Hochschule für nachhaltige Entwicklung Eberswalde

Responsible Tourism Development as a Tool for Heritage Reproduction

Planning a Heritage Day in a Kalaw Town, Southern Shan State/Myanmar

Master thesis

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Abstract

This master thesis examines a process of heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development, contributing to Critical Heritage Studies in general and responsible tourism development in particular. The theoretical comparison of the academic discipline of Critical Heritage Studies with an Authorised Heritage Discourse, which still determines the treatment of heritage worldwide, enabled the identification of specific dimensions in which any processes in dealing with heritage are decisively influenced. In order to establish the link to responsible tourism, the first step was to look at the interpretation of sustainability and tourism on the part of heritage studies. On the other hand, the concept of tourism was studied, and the notions of heritage contained therein were examined more closely. In individual steps, we looked from the theoretical idea of sustainability to its active form of responsible tourism development, then highlighted cultural tourism, and finally the tourism policies in Myanmar, which are largely based on the Do-No-Harm approach, to reflect the spatial context. Four cross-cutting dimensions derived on which the analysis of the empirical data was based; (1) participation in decision-making, (2) inclusivity of content, (3) intentions, and (4) power relations. The qualitative data represent interviews conducted by the author within an international development project with a focus on tourism development in southern Shan State. Thirteen representatives of different stakeholders were interviewed regarding their interpretations of a possible organisation of a Heritage Day in a town in the Kalaw township. Through a secondary analysis of these interviews, insights into a process of heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development were possible.

This master thesis has revealed important mechanisms that make it clear that heritage can be understood in different ways as a political tool, as a social practice or as an economic resource, even when dealing with heritage in a rather small place in Myanmar. In this context, tourism can certainly be understood as a common goal of all stakeholders, which allows for minimising friction and enabling compromise. At the same time, however, certain forms of heritage speak to past and sometimes still existing conflicts in the country, and the fear that these could be fuelled or repeated runs deep. Some see heritage as a highly sensitive issue to be handled with extreme caution, while others recognise it above all as a liberating and peace-making activity that brings diverse people together. Which approach prevails is determined not least by the unbalanced power relations between the different actors.

Zusammenfassung

In dieser Masterarbeit wurde ein Prozess der Reproduktion von Kulturerbe im Kontext einer verantwortungsvollen Tourismusentwicklung untersucht und damit ein Beitrag zu der wissenschaftlichen Disziplin der Critical Heritage Studies im Allgemeinen und zur Tourismusentwicklung im Besonderen geleistet. Der theoretische Vergleich der Critical Heritage Studies mit einem vorherrschenden autorisierten Heritage-Diskurs ermöglichte die Identifizierung spezifischer Dimensionen, in denen jegliche solcher Prozesse entscheidend beeinflusst werden. Um die Verbindung zum verantwortungsvollen Tourismus herzustellen, wurde in einem ersten Schritt die Interpretation von Nachhaltigkeit und Tourismus seitens der Heritage Studies betrachtet. Zum anderen wurde der Begriff des Tourismus untersucht und die darin enthaltenen Vorstellungen von Kulturerbe näher beleuchtet. In einzelnen Schritten wurde von der theoretischen Idee der Nachhaltigkeit zu ihrer aktiven Form der verantwortungsvollen Tourismusentwicklung geschaut, dann der Kulturtourismus beleuchtet und schließlich gezielt die Tourismuspolitik in Myanmar, die weitgehend auf einem Ansatz der Schadensvermeidung basiert, dargestellt, um dem räumlichen Kontext gerecht zu werden. Daraus ergaben sich vier Querschnittsdimensionen, auf denen die Analyse der empirischen Daten basierte: (1) Partizipation an Entscheidungsprozessen, (2) inhaltliche Inklusivität, (3) Intentionen und (4) Machtverhältnisse. Das Set der qualitativen Daten bildeten Interviews, die von dem Autor im Rahmen eines internationalen Entwicklungsprojekts mit einem Schwerpunkt auf Tourismusentwicklung im südlichen Shan-Staat durchgeführt wurden. Dreizehn Vertreter verschiedener Interessengruppen wurden zu ihren Meinungen über eine mögliche Organisation eines Tags des Kulturerbes in einer Stadt in der Gemeinde „Kalaw" befragt. Die Sekundäranalyse dieser Interviews erlaubte Einblicke in die Reproduktion des Kulturerbes im Kontext einer verantwortungsvollen Tourismusentwicklung.

Es wurden wichtige Mechanismen deutlich, die bereits in einem eher kleinen Ort in Myanmar deutlich machen, dass kulturelles Erbe auf unterschiedliche Weise als politisches Instrument, als soziale Praxis oder als wirtschaftliche Ressource verstanden werden kann. Tourismus kann sicherlich als gemeinsames Ziel aller Beteiligten verstanden werden, welches es ermöglicht, Reibungen zu minimieren und Kompromisse zu ermöglichen. Gleichzeitig sprechen bestimmte Formen des Kulturerbes vergangene und teilweise noch bestehende Konflikte im Land an, und die Angst, dass diese geschürt oder wiederholt werden könnten, sitzt tief. Manche sehen im Kulturerbe ein hochsensibles Thema, das mit äußerster Vorsicht zu behandeln ist, während andere es vor allem als befreiende und friedensstiftende Aktivität erkennen, die unterschiedliche Menschen zusammenbringt. Welcher Ansatz sich durchsetzt, wird nicht zuletzt von den unausgewogenen Machtverhältnissen zwischen den verschiedenen Akteuren bestimmt.

Acknowledgments

I recognize that shortly after I have been living and working in Myanmar and engaging with many very kind people, the country like the rest of the world was hit by COVID-19. This led to a total collapse of the tourism industry in the country, leaving many without jobs and income. Worse, almost a year after I conducted the interviews in which interviewees shared their thoughts, in which anything seemed possible, the military junta staged a coup and overthrew the democratically elected government. Since then, the ongoing protests of the civilian population have been bloodily put down. It is impressive how much strength and courage these people muster despite these extremely difficult conditions.

I would like to dedicate this work to all the brave people in Myanmar who are fighting for their freedom. May they prevail and be able to create a peaceful future according to their own dreams.

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ACHS	Association of Critical Heritage Studies
AHD	Authorized Heritage Discourse
BIF	Business Innovation Facility
CBT	Community-based Tourism
CHS	Critical Heritage Studies
CIT	Community Involvement in Tourism
GAD	General Administration Department
HS	Heritage Studies
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ILO	International Labour Organization
ITC	International Trade Center
KTGO	Kalaw Tour Guide Organisation
KTO	Kalaw Tourism Organization
MoHT	Ministry of Hotels & Tourism, Myanmar
MP	Member of the Parliament
SECO	Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMEs	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
UN	United Nations
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization

1 Introduction

The relationship between heritage and tourism is a long standing and complex one. Tourism is a constant reality in all everyday practices concerned with the conservation, reproduction, and management of heritage sites and products, and has long played an important role in how they are perceived, encountered, and experienced in the wider social and political sphere. Almost 50 years have passed since the *UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 1972), in which tourism is mentioned in only one of its 38 articles. The consideration of the travel industry as an active variable in all processes affecting heritage has since evolved from an implicit to an increasingly explicit one in both policy and practice.

In this master thesis, heritage was not seen so much as a 'thing', but much more as a process of remembering that creates certain ways of perceiving and framing the present in certain cultural and social contexts. By doing so, the author introduced an idea of heritage that have begun to emerge in the interdisciplinary field of Heritage Studies (HS). This is already a relatively young academic field of study, from which an even younger field has emerged over the last two decades, namely that of Critical heritage Studies (CHS). CHS sees a more critical view of the substance of cultural heritage as necessary and thereby allows, above all, a critical view of the processes and practices underlying its reproduction, conservation, or management, which in turn constitute heritage. The work could be of interest to scholars from a wide range of disciplines. Given that the notion of heritage has expanded dramatically in recent decades to include a variety of disciplines that go far beyond the traditional categories of architecture, artefacts, archives, history, and art (Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 1). Furthermore, the work placed the application of CHS in the context of another widely discussed concept, that of responsible tourism development. This resulted in a highly interdisciplinary framework that links fields ranging from tourism studies and human geography to anthropology and sociology.

The focus of this work was on a process of cultural heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development. For this purpose, a case study was conducted in the Southeast Asian country of Myanmar. More specifically, in a culturally rich small town with a very diverse population in the Kalaw Township in the country's southern Shan State. At this location, an UN development agency was planning the implementation of a Heritage Day, for which the local community was asked about their concrete ideas about and possible support for such a project. At the same time, the UN agency in charge of the project generally pursues responsible tourism development in the region, and for this, responsible tourism development can be understood as the tool with which the Heritage Day should be realised. These contexts made it possible to analyse

data in a specific context, which led to the research question: *Which factors influence a potential reproduction of heritage in responsible tourism development?*

The master thesis is divided into seven chapters. After this introduction, Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical part, in which the terminology of heritage is elaborated step by step, on which the later empirical evaluation was based. The chapter begins by outlining the approach in which CHS and the concept of responsible tourism development were linked, considering individual analytical dimensions with which phenomena within these disciplines can be examined. This is followed by Chapter 3, which introduces the practical part of the thesis and first explains the main features of the methodological procedure. The empirical study and its data collection in the form of qualitative key informant interviews are also presented in this chapter. Chapter 4 describes in more detail how the data obtained was specifically prepared and applied for this work in the form of a secondary data analysis. Chapter 5 then presents the discussion of the results using the four cross-cutting dimensions for data analysis that emerged from the theoretical discussion. In a conclusion in chapter 6, the results are summarised once again, the concepts are critically examined and an outlook on further research is given before the thesis ends in a final chapter 7 with a personal reflection on the author's experiences. For comprehensibility of the evaluated data, these were compiled and clearly presented in a separate document. A CD-ROM containing the interview recordings is also attached to this document.

2   Theoretical background and conceptual orientations

The theoretical derivation happened on two levels. Firstly, the emergence of the academic discipline of Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) was presented and the specific analytical dimensions underlying this discipline, especially in distinction to an Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), are specifically named. Additional attention was paid to tourism and sustainability within the heritage discourse to build a link to the specific context of this thesis. Secondly, the characteristics of responsible tourism development were highlighted and at the same time examined for a possible application of the analytical dimensions of CHS. Here, too, different conceptual approaches were presented and examined. First, that of sustainable tourism, as the basis of responsible tourism development. Second, that of cultural tourism as a special form of tourism in which heritage goods in particular are consumed. Third, the specific approach to tourism development in Myanmar was discussed to appropriately address the geographical context of the empirical study. Figure 1 shows the theoretical approach in detail, which ultimately led to four cross-cutting dimensions that also served as the basis for the empirical part of the thesis.

Figure 1: Outline of the theoretical approach
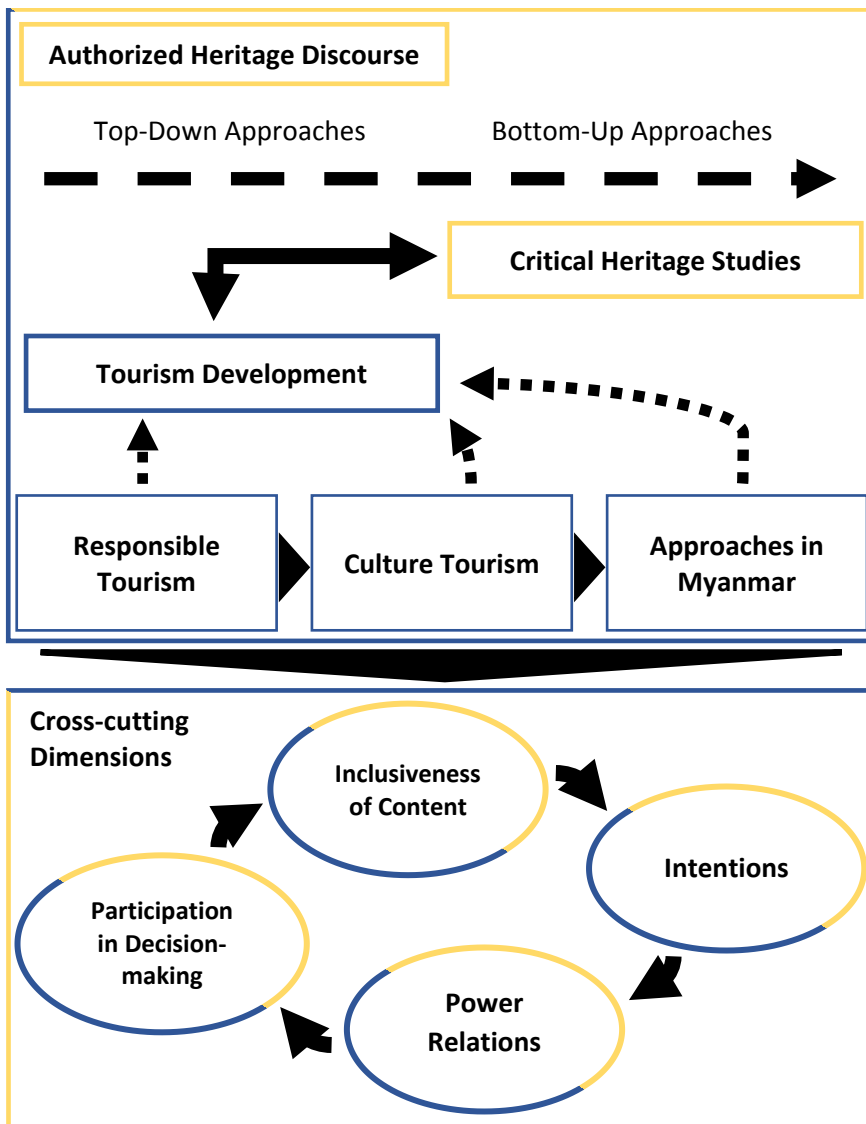
Note. Own illustration.

2.1   The heritage perspective

The study of heritage has undergone continues paradigmatic changes during the past few decades. These changes occurred partly to adapt the research to newly emerging social, political, economic, and cultural transformations of societies and countries (Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 1; Lähdesmäki et al., 2019, p. 1). A new world consisting of networked agencies, global flows of goods and culture, cultural hybridity, and a global movement of people in between and across boarders asks for a new interpretation of heritage as it challenges the previous core characteristics of it being a cornerstone of national identity-building projects and a necessity for upholding Eurocentric cultural values agreed upon by an elitist cultural canon. Today, consensual heritage narratives regarding nations and their national identities can be questioned and contested. Identity claims can

be made below and above the national narrative, as well as within it, by different communities defined either geographically or by subjective attributions; those may refer to cultural, social, economic, ethical, religious, or linguistic overlaps in experience (Lähdesmäki et al., 2019, p. 1). Not surprisingly cultural heritage is increasingly considered as heavily entangled with the broader social, political and economic contexts in which heritage is reproduced, managed, protected, or even destroyed (Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 1). Communities around the world have managed in recent decades to increasingly assert the legitimacy of their collective identities and their heritage as its manifestation (Lähdesmäki et al., 2019, p. 1). Today heritage can include aspects ranging from architecture, intangible cultural practices, knowledge and language, performances, and rituals even to environmental landscapes that are charged with cultural meanings. Moreover, this shift signalled, in terms of methodology, that heritage protection needed to broaden its set of methodological approaches to include not only those which target the maintenance of material fabrics, even so this had traditionally been the primary intent of cultural heritage (Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 1). In the following, the author took a closer look at this paradigm shift that brought heritage research into a new critical phase.

2.1.1 Historical formation of Heritage Studies

For a better understanding of the capabilities and limitations of the heritage sector in negotiating and addressing the critical issues of today, it seemed necessary to outline an idea of how heritage has been composed of different forms of expertise and knowledge practices in a historical context. In that regard, it appeared that the origin of heritage as well as the focus on the changing aspects of its field are not reflected uniformly. For example, Winter (2013, p. 537) focuses on the categorisations of disciplines and knowledge production that formed around material culture, like buildings, art objects, and archaeological sites and refers to their appearance between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. He describes how the ideals of Enlightenment thinkers formed new ways of restructuring scientific research that were essential to the kind of knowledge production associated with the field to this day. Emerging fields at this time, such as geology, helped shape the interest in antiquarianism into the more scientific disciplines of archaeology, architectural history, and the classification systems that formed within the museum (Ibid.). West and Ansell (2010, p. 9) point to earlier uses of heritage such as the founding myth of the British Isles, *the History of the Kings of Britain* (Monmouth, 1973) written by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the early twelfth century, before jumping to the first formal society for antiquarians during the reign of Elizabeth I in the fifteenth century as being the first group of enthusiasts for heritage. Harvey (2001, p. 320) goes back even further by arguing that heritage or at least 'the past'

and material items from that past were considered by humanity much earlier than most contemporary debates allow. He emphasizes:

> […] that heritage has always been with us and has always been produced by people according to their contemporary concerns and experiences. Consequently, we should explore the history of heritage, not starting at an arbitrary date […] but by producing a context-rich account of heritage as a process or a human condition rather than as a single movement or personal project. This account would place people […] as representative of a particular strand of heritage at a particular moment in time, reflecting the agendas, perceptions, and arrangements of that time. (Ibid., p. 333)

It is this notion of a 'strand' which Smith (2006, p. 17) finds more useful to be discussed as a particular discourse of heritage that formed in the late nineteenth century Europe and has since emerged to a universalizing discourse in the twenty-first century. By highlighting historical changes such as increasing colonialism and industrialization or the French Revolution and the loss of legitimacy of the aristocracy in much of Europe, she points out that the turbulent nineteenth century called for a new form of securing or expressing social cohesion and identity (Ibid., p. 18). National and racial discourses and a universalizing modernity demanded the emergence of the concept we identify today as *heritage*. For the new Modern Europe, being European meant expressing certain European values throughout the world, even in places like the United States. However, Smith (Ibid., pp. 18-20) explains that for a long time the focus was only on tangible heritage (see Section 2.2.1), as reflected by the institutionalisation of museums to showcase collections of national antiquities and the interest in preserving and managing specific landmarks and historic buildings.

At that time, the general view was that only the educated could discuss and agree on what should be considered cultural heritage in terms of modern European values, and also that only the educated could actually have the cultural education necessary to appreciate things like architectural monuments. What might be called European conservation principles became even firmer as they spread to other parts of the world, such as the United States or colonized countries, in the latter as part of the colonial rule and its ideas. This mounted in the *Athens Charter for the Restauration of Historic Monuments* (International Council on Monuments and Sites [ICOMOS], 1931) and the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (Venice Charter) (ICOMOS, 1964) the first of many International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) charters that continue to strongly influence heritage conservation and management practices today (Smith, 2006, p. 21). Smith (Ibid., p. 21) clarifies that with this development the European ideas about conservation and the nature of heritage have become global common sense and that the conservation ethic has been imposed on non-Western nations. Further, it was through

the romantic movement that natural heritage was firstly emerging. The idea of pristine wilderness and the nature/culture divide in the enlightenment philosophy led to a concept of natural landscape which had to be conserved in the face of destructive human activities. This concept found its institutionalisation in the late nineteenth century with the creation of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872, the world's first national park (Smith, 2006, p. 21).

What must be emphasized is the influence of the ideas of the early conservationists on what to protect and save. It was always the 'great and good' that was chosen to remind the public of the greatness of their nation or region. Even when it was the 'bad' that was preserved, it was staged as an extraordinary tragedy rather than a reflection on the general inequalities of the human experience. It is this notion that ultimately evolved from the experiences of the ruling and upper middle classes. This approach ultimately developed from the experiences of the ruling and upper middle classes. Their notion of the importance of material culture and its importance as a tool for demonstrating ancestry, cultural and social achievement and power became so deeply rooted in the movement that the conceptual framework is still strongly influenced by it today. (Ibid., p. 23).

1972 brought another milestone for the development of heritage studies when the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) adopted the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (UNESCO, 2001). UNESCO urged for an international agenda for the protection and conservation of sites of universal significance and by doing so confirmed the presence of heritage as a global concern. Smith (2006) highlights, "under this convention, heritage is not only monumental, it is universally significant with universal meaning, and it is, ultimately, physically tangible and imposing" (p. 27). Again, Western values and systems of thought were universalized, by emphasizing the European sense of the historical monument and those were given even more importance after the devastations caused by the Second World War in cityscapes.

In summary, the *when* of heritage can be traced back to the 19th century, but the *where* is localized not only in Western Europe, but in the ruling and upper middle classes. A discourse as much about nationalism and patriotism as it is of certain class experiences emerged into an agreement that is referred to as AHD. Discussed in the next section, it didn't remain unchallenged especially from non-Western nations and commentators.

