Tales of Heritagization
Networks, flows and community involvement at World Heritage sites in Vietnam

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Mai Le Quyen

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Zusammensetzung der Prüfungskommission:

Prof. Dr. Stephan Conermann (Vorsitzender)

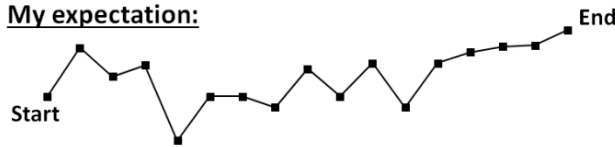Prof. Dr. Christoph Antweiler (Betreuer und Gutachter)

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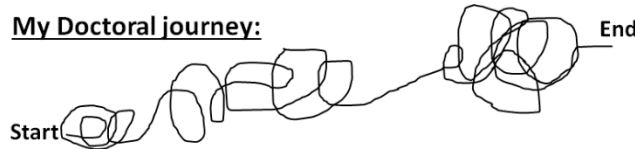Prof. Dr. Conrad Schetter (weiteres prüfungsberechtigtes Mitglied)

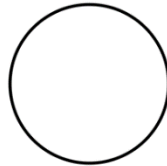Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 26.11.2020

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My expectation:

My Doctoral journey:

My dissertation:

When I decided to pursue the doctoral programme in ZEF, I had told myself that this journey would be bumpy with lots of difficulties, as illustrated in the first graph. However, the reality turned out to be so much fuzzier. There are not only ups and downs, but also a mishmash of challenges and mixed feelings. There were moments that I just circled at the same stage, losing all directions and motivation to progress. Fortunately, somehow it all worked out in the end. As the research is gradually taking shape into this dissertation, I have learned that the arduous doctoral journey has been so much rewarding. It is rewarding in both academic results and my self-development, symbolised by the perfect circle. However, I would not be able to come to the end with such achievements if there has not been enormous support from many people whom I deeply appreciated. Hence, to get started, I would take this chance to express my deepest gratitude to all of them.

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Abstract

The study entangles the relation between World heritage (WH) – as a selective process termed as heritagization, and community – as a heterogeneous construct. It holds three key objectives. First, it aims to deconstruct the process of heritagization, which is argued to be dominated by the powerful elites. Second, given such dominance, it explores the ways that the community mobilised to get involved in the process. And lastly, it questions whether the community is grassrooting towards the dominant sphere. From June 2017 to July 2018, an ethnographic study has been conducted at two WH sites in Vietnam, including a cultural and a natural designation.

Expanding the argument of Di Givione, the study has illuminated that heritagization is an on-going transnational process, characterised by three different phases (including isolation, idealisation, and valorisation) and two intertwined facets. It finds out that the community gets involved in the two later phases. However, the roles of the community only becomes more as the subject in the last valorisation phase. Moreover, the research identifies different forms of community involvement ranging from passive to active. Hence, only a minority of groups with a certain set of assets are seen to be able to manoeuvre for involvement. This concludes that the community is heterogonous and dynamic in both place-based and non-place-based terms. Finally, the research has pinpointed to an increasing trend of grassrooting up to the dominant sphere, in which the community utilises information communication technologies to bypass the nation state and to enhance their benefits and influence.

The research has contributed insights into the processual understanding of both heritage and community. It has identified not only the actual positions of actors at certain phases but also the involvement of the community in particular. Theoretically, it questions the usefulness of the community concept in heritage studies. On a practical note, the study suggests potential ways of empowering the community in the heritagization through the utilisation of technological innovations.

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HMCC	Hue Monument Conservation Center
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICT	Information and communication technology
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MOCST	Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism
MONRE	Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment
PN-KB NP	Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park
PPC	Provincial People's Committee
SRV	Socialist Republic of Vietnam
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USD	United States Dollars
VCP	Vietnam Communist Party
VNAT	Vietnam National Administration of Tourism
VND	Vietnam Dong
WHC	World Heritage Convention
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.1. Introduction

The 21st century has the marked vigorous emergence of various transnational phenomena which spill out of the coping capacities of any state alone, and simultaneously, legitimated the roles of various non-governmental as well as bilateral, multilateral and global actors. In 1972, the UNESCO "Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" (also known as the World Heritage Convention (WH Convention)) came into being. Ever since, World Heritage has entered into the list of transnational phenomena. World Heritage is defined by UNESCO as an "outstanding universal value" and "irreplaceable source of life and inspiration" that is built from the past but used contemporarily (UNESCO, 1972). After nearly fifty years of popularisation, WH Convention has now been known as the most successful and influential international treaty. To date, the Convention has attracted 193 ratifications of State Parties and designated more than 1092 properties worldwide. Not just expanded in number, World Heritage is increasingly expanding its influence to the furthest corner across the globe. Heritage is now suddenly everywhere intertwined in all facets of contemporary society (Bendix, 2009; Harrison, 2013).

Regardless of this ubiquities, not everything from the past can be promised a place in the World Heritage list. Being globally recognised requires a process of identification, valuation, categorisation, and enlisting. Consequently, in recent years, World Heritage has been put into question whether it is an innate thing, or it is intentionally produced. Since the beginning of the heritage boom in the late twentieth, scholarly discussions have concluded that heritage is the result of a selection process which is often initiated by the national government and supported by the official international regulations. Heritage hence contains selective elements that can be used in several positive and negative ways, depending on the vested interests of those who canonise it (Smith and Akagawa, 2008). Recently, more and more scholars in the field of heritage studies have come to accept this processual understanding of heritage. This differs from the earlier scholarly and professional activities that narrowed their concern merely on the material aspects of architectural or archaeological sites (Harvey, 2015). Whereas the importance of such activities remains, new fields of heritage studies suggest to perceive "heritage" in the process of social and political constructs that encompass places, artefacts and cultural expressions (Smith and Akagawa, 2008).

The re-theorization of heritage as a process rather than things, or recently known as "heritagization", has brought about new dynamics that are simultaneously interesting and challenging. Firstly, as a process, it raises the question of how the process is done, concerning both the formal and informal mechanisms. Secondly, heritagization is a highly selective process. This argument then triggers pressing concerns of the who, what and why. The "who" will question both the subjects and objects of the process which can range from agency, scales, hierarchy to

power relations. The "what" interrogates criteria, justifications, methods, procedure, and/or impacts. The "why" explores the vested interests. All of these questions refer to interdependence, negotiations, cooperation and contestations, power and counter-power, inclusion and exclusion (Harrison, 2013).

Recent years have seen significant efforts from a broad range of heritage literature that thrive on tackling the above questions. For example, Smith (2006) pinpoints the dominant role of international experts and agencies in the process. Bendix (2009) seeks the potential political and economic consequences induced by heritagization. Harvey (2015) raises his theoretical concerns on the heritagization and scales that help to understand the impacts of scale, territory and boundedness on heritage-making. Di Giovine (2009) argues heritagization as a process that intertwined deeply in the global tourism production, from which it is expected to pave our way towards a peaceful future. Recently, several studies started to focus more on the relationship between heritage-making and local people. For example, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) criticises heritagization as a process that manufactures the local people from heritage owners to heritage bearers or performers. The Smithsonian Institution attempts to understand the making of cultural heritage that helps to visiblise the grassroots' voice. Also, most recent efforts were made by MacRae (2017) to study the impacts of heritagization with the local livelihoods.

However, the under-theorised and vague understanding of the dynamic and multi-layered concept of heritage has always been pointed out in all of the studies. Calls for more intensive studies to elucidate the heritagization in the context of contemporary society have been put forwarded. As an answer to the call, this study acts as a contribution to understanding heritage under the processual conceptualisation. Moreover, contextualising heritagization in the specific case of Vietnam, the study will attempt to advance further by exploring the actual position of the local community within the process of making heritage properties recognisable worldwide.

1.2. Problem statement

Vietnam ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1987, a year right after "Đổi Mới"[1]. Like other developing countries, Vietnam has been extremely enthusiastic about nominating for World Heritage since its ratification. At present, the country has 24 inscriptions in the UNESCO World Heritage schemes and the other seven nominations in the tentative list. Whichever motive lies behind this eagerness definitely could not be simply explained by the only interests of preserving the past values. After the 1986 Reforms, the Vietnamese government was eager to enter the global era, and World Heritage has been perceived as one of the bridging instruments. Internationally, the more inscriptions that get into the World Heritage list, the more visible

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[1]."Đổi Mới" is the economic reform initiated by the Vietnamese Communist Party in 1986 during the party's 6th National Congress which aimed to create a socialist-oriented market economy. It can be known under different terms including: Reforms, Renovation, Open Door policy (Hayton, 2010; Tai, 2001).

Vietnam becomes in the world map not as a previous war zone, but rather as a destination of marvellous natural and cultural universal values (Di Giovine, 2009). Nationally, engaging in the World Heritage scheme is used to back up the political legitimacy of the post-socialist Communist regime in which Vietnamese identity is valorised and unified in the richness of nature and diversity of cultures (Di Giovine, 2009; Salemink, 2013). In the economic aspects, World Heritage has generated massive benefits for the development of the country. Exemplary, UNESCO-recognized natural and cultural heritages in the country received more than 16 million visitors, including 7 million foreigners, earning merely from entrance fee of more than 2.5 trillion VND (approximately 107.5 million USD) in 2017 (Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism, 2018). Locally, World Heritage has been manifested to enrich the spiritual lives of local people as well as to improve their living in several ways. Hence, the UNESCO "stamp of approval" plays a crucial role in the Vietnamese national state in contemporary time (Salemink, 2013). The process of World heritage making coming to the national and local levels has become more and more difficult to separate from the other economic, social and political processes in the case of Vietnam. In recent years, World Heritage has been given significant functions throughout all sectors in the macro development strategies of the country. Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc emphasised that:

> *"World heritage entails not only historical, cultural, scientific values but is also the key resource for the sustainable development of Vietnam. Heritage should not be the dead past but should contribute to sustainable development. It is our duty to revitalise heritage and make good use of them in the present time. We need to balance different interests and benefits of conservation and development"[2].*

Apparently, World Heritage sites in Vietnam are not merely some well-preserved past but rather everything crucial for contemporary lives. The process, which turns the past values into the present importance, has triggered the research interests focusing on the following concerns:

Firstly, heritagization is a vigorously selective and dynamic process that refers to human actions, agency, and power (Harrison, 2013). Although embedded in the local meanings, World Heritage has its stakes sketch from the local to the global in which each of the stake groupings harbours their own perceptions and interests of utilisation (Bendix, 2009; Galla, 2012). The unsettled issue is that their expectations seldom harmonise with one another. While UNESCO mostly nurtures the Western perceptions of heritage values, this differs dramatically when it comes to different Eastern State parties. Alternatively, heritage values withheld by the local and indigenous are different from those widely recognised in the global sphere. Consequently, within the intentions for identification and valuation of heritage, conflicts often reside (Bendix, 2009). Scrutinised in the field of Intangible cultural heritage, Salemink has concluded that the heritage policies in Vietnam are an arena of contestations in which conflicting interests are played out and resolved

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[2] Statement of Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc at the National Conference on "Conservation and development of World Heritage for sustainable development" held in Hanoi on 27th July 2018.

continuously. And in cases, localised heritage are often selected and nominated into the agendas of UNESCO in order to appropriate particular national interests and to integrate contestations in one discursive frame. Consequently, local concerns are overridden (Salemink, 2013). Heritage is thus considered to be highly politicised, complicated, dynamic and multi-layered. It refers to actions, agency, and power. Therefore, heritage needs to be captured fully in its dynamic processual form in order to elucidate its underlined complexities, so that it will enable a thorough understanding of how and why certain meanings and interests are legitimated while others are being overcast.

Secondly, the processual conception also needs to realise that heritagization is an ongoing process in which the selection, recognition, conservation, and management of heritage are defined and redefined at different levels and by different actors. This draws into the process the interconnected networks of stakeholders of various scales and interests. Between these networks, the meanings, interpretations and implementations are extremely fluid (Black and Wall, 2001). On the one hand, actors are bounded with and around designated properties at certain places. On the other hand, actors and things are also translocally connected (Brumann and Berliner, 2016). Therefore, it is time to realise that the process of heritagization exists not just one-way, top-down interactions from the global level (of UNESCO and its advisory) to the national party state and then to the local. However, it involves multi-directional and multi-faceted interactions (Harrison, 2013). Recently, Brumann and Berliner (2016) stress the utter importance to re-approach World Heritage not as bounded sites but as nodes within the networks of different levels that can depict the interconnections between the local and translocal stakeholders as well as the fluidity of their interests, perceptions, and actions. Current scholars also call for an approach that can trace not only these networks but also the logics governing within and between them. Such an approach should elucidate the logics of power distributions, resource regulations, and which logics are not confined in a specific place but transcend borders and territories. It should be able to reveal the ongoing process of heritage standardisation, organisations, productions, and negotiations in which power is developed and exercised (Brumann and Berliner, 2016; Harrison, 2013; Yan, 2018).

Lastly but centrally, given the dominant roles of global and national actors within the heritage-making process, the most stressing question points to the position of the local community in it. Although the ideal rhetoric of World Heritage confirms community as the truthful owners of all recognised properties, to validate the above rhetoric remains a daunting task in the reality of World Heritage conservation and development due to various reasons. First, community has always been one of the most ill-defined concepts. Waterton and Watson (2013) affirm the constant doubts casting over the usefulness, clarity and value of the concept even in the heyday of community studies. Community has always been taken for granted as a homogenous entity that fails to understand the complexities of the social interactions that characterise them. Second,

the relation of community and heritagization are incredibly complex, dynamic and co-evolving that could only be read in distinctive cases (Breidenbach and Nyíri, 2007).

