, in general, UNESCO considers that the buildings and all construction in this zone must be less than 9 meters in order to protect the city's view and landscape. No construction or reconstruction of buildings can be done without permission from the house of heritage, and the urban development and reconstruction agency. It is aimed at keeping prevalent architectural styles. No monuments can be destroyed, moved or modified externally or internally. Restoration must adhere to the original architectural specifications, including facades, roofs, materials, finishes and colors. Obstruction of vistas with new structures and signage is not permitted, and all electricity and telephone cables and water pipes must be hidden wherever possible. (UNESCO, 2002).

3.1.2.3 Heritage Management Projects

By seeing Luang Prabang World Heritage City as world property, it ensures that the government takes the opportunity to attract international assistance and cooperation to run various projects in order to take control over cultural heritage, including natural resources, temples, public and private properties and infrastructural improvement and the people within it. Since Luang Prabang was inscribed as a world heritage site, various projects have been launched, which are funded by the government itself and international organizations such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the French Agency for Development (AFD), and from local joint funds. In seven years of implementation of the policy, the government has combined the funds of 5,060,493,320 Kips¹, of which it received 43,126,911,101Kips from ADB, 5,500,000 Euros from AFD, and \$424,094 from UNDP (Lao government, 2002c). In order to claim land use rights, cultural heritage protection zones have been run in order to renovate urban areas, and new cultural heritage conservation has been issued in order to replace former land use regulations. (see sections, 3.1.2 and 3.1.3). However, some small projects had been

1\$- 9,000Kips

1Baht- 250 Kips

1 Euro- 10,500Kips

launched before Luang Prabang was inscribed as world heritage site. In 1992, the Luang Prabang's museum, in the former royal palace, had been restored and funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). A year later, the project of Tham Ting Cave had begun to be supported by the international cooperation project. In 1994 the cooperation restoration of Wat Long Khoun and the ancient gates of Wat Visun restoration project were launched, funded by a French organization. The major projects have been launched, and the heritage house was established (UNESCO, 2004).

By seeing the wetlands as a significant part of the economic activities of Luang Prabang's people, the wetlands also functioned as providing retention capacity for excess water. As the water recedes, the wetlands allow water to drain gradually and be absorbed back to the ground as much as possible. Therefore, the urban wetlands preservation project, supported by the European Commission's Asia Urbs Programme, began in 1998 in order to analyze water quality, water ways, wetland ecology, such as fauna and flora species, and possibly to study mosquitoes effects (UNESCO, 1996).

Another major project is Luang Prabang urban development program funded by the French Agency for Development with the amount of 2,250,000 Euros. The project was launched from 1999 to 2001. The goal of the project emphasizes development of the potential for tourist facilities in Luang Prabang. The Project has involved improving and decorating the lanes and valleys by providing new drainage systems, brick edgings, wooden benches, as well as by planting flowers and trees long the road sides, in the government offices, in public areas and along the Mekong and the Nam Khan Riverbanks in order to beautify the city and protect soil erosion along the two riverbanks (UNESCO, 2004).

The Luang Prabang urban development program was followed by a four year infrastructural construction project entitled the "Heritage Protection Area Development Project" which was begun between 2001 and 2004 and was funded with an amount of 5,500,000 Euros by the French Agency for Development. The purpose of the project aimed to integrate improvement of the drainage and sanitation of the heritage protection zone. The project improves electricity capacity, lightning networks and the roads, alleys and traffic systems. Extra additions to the project

include local people who live along the lanes and alleys who had to jointly fund and fix their wooden fences along the lanes and alleys (Lao government, 2001).

Perceiving that traditional art techniques, skills and knowledge of traditional building techniques are now rarely practiced, and same traditional materials, which are better suited to cooler climates than those built with concrete, are rarely used, UNESCO attempts to revitalize this practice. However, those skills and the knowledge of traditional building techniques are not completely lost. In order to revitalize skills and the knowledge of traditional building techniques, the Luang Prabang Buddhist fellowship, the Luang Prabang School of Fine Arts, and Local traditional arts masters, funded by the Norwegian government together with the Luang Prabang department of Information and Culture, UNESCO's project, entitled "Cultural Survival in Luang Prabang" has been launched. The goal of the project was to revitalize and institutionalize artistic training to ensure that Luang Prabang's authenticity be preserved within a Buddhist context. The project tried to ensure that the skills needed for traditional temple arts and building crafts are not lost. The UNESCO training center for Laotian Traditional Arts and Building Crafts was established in Wat Chiang Mouane, ban Chiang Mouane, Luang Prabang to help monks to gain ancestral wisdom of arts and use it for construction and to decorate temples. Furthermore, the aim is to ensure that these techniques never again become endangered (UNESCO, 2004).

The UNESCO Cultural Survival projects also encompass encouragement of original agricultural practices and local product promotion for tourist supply such as textile viewing in ban Pha Nom, Pottery in ban Chan, silversmithing in ban Wat That and blacksmithing in ban Hat Hian in order to maintain local traditional practices and attract tourists. This promotion will be explored in the next section (UNESCO, 1998).