2.1.2   Authorized Heritage Discourse

Smith (2006) created the concept of AHD to label the dominant Western discourse on cultural heritage. According to her (Ibid., p. 29) this discourse works to naturalize a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage, while focusing on things and is dominated by concepts

of monumentality and aesthetics. It defines which objects, sites, places, or landscapes are worth preserving by the present generation for the education of future generations and creation of a sense of common identity based on the past. At the same time, it defines who the authorized decision-makers are in relation to the past and its significance in the present (see also Waterton & Watson, 2013, p. 551). It is considered that the vagueness of the past and its use in the present by the heritage requires experts such as archaeologists or historians to grasp it, and these are often trained further only by the ideas of the AHD. It is therefore part of the AHD to set the framework and boundaries for a particular field of study dealing with cultural heritage and its experts. In this sense, it is necessary to work with certain recognized tools of analysis and study to allow a common ground and understanding about the meaning of heritage, also defined by the AHD and its institutions. UNESCO and ICOMOS are described by Smith (2006, p. 87) as such authorizing institutions of heritage, which represent the prescriptive bodies of the AHD on a global scale. The conventions and charters released through these agencies are widely accepted to regulate how heritage is defined, how and why it is valuable, and how it should be managed and used. This authority arises partly through the influence they have within the heritage preservation and conservation policies and processes all at national and international levels. More importantly, it comes with the AHD and its power on the actual framework of such conventions and charters. In turn, the AHD is itself perpetuated through the UNESCO and ICOMOS charters and conventions (see also Lähdesmäki et al., 2019, p. 9). The authority of expertise lies in the believe that heritage must come in a form of inheritance or patrimony. For that the AHD understands heritage as the past, which, once it is inevitably saved for future generations is not changeable in the present anymore unless such an alteration of the meaning and value of heritage happens under the careful consideration of heritage professionals (Smith, 2006, p. 29). Another important aspect of the AHD is the idea that heritage must be inherently valuable as it is seen to represent the good and important about the past that influenced and created the actual cultural context of the present. Again, deciding what is good and important could only be done by experts, as only they would have the right tools, knowledge and understanding to recognise what is inherently valuable (Ibid.).

2.1.3   A shifting paradigm

As Smith (2006, pp. 42–43) puts it, a particular discourse about heritage can be used to justify who has the power to ascribe meaning to the past, while at the same time being in itself a process that creates and recreates a variety of social relations, values, and ideas about the past in the present. By recognizing this, AHD itself becomes a form of heritage through which a range of social actors are selected to engage with each other through a shared set of values that are also defined and

legitimized by the discourse itself. As interest in the ways in which ideas about heritage are constructed and legitimated increased, the discourse turned to the conceptual barriers that exist in the reproduction, preservation, or management of forms of heritage, especially forms that compete or are excluded. The AHD for instance seems to exclude the historical, cultural, and social experiences of a range of groups while it also works to limit their critique. Smith (Ibid., p. 29) argues it does so through neglecting that the past is not abstract and therefore has material reality as heritage and that in turn has material consequences for the identities und belongings of whole communities. She highlights that the past cannot be simply reduced to archaeological data or historical texts – it is someone's heritage.

Labrador and Silberman (2018, pp. 5–6) refer to the rising notion of the use of *community* as a concept in heritage studies which understands the community as the actual extra-governmental social entity to engage with in practical heritage work. The emphasis on community in comparison to the until then predominant nation-state or globalized World Heritage is the realization that the value of sites, objects, or traditions is ascribed by multiple communities at the same time. Accordingly, it was realized that the coexistence of different interpretations of the value of certain elements of cultural heritage or the actual ownership of cultural property can lead to strong conflicts. This called for more sensitive approaches to heritage that had to go beyond the problems of physical preservation. While the recognition of communities can help to address the equivalence of different perspectives in interpreting heritage, it remains important to remain critical of how many different types of groups are often lumped together and carelessly labelled as one community (see also Mulligan, 2018, pp. 211–212). Further, Labrador and Silberman (2018, p. 6) highlight the rising consideration of the role of power in heritage decision making – in particular the relative social, economic, and political power of various groups to exclude others. This subject got extensively discussed with regard to the dominant AHD by various scholars, e.g., by excluding woman (Dubrow, 2003), a range of ethnic or other community groups (Shackel, 2001; Wong, 2000) or indigenous communities (Watkins, 2003).

Although it is primarily a critique of hegemonic ideologies and the power of the state to use heritage to culturally homogenize or conversely marginalize minorities, a deeper meaning emerges. Recognizing that cultural heritage is a dynamic social process, as opposed to a fixed canon of heritage resources, a central concern must be to analyse the role of power in determining the elements of cultural heritage, including within marginalized groups (Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 6). In response to the rising criticism the UNESCO adopted the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO, 2003). While seeking to respect non-Western ways of understanding cultural heritage this convention also ascribes greater importance to the concept of

intangible cultural heritage (Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 4; Smith, 2006, p. 28) (see Section 2.2.1).

The limitations of the AHD, which became increasingly apparent to a variety of scholars, paved the way for a newly developing field within HS that will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

2.2   A new critical view on heritage

In direct response to criticisms of the AHD, Smith and other scholars emphasized the need for a field of heritage studies with an inherently critical perspective. This led to the emergence of the field of CHS (Harrison, 2013, p. 111; Smith et al., 2011, p. 4). Smith (2006, p. 30) argues that the heritage discourse should not be limited to the creation of a national sense of community, because this by definition ignores the diversity of subnational cultural and social ideas about what cultural heritage is at this level and what it means to create subnational identities. Further, she (Ibid., p. 87) points to the understanding that the AHD privileging the innate aesthetic and scientific value and physicality of heritage and masks the real cultural and political work that the heritage process does. In that regard Winter (2013) argues:

> […] material-centric, science-based approaches to heritage and conservation are inadequately equipped to deal with the array of issues heritage is now enmeshed in, such as poverty reduction, climate change, sustainability, human rights, democracy, the future of the state and of course the protection and preservation of cultural heritage itself. (p. 542)

While the AHD itself evolved as a core concept inside the CHS, Smith created CHS in theory as a direct reaction against the appearance of the AHD (Smith et al., 2011, p. 4). As part of this effort, the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) was founded in the early 2010s by Smith in collaboration with academics from Australia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Since than the association states to represent a network of more than 1600 members from more than 127 countries (Association of Critical Heritage Studies [ACHS], n.d.) and calls itself "the leading professional association for heritage scholars, educators, policymakers, activists, community members, and practitioners" (Ibid.). In the ACHS manifesto, articulated by Smith (2012), the association proclaims its goal of a truly critical look at heritage by also asking uncomfortable questions of traditional ways of understanding and practicing heritage. The manifesto (Ibid.) indicates what would be required in eight points:

1) Consideration of a wider range of intellectual traditions; Social sciences, in particular, promise theoretical insights and techniques that can help in the study of heritage.

2) Consideration of a wider range of methods for data collection; Novel and imaginative ways and new sources should challenge the established conventions of positivism and quantitative analysis

3) Adding to heritage and museum studies through the integration of other studies; Namely studies of memory, public history, community, tourism, planning and development.

4) The implementation of international multidisciplinary networks and dialogues should be supported; This will foster collaborative research and policy projects.

5) Constant democratisation of heritage meaning and processes; Excluding exclusively elitist cultural narratives and including insights about the heritage of marginalized people, communities, and cultures must be a goal.

6) Acknowledgement of diverse non-Western cultural heritage traditions; Makes CHS truly international.

7) Promoting the exchange between researchers, practitioners, and communities; New approaches through dialogue and debate.

8) Emergence of new heritage-networks all around the world, which are based on the views of the CHS.

In CHS, heritage is commonly understood as a process. Rather than asking 'what do we do to heritage?' scholars within this field have posed the question 'what does heritage do/how is heritage used?'. For them, meanings, approaches, and processes of cultural heritage are highly political; they give rise to complex power structures and are constantly changing and contested. However, as Harrison (2013, pp. 112–113) points out, critically considered previous assumptions and approaches in heritage studies and practices, especially those that have emerged under the umbrella term AHD, should not be completely neglected by CHS. Rather, they should be taken up and extended by scholars and practitioners oriented to the field of CHS in order to be able to select from the multitude of methods the most appropriate ones for the emergence of new cultural heritage or for the analysis of existing cultural heritage processes and products in the light of the particular circumstances. He explains that while the CHS approaches better reflect reality with respect to intangible heritage, they may not be as targeted with respect to tangible heritage as the approaches developed through the AHD.

In what follows, taking into account Harrison's recommendations, it was critically examined in more detail certain aspects of cultural heritage and related processes that have emerged from

different angles of the discourse explained thus far; tangible and intangible forms of heritage, orthodox and heterodox approaches and a multi-disciplinary perspective.

2.2.1 Tangible and intangible cultural heritage

Cultural Heritage is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation. It has been used to describe everything from monuments to cooking styles, from dances to personal belongings, or ethnicity to religion. It can take the form of objects, places, or practices, and is basically not always so easy to grasp. As already indicated in the previous chapters, heritage is commonly distinguished in terms of whether it is considered to belong to the material (tangible) or the immaterial (intangible) sphere (Albert, 2013, p. 14; Harrison, 2013, pp. 112–113). By broader definitions, *tangible cultural heritage* refers to physical artefacts produced, maintained, and transmitted intergenerationally in a society that are invested with cultural significance (UNESCO, 1972, 2003). Intangible cultural heritage is considered by the UNESCO (2003):

> The practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills […] that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their Cultural Heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. (p. 2)

Over time, a more detailed classification of cultural heritage developed that was agreed upon by most of the international community and established primarily by the UNESCO and ICOMOS conventions. Different types of cultural heritage are categorized into; tangible cultural heritage, cultural landscape heritage and natural heritage, underwater cultural and natural heritage, cultural property, and intangible cultural heritage as collected in Table 1. The table also shows more detailed explanations and some examples of these groups. While the distinction between tangible and intangible of most groups by this method is relatively clear, the group cultural property can be attributed to both. This is not surprising, as the types of heritage in the other four categories may well be designated by national authorities as the cultural property of a single group, community, nation, etc. Therefore, certain types of heritage can be attributed to one of the other four categories while at the same time and just by definition belonging to the category 'cultural property'.

Table 1: Heritage definitions

Tangible	**Tangible cultural heritage**	1. **architectural monuments of great significance:** architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings, etc. 2. **ensembles of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings such as Old Towns, 3. **sites:** works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites, etc. 4. **vessels, aircraft, other vehicles,** or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents 5. **objects** of prehistoric character
	Cultural landscape heritage and natural heritage	1. **natural features:** consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations 2. **geological and physiographical formations:** precisely delineated areas, which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding value 3. **natural sites:** precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding value
		Natural sites may belong to tangible cultural heritage as cultural identity is strongly related to the natural environment in which it develops. Natural environments bear the imprint of thousands of years of human activity and their appreciation is primarily a cultural construct.
	Underwater cultural and natural heritage	1. **sites, structures, buildings, artefacts, and human remains** 2. **vessels, aircraft, other vehicles,** or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents 3. **objects of prehistoric character**
		It also refers to all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical, or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years
	Cultural property	Refers to property, irrespective of its origin or ownership, which, on religious or secular grounds, is specifically designated by national authorities as being of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art, or science
Intangible	**Intangible cultural heritage**	1. **oral traditions and expressions:** including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage 2. **performing arts** 3. **social practices, rituals, and festive events** 4. **knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe** 5. **traditional craftsmanship** 6. **Living Human Treasures**
		It also refers to those practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage

Note. Own illustration based on *UNESCO, 1970, 1972, 2001, 2003, 2014.*

Harrison (2013, pp. 6–7) points out that while such terminology already covers an enormous range of different types of heritage, it can only ever remain a sample of the forms of heritage that exist physically and spiritually. One of UNESCO's methodology manuals on culture and development states that heritage terminology has not even been streamlined or standardized at the national level (UNESCO, 2014, p. 132). It remains the prerogative of a nation to formulate its own terminology and interpretations, and therefore heritage remains under the possibility of constant renegotiation. For example, Harrison (2013, pp. 14–20) shows that heritage can also be separated into official and unofficial heritage. Thus, while official heritage is recognized by law or charter and represents the set of cultural heritage primarily contained in AHD mechanisms and approaches, unofficial heritage represents heritage that uses heritage language but is not recognized as such by official law or charter. However, the working definitions listed in Table 1 can be used as a guideline for the identification of cultural heritage, which will be further expanded in Section 2.6 to include tourism-specific definitions.

It also became clear in the AHD that tangible and intangible heritage require different approaches to conservation and safeguarding. This was one of the main motivations for the ratification of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO, 2003). Through this convention, UNESCO recognises the role of intangible cultural heritage as a source of cultural diversity and a driver for sustainable development, while at the same time acknowledging the value of people for the expression and transmission of this type of heritage. It defines *Living Human Treasures* as "persons who possess to a very high degree the knowledge and skills required for performing or recreating specific elements of the intangible Cultural Heritage" (UNESCO, n.d., p. 3). In light of the considerable attention given to intangible cultural heritage over the past two decades, and given that UNESCO already states in the opening statement of the 2003 convention that it is "considering the deep-seated interdependence between the intangible cultural heritage and the tangible cultural and natural heritage" (UNESCO, 2003, p. 1), questions remain. For example, Winter (2013, p. 539) explains that there is still an urgent need for policies and conservation frameworks which fulfil the even more sensitive exchange between insider/outsider and past/present that accompanies this kind of heritage. Correcting this missing piece seems even more urgent when someone like Smith (Smith, 2006, p. 56) argues that all heritage is in fact intangible. This is not to deny the tangible or pre-discursive, but simply to step back from the fact that it is the self-evident form and essence of heritage. Obviously, objects or places can be identifiable heritage sites, but these sites need not be valuable per se. It is the definition that emerges from the current cultural processes, activities, and dialogues that make them valuable and meaningful and thus become heritage.

In order to contribute to CHS, this work aimed to provide a closer look at such a process of cultural value and meaning creation in the context of responsible tourism development. This was to be attempted with the analysis of heritage objects, places, practices etc. proposed by stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries during a process of heritage reproduction. For this purpose, two dimensions of analysis could already be derived from the presented theory. The first related to the actual actors who can participate in the decision-making processes and the second to the actual content proposed as heritage; *Participation in Decision-making* and *Inclusiveness of Content* (see dimensions 1 and 2 in Section 2.6).

2.2.2   Top-down vs. bottom-up

Lixinski (2015) explains the different views in the field of heritage studies by distinguishing heterodox theory and practice versus orthodox theory and practice. While the first includes CHS as it takes a view on heritage processes that is critical of the dominant system of expert rule that identifies and treats the historical environment which is understood as the use of orthodox theory and practice (Ibid., p. 203). Using this distinction, he shows that one of the main differences between the two approaches lies in the specific actor relationships that occur in the heritage work. In the first case, recognized experts are required by policy and/or law to put orthodox theory into practice. This shows that orthodox conservation practice is a *top-down approach* that may involve stakeholder input but is always controlled by experts. Here, the experts last decide on the meanings associated with the heritage (Ibid., pp. 206-207). In the second case, heterodox practices are *bottom-up approaches* that engage local stakeholders in ways that support communities in their decision-making, with experts becoming facilitators when available.

Again, it must be noted that the goal of CHS cannot be to replace one value system with another or to eliminate experts. Rather, ways must be sought to incorporate a broader range of stakeholder values through the lens of communities of practice, which only bottom-up approaches can help to achieve (Ibid., pp. 209-211). Nevertheless, the dimensions of heritage are always diverse: legal aspects, identity formation, people's attitudes, local practices, conflicts, heritage features, urban and rural environments, and tourism. These differences show that professionals who can think along this broad spectrum of heritage issues are usually needed after all. This will be further discussed in the next section.

Now, depending on the type of approach chosen, different power relations must become visible. Following Lähdesmäki et al. (2019, p. 2) to determine and analyse such power relations is another focus of CHS. For example, hegemonic power structures still seem to have a decisive influence on how cultural heritage is discussed, used, and managed. This is expressed through

previously discussed ideas and ideologies ranging from nationalism, imperialism, and Western-centred worldviews to social exclusion based on class and ethnicity. These are perhaps easier to identify in the expert-driven top-down approaches that uphold Western narratives of nation, class, and science. But what about top-down approaches that are guided by a more holistic and open-minded understanding and expertise about heritage, and that consider, for example, different narratives at the global and local levels? It can be even more difficult when it comes to the power relations that occur in bottom-up approaches that may focus entirely on the ideas and needs of local communities. Finally, what power relations can occur in approaches that form a synergy of top-down and bottom-up approaches, whether intentional or accidental? It emerged that regardless of which approach is chosen or executed, it is important to analyse the *Power Relations* (see dimension 4 in Section 2.6) among stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries.

2.2.3   Recognizing multi-disciplinary perspectives

In recognizing the subjectivities in heritage that become visible through a critical examination of the subject, it is inevitable to diminish the idea of absolute objectivity. However, Smith (2006, p. 54) sees no need to aim for extreme relativism, but to accept that while there may be a physical reality or aspect of heritage, it can only be interpreted in the context of the discourse construction about it. While the consequences of heritage are real and have real impacts on people's lives, the process of it cannot be intended to have necessarily universal validity. It will always be a fluid process in the context of the used discourse. In this work, for example, this meant that the context of how to interpret heritage reproduction may be determined in large part by the concept of responsible tourism development. At the same time, following Winter (2013, p. 540), clearly no single discipline should own CHS, nor should the nature of research in this field be put into a metaphorical closed box. Moreover, he argues (Ibid., pp. 541–542) that understanding the economic, political, and social relationships that permeate and constitute heritage is critical to deciding how we analyse heritage. For this reason, he calls for broad, interdisciplinary engagement to address multi-vectoral challenges. Taking this assumption into account, the ACHS already formulates in its manifesto the aspiration for a broader scientific membership base and opens itself to a wider range of intellectual traditions (Smith, 2012). Referring to a counting conducted by Wells (2017) of members' reported specialization or expertise, the ACHS indeed combines a diverse level of research, as shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: ACHS members stated specialization/expertise
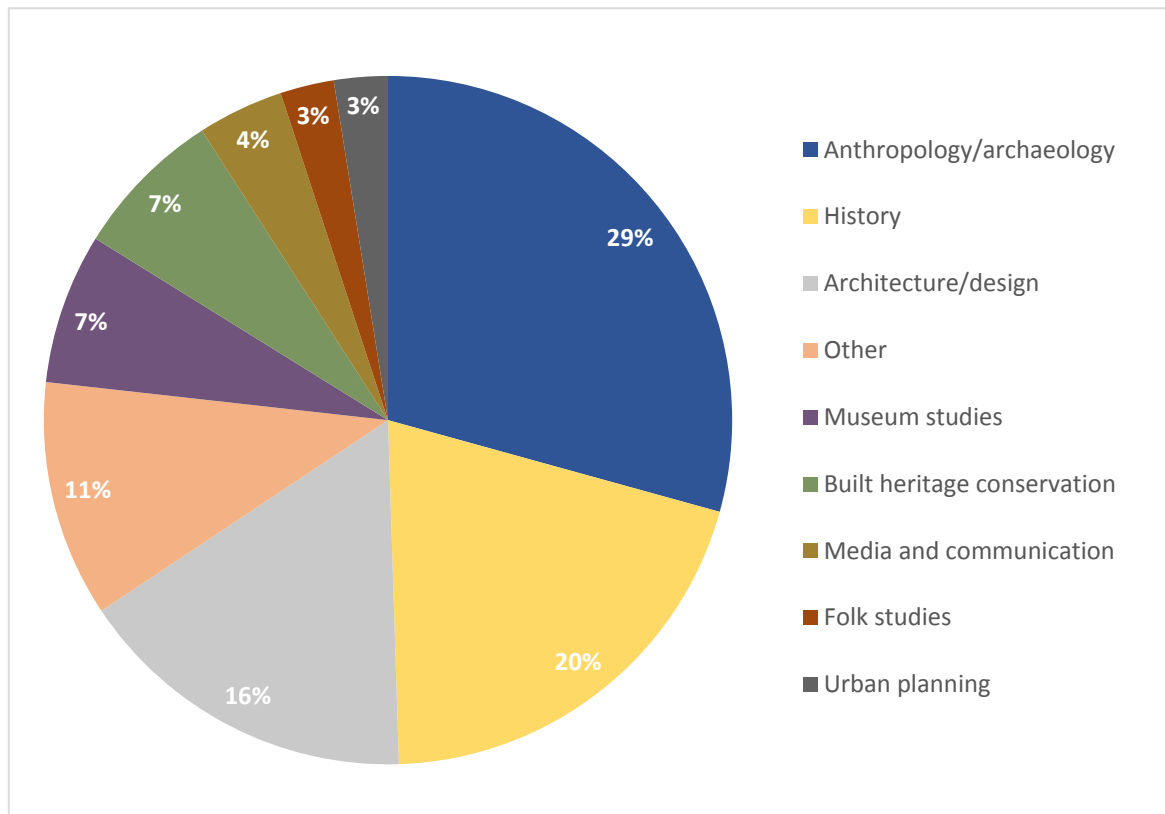
Note: Adapted from *Wells, 2017.*

Nevertheless, nearly half of all members are in the fields of anthropology/archaeology or history, and nearly another quarter are in the fields of architecture/design, museum studies, and historic preservation. While others, more unorthodox related disciplines to heritage, like media and communication or urban planning remain a relatively small portion. Further, Wells (2017) refers to perspectives from psychology as being nearly absent while human geography or sociology are still diminutive voices. This suggests that the field of tourism studies is also underrepresented, as it is strongly associated with human geography and sociology, among a variety of other disciplines, although it is itself strongly intertwined with cultural heritage (see Section 2.2.5 and 2.3.2). This work attempted to fill this gap by asking what it means to approach the reproduction of cultural heritage through tourism development, or more precisely, to analyse the resulting *Intentions* (see dimension 3 in Section 2.6) that underlie the proposals and decisions of the various stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries in such a process.