Regardless the fact that advocacy of local community involvement in World Heritage agendas has been put globally since the 40th Anniversary of WH Convention in 2012, how this principle actually is practised at various implementation stages has not been clearly instructed by UNESCO and its bodies (ICOMOS Korea, 2012). ICOMOS concurred that clarifying on this will lead to a more concrete definition of what is really intended for the local community. Furthermore, it will help to understand the proper mechanism to involve community and enhance the local autonomy and decision-making towards what is defined to belong to them initially (ibid.). However, until 2017, MacRae admits that there have been little attempts analysing into depth how heritagization are experienced and negotiated by the community, and understanding the way community as heterogeneous compound mobilise for their interests in the local-to-global networks of heritagization (MacRae, 2017).

Since the beginning of the Millennium, the Vietnamese national state is also paying more attention to the role of the community within their heritage schemes. However, Larsen finds out that although governmental policies do mention to respect and protect the rights of the local community to participate in and benefit from the heritage-making process, there has not been any detailed mechanism, guidelines or programme on how exactly these policies should be implemented[3]. Sharing this view, Dr Chu Manh Trinh - marine biologist at The Cham Islands Marine Protected Area (MPA), Hoi An, Vietnam – agrees that there are many barriers to the effective involvement of the local communities in the conservation and development of heritage sites in Vietnam. Those include the lack of transparency in responsibility and benefits-sharing mechanism, lack of effective conversations, and lack of information. Most importantly, there is an insufficiency of research that can identify and understand the current level of participation, the barriers and potential contestations induced in the process of involving local people in heritage conservation and management. For Mr Trinh, this is the core problem that helps us understand the essence of heritage-community relations.

Following the processual arguments of heritage, this study aims to understand the making of World Heritage sites in the setting of Vietnam, a post-socialist country that is going through tremendous transformations. It aims to elucidate how heritage has been produced and practised, translated and adapted, consumed and experienced, managed and deployed from the global sphere, to national and to the local spaces. The study also explores further the relations between heritage as a process and community as a dynamic compound. The study hopes to illuminate these regards which remain as a gap in the current research.

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[3] Dr. Peter Bille Larson stated in the International workshop on "Community participation and right-based approaches in world heritage Vietnam", Hanoi, 26-17 November 2015.

1.3. Research objectives and questions

1.3.1. Research objectives

The study sets out from the premise that World Heritage is a selective ongoing process that concerns networks of actors of different scales acting for their interests upon heritage through different flows of discourses, standardisations and regulations, and resources. It aims to understand the process that selects and valorises certain sites to attain the prestige World Heritage status and then to popularise them for wider appreciations. Furthermore, it focuses on elucidating the positions of the local communities within this heritagization process. These objectives are set in the current settings of World Heritage governance in Vietnam.

Firstly, in order to understand how heritage has been made in the case of Vietnam, the study aims to disentangle the complex interactions in the networks of actors ranging from the global to the national and then to the local levels where the day-to-day interaction of people and sites take place. It also captures the different flows that are governed within these networks in the making of World heritage. These flows work beyond the territorial terms and can be identified in different forms such as flows of discourses, regulations, funding, ideas, images, people…etc. Tracing these flows, on the one hand, helps the study to unveil how heritage processes are perceived, produced, consumed, and practised by different actors. On the other hand, it will elucidate the negotiations, interactions between actors from which power will be exercised.

Secondly, the study aims to zoom in the actual position of community within the heritagization process. Local perception and responses to the heritagization will be carefully examined. Being extremely precautious on the dynamic nature of the community, it sheds light on potential differences or even dissonances between groups of community or between the community and other stakes. Simultaneously, the study examines the different ways that communities mobilise their resources in order to claim for their involvement and benefits in the heritagization process.

Lastly, setting up on the premise that heritagization is dominantly driven by powerful actors, the study urges to explore the counter-dominant actions of the communities at sites. My last objective is to discover whether there is an upstreaming trend from the space of places that thrives to enhance their position within the heritagization process against the other more powerful actors in the space of flows.

1.3.2. Research question

1.3.2.1. *Main question*

How have World Heritage properties been made in the case of Vietnam, and how do local communities get involved in the heritage-making process?

1.3.2.2. *Sub-questions*

1. How are properties transformed to be recognised as World Heritage sites in Vietnam?

    a. How are properties chosen and nominated for the designations?

    b. How are the properties widely promoted to gain their iconic and significant status?

    c. What are the dominant justifications for the designation and valorisation of World Heritage properties?

    d. Who are the actors? Whose justifications played the dominant roles?

2. How do local communities get involved in the process of heritage-making?

    a. To what extent do the local communities actually get involved and benefit in the heritage-making process?

    b. Through which, networks and channels do the local communities get their involvement?

    c. What resources have been mobilised by the local communities in order to create space for involvement and benefits in the process?

3. Are there possibilities that the local community could up-stream for influences into the dominant global and national flows in the process of heritage-making?

1.4. Synopsis of the thesis

The thesis is structured into nine chapters. This synopsis will guide through the flows of research rationale, processes, and results. It has started with the introduction to the research problems which guide the objectives and questions that urge the researcher to thrive for answers.

Chapter 2 reviews the major concepts that drive the research. Conceptualisation will be then integrated into the analytical framework, which is built up from the key theories of networks and flows. This chapter offers the analytical skeleton on which the research bases its arguments.

Chapter 3 reflects the philosophical stance of the researcher, which further explains the chosen methodology and research procedures. This chapter justifies for the selections of case study as the research design and also provide a detailed discussion on the data collection and analysis processes. The primary data were collected between 2017 and 2018 in Vietnam by following the four-stage-model suggested by Buchanan, Boddy and McCalman (2014).

Chapter 4 leads the first step to the research issue by setting up the contextualisation of World Heritage and the community's position in the setting of studied sites. It sketches out the background of the contemporary situations in Vietnam concerning the World Heritage topic, which helps the readers understand why things are done in the ways they are.

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 deconstruct the process of heritage-making in Vietnam by analysing two studied cases. Chapter 5 focuses on the case of the cultural World Heritage of the Complex of Monument in Hue, and Chapter 6 works on Natural World Heritage in which Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park is chosen. Both cases show different contested backgrounds which were de-

contextualised before being nominated for the World Heritage list. After the official designation, these sites are then re-integrated into the contemporary settings with new significances to the local and the country. The two chapters deconstruct the transformative process of World Heritage sites in Vietnam in three crucial phases, namely: isolation – idealisation – valorisation. The roles of different actors are well analysed in each of these phases.

Chapter 7 aims to understand the actual position of the local community within the heritagization process, given the global and national dominance. It projects an in-depth comparative analysis of the two empirical cases. The analysis demonstrates different ways of understanding the local community, as well as captures their forms of involvement. Notably, the chapter provides evidence on an up-streaming trend of the local community into the global flows by utilising information and communication technologies.

Concluding remarks will be elaborated in chapter 8. The initial objectives and research questions will be revisited. The chapter brings together the essential discussions by linking the empirical findings to the theoretical approach. Some conclusions are specialised for the context of contemporary Vietnam. However, others would raise a more general understanding of the relationship between heritagization and community into the current research.

The last chapter will wrap up the research journey by going through its key findings. Finally, it concludes the thesis by summarising some valuable contributions and hinting towards interesting implications for the future.

CHAPTER 2. HERITAGIZATION AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT: CONCEPTS AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

There is an increasing trend that perceives heritage as a doing rather than an innate thing in recent years. This shift has requested a better theoretical understanding of the heritage concept and its relation with the community. Hence, this chapter seeks to pave the conceptual ground to enable further explorations of the heritage-community phenomenon. The first section will examine the current debate of heritagization guided by the processual understanding from the existing literature. The second section will review the linkages of the community in the World Heritage agenda, followed by further critics and reconceptualisation of community. Finally, in order to study those prepositions of heritagization and community, I will build up my analytical framework using the theory of networks and flows, from which further analytical elements and concepts will be provided.

2.1. Defining heritage-making process: Heritagization

In recent years, heritage has seemingly grown out to be a ubiquitous concept that is favourably embraced by many actors across a number of industries and sectors, such as tourism, urban planning, conservations, and politics. Indeed, heritage has always been there as a part of the human society; however, it has only become omnipresent after the World War II and broke out to be a global phenomenon ever since the 1970s (Harrison, 2013; Smith, 2006). Although associated with preserving the past, heritage is actually believed to shape the present and future ideas and practices. Furthermore, to serve this function, heritage has never been just heritage, but heritage is made with purposes. This section aims to scrutinise this processual concept of heritage-making, which is recently termed as "heritagization".

2.1.1. Heritagization as a concept

Robert Hewison, in "The Heritage Industry; Britain in a Climate of Decline" (1987), was among the first who made remarkable concerns on heritagization – a process in which certain favourable items were intentionally selected, produced and made significant by the British heritage industries during the 20th Century. Hewison starts his argument in the context of a politically, economically and socially distressed United Kingdom after the destructive World War II. British citizens thus developed nostalgic urges to look for favourable pasts in order to cope with this "climate of decline" in this recession period. As a result, museums had actively selected certain memories and traditions to display as their cultural significance that directed people to filter out the unpleasant aspects in memories and history, and then to revitalise their sense of optimism, values, and identities. According to Hewison, as the heritage industries were fashioned and developed, museums emerged, heritages were subsequently being superficially and nostalgically "manufactured". Focusing on the emergence of museums and museum visiting activities, Hewison

strongly criticises the heritagization process where historical truth and accuracy were being questioned, and traditional practice of history had to give its ways for the economic values of heritage selection and popularisation. He stated:

> *"Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing heritage, a commodity which nobody seems able to define, but which everybody is eager to sell...'' (Hewison, 1987, p.9).*

Following the above critiques against the museology raised by nostalgic urges in the British context, Kevin Walsh (1992) points to the fact that people were getting more and more distant from their daily lives which made them lose their sense of places leading to the emergent fashion for heritage and heritage industry. However, Walsh adds that this emergence of heritage ''should not just be considered as a characteristic of a "climate of decline" (Hewison, 1987), but that it should also be seen as part of a wider service-class culture which expanded during the 1980s" (Walsh, 1992, p.4). The 1980s coming to the 1990s, according to Walsh, were highlighted with experiences of (post)modernity society characterised by technological advances that put people into the crisis of meaning and the lost connection with their places. This process explains why heritage mattered and museums as a device for place-making remarkably boomed. It should not have been an issue if museums with their identity and place-making ideology were not being constructed by the ruling class who possess control over the past. These ruling individuals and institutions selected only safe images of certain places, put them into the process of "imagineering" to fit them in certain acceptable "national" themes, such as royalty, country houses, benevolent industry, and the rural idyll (Walsh, 1992). Although these processes were justified as the provision of public services and the building of identities, it is criticised that these were rarely meant for public goods but just to cover the economic concerns. From here, Walsh coined the term "heritagization of place" which implies the reduction of real places to tourist space, constructed by the selective quotation of images of many different pasts which more often contribute to the destruction of actual places (Walsh, 1992). The process of heritagization in Walsh's analysis is the process through which the ruling class colonised and imagineered the past to gain benefits through the aegis of the heritage industry (Preucel, 1993). Concerning the consequences of heritagization, whereas Hewison questions the historical truth and accuracy of the heritagization process, Walsh expresses his concern over the local people who were disenfranchised when it came to the construction of the places that they are living in.

From the works of both Hewison and Walsh, it needs to be asserted that heritagization is an ingredient of modern society which is tied to certain political and economic values of certain actors of interests (Bendix, 2009). Experiencing the booming of cultural heritage, and the new category of Intangible cultural heritage at the end of the 1990s, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) came up with a concept of "meta-cultural operations". For her, the meta-cultural operations are manufacturing the intangible cultural World Heritage. Their scope had extended

museological values and methods from materials and items to a living person, their knowledge, practices, social worlds, and living spaces (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). This is where the World heritage programme turns problematic in Krishenblatt-Gimblett' analysis. Firstly, it is problematic because, different from a tangible heritage which is an object, intangible heritage is a living person who is both the object and subject of culture. In the process of heritagization of cultural properties, particularly the case of the intangibles, these living objects are often treated as freezing for preservation and safeguarding measurements while neglecting their agency. Moreover, the heritage programme also tends to neglect the persons' rights to what they do and what they possess. Such can be seen in the way that heritage practices are codified and developed into the universal standards which obscure the historical and cultural uniqueness that belongs to a particular group or community. Lastly, she discusses the living subjects – the truthful cultural owners and agents – who are often excluded when it comes to the process of heritage evaluation, valuation, and valorisation as these rights often attached to the outside experts.

Drawing on the above argumentations, Robert Harrison (2013) summarises the development of heritage practices into three different phases. The first phase is signified by the process of producing a public sphere under the waves of the Enlightenment during the nineteenth century, which took place mainly in Britain and then across Europe. The second intertwined with nation-building strategies in which the state using museology increasingly controls over the definition, selection, management, and exhibition of heritage. In this phase, the World heritage concept emerged and was fashionably desired, which resulted in the establishing of The World Heritage Convention in 1972. Since then, heritage has become a global phenomenon. Focusing on the third phase, Harrison analyses the heritagization process in the context of late modernity, when the world is facing the global heritage boom, which reflects the crisis of redundancy. Turning to late modernity society, heritagization, according to Harrison, is also the physical response to the "problem of the material excess of ruin" (Harrison, 2013, p.80). Explaining the process in parallel with the notion of uncertainty, risk and fluidity, Harrison envisages heritagization as the process concerned with the management process of waste. As objects, places and practices are rapidly become derelict, in order to give the redundancy a "second life" we turn it into heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). Heritagization is intrinsically a transformative process that gives objects, buildings, practices a new function attached to cultural values. However, heritagization is always selective; thus, not all of the redundancy is made heritage, but only some properties while the others are left to be unrecognised (Bendix, 2009; Harrison, 2013). Harrison differentiates these as official and unofficial heritage. Official heritage is the professional practice that is recognised and authorised globally and nationally by some forms of legislation or written charters. This official heritage is often seen to be set apart from the everyday and conserved and promoted for their aesthetic, historical, scientific, social or recreational values. Meanwhile, the unofficial

heritage refers to the broader range of practices that might be important for certain communities; however, they are not recognised and protected by the legislations (Harrison, 2013).

