Heritage Tourism in Chiang Mai: Measuring the Perceptions of Opportunities, Impacts and Challenges for the Local Community

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Abstract

Although the issues of heritage and heritage tourism are receiving increasing attention from government planners and scholars, few studies have examined their potential impacts and the relationship between community appearance and tourism, especially from an Asian perspective. Heritage tourism involves much more than generating income to the community. It also involves making destinations more appealing. It is the heritage and culture of the community that attract tourists. This research attempts to identify the impacts of tourism and heritage tourism as perceived by residents in a community, namely Chiang Mai. The information derived from this research will provide an understanding of residents' attitudes and perceptions of opportunities relating to the development of the tourism industry in their locality for heritage planners, government planners and scholars for planning and managing local heritage in the future.

Keywords: *Heritage, resident perception, impacts, tourism management*

Introduction

Over the last three decades, tourism has become a global phenomenon. It has developed into one of the major industries that have been increasingly an important component of the economies

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of both developed and developing countries. The World Tourism Organisation (2012) reported that international tourism arrivals expanded by 982 million worldwide in 2011. There was an increase in international tourism receipts from US$403 billion in 1995 to US$1,030 billion in 2011. Thus, in many developing countries, tourism has become increasingly important and leading among service industries (WTO, 2012). Tourism expansion provides basic economic benefits such as the generation of income and employment, and it can support the development of infrastructure, facilities and services for local communities. On the other hand, the expansion of tourism leads to negative impacts on the destination areas, such as environmental and socio-cultural impacts. Also increasing tourist demand causes an "invasion" in many countries, especially in developing countries. However, countries that lack technical, financial and management capacity risk losing control of the development and management of their heritage places because of the effects of increasing visitor numbers.

Recently, there has been increasing attention to tourism in academic literature, especially in Asia. Many researches have focused, investigated and debated the nature of heritage tourism and its impact on the Asian local community; however, the question of what kind of values that local communities really perceive and their attitudes toward the tourism industry has tended to be researched from Western perspectives. There is little research giving insights into how Asians value such tourism. As Winter (2007) had noted,

> Despite the recent surge in the number of tourists originating from countries across Asia, the literature on tourism in the region, published in English, remains dominated by encounters between Westerners and their Asia hosts. As yet, little attention has been given to either the motivations and values of tourists from Asia, or the broader social, cultural, and political implications arising from the fast growing industry (Winter, 2007).

The meaning of the term "heritage" has not always been the same. Its concepts, definitions and values are an expression of the society. Heritage as a concept has gradually grown and has continued to add new categories such as intangible heritage or landscape heritage, whereas once it referred exclusively to the monumental built remains

of cultures or, separately, to natural heritage. The extension of the conceptualisation and description to intangible heritage was due to the fact that closer attention is now being paid to the dramatic arts, languages and traditional music as well as to the informational, spiritual and philosophical systems upon which creation is based, not to mention oral traditions, arts and crafts and even gastronomical traditions that are rooted in place.

Moreover, heritage can provide more than an argument for beauty and more than an attraction for tourists. It needs to be understood as an important instrument of societal development and dialogue among different cultures. It is a reflection and expression of local values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions, including all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time (Timothy and Prideaux, 2003).

Scope of the study

This research focused on Chiang Mai. Chiang Mai is located approximately 750 kilometres north of Bangkok, surrounded by high mountain ranges. Its elevation is an average of 305 metres above sea level. Chiang Mai is the largest city in the northern region both in terms of size and economic power. It is a rich city of historical significance. Chiang Mai has its own cultural significance which is distinct from the rest of Thailand.

Chiang Mai was established about 717 years ago and has been considered the capital of the ancient kingdom in the North, the Lanna Kingdom. Legend has it that it was the great King Mengrai who seized states such as Chiang Rai and Lamphun and absorbed them into one kingdom which was known later as Lanna. The word "Lanna" meant the kingdom of a million rice fields (Hoskin, 1989). In 1296, with religious functions and in consideration of defence capabilities, King Mengrai selected the new site for the capital to be known as Nop Busi Sri Nakorn Ping Chiang Mai, or today just Chiang Mai. However, Chiang Mai fell several times to both the Burmese empires (Myanmar) and other powerful kingdoms. In the end, the Lanna Kingdom lost its power to Siam. This was during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868 - 1910) who through his reform programme absorbed several kingdoms into one kingdom, Siam or

Thailand. Today the Lanna kingdom remains part of the modern state of Thailand.