The previous sections have shown that there are different branches within Heritage Studies that allow for different analyses and that different methodologies underlie the actual processes of conservation, reproduction, or management of cultural heritage. CHS particularly assumes that these different disciplines and approaches often exist in parallel at a particular time and in a

particular situation or place in the actual processes of heritage work. The meaning and value of cultural heritage and the analysis of them change according to the different contexts in which they have been embedded. As this work analysed a process of cultural heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development, a closer look at cultural heritage in relation to sustainability and tourism was needed.

2.2.4 Sustainable development in the context of heritage

In recent decades, cultural heritage has been increasingly linked to the concept of sustainable development. The concept of sustainable development is known worldwide, is widely discussed, and can be considered the most important guiding principle of the twenty-first century. The idea of sustainable development was first introduced by the Club of Rome, an association of experts from various disciplines from more than 30 countries. In light of the ongoing massive destruction of natural and built structures, the association published the report *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972). The idea was concretized by the so-called *Brundtland Report* in 1987 by the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development (United Nations [UN], 1987) and the *Rio Declaration on Environment and Development* released during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 (UN, 1992b). The Brundtland Report describes sustainable development as both intra- and intergenerational by "being development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UN, 1987, p. 41). The Rio Declaration and its annexed *Agenda 21 Action Plan* (UN, 1992a) further outlines the three main pillars of sustainable development, including economic growth, environmental protection, and social equity, and emphasizes the need for new approaches that incorporate the three dimensions in cross-sectoral coordination across all global development processes (Yang, 2015, pp. 24–25).

To date, sustainable development can be conceptualized in numerous ways, with the three-pillar and four-pillar approaches being the most cited. The three-pillar approach was the first approach conceived in close connection with the Brundtland Report, the Rio Declaration, and the Agenda 21. Since then, it has been the starting point for thinking about possible policies and frameworks related to sustainability, highlighting economic, environmental, and social aspects as equally important for sustainable development. Thus, the three pillars are recognized as dynamic dimensions with internal relationship and strong interdependence. With the four-pillar approach, which adds culture as a fourth dimension of sustainable development that is just as important as the other three dimensions, scholars wanted to emphasize culture as a (re)source. Components of the cultural dimension may include aspects of heritage, identity, memory, creativity, human

knowledge and skills, diversity, etc. It must be mentioned that the concept of sustainable development is constantly (re)negotiated and has never found a final definition. That is why other approaches to sustainable development often see culture as a condition or driver of its success, or as a mediator between the environmental, economic, and social dimensions, as shown in Figure 3 (Erlewein, 2017, p. 89).

Figure 3: Approaches to sustainable development

Three-pillar · Four-pillar · Culture as a mediator
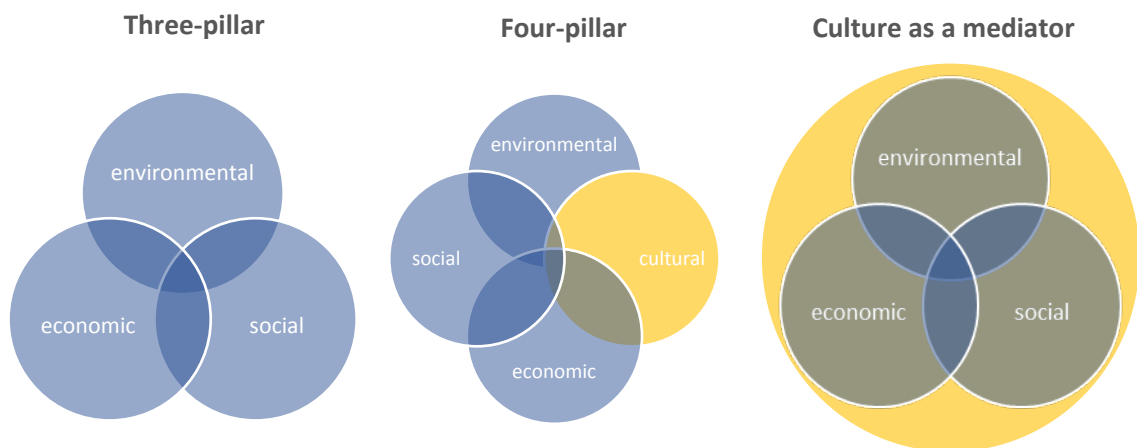
Note: Own illustration.

In the heritage discourse, however, two publications ensured broad acceptance of the four-pillar approach among scholars and practitioners. First, the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNESCO, 2003) which in its preamble defines intangible cultural heritage as a driver of cultural diversity and a guarantee of sustainable development. In the convention, intangible cultural heritage is also understood as reflecting the ideas of the Brundtland Report in that it is highly cohesive and allows for a continuous recovery of the cultural identity of different individuals, groups or communities, linking them to each other and to related practices. This makes it intra- and intergenerational, transmitted from one generation to the next, and therefore it must be safeguarded. Second, the *Policy Statement on Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development* (United Cities and Local Governments [UCLG], 2010), signed by many international organizations, including UNESCO (Albert, 2017, p. 33; Erlewein, 2017, pp. 88–90; Labrador & Silberman, 2018, p. 8). Then, in 2011 the General Assembly of the States Parties released an action plan regarding the future of the World Heritage Convention, which aimed at sustainable development and extended it to all types of cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2011). Under the heading 'Our Vision for 2020' it states that "international cooperation and shared responsibility through the World Heritage Convention ensures effective conservation of our common cultural and natural heritage, nurtures respect and understanding among the world's communities and cultures,

and contributes to their sustainable development" (UNESCO, 2011, p. 2). From this point on, cultural heritage was widely appreciated for its role as a driver for sustainable development, especially in the AHD (ICOMOS, 2011; UNESCO, 2011, p. 4). This understanding was consolidated when the UNSECO released a new *World Heritage Policy Document on Sustainable Development* in 2015, which was aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations that same year (UNESCO, 2015; UN, 2015). An analysis by Engels (2017, pp. 49–51) showes that all 17 SDGs have a direct or inherent link to the World Heritage Convention, with natural heritage practices making the most fundamental contribution through the conservation of natural resources and the protection of sites with high levels of biodiversity.

From the CHS perspective, Winter (2013, p. 536) also explains that the concept of sustainability has had a big influence on the way cultural heritage is perceived today. He points to the changing socio-political context in which heritage is embedded and how the pervasive discourse of sustainable development is pushing conservation and preservation techniques into modernity in the context of capitalist wealth creation in developing countries in Africa, South America, and Asia. With the increasing focus of these countries on rapid economic growth, the cultural and creative industries have likewise become an important driver of this growth since the 1990s, especially in urban landscapes. For example, creating a unique urban heritage can help position cities in these regions on a global stage. Cities such as Abu Dhabi, Bangkok, Macau, and Mexico City are trying to promote their unique history to attract foreign businesses, tourists, or expatriates. In this regard, Albert (2015, p. 13) notes that cultural heritage is increasingly understood as a commodity rather than a natural or cultural asset to be protected, and while sustainable approaches suggest they are based on the four pillars of social, economic, environmental, and cultural development, their goals tend to be popularized as commercial products and brands.

Other critical suggestions indicate that even as sustainable development plays an increasingly important role in heritage practice, ensuring broader community involvement and participation in heritage practice remains a critical issue. Otherwise, any plan that is considered sustainable is likely doomed to fail. One example is the idea that sustainable development must make the role of cultural heritage part of a broader environmental agenda, making the environment a 'social' issue as much as a 'natural' one. Scholars and practitioners should view cultural heritage neither as a set of tangible objects nor as exclusively intangible expressions or practices, but as relational and constantly changing through dialogue among people, objects, places, and practices. Serafi and Fouseki (2017) bring another example with an analysis of worshippers' responses towards the development projects around the historic and religious city of Mecca, which showed a strong tension between heritage and religion. For the worshippers, the religious significance was far more important than the display of the sacred remains for public consumption. In response, Serafi and

Fouseki (2017, p. 129) than call for a sustainable development approach to cultural heritage that assesses and identifies all possible values and interpretations linked to a place. In CHS, dialogic models of heritage are found to be more likely to succeed in addressing sustainable development goals, while also providing an important foundation for future heritage negotiations (Albert, 2015, p. 13; Harrison, 2013, p. 226).

Following Erlewein (2017, p. 95) culture will always be the instrument and vehicle of human development and thus a tool and a goal in itself. All relationships and interactions among people are strongly influenced by culture, and therefore a renegotiation of the cultural dimension for improved sustainable development should consider a variety of different cultural actions. A universal culture of sustainability, as emphasized by the AHD, may be a worthy goal to achieve long-term effects, but it remains a long-term endeavour with an open outcome and completely dependent on the ability of diverse cultural articulations to bring about a substantial change in values. Therefore, Erlewein (Ibid.) argues that culture should be understood both as a specific yet integrated dimension of sustainable development, to be a goal itself, and to act as a mediator between the other three goals.

2.2.5 Tourism in the context of heritage

Tourism became a real mass phenomenon in the second half of the twentieth century and has since been fully integrated into the international market. Scholars agree that tourism is an integral part of heritage presentation, management, and consumption. Not only in a theoretical increasing complexity of writing about the link between tourism and heritage, but also in the sheer practical fact that heritage is heavily consumed by tourists. Tourism is an important factor in the monetization of cultural heritage in the capitalist world (Albert, 2017, p. 40; Harrison, 2013, p. 86).

Smith (2006, p. 124) points to one of the main research themes in the heritage tourism literature, which identifies tourism as the search for the 'authentic' and thus is fixated on the discussion of how the authentic and inauthentic in heritage can be identified, measured, or understood in the first place. For her, it is evident that the AHD establishes a principle of authentic aspects in the creation of cultural heritage, thus allowing a clear definition to which heritage professionals can refer to authorize and legitimize certain processes in their work. She further explains this by arguing that authenticity is a socially constructed value, embedded in a variety of cultural and political reasons and consequences (Ibid., p. 125). Therefore, any kind of actual historical authenticity of cultural property sites should be considered irrelevant in contrast to the actual meaning(s) inherent in them in and for the present.

Smith (2006, p. 5) also explains that tourism itself may have a much deeper layer of cultural and social meaning than the often understood limitations in an economic sector would normally allow. This is evident in the increasing questioning of the dominant Western understanding of cultural heritage by indigenous and non-Western populations, and the impact that the consumption of it through tourism has had on the expression of their own identities. This notion was firstly outlined by Urry's (1997) criticism of Hewison's *The Heritage Industry* in which Hewison (1987) and his colleagues describe tourists as lulled into blind consumption of heritage by the heritage industry. Urry strongly disagrees and coined the term 'tourist gaze' which describes the way tourists perceive or relate to certain places and experiences, cutting them out of the real world and emphasizing what is exotic about them. By developing his theory, Urry always urged moving away from the question of whether cultural heritage is 'good' or 'authentic' to the realisation that cultural heritage is strongly influenced and thus shaped by its consumers, the tourists (Urry, 1997; Urry & Larsen, 2011). Similarly, Dicks (2000) argues that the existence of heritage arises from shared communication between visitors and sites.

Further, Dicks (2003) and Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (2005) contributed to bringing tourism and heritage conservation into a closer relationship. Both authors looked at the process of how museums and heritage sites create themselves as tourist destinations. While Dick's *Culture on Display* sees a process of producing a so-called 'visitability' in the context of different settings in which identity is produced and culture is increasingly staged and offered for consumption, Kirchenblatt-Gimblett point to the loss of profitability in the new global economy and argue that places, objects, and practices are given a second life through the process of cultural production.

The recognition of tourism potential and the inclusion of the leisure and tourism industry in decision-making regarding heritage is also an integral part of the AHD. The UNESCO states in its 2006 publication *Tourism, Culture and Sustainable Development*:

> We believe that tourism, which brings individuals and human communities into contact, and through them cultures and civilisations, has an important role to play in facilitating dialogue among cultures. Tourism also has the capacity to assist the world's inhabitants to live better together and thereby contribute to the construction of peace in the minds of men and women […]. (UNESCO, 2006, p. 4)

In the same study, however, the UNESCO recognizes the greatest ambivalence of tourism in its "capacity to generate so many benefits and yet, at the same time, create pressures and problems" (UNESCO, 2006, p. 6). Fatal impacts on the environment, on tangible and intangible heritage, and on local communities through cultural tourism are evident in some places and situations, especially at heritage sites that have become pure places of commerce with predominantly economic interests, rather than cultural ones. Albert (2017, p. 40) describes the UNESCO's agenda as an

attempt to promote a type of tourism that takes into account aspects of cultural diversity and identities, conservation of cultural and natural resources, and poverty reduction. In this way, the UNESCO understands tourism, although it contributes to the promotion and consumption of heritage sites, objects, and practices, as a tool for sustainable development and not as a goal itself.

All the above points showed that heritage is strongly intertwined with tourism. Especially by recognising a performativity of heritage, one needs to understand heritage audiences not only as passive consumers, but rather as active agents in conveying the meanings of heritage. This makes heritage in a sense dependent on a functioning tourism industry and its tourists for its own production to be profitable, while its meaning-creation is also influenced by the consumers themselves. This suggests that the actual decision-making may involve speculation and prediction about the needs and expectations of tourists as visitors and consumers of a proposed heritage 'product'. As argued in this paper, when analysing a process of reproduction of cultural heritage in the context of tourism development in one place, it is also necessary to clarify the possible influence of this specific context on the Intentions (see dimension 3 in Section 2.6) of the various stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries in such a process.

It has been shown that four analytical dimensions play a decisive role when considering heritage processes in terms of the CHS: (1) Participation in Decision-making, (2) Inclusiveness of Content, (3) Intentions, (4) Power Relations. In the following, it was examined whether these can be reconciled with an analysis of processes within responsible tourism development.

2.3   The tourism perspective

In the following sections, the context in which the reproduction of cultural heritage is to take place was discussed in more detail. For this purpose, responsible tourism development became the object of study, with particular attention to its implementation in the country of data collection, the Republic of the Union of Myanmar.

2.3.1   Sustainable tourism through responsible action

Similarly, to sustainable development, sustainable tourism is a concept that has developed over the last 5 decades. It hasn't found a concrete global definition and is under constant renegotiation. While its main principles are likewise based on the Brundtland Report and the Rio Declaration it has of course certain aspects solely applied for the tourism sector and its development (Brantom, 2015, p. 242). These aspects are mostly outlined by the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), which was established in 1990 as a specialist agency serving as a global forum for tourism policy issues and a

practical source of tourism know-how by being "the United Nations agency responsible for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism" (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], n.a.). In that regard, the UNWTO in cooperation with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) define in their guide for policy makers of 2005 sustainable tourism as "tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP] & UNWTO, 2005, p. 12). The UN agencies further explain the aspects of its adaptation, as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4: UNWTO definition of sustainable tourism

Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations, including mass tourism and the various niche tourism segments. Sustainability principles refer to the **environmental, economic, and socio-cultural aspects** of tourism development, and **a suitable balance must be established** between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability. Thus, sustainable tourism should:

1) **Make optimal use of environmental resources** that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity.
2) **Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities**, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, **providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders** that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.

Sustainable tourism development requires the **informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus building**. Achieving sustainable tourism is a **continuous process** and it requires **constant monitoring of impacts**, introducing the necessary preventive and/or corrective measures whenever necessary.

Sustainable tourism should also maintain a **high level of tourist satisfaction** and ensure a meaningful experience to the tourists, raising their awareness about sustainability issues and promoting sustainable tourism practices amongst them.

Note: Adapted from *UNEP & UNWTO, 2005, p. 11.*

The difference between sustainable tourism and responsible tourism lies in a slight shift of attention. Sustainable tourism considers the sustainability of the tourism industry as a whole by applying the three-pillar approach of sustainable development to it. Responsible tourism, on the contrary, relates to specific actions and strategies that individuals, communities, businesses, and tourism managers can take to minimise the impact of their tourism activities (Goodwin, 2016b, pp. 1–2; Häusler, 2011, p. 16, 2017, p. 5). The term was first coined in 1996 by various scholars who published the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996). In this

paper, responsible tourism is described as "tourism that promotes responsibility to the environment through its sustainable use; responsibility to involve local communities in the tourism industry, responsibility for the safety and security of visitors and responsible government, employees, employers, unions and local communities" (Ibid., p. 5). In 2009, the city of Cape Town developed a *Responsible Tourism Policy* (City of Cape Town, 2009) which provided a framework that has since been widely used to describe responsible tourism. It specifies responsible tourism as tourism that:

- makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage embracing diversity,
- minimises negative economic, environmental, and social impacts,
- provides more enjoyable experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people, and a greater understanding of local cultural social, and environmental issues,
- is culturally sensitive, encourages respect between tourists and hosts, and builds local pride and confidence,
- generates greater economic benefits for local people and enhances the well-being of host communities,
- provides accurate information about accessibility of facilities and infrastructure for people with disabilities (visual, communication, mobility) to customers,
- involves local people in decisions that affect their lives and life chances, and
- Improves working conditions and access to the industry. (Ibid., pp. 1-2)

Goodwin (2016a, p. 2) clarifies that the idea of responsible tourism has at its core an imperative to take responsibility, which means to take an action. All stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries in a destination have responsibilities to achieve a sustainable development. This means in general the responsibility to enhance the positive and to reduce the negative impacts arising through tourism. This work relates to responsible tourism development, as the reproduction of heritage takes place within a process that aims at sustainable development.

In the course of the international debate on the function of tourism as a development tool, a special focus has been placed on developing countries and various approaches have emerged, most of which focus on supporting small communities in rural, often ecologically sensitive areas (Häusler, 2017, p. 51). These approaches are called e.g. ecotourism, agrotourism, pro-poor tourism or community-based tourism (CBT), and they are all implemented and managed differently, each with a special focus on one or more of the environmental, socio-cultural, or economic dimension of sustainability as summarized by Häusler (2011, p. 16). When properly implemented, they have

all proven to be successful tourism products as well as important tools for developing and strengthening local communities as shown by Pookhao et al. (2018) for community-based tourism in Thailand. Nevertheless, even if they are adapted widely around the globe, they are not without criticism, as they can also bring strong dependencies on tourism by changing traditional lifestyles and vital economies of the local communities involved as discussed by Park et. al (2018) for Laos in South East Asia or Marinho (2018) for Kalunga in South America. Although there are different approaches to responsible tourism, which may have different purposes, missions, goals and outcomes, they all have in common that in order to achieve their goal of sustainable tourism, they must be strongly linked to the cultural aspects of the areas or communities where they are implemented. As discussed already in the previous sections, awareness of these cultural aspects is understood as an integral part of all efforts towards sustainable development and for this it is necessary to examine the existing concept of *cultural tourism*.