Both Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Harrison strongly emphasise the interactions between people - the living objects - and their heritage concerning spaces, places, landscapes, objects or practices which are often overlooked (Harrison, 2013; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Smith, 2006). As global professionalisation of heritage homogenously is applied to canonise official heritage, it tends to induce in conflicts with the non-western and/or indigenous unofficial heritage practices. Therefore, Harrison suggests that heritage should be studied within "chains of connectivity" between people, objects, places and practices, as something revolving and adaptable in the flux of late modern society. This would help to establish a new way of understanding heritage and to grant more agency for other ordinary and indigenous people.

In short, heritagization is a process that transforms certain thing into heritage. The process is not generated by itself, but it is produced and driven by the larger political, cultural, social and economic processes of modern society. Focusing on what Harrison considers as the official heritage, the study pays close focus on three main points. First, heritagization will have to be studied in the contemporary context of late-modernity, concerning the dynamics relations of its elements (such as the time and space compression, the risk society, the advances of information technology, and the changes of tourists' behaviours and trends). Secondly, heritagization is tied with powerful individuals or institutions who can decide what should be officially recognised as heritage and what should not. Thirdly, heritagization entails the potential tensions between the global universal and the local uniqueness, between the recognised official and the unofficial, and between the cultural bearer and the outsiders.

2.1.2. Heritagization as a global process

World Heritage is the product of modern society. Laurajane Smith confirms that there is no such thing as heritage; it is made and spread through a dominant discourse that authorises certain values and meanings to heritage (Smith, 2006). Whereby, the concept and scope of heritage practices have always been adjusted and evolving along with the transformations of the political, economic and social systems. Heritage has been suggested to be studied as a process rather than an object, or a site among scholars within the field of Heritage studies from the very beginning. For instance, in 1985, David Lowenthal emphasises heritage as a "way" of engaging things with a sense of history. In 2001, David Charles Harvey suggested that heritage should be considered as a verb which deals with actions, agency and power of identities (Harvey, 2001). Smith insists that it has not been about the sites, buildings, places or any other material objects. These material objects act as the cultural tool which is attached with meanings and values so that they can easily facilitate the heritage process. The process of heritage making, therefore, entails the constructions and negotiations of meanings through remembering (Smith, 2006). Harrison

advances in confirming heritage making as an active process in which objects, places and practices are being subjectively and purposely assembled so that a certain set of values will be preserved to reflect the present, and taken with us into the future (Harrison, 2013).

By the beginning of the twenty-first century, heritage has been everywhere intertwined in all political, cultural, social, and economic activities of contemporary society. Heritagization gradually becomes a global process and consequently creates the heritage boom in the world (Harrison, 2013; Walsh, 1992). In 1972, an official world programme designed for heritage occurred when UNESCO established the WH Convention which manifests to find, recognise, protect, and transmit the "outstanding universal values" of cultural and natural properties for future generations all around the world. Up to date, the Convention has become the most successful international treaty in modern history. Heritage thus becomes a global phenomenon that is easily seen in the expansion of the World Heritage list. The number of inscriptions raised from 12 in 1987 to 1092 recognised properties at the moment, and it has not seemed to stop increasing yet (UNESCO, 2018). More than 86.5% of state parties possess at least one or more World Heritage inscriptions in the list, especially more and more nominations and listings come from the developing countries annually. Consequently, the list becomes the most convenient tool that lifts a selected heritage at a specific localised context up to the global sphere of universal common heritage – justified as the heritage of humanity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). Being in the list promised these local-turn-global properties the global recognitions, admirations, protections as well as other social and economic potentials. Developing nation-states have been seen to be more and more enthusiastic in nominating their sites into the World Heritage list recently. The inscriptions are also getting more diverse ranging from items, buildings to cultural practices, intangible pieces of cultural performance, or to the memorial and documenting properties. This reversely forces the WH Committee to revise their scopes, framework as well as their methods several times. Therefore, for over 40 years, the heritage definition and the heritage process have been extremely dynamic that evolves along the social and cultural process globally. There have been enormous expansions concerning not only the heritage definitions but also the heritage process of listing, categorising and monitoring, the geographical distributions of inscriptions, as well as the range of interested actors (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015)

UNESCO and its advisory bodies have invested much effort to standardise the process of nomination, listing, protecting and later on development of World Heritage properties. In order to recognise a site, precise criteria and conditions for inscription have been developed to evaluate the "Outstanding Universal Value" of properties. Following the inscriptions, UNESCO provided the "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention" to facilitate States Parties in the protection and management of World Heritage properties. The Operational Guidelines are often treated as measurements and referenced documents to be adjusted and combined with national sets of legislation to protect and develop the sites according to their

tentative plan and interests. Scholars have criticised this process as a product of globalisation that tries to homogenise cultural process by transforming the local "uniqueness" into the "universal" (Bendix, 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). In "World heritage and cultural economics", Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) points out this paradox in the global "World Heritage" program. On the one hand, heritage is uniquely attached to a group or a community; on the other hand, it is universal – in the sense that heritage is for and belongs to humanity, while not to forget that heritage is to be mediated and managed by the nation (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006).

Furthermore, the process does not stop at the point of designation, but what comes latter would be much more of interests. After obtaining the global stamp, recognised properties are then undergoing a transformation process in order to integrate into the current societal settings with a new level of significance (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Walsh, 1992). This process is coined as the "imagineering". Walsh has elucidated that dominant discourses not only select and valorise certain things but also put them into the process of "imagineering" so that these heritage will be able to fit in certain acceptable "national" themes, and eventually widely desired by the public (Walsh, 1992). Imagineering refers to the discursive construction of an imaginary, which is simplified; however, still powerful enough to influence the development paths of certain places (Suitner, 2015). Concerning the development of World Heritage properties, imagineering has seen to be conducted in order to either serve the national-building purposes or for the heritage tourism (Nobel B. Salazar, 2010; Suitner, 2015; Walsh, 1992; Yeoh, 2005). Whereas the first legitimates the cultural significance of the enlisted items in the national narratives, the latter aims at delivering them as simplified cultural products for tourism consumptions. The process often initiates an image or a story, known as the cultural imaginaries that can be related by all people; so that, it triggers emotions and connections (Eisenloeffel, 2014).

Most saliently, as heritage tourism is booming globally in the last decades, the imagineering process is highly exploited in order to give objects, places and practices a new commercial function. Following the inscriptions, the recognised uniqueness is often construed into storytelling that could trigger interests and appeal to the largest groups of audience as possible (Eisenloeffel, 2014; Nobel B. Salazar, 2010). There is a clear trend that people increasingly interested and come to experience heritage sites. Statistic on the number of visitors to heritage sites since the 1970s up to date clearly shows the steep upwards trend simultaneously for the case of the US, the UK or other parts of Europe which strongly proves this the global fashion for the heritage things. The financial contributions of heritage tourism have also seen to account greatly for the economic development of any State party that had ratified the Convention (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015; Hitchcock, King and Parwell, 2010). "Heritage was no longer simply a symbol of civic society and a part of the educative apparatus of the nation-state but became an important 'industry' in its own right" (Harrison, 2013, p.87). However, if heritage is commodified and marketed for tourism consumptions, tourists are also very active in choosing what they want to experience. To make

heritage profitable, the heritage industry needs to constantly diversify and regenerate the heritage so that it will be desirable and visitable for a wide range of people from different countries with different backgrounds and expectations. Therefore, heritagization is not about the fixation of the past, but it is on-going progress that makes and re-makes the past to fit into the present values and ideas. The process of heritagization that occupy heritage into the economy has transformed the heritage along with dynamism of the global processes of contemporary society.

2.1.3. Heritagization – the double-bind process

The study embraces the argument that suggests perceiving "heritage" as a subjective action more than an innate thing. Underpinned by the work of Kirshenblatt- Gimblett (1998), Smith (2006), Bendix (2008) and Harrison (2013), the concept of heritage adopted in this study views heritage as a cultural process of meaning-making, termed as "heritagization". Heritage, therefore, becomes a process in which social and cultural values are identified, negotiated, rejected or affirmed. Besides, heritagization is a global process that turns local uniqueness into global universal. This process comprises of two components. The first concerns the authorised discourses that select certain local things, valorise their values as outstanding universal and then entitle them the World Heritage status. The second component relates to the imagineering process that not only legitimates the new meaning and function of inscriptions in certain contemporary settings but also promotes them for the wider acceptance, which is often conducted through tourism development. Di Giovine affirms that World Heritage sites are made through a complex, multifaceted place-making process in which heritage production and touristic production are extremely intertwined (Di Giovine, 2009). If the dominant discourses can bring the items into the list, then the imagineering will justify the site to the wider audience. This conceptualisation recognises heritagization in its ultimately fluid and changeable nature rather than identifying heritage as a fossil past (Smith and Waterton, 2013). Besides, envisaging this as a global process in such characteristics will enable the study to explore and find the answers towards several questionable aspects. First of all, as a process, how certain localised uniqueness is made into universal value? Secondly, as a selective process, who would and would not be able to involve? How do they conduct such processes? Thirdly if this is global, then what would happen when it comes to the local level? Especially, how do the local people perceive, response, and involve in this process?

2.2. Community – the fifth "C" in World Heritage debates

2.2.1. Recognition and definition of the fifth "C" - Making way to World Heritage process

Although community involvement might be the mainstream approach in World Heritage conservation and management nowadays, this was not the case just around 20 years ago (Rössler,

2012). Regardless of the fact that communities have lived around designated sites for many generations, their visibility within the heritage processes has gone through considerable transformations during the last 50 years. In order to demonstrate the change of community role at the World Heritage nomination phase, Rössler (2012) has extracted two original statements from paragraph 14 of the Operational Guidelines between 1992 and 1995 as follow:

"In all cases, so as to maintain the objectivity of the evaluation process and to avoid possible embarrassment to those concerned, States Parties should refrain from giving undue publicity to the fact that a property has been nominated for inscription pending the final decision of the Committee on the nomination in question." (Operational Guidelines, 1992, p.4)

And:

"Participation of local people in the nomination process is essential to make them feel a shared responsibility with the State Party in the maintenance of the site." (Revised para 14, Operational Guidelines 1995, p.5)

Obviously, in the early days of the WH Convention, community involvement had intentionally been left out of the nomination process by the Committee in order to avoid potentially awkward over-expectation. Scanning for a rough count, Brumann (2015) indicates that the original text of the famous 1972 Convention only mentioned the words "community" four times, of which three of them are in the term "international community". This possibly tells us two things about the perspective of World Heritage on the role of the communities in that period: either community was not in the agenda, or if in some way it was, community was generally portrayed as simple as an entity.

The underestimations of the community role in the World Heritage agenda soon resulted in various shortcomings and dissonances. From 1992 to 1995 many experts pointed out in a series of official meetings that it is actually useful and crucial to consult with local communities in the nomination processes of World Heritage sites. This leads to the turning point in the evolution of the WH Convention, which was cited in the 1995 Operational Guidelines above. Since then, the Committee has strived to catch up by emphasising and enhancing more and more local community involvement in all of the World Heritage processes.

Between 1995 and 2005, the local community was increasingly considered as "a partner" in World Heritage schemes. Remarkably, in 2003 the local community was mentioned as the central point in the two most important World Heritage events. Firstly it was included in the World Parks Congress that switched from "Parks without People" to linkages in the landscape indicating the transition from strict conservation of protected areas towards sustainable development as the principal strategy of world heritage (Rössler, 2012). Secondly, the role of the local community was

acknowledged in the announcement of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage that linked directly Cultural Heritage to communities and their identities (Brumann, 2015). This circumstance has set the milestone for the evolution of community involvement in the World Heritage agenda, which later on eventually became mature in 2007.

After thirty-five years with various learnt lessons, the WH Committee eventually confirmed the vital role of community in the long-term success of any protected areas. Therefore, in the 31st session held in Christchurch in 2007, the State Parties agreed that "in the future, the conservation of the world's natural and cultural heritage should, wherever possible, be done with the active engagement of communities which have a close relationship with the heritage in question" (UNESCO, 2007a, p.3). Under the official confirmation, the fifth "C" which denotes "Community", was added into the existing Strategic Objectives[4]. This declaration of community involvement was advised by the Heritage Committee to be read as: "To enhance the role of the Communities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention." (ibid. p, 7).

The official text of the World Heritage Committee meeting concerning the addition of the fifth "C" defined community as follows:

> *"Communities involves all forms of non-State actors. That is, from the smallest groups of citizens, in whichever form they manifest themselves. They may range from groupings of peoples as indigenous, traditional and/or local peoples. The defining characteristic of communities, in this setting, is what they possess. They all possess a direct connection, with relevant interests, to individual sites and often they have a connection that has endured over time. Typically, these communities share close proximity with the sites in question. These peoples and/or entities are not necessarily directly representing official State positions, and may actually be in dissent from official positions." (UNESCO, 2007b, p.2).*

Five years after this official inclusion, the local community has grown out to be the most important working theme in the nomination, conservation, management and development of sites around the world. In 2012, the 40th Anniversary of World Heritage Convention decided to take up the theme "World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities'' as the focus of the celebration year. This decision justifies the emerging concern of the World Heritage Committee on the involvement of the local people. Throughout 2012, more than 120 events took place in different countries focusing on the role of local communities in order to reassure that community participation should be a win-win scenario for those who committed to protecting World Heritage (UNESCO, 2013). The World Heritage Centre affirms that sustainable development of and for the community would be the ultimate goal of heritage conservation and development (ICOMOS Korea, 2012). ICOMOS also champions a "rights-based

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[4] In 2002, World heritage Committee announced the 4Cs Strategic Objectives which includes: Credibility, effective Conservation, Capacity building, and Communication.

approach to heritage", and the rights are meant for those of local communities. All these official pronouncements agree that World Heritage properties are also community space. No conservation without or against communities is possible, and their wish to draw benefit from the sites is legitimate (Brumann, 2015).