With the forces of globalisation, Chiang Mai has become subject to the pressure of the fast growing tourism industry. Tourism brings with it a potential boost to the economy of Chiang Mai and it also contributes to a new sense of identity and local pride in Lanna culture and heritage. So far, the corresponding cultural identity, Lanna, can still be found in the area of architecture in Chiang Mai. This is a clear example of how heritage, in this case Lanna heritage, is co-opted into the services of tourism which, in turn, provides the city with a vehicle to perform and celebrate its culture and history as a type of urban identity formation. Tourism all over the world has led to the revival of heritage and sense of history in the present age, something quite ironic given that the Lanna Kingdom was absorbed into the Thai state. Chiang Mai today is characterised by impressive contemporary buildings and is clearly a modern city but tourism has heightened its distinctiveness and thus re-connected to the local traditional forms of construction.

Figure1: *Chiang Mai old city map.*
(Source: Sparklette, retrieved 14 December 2012)

The significance of heritage in Chiang Mai

Temples and areas of historic, aesthetic and social significance exist in Chiang Mai and reflect important aspects of Lanna and Thai heritage as follows:

1. **Historical value**

Chiang Mai, founded by King Mengrai, was a hub of the Lanna Kingdom due to its geographic location. It has historical importance that also lies in its involvement with other kingdoms such as Suwankomkam, Yonok, Burma, Ayutthaya and present Thailand.

2. **Aesthetic value**

Lanna architecture and design is distinct from central Thai architecture. Lanna aesthetics also relate to distinctive painting, sculpture and landscape. The fascination of Chiang Mai relates to the large number of archaeological sites around the city, for example Wat Jedi Luang and Wat Pra Singh. Wat Jedi Luang is built in brick and plaster with stucco, with traces of bronze covering, typical of the Lanna architecture and religious art of old Chiang Mai.

3. **Social value**

The location of Chiang Mai on the Ping River was appropriate for human settlement and helped it develop as a political and economic centre. Apart from its historical remains, especially the ancient walls, the gateway and the moat, nowadays Chiang Mai is also an economic centre of the north because of its location. In addition, Chiang Mai is now a major tourist attraction because of these values and this helps the economy of the region.

Objectives

The study aimed to explore the relationship between heritage and tourism, also emerging cultural heritage tourism and the perceptions that the local community has about the effect of tourism on their lives and thus the implications for managing the heritage and tourism relationship.

Research methodology

From the literature, most previous studies on tourism impacts have used a top-down approach to investigate residents' perceptions of tourism impacts. This study differentiates itself from most research because it uses a bottom-up approach to examine community values. A bottom-up approach emphasises residents' values in relation to tourism development in their community and thereby minimises the weaknesses of top-down approaches. The survey instrument used in this study comprised a matrix based on a conceptual approach to the measurement of community values as developed by Bushell *et al.* (2005). The original instrument was developed for use in the coastal community of Manly, a beach-side suburb of Sydney in Australia, and subsequently slightly adjusted before being applied to Chiang Mai.