2.3.2   Cultural tourism (UNWTO & UNESCO)

Also in the above-mentioned *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*, cultural tourism is already defined in 1996 as "cultural aspects which are of interest to the visitor and can be marketed as such, including the customs and traditions of people" (Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996, p. 4). On the part of the AHD, as already emphasised earlier, tourism is seen a vehicle for intercultural dialogue and cross-cultural understanding. In the words of the *International Cultural Tourism Charter* adopted by ICOMOS in 1999 "domestic and international tourism continues to be among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, providing a personal experience, not only of that which has survived from the past, but of the contemporary life and society of others" (ICOMOS, 1999, p. 1). In order to also align cultural tourism with cultural heritage, UNWTO firstly published a toolkit *Communicating Heritage - A Handbook for the Tourism Sector* (UNWTO, 2011) and secondly conducted a study on *Tourism and Intangible Cultural Heritage* (UNWTO, 2012) for the tourism sector to develop and present destinations and heritage sites more comprehensively. In this study, intangible cultural heritage is assumed to manifest itself in the following categories:

1) Handicrafts and visual arts that demonstrate traditional craftsmanship
2) Gastronomy and culinary practices
3) Social practices, rituals, and festive events
4) Music and the performing arts
5) Oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of intangible cultural heritage
6) Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe

While the category 'gastronomy and culinary practices' is not mentioned directly in the 2003 UNESCO Convention (see also Table 1), from the UNWTO's point of view it represents a large part of cultural tourism activities in many countries. Therefore, it should be separated from the third category 'social practices', in which it is often categorised and not further highlighted. The assumption is that tourists may be very interested in a particular category, or may experience it only as part of a broader visit to a destination's vibrant cultural heritage (UNWTO, 2012, p. 3).

Since then, cultural tourism has not only established itself as an area of research in academia over the past decade, it was also reaffirmed by the UNWTO as a major element of international tourism consumption as recently as 2018 through the publication of a *Report on Tourism and Culture Synergies* (UNWTO, 2018). This report estimates that cultural tourism accounted for over 39% of all global tourism arrivals, or the equivalent of around 516 million international trips in 2017 (Ibid., pp. 20–21). It is based on a definition of 'cultural tourism' agreed within UNWTO during the twenty-second session of the General Assembly in Chengdu, China, in 2017:

> Cultural tourism is a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience, and consume the tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions. (Ibid., p. 93)

The second chapter of the publication contains a survey in which UNWTO member states and tourism experts were asked questions on a variety of topics related to cultural tourism. An online survey was sent to all 156 UNWTO members in which a total of 69 countries responded. The survey of cultural tourism experts attracted 61 responses from 97 invited experts from different world regions. The relatively high response rate for a survey of this kind is understood as a sign of a generally high interest in the connection between tourism and culture (Ibid., p. 15, 43). The member states and the tourism experts were first asked to specify which areas they include in the category of "cultural tourism". While, both tangible and intangible heritage was most described in their definition of cultural tourism, most respondents also indicated that they considered contemporary culture to be an important part of cultural tourism. Some other aspects were also mentioned but considered less important, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Areas included in definitions of cultural tourism, UNWTO Member States and Tourism Experts responses (%)
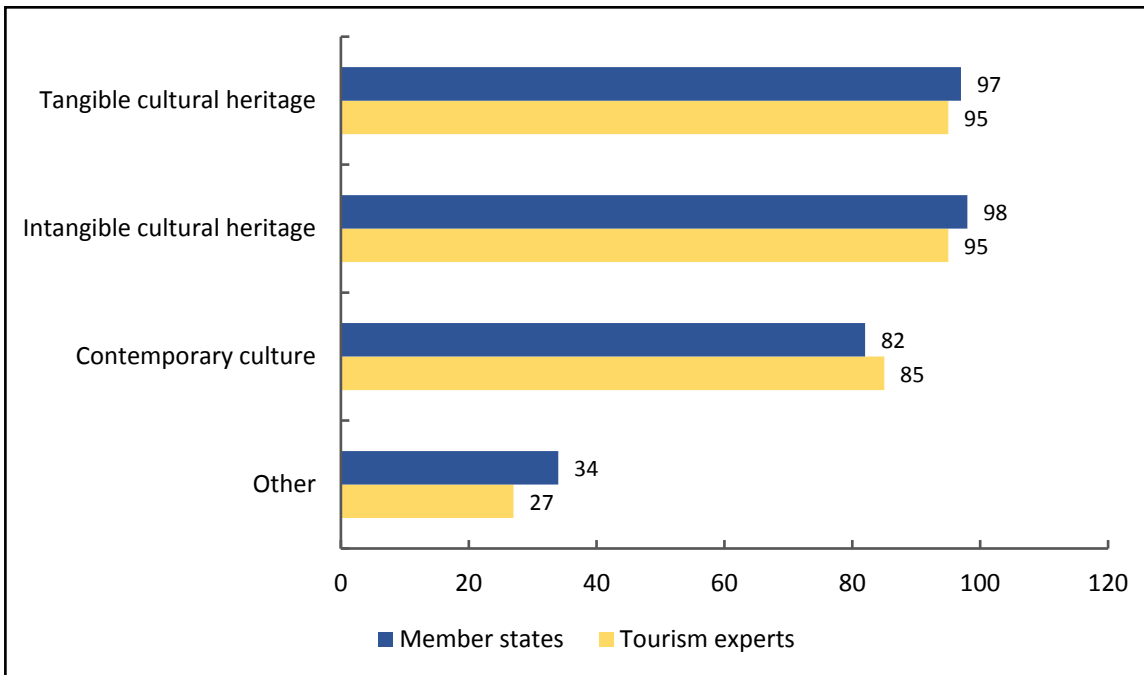
Note: Multiple responses were possible. **Tangible heritage:** e.g. national and world heritage sites, monuments, historic places and buildings, underwater archaeology. **Intangible heritage:** e.g. handicrafts, gastronomy, traditional festivals, traditional music, oral traditions, religion. **Other contemporary cultures and creative industries:** e.g. film, performing arts, design, fashion, new media. **Other:** e.g. sports, education, health, shopping. Adapted from *UNWTO, 2018, pp. 16, 44*.

This global overview shows that synergies between tourism and culture are indeed seen as important opportunities for many countries. Furthermore, the importance of cultural resources for tourism was highlighted by the fact that 90% of Member States have a specific policy on cultural tourism. It is also evident that it is the countries with specific cultural tourism policies that attract the most cultural tourists (UNWTO, 2018, p. 93). As contemporary culture described in the survey, such as film, performing arts, design, fashion and new media, tends to become an even more important category for cultural tourists, it seems reasonable to understand it as a form of cultural heritage in the context of tourism development, even if it is not directly defined as such by the AHD (see Table 1).

Finally, Jelinčić (2019, p. 3) points out that the growing diversification of the tourism market and the ever-increasing demands of the cultural tourist require a more active form of tourism than the usual sightseeing or introducing tourists to the cultural characteristics of a destination. Rather, cultural tourism today should be about experiencing local identities and participating in local culture. Visitors want to see the destination through a local lens and become a kind of local themselves during their visit. This development comes not without urging difficulties as Mansfeld (2019) explains in his article on host-guest perspectives in cultural tourism. As local communities always wrestle between the possibility of improving their livelihoods on the one hand and the fear

of a decrease in socio-cultural and ecological aspects as well as their quality of life on the other hand, this issue is exacerbated when guests want to intrude further and further into the privacy of the local population in order to feel like one of them. This already leads to situations where tourists, if they are not in a situation of an actual monetised exchange of goods or services, do not want to contribute financially, for example even when locals invite them to their house for a chat or a meal, as it gives them the feeling of being treated like real guests and not tourists. In the worst case, this leads to misunderstandings and mistrust.

2.4   Tourism development in Myanmar

The development of tourism in Myanmar is outlined by Kraas et. al. (2020, pp. 164–165) in three phases. The first was during the British colonial period (1824-1948), when the main interest of visiting the country was mainly from European elites, the desire for culture, education, adventure, and hunting. When Myanmar, achieved its independence in 1948, a decline in tourism began, originating in the nationalisation of its industry and the idea of economic independence, which led to complete isolation from the rest of the world. This was only overcome with the second phase, which began after 1988, triggered by the introduction of a market-based economy, and aimed at a generally higher acceptance of tourism in the country. Through infrastructural investments in certain regions, the typical tourist itinerary, which connects the four destinations Yangon, Bagan, Mandalay, and Inle Lake and mainly includes historical, cultural, and religious sites, became apparent for the first time. However, the emerging international campaigns against the prevailing human rights violations by the military government in the country brought diplomatic and economic sanctions from the European Union and the United States, which ultimately led to a sharp decline in tourist numbers. This only changed with the beginning of a third, the current phase.

Tourism development in Myanmar has only experienced an enormous upswing since the end of military rule in 2010 and the subsequent political opening in 2012, as demonstrated by the surge in international tourism arrivals, which is illustrated in Figure 6. Since the democratization process, international trade blockades have been gradually lifted, international investments intensified and the demand for Myanmar travel multiplied within a few years. Against the backdrop of rapid development, Myanmar is currently in the middle of the implementation phase of the national tourism plan (2013 to 2020) and is facing major challenges related to the protection and revitalisation of cultural and natural heritage, the integration and participation of different tourism stakeholders and the diversification of tourism products and services (Trupp, 2018, pp. 279–280).

Figure 6: International tourist arrivals to Myanmar 2011-2019
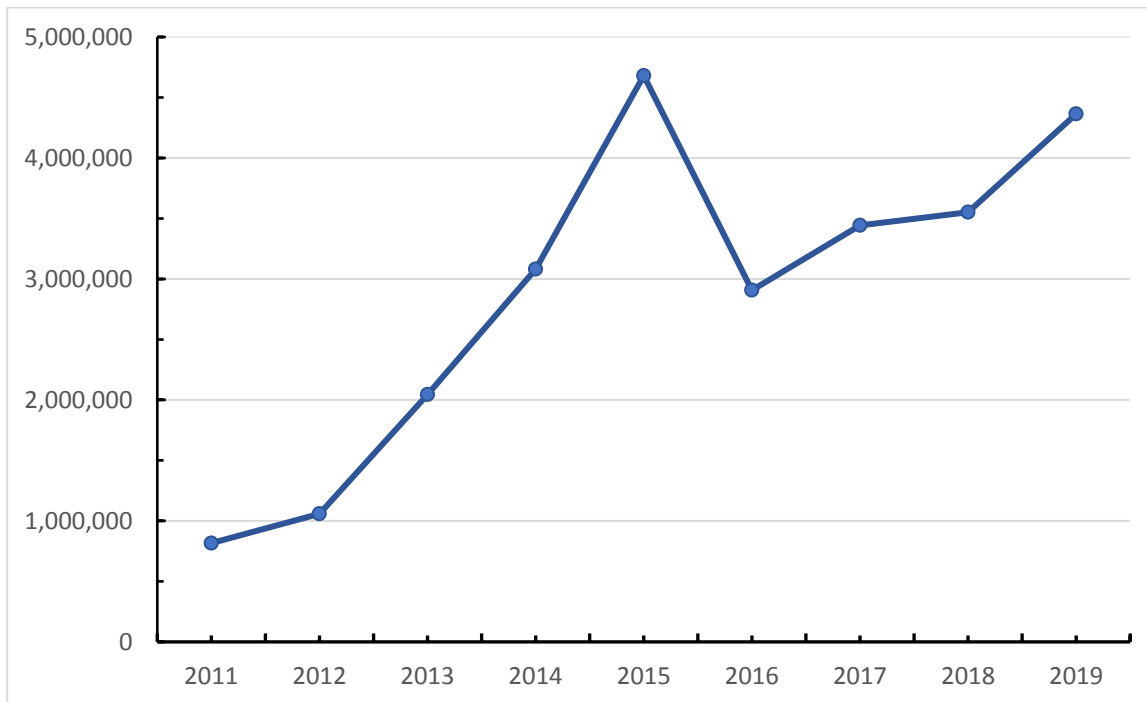
Note: Adapted from *Ministry of Hotels and Tourism, Myanmar [MoHT], 2020; UNWTO, 2020, p. 623.*

The number of international visitors has increased significantly since 2010 to nearly 4.4 million in 2019 (see Figure 6). While the tourism statistics used to include day-trippers from neighboring countries for the purpose of trade or visit family, as well as tourists who check in to Myanmar just to check out again to renew their visa for neighboring countries or vice versa, this data is not entirely reliable. Since 2016 the daily border crossings have not been included anymore, hence the dip in the statistics. Kraas et. al. (2020, pp. 168–169) describe the figures further, indicating that in 2018, Asian nationalities made up the largest group of visitors at about 76%, followed by Western nationalities at about 13% and US citizens at about 5.5%. A shift took place during the Rakhine violence and crisis, marked by the slight decline in Western tourists discouraged from travelling to Myanmar due to ethical and security concerns, and the simultaneous and since sustained strong growth in Asian tourists in 2018 and 2019. In addition, both the average length of stay and the expenditure are decreasing steadily; in 2016, it was US$125 per day for 11 days; in 2018, it was only US$122 per day for nine days.

Another important trend, even though the figures are unfortunately not easily accessible, lies in a rising interest of the local population in their own country. Domestic tourism has grown strongly and has exceeded inbound tourism by a considerable margin for a few years. Projections based on counts from the Domestic Pilgrimages and Tour Operators Association at selected checkpoints of the most visited places show that numbers increased from 3.1 million in 2011/2012 to 7.1 million in 2016/2017, including those on both package tours and private trips. This

development is also due to a growing middle class and the more sophisticated consumer tastes of citizens as they become more exposed to global trends. This also affected the religious travel market in the predominantly Buddhist country, as pilgrims began to prefer staying in hotels rather than monasteries and pilgrimages were increasingly combined with holidays (Oxford Business Group, 2019; see also Michalon, 2018) While Yangon, Bagan, Mandalay, and Inle Lake remain the most popular destinations and beaches are only slowly gaining in attractiveness due to the construction of numerous luxury resorts in recent years, culture and heritage are the most important tourism attractions in the country. Myanmar offers a high diversity of temples, monasteries, palaces, stupas, and ruins, with the ancient city of Bagan, home to over 3,500 religious' structures, designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2019. But the diverse natural environment also offers a great advantage. From snow-capped hills in the north to gushing rivers and delta systems almost all over the country to tropical waters in the south, Myanmar has a high potential for nature and adventure tourism. This shows that the undeveloped regions in particular have their own unique heritage, attractions and activities to offer for the future as these parts gradually open up to tourism (Oxford Business Group, 2019, 2020). However, this is mainly up to the regional authorities and their involvement, on the one hand to maximise the potential, but above all to avoid conflicts.

In highlighting any development in Myanmar, it is important to note that the country is rocked by internal conflicts that have their origins in a series of uprisings that began shortly after independence in 1948 and together constitute one of the longest civil wars in the world. The conflicts are mainly ethnically based and characterised by the urge of a wide variety of ethnic groups for self-determination by fighting to various intensities against the Tatmandaw, the Myanmar military units. Countless attempts to establish a ceasefire have already failed, and even the establishment of self-governing zones is showing little success in a difficult-to-manage constellation of various groups that want to establish various degrees of self-governance, ranging from federalisation to autonomy to complete independence (Kaicome, 2019). Wohlmuther & Wintersteiner (2014) address in their book the initial definition that tourism is a means of promoting peace and mutual understanding. In fact, through a more detailed analysis in cooperation with other authors, they could show that so-called peace through travel contacts is strongly related to the social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism and can be successful if attention is paid to a sustainable and responsible organisation of tourism as an industry (Wohlmuther & Wintersteiner, 2014, p. 20). There are now several good examples of such peace processes in Myanmar. One of them being the town of Thandaunggyi in Kayin State, as described by Häusler et. al. (2019), which, after a lengthy consultation phase and the involvement of representatives of the government, the Karen National Union (the main ethnic organisation in the

area), religious leaders, civil society organisations and the private sector, shows a development that now reflects the priorities of the community and consists of activities implemented in close cooperation with the community members.

With tourism becoming one of its most promising industries, Myanmar was planning to reach its target of attracting 5 million tourists in 2020, almost 600,000 higher than 2019. However, as has been shown there is still a lot of room for improvement of the tourism industry. In its plan, the government is trying many different ways to attract more tourists, for example, by organising international sporting events by invitation, CBT, Asian tourism or opportunities for casino gambling, and also by highlighting cultural heritage (Kraas et al., 2020, p. 169; Soe, 2020).

2.5 Integrating concepts in Myanmar tourism policies

The partial success of the tourism industry in Myanmar is to some extent explained by the numerous tourism measures implemented by the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism (MoHT) in recent years. The MoHT is the main policy body responsible for tourism and its development. The ministry oversees tourism policy and issuing notices to clarify rules and regulations for the sector. It is also responsible for e.g. the development of 'hotel zones', the monitoring of hotel projects by the local and foreign private sector or the issuing and monitoring of licences for tourist accommodation, transport, and travel companies (EuroCham Myanmar, 2018, p. 11). In its vision, the MoHT, in collaboration with international agencies and national and international consultants, developed various policies, the most important of which were *the Myanmar Responsible Tourism Policy* (Häusler et al., 2012) and *the Policy on Community Involvement in Tourism (CIT) in Myanmar* (Häusler et al., 2013) which then concluded in the *Myanmar Tourism Master Plan 2013-2020* (MoHT, 2013).

The focus of this paper is to examine heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development and how this context might impact on the then (re)created heritage. This section will describe the tourism guidelines in Myanmar in more detail and examine if their overall objectives could possibly influence the (re)created heritage by referring to the basic dimensions of analysis of the CHS (see Section 2.2).

2.5.1 Myanmar responsible tourism policy

Developed in 2012, this guideline carries the results of extensive discussions between more than 350 participants from the public and private tourism sector within 10 consecutive workshops (Kraas

et al., 2020, p. 169). In the policy, nine overarching objectives and 58 specific action points are based on the following strategic vision:

> We intend to use tourism to make Myanmar a better place to live in - to provide more employment and greater business opportunities for all our people, to contribute to the conservation of our natural and cultural heritage and to share with us our rich cultural diversity. We warmly welcome those who appreciate and enjoy our heritage, our way of life and who travel with respect. (Häusler et al., 2012, p. 6)

The following nine objectives are:

1) Tourism becomes a national priority sector
2) A broad based local social-economic development
3) Maintenance of cultural diversity and authenticity
4) Conservation and enhancement of the environment
5) Competition on product richness, diversity, and quality - not just price
6) Ensuring health safety and security of visitors
7) Institutional strengthening for the management of tourism
8) A well trained and rewarded workforce
9) Prevention of unethical practices (Ibid., p. 8)

The development of this tourism policy shows a strong intention for sustainable and responsible tourism development since 2012. It seems that all parties involved agree that this can be achieved primarily through the improvement of living standards, the economic empowerment of local communities and their strong participation in decision-making processes, the conservation of natural and cultural resources and an overall responsible behaviour of all actors engaged (Kraas et al., 2020, pp. 169–170). Table 2 below highlights those 11 of the 58 action points that could be linked to the chosen dimensions of CHS (see Section 2.2).

Table 2: Overlaps in the principles of responsible tourism policy with CHS

Action point of the responsible tourism policy	Interpretation	Possible cross-cutting dimension with CHS
Enable and support the development of interactive travel experiences and new products (soft adventure activities) that provide the opportunity to include and link to local people, spread benefits and recognise the environment	Tourism development should be implemented in such a way that, at the end of the process, a product portfolio is targeted in which as many stakeholders as possible have been involved in the decision-making processes for its creation and consumption.	**1 Participation in Decision-making**

Enable and support community-based tourism activities that benefit local communities.		
Diversify the local economy via handicraft development and support the development of local artisan and handicraft shops, in particular Involving woman and youth.	It is important to include a variety of products and services in the destination's offer. This can range from local products to cultural and natural heritage to providing existing offers in different languages.	**2 Inclusiveness of Content**
Ensure that interpretation at cultural heritage sites are provided in local and international languages.		
Train local guides to value the living culture of ethnic groups.		
Train local guides to enable visitors to appreciate the natural heritage and protected areas.		
Ensure that visitors understand the social norms when visiting cultural heritage sites.	The products and services developed should ensure that tourists are comfortable within the framework of cultural practices, while being responsibly implemented and of the highest quality.	**3 Intentions**
Promote the cultural and natural heritage in Myanmar - responsibly - to fulfil travellers' expectations of quality and service.		
Develop an Institutional connection between the Ministry of Hotels and Tourism and the local authorities, establishing tourism as part of the local government departments.	Structures should be created to ensure a sensible and balanced equilibrium between different decision-makers in order to avoid negative effects and conflicts. This also means that decisions should be taken by the very people who are most likely to be affected by a potential development.	**4 Power Relations**
Strengthen the local authorities in managing tourism at a local level		
Establish the role of local communities in the management of tourism.		

Note: Own illustration based on *Häusler et al., 2012, pp. 10–20*.