2.2.2. Multiple facets of community involvement in World Heritage

UNESCO defines community as all forms of non-state actors who share proximity and possess some kind of connection with the sites (UNESCO, 2007a). Giving the definition on the possessions, connections and vicinity with the World Heritage sites, the UNESCO conceptualisation of communities was highly criticised by scholars for being too vague and simplistic (Adell, Bendix, Bortolotto, and Tauschek, 2015; Brumann, 2015; Svels, 2015; Waterton and Smith, 2010). Although the ambiguity of the "community" concept ensures the universal application in practices, it is theoretically and analytically ill-conceived and unhelpful (Waterton and Smith, 2010). Albert, Richon,Vinals, and Witcomb (2012) argue that the local community has several facets; hence so does its involvement in the arena of World Heritage.

Community comprised of different groups that, at a certain period in the history, each group perceives and produces the heritage in their own way. In this way, both the community and their perceived heritage are intertwined with lived experiences and expressions of community. Community group is defined by their heritage, and in doing so, heritage is sustained by the creation of community (Crooke, 2010). This implies the fact that there is no single and static heritage within a community; or a single and static community within a heritage. In reality, there are heterogeneous groups of communities and their multitude versions of heritage. However, as argued, only certain ones can be selected and canonised to enjoy the official status of World Heritage. Consequently, any conceptualisation of community as an entirety or heritage as a unity will run the risk of simplifying and romanticising the conservation, implementation and management of sites which often induce dissonances and contestations. Moreover, it is confirmed from scholarly studies that community is a multi-layered concept that alters in meaning and consequence with changes of the contexts, and in return transforms the social processes of that context eventually (Crooke, 2010; Hall, 2003; Osman, Bachok, and Bakar, 2011; Singh, Timothy, and Dowling, 2003). In the context of World Heritage sites, the normative and political perspectives of UNESCO and its bodies will affect the constructions and performances of community on the grounds, and vice versa (Tauschek, 2015). Nowadays, as the World Heritage scope has been evolved from a material perspective toward intangible culture, the concepts of community and heritage have increasingly merged. For that intertwined co-evolution, the community in World Heritage needs to be carefully perceived and scrutinised.

Although all World Heritage Conventions declare the importance of including community in all processes, the actual involvement of the local people is inconsistent in each phase. Deacon and

Smeets (2013) and Brumann (2015) find low participation of the community in the identification and nomination of heritage even in the case of intangible properties. Furthermore, different from the strong emphasis of community involvement in the conventional texts of UNESCO, in reality, the furthest local communities can make to the annual WH Committee sessions was acting as a living showcase of their nominating cultural uniqueness (i.e. wearing traditional dresses, performing certain practices, or giving some provided acceptance speeches with cheering smiles and weavings) (Brumann, 2015). Meanwhile, Albert et al. (2013) argue that communities normally involve in the later part of heritage implementation and management. The involvement is getting more prioritised when an attached financial plan is devised in order to encourage the development of the communities and the conservation of heritage. In most of the cases, these plans would relate to heritage tourism activities (Albert et al., 2012). When it comes to community participation in terms of benefit sharing at the World Heritage designations, the dimensions and forms of participation are extremely dynamic and heterogeneous since communities here involve numerous stakeholders with different purposes and resources (Brumann and Berliner, 2016; Hitchcock et al., 2010). In the category of intangible cultural heritage, many other scholars also find that community involvement is being seen more in the commodification process when they act as performers, or the cultural bearers, rather than the real owners (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Salazar, 2011).

In all, the concepts of community and heritage are both politically and contextually charged (Crooke, 2010). They share an interactive and intertwined relationship that co-evolve under the impacts of the broader processes in contemporary society. Community involvement in heritage thus has shown to be multi-faceted. Nevertheless, as a concept, community is often loosely defined; and as an object and subject of World Heritage programme, it is simply taken for granted.

2.2.3. The mixed results of involving communities in World Heritage

Accompanying the heritage boom globally, the involvement of communities became more relevant than ever. Early the year 2019, UNESCO just released its Review No.90 on "World Heritage Success Stories" which elaborates on how their shift to the people-centred approach has generated various impacts on both of site conservation and community development. This is a confirmation for the Kyoto vision that stated: "The relationship between World Heritage and local communities is indeed at the heart of the Convention" (The Kyoto Vision, 2012, p.1). The review reasserts that only involving the communities will ensure the win-win scenario of heritage protection and management. However, would this be a glamourous victory of humankind or just another beautiful rhetoric posing by UNESCO and other dominant bodies? The answers have shown mixed results.

Engaging local communities in all activities of World heritage, UNESCO and its advisory bodies expected a wide range of positive impacts. The listed benefits can be seen from monetary to non-

monetary terms, from economic to social aspects, and from material to emotional forms. Generating income and employment, eliminating poverty, improving quality of life, empowering, enhancing the feeling of belonging and pride, preserving tradition and culture, and contributing to social cohesion and community unity are among those listed (Albert et al., 2012; ICOMOS Korea, 2012; UNESCO, 2013, 2012). Most of these benefits are connected to heritage tourism activities. Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) link heritage tourism directly to cultural revival through societal self-esteem and pride, and more importantly, to economic development. Such development can come in different forms such as new employment, improved infrastructure and public services for the community, increased funding from organisations (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). Angkor Wat in Cambodia has always been the most exemplary case. According to UNESCO, the achievements of Angkor conservation and development after 25 years of inscriptions are exceptional (UNESCO, 2019). From 1993 to 2017, Angkor received and amount of more than 10 million USD annually for conservation and sustainable development. As a result, Angkor has become an iconic site that is visited by mostly 2 million tourists per year (UNWTO, 2005). More importantly, different development initiatives have been done to improve the lives of local communities. Water management systems have been optimised, forests have been replanted, irrigation systems have been improved, agricultural activities have been promoted, and poverty has been fought against (UNESCO, 2019). Several examples from World Heritage historical archaeology sites in Australia have also presented with benefits for both sites and communities. These sites are managed through a broader recognition of site values, pragmatic management and pro-active presentation, which emphasise the respect to the communities' interpretation and involvement. Consequently, at these sites, many socio-economic advantages have been brought to the local communities (Grimwade and Carter, 2000).

On the contrary, other studies at local levels have depicted the opposite pictures where the fifth "C" remains as an unfulfilled promise, or as just rhetoric in the global sphere (Chirikure, Manyanga, Ndoro, and Pwiti, 2010). Even as community participation is being strongly advocated, the translation into effective actions at sites has proven to be severely constrained (Hitchcock et al., 2010). Because the relationship between heritage and community is extremely multi-faceted, multi-layered and dynamic, most of the time when the global ideas of World Heritage are applied at the local communities, it often results in dissonances and frictions (Hitchcock et al., 2010; Waterton and Watson, 2013). The dominant discourse of World Heritage has been criticised for to concentrate on material and aesthetic aspects and to homogenise the notion of community. Such idealistic and simplistic rhetoric has created problems when it is transposed into the complex contexts on the ground (Millar, 2006). A series of negative impacts have been reported. For example, while heritage tourism is cited at the first source of benefit, it is also listed as the top threatening factor to sites and community (IUCN, 2017). Coming back to Angkor Wat, Winter (2008) has revealed another side of this iconic property. Although heritage tourism is bringing

undeniable benefits to the communities, it also surfaced undergoing post-conflicts of imbalanced wealth and development. The emergence of international tourism in Cambodia would risk the country in trapping itself to a mono-cultural, mono-ethnic, nationalism which had once triggered war and turmoil in the history (Winter, 2008). In the case of intangible cultural heritage, tourism has brought about several negative impacts as a consequence of the commodification of heritage values (Di Giovine, 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, local communities are being perceived as the passive cultural performers rather than the main agents of heritage itself. In the same line, analysing from his intensive work at different Southeast-Asia countries, Di Giovine (2009) elucidates the tendency of "museumification" which isolates heritage towns from the original context and local lives and increasingly re-constructs them to be the big stage for tourism. Consequently, people and their local lives are turning into displayed "artefacts" and "performances". Poria and Ashworth (2009) further illustrate that heritage-making could result in conflicts or violence. Because heritagization legitimates certain ideology framework and social-political orders which will lead to segregations between groups of local people. In some sensitive cases such as war-memorial sites or military conflicting sites (i.e. The Holocaust), these segregations will easily be the resource for conflict.

There are also other studies of this topic that provide conflicting results of which both positive and negative impacts of heritagization process can be traced at World Heritage sites (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge, 2000; Silva, 2014). In different cases of the sub-Saharan Africa region, the success of engaging local people in the field of heritage management is extremely contextual, while local participation in some cases is far more than satisfactory, some other could not live up with the ideal promise (Chirikure et al., 2010)

To conclude, this section has shown the multi-faceted and dynamic nature of community. In rhetoric, linking communities and heritage become the ideal thing. However, in reality, they are packed up in an interactive and co-evolved relationship which touches on a wide range of challenging issues such as identity, human rights, peace, unity, sustainable development, and conflicts. Although ambiguity can turn into an advantage for the notion of "community" to be universally applied and popularised, it can also induce conflicting and irreversible consequences as described above. Therefore, it is critical to develop a proper conceptualisation of community in the study of heritagization.

2.3. Conceptualisation of community in heritagization

Section 2.2.1 has provided the UNESCO's official definition of "community" based on the possessions, connections, and vicinity with the World Heritage sites. Based on critical academic research and empirical results, this conceptualisation of community has proved to be problematic and ineffective. It is highly criticised by scholars for being too vague, simplistic, and theoretically and analytically unhelpful (Adell et al., 2015; Brumann, 2015; Svels, 2015; Waterton and Smith,

2010). Community in the text of WH Convention and its guidelines is frequently interchangeable with other terms such as "international communities", "stakeholders", "groups", "all humanity" which implies at the certain prerequisites of similarity. They are of similar places, ideas, backgrounds, and/or culture (Turner and Tomer, 2013). This implication has overshadowed various social, economic and political processes that influence the dynamics of a community. Such processes could be the in- and out-ward mobilities, the flows foreign investments, or the urbanisation, the globalisation. Considering that, it is crucial for the author to construct an analytically sound concept of community which avoids taking the similarity and fixity as granted.

Derived from the Latin word "communitas", community refers to a feeling of equality, solidarity, and togetherness. Community is most commonly defined in the spatial or geographic perspective as in river delta; or in a mountain ranges (Beeton, 2006). Geographic perspective originates from the thinking that assures the inextricable relationship between people and place (Singh et al., 2003). Recognising community in this perspective, the study considers local people with their localities that share proximity with the sites. In detail, they are the communities inhabiting different identified heritage zones (core zone and buffer zone), or they are the local people residing in the trajectories of heritage tours. This view enables the researcher to define the insiders and outsiders within the development paradigm and to study the benefit and power distribution of these different actors. However, defining community under the geographic term might easily lead to the false assumption of homogeneity toward a community which requires the study to develop critical views from other angles.

Indeed, a community, such as those of different backgrounds at World Heritage sites are extremely heterogeneous. The community is diverse in compositions including the groups of demography, of religions, or of functional groups. For example, demography can divide the community into groups of ages, of ethnicity. Functions within the communities will categorise them into groups of loggers, farmers, boat-drivers, or local artisans. Furthermore, in each of these groups, there exist various sub-divisions. For example, the artisans can be categorised into their fields of expertise such as the wicker, the corn hat, or the traditional paper flowers. Each of the functional groups will certainly possess some sets of resources and practices. Although community can occupy particular geographic place defined by administrative systems, the study should identify them in their diverse constituting groups so that the researcher can scrutinise how the resources and practices of different groups can be used to create their involvement in the heritage-making processes.

There is also another perspective that defines community as a product of history, social and cultural interactions and identity (Beeton, 2006; Bramwell and Sharman,, 2002; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). In this scope, community is characterised by social interactions, intimacy, moral commitments, cohesion and continuity over a long period of time (Hall and Lew, 1998). To ensure

the cohesiveness and long-term survival, these people have to uphold their shared values which are translated into visible action in everyday life of their members. Such value-based expressions are the lifeblood of community living (Singh et al., 2003). This perspective allows the researcher to study community in social encounters which reflect social power. It also enables the study to examine the informal social interactions (e.g. kinship). Informal social relations are normally important in influencing the decision-making processes at the local level, since these processes are often vicious, personal and not always bounded by legal constraints (Hall, 2003).

Lastly, the current studies of heritage and community have increasingly argued that community is not necessarily tied to the narrow definition of a person's geographical residency (Smith and Waterton, 2013). The contemporary has seen the geographically widespread of communities that are now defined by social, political and cultural experience, interests and aspirations (ibid.). Hence, it is able to conceptualise communities in terms of interests in modern times (Beeton, 2006). These "communities of interests" can be the professional communities (i.e. the environmentalists, the cave experts), the forest protection communities, and the heritage conservation community (i.e. heritage conservation clubs). Their interests, rather than the geographical or spatial elements, bind these communities together. Whereas their activities can be very much place-based, they have the ability to transcend any physical borders under the support of advances of information and communication technologies. People thus can step outside of their physical place to form a virtual community of interests (Beeton, 2006; Sassen, 2004). This also implies the fact that an individual or a group can belong to different communities at the same time, who potentially acts as the connection of communities in the field of heritage-making. Hence, engagements with heritage should not only be limited to one community group but might revolve around a convergence of groups with either shared or conflicting interests or aspirations (Smith and Waterton, 2013).