In addition, the Bushell *et al.* approach to sustainable tourism does not aim to achieve effective, universally applicable measurements of actual impacts like other sustainable tourism studies (for example the sustainable tourism indicators approach by Weaver and Lawton (1999) and the UNWTO (1996) indicators of sustainable tourism approach) which tried to be "scientific". As Bushell *et al.* (2005) pointed out, however, this is problematic. Actual impacts are one thing, perceived impacts are another thing altogether: if local communities are going to negotiate approaches to deal with tourism impacts, their perceptions are critical. The Manly methodology is important because both the matrix itself and the perceptions that it generated are not those of the researchers but those that arise from the community most affected (Staiff, Bushell, and Ongkhluap, 2007) (Figure 2).
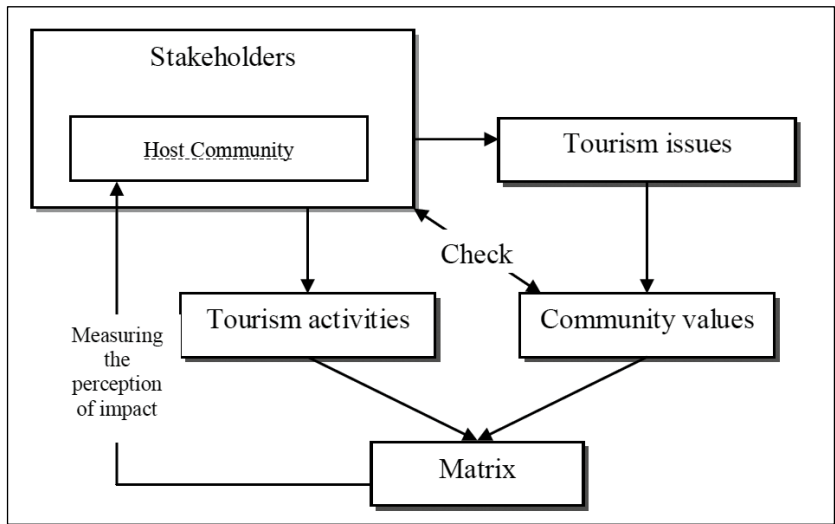
Figure 2: *The conceptual framework of the Manly study.*
Source: Staiff, Bushell, and Ongkhluap (2007)

In the present study, the researcher intended to ascertain heritage tourism issues by using archival material plus interviewing local residents and stakeholders. The researcher gathered information through interviews and by observation. The sample was clustered into two groups: the local residents who lived in the tourist area and those in the non-tourist area. They are geographically separated. Data and information were obtained from interviews of 650 local resident. The method for the study consisted of eight stages.

1. The determination of the costs and benefits of tourism: ascertain heritage and tourism *issues* by the local community. This was developed from a review of the interviews with local residents and stakeholders. The researcher asked open-ended questions of residents in the pre-survey stage. The guiding questions were: What do you think about the changes in Chiang Mai? How can communities, agencies and government manage and promote tourism? Of the many changes and impacts mentioned from the interviews, 70 tourism issues pertained specifically to Chiang Mai such as inappropriate tourist behaviour, increased revenue for the temple from donations, lack of concern from the Fine Arts Department and modernisation causing changes in their community.

2. Issues from the interviews were then converted into a series of ***values*** and validation testing of the values was then performed. In order to produce a consensus about the translation of the tourism issues into values and what values might be behind the statement of an issue, the process was undertaken by a group of Thai and Australian tourism researchers.

3. The third stage was to record all the ***activities*** that are undertaken by tourists within Chiang Mai. The dominant tourist activities in Chiang Mai were listed from tourist promotional material and observation.

These dominant tourism activities are as follows:

1. Pilgrimage to religious shrines
2. Visiting heritage sites such as Wat Chedi Luang
3. Visiting a museum
4. Sightseeing without specific purpose or sites
5. Festival and events such as Songkran festival (Thai New Year)
6. Shopping
7. Handicraft (both buying and watching being made)
8. Seeing the way of life of people living in the ancient city
9. Cycling around the city
10. City tour by tricycle
11. Walking
12. Car and bicycle rental
13. Use of public transport
14. Taking photos
15. Food and beverage consumption
16. Visiting family and friends
17. Thai massage
18. Study the Thai language
19. Taking Thai cooking classes
20. Night life/pubs/bars/discos/karaoke
21. Educational tours
22. Sunday walking street
23. Accommodation
24. Going on a guided tour
25. Travel without a tour guide

4. ***Validation*** of the values comes next. The lists of values and tourism activities were developed into a matrix for the validation. The values were pilot tested by students and the academic staff at Payap University and Chiang Mai University in Chiang Mai. Matrixes were self - administered and selected randomly throughout the university campus. After they had taken the matrix, feedback was encouraged to gain insight into which questions were confusing or poorly worded. The responses of the pilot group proved to be invaluable for improving the matrix.

5. The lists of values and tourism activities were developed into a ***matrix*** with values on the X or horizontal axis and the activities on the Y or vertical axis. These values were put against all the tourism activities in order to investigate whether or not each tourism activity was perceived differently, by the local community, in relation to tourism development.