2.5.2 Myanmar community inclusive tourism policy

Kraas et. al. (2020, p. 170) note that the need for greater integration of local communities into the tourism sector was recognised and led to the development of a second policy. Its overall aim is stated as "to enhance community involvement in the tourism industry by creating opportunities for local communities and correspondingly expand the tourism product and appeal for domestic and international visitors" (Häusler et al., 2013, p. 13). This is to be achieved through a focus on the following six objectives in the tourism development:

1) Strengthen the institutional environment and civil societies

2) Build capacity of human resources for community related activities

3) Develop safeguards, services, and procedures to strengthen community planning and management

4) Promote local entrepreneurship

5) Diversify and develop quality products and services in the local community

6) Monitor positive and negative impacts arising from community involvement

The policy relies heavily on community participation in decision-making and a high inclusivity of different ideas and values, while it also considers possible reservations in the development of any final products and services. This becomes particularly clear when looking more closely at the core principles associated with the objectives in the policy. Table 3 below highlights those nine out of 13 core principles that could be linked to the chosen dimensions of CHS (see Section 2.2).

Table 3: Overlaps in the principles of CIT policy with CHS

Core principle of CIT policy	Interpretation	Cross-cutting dimension with CHS
Local Community Participation in Tourism Must be Informed and Willing	Tourism development within the communities should be accompanied and supported by as many interested parties as possible. Enough time should be made available for this.	**1 Participation in Decision-making**
Decision-making Takes Time		
Respect the Culture, Traditions and Beliefs	The products and services developed should consider and incorporate a variety of cultural aspects.	**2 Inclusiveness of Content**
Business Concepts	The products and services should ultimately bring economic benefits for the communities.	**3 Intentions**
Community Tourism Enterprises Must Be Based on Sound Business Planning		
Gender Responsibilities	Rights and regulations must be developed and respected. For this, the voices of generally disadvantaged groups in particular should be strengthened.	**4 Power Relations**
Enhance Rights Over Tourism Resources		
Respect Relationship to Land and Landownership		
DO NO HARM to Local Communities	Further analysed in Section 2.5.3	

Note: Own illustration based on Häusler et al., 2013, pp. 14–16.

2.5.3   The Do-No-Harm-Approach

This approach has been described in detail in a publication of the Business Innovation Facility (BIF) in Myanmar in 2017, which was already republished in an updated version in 2019 (Business Innovation Facility [BIF], 2017, 2019). The toolkit, which was developed for companies, NGOs, and governmental organisations involved in the tourism industry, is based on the themes of 'conflict', 'peace', and 'do no harm' in the context of tourism development. In the handbook, the theoretical explanation of the link between these themes is followed by practical guidance for tourism stakeholders to ensure that their activities promote positive relationships with, and limit the risks of causing harm to, local people and places. Myanmar is the first country where an international donor has supported training programmes on tourism and Do-No-Harm approaches, which ultimately contributed to this publication (BIF, 2019, p. 1). In the toolkit, 'do no harm' is defined as:

> A principle and approach that recognises that public, private, international and domestic interventions can inadvertently create societal divisions (conflict) and worsen corruption and abuse if they are not based on strong conflict and governance analysis and designed with appropriate safeguards. (Ibid., p. 2)

The application of the approach is guided by four sequential steps: (1) Analyse context**;** (2) Analyse business activity; (3) Identify sources of risk and opportunity; (4) Develop options (Ibid., p. 23). The first step seems to be particularly important for this work, as it lays the foundation for many processes of tourism development in Myanmar and thus also for any development of cultural heritage in this context.

The first step lies in analysing the local context in which the planned actions will take place. Understanding how the community operates is seen as the key to understanding how the planned actions might interact with and impact a community. Special attention should be paid to the fact that different stakeholders are likely to have different perspectives, even when the context is already considered well known. Therefore, the authors (Ibid., p. 8) argue it is necessary to analyse the context in order:

- To know and follow the local government's initiatives, laws, and policies on tourism
- To provide a basis for future constructive engagement with the community
- To develop inclusive business approaches that benefit the community
- To identify possible impacts of the activity on the community and workers
- To find ways to minimise the risk of increasing tensions or conflicts.

As a form of contextual analysis, the approach draws on an "divider and connector analysis", which examines relationships in a particular context, e.g. a local community. This is specifically to uncover those things that increase or decrease tensions (dividers) within a community and increase or decrease cohesion (connectors) within a community. (BIF, 2019, p. 8) An integral part of the analysis

is to interview a range of local stakeholders to improve understanding of the local communities. Examples include interviews with community leaders and other key decision makers, community members, other businesses, local NGOs and community-based organisations (Ibid., p. 9). Furthermore, the authors give some tips on how to obtain information, among other things:

- Diversification of sources to get an overview of different perspectives on the same phenomena
- This includes covering different interest groups to get a clearer picture. For example, a balanced gender ratio should also be aimed at
- Efforts should also be made to collect data at different points in time as situations change and stakeholders' perceptions of certain issues evolve

The Do-No-Harm approach shows that tourism development in Myanmar should be pursued extremely cautiously. Different interests, opinions and reservations should be considered to avoid conflicts. Therefore, the Do-No-Harm approach calls for the highest degree of Inclusiveness of Content and Participation in Decision-making of stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries and the forward-looking analysis of Power Relations between them during a process of tourism development. These can also be compared with the chosen dimensions of the CHS for an analysis of a heritage reproduction process and can therefore be considered as cross-cutting dimensions (see dimensions 1,2 and 4 in Section 2.6).

Finally, all the above concepts were merged into the country's *Tourism Master Plan 2013-2020*, in which the objectives remained the same (MoHT, 2013, pp. 25–26). Although tourism development in Myanmar is understood to be on a good path, it is not without challenges and hurdles. As described by Kraas et. al. (2020, p. 174) one of the bigger issues is the often unstructured and unsystematic way in which the above mentioned policies and the master plan end up being implemented. However, this seems to be due to a lack of local experts with in-depth knowledge of destination planning and management, rather than a perceived unwillingness to implement truly responsible tourism.

2.6   Cross-cutting dimensions

In the theoretical part of this work, it was possible to identify important intersections in the developmental perspectives of heritage and responsible tourism, based on the approach outlined in Figure 1. In particular, four analytical dimensions that play a decisive role in the emergence and analysis of heritage processes suggested by the CHS (see Section 2.2) were identified, which could also be applied to the analysis of responsible tourism development (see Sections 2.3 and 2.5). It is

argued that by applying these dimensions, meaningful results could be expected in the study of a process of heritage reproduction within responsible tourism development. Therefore, they are presented again in summarised form below:

1. **Dimension: Participation in Decision-making**

This dimension can be used to analyse the extent of participation in the creation and management of heritage within a variety of actors. How many actors participate intentionally in the decision-making processes, but also which other actors are proposed for such processes and by whom? For the level of participation often determines the completeness of a place's heritage and the final success of a heritage product if it is to be authentic, inclusive, and conflict-free. For this, it is also important to understand whether the right people, are involved, or whether perhaps outsiders with their own interests have a greater influence. This can be particularly relevant if the goal is not only to reappraise the cultural heritage of a place but also to develop tourism in a responsible but also profitable way.

2. **Dimension: Inclusiveness of Content**

This dimension considers the actual content that is proposed as heritage in a process of reproducing heritage by stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries. It can help to have a list of different types of heritage at hand, as Table 4 presents. This includes both the more common types of heritage defined by the AHD and those that are more applicable in the context of tourism. Based on this, both quantitative and qualitative statements could be made, such as relative and absolute numbers in quantities of proposals of different types of cultural heritage and their allocation within different stakeholder groups.

Table 4: Types of heritage defined by UNESCO and UNWTO

Type		Description	Source
Tangible	**Tangible cultural heritage**	1. **architectural monuments of great significance:** architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings, etc. 2. **ensembles of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings such as Old Towns, 3. **sites:** works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archaeological sites, etc. 4. **vessels, aircraft, other vehicles,** or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents 5. **objects** of prehistoric character	**UNESCO UNWTO**

	Cultural landscape heritage and natural heritage	1. **natural features:** consisting of physical and biological formations or groups of such formations 2. **geological and physiographical formations:** precisely delineated areas, which constitute the habitat of threatened species of animals and plants of outstanding value 3. **natural sites:** precisely delineated natural areas of outstanding value	**UNESCO UNWTO**
		Natural sites may belong to tangible cultural heritage as cultural identity is strongly related to the natural environment in which it develops. Natural environments bear the imprint of thousands of years of human activity and their appreciation is primarily a cultural construct.	
	Underwater cultural and natural heritage	1. **sites, structures, buildings, artefacts, and human remains** 2. **vessels, aircraft, other vehicles,** or any part thereof, their cargo or other contents 3. **objects of prehistoric character**	**UNESCO UNWTO**
		It also refers to all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical, or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years	
Intangible cultural heritage		1. **oral traditions and expressions:** including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage 2. **gastronomy and culinary practices** 3. **performing arts** 4. **social practices, rituals, and festive events** 5. **knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe** 6. **traditional craftsmanship** 7. **Living Human Treasures**	**UNESCO UNWTO**
		It also refers to those practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage	
Contemporary cultures and creative industries		**e.g., film, performing arts, design, fashion, new media.**	**UNWTO**
Cultural property		Refers to property, irrespective of its origin or ownership, which, on religious or secular grounds, is specifically designated by national authorities as being of importance for archaeology, prehistory, history, literature, art, or science	**UNESCO**

Note: Own illustration based on *Table 2 and Section 2.3.2.*

3. Dimension: Intentions

It can either be helpful if at the end of a project there are different goals that build on each other, or it can be a hindrance if they are not compatible. What counts more, the realistic and inclusive presentation of the cultural heritage, a sustainable tourism development of a community, or the also justified attempt to satisfy only the supposed interests of tourists in order to attract more of them? Is the purpose to support a single town, a region, or the whole country? These and possibly more objectives could simultaneously underlie a reproduction of cultural heritage in the context of responsible tourism development. Different goals are expressed in different intentions of the various stakeholders, experts, and intermediaries involved; hence it is important to identify them.

4. Dimension: Power Relations

Participation always takes place only within certain power structures. It is important to recognise the power relations contained therein to draw possible conclusions about the cultural heritage presented and how it was created. Who can and who cannot decide what is shown? It is possible that the implementation of cultural heritage emerges through top-down processes, as tends to be the case in the AHD. On the other hand, it is also possible to adopt a bottom-up approach, which is considered more effective in the CHS because it empowers local communities to shape the representation of their heritage. Ultimately, it is the communities that are most affected. This idea is also reflected in responsible tourism development, which in Myanmar is reflected in the tourism guidelines and the Do-No-Harm approach. Here too, efforts are made to empower local communities to a great extent.

3 Realisation of the empirical study

This part of the paper presents how the empirical study was conducted, explains the choice of methodological framework, and clarifies the link with the theoretical part. It explains how the data collection took place in Myanmar as part of a development project and how the data obtained is analysed for this thesis. In this way, a process of cultural heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development was explored by applying the four cross-cutting dimensions to identify important mechanisms underlying such a process. Figure 7 shows the path towards a possible answer to the question of which factors influence a potential reproduction of heritage in responsible tourism development.

Figure 7: Outline of the methodological approach

Planning a Heritage Day in Kalaw, Myanmar

Interviews with 13 Stakeholders from different groups of interest	2 Private tourism business
	3 Government
	6 Community representatives
	2 International local experts

Qualitative interview analysis by applying the four dimensions

Which factors influence a potential reproduction of heritage in responsible tourism development?

Cross-cutting Dimensions

Inclusiveness of Content

Intentions

Participation in Decision-making

Power Relations

Note. Own illustration.

3.1   Setting the stage

This section focused on the underlying conditions of the empirical study. In particular, the geographical and social context was given through a description of the township of Kalaw and the institutional framework, in order to illustrate how the idea for a reproduction of heritage in the form of a Heritage Day emerged from this.

3.1.1   International Trade Center (ITC)

The study was conducted as part of a tourism project of a UN agency, the International Trade Center (ITC). The ITC is supporting the internationalization of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs)

and is the only development agency which is specialized exclusively in this area. With its approach, the agency enables SMEs in developing and emerging countries to become more competitive and connect to international markets for trade and investment. Mainly raising incomes and creating job opportunities, especially for women, young people, and poor communities. It was established in 1964 and is the joint agency of the World Trade Organization and the United Nations. The mission of the ITC is to ensure highly inclusive and sustainable economic development by contributing to achieve the SDGs and to create 'trade impact for good' (International Trade Centre [ITC], 2020a). The main objectives of the Agency are:

1) to help integrating the business sector of developing countries and economies into the global economy,
2) to support institutions that promote trade and investment for the benefit of SMEs,
3) to the competitiveness of SMEs on a global scale.

A strategic partnership with UNWTO enabled the two organisations to merge resources and tools and exchange ideas to rethink a combined approach to promoting trade in tourism. The partnership should allow for more inclusive growth through a more integrated and innovative way of tourism development. In general, the ITC wants to enhance the competitiveness of the tourism sector in developing countries to strengthen its contribution to sustainable development. The agency offers solutions for destinations with a priority on strengthening their tourism sector by achieving aid for trade in tourism such as: Tourism export strategies, customized data analysis, public private dialogues, SME competitiveness development, industry linkages, and sustainable development. For more than 10 years, ITC has been developing and implementing tourism projects in various countries, including Myanmar. The projects always focus on strengthening networks of local actors in the field of tourism. With this focus, the ITC aims to develop links with local markets, develop products for potential tourists, attract investment and create more opportunities for jobs to ultimately increase tourist arrivals and to maximize the sector's contribution to sustainable development (ITC, 2020b).

3.1.2   SECO-UN Cluster on Trade and Productive Capacity project

The tourism project in which the study was conducted is part of the more extensive Myanmar SECO-UN Cluster on Trade and Productive Capacity project (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2019). This development project is based on a signed agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar through the Ministry of Commerce; the Government of Switzerland through the Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO); and the implementing

UN agencies: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Office for Project Services (UNOPS), and ITC. The first phase of the project was planned for four years from 2018 to 2022 and received a total budget of USD 4.8 million. The primary objective is to improve the horticultural production capacity, which should be combined with a simultaneous improvement of tourism development. With successful implementation, it is expected that this intervention will improve the livelihoods of the local communities through income generation and employment creation, thus contributing to poverty alleviation. The tourism part mainly involves the management and promotion of the Inle Lake region in Southern Shan State in Myanmar (ILO, 2019, p. 1). As the agency responsible for implementing this element, ITC has been assigned to support the Myanmar SECO-UN Cluster Project in improving responsible tourism development. Among other activities, ITC supports the strengthening of existing or the development of new, innovative tourism products in Southern Shan State in strong cooperation with local SMEs and communities (Ibid., p. 37). From the outset, ITC identified MoHT as one of its key partners and therefore seeks to ensure close cooperation with this government agency throughout the project.

3.1.3   A Kalaw town in Southern Shan State

The town in which the study took place is situated in the township of Kalaw. It was constituted in British rule and as a former British hill station it offers many colonial buildings. In general, hill stations have been important destinations and attractions in the colonial context. They are an invention of the European colonial powers in Asia and can be compared to the concept of mountain or summer resorts. Initially ignored for a long time after the colonial era, many of the former hill stations have also been revived for tourism in countries such as Vietnam, Malaysia, or the Philippines in recent decades (Trupp, 2018, p. 277). It is a relatively small town in a mountainous region of Southern Shan State and lies to the west of the well-visited Inle Lake. From there it can be reached in about one hour by car or three and a half hours by train. For an overview of the geographical location, see the maps in Figure 8. For tourists interested in trekking, Kalaw is a popular route to get to Inle Lake, including multi-day hikes on foot. The cool climate makes it a relaxing place for tourists to escape the tropical heat. Kalaw is the second most visited location by foreign tourists and during the last years it has become the top destination for domestic tourists in Southern Shan State. In addition to numerous town festivals and a wide range of adventure tours offered by bicycle, kayak, motorbike, or jeep, this is also thanks to a recently founded and dedicated destination management organisation, the Kalaw Tourism Organisation (KTO) (ILO, 2019, p. 7; Visitinle, 2018).

Figure 8: Maps of Myanmar and southern Shan State
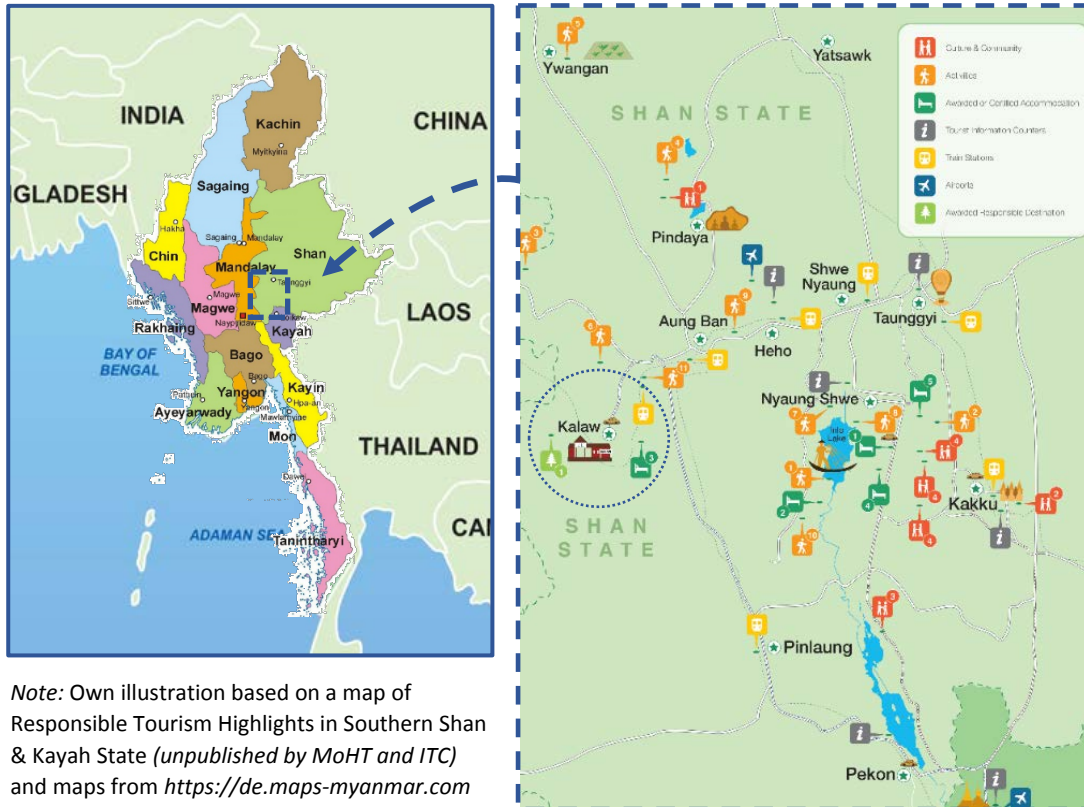
Note: Own illustration based on a map of Responsible Tourism Highlights in Southern Shan & Kayah State *(unpublished by MoHT and ITC)* and maps from *https://de.maps-myanmar.com*

The KTO was founded in July 2018 by a group of local hoteliers. The focus has always been on preserving the cultural identity and beauty of the city. Through effective lobbying, they secured political support from the city's representative in parliament in the first few months. Since then, a wide variety of projects have been implemented, such as the organisation of tree planting, waste collection days in the community, training for tourism staff, or the creation of a dedicated tourism website for the municipality (https://www.visitkalaw.com). The adapted unique selling proposition of the place, which combines climate, environment and colonial history, serves as the basis for the marketing of the destination 'Kalaw' (ILO, 2019, p. 24). Nevertheless, a strong focus on the colonial heritage of the place is visible as a central tourism resource in the destination and the colonial flair is to be brought closer to the visitors again. This is particularly evident in the destination's development plan entitled *Kalaw Style: Ideas, Values, Guidelines to preserve Kalaw's Uniqueness as Myanmar's Premier Resort Destination*, which was published in 2018 by the organisation in collaboration with partner agencies (Kalaw Tourism Organization [KTO], 2018). In addition to numerous explanations on the preservation of the heritage buildings and the recreation of the general streetscape, it is particularly worth mentioning that the organisation of an annual *Heritage Open Day*, on which all listed buildings are to be open for viewing, is stated as one of the priority

projects (KTO, 2018, p. 43). The area has also its own chapter of the Myanmar Tour Guide Association, the Kalaw Tour Guide Organisation (KTGO) (ILO, 2019, p. 24).