3.2 Provincial Tourist Development Policy

Parallel with infrastructural improvement and cultural heritage conservation, tourist development is a significant task for the provincial government to fulfill their economic strategies, as stressed at the seventh congress political report of the Lao Revolution Party (L.R.P) that Growth Domestic Product (G.D.P) must be increased for 6-7% per year (Lao government, 2005c).

However, due to local people having different capacities, capital, assets, education and opportunities in dealing with tourist development policies, therefore, tourist development emphasizes promotion and differentiation in dealing with tourist development policy. But in regard to cultural heritage conservation regulations, they make sure that tourism and cultural heritage are synergistic (Lao government, 2006b). The provincial tourist development policy implementation can be understood through tourist services and local product promotion policy implementation.

3.2.1 Tourist Service Promotion

Significant attention has been paid to tourist service promotion in order to increase the number of tourist arrivals to Luang Prabang. The tourist statistics show that the number of tourist arrivals since 1997 have increased approximately 40% per year from 62,348 to 261,950 (Lao government, 2005). The top three reasons for visiting Luang Prabang are culture, the way of life of Luang Prabang's people and temples (UNESCO, 2002a).

The Provincial tourist office had surveyed that there are broadly two very different types of tourists in Luang Prabang. First are the budget tourists, who stay in cheap guesthouses costing around \$4 per room. They are backpackers. Second is the up-market tourist, who stays in hotels costing over \$40 per room, per night. They are more likely to book through tour operators or travel agents, and to go on organized excursions (Lao government, 2005).

These statistics have dominated the government's ideologies in fighting against poverty by turning its strategy from an agriculturally based economy to one of mainly providing tourist services. Along with cultural heritage conservation and agricultural encouragement, the terms of the demand for tourism and the importance of economic development for generating income is emphasized on the consideration of tourist expenditures. The government assumes that tourist service promotion can stimulate local people to participate in tourist investment through which local people can participate in sharing tourist benefits and have jobs in tourist-related sectors. Furthermore tourist promotion will attract foreign tourist investment, through tourist businessmen, local people can not only find a job, but also can gain experience and increase their tourist service knowledge (Lao Government, 2005).

Table 3.3 Number of Tourist Arrivals to Luang Prabang

Order	Tourists	Lao	Foreign	Total
1	1997	31.579	30.769	62.348
2	1998	31.579	30.769	62.348
3	1999	31.579	30.769	62.348
4	2000	31.579	30.769	62.348
5	2001	31.579	30.769	62.348
6	2002	31.579	30.769	62.348
7	2003	31.579	30.769	62.348
8	2004	31.579	30.769	62.348
9	2005	31.579	30.769	62.348

(Source: Tourist Office of Luang Prabang Province, 2006)

Tourist promotion in Luang Prabang goes hand in hand with cooperation in cultural heritage conservation. Tourism promotion also becomes vital in provincial economic development that the government grants to promote Luang Prabang's enhancement it's service center (Planning and Investment Committee of Luang Prabang Province, 2005a). Parallel to heritage conservation, the significant cultural, historical and natural heritage places have been converted to be tourist sites, such as temples in the heritage protection zone; former royal palace had been converted to be museum, Phousi hill, Kuangsi Water fall, Thamting cave etc. (Lao government,

2005a). In order to attract more tourists, cultural ceremonies, such as the New Year festival, boat rising and other basic ceremonies, have been revitalized. Furthermore, traditional farming, handicraft and food products have been encouraged.

Together with the cultural survival project on preserving tradition, tourism promotional policy focuses on where local people still practice traditional farming, especially the gardens along the two riverbanks and the paddy fields in the south of the heritage conservation protection zone. In terms of fish farming, except that determined as a water reservoir, the ponds must be maintained for traditional farming. Similarly, with traditional handicrafts, the government focuses on where local people still practice traditional handicrafts, especially cotton and silk textile weaving in Ban Phanom. Blacksmithing is based in Ban Don Hat Hian, pottery in Ban Chan and silversmith makes a living around Ban That and Ban Chiang Mouane. Mulberry or *sa* paper products are made in Luang Prabang (Lao government, 1997). All of these places are not only traditional production places, but also become tourist sites, where tour guides can guide their customers to visit (see more in the next section). In doing so, UNESCO can ensure its cultural survival projects, while the government expects that it can create more cultural sites for tourists to visit and the farmers and handicraftsmen can sell more of their products to tourists and find and jobs (UNESCO, 1998).

Together with cultural heritage conservation, and in order to fulfill the governments strategy aiming to encourage Luang Prabang to become a service center, infrastructural improvement is aimed to facilitate tourist services. In order to ensure tourist arrival, the airport has been improved and international flights (Luang Prabang- Chiang Mai-Luang Prabang and Luang Prabang-Bangkok-Luang Prabang) have been opened. The new south and north bus stations and new port on the Mekong side have completed construction. The new markets in Ban Phosy and Navienkham, and the Chinese market and traditional handicraft market and Night Market have been opened (UNESCO, 1999a).