6. The researcher then ***described the impacts*** on the matrix by looking at each value against each activity and deciding whether it had a positive or negative impact or no impact and then gave it a (+) sign meaning positive impacts, (-) sign meaning negative impacts. **Zero** was neutral or neither positive or negative. A blank meant no relationship or it was thought to be irrelevant. Figure 3 shows the instrument that was developed.

7. The matrix was then given to a variety people living in Chiang Mai. The aim was to record the ***community perceptions*** of the impacts of tourism. The sampling frame was selected with care. Surrounded by ancient fortified walls, the old city of Chiang Mai physically combines modern urbanised places and heritage sites. It was sent to households selected at random. There were 27 values considered to be socio-cultural, 10 values considered environmental and 11 values considered economic. Tables 1 to 3 illustrate the values produced by local groups where heritage and religious tourism is observable and where opinions are being expressed about heritage and tourism.

8. The perceptions of the impacts of tourism by the host community were then ***analysed*** further in terms of the ***implications*** for heritage management, for tourism and for the host community.

Table 1: *List of Values related to the Society and Culture*
described by Chiang Mai residents

Value	Sociocultural Values
V 1	Respecting and understanding culture, tradition and spiritual value
V 2	We want to live in a secure environment
V 3	We want Chiang Mai to have a good image.
V 4	Changing the pattern of land use from agricultural to industry
V 5	Changing the pattern of employment
V 6	Increased social interaction
V 7	Living in a modern environment
V 8	Increased local awareness about heritage
V 9	Urban planning is important for town development
V 10	Culture and tradition changed from its authenticity
V 11	Conserving of heritage site is important
V 12	Migration from rural area to urban area
V 13	Community participation with temple activities is important
V 14	Preserving the monk's role is important
V 15	The connection between temple and community is important
V 16	Living in a community where tourism numbers are controlled
V 17	Community based decision making
V 18	Social benefits should be widely distributed
V 19	Good co-operative planning where government works with other sectors
V 20	Respect for temple designs in contemporary architecture
V 21	Heritage conservation education is important
V 22	Intercultural communication in temples is good
V 23	Government support for heritage conservation is good
V 24	Private sector and community should participate in tourism promotion
V 25	Pride in our local identity
V 26	Traffic congestion interrupts our way of life
V 27	Low crime community is disable

Table 2: *List of Values related to the Environment described by Chiang Mai residents.*

Value	Environmental Values
V 28	Quiet and peaceful environment
V 29	Living in a community where road condition is good
V 30	The good supply of water to a community
V 31	The good supply of power to a community
V 32	The good supply of telecommunications network to a community
V 33	Clean and pollution free environment
V 34	Effective waste water management
V 35	Good planning that prevents flooding
V 36	Adequate car parking
V 37	Good management that encourages clean environment

Table 3: *List of Values related to the Economy described by Chiang Mai residents*

Value	Economic aspects
V 38	Income generation
V 39	Income generation for temple
V 40	More customers, more business
V 41	Employment for locals
V 42	Increased cost of living
V 43	Less seasonal fluctuations in business
V 44	Increase in land price
V 45	Businesses should be locally owned
V 46	Landlords should be locals
V 47	Improved economic development
V 48	Economic benefit should be widely distributed

Value	Respecting and understanding culture, tradition and spiritual value	Zoning is important	Good city image	Distribution of land use, no conflict	Changing the pattern of employment	Increased social interaction	Globalisation is inevitable	Increase local awareness on heritage
Tourism activities								
• Pilgrimage								
• Visiting heritage sites								
• Visiting museum								
• Sightseeing								
• Festival and events								
• Shopping								
• Handicraft								
• See the way of life								
• Cycling around the city								
• City tour by Tricycle								
• Walking								
• Car and motorcycle rental								
• Use of public transportation								
• Taking photo								
• Food and beverage consumption								
• Visiting family and friend								
• Thai massage								
• Study Thai language								
• Taking Thai cooking class								
• Night life/pubs/ bars/discos/karaoke								
• Education tour								
• Sunday walking street								
• Accommodation								
• Going on guide tour								
• Travel without tour guide								

Figure 3: *Example of Matrix for local residents*

Methodological problems and limitations of the matrix

Regarding the limitations of the matrix and the problems associated with this study, several issues can be highlighted.