While Kalaw was originally founded by the British, it is still home to remarkable communities of Sikhs, Nepalese and Indians who have settled in the area since their ancestors came to build roads and railways for the British (Visitinle, 2018). However, there are also congregations of Christians (Baptists and Anglicans), as well as Muslims, and, of course, the Buddhist community, which is also the largest community there, as in all of Myanmar. In addition to the existing religious groups, there is also a significant proportion of Animists (Ministry of Labour, Immigration and Population, Myanmar, 2017, p. 12). While this information is based on the 2014 census statistics for Kalaw Township, it is almost impossible to obtain up-to-date and concrete figures on the proportions of ethnicities and religions in the region. In terms of the presence and size of ethnic groups, at least a 2008 study of the World Bank Group for the Myanmar Ministry of Education identifies the Danu, Bamar, and Taung Yoe as the largest groups in the region, with members of the Pa Laung, Shan and Karen are also resident there (World Bank Group, 2014, p. 26). It was hoped that the interviewees could provide a more accurate overview of residing ethnic groups through the questions about the place's heritage. Nevertheless, it is already clear at this point that there is an immense diversity in that town, which is characterised above all by the fact that all these groups live together peacefully.

3.1.4   The Idea of implementing Heritage Days

Already in 2019, the ITC organised some Heritage Walks in the town in Kalaw and the town of Nyaung Shwe as an activity for tourists in cooperation with local partners. The two walks in the Kalaw town focused on the heritage in the downtown and the heritage related to the colonial period as shown in Figure 9. During the ongoing support of the organisational framework of these tours until their final launch, the idea arose to also organise Heritage Days to promote and celebrate not only the Heritage Walks but also the rich heritage of the two cities on a special day. The further approach will now be presented exclusively for the town in Kalaw, as the inclusion of Nyaung Shwe would have exceeded the scope of this work.

Figure 9: Map of Kalaw heritage walks

Note: Retrieved from *https://www.visitkalaw.com/maps*

The most famous example of a Heritage Day is probably *South Africa's National Heritage Day*. Through a compromise between South Africa's ruling parties in 1995, it was decided to celebrate the country's rich heritage every year on 24 September, the day formerly known as 'Shaka Day', in memory of the legendary Zulu king named 'Shaka'. On this day, South Africans are encouraged to celebrate their culture and the diversity of their faith and traditions, in the larger context of a nation that belongs to all its people. Based on the vision of Heritage Day in South Africa, a holistic definition of Heritage Days could develop worldwide (South African History Online, 2011). Another famous example is the *World Heritage Day*, which was first proposed by ICOMOS on 18 April 1982 as *International Day of Monuments and Sites* and approved by the General Assembly of UNESCO in 1983. This holiday, which since then has always fallen on 18 April each year, was created with the aim of raising people's awareness of the diversity of humanity's cultural heritage, its vulnerability and the efforts needed to protect and preserve it (ICOMOS, 2021).

At the time, the concept for the Heritage Day in the Kalaw town was created it included the plan to launch the festivities ideally for the first time in 2021 and latest in the beginning of 2022. It was also the aim that the local partner organisations should continue to organise such a Heritage

Day at a regular basis to attract especially domestic tourists and expatriates being based in Myanmar. The ITC team was aware that implementation could be complex due to the different expectations of local stakeholders, including the reproduction of heritage, the interpretation of regional history or the careful and equal representation of the many different ethnic and religious groups. Therefore, and also in order to avoid misunderstandings and minimise potential conflicts in line with the Do-No-Harm approach, the ITC team decided to gather initial information regarding the different stakeholders' understanding of the importance of heritage and their expectations of a Heritage Day in their town. The author of this paper was commissioned to design a concept for a possible implementation, which included conducting interviews.

3.2   Collecting the data: Qualitative interviews

The empirical primary data collection was based on a specific form of qualitative in-depth interviews, the key informant interview. This data collection instrument allows for knowledge generation through interviews by means of a systematic and theory-based approach. Its purpose is to understand the underlying motivations, beliefs, attitudes, and feelings of respondents on a particular subject. Like other research methods, it follows the same general process: (1) plan, (2) develop tools, (3) collect data, (4) analyse data, and (5) disseminate the results (Boyce & Neale, 2006, p. 4; Kaiser, 2014, p. 35). The first three steps are explained in the following sections. These are subject to the original purpose of data collection for the ITC project. Since the last two steps are specifically part of the methodological approach of this work, they are described in detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.2.1   Identifying key informants

In order to get as realistic an overview as possible of the opportunities and challenges of implementing a Heritage Day in the future, key informants from different groups of interest in the community were identified as interview partners. Based on previous positive experiences of the ITC's national and international team members in their work and the understanding they gained about the region and its inhabitants, thirteen informants from the groups; (1) Private tourism business, (2) Government, (3) Community representatives, and (4) International local experts were asked for interviews, as follows:

1) Private tourism business

   - Chairman of the Kalaw Tour Guide Organisation (KTGO)
   - Secretary of the KTO

2) Government

   - Township Administrator of the General Administration Department (GAD)
   - Member of the Parliament (MP)
   - Deputy Director of the MoHT

3) Community representatives of ethnic/religious groups

   - Former Chairman of the Danu Culture & Literature Organisation
   - Imam of the Muslim community and mosque
   - Pandit of the Hindu community and temple
   - Teacher and Vice Chief Monk of the Buddhist community and monastery
   - Former teacher and senior member of the Baptist community
   - Member of the Sikh community and member of KTGO

4) International local experts

   - Founder of a local non-profit organisation
   - Owner of a local restaurant and advisor of the KTO

In the case of the groups of the private tourism businesses and the government, the request for the talks was made officially to the relevant bodies through the SECO-UN Project Management Unit Office. In the other cases, the connections and requests were made through private contacts of the national and international ITC team members. All persons approached agreed to an interview. This was partly because ITC is a well-connected and already familiar cooperation partner for most of them, and partly due to their generally good experience with tourism development projects in the region. They are not named for privacy reasons.

It is important to mention that all interview partners, except for the two international experts, naturally also belong to one of the various ethnic groups settled in Kalaw. This means that certain statements should not be understood solely as representing a specific organisation, government unit, or religious group, but also as statements by representatives of certain ethnic groups. Boyce and Neal (2006, p. 3) explain being *prone to bias* as a possible limitation of in-depth interviews. In this case, the attribution was clear from the outset and could be considered in the evaluation, as this could also provide interesting correlations. However, the fact of being prone to bias in general remains an important aspect that must be considered in any analysis of interview results.

3.2.2   Structure of the interview guide

An important step for a key informant interview is the preparation of the interview guide. This serves to structure the upcoming conversation with the expert by clearly determining the sequence and number of questions (Kaiser, 2014, p. 52). The author's interview guide contained 13 questions, which were chosen for the following reasons:

- **Question 1** gathers general information about the person.
- **Questions 2-7** focus on the general expectations of Heritage Days of the interviewees. They may bring important information on a possible organisational set up of the Heritage Days.
- **Questions 8-11** refer to the holistic definition based on the vision of the Heritage Day in South Africa and are intended to provide the stimulus for respondents to define their own understanding of heritage.
- **Questions 12-13** are additional questions that are asked when necessary and could help to better understand the respondents' intentions.

The questionnaires for nationals and expatriates differed only in the last question, as it referred to membership of an ethnic group, which was not of interest in relation to expatriates. Furthermore, it was decided to limit the MoHT to 6 main questions concerning their potential support, necessary activities, and further recommendations for the organisation of the Heritage Day, as it was announced by this governmental body to limit itself rather to organisational measures (see the different interview guides in Appendix A). Overall, it was deliberately taken care to leave a certain amount of space and to keep the questions somewhat more general in some places. This was to encourage the interview partners to express their subjective interpretations and relevance. Since the principle of openness applies in a supported key informant interview, it is also explicitly possible to deviate from the interview guide (Ibid., p. 53).

3.2.3   Conducting the key informant interviews

Participants were given a consent form before the interviews began, which included information about the purpose of the interview, namely that the ITC team would like to understand what the expectations were for a possible Heritage Day and how its development could be supported through consultations with various local stakeholders. Further, that the aim would be for local partner organisations to continue to organise such a Heritage Day on a regular basis, especially to attract local tourists and Myanmar-based expatriates to attend such a day. Finally, it was also

clarified that the information that would be recorded during the interviews through notes and/or tapes would be kept confidential.

All interviews were conducted by the author during a field trip to Kalaw from 7 to 9 February 2020. They took place in personal contact and lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, except for the interview with the MP, which lasted 90 minutes. While field notes were taken for all interviews, five interviews could be conducted in English, which were additionally tape-recorded. The other eight participants were not able or did not want to give the interviews in English but in one of the national languages. However, the author was and is not proficient in these languages. Therefore, a national ITC team member accompanied the interviews in these cases and translated from Burmese or Shan language into English and vice versa. Follow-up questions were then also first given to the translator before being translated back and forth, which made tape recording impractical and only field notes were taken. Vogel & Funck (2018) compare the advantages and disadvantages of the documentation forms 'audio recording + transcription' and 'notes + protocols'. In contrast to the usually recommended standard procedure of audio recordings, they show that taking notes can be the better solution for documenting interview data. Two important considerations here are that if the focus is less on interpreting what is said than on its intention, or if a recording would discourage particularly interesting interviewees from participating, e.g. due to language barriers, notes should be the method of choice. Both points applied in this case.

There were always minor deviations from the interview guide because the interviewees linked certain answers to several questions, or the interviewer considered it useful to jump to a later question because of the situation. Nevertheless, the previously designed interview guidelines helped to create flowing, natural conversations. The interviewees were quite able to engage with the questions, seemed very interested and were able to provide detailed information.

4   Secondary data analysis

Immediately after the interviews, the handwritten notes were prepared in the form of digital protocols in which the answers to the questions, additional comments by the interviewees and the author's impressions gained during the interviews are clearly presented (see all interview protocols in Appendix B). The results were then reviewed and looked specifically at the relevant interests of the ITC team and a possible implementation of a Heritage Day in Kalaw as a development project. This means that the author has already been able to review, sort and analyse the data once and is therefore already well acquainted with it.

In this case, however, it is a secondary analysis, as the qualitative data was collected in a different context with a different focus of interest and will now be re-analysed in a new context as

part of this thesis. Following Heaton (2008) more specifically, then, this type of secondary analysis represents a supra analysis. A supra analysis applies if the evaluation of the data is done from a new research perspective i.e. new theoretical, methodological, and empirical perspectives are developed and applied to the material. As such, it is argued that valuable results can be expected when researchers reuse their own self-collected data to explore new or additional questions to those explored in their initial research (Heaton, 2008, pp. 35–36; van den Berg, 2008). The next section explains in more detail why a secondary analysis appears to be particularly useful for the focus of interest in this thesis.

4.1   Evaluating a process of reproducing heritage

Van der Berg (2008) makes the case for secondary analysis by critically challenging the most common arguments against reusing qualitative data for a new research context. The arguments are firstly strong doubts about usefulness and secondly strong criticism of feasibility in the absence of in-depth knowledge of the research context as well as the social context in which the data was produced. The second argument does not apply here, as the author was able to conduct the interviews himself. All notes and recordings of the interviews are accessible and the original research context as well as the social context are well known (see Appendices and Sections 3.1 and 3.2).

The first argument is challenged by van der Berg (Ibid., p. 183) on opposite levels. Firstly, because the general idea that empirical data are only derivations of theoretical and methodological assumptions may not be as generalisable as widely believed. The empirical is certainly connected to the theoretical, but it always develops a momentum of its own, and since the outcome of an interview is always unpredictable, it is not necessarily dependent on any particular theoretical derivation. Similarly, the final product, the heritage that would eventually be selected and exhibited in Kalaw during a Heritage Day, is not yet in place and therefore unpredictable. Rather, it is a matter of analysing the mechanisms involved in a heritage reproduction planning process and how they might influence any reproduction to be created. Secondly, and this argument from van der Berg (Ibid., p. 184) is even more significant for this approach. If one follows the common understanding that a theoretical or methodological approach can only be validated if it analyses data produced by research based on that approach, then there is always also the risk of only selecting or producing data that fit the pre-existing assumptions that have emerged from the theory. This risk does not exist here, because the data collected has emerged precisely from the objectives of the ITC project and from the context of tourism development. It may well be an advantage that the interviews could not have been planned and conducted from the outset with the current objective of research

interest in mind, as this would not have left the crucial context untouched to such an extent. It is therefore argued that the very data used here and its secondary analysis were important for this work because they enabled an objective assessment of a heritage reproduction process in the context of responsible tourism development involving a large number of local stakeholders in the first place.

4.2   Analysing method: Result protocols based on categories

In summary, the interviews with the representatives of the different stakeholders were planned and conducted by the author as a member of the ITC project team to evaluate where possible opportunities and challenges might lie in the implementation of a potential Heritage Day in Kalaw. Based on this, the interview data obtained was analysed again specifically with regard to the research question of this thesis.

The preparation of the interviews was carried out in the form of *result protocols*. While this technique is described in detail by Breidenstein et al. (2020), again Vogel and Funck (2018) point out possible advantages over the standard procedure of transcription in qualitative social research. In the present work, result protocols were chosen for further processing of the material, as the representations from the interviews were understood as a resource and thus as information (Breidenstein et al., 2020, p. 97). If the interviewees are key informants, Vogel and Funck (2018, p. 4) explicitly advocate the use of progress or result protocols. These provided event- and process-related information on possible organisational processes in their professional and social environment. In the result protocols, essential contents of the interview notes, which are comparable to the *fieldnotes* in field research, were summarised in a structured way (Breidenstein et al., 2020, pp. 97–98). If necessary, these could be supplemented with essential content from the existing tape recordings. This summary was made by paraphrasing the experts' statements in their own words, explicitly taking care to preserve the original information, interpretations, and opinions. This procedure makes it possible to eliminate those parts of the text that are merely extravagances or are obviously redundant (Kaiser, 2014, p. 96). Moreover, a result protocol already contains a step of analysis since the interviews can be further compressed depending on the research question. According to Breidenstein et. al. (2020, p. 119) this represents an active process for analysing the objects under investigation, which is characterised by sequencing, by highlighting and eliminating, and by creating structure and coherence. In order to carry out this step of analysis, ideas that have arisen about the paraphrased parts of the text can also be recorded in a specific type of text, the *analytical notes*. These are asides that contribute to the understanding of the material and are thus

to be highlighted. They may contain explications of epistemological interest (Breidenstein et al., 2020, p. 120). Table 5 shows the structure of the result protocols. The recordings of the interviews can be found on the CD-ROM attached to the appendices of this work and the complete notes of the interviews can be found in Appendix B.

Table 5: Structure of the result protocols

	Categories	Fieldnotes with references *(Notes (N): from/to line number / Recordings (R): from/to min:sec)*	Logging through paraphrasing	Analytical notes
Method	Classifying	Interviewing	Describing	Interpreting
Function	Analytical: Comparison	Documentary: Storage	Communicative: Presentation	Analytical: Explication

Note: Own illustration based on *Breidenstein et al., 2020, p. 123*

In a further step, the encoding played an essential role. This describes the process of forming *categories* and the categorisation of the data material (Kaiser, 2014, p. 101). In this case, the categories were derived theoretically and were represented by the four developed cross-cutting dimensions (see Section 2.6). The following four categories emerged: (1) Participation in Decision-making, (2) Inclusiveness of Content, (3) Intentions, and (4) Power Relations. Already with the creation of the result protocols, the extracted text parts could be assigned to the categories (see Appendix C). Afterwards, the corresponding text parts of all interviews were summarised in their categories so that an independent list was created for each category (see Appendix D). Within the lists, the individual parts of the text that were related to each other were sorted into subcategories. This created a comparability of the data that is useful for the comprehensibility of the following results (Breidenstein et al., 2020, pp. 153–154). Especially for the first category, an evaluation of a quantitative nature was also useful. Figures related to the different types of heritage, such as the number of different heritage items proposed in general or their distribution between the respective stakeholders, allowed important conclusions to be drawn. The list of heritage items can be found in Appendix E.

5   Results

Important insights into the mechanisms at work in a process of heritage reproduction in the context of responsible tourism development could already be drawn from theory (see Chapter 2). Let us

summarise once again: The engagement with heritage is understood by the relatively new discipline of CHS as a process in which certain ways of perceiving and framing the present are created through engagement with the past within particular cultural and social contexts. These processes, their beginning, course, and ultimately their possible outcomes, are characterised by certain mechanisms that intertwine in the negotiations of the crucial participating actors. Those were identified as inclusivity of the content and participation in the decisions, as well as the power structures between the actors and their respective intentions, are decisive. If we look at responsible tourism development in general and in Myanmar in particular, it became clear that the same mechanisms are at work in the beginning, course, and successful implementation of any projects within this framework. These four cross-cutting dimensions were examined in more detail regarding further factors that specifically underlie them in this case study.

5.1 Dimension: Participation in Decision-making

Successful participation in the decision-making processes for the organisation of Heritage Day is what enables a say in the selection of content in the first place. The significance of this will be examined based on this dimension. While four different groups of interest were identified and considered in the qualitative data collection, there may be other important groups. It may also be possible to draw conclusions about how the respondents themselves feel about the participation of the other surveyed stakeholder groups. In short, how inclusive could the organisational structure be?

5.1.1 A creation by everyone

When it comes to the participation of certain interest groups in the decision-making processes for the organisation of the Heritage Day and its purpose, the ideas of the individual interviewees are highly diverse. Two of them, the representative of the KTGO and the representative of the Baptist community are of the opinion that the organisation should be led by the tourism stakeholders, as the event is first and foremost a tourist product and the basic decisions should be made by them. However, afterwards, as many people as possible from the different communities and stakeholders should be involved in the implementation (see Appendix D, List 1, 1-11). In contrast, the representative of the city government spoke in favour of leaving the decisions primarily to the local people, although he did not define exactly which ones. In addition, the representatives of the Muslim and Hindu communities spoke in favour of leaving the decisions to the religious and ethnic

groups in particular, and the pandit explained that the city government could also be involved in cases of very important decisions (Ibid., 12-18).

All others, and thus the majority, were in favour of a more participatory and inclusive approach. Their idea of an all-inclusive organisational structure includes religious, ethnic, social, governmental, and tourism-related groups. All should be represented, share their ideas, and make decisions together. While the establishment of a committee to organise and implement the Heritage Day was mentioned several times, there were also minor differences in the specific composition of the committee. For example, the representative of the Danu community indicated his community constitutes the majority in the village and would be the most committed to the event, and that they should therefore have a special role in the committee. On the other hand, one of the international experts noted that the committee should be kept as small as possible, as it might be difficult enough to make decisions as it is. A representative of the religious community also pointed out that care should be taken to also involve the younger generation in decision-making, as they are generally more open-minded, a quality that can undoubtedly be an advantage in such a project (Ibid., 19-67).

5.1.2   A lack of trust in the government

The respondents indicated that the government could be involved in the decision-making process, but the question was in what form and to what extent. At several points during interviews with representatives of the different interest groups, a general distrust in the work of the government became evident.

While even the representative of the city administration was aware of this lack of trust, the other two were not, or at least they did not address it. They were much more convinced that the decision-making processes could only be successful with the involvement of a wide variety of political bodies. In addition to the GAD and the MoHT, the police, the department of culture and religion or the department of conservation were also mentioned for example (Ibid., 68-85). However, whether this attitude corresponds to reality and would be purposeful can clearly be questioned, since the representative of the Danu community, for example, clearly stated that the government should not decide on anything concerning the organisation of the Heritage Day. The representative of the Baptist community also stated that one of the greatest difficulties would be to get the government to grant permission for an event that exclusively corresponds to the wishes of the social communities. According to her, this would most likely be possible if the event is geared towards tourism, as this is what the government is most interested in (see Appendix D, List 1, 86-93).

5.1.3   The struggle of religious groups

The MP makes it clear very early on in the conversation with her that the inclusion of aspects of the heritage of the religious groups will be a very difficult topic. Although she points out that it might be possible to involve the leaders of the religious groups in the decision-making processes, this should also be done with the utmost caution. Similar statements came from the representative of the Danu community and the Vice Chief Monk of the Buddhist community, who said that the Buddhist and Hindu communities could be included without any further problems, but that this would be different for Christians and Muslims. These groups were accused of a kind of separation from the general society. It would therefore be better to concentrate on the representatives of the ethnic groups, as they would have a real interest in a Heritage Day (Ibid., 94-107).

Interestingly, the representative of the Muslim community affirmed a great interest of his community to participate in the Heritage Day and its organisation. He, in turn, criticised a kind of exclusion of his community from the majority in town and understood the Heritage Day as an opportunity to learn from each other. In the same spirit, the representative of the Sikh community felt like all ethnic and religious groups in the village should be involved in some way or another in the decision-making process (Ibid., 108-111).