In order to ensure accommodations for the rapidly increasing arrivals of tourists, and in order to help local people have jobs and share tourist benefits, the government has encouraged local people to convert their own houses, especially colonial and aristocratic buildings, to be guesthouses, home-stays, restaurants and

massage parlors. However, moving from farmers, small traders, boat drivers, and food store owners to becoming tourist businessmen, they see their locally owned businesses in an international perspective, which is notable for the predominance of small family-run businesses and individual entrepreneurs that are providing goods and services. These businessmen are faced not only with insufficiency of funds, but also with lack of crucial education in researching, establishing and operating business ventures (Lao government, 2005).

Recognizing that many of Luang Prabang's residents have little tourist experience and insufficient funds available to guarantee service to the increasing number of tourist arrivals, the government attracted businessmen from outside, especially from Vientiane and abroad, to rent the government and local property, to invest in tourist service sectors (including tour agencies, hotels and also restaurants) and transfer their knowledge and experience and find jobs in tourist and tourist-related sectors (Lao government, 2005a).

Table 3.4 Number of Tour Agencies, the Rooms, at Hotels, Guesthouses 1997-2005

Year	Tour Agencies	Hotels	Room of Hotel	Beds of H	Guesthouse	Room of GH	Beds of GH
1997	7	10	298	447	19	159	238
1998	8	11	313	469	32	264	396
1999	10	11	346	546	64	564	846
2000	11	12	366	628	80	661	1074
2001	12	13	446	766	108	870	1397
2002	12	14	487	813	114	915	1464
2003	21	12	427	758	123	987	1536
2004	17	14	499	769	125	1003	1665
2005	17	17	532	979	146	1167	2109

(Source: Tourist Office of Luang Prabang Province, 2006)

In doing so, these investors can help the government ensure increasing investment scales in the tourist sector to facilitate the numerous tourists that arrive. They can also attract more tourists and find work for other tourist related business

such as drivers or craftsmen, and also help to buy local products such as handicraft products and agricultural products. They also bring foreign experts, high experience and knowledgeable employees who transfer their experience and knowledge to local businessmen and their employees. As a result, the provincial tourist office, in cooperation with these tour agencies, plus the department of information and culture, are all able to provide informal and short courses for tourist employees such as guides, tourist servants and also cooks and non-tourist employees, such as craftsmen and farmers who produce products to sell to visitors to improve the quality of service given and to make sure that tourists service reflects the traditional and cultural values of the area. As Mr. Soukan, the head of statistical devotion of Luang Prabang's tourist office, one of my interviewees, explained during my fieldwork:

In order to help employees gain higher tourist knowledge, we often organize short training courses in the low season or in respond to specific shock periods. Furthermore, we often organize meetings, whether with local people at the temples, and at whatever time. We have found that tourists are unaware that some of their actions are inappropriate towards our local culture and religious sites, and need the guide to teach them about local customs and codes of conduct, which will help to guide visitor behavior and help them interpret the sites correctly.

(Soukan, July, 2006)

3.2.2 Local Product Promotion as Strategy of Tourist Attraction

The concept of local production promotion will be widely developed once the number of tourist arrivals has increased. It is included in the development strategy and UNESCO's cultural survival project. From the point of view of the government and UNESCO, the objectives of enhancement to increase local products are:

- To maintain Luang Prabang as a product identity
- To nurture local original life style
- To guarantee supply in products for tourists
- To find jobs for local people
- To reduce imports and increase exports
- To fulfill the economic development strategy "One village one product".
- To create new cultural tourist sites

(UNESCO, 1998)

Taking this into account, local product promotion in Luang Prabang focuses on coherence with tourist development, tourist production, and cultural heritage conservation policy. It can be seen in the form of food processing, handicraft production and agricultural products. Considerable attention has been paid to the specific products and their locations, and places where those local people can demonstrate, for tourist enjoyment, how they make their products.

In terms of handicraft products, the promotion policy began in the village, where villagers sized this job up as primary. Ban Phanom, a 300-year-old weaving village that used to supply the king of Luang Prabang, is the most significant cultural village, located on the Nam Khan riverbank. Ban Phanom's villagers, of the Tai Lue ethnic group, weave their own silk by raising mulberry trees and silkworms. They also design by their own technique, through dying threads and using natural dyes made from local plant products. Besides increasing the volume of job activities, the government attempted to find markets for village products. The government had constructed cooperative centers for them to demonstrate their weaving techniques and to sell their products (Lao government, 2001). Similar to Ban Phanom, Ban Chan's villagers can produce special pottery because of the special clay found in Ban Chan and the limited availability of clay elsewhere. Due to its fragility and bulkiness, the products are not only produced for tourist demonstrations and for selling to tourists at their village, but are sold by Hoteliers, guesthouses, restaurant owners and souvenir shops. This village is located at the Valley of Phou Thao Phou Nang Hill, on the other bank of the Mekong River. In contrast to Ban Phanom, Ban Chan can be reached only by boat. In order to make the trajectory of tourist promotion, the government considered creating a cultural heritage site on the side of the Mekong River that could encourage other groups of people to participate. Thus, tour operators and boat drivers could earn more money from tourists by guiding them to the village (Lao government, 1997).