1. The response from the pilot test proved to be an invaluable tool for improving the matrix. It appeared that the respondents misunderstood some values. This might be due to the language problem. Some "values" in English turned out to be "issues" after being translated into Thai due to the conceptual and linguistic overlap of 'value' and 'issue' in Thai perceptions and in Thai language. Moreover, the language used was too formal or academic. Description of the values was revised for a clearer understanding.

2. The pattern of the matrix needed an adjustment from the Manly study. First, time was a major problem. It took at least 3 minutes for respondents to fill out the interaction of one value with all activities. The previous matrix style (the Manly study) was designed with tourism activities on the X or horizontal axis and the values on the Y or vertical axis. So, the matrix style here had been changed, with values listed on the X or horizontal axis and the tourist activities on the Y or vertical axis. Then, it took only 30 seconds for the respondents to fill out the section for one interaction.

3. The previous instruction to respondents asked the respondents to give (√) sign if they agreed with the statement and (x) sign if they disagreed with the statement and (-) if they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement. So, it was confusing to decide which meaning the respondents referred to, positive impacts or negative impacts. For a better understanding and more reliable data, respondents was asked to describe the impacts on the matrix by looking at each value against each activity and deciding whether it had positive, negative or no impact and then give it a (+) sign meaning positive impacts, (-) sign meaning negative impacts and zero for neutral or neither positive nor negative. A blank means no relationship or it was thought to be irrelevant.

4. It is interesting that "No impact" and "No relationship" were virtually indistinguishable from a local resident perspective after been translated into Thai language. Even though the team administrating the survey were instructed to explain the different meanings of "No impact" and "No relationship" to the respondents, these two words were open to interpretation and it was an unfortunate choice of words in the design of the matrix. More useful information may have been obtained if the local residents had clearly understood.

5. The question arises about how confident the researcher can be that the sample means are close to the truth. However, it must be pointed out the survey was never intended to be a measurement of a statistically valid sample of the population. Instead the survey sought to understand general perceptions and understandings, not absolute relationships. It is noticeable that the rate of "No relationship" is very high regarding environmental and economic values. This is either because the number of values was too large or because some values were too abstract for local residents; or it might be because the general understanding of environmental and economic relationships to tourism activities is low. If this latter is indeed the case, it is a vital and concerning issue as it would be revealing a low level of education and understanding of cause and effect within the community.

Results and implications

The main aim of this study was to understand residents' perceptions toward tourism impacts, to gain a broader understanding of how the residents respond to all the heritage values of the city and the implications for managing the heritage and tourism relationship. It is quite evident from the research findings that socio-demographic factors had no observable effect on the residents' attitude towards tourism development and its impacts. Attitude research is complex and a time-consuming process and it should be noted that other studies on Chiang Mai residents may use other techniques to measure impacts of tourism on the residents and may find that some demographic factors could be linked to the perception of tourism impacts. However, it is the nature of social science research

that no absolute knowledge is possible, only various perspectives under certain conditions. All social research is like a photograph; it freezes particular social and historical conditions at the time of the research, but in the full understanding that society is dynamic and ever changing and the research will always be only ever a provisional description of Chiang Mai and its inhabitants. This does not invalidate the research but contributes to a growing understanding of the complexity of the problem of tourism impacts and provides a base-line in Chiang Mai for further on-going research. This study also adds to the heritage and tourism impacts literature by emphasising the importance of community perceptions based on self-identified values (rather than external experts and externally created indicators) and the importance of values in the heritage, community and tourism entanglement (Bushell and Staiff, 2012; Staiff and Bushell, 2013).

The research findings indicate that some 40 percent of the respondents saw a positive relationship between tourism activities and the economic values they hold. It is not surprising that perceived economic gain is the most significant factor which influences residents' perceptions toward tourism impacts since tourism is a vital economic activity not just for Chiang Mai but Thailand as a whole. However, the research found that over 50 percent of respondents perceive a neutral relationship or no relationship between tourism activities and the heritage values of the city. Globalisation and modernisation have become among the most debated subjects of heritage management (Logan, 2002; Daly and Winter, 2012). Many researchers consider the process of globalisation as the motivator of economic development and cultural exchange. Modernity has always been linked to the growth of both the heritage sector and the tourism industry. In the 21ˢᵗ century it is now understood that globalisation and modernity are complex and have no originating source: in Thailand, Asian globalisation and modernity are as critical as Western variants. What cannot be disputed is that globalised heritage and globalised tourism profoundly intersect in a historic city like Chiang Mai and, therefore, cannot but affect people's lives. Heritage values, we now understand (Smith, 2006), are dynamic and change over time irrespective of tourism development (Staiff and Bushell, forthcoming). This has implications for heritage management because residents do not distinguish between modernity and tourism. Indeed