Perceiving community as a formation based on interests, the study aims to overcome the place-based perspective of the community studies and to extend towards the community networking approach (Gurstein, 2003; Williams and Durrance, 2010). Castell (1999), and then Sassen (2004) both observe an emerging trend that more and more people nowadays enter and interact in cyberspace. They form communities of not the common location, but more of the common interests – they are considered as the virtual community (Rheingold, 2000). As they are forming their own community of interest on the internet, they can negotiate for their political visibilities at the very place (Sassen, 2004). Using the Toledo model, Alkalimat (2004) also elucidates the way some socially excluded communities utilise the cyberspace to network, and then to mobilise its power in order to advance for their shared interest.

It means that the study espouses the activeness and fluidity of a community in the context of heritage-making and management processes. I agree with Millar and Aiken (1995) when they

indicate that "communities are not an embodiment of innocence; on the contrary, they are complex and self-serving entities, as much as driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united by kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence." (cited by Hall, 2003: 99). All of these complexities and dynamics revolve in the flows of 'making' their place as an iconic heritage site of the World elite's list. Essentially, the study advocates the argument that community is not a passive subject which is penetrated by global flows and will act upon the designed contexts, but it is continuously reconfiguring practices, relationships, and mobilities with and within places (Hannam, 2008). This perspective is beneficial because it enables the study to explore outside of the traditionally defined community-box, and capture several evolving elements which have been excluded to develop a comprehensive understanding of community including the sub-communities, global but locally embedded organisation, or the virtual communities (Svels, 2015).

2.4. Analytical framework

The previous section has conceptualised heritagization as a double-bind process, which concerns interconnected networks of different actors with different interests, purposes, and powers. In order to deconstruct the heritage-making process, the study makes use of sociological theories of networks and flows which have been developed and emerged since the 1990s. This approach is beneficial for the study as it helps the researcher to go beyond the confined place-based perspective and to extend the analysis towards a more transnational view. With this, she can trace within the complexities of the heritage-making process the networks and flows of ideas, images, regulations, standards, people, which are recently argued to be the real architecture of modernity (Barney, 2004; Castells, 1997, 1996).

2.4.1. The theory of networks and flows

The 21st century has seen an unprecedented increasing trend of transnational processes that are enabled through the advances of transportation, information and communication technologies. National boundaries and geographic obstacles are being transcended. Fuchs (2007) encapsulates the history of human society in the modern epoch as "a history of globalisation and of technological acceleration of transportation (of data, capital, commodities, people) that makes the world a smaller place in the sense that it increasingly mediates social relationships more effectively so that it appears like distances are disappearing..." (Fuchs, 2007, p.61). In this era, national states are increasingly being challenged due to the dynamic of de-territorialization in three realms of society including the economic activities, the state political authorities and the social practices, identities and solidarities (Barney, 2004). National states as containers of power and dominant social processes are being cracked down by the growing importance of different other non-governmental actors. Overall, the geography of politics has been expanded, which opens up different forms of spaces at a global level (Fuchs, 2007; Sassen, 2004). In order to

understand the dynamic transformation processes of the modern society, an increasing number of sociologists suggest different concepts and theories towards a new social morphology which is termed as the "network society" (Barney, 2004; Castells, 1996; Dijk, 2005).

Theories on network society argue that our current globalised world is being transformed by the wide variety of new objects, machines and technologies. These technologies carry people, information, money, ideas, images, as well as risks that flow within and across national territories and borders in an accelerated speed that dramatically shrink time and space, the two fundamental elements of society (Castells, 2010; Urry, 2000). They are connecting the human being globally into the networks of economy, media or social. These networks in different forms are considered to be the nervous system of the society which can reach into the furthest corners or edges of the globe (Dijk, 2005). Therefore, in a network society, Urry (2000) suggests that society should no longer be perceived metaphorically as "regions", but rather as "networks" and as "fluid" as this constitutes the significance of globalisation. "Notions of networks and fluids can illuminate the global", he emphasises (Urry, 2000, p.48). Meanwhile, Fuchs (2007) also describes that modern society has undergone an unprecedented transformation due to the effects of the accelerated global flows capital, commodities, powers, ideologies, communication and information. The Earth, according to Fuchs, has now become "global communication networks" in which social relationships in all realms are being flexiblised and transformed (Fuchs, 2007). Most noticeably, cited from the work of Barry Wellman, Castells argues that networks have always been a fundamental element of human life, however, only after being powered by modern ICT, networks can deploy its full self and become the structures of the society. Later on, he links the increasing diffusion of technologies to all realms of the human mind, body and activities. For these bases, Castells claims that: "a new social structure is expanding as the foundation of our society: the network society."(Castells, 2004, p.7). Because networks transcend borders, hence, the network society is constituted as a global system, ushering in the new form of globalisation. Networks foster the trans-nationalization of dominant social processes of economic, cultural, and political. (Castells, 2010, p. xviii). Networks are seen as the governing structures that organise and control key activities in contemporary society by connecting different actors and elements from different locations (Fuchs, 2007).

Network is defined as a structure of different interconnected nodes. Depending on the types of networks, the nodes can comprise of different things. According to Castells, nodes can be stock exchange, television systems, institutions, electronics devices, but most of all, humans (Castells, 2007). Fuchs (2007) elaborates on types of network and its nodes that: "on the Internet, the nodes are computer networks,…, in a human body the nodes are organs, …, in a business network the nodes are corporations, …, in a social network, the nodes are human beings or groups" (p.51). Nodes are connected by channels of connection circulated by streams of information and resources, which is termed as "flows" (Castells, 2004). The network society is generally believed to

be constructed around these flows including flows of capital, information, technologies, organisation interactions, images, sounds and symbols, etc. (Castells, 1996; Urry, 2000).

According to Castells, flow is the key element of the network society which expresses the dominant processes of our economic, political and symbolic life. Flows are the "purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of society" (Castells, 2010, p.442). Supported by the advance of ICTs, flows articulate and interact in a transnational space and at a simultaneous time. Therefore, Castells terms this space as the space of flows that is "the material or organisation of time-sharing social practises that work through flows" (ibid.). What makes the space of flows important is that the dominant processes that shape our contemporary society are being organised within this space.

Opposition to the space of flows is the "space of places". Although Castells emphasises the dominance of space of flows in the network society, he recognises the importance of place-based social practices that construct the experiences of residents. He distinguishes this as the "space of place" which is the "locale whose form, function, and meaning are self-contained within boundaries of physical contiguity" (Castells, 1996/2010, p.453). For him, places remain an important space for everyday life practices that contain distinctive physical or symbolic qualities. However, in the context of the modern network society, places become the intersected points of networks and flows, thus are becoming more dependent on networks and flows. Networks tend to absorb places that are valuable, exclude those are not, and alter the meaning and dynamics of the places in the absorptions (ibid.).

The next section will explain into depth how this research adopts the theory of networks and flows to analyse the heritagization process in the case of Vietnam. Furthermore, it discusses the different concepts used in the context of the study and how these concepts help to raise the argument towards the community involvement.

2.4.2. Analytical framework

The thesis acknowledges that we are witnessing a "transformational" phase in social development, as "networks" become fundamentally significant as a vehicle for ordering and shaping human lives. Amongst numerous transnational processes of our contemporary society, the heritagization has broken out to be one of the most salient which is signified by the dynamic networks of actors of different levels interconnecting in all kinds of governing arrangements including agenda setting, global rule, and guidelines, nomination and implementation. This process is trapped in the dilemma of homogenising global standards while thriving to ensure the local uniqueness (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Salazar, 2010; Salazar, 2013). Therefore, the process of heritage-making can be conceptualised, under the work of Castells, into the distinction between space of flows in which dominant discourses, rules and standards, expertise are being

created for the manifestation of "universal"; and the spaces of places, in which everyday practices take place and meanings are (re)produced for the "otherness" (see Figure 2-1).

Figure 2-1: Analytical framework
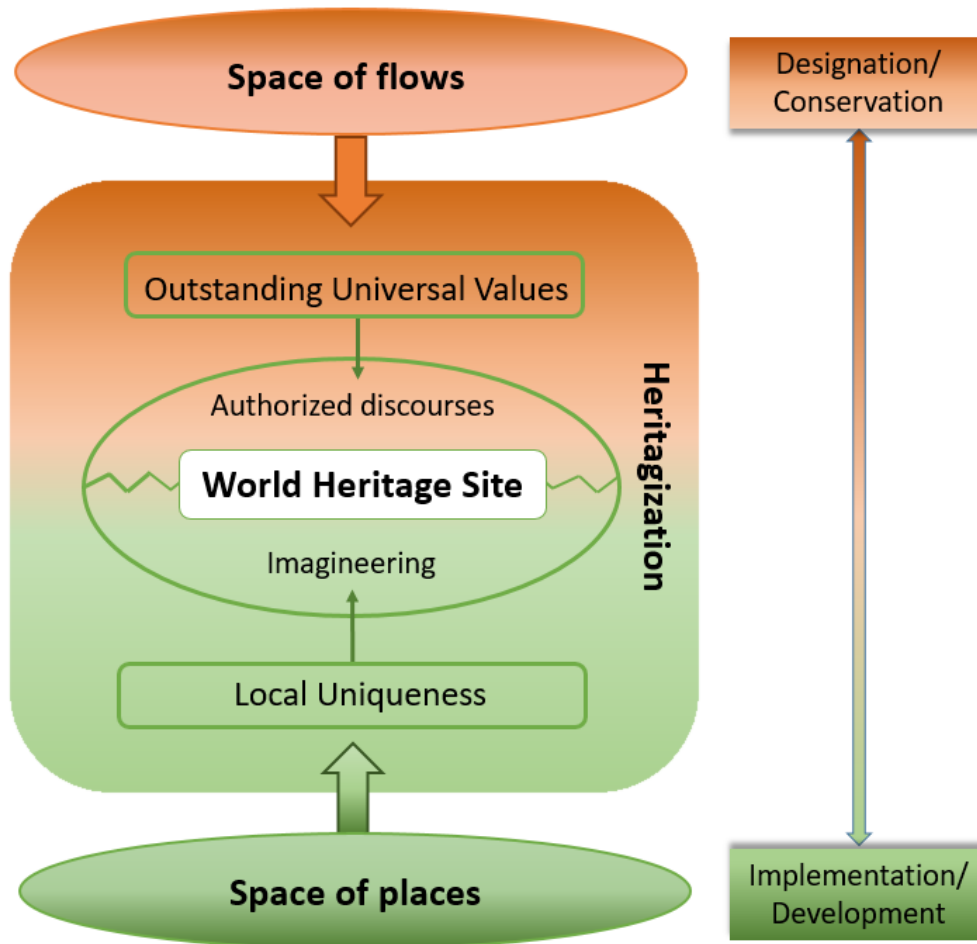
(Source: Author's presentation, 2019)

The study focuses on the two key aspects of the heritagization. The first refers to the authorised discourses that were utilised by the dominant actors in order to justify for the canonisation of the selected sites. These authorised discourses are decisive for the nomination and designation of the sites as well as the conservation scheme. The second concerns the imagineering of heritage values into malleable imaginaries that can be easily integrated with the larger society. The final outcome is that designated values will be publicly accepted and endorsed. In both aspects, the study analyses heritagization in the fluidity of scales that revolves in a complex web of interconnections and interdependencies between global to local actors. This global-local dynamism will be investigated in the two forms of space.

Space of flows is where all the dominant processes take place. In this sense, the study firstly aims to capture in the space of flows of heritagization the dominant processes that shape the

nomination, designation, and management of sites. It has been argued that not all objects, places or practices are recognized as World Heritage. Rather, properties need to satisfied criteria of outstanding values and undergo the processes of selection, assessment and nomination to be truly enlisted into the world prestige list. Following nomination and inscription, World Heritage sites continue to be managed and developed by different schemes such as the protection and management measurements required by UNESCO, the national heritage policy, and the effects of mass heritage tourism. Each of the aforementioned processes plays a decisive role in shaping the fate of designations. For example, nominations that do not meet the World Heritage criteria will be deferred, designations that do not comply UNESCO standards of conservation will be delisted, or in other cases, sites do not meet the global tourism codes will be left out of the travel routes (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). More importantly, the space of flows is identified with the dominant, managerial elites. In the World heritage regimes, these elites and their presumed universality of designated sites are assessed to have a widespread influence on international, national, and local settings (Kuutma, 2012; Meskell, Liuzza, Bertacchini, and Saccone, 2015).

Meanwhile, in the reverse direction, the study depicts heritage in the everyday experiences and uses of the local people in the space of place where the heritage is situated. Local practices, culture and people are the vital elements that ensure the long-lasting of the local uniqueness on which based the justifications for heritage designation and heritage tourism development (Hitchcock et al., 2010; Salazar, 2010). Besides, scholarly evidence has also demonstrated that the heritage perceived and practiced in the local place is often different from the heritage canonised in the global and national spaces (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2008; Chirikure et al., 2010; Di Giovine, 2009; Yan, 2018). In most of the cases, this mismatch of heritage valorization in different spaces results in conflicts and mismanagements. Therefore, recognising and valorising the actual local uniqueness become more and more vital within the heritagization nowadays. Consequently, communities claimed as the direct creators, owners and users are being increasingly included in all phases of World Heritage procedures. In recent years, local actors play the growing roles to claim for their participation in the global politics of Heritage designation and implementation in order to raise their voice on how they want to perceive and govern sites (Grimwade and Carter, 2000; Su and Wall, 2012). As a matter of fact, recently Lynn Meskell (2015) concedes that "surrounding heritage is the capillary networks ranging from its precise local embedding, radiating out to national arenas, and into the global circuits through which such projects gain traction and leverage" (p.18).