Aside from the creation of pottery and textile weaving, silver and blacksmithing is one of the most important handicraft activities in Luang Prabang that the government and UNESCO pays attention to. Silversmithing in Luang Prabang

produced the most beautiful and complex designs for the supply of the royal families and nobles. Therefore, it also dates back to the fourteenth century. As a result, the silversmiths in Luang Prabang become known as the most talented in all of Laos. Today silversmithing makes its place around Ban That and is very popular with tourists due to their high quality and alternative traditional designs. Blacksmithing is based in Ban Don Hat Hian. The village produces knives, sickles and agricultural tools for markets in town.

Sa papermaking has been practiced locally since the seventeenth century. The traditional method uses mulberry bark to create mulberry or *sa* paper. Originally, *sa* paper was what residents wrote on, especially when copying Buddhist texts. Today *sa* paper is used for drawing or making souvenir sales to tourists, such as making tables, ceilings or wall lamps.

In terms of food production, the government aims to support local people to have jobs and to guarantee their self-sufficient economy. The chili paste now is famous, as it is consumed not only in Luang Prabang, but also in every part of the country and exported abroad as well. Popularly, when visitors, mainly Laotians and Thai, come to visit Luang Prabang, they buy chili paste as a gift for their friends and relatives. Second to chili paste is riverweed. Individuals, mostly rural people, produce this and hoteliers, as well as guesthouse and restaurant owners buy the product. Usually, this occurs between sellers and buyers, signing agreements to ensure whether the product is good quality or poor. Presently, the product is exported to America and Japan, leaving a gap in the availability for consumption in Luang Prabang, as it is popular with foreign visitors.

Agricultural product promotion can be seen in the areas along the Mekong and Nam Khan rivers and in the southern part of the city, where the government and UNESCO both guarantee it will remain as a natural zone. The aim is not only to promote local people to produce their products for their subsistence and for market, but also to start tours to local farms, organizing demonstrations of farming techniques and samplings of food and produce. Thus, the farmers can earn additional income while tourists can gain an understanding of traditional farming techniques. Tourists to Luang Prabang prefer to witness a real farm rather than a model-farm. In addition, the government and UNESCO have attempted to revamp local products and spur job

creation in terms of tourist promotion, and this is seen in the construction of the Night Market located on the main road of the peninsula, between Phousy hill and the museum of Luang Prabang, at the same location of the ancient markets. The market consists of a diversity of Lao and Tai ethnic group sellers and includes various kinds of traditional handicraft products, which large numbers of tourists can enjoy while buying the products.