on many levels they are indistinguishable and often the issue lies with tourism researchers who want to privilege the term 'tourism' (Theerapappisit and Staiff, 2006; Staiff and Bushell, 2013).

The local community has always been seen as a major player in the heritage tourism sector and its management. However, it competes with other powerful stakeholders, especially the national government and its agencies and the multinational players in the tourism industry. As Timothy and Boyd (2003) have noted, "selective representation and interpretation examples can also be found in developing countries where the elite or the power groups decide what and whose heritage to include or discard", especially in the national government. The Tourism Authority of Thailand attempts to promote Lanna culture, Lanna heritage and the uniqueness of Chiang Mai. But the conception of 'Lanna culture' is selective and it is important to note the contestations around any understanding of 'authentic' Lanna culture. The culture heritage of minority groups has been ignored; the dynamic nature of culture, always transforming, is rarely acknowledged as though in both heritage and tourism representations culture is a fixed entity. Conquered and under the control of Burma for 200 years, Lanna culture has been much influenced by Burmese culture. It is impossible to indicate an absolutely authentic Lanna culture. Another finding that should be acknowledged in this study, is that less than 10 percent of respondents perceived any impacts of tourism on the socio-cultural values of the community. Local residents perceived tourism development as a neutral force with regards to their socio-cultural values. On some levels, cultural heritage may have lost its original purpose and meaning – do the ancient walls and the moat have historical value for many of Chiang Mai's inhabitants or do they just form an aesthetic distinctiveness within the urban environment like a symbol of the city or are they simply 'there', as part of the everyday and without any other significance? Whatever the answer, heritage is just another form of culture always undergoing transformation and not just because of tourism development but because of the role of Chiang Mai in its region, within the national economy and within the national imagination. Nevertheless, this study indicates that Chiang Mai residents have seen tourism as a tool for preserving, maintaining and promoting their cultural heritage to themselves and to visitors, whether domestic tourists or international

tourists. To this extent the research supports one of the most important tenets of recent heritage theory and practice: the centrality of community engagement if cultural heritage sustainability is to be achieved (World Heritage Papers, 31, World Heritage Through Community Development).

The values related to the perceptions of the tourism-environment relationship are very interesting. Attitudes to the environment were surprising: no associations between the impacts of tourism and environmental values were expressed, since the survey showed 57 percent of respondents claimed no association between the two variables. Respondents agreed that tourism had positive impacts on infrastructure development such as roads, power, water and telecommunications. This means that local residents may be unaware of or lack any concern for the environmental impacts of tourism activities. Interestingly, this is roughly similar to an identical survey undertaken at Ayutthaya (Staiff and Ongkhluap, 2012). The lack of an understanding of the relationship between human activities and environmental effects has critical implications for both tourism and heritage: for tourism it means development can proceed without community concern for their environment and therefore there are no checks against development and for heritage no understanding that heritage conservation and environmental sustainability are profoundly linked.

Several studies have indicated that the attitude of residents toward further tourism development is a function of three sets of variables: sociodemographic variables, variables relating to the relationship with tourism and variables of perception about the effects of tourism and the agents involved (Vargas-Sanchez *et al.*, 2009). The conclusions, however, obtained from the analyses of the influence of the socio demographic factors on the attitude of the residents toward tourism development are not coinciding with other research. There were no significant relationships observable between sociodemographic values and tourism activities. Taking into account the degree of dependence on tourism and the level of tourism contact, residents considered that tourism did not have much of an impact on their community. Some residents cannot distinguish between the impacts caused by tourists and those caused by residents themselves.