It makes a big difference who should or is allowed to participate in the decision-making process and which heritage of which groups is ultimately more likely to be included in the final presentation. Disagreement about the extent to which religious groups should be included in the decision-making process showed that heritage assessment and reproduction is not necessarily understood in practice as a universal concern for all residents of a place. On a positive note, however, there was overwhelming agreement to achieve the greatest possible equality among the actors who would be chosen to participate. However, this was mainly due to the fear that otherwise disputes could arise. This did not apply to the government, however. A clear distrust of the people towards the government showed that it can either only play a rather observing role or a very strong decision-making role. A consensual discussion on heritage is by no means easy to archive. In order to reach such a consensus, a division into other interest groups could also play a role, such as young and old, for example if members of the younger generations are more tolerant and open towards all types of cultural heritage.

5.2   Dimension: Inclusiveness of Content

This dimension was applied to draw conclusions about what types of heritage respondents believe should be considered, preferred, or avoided when it comes to heritage reproduction. There may well be potential conflicts associated with particular types of heritage, and it may also happen that bad events in the past are generally omitted, even though they are part of the heritage. By applying this analytical dimension, possible conclusions on the applicability of the categorisation by the AHD should also be drawn, for example by counting the proposed heritage items.

5.2.1 Different notions of heritage and its items

The specific items of cultural heritage mentioned by the respondents could be assigned to both tangible and intangible heritage (see Appendix D, List 2, 1-209 and Appendix E). With 17 different items mentioned a total of 65 times, the category of intangible cultural heritage can be understood as by far the most important in the reproduction of local heritage during a possible Heritage Day. It is also not surprising that the items mentioned here are mainly those that are generally already associated with the cultural representation of the different ethnic groups in the country. The presentation of traditional costumes, dances, and handicrafts, as well as their production techniques, and the preparation of traditional food, have been used for a long time, especially in the country's cultural tourism and at numerous cultural festivals. It is exciting to see that the fourth most frequently mentioned item of intangible cultural heritage are the stories of the elders, as this underlines the importance of Living Human Treasures, which for instance has also been recognised by the AHD. More items follow, such as traditional practices, instruments, songs, or the production of traditional snacks. While these were only mentioned three times each, it is also the belief that was only mentioned by three respondents as a heritage item. However, worship of the Nats, the forest spirits, and Animism, which were mentioned by two interviewees, can also be counted here. There are still intangible heritage items that have only been mentioned once, such as those associated with colonial heritage.

Tangible cultural heritage received less than half as much attention, with nine different items mentioned a total of 31 times. Here it is mainly the buildings that are mentioned by the interviewees. The religious places are attributed the most importance with seven mentions, followed by the colonial buildings and the old teak wood houses with six and five votes respectively. Next come objects such as old photographs, flags used in the past or present by different religious and ethnic groups, or long-kept antiques that are associated with the heritage of the place and could be displayed on a Heritage Day. Finally, there are again individual mentions of tangible cultural assets that are attributed to the colonial heritage.

Of the six different categories of heritage types developed by the UNESCO and UNWTO classifications (see Table 4), the items mentioned could be assigned to four. While most of the items focused on the categories of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, natural heritage was mentioned four times, while even one person mentioned one item considered contemporary culture. It is not surprising that underwater cultural and natural heritage was ignored, as the place is in the mountains, far from the sea or larger inland waters. Unfortunately, nothing concrete could be assigned to the category of cultural property. There was simply nothing mentioned in this direction, neither by the representatives of the respective groups, nor by the representatives of the government, and this is where the decision would have to be made first and foremost. This could be since Myanmar has so far received little or no attention from the UNESCO. It is somewhat surprising that in general no heritage items for Myanmar have yet been included in the *UNESCO Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Register of good safeguarding practices* (UNESCO, 2021). One traditional cosmetic alone, named Thanaka, which still enjoys widespread use among the people of Myanmar, was nominated for listing by the government to UNESCO in March 2020. Whether this paste made from ground tree bark, which exudes a fragrant, sandalwood-like scent, cools the skin and offers protection from the sun, will make it onto the list will not be decided before December 2021 (Hein, 2020). Considering the large number of suggestions from respondents on possible heritage items that could be shown (see Appendix E), the question arises whether the AHD and its categorisation of heritage is even close to reflecting reality. Here again, the CHS and its engagement with heritage valuation shows itself to be much closer to it.

As different as the ideas about the exact cultural assets are, there is agreement that the cultural heritage should be shown in the form of the traditions and cultures of the ethnic groups. In the best case, for all groups present in the region. Depending on who was interviewed, these could be the Pa'O, Taung Yoe, Palaung, Danu, Shan, and even the Inthar or Tanaut. There could be five to seven different ethnic groups. Other voices, for example, also classify into main groups, such as the Pa'O, Danu, Palaung, and subgroups, such as the Taung Yoe, and Tanaut. Like the 2014 census (Ministry of Labour, Immigration and Population, Myanmar, 2017), respondents do not seem to be able to provide clear and consistent information on existing ethnic groups in the region (see Appendix D, List 2, 210-221). While it seems understandable that the representative of the Danu community advocates for a focus on the ethnic groups, it is surprising that even two representatives of the religious groups say that the focus should be solely on the ethnic groups and their cultural heritage (see Appendix D, List 2, 222-231).

Often it was only after a specific follow-up question about religious groups that respondents could imagine incorporating any kind of heritage content from these into the planning of the event. But here, too, there were isolated gradations within the groups. The Buddhist religious group was

considered the most important, followed by the Hindu, Sikh, and Christian groups, and finally the Muslims. Here again, an ignorance of certain groups about others becomes clear, for example, when it was assumed that the representation of the Muslim religious group is difficult because it would not have any tradition (Ibid., 232-237). In contrast, however, the representative of the Muslim community explained the very clear interest of his community in presenting its tradition and culture. At the same time, he states that the different beliefs should not be addressed (Ibid., 238-241).

Four of the six representatives of the ethnic and religious groups agree that the cultural heritage of the different religions can be shared, but only in the form of traditions and culture. It should be refrained from showing or discussing the different beliefs as well (Ibid., 242-254). Respondents related to tourism were generally open to the presentation of the heritage of religious groups and did not express any limitations to it. Then the representatives of the Hindu and Sikh communities specifically spoke out for the inclusion of faith as an important form of cultural heritage. In particular, the Sikh representative, who himself belonged to the younger generation, understood faith as one of the most important aspects to be shown, explained and shared (Ibid., 255-299).In general, it can be said that all religious communities would be willing to open the doors of their sacred spaces to visitors and to answer any questions openly. However, the willingness to be fully open to all areas of heritage, including the beliefs, especially in public, does not seem to suit all of them. Finally, it is also the two international experts, both of whom have lived in the place for several years, who point out that it is precisely the peaceful coexistence of the different religious groups and thus of the different belief systems that makes the place unique and that this therefore cannot be emphasised enough (Ibid., 300-311). It also seems remarkable that only one of the interviewees goes into depicting and celebrating the inter-ethnicity of numerous residents of the village. This is to be done, for example, by reproducing and presenting the life stories of the elders. Here it becomes apparent that the thoughts of the interviewees are rather aimed at differentiating the various ethnic and religious groups and highlighting their respective particularities, although the diversity of a place with a rich cultural heritage can also be seen in the lived diversity of individual persons (Ibid., 312-316).

Almost half of the respondents propose to present the colonial heritage of the place and thus a large part of its history. This ranges from the exclusive opening of the old buildings from the colonial era, to the description of supposedly positive aspects through the settlement processes of British soldiers and thus new religious communities and thus more diversity. The sheer problems and conflicts that this period inevitably entailed were not mentioned as a possible way of addressing them within a Heritage Day. It is here that the MP insists on presenting only the colonial heritage during the event. Firstly, the term 'heritage' would only refer to history and in particular

its tangible character, i.e. the resulting architecture and infrastructure. Secondly, cultural heritage would be so important that it could not be sufficiently appreciated on one day only and certainly not in connection with other aspects such as religion or colonial history (see Appendix D, List 2, 317-345).

Only four of the 13 respondents, including three who work in tourism themselves and the MP who clearly shows strong ties to the sector, suggest offering the tourism products during the Heritage Day and highlighting the sustainable development of tourism in the area (Ibid ., 346-356). Furthermore, four respondents also want to focus on the natural surroundings of the place, since the surrounding forests were and still are essential for the life and survival of the residents. A cave is also mentioned, which is seen as a place of prayer and a tourist attraction. In addition, religious practices related to nature could also be represented in connection with the natural heritage of the area, such as the worship of the Nats or Animism (Ibid., 357-368).

5.2.2   Equality just to a certain degree

Another important aspect when it came to the actual content of the Heritage Day was the necessity of its equal and generally fairly distribution. The respondents were more concerned with the distribution between ethnic and religious groups than between different types or items of heritage. The achievement of the former was understood as an essential element in the prevention of conflicts. However, as the discussion of the actual types of heritage and the reluctance there towards the religious groups already suggests, an equal presentation will also have its limitations. On the one hand, there were the government representatives who disagreed on whether the ethnic groups should all be equally represented or whether there should be a gradation between main groups and subgroups. If anything, only equal representation of ethnic groups is noted, while that of religious groups is not addressed at all, a view shared by the Danu representative. There is agreement that if the groups can be equally represented, then it should be done, for example, by assigning them to one stand per group (see Appendix D, List 2, 369-389). The inevitable exclusion of religious groups becomes clear once again when their equal representation is renounced because of their different beliefs. Always under the hint and fear of possible conflicts, it has been said again and again that religion should only be portrayed in a very limited way, if at all. However, this fear only applies to the portrayal of other religions, not Buddhism. To make matters worse, even though the problem seems to be the different beliefs of the religious groups, and this understandably seems to be a highly sensitive issue, it is thereby repeatedly overlooked by some of the interviewees that the religious groups also have traditions and culture that could be considered separately from the beliefs. It also became clear at some points that this is due to a lack

of knowledge, which also arises from a lack of interest in the respective religious communities among each other (see Appendix D, List 2, 390-408). Then there are the respondents who were quite in favour of a representation of all traditional and cultural aspects other than beliefs of all groups. If there had to be a representation of the more diverse belief systems, then at most within the religious sites (Ibid., 409-425). It should be noted that all respondents accepted the holistic definition of a Heritage Day along the lines of South Africa's National Heritage Day. The will to maximise inclusion seems to be there, but due to various external circumstances it cannot translate into a concrete planning for implementation.

After all, half of the respondents, consisting of two representatives of the local communities and otherwise the representatives of the tourism sector and the two international experts, stated that they were in favour of an absolutely equal representation of representatives of all groups and all their unique aspects of heritage. Culture, traditions, and the different faiths, all this is what makes the place and the people. By allocating one stand or uniform time slots on stage per group, a balanced presentation should be ensured, and possible tensions avoided. Finally, one of the two experts pointed out that the representation of religious groups would be decisive in distinguishing the Heritage Day from the other numerous cultural festivals of individual or several ethnic groups that already exist (Ibid., 426-478). He also explains that it is nevertheless essential to show all other forms of heritage that occur in society:

> The fireworks festival and parade in town is already a heritage event of sorts, no doubt, although it is more Buddhist oriented. So, you have processions and parades and all these events that are kind of religious [Buddhist] festivals throughout the year. Therefore, I would enlarge this concept to create a similar event, but one that also includes the other components of the society. (Interview D/2, 14:55-15:52)

Here, the subjectivity of the understanding of cultural heritage was illustrated and how different its perception and representation can be. Even if experts were consulted to arrive at a universally valid decision, it would simply be inevitable that a significant proportion of the local population concerned would not feel represented, or not represented in the right way. In such a case, it would also remain a task to investigate to what extent a heritage product resulting from a predominantly top-down approach would have an impact on the actual perception of those affected. The representation of the heritage of religious groups seemed to pose the most difficulties. While some wanted to completely dispense with the representation of the different belief systems and limit themselves only to the traditions and culture, some of the stakeholders even ignored the presence of these among the religious faith communities. If religion was accepted on a larger scale, it was only the predominant form of Buddhism. On the other hand, it was also pointed out that the cultural heritage of the Buddhist ethnic groups in the country is almost over-represented. There

would simply be no need for further presentation here if they were not placed in a larger context. In this case, for example, such a context also included a rich colonial heritage that was no less controversial. In any case, it became very clear that the focus of all participants was on the heritage of people and the structures created by people. The natural heritage was only mentioned sporadically, although it is essential for the survival of the region and is above all the most important tourist attraction of the place. Nature is simply forgotten in the practice of dealing with heritage, which is also shown by the low number of mentions in the list of heritage items in Appendix E. Heritage is also largely associated with the past. The representation of the present plays a less important role in the minds of those concerned, even though heritage is reflected in it. Other aspects that could be marketed in the context of a Heritage Day were not considered so much. Only possible sales on the market or some of the tourist offers, especially the Heritage Walks, were mentioned.

5.3   Dimension: Intentions

This dimension was intended to explore respondents' statements regarding their understanding of the objectives to be achieved by organising a Heritage Day. Certain intentions underlay the individual respondents or their respective interest groups that would influence the actual design of the heritage rendition in the form of the Heritage Day. Furthermore, these intentions could also lead to conclusions about the possible target groups for which such events could be organised.

5.3.1   Raising awareness to preserve the heritage

A majority of nine out of the thirteen respondents considered the opportunity to raise the awareness of traditions, culture, and the diversity they generate as the most important reason for the organisation of a Heritage Day. While the ideas of representatives from all stakeholder groups overlap here, the statements differed slightly in scope. The KTGO representative, for example, was primarily concerned with raising awareness among the residents themselves, many of whom, especially in the younger generation, do not seem to know why the town is such a unique place. He would also include the surrounding villages in the region to join the event (see Appendix D, List 3, 1-11). This corresponded with the statement of the representative of the Sikh community, who himself belongs to the younger generation and pointed out that he had never heard of the concept of a heritage day, as topics such as cultural heritage are not taught in high school and therefore the younger generations are not yet aware of its importance:

I like the idea that it brings different groups of people together. I think that's a very good thing because in Myanmar even the students in high schools, we don't really learn about different groups of people who are living in Myanmar. So, I think that is a good opportunity to learn about the existence of different groups. (Interview C/6, 00:16-00:53)

Further, he pointed out that his community, although a religious group, has a strong culture and tradition that is not only based on faith, and that this should be shared with the people. Some of the interviewees showed a certain pride in the diversity of the place, from which the whole world could now learn (see Appendix D, List 3, 12-47). It was one of the international experts who stressed in his answer to the question about a possible celebration of a Heritage Day: "Well, I think it's a good idea. If there is one place to celebrate diversity and heritage, it is definitely Kalaw, of course in Myanmar" (Interview D/2, 00:03-00:14), while the representative of the KTGO and himself a member of the Shan ethnic group was similarly euphoric about the holistic definition of a Heritage Day:

Yes, yes, I do accept, because Kalaw is unique, you know. We have it all. We have a monastery, we have a temple, we have a mosque, we have a church. All the different kinds of religions living peacefully together. So, we should appreciate that. (Interview A/2, 11:25-11:39)

Five interviewees pointed out that as awareness of cultural heritage increases, its preservation becomes more possible as well. They described the real danger that knowledge about and heritage itself will be lost increasingly over time. They referred to the preservation of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage and to the fact that the place is already doing a lot in this direction (see Appendix D, List 3, 48-66). The MP also expressed the idea that the Heritage Day could serve to raise money for some sort of a heritage trust fund, which in turn could be used for the preservation of the historic buildings, as described in the city's development guidelines (KTO, 2018).

A particular focus was placed by three interviewees on the need to protect the diverse cultural heritage of the numerous ethnic groups. It was interesting to hear the municipal government official, himself a member of the Bamar ethnic group, point out the particularly precarious situation of the Tanaut, and the Vice Chief Monk of the Buddhist community, himself a member of the Pa'O, point out that of the Palaung. These two groups could now receive special attention during a Heritage Day to support the protection of their cultural heritage. In contrast, the representative of the Danu community described the attempts already made by his community to protect its own

heritage, which had come under threat from other communities, especially the numerous religious groups (see Appendix D, List 3, 67-79).

In fact, it was only one of the international experts who pointed out the enormous importance of the site's natural environment for the local population and that therefore awareness of the natural heritage and its protection should be given a central role during the Heritage Day (Ibid., 80-85). However, he also described the fact that awareness for the environment is only slowly increasing among the local people:

> I think that while there are groups that are starting to pay a little more attention to ways of conservation and even reforestation, and if by heritage you mean ethnic groups, religious groups, buildings, the cultural heritage of the city itself, I would say that the forest is a big part of that and that is what really makes this town. (Interview D/1, 02:40-03:06)

5.3.2   A chance to build peace

Half of the respondents were also in favour of using the Heritage Day to increase the underlying respect between the different communities through a focus on the local diversity. This would ultimately lead to a consolidation of the peaceful coexistence of the many ethnic and religious groups in this region. Furthermore, this should be demonstrated so that it serves as a model for the whole country. In the past, conflicts between ethnic groups, or between Buddhists and other religious groups, also occurred in the region, as they still flare up today in some places in Myanmar. The fact that so many different belief systems live together peacefully is considered a great happiness. In this sense, the representative of the Sikh community emphasised that a Heritage Day "is putting all these communities together and keeping their good spirit on and makes each other understand more. It leads to peace" (Interview C/6, 12:47-13:07). However, some respondents criticised that this fact is not sufficiently communicated within the city itself and to the outside world. Much more should be done to use the example of Kalaw to promote peace and compassion for each other in the whole country. A Heritage Day could be an important start to this agenda (see Appendix D, List 3, 86-133).

According to the understanding of some of the interviewees, a Heritage Day can certainly have the power to bring about any positive developments beyond the boundaries of a certain place. Their awareness that the peaceful coexistence of the numerous communities in their hometown cannot be taken for granted also gives them hope of being a role model for peacebuilding all around the world.

5.3.3 The fear of returning conflicts

As enthusiastically as one half of the respondents reacted with regard to the peaceful coexistence of the many ethnic and religious groups, the other half reacted with restraint. The reluctance was particularly evident on the part of the government representatives. They uniformly formulated that during a Heritage Day, too much attention should be refrained from being paid to the various religious groups. First and foremost, the task should be to prevent possible conflicts and points of friction before they arise. In the past, however, the confrontation with religions has always led to conflicts, whether intentional or unintentional. What for other respondents meant a liberation from the conflict-ridden past, for this group of respondents meant much more the danger of returning to it. The fear of this seems so great that the representative of the MoHT clearly stated that they would have to withdraw from organising the event if the religious groups were to be ostracised in public. Heritage Day would then only be allowed as a privately organised event and on private grounds (see Appendix D, List 3, 134-157). For example, the MP clearly understands the different religious groups as part of the history of the place, but expresses strong restraint in their presentation:

> While we are proposing this idea [of the organisation of a Heritage Day], I don't want people to misinterpret or misperceive the idea we want to propose. So, religion, of course, when we talk about heritage, there is a church from the colonial period or the Sikh temple for almost a hundred years. Since then, the community has been here, so we can't take that history out. But, don't highlight it, as we used to do, to invite all the religious leaders into a room and discuss, because now we have a sort of extremists. I don't want to make the situation getting complicated. (Interview B/2, 68:10-69:04)

The fear of recurring conflicts, which already took a long time to be overcome between the different ethnic groups, seems to be too great here and the self-confidence in each other too low for the Heritage Day to be understood as a confidence-building and peace-making measure.

5.3.4 The bittersweet taste of colonial heritage

The quite rich colonial heritage of the place and its presentation during Heritage Day was repeatedly suggested, especially by the MP. While the cultural heritage of the ethnic groups is understood to be far too complex to be shown on one day and with divided attention to other aspects of heritage, the presentation of the religious groups would have far too much potential for conflict (see

Appendix D, List 3, 158-170). The focus on colonial heritage seemed to be the strict course of the MP in this regard, but it also does not seem to be entirely feasible without difficulties, as the MP itself pointed to an already existing mistrust within the local population towards past and current efforts to highlight colonial heritage:

> While we try to educate our people that we need to preserve what we have in our hands. We have almost 200 colonial buildings here, if we could preserve these buildings, Kalaw would become even more valuable. But then some of the people, especially ethnic people, even post on Facebook that I would like Kalaw to be a colony again and so on. So, it's a kind of scepticism. They are very negative. They talk about it as if I would miss the time under British rule. (Interview B/2, 69:35-70:18)

The MP's assessment can be questioned by the statements of the two international experts. They both emphasized that the focus should not only be on the colonial heritage, but that the representation of diversity and the peaceful coexistence of different cultural origins should be given much more importance, as this also has the potential to initiate positive developments. They insisted on "instead of only speaking about heritage in terms of buildings left behind by former colonisers. [..] It would be much more interesting to take a look at all this diversity" (Interview D/2, 02:16-02:32) and "there are buildings all over, there are people all over, and there is history all over. Raising people's awareness in the country of this immense diversity as an important part of their heritage is key for a better future" (Interview D/1, 21:49-22:14).