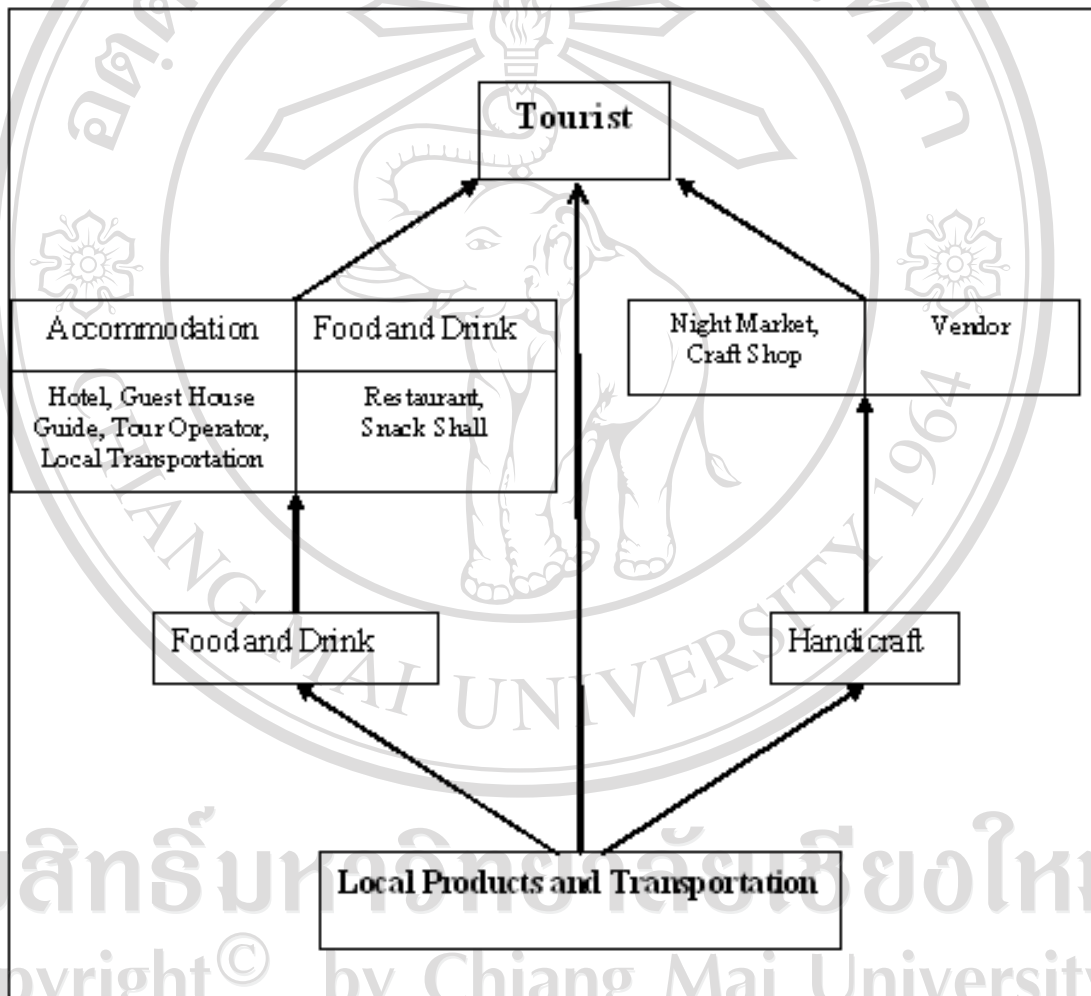


Figure 3.7 Chain of Local Participation in Response to Tourist Promotion Policy



Figure 3.8 Local People Sell Their Products at the Night Market

It is important to understand that attempt to enhance local economic self-sufficiency through local product promotion and tourist service promotion in Luang Prabang, is seen as a trajectory of tourist supporting policy, which is synergy with cultural heritage conservation. As suggested by World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) that the implementation is intended to form mutually beneficial alliances that were both economically profitable and culturally acceptable to local inhabitants 21 (WTTC, 1996). In other word, the policy provides concepts and techniques to guide the development of tourism in Luang Prabang in order that everyone enjoys the benefits of tourist activity, while preserving the unique cultural treasures that attract visitors to Luang Prabang. The product is made by community, where tourists gaze the original livelihood of community and have a strong filling of nostalgia, and buy their product for gifts. Tourists themselves perceive these productions as a part of the culture that they want to experience about new culture, the people and their everyday life. Further, the product is taken in to hotels, guest houses, restaurants, snack shells, handicraft shops, morning markets and Night Market, which the government erects for local and ethnic group's product, to sell to tourists (see figure 3.9).

In summary, taking into account, the government tourist promotion policy emphasizes, on the one hand, on attracting foreign direct investment in tourist sector. On the other hand, to promote local participation in tourist development policy regarding to their capitals and capacities and to find job and increase volume of job activities in order to achieve local self-sufficient economy, as mentioned in all four

political reports of Lao People's Revolutionary Party. The policy was designed to implement models for the preservation of heritage and the development of tourism as a local resource. In doing so, villager livelihood in Luang Prabang had shifted from self-sufficiency to a stronger reliance on tourism and market exchanges. They have increased production in order to generate more income, and support on an increased need for their daily lives. While the government hopes that these local enterprises, which serve tourists, in turn will draw on suppliers of labor, goods and services. To the same extent, tourism promotion policy aims at maintain Luang Prabang's identity by supporting local products, which represents their identity, their ways of life, and livelihood strategies, which in turn can attract tourists to Luang Prabang.

3.3 Impacts of Urban Renovation

Previously, Luang Prabang was considered to be one of the least developed city due to its electrical shortages, poor water supply, and poor infrastructure. Community livelihood teams engaged in working for the government, farming, fishing, small trade, small business, and so on. They had much uncertainty in their livelihood strategies. Their lives were concerned much more on the rivers. The inscription of Luang Prabang City as a world heritage site in UNESCO's list brings pride to Luang Prabang people as their culture has been revitalized and they also have more opportunity to access to benefits. Considerable attention has been paid to the rapidly increasing number of tourist arrivals to Luang Prabang, approximately 40% per year, which is a remarkable consequence of a rapid socio-economic change and to an influx of people from outside area including foreigners who intend to do business and seek employment in the tourism sector, (which includes house workers, servants, counters and guides). Due to the tourist expenditures and from international assistance, the living conditions of the Luang Prabang people have clearly been upgraded as they have very quickly taken advantage of the economic benefits of tourism by finding work in tourism businesses. They convert they own buildings to be guesthouses, restaurants, gift shops, souvenir shops, internet cafes and stores. For the other group of people such as handicraftsmen and food producers, the government and UNESCO do not only support production techniques, productivity, and some funds, but they also find customers for their products as the government and

UNESCO promotes tour companies to bring tourists to visit and buy their products in their working place. Aside from selling their products at their working place, the government also opens new markets for selling their products such as the Night Market, Phosy Market and Navienkham Market. For those who do not have such opportunity, they can access tourist benefit distributions indirectly. A construction worker, for example, would benefit when the number of tourists increases, as the numerous buildings will be built and they would have more choice to sell their labors, and their wages would be higher than before. Because their selling power has been increased, local people can sell more of their products, including those rural people that have more chance to sell their products in a market or sell directly to hotels, guesthouses, restaurants and shops. Beside this, as a result of UNESCO's effort to maintain Luang Prabang's authenticity, Luang Prabang cultural survival art, such as, traditional dances and ceremonies, original handicraft styles that have been revitalized and agricultural practices that have been maintained. Furthermore, local people who own listed heritage buildings, temples and public monuments, including colonial administrative buildings, can get construction material support from UNESCO for repairing or rebuilding those listed buildings (UNESCO, 1998).