Throughout the process, all ideas, perceptions, as well as regulations transferred from global to national and local spheres will be downloaded, filtered, and most of the time modified by the place-based context of national-local politics and culture (Keohane and Nye Jr., 2002). And while states are nested with alternative interests for heritage, communities are heterogeneous in every way to perceive and use heritage directly; this essence triggers the concerns on how these

networks and flows come to interact and balance nested interests. In what ways do these interactions affect the making of World Heritage sites? Which actors and flows would become dominant in which phases of the process? And finally, with the processual conceptualisation of heritage, how will the relation between World Heritage and community be understood? These critical questions necessitate an analysis that ensures a broader view so that the dynamics and fluidity of World Heritage-making can be fully captured. Adopting networks and flows as the units of analysis is expected to allow thorough answers. It helps to particularly concentrate on the interdependent relational and multifaceted processes of heritagization as well as the dynamic power relations between the networks of actors in the whole process.

2.4.3. The networks and the flows in the heritagization process

The research aims to explore the interactions between networks of actors in the making of World Heritage and the flows of resources that are mobilised in order to make these interactions happen. In the case of heritage-making process, networks are identified by the interconnections of different actors at different levels who bear certain interests towards chosen properties and act accordingly to achieve those interests. These actors can be identified as UNESCO and its agencies, the states, the non-governmental organisations, and different groups of communities. The networks of heritagization can comprise of different interconnected sub-networks such as the international organisation networks, the scientific networks, the tourism business networks, the local community networks.

These networks are interconnected which possess different degrees of centrality and hierarchy. Hence, networks can be a polycentric, pluralistic and decentralized structure, or they can either contain centralized actors who can dominantly programme the whole networks. The degree of centralization in a network is dependent on the control over resources (including knowledge, money, decision power, infrastructure, technologies and cultural definition power) and their distributions (Fuchs, 2007). Urry (2000) notices that international organisations such as the WTO, the IMF, UNESCO, the EU etc. have increasingly become the dominant actors because they are more cable of facilitating the time-space compression in the globalization process due to their control over flows of resources. Capturing the network of heritage-making, the study realises the important role of these international organisations such as UNESCO and its advisory bodies. However, next to the supranational organisations, the study also pays close attention to the different networks between the states, the nongovernmental, the business networks, the scientific networks, and the local networks. In this case, the centrality of networks and its dominant actors in terms of heritagization will be considered in relations to the distribution of flows of resources and the control over them.

The supreme characteristic of network is its fluidity and flexibility. A network is a highly dynamic and open structure that disperses without limit and is extremely receptive to innovation (Castells

1996: 470–1). Networks realise complex interactions within and between levels. In this way, they increase the flexibility of organisation (Dijk, 2005). This is reflected in the expansion of World Heritage regimes over the last half-century, signified by the inclusion of communities as a vital focus in its agenda. Networks can cooperate or compete with each other in order to achieve their goals (Castells, 2010). Cooperation is determined by the ability to communicate effectively between networks. Effective communication depends on the existing protocols including the codes of translation and interoperability between the networks, and on access to connection points (switches). Meanwhile, competition is induced based on the ability to out-perform due to the superior efficiency in performance or in cooperation capacity. Competition can also be the ability to disrupt the switches of competing networks, and/or interfere with communication protocols. (Castells, 2004)

In the networks, circulating between nodes is the flows. According to Urry, flows contain information, resources, people and even waste or risks. The flows move within different networks that can cross-national or territorial borders. The study focuses mainly on the flows that are used and produced to serve the process of valorising heritage properties from local to global standards. In the process of nomination and designations, flows of discourses, standards, regulations, scientific judgments are identified to be important. Meanwhile, in the process of promotion and development of the enlisted sites, image and virtual flows can be more significant. However, other flows that might affect the heritagization process will also be traced and analysed such as flows of investments, of tourists, etc.

It is noticeable that flows are uneven and mainly stem from the most powerful parts or nodes of networks to the other (Fuchs, 2007). Groups who are well plugged-in often benefit, vice versa, non-connected groups will be excluded. These flows thus create inequalities of access or non-access towards different actors. These flows create new inequalities of access/non-access which do not map on to the jurisdictions of particular societies. Due to the dynamic and fluidity of networks and its flows, the study then raises the concern over the power relations within different networks of heritagization in the next section.

2.4.4. Power relations in networks and flows

In this research, power is studied under the access, connection, and control to flows of resources within and between networks. In order to capture the power relations in heritagization, the study directs its analysis into two different angles. The first angle will zoom in the power that is circulated between different groups of actors within and between networks. It aims to find out the actual position of each actor, the included and excluded, as well as who and what decides inclusion/exclusion. The second angle will zoom out at the power played between the dominant processes in the space of flows against the reactions of community in the space of places.

Access to networks is considered the first and foremost condition of power. Access will grant the membership to participate in these processes which open up opportunities and potential benefits. On the contrary, the inability to access such networks will lead to the disenfranchisement (Barney, 2004). For example, in the networks of World Heritage making, the first condition is that countries have to ratify the WH Convention in order to become State Parties. Only after being one of the members, are countries able to identify and nominate their properties for World Heritage lists. Countries who do not ratify the Convention will be excluded from having their sites enlisted regardless of how unique or significant those sites are. However, in the reality of heritage-making, there is no such official convention that has already pointed out the conditions of access for actors. Actually, it is extremely complicated to identify why and how certain groups are granted access to influence and benefit from heritagization while others are disenfranchised. According to Castells, networks act as gatekeepers that include only nodes with more relevant and useful resources, the other irrelevance will be ignored or excluded. Access to a network is a minimum condition of social, economic and political membership, and lack of access both reflects and reproduces disenfranchisement. "Presence or absence in the network and the dynamics of each network vis-à-vis others are critical sources of domination and change in our society" (Castells, 2010, p. 500). This leads to the question of which resources are relevant and which are not in heritage-making? Who can decide the relevance? And how is it done?

Getting access to a network is considered a condition of enfranchisement, nevertheless, it by no means ensures empowerment and equality. Therefore, the research progresses further to encapsulate power through the control over the flows of resources that are exchanged through networks. In World Heritage regimes, these flows are both material and immaterial. They can be equipment, money, people, or regulations, expertise, discourses. The capacity to be resourceful and to allocate resources accordingly to one's interest will secure the position of power. Although all networks and its nodes are interconnected and interdependent to each other, some are considered to be more powerful than the others (Barney, 2004; Castells, 1997, 1996). Due to the greater influence and importance, some nodes can control and originate flows. It can be seen in the case of ICOMOS or IUCN who majorly control the flows of scientific judgments towards recognition of sites, UNESCO or national states who decide the distributions of certain funding for conservations, or international tourism providers who can meditate the flows of tourists to sites. Meanwhile, there are nodes who mostly receive the flows to which they can only exert minimal influence such as the communities follow the regulations, standards received from UNESCO after the designations with minimal possibilities to influence the making and adjustments of these regulations. Besides, the powerful nodes can mediate structurally significant activities, control access to, and use of flows and infrastructure by other less powerful nodes. Castells terms these powerful nodes in the networks as the programmers and the switchers. The programmers exercise their power based on the convergence of dominant standards played by the rules of

inclusion and exclusion(Castells, 2007, 2004; Dijk, 2005). For example, UNESCO with their set of rules and standards can decide which sites can be listed and which will be delisted. Switchers are actors who can connect different networks in order to mutually work towards the goals such as the case that national states can connect the networks of international organisations with the network of scientists in order to conserve the sites. Identifying the programmers, switchers, as well as the sets of assets that secure for their power within and between networks, will help explain the process of selection and valorization of certain sites and certain involvement of different groups in the networks of heritagization. According to Castells, whereas some nodes might possess greater influence and importance than others, there would never exist a node with absolute or zero power. All nodes within networks are interdependent with each other (Castells, 2010, 1996). This perspective will be useful for the study to scrutinize the roles of different actors in the heritagization ranging from the international groups to the very local communities in their interactions and interdependencies without assuming the degrees of importance on any node.

Zooming out to the second angle, the power relations in networks are also related to the dynamics of domination and of resistance to domination. Using the concepts of "space of flows" and "space of places", Castells aims to illustrate the struggles between the globalisation and localisation in which the dominant processes lie in the space of flows (Castells, 2000). His early work pays much attention to this tension between the space of flows and the space of places. While the space of flows constitutes of dominant activities that transcend the control of any local, space of places is fragmented and localised hence powerless against the space of flows. He advances that the dominant networks in the space of flows often impose its logic over the place and change its meaning and dynamics. Places are then left with limited options to resist the landing of flows (Castells, 1999). However, even within this option, flows will be affecting the neighboring locales and then induce its bypassing versatility back to the former rebellious communities. It is widely claimed that the World Heritage agendas in the last 50 years witnessed the exclusive roles of certain dominant actors such as the international organisations and its specialists expressed through various global standardisation processes (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Smith, 2006). However, since 2010, empirical evidence has shown an increasing trend of alternative approaches which differ from the official and agreed understanding and management of heritage significance led by the global actors and flows. This trend generated from experiences attached at local places, and was increasingly promoted through communication and information technologies (Albert et al., 2012). Castells, in the recent years, also recognizes the growing influence of the grassroots movements, as well as the insertion of personal meaning on the web that can alter the space of flows eventually (Castells, 2015, 2007). Therefore, he reviews his work to claim that locally emerged social movements are getting connected on the global networks and become more and more empowered and influential by this new network affiliation. This leads to

the next concern in this research which aims to investigate whether there is a grassroots trend into the space of flows of heritagization.

2.4.5. Community involvement and the grassrooting in the space of flows

Concerning the power relations exercised in the networks and flows, the study focuses on the struggles of the local community in order to get involved in the heritage-making to claim for their rightful benefits. As we have learned, networks work on the logic of inclusion and exclusion. The groups of community who possess the relevant and useful resources will be included while others will be excluded. The study sets out to understand the extent of the community involvement in the process of heritagization. It expects to idenify the relevant resources for the local community to gain access, as well as understand the way these resources are mobilised.

Brumann (2012) emphasises all World Heritage are first and forever local places, therefore, putting asides all the globally significant claims, we need to agree that heritage properties are community spaces. However, Brumann points out that community has not been included either as a source of the World Heritage rationale or as an official voice in the World Heritage Centre, or in the Committee sessions which are the most important hubs where converges different networks of heritage-making. Turner and Tomer (2013) have attempted to analyse different World Heritage documents in order to access the level of community involvement supported in these conventional texts. Using the "Ladder of Citizen Participation" developed by Arnstein (2007), they found out that textually the UNESCO could only encourage community participation to the extents between "placation" and "informing" (Figure 2-2). At the conventional level, this participation is assessed to be limited (Turner and Tomer, 2013)

Figure 2-2: Level of community participation supported in World Heritage Conventions
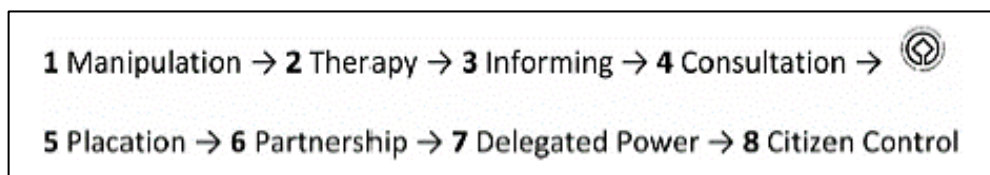
(Source: Turner and Tomer, 2013)

In practice, the extent of community involvement throughout the heritagization process remains unclarified. Tauschek (2015) criticises the manifestation of community participation in UNESCO Conventions to be more of programmatic claims. Furthermore, there are pieces of evidence that show the community is predetermined to be marginalized by the official validation processes that are necessary for heritage authorization in the UNESCO system (Kuutma, 2012). Many World Heritage discourses and practices are still an ideal rhetoric of community involvement which is mostly used for report checklist in reality. These discourses and practices are widely assessed to privilege the dominant groups while excluding communities (Deacon and Smeets, 2013; Smith and

Waterton, 2013). It needs to remind one more time that community is not a static structure that can be easily identified and measured. The study perceives community in its most dynamic aspect. They refer to a diverse range of different groups attached with different organisations, networks, activities, and cultures. Frankly speaking, community is a contested space (Day and Schuler, 2004). Therefore, it is necessary for the study to deconstruct the actual involvement of the community within the process of heritagization.

The second concern in the research refers to the contestations between the space of flows and the space of places. In this aspect, the study aims to transcend the place-based conceptualisation of community and to investigate the concept of community in a broader sense within the settings of network society. This perception tries to understand the reactions of the local places towards the dominant influences. Would there be possibilities for communities at places to gain more influence in the spaces of flows and how would they do it?

Fuchs (2007) emphasises that in transnational networks there exist both spaces of domination and spaces of potential liberation from domination. It is therefore rather simplistic to assume that space of places will passively receive the impacts of the flows without reactions. Castells also reaffirms in his recent interview on the power and counter-power of network society that: "At first I assumed that the concepts of "space of flows" and "space of places" oppose each other. But then I observed that these places are connecting and fighting the logic of dominant flows through other flows and networks. That is what I called "grassrooting the space of flows". What I was originally thinking was too static. In practice, I could see the construction of alternative networks based on identity and alternative values"[5](Hofmann, 2018).

Obviously, "static" can be the characteristic of anything, but it is sure not for the concept of community. Recent scholars have increasingly realised the possibilities that the tensions between the space of flows and space of places can induce in the sociability and empowerment of local actors (Barney, 2004; Sassen, 2004). This implies that globalization and innovations of ICTs do not undermine the significance of place-based practices, but stimulate local actors to conduct new forms of power in order to get into the networks to create social changes. People live in places, but they can also go out of that space of places and participate in the cyberspace for different purposes. As Castells himself concedes: there is a growing trend of grassrooting the space of flows, the whole society can be found on the internets for personal interactions, horizontal communications between countries, or for solidarity or cooperation etc (Castells, 1999). Here raise the unresolved concerns that whether the space of flows will persist its dominant activities and eventually blur the space of places; or whether the grassroots in the space of places can mobilise the flows to resist the global impacts. Following this line of argument, the study realises

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[5] Statement cited in Hofmann's blog post, Interview with Castells on 12th December 2017, accessed at https://www.hiig.de/en/counter-power-digital-society-manuel-castells/

the prominent need to reassess the concept of community in network society on the one hand, and the logic between the space of flows and the space of places of Castells on the other.