The perceptions of the impacts of tourism by the host community have implications for heritage management, for tourism and for the host community itself. The residents clearly identified a suite of positive impacts, predominantly economic ones. Given the large economic impact it is not surprising to find that the residents overwhelmingly support tourism, primarily on the basis of income generation from tourism activity. However, residents indicated that tourism has negative impact upon their well-being and generates congestion during festivals. Respondents felt that the government was not strict enough with regards to zoning or business hours with this type of business. Residents also noted that the government did not limit the number of these businesses in fragile areas such as heritage sites. In fact there are few controls on heritage management from the government.

Chiang Mai residents have mixed emotions about the tourism industry in the city. It is clear that some people have a mistaken perception about what determines the impacts and whether they are caused by the tourism industry or by modernisation. Modernisation is perceived as a specific aspect of the globalisation process. Increasing 'international interest' in world heritage sites – or in Chiang Mai a kind of local equivalent – means that the links between conservation and tourism can further the spread of preservation, conservation and heritage awareness among locals in Thailand, especially as an increase in the heritage status of Chiang Mai would offer the promise of foreign funding and foreign exchange from an expanding tourism industry. The social and environmental costs of this however, are not well understood by the community most affected.

Meanwhile, within the international conservation discourse the problem of local people in and at the edge of heritage sites has received broad attention. It is widely recognised that effective management of a heritage site requires participation approaches but these only find their way into national policies and practices in rather technocratic, top-down ways, if at all. Overall, the matrix model as a tool to understand the perceptions of residents to tourism development in an historic city like Chiang Mai produces a critical and pessimistic interpretation of both heritage and tourism; neither are well understood by members of the community. Further, the matrix itself indicated that when residents faced certain questions they tended to respond,

not from a detailed analysis or understanding, but from a general opinion. The complexity and length of the matrix contributed markedly to this pattern. However, it is worth pointing out that a considerable part of this study has been carried on in the heart of social systems which could be helped to better understand the impacts of tourism on the community and on the heritage resources which contribute to the city's image and make it a significant tourist destination.

All in all, it should be possible to incorporate into the matrix model a new format which suited local preferences. It may allow the work to be enhanced and improved with the discovery of the impacts that condition the residents' attitudes toward tourism in particular and its relationship to the historic character of Chiang Mai more generally.

Conclusion

The emerging awareness of community involvement and participation in heritage management has generated the need for a heritage research methodology that allows local communities more involvement in the research and development process. Local communities are not homogeneous and display many variables, many dynamic forces and many specific historical, geographical and socio-cultural differences. The research methodology employed in this study attempted to fill the gap between research and local community perspectives. The matrix model developed in this study relied on quantitative values that were self-selected by people living in Chiang Mai. Any approach that begins with the issues that people observe in their daily lives and then converts these issues into measures of the underlying values that people hold is in marked contrast to the use of global indicators developed by bodies like the UN World Tourism Organisation to gauge tourism impacts on local places and peoples (including their culture and their heritage). A community-based approach is itself a community-awareness raising activity and the issues and values identified will, it is hoped, help the community in Chiang Mai understand and be more engaged in the right procedures, effective coordination and effective management at the earliest stages of the heritage development process. To this end the survey has been a double edged sword: it has

helped engage Chiang Mai residents in a process that makes people think about the relationships between *moradok* (heritage) and tourism but it has also revealed that the understanding of the relationship between heritage protection and tourism is not advanced. Nevertheless, it is hoped that community-based approaches will become a useful tool for heritage management, researchers and other stakeholders involved in tourism activities, especially in the context of a developing country like Thailand, caught as it is in the dynamics of the so-called 'Asian Century'.

In conclusion, cultural heritage is clearly dynamic: it involves a continuously changing set of circumstances related to the inevitable degradation of historical places over time, changes and modifications that all urban fabric endures and transformations in cultures, economies and urban spaces increasingly subject to global flows of capital, information, people, ideas, political influences. Heritage management, increasingly, must attempt to balance out the preservation and conservation of heritage places for present and future generations in relation to these aforementioned dynamics. At the very least, community-based local processes are critical. Researchers and heritage professionals perhaps need to become more flexible in their attitudes towards cultural change and transformation while keeping a close look at how to manage heritage through the technology and understandings of contemporary society that is not just focused on material fabric but on the values that underpin heritage protection in vulnerable and fragile urban environments (see Daly and Winter, 2012).

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