Significant attention has been paid to the mapping of cultural protection zone and infrastructural improvement. The urban plan clearly determines where the residents area, the natural area, paddy fields, development area and public area are. Water supply and electricity have been improved and many of water supply networks have been newly extended, and electricity networks have been directly connected from NamGnum dam in Vientiane province. All the earth roads have been paved with walking sides and concrete drainage systems. The city has been decorated with newly planted trees and tree flowers; and the first waste collection authority to respond to environmental pollution had been established in Luang Prabang province. It seems that that heritage tourism development, as done this way, preserves the heritage resources of the local community and is beneficial to all. However, it is also important to note that not all of the changes brought about by the tourist and heritage conservation system in Luang Prabang have been positive. Negative changes have occurred as Luang Prabang evolves in the global context. First of all, negative impacts

are seen as influxes of tourists and then immigration, followed by increasing the cost of living, environmental pollution, out-migration and marketing authenticity.



Figure 3.9 UNESCO's Project for Heritage listed House Repairing

By seeing tourism as a main resource of income generation, many outsiders (including the building owners who went to other cities such as Vientiane and abroad when the cold war started) seized this opportunity to do their business in tourist sectors. To the same extent, recognizing that local people themselves have low knowledge and experience and insufficient capital to invest in the tourist sector, the government attempted to promote foreign investment in many tourist sectors. Through them, the government assumes to find jobs for its population and transfers their experience and knowledge to local businessmen. Accompanied by them, there

are many people from the rural areas and other districts and other provinces who seek jobs in the tourist and related sectors and many rural people who carry their products, mainly agricultural products, to the markets in Luang Prabang city.

Immigration is seen not as a serious problem for Luang Prabang people. However, Luang Prabang city, with a population of 2,100, hosts numerous guests coming to Luang Prabang, as around 261,950 tourists came to visit Luang Prabang in 2005, for example. Therefore, even the government attempts to promote local products in both the city and rural areas, and demand for food in Luang Prabang has increased accordingly. This has resulted in an increase in the price of food in the town. Many local people suffer from high price of food, because tourists can afford to pay higher prices for consumer goods, the prices of those goods are already in short supply in the area, and have been pushed to a level that is unaffordable for many local people. Previously many of foods, such as meat and fish, for example, were exported. Furthermore, many commodities must be brought from Vientiane and imported from neighboring countries. Similar to food, the land prices have increased in the area as a result of tourist facility development. At first, the increasing land price was seen as a rapidly burgeoning demand for land for doing business in the heritage city. Secondly, land development in the protected zone is restricted in accordance with cultural heritage conservation regulations, which is a result of land scarcity. Therefore, demand for land on the land also increased accordingly. Observably, the price of the land in the ancient protection zone in the last ten years has increased approximately 8 times, leaving many local people unable to afford the purchase of land (UNESCO, 1999b).

Accompanied by an increasing demand for food and land, Luang Prabang's people must also deal with environmental degradation due to the rapid increasing number of tourist arrivals. Even the government has tried hard to make Luang Prabang a clean city by improving infrastructure. As such the roads with sidewalks and concrete drainage systems were built, and the first modern solid waste disposal system was put in place, which did not happen until 1997. Luang Prabang city today is still plagued with environmental pollution. With increasing income, the rising use of plastics, packaging and other garbage from polluted water, which is released from the drainage of hotels, guest houses, restaurants, shops and even from the tourists

themselves, in markets and public areas, creates environmental pressure to Luang Prabang's people. Furthermore, Local people still have low environmental awareness. Unintended environmental pollution in Luang Prabang is seen in terms of the government itself attempting to manage the environment. According to cultural heritage conservation regulations, the wetland area, mainly ponds, is determined to be a water reservoir and an agricultural area. In order to fulfill the strategy, the urban master plan for Luang Prabang was launched. Concrete canals, aiming to release waste water from main areas through to the local canal to the wetland area, were constructed. Unfortunately, during the rainy season, the strong stream water overflowed the local canal, bringing large amounts of garbage from the land to the ponds. It does not only kill the fish in the ponds, but in dry season, when the waste decays, it creates water pollution and later creates a place for mosquito spawning and nursing.