2.5. Conclusion

Adopting the theory of networks and flows, the study conceptualised the heritagization under the interactions and negotiations between the space of flows and space of places. This will be useful for the research in order to deal with the complex concepts of heritagization and community and to further investigate the relationship between them.

Firstly, the duality of spaces helps to deconstruct the double-bindingness of heritage-making process. On the one hand, heritagization is a process where dominant actors select and define properties to be made as World Heritage based on sets of criteria, regulations, and standards. This process involves both the representatives of the state and global actors (Harrison, 2013; Hitchcock et al., 2010). On the other hand, it is a process that highly depends on the local uniqueness, which is nurtured and practised by the local communities. In order to be enlisted, World Heritage needs to justify its universal outstanding values by manifesting its local uniqueness. World Heritage projects aim to reinforce global solidarity (between nations, religions, generations) by valorising the local differences (Poria and Ashworth, 2009). This is a process negotiated between homogenising and differentiation. It is deeply political in the power relations between the outsiders who arrive and define the properties of the insiders (Millar, 2006). In all, it is a project of globalisation and localisation emerging in the nexus of politics and power (Graham et al., 2000).

Secondly, looking at the networks of actors and flows enables the researcher to overcome the fixation in the previous conceptualisation of both heritage and community. Community and heritage are both dynamic and co-evolved concepts (Kuutma, 2012; Smith and Waterton, 2013; Waterton and Watson, 2013). We then need to move away from the assumptions that fossilised heritage as past things, and homogenised community as a single entity. We have learned from Breidenbach and Nyíri (2007) that heritagization is contextual, and from Waterton and Smith (2010) and Waterton and Watson (2013) that community is often ill-conceived in the process of heritagization. Embracing the fluidity in the conceptualisation of heritage and community, the study can reveal a clearer picture of how power, interests, and actions are practised in the making of heritage and how they influence the involvement of the community.

Thirdly, by tracing the networks and flows, it reveals the channels, resources, and strategies that enable specific individuals or groups in the community to better or worse get involved in the whole process. This approach is useful when working within the heterogeneous and dynamic nature of the community in reality. It ensures the flexibility for the researcher to approach community as individuals, or as groups. Moreover, the research can also overcome both geographic and methodological limitations. Therefore, the study can understand more into details

on how communities manoeuvre their involvement in the heritagization process, given the dominance of national and global actors.

Lastly, the study can reassess the power relations between the global flows and the local places which might provide potential ways of local empowerment in heritagization. Besides, certain theoretical concerns can be addressed on the re-definition of community in heritage studies.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ETHICAL CONCERNS

This chapter discusses the research methodology that has been applied in the study. It opens with the author's philosophical stance that guides the process in general. Based on the research stance in combination with the essence of the studied topic, a case study methodology has been chosen to enable the search of answers. Justifications for a case study design, its strategy, and the selected methods are elaborated thoroughly in the next sections of the chapter. However, details on the numbers of observations, interviews, and group discussions conducted on specific studied sites will be discussed further in the empirical chapters in this dissertation. Finally, the chapter addresses some ethical concerns induced during the research process, and from here, it will draw out some lessons learned.

3.1. Philosophical stance

The first stone to set up the research process is to reflect on the stance held by the researcher herself towards the relationship between reality and knowledge production. This stance comprises of ontological and epistemological assumptions that inform the research methodology, analysis, validation and limitations. This research is developed as a qualitative study under the orientation of the critical realist philosophical stance.

Critical realism combines a realist ontology with a constructivist epistemology. On the ontological concern, critical realists affirm the objective existence of reality. However, this reality is stratified in three different layers of the real, the actual and the empirical. On the epistemological concern, critical realists acknowledge the subjective knowledge of social actors. Knowledge is capable of capturing only parts of a deeper and vaster reality. In other words, critical realism rejects the idea of multiple realities; however, it recognises different valid perspectives on reality (Edwards, O'Mahoney, and Vincent, 2014; Maxwell, 2013). Therefore, knowledge in terms of critical realism is considered theory-laden, not theory-determined. Critical realism hence thrives on understanding the detailed causal explanations of a given set of phenomena or events in terms of both the actors' interpretations and the structures and mechanisms that interact to produce the outcomes in question (Wynn and Williams, 2012). It advances further by suggesting practical policy recommendations to address social problems for change (Fletcher, 2017).

A philosophical stance of critical realism will allow this research not only to provide an explicit description of heritagization as a process but also to advance towards an in-depth understanding of the underlying generative mechanism that drives the process in the specific settings of Vietnam. The ontological assumption of a wider independent reality reminds the researcher to take into account the breadth of different contextual factors that might play a role in the occurrence of the heritage phenomena including information technological, institutional, social,

organisational, and environmental factors. The development of the research based on the critical realism philosophical stance is reflected in figure 3-1:

Figure 3-1. Philosophical stance and methodological assumptions
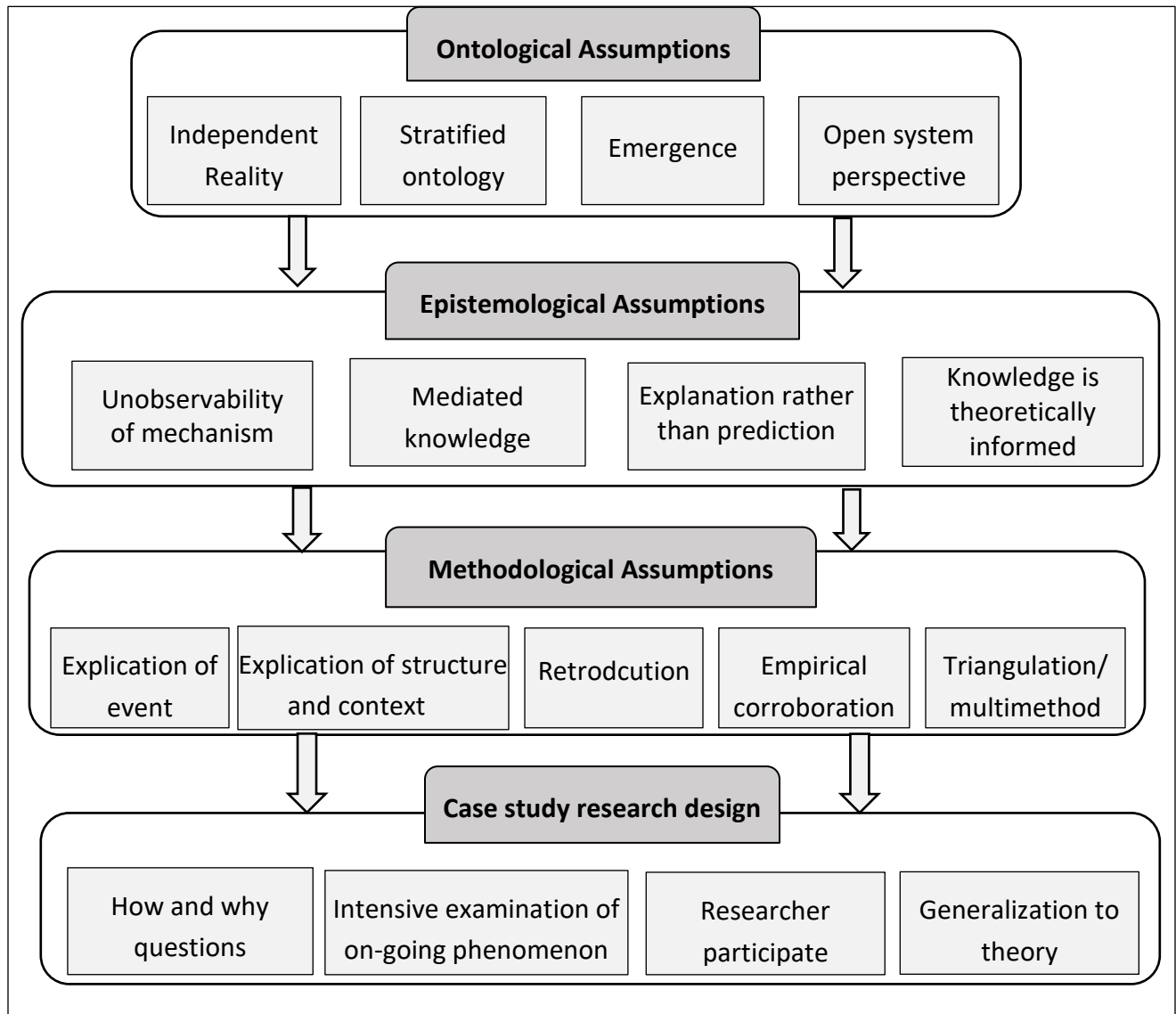
(Source: Adapted from (Wynn and Williams, 2012)

Ontologically, the study believes there exist interacting structures with causal powers that drive the phenomenon of heritagization. These structures and mechanisms are unobservable and can only be studied through the analysis of experiences and interpretations on World Heritage of different actors at different levels. This is considered as the production of knowledge. However, as the production of knowledge is strongly filtered through the lens of social actors as well as the researcher herself, the study takes current scientific knowledge on heritage as theoretically informed that provided a better basis for an on-going process of asymptoting the truth. The study

will not aim to provide prediction but rather a thick explanation based on two cases, including the existing intensive research on World Heritage and actual empirical data analysis.

3.2. Case study design

3.2.1. Justification of case study

A research design ensures the researcher to disentangle the logical problems systematically and scientifically. Its function is to ensure that relevant sources of evidence will be obtained to answer the initial research questions, to test a theory, or to accurately describe some phenomenon (De Vaus, 2001). Being informed by the nature of the research topic and the stance held by the researcher, this study will apply a case study methodology. According to Yin (2013) a case study design is driven mainly by three factors including i) the type of research questions, ii) the focus on the contemporary phenomenon, and iii) the extent of control that the researcher has over the researched.

Asking the question of how heritage has been produced, the study aims to look for an intensive causal explanation putting in the influence of particular contextual conditions rather than hopping for predictions or delivering simple descriptions. Setting out from the objective, a case study will be the most suited research design because it concerns particularly with the questions of how and why things happen. The advantage of a case study methodology is that it enables the researcher to utilise a wide variety of sources of information to deliver a comprehensive understanding of the research object in great depth (Yin, 2014, 2003). Besides, it creates a research setting that offers opportunities to examine different factors, to consider various causal connections and to account for the changes in these connections over time. This methodology is also suited to address actors' motives, interpretations, actions, as well as their constructions of reality (Creswell, 2013; De Vaus, 2001; Yin, 2014, 2003).

A case study methodology retains the research objects in its real-world contemporary settings (Yin, 2003). The selection of case study methodology in the research is consistent with the philosophical assumptions on which the research bases on. Since the relationship between the social phenomenon and its contextual settings is usually complicated, contingent, and emergent whose boundary is not always clearly evident, it is beneficial for this study to apply a case study research in order to gain a holistic view of a certain phenomenon or series of events. The research aims to study the process of heritagization in the contemporary reality settings of Vietnam. The case study design will be useful in capturing the emergent and immanent properties of interactions, negotiations in the networks and flows, while still taking into consideration the influences of the current political, economic, social, and cultural contexts. The case study will allow to tease out and disentangle the complexities of the topic and deliver an in-depth understanding of the world heritage-making phenomenon. In order to accomplish this, the most important requirement is to be able to collect many forms of qualitative data from a wide range of

sources by using different methods (Easton, 2010). The flexibility of the case study design allows greater opportunity for the researcher to achieve this compared to other designs. As the study aims to unveil a multilevel process at multi-locations, which involve multi-network of actors, a case study research design is the most promising design to deal with the complexity of the research phenomenon to allow more qualitative explorations.

Finally, the researcher aims to study the perceptions and interactions between different social actors in their natural settings without interfering or controlling the research environment. Case study methodology places the researcher in the real-life where she will collect up-close information by interacting face-to-face with the people in their daily life activities. However, I will always be fully aware that my presence and interactions in the field during the research process will generate certain influences towards the informants. Thus, in order to ensure the quality of the research with minimum interference to the informants, I strictly followed the codes of ethical conducts in all kinds of research. Details on ethical concerns will be discussed further in this chapter in section 3.6.

3.2.2. Selection of cases

Designed as a qualitative, exploratory case study, the research plans to develop its analysis based on two examples that are closely associated with the contemporary making of World Heritage designations using multiple sources of evidence combined with theoretical thinking and empirical reflection. The ultimate use of the case study in this research was not intended for a generalisable conclusion, but rather to inform the development of theoretical and policy-related understanding. Therefore, the selected cases in the research did not serve any plan of representative samples but based on the expectations that intensive and relevant information could be obtained to facilitate the triangulation principles. Out from the cases, the study must be able to provide a thorough understanding of the heritagization following the guide of networks-and-flows theory. Three fundamental guiding blocks for the case selection process include the formulated research questions, the accessibility of primary material, and the availability of resources. The researcher was looking for cases that should:

1. Be designated into the World Heritage list in two main categories (cultural and natural)
2. Be the significant forces of the development in contemporary society
3. Contain sufficient dynamics and diversities to ensure the depth and breadth of the study of the heritagization process and the involvement of social actors in it.
4. Allow proper investigation and analysis within the schedule of time and budget, most importantly concerning the number of accessible sources of information.