It is striking how certain types of heritage, especially those of religious groups, are to be renounced in order to avoid alleged conflicts, but at the same time the focus is to be placed on other forms, such as the colonial heritage, which obviously already causes conflicts. The latter is also only pushed by a few stakeholders and especially the MP with the subjective understanding that it is in the interest of the place.

5.3.5   A creation for everyone

Seven of the thirteen respondents agreed that especially the local population would benefit from a Heritage Day. They referred to people from the town, the surrounding villages or even from the entire Kalaw Township, and it did not matter to them which ethnic, religious, or any other group they belonged to. The respondents stated that it would be great to invite the leaders as guests during the Heritage Day to introduce them to the culture, traditions, and history of the region and

all the different ethnic and religious groups that live there. The focus on the participation of local people was also reflected in the fact that this part of the interviewees was in favour of holding the event in a period that promised a lot of free time for the local population, such as school or New Year holidays (see Appendix D, List 3, 171-199). It was the representative of the Sikh community who said that the locals had probably never experienced such a multicultural event as he imagined the possible Heritage Day to be (Ibid., 200-202). He and others again pointed out the need to attract the younger generation to participate in the event. Five respondents agreed and stated it would be essential to awaken their interest to strengthen the cultural exchange in the future (Ibid., 203-225). Especially the representative of the KTGO, who also belongs to the younger generation, pointed out that it is important to pass on all the historical facts of the place, as there is a lack of knowledge about this among the local people:

> I think that most people [residents] have no idea why Kalaw town is so popular among tourists. Except for the first generation, the second and third generations have no idea about their town. They know that we have many buildings from colonial times, but they don't know exactly when we were under British rule, for example, or in which year we had our Independence Day. So, I think it is important to include such facts from our history. (Interview A/2, 01:10-01:49)

Although most of the respondents were in favour of organising the event especially for the people in the region, some of them also pointed out that Kalaw could serve as a model for the whole world (see Appendix D, List 3, 226-234). However, if one ever wants to be able to live up to this idea, it will of course need a reach beyond the borders of the region, which could be made possible by tourism and thus tourists as guests.

5.3.6 Focus on Tourism

A majority of nine respondents agreed that a Heritage Day should also be targeted at tourists. These could be both domestic and international tourists. The reasons already mentioned were the general increase of awareness about the local heritage among people from outside, the possibility to preserve it, or to initiate far-reaching positive developments through the resonance of cultural exchange. Another point that was mentioned was to generally increase the number of visitors to the event and to ensure that it would be a success. The more guests, the more likely the local population would be able to earn money, for example through sales on the market during the event (see Appendix D, List 3, 235-280). Not surprisingly, tourism stakeholders also saw the event as an opportunity to increase the attractivity of the town as a tourist destination in general. Should the

Heritage Day be a success, it could evolve into a very promising tourist attraction. This opinion was also shared by the MP, who repeatedly emphasised strong cooperation on her part with local tourism stakeholders and explicitly advocated the importance of sustainable tourism development in the region (Ibid., 281-288). While it became clear that for these three interviewees, i.e. the two representatives of tourism sector and the MP, a tourism success of the event is a priority. This could include raising awareness about possible negative impacts of tourism, such as the degradation of the natural environment or the increasing loss of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, even here, it was more important for the MP to avoid possible conflicts that could arise from including religious groups in the reproduction of heritage, even though she was aware that diversity is exactly what international tourists would want to see (Ibid., 289-303). This can be concluded from the following statement:

> Multicultural community, yes, that is the product we could sell. Especially for the international community and I used to show it to 23 ambassadors which visited my place. I showed them, look, there is the mosque, there is the Buddhist temple. […] I want the international visitor convinced that we are quite familiar with a multicultural community. Although, sometimes, you know, we have very bitter legacies. This is also something that those who want to help us should know, that a small group of people have used religion as a political tool to mobilise people. So that sometimes there are misperception and some sort of extreme ideology. (Interview B/2, 37:07-38:36)

The intentions of the respondents proved to be extremely diverse. No clear correlations of certain intentions in e.g. the same interest group could be found. First and foremost was to raise awareness of the heritage of the past, which should be preserved today. In this sense, the understanding of the younger generation should be sharpened. Interestingly, the next concern of the respondents was the potential of Heritage Day to act as a peacemaking measure in the here and now. This showed on the one hand that heritage is created in the present and has an impact on it, and on the other hand that it is a highly political act in its reproduction. Many different ethnic and religious groups live together at the site of the study, and their heritage has also been shaped by conflicts between them. The fact that they can now live together peacefully is perceived with pride and joy and was repeatedly mentioned as a reason for the uniqueness of the place. This joy is to be achieved by stimulating cultural exchange with the event throughout the country and beyond its borders. However, government representatives in particular expressed strong reservations about raising the issue of religion at all. From a political point of view, this would hardly be feasible, the wounds of the past are too deep and the recurring conflicts between religious and ethnic groups throughout the country are too present. Significantly, the government has not held back in dealing with the colonial legacy, even though that period was marked by violence and oppression. In fact, the MP

said, the colonial heritage should be the only display of heritage. It seems that this is far enough away that it could now be presented and used as a tourism resource. However, concerns were raised here by civilians who view colonial heritage with caution and want it to be displayed, if only in the context of other aspects of heritage. Tourism then played a crucial role when it came to the actual consumption of a Heritage Day. While it was clear to the interviewees that the event and the exposure to heritage would help the local community, almost all referred to the importance of attracting domestic or international tourists as guests to the Heritage Day. While this would also help to increase the reach of cultural exchange, it would mainly help to ensure the success of Heritage Day, or to further market the whole region as a tourist destination. This showed the character of a reproduction of heritage as an economic resource. This economic interpretation could also be identified as the only general intention expressed in some way by all respondents. However, it also became clear that even this economic advantage would not be worth provoking possible conflicts that could arise if religious groups were added to the representation just to showcase all the diversity as an expected attraction for tourists.

5.4 Dimension: Power Relations

This dimension provided insights into which power relations are present in the processes at hand and whether they are obvious or more hidden. For example, the whole approach to organising the Heritage Day was developed as a bottom-up process following the Do-No-Harm approach, yet attention was paid to whether any forms emerged that suggested a future development following a top-down approach. It was assumed that existing power relations can strongly influence a possible reproduction of heritage.

5.4.1 Government as the final decision-maker

The government will have the final say on whether the Heritage Day will take place and if so, in what form. This was overwhelmingly seen as a concern by respondents because, as indicated earlier, trust in government across all parties is limited (see Appendix D, List 4, 1-12). Interestingly, at least the representative of the municipality itself refers to this mistrust and initially even recommends that the government should not interfere in the organisation and decisions of the organising group to avoid tensions. Accordingly, he also stated that the organisers would be able to obtain permission from the GAD for the implementation of the event quickly and easily (Ibid., 13-

32). However, it turned out during that interview, as well as during the interviews with the other representatives of the government, that it would not be so easy after all. Especially if certain aspects of heritage already mentioned were to be integrated into the event.

Particularly significant was that the MP seemed determined to implement her plan to showcase only the colonial heritage of the place, even though she perceived the discomfort of the local population. Both she and the government have the power to stop the organisation of the event if it does not meet their expectations (Ibid., 33-40). At the very least there is a possibility on the part of the MoHT, as mentioned earlier, that the government will pull out of the project. This would happen once the different religious beliefs other than Buddhism were to be addressed publicly at the event. Afterwards, it would be up to a private business to organise and run the event. In this case, however, it would be celebrated on a private property and not in public places which would inevitably make the Heritage Day less attractive. Religion seems to be a highly sensitive issue that the government does not dare to address publicly, even though it is aware of the existing diversity and peaceful co-existence of different belief systems in this Kalaw town (Ibid., 41-50). As the MP put it:

> If we look at the history, religion is one of the fundamentals and an important part, but according to our country's political circumstances, we shouldn't highlight it. But the visitors should visit each of every religious place, of course, and they should also get the chance to see for themselves that Kalaw is very multicultural. (Interview B/2, 39:28-39:57)

It is also interesting to note that all government representatives clarified that no financial support is to be expected from their side. On the other hand, some of the respondents from other stakeholder groups assumed that the government would commit to such an event and support it financially. This shows that the government wants to make the final decisions but is apparently not willing to provide existential support for the implementation (see Appendix D, List 4, 51-67).

5.4.2   Signs of tension

Representatives of all four interest groups stated that there may well be friction between the different actors and that this must be avoided at all costs. Although it has not been explained in detail how these problems might look like, conflicts would be definitely possible between all parties, especially between the different ethnic groups, the different religious groups or in between them (see Appendix D, List 4, 68-84).

Thus, the Danu community representative first pointed out the problem of finances once again. It would be clear that many negotiations and compromises would have to be made, as no

one is willing to help with the financing from the beginning. Other statements of his seem much more serious. On the one hand, the ethnic communities in general should be given more decision-making power in the organisation. Secondly, the Danu in particular should get more attention during the event than other ethnic groups, as they see themselves as the most important ethnic group in the region (Ibid., 85-93).

Among other interviewees, it was the vice chief monk of the Buddhist community who noted that for the event to run smoothly, there must be trustworthy people in the organising committee. This meant those residents who are regarded and respected by all the different groups (Ibid., 94-100). Significantly, the filling of this role was quickly referred to the government. However, with the suggestion that the government's ability to bring together the different interests lies more in its power to influence individual groups than in a truly trusting negotiation. Here again, the power of the government becomes clear when, for example, the possibility of exerting pressure on the ethnic groups through the town administration to force them to cooperate was referred to. Or when the MP hinted that she could exert strong influence on the local government and the tourism businesses (Ibid., 101-110).

5.4.3   Tourism as common ground

During the interviews it emerged that some kind of common ground would be needed from which promising discussions on how to reproduce the local heritage during a Heritage Day would be possible in the first place. It was repeatedly pointed out by the interview partners from all interest groups that tourism and the development of Kalaw as a tourist destination could represent this common ground for all parties involved (Ibid., 111-130). With this focus, conflicts would be drastically minimised, and compromises made possible. Whether government, community representatives or international experts and tourism operators themselves, all seemed to see the need for a thriving tourism industry. This is not surprising, as the tourism sector is one of the most important sources of income for the village. This applies both to the people who work directly in the industry, for example in hotels or as guides on the heritage walks or trekking tours, and to those who earn indirectly from the guests in the village, for example through sales at the market or taxi rides.

5.4.4   The military as an unexpected actor

Surprisingly, the military seems to have a big influence on a possible presentation of the tangible heritage of the place. Many of the old buildings in Kalaw and the land on which they were built are

in the hands of the military, which has little or no interest in civilians walking around on their property. Apparently, the local government also has no decision-making power over the military. Even the usually very strong and determined MP referred in this case to only very limited possibilities to open the buildings and properties for visits during a Heritage Day. She only referred to the attempt of persuading the military to open their premises (Appendix D, List 4, 131-138). The military is showing itself to be an unexpected and powerful actor.

The different religious groups were repeatedly excluded by the representatives of the government, the ethnic community, and other religious groups in the discussions of a possible planning and organisation of a Heritage Day. While various interviewees repeatedly refer to possible conflicts and tensions due to the inclusion of religions, it remains unclear whether this is not also due to a general lack of interest in the concerns of the religious groups or a strong interest in maintaining the power of the ethnic groups or Buddhism as the main religion. Especially among the younger respondents, the aversion to other belief systems seemed to be less pronounced and a more liberal understanding prevailed. It must also be pointed out that there is distrust between the religious groups. Buddhists and Hindus seem to get along better with each other than with Christians or Muslims. The proximity of Hindus and Sikhs to the Buddhist majority gives them a better chance to present their heritage. While this mistrust, as the example of the Muslim community showed, was mainly based on a general ignorance of the living conditions of the others, no concrete conflicts were mentioned. However, as was made quite clear here, it will not be possible to present the different belief systems in public in the village, although many of the interviewees would be quite prepared to do so. If not the conflicts themselves, then the fear of their resurgence has a major influence on the way the cultural heritage is dealt with in the present. This becomes clear in the scepticism with which some residents of the Kalaw town view the MP's efforts to present the colonial heritage in a positive light. Above all, however, it is evident in the caution with which any representation of religious groups in public is met, and especially the different faith systems. These have repeatedly been decisive for conflicts in Myanmar and are still being politically instrumentalised today, for example, when one looks at the violence against the Rohingya Muslim minority, which is also viewed with concern by the rest of the world (Lintner, 2017). The power of fear of recurring conflicts is too great, as is that of the government, which clearly vetoed th. At the same time, the government representatives seemed to be aware of their power positions, and this became very present in the debate on the colonial heritage. The adherence to the ideas of individual powerful people in the representation of heritage and the resistance to ideas of far-reaching concepts is also an obstacle to a holistic implementation in the sense of South Africa's National Heritage Day. All of this has the potential for friction between different positions of power, but this can be reduced if an organising body is properly constituted and made up of people who

are respected across community boundaries. At this point, a major advantage of addressing heritage within responsible tourism development arose. As much as a discussion about cultural heritage may be dominated by the fear of possible misunderstandings or conflicts and the narrow-mindedness of individual actors, with the focus on tourism development, a common ground could be found from which compromises seem possible. Even then, interest groups can still appear on the scene that have considerable power, but whose relation to a reproduction of heritage is of a rather passive nature. This was demonstrated in this case by the military's claims to ownership of many of the historic buildings. Accordingly, both clear power structures became visible, as well as those that influence possible developments more covertly. This also manifested itself in the fact that a process of reproducing heritage, which was planned as a bottom-up approach, may well take on strong features of top-down approaches due to unbalanced power relations.

6   Conclusion and outlook

Studies dealing with heritage within the CHS aim to take a critical look at the mechanisms that underlie processes such as its attribution, creation, presentation, or management. These reveal the complexity of the concept of heritage, which can move between being a social action, a political tool, or an economic resource. In this master thesis, such a process could be examined in more detail by analysing the statements of individual representatives of different interest groups on the possible organisation of a heritage product, i.e. a Heritage Day. The research question specifically asked about the factors that would influence a possible reproduction of heritage in the context of responsible tourism development. In the theoretical part of the thesis, the scientific discipline of CHS and the concept of responsible tourism development were derived, and their basic assumptions were presented. Since the data collection through key informant interviews took place in a small town in Kalaw Township, the tourism development aspired by the policy in Myanmar was specifically considered. In this approach, four cross-cutting analytical dimensions were simultaneously identified for the further empirical study, which proved to be purposeful for the investigation. The potentially reproduced heritage is highly influenced by participation in the decision-making processes, the inclusivity of the heritage in question, the intentions of the decision-makers and the power structures that arise within these processes. By applying these overarching dimensions of analysis, deeper factors then became visible that underpin the enormous subjectivity with which heritage is perceived and reproduced in the present. It is therefore argued that the predominantly top-down decisions made by so-called experts within the AHD can only ever be shortcuts to dealing with heritage. Shortcuts that may end up with forms of heritage that can result

in serious conflicts, as it is highly unlikely that they adequately cover the heritage that the people concerned themselves feel is right. It has been shown that responsible tourism development, especially with its participatory and inclusive approaches, is an excellent tool to engage with the complexity of tangible and intangible or natural and anthropogenic forms of heritage. In particular, the Do-No-Harm approach, which is referred to by most tourism-related development agencies in Myanmar, is essential to quickly identify and avoid potential conflicts. It turns out that this bottom-up approach is of great importance given the country's difficult past and the thus highly sensitive issue of dealing with heritage. In this case study, too, what was actually a well-intentioned tourism development project proved to be a highly complex construct in which actors have to deal above all with numerous conflicts from the past and the power structures that emerged and solidified as a result. It has also been shown that the context of tourism is also helpful for the actual negotiations on heritage by providing a common goal and room for compromise. In general, negative aspects of the past, which are also part of the heritage, are best not shown. This again coincides with the theory of CHS, which points precisely to this circumstance of positive diversification of heritage. Most insights into these mechanisms were gained through the analytical dimensions of content inclusivity and stakeholder intentions. The analytical dimensions of decision-making processes and power structures also provided fewer, but no less meaningful, insights. This work represents a valuable contribution to the interdisciplinary field of CHS by supporting the still rather weakly represented perspectives of human geography, sociology, and tourism studies in this relatively young research field. The successful elaboration of overarching analytical dimensions enables a new research strand within the interdisciplinary approach.

In the exchange with the local population about their perception of their own cultural heritage, one learns a lot about the basic structures and connections of the individual actors or communities to each other and about the people themselves. The four dimensions under which their decisions were considered revealed some patterns of interdependence, e.g. the proposed heritage of an actor is strongly dependent on its intentions. These interdependencies could be analysed in more detail in future work. In addition, the author could gain further insights by examining other existing interviews in the nearby locality of Nyaung Shwe Township and then compare the results obtained there with those obtained here. Furthermore, it would of course be of utmost interest to be able to analyse the final product in the form of a Heritage Day celebrated for the first time in Kalaw. As mentioned earlier, Myanmar is not included in the UNESCO list of intangible cultural heritage. One conjecture suggests that this is partly due to the unwillingness of the country's government to come to terms with the country's difficult historical past and, in doing so, to address all aspects of the country's diverse heritage. It would be worthwhile to examine this connection in more detail in further academic work.

7 Critical reflection

Addressing the issue of heritage in a country with such strong ethnic and religious diversity, such an eventful and often dramatic past, and yet inhabited by such loving and hopeful people as Myanmar was perceived as a great honour. The author always felt extremely comfortable and welcome. Working in Myanmar was exciting, very educational, and a never-to-be-forgotten experience of a lifetime. It was certainly helpful to already have a good understanding and feel for intercultural communication to be able to conduct the conversations, especially those held mainly in the local language through translations, with the necessary patience, calmness, and easiness. Despite all the language barriers, there was an aura of openness and honesty that cannot be taken for granted, especially when talking about such a sensitive topic. Of course, the possibility of data collection within the framework of the ITC played a decisive role. The contact persons on site were already very familiar with the work of the agency, were in constant exchange with its team members, and had great confidence in its projects. It is therefore understood that such a positive response to the interview requests and a general willingness to cooperate with the author of this thesis was only possible because he was a member of the ITC team and it was about the implementation of a new project. Again, this is to express gratitude for the trust shown by the interviewees in wanting to discuss a difficult topic that always triggered fears of old and present conflicts with an outsider who probably did not always show the most sensitive and understanding reactions during the discussions. The difficult, often opaque circumstances in Myanmar are a valuable lesson for the author to perceive the world with even more open and understanding eyes.

It is important to note that in this work, data was not collected in the usual way. It is more common and probably more accepted to aim for data collection based on theory from the beginning. If this example had been followed in this thesis, then the interview questions could have been chosen more concretely with regard to the research question, and the corresponding focus could have been brought back to answering it again and again during the interviews. While this could have provided more accurate and valuable information, it might also have risked losing the objectivity necessary to answer this research question in its specific context. Therefore, in this case, it can be argued that the prior collection of data and its subsequent theory-based secondary analysis was quite successful, as this approach allowed for important insights, on the one hand for the discipline of CHS in general, and on the other hand for the reproduction of cultural heritage within responsible tourism development in particular. Nevertheless, the feeling remains that the limited scope of a master thesis is not sufficient to adequately investigate such an interdisciplinary

and controversial topic. For example, the data obtained from the town in Nyaung Shwe and its comparison with the data from the town in Kalaw could have brought further exciting insights. But an analysis of 28 interviews would clearly have gone beyond the scope of this work.

The military coup that shook the country of Myanmar on 01.02.2021 happened exactly during the time this thesis was written. As a result, certain websites, and some data, e.g. statistics on tourist flows or population data, were no longer accessible. Furthermore, the data collected at the same time a year ago and used in this thesis is anything but up to date, in the sense that circumstances have changed drastically in the place where the data was collected. These are, of course, not even slightly significant problems given the terror that the people of Myanmar have had to endure on a daily basis at the hands of the military since the coup. While the Heritage Days project, both in Kalaw and Nyaung Shwe, may never be implemented, one must hope that the country quickly finds its way back to democracy, so that conversations such as those held in the context of this work can be held more often and with even more joy and confidence in the future.

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Declaration of Authorship

I declare that the work presented here is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and the result of my own investigations, except as acknowledged, and has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for a degree at this or any other University.

Hamburg, May 5, 2021

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