It is important to note that another unintended consequence of cultural heritage conservation and tourist development policy implementation is immigration of outsiders. Immigration to Luang Prabang is seen as replacing out-migration. The groups of people who migrate to Luang Prabang are defined firstly as businessmen from outside, secondly employees, workers and wage labors; thirdly, as traders and; fourthly, are the people who come to live in Luang Prabang. The businessmen, including foreigners, come here to buy or rent land in the significant areas, especially in the peninsula, to run tourist services such as tour companies, hotels, guesthouses, and restaurants. These groups of people include the owners of famous buildings from other cities and abroad. Some buildings had been awarded rent with low prices and some were given to relatives to live in or left to be deserted. By seeing that Luang Prabang became an important service center, they returned to the buildings to do business or to give it to other businessmen for rent at a high cost. Accompanied by them are groups of employees from other provinces, especially from Vientiane, and employees, workers and wage labors from nearby villages and districts who come to find a job and work in Luang Prabang. The people who come to trade in Luang Prabang are defined as Chinese traders. To support the variation of products and in order to serve local people and tourists, the government has constructed a Chinese market for Chinese products. These Chinese traders come and live permanently in the

market and some of them rent houses for running Chinese product stores. Finally, the people who come to live in Luang Prabang are defined as foreigners who want to live in a world heritage city. As Chinese traders, they rent houses in Luang Prabang to live in, and some run small restaurants. Similar to the government officials who come to live in Luang Prabang from other districts, they are sent to work permanently in the city. As consequence, the growth of entrepreneurial activities in this sector does not necessarily bring benefits to local residents as the government assumes. Rather, entrepreneurial activities involve foreign investors and therefore the economic gain for local people from such activities is minimal.



Figure 3.10 One of the Deteriorated, Listed Wooden Houses

Out-migration is seen to replace immigration, except for employees, workers, wage labors and government officials. People who out migrate, are defined firstly as people who sell or rent out their land for outsiders to run a business, and who previously rented land at a low rate for people to live. These are people who have property, land and buildings, but do not have interest in doing business. As a result of increased land prices they sell or rent out their property to those outsiders, including foreigners, to do business, and then move out. For the others, who rent houses to live, they had to move out, while the comers moved in to do business. Similar to the people who could not afford the new high rental rate, such as the people who own deteriorated heritage houses, when they can not afford the expensive traditional

construction materials, they also must move out or give their construction rights to UNESCO to construct and to use for a certain period. Another reason why local people move out is that, by seeing that the cost of land in Luang Prabang is constantly increasing, foreign speculators buy land, especially the land along the Nam Khane River, for their future endeavors.

It could be considered a loss of authenticity when local people move out, as they are defined as a main part of the cultural heritage of Luang Prabang. In Luang Prabang, like in many parts of Laos, the act of gaining merit through offering money or construction materials to construct or flourish temples, for example, is still a strong desire in the hearts of the local people. When those people shift down the scale of such activities, it deteriorates the value of Luang Prabang being a world heritage city. Even though the new arrivals take part in religious activities such as *binpabath*, it seems that they intend to do so not for purposes of gaining merit, but to consume other cultures. In addition, to the same extent, as tourism became a significant factor of income creation in Luang Prabang, many monks now want to practice foreign languages with foreigners in order to help them to find work in the tourist industry.

Sharing the same ideas with those who are worried about losing Luang Prabang's authenticity, some argue about the influx of foreign businessmen, accompanied by foreign experts, and highly experienced and knowledgeable employees, supported by the Lao government. Local people fear not only of losing an amount benefits to them, but it is a case of out-migration of Luang Prabang residents who are the main actors in participating Buddhist activities, which are still lie in the spirit of Luang Prabang people. As a result of out-migration of those local people, traditional religious activity has not only calmed down, but its meaning has changed parallel to the influx of out-migration of those local people. The daily religious activities such as *binpabth* ceremony, for example, where the men stand and women kneel, forming a long lane along the road, donating food and rice to the monks at dawn to earn merit, is slowly calmed down with the reduced number of local people. Similarly, it is common to see tourists, who want only to consume and experience other cultures participating in these rituals, causing concern in the religious community that the tradition of making merit is being compromised.

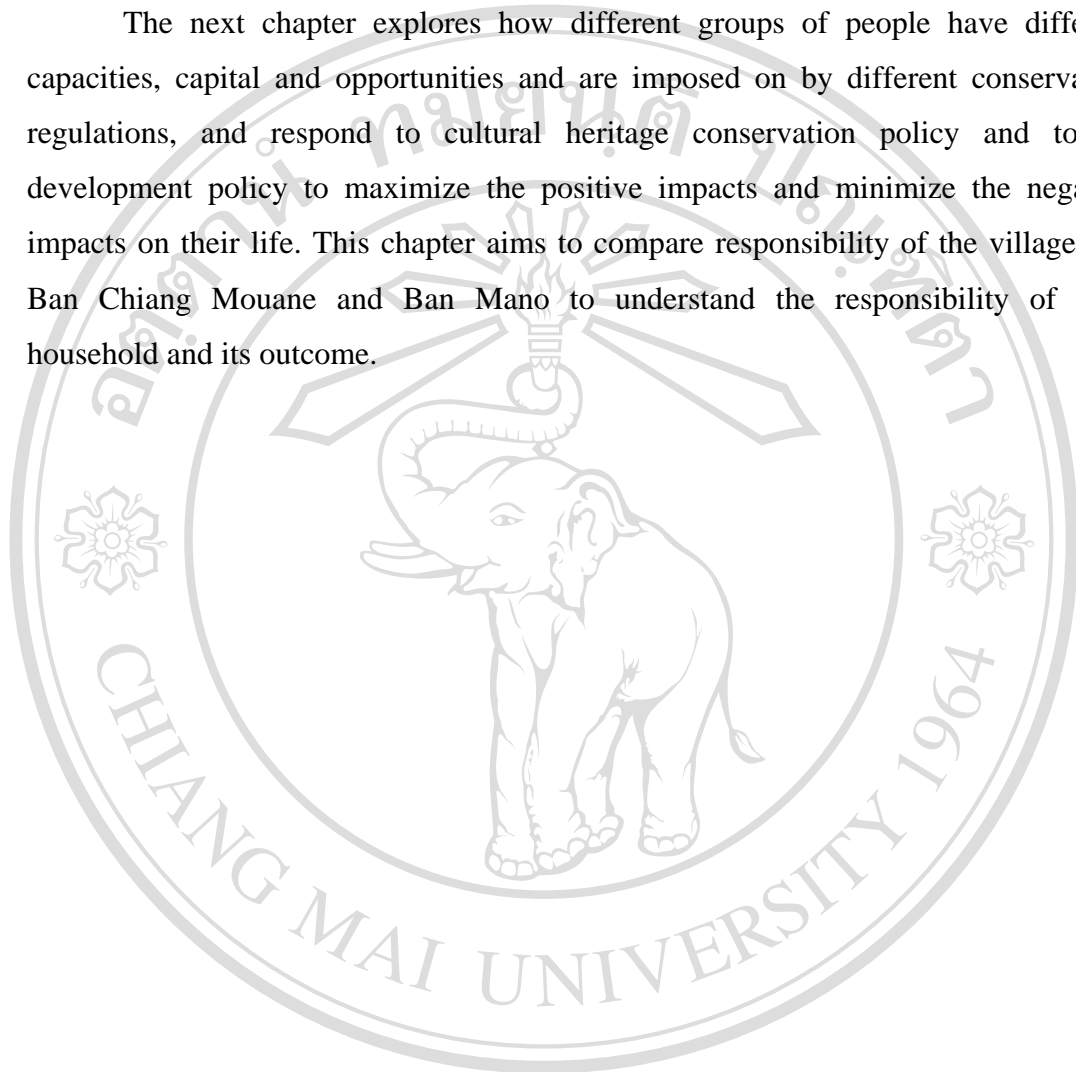
Another case of out-migration concerned with losing authenticity of Luang Prabang heritage is when UNESCO conserves traditional wooden houses. UNESCO helped owners who need to buy expensive traditional construction materials with UNESCO's own funds, rebuilding the deteriorated houses. However, 15 years before the houses are to be returned to the owners, UNESCO has the right to use these houses for their own purposes as per contract formed between UNESCO and the house owners. It lacks an understanding that the owner who lives in this house is main a main part of the heritage itself. In other words, the owner has constructed the heritage and the house, according to their life, beliefs, and culture and is associated with social relations with their neighbors.

Sharing the same fate as those who bear the burden of expensive traditional materials, the street vendors roughly trace tourists, who want to experience and consume the culture of other countries to sell rice and other food to tourists in order to present to the monks help tourist present to the monk as they make their morning rounds through the town carrying a bowl to receive offerings, *binpabath*. They are gossiped about for their actions, which is not good in the tourist's and local people's eyes. They are seen by all the local people, even the government, as people, who destroy the cultural heritage and social order. In fact, they attempt to respond to specific shocks from slash and burn eradication policy (A Report Paper for Presentation in the Conference of Eradication of Shifting Cultivation in Luang Prabang, 2004). Knowing that they lack legal access to tourist resources, they also attempt to participate in sharing a small piece of tourism incomes from others. In order to participate in sharing a small peace of tourism incomes from others, they have to work hard. Before catching the tourists in the early morning, they have to get up earlier to prepare food and rice, and then take a boat across the Mekong river from the Ban Chiangman riverbank to the peninsula.

It is important to note that Luang Prabang is not just a tourist destination, it is the home of thousands of people and is a living and evolving community exposed to all the opportunities and threats that the global environment presents. Nowadays, the local familiar tasks of everyday practice are predicting that their heritage value is evolving to become a tourist product. There is also growing understanding within the community of the link between heritage preservation and future economic well being,

and of the ways in which businesses can adapt to conform to heritage protection regulations.

The next chapter explores how different groups of people have different capacities, capital and opportunities and are imposed on by different conservation regulations, and respond to cultural heritage conservation policy and tourist development policy to maximize the positive impacts and minimize the negative impacts on their life. This chapter aims to compare responsibility of the villagers in Ban Chiang Mouane and Ban Mano to understand the responsibility of each household and its outcome.



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