The study intentionally looks for two cases that could cover two main categories, including a cultural and a natural World Heritage site. The two cases should share a certain level of common characteristics so that the researcher can optimise the resources and minimise the obstacle. The

selection of the cases should be opportunistic and practical. In detail, the two cases should have a similar climate pattern that will not hinder the fieldwork time scale. The selected cases should provide the best chance of accessibility in consideration of the researcher's ability and resources.

Another concern was the resources that are available for the researcher. These resources comprised of both economic and social aspects. In order to ensure the quality and overcome external obstacles, cases are chosen based on the resources that are already at the disposal of the researcher. Different aspects have been taken into account, including my prior knowledge about the sites, familiarity with the culture and language, gatekeepers, existing social networks, accessibility, travel distance, and living expenses. After weighing the pros and cons, two cases have been chosen that fit best to the research criteria. One is the Cultural World Heritage site located in Thua Thien – Hue province, and the other is the natural World Heritage site located in Quang Binh province. Locations of the two cases are presented in figure 3-2.

Figure 3-2. The selected cases
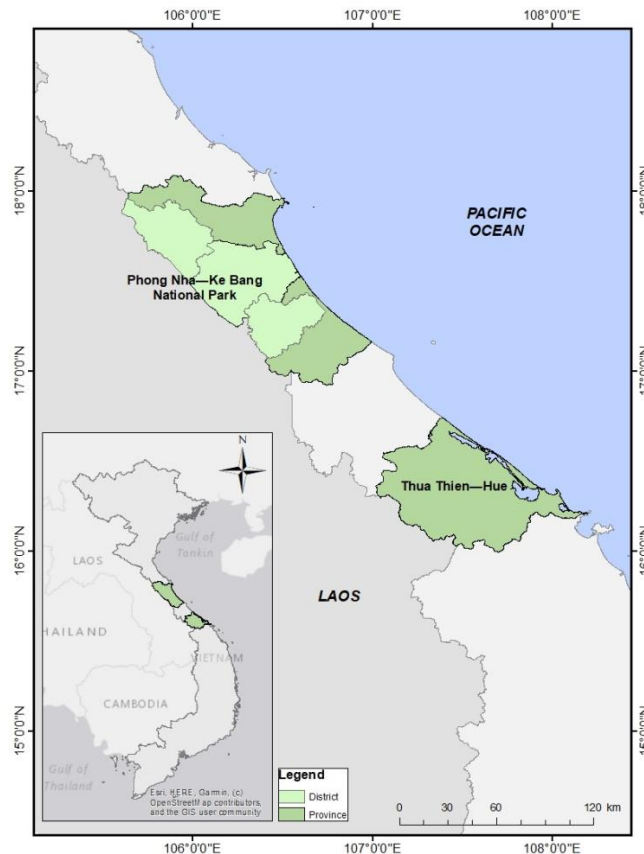
(Data source: dive-gis.org/gdata, 2019)

Thua Thien – Hue province and Quang Binh province have been chosen according to the above criteria. Thua Thien – Hue province (hereafter referred to as Hue) had the first enlisting in the cultural World Heritage in 1993 for the Complex of Monuments. The Complex of Monuments was

the architecture that belongs to the last feudal dynasty in Vietnam back in 1945. This property has gone through a great transformation from the most detested to the most significant heritage in the province in particular, as well as in the whole country.

Quang Binh province has Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park (PNKB NP) inscribed into the natural World Heritage in 2003. However, not until 2013 after the official discovery of Son Doong cave, has PNKB become widely recognisable as an outstanding universal value among Vietnamese and international communities. Recently, PNKB is valorised as the leading resource for community development and the provincial socio-economic development.

The backgrounds and transformations of the two cases prove to be interesting and beneficial cases for the study to achieve intensive information in order to answer the research questions thoroughly. Moreover, Hue is the hometown of the researcher where I have spent more than 30 years living, studying and working. Not only possess local characteristics to start with and to reflect on, but I also have great advantages in term of social networks to access into the case with greater depth. In terms of interacting with local informants, I am fully aware of when, how and to what extent I can push them further and deeper in the discussion related to their perceptions and experiences towards the heritagization process. This might provide me with the insights that have not been explored before while remaining the research ethics.

Quang Binh, on the other hand, is the original birthplace of my grandparents and parents. Although I do not live in the region, I have certain knowledge and understanding of the culture of the people. There are also several far relatives and acquaintances of my family who are living in Quang Binh province, which I assume to provide me with greater support during my fieldwork in the area. On the practical note, both sites are in the same Central region of Vietnam, where they share certain similarities in cultural, social contexts and climate conditions. The distance between the two places ranges around 210 km, which takes 4 hours by train. There are daily trains that connect the two places with one connection. Although Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park locates in the mountainous area, 40km away from the centre of the province, it can be accessed by bus or motorbike within an hour. The travel distance and expenses are suitable for my travel budget as well as my research schedule.

3.3. The research strategy and phases

Research strategy concerns the orientation of the research process, ensuring that the research is conducted systematically and scientifically within a given schedule (Bryman, 2012). This involves using multiple stages of data collection and refinement of different sources applied by different methods. This choice is made to obtain sufficient and qualified data sources for triangulation of causal mechanism, theoretical reflection and abstraction. As such, an inductive approach is taken that means the researcher will move back and forth between the researched contexts and

collected database in order to translate empirical observations into theoretical insights. This is consistent with a critical realist stance that emphasises concepts of empirical reality are always revolved in an on-going process.

As Stake (1995) states that data gathering in qualitative research has no particular beginning moment, intensive review on secondary sources of data has been conducted long before I started my fieldwork. Moreover, in order to get the first view on what images of Vietnamese heritage are being depicted globally and to what extent World Heritage sites in Vietnam are visible in the outside world, I had visited several tour agents around Bonn city, Germany and surfed for tour information provided on the websites of tour agents before I departed for the field. Information on this phase provided me with an understanding of the topic generally.

Fieldwork took place from August 2017 to June 2018, which was divided into two main phases, in which the researcher adopted the four-stage-model proposed by Buchanan et al. (2014). In the first phase, I followed the process of getting in – getting on – getting out. The second phase entailed the process of getting back- getting on- and getting out. The objective of this strategy was two-fold. First, it enabled the researcher to refine the collected data. Information collected in the first phase will help to identify the gaps, and thus, sketched out the optimal direction to go more into depth in the second phase. Second, the researcher could triangulate her sources of data collection. The initial theoretical insights drawn out from phase 1 were tested and applied back into the empirical settings in the second phase so that in the end the study could obtain proper information to strengthen the theoretical inference and conclusions

Figure 3-3. Research strategy and phases
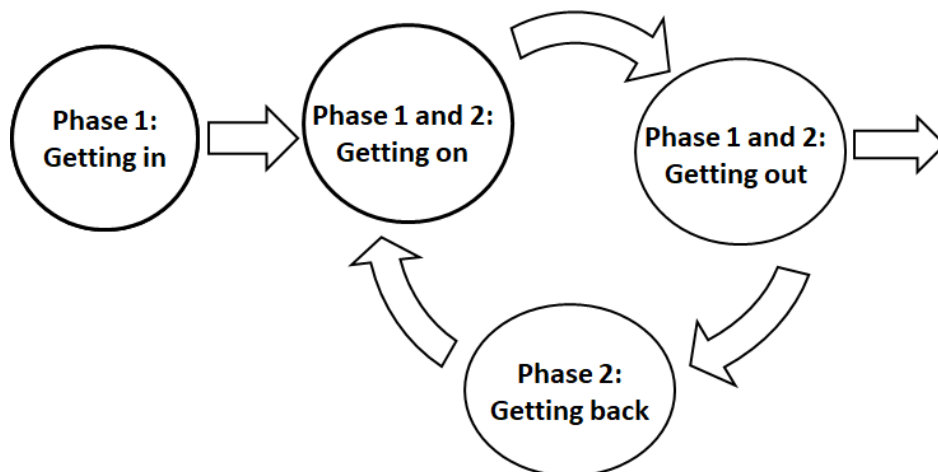
(Source: Buchanan et al., 2014)

In phase 1, getting in was the process of perusing official permission for entrance and practising research activities in different communes of the area. By permission, I mean both at the authority permission and the acceptance of the local people on my presence. Getting in took off with

different methods that could provide the overall pictures of the studied sites such as observations, village walk, informal conversations. Different stakeholders and their relationships were also promptly identified. I approached the two sites differently in the getting in stage. In PNKB, backing up by the fact that the researcher's grandparents originated from the neighbour region of Quang Binh province, I easily introduced myself as both visitor and researcher who wanted to learn about my grandparents' birthplace. In this sense, I was accepted as a partial local. Therefore, I was welcomed by the local people, thus had more advantages to move around different villages and conducted observations. I also took this stage to get into contact with the gatekeepers for my further access in the later stages. However, in Hue city, I am a local myself, therefore, presenting as a tourist was not a suitable method. It would raise skeptics if I tried to travel around and ask for information. Hence, getting in in the case of Hue was to re-position myself as a researcher in which I constantly reflected on my previous experiences to minimise presumptions and biases. Nevertheless, in Hue, I benefited greatly from the existing networks that enabled me to get into contact with many stakeholders and to attend different related events.

Getting on stage witnessed the practice of approaching and building up a rapport with stakeholders identified in the previous stage. The stage began when the researcher worked more actively and frequently in the fields. The activities were diverse, ranging from active participation in different tours, especially community-based tours to informal conversations, and semi-structured interviews. In this stage, I took part in different tours, not under the position of a tourist but as a researcher. In order to do so, I made contact directly with different tour operators and asked for their acceptance to let me participate actively in tours. I spent much of time to talk with tour guides, tourist and especially the local people who provided different services for the tours. Through these, I could gain the information about flows of tourism, of people, of images, that are being operated. Furthermore, deeper concerns and observation of the interactions between different stakeholders were carefully conducted and recorded. Different unstructured interviews and informal talks were exploited whenever the chances came up.

During the getting on stage, I have made my presence clearly to most of the stakeholders. Rapports and trust were also being built. From here, I prepared for my last stage of phase 1 – getting out. Getting out which means the researcher left the study site and prepared for the coming back. I got out of PNKB in October since the Park would be closed down from September to December annually. In Hue, the break took place later in December 2018, before the Lunar New Year break. The process of withdrawal in phase 1 was clearly stated to be temporary, and new appointments were arranged for the next coming back in phase 2.

Data collected in the first phase was then promptly structured, reflected and adjusted. Initial coding was conducted in order to find possible theoretical regularities and themes that could

direct the data collection process in phase 2. In-depth questionnaires and program for focus group discussion were carefully prepared and planned.

Phase 2 took place from the end of January to June 2018. The second phase continued with the stages of getting back – getting on – getting out. Thanks to the rapport established in the first phase, I could explore into depth the dynamics of different (un)observable events as well as understand more the perceptions and relations between different stakeholders. I conducted a series of in-depth interviews with a wide range of actors, including local authorities, local people, boat drivers, tour companies. Information from these interviews was repeatedly reflected with the research questions, as well as coded into different urgent topics. These topics were picked up into the interviews with a higher level such as members of the management board, the forest rangers, the provincial officers, and the expert. Focus group discussions were used in order to triangulate the collected data. The getting out of the second phase was managed in a manner that promises opportunities for future research. Major methods used include keeping contacts, connecting on social media platforms, promise to share results, discussing potential cooperation.

3.4. Data collection methods

"Data collection is a series of interrelated activities aimed at gathering good information to answer emerging research questions" (Creswell, 2013, p.146). Data is the building blocks for the tower of quality and credibility in scientific research. Charmaz (2006) strongly emphasises the differences generated by the depth and scope of data. Studies that built upon rich, substantial and relevant data will stand out. Therefore, this study, following the critical realism research process, places equivalent importance on both extensive (trends with statistical data) and intensive data (in-depth interpretations) generated from secondary and primary sources. The following section will depict into details the methods used by the researcher to collect data sets from both sources (Table 3-2). Primary sources will discuss interviews, focus group discussions, and observations. Secondary sources include literature, policy documents, archival records, news and virtual sources of data. Lastly, the section will concentrate particularly on the virtual data, which is still being followed and collected.

Table 3-1. The Methods used and empirical data collected during the fieldwork

Phase-stage	Methods used	Data collected
1-Getting in	Covert observations, semi-structured interviews, village/site walks, informal talks	Contextual overview and information, management structures at designated sites, relevant groups of actors, gatekeepers, current heritage tours and services
1-Getting on	Semi-structured interviews, In-depth	Overview information, general assessments, general perceptions, interactions, maps of

	interviews, overt observations, snow-balling	actors' networks, map of management structures
1-Getting out	Notifications of getting back time, arrangements for future appointments	Transcription, initial coding, initial analysis on networks of actors, relations between actors, operations at tours, operations at site management boards.
2-Getting back	Village/site re-visits, overt observations, triangulation methods	Changes in the fields, more interactions, triangulation, and confirmation of previous data
2-Getting on	In-depth interviews (including Key Informants interviews, expert interviews), Focus group discussions, observations, triangulation methods	Perceptions, explanations of actions and interactions, explanation of the relationship between actors, the channel of communication, in-depth stories of conflicts/ participations, explanation of management mechanism, description of actors' positions and resources, triangulation and confirmation of previous statements and data
2-Getting out	Keeping contacts, following social media pages, promise to share research results	More updates, triangulation, and confirmation of previous data

(Source: Data collection and analysis, 2018)

3.4.1. Interviews

Interviews are used both in formal and informal forms. Since, "interview", translated into Vietnamese as "*phỏng vấn*", is instead a sensitive term that could trigger a defensive reaction from the informants, I personally often avoid using this term during the research process. Interchangeably, "conversations", "consulting for informants' ideas/experiences", "asking for information" were used. Within interviews, I paid close attention to the interpersonal sensitivity over the following rules and procedures. I found it is more useful to firstly conducted conversational methods in order to establish a common ground with the informants, and then introduce them further to interviews if it is necessary. Interviews conducted in this research are semi-structured and in-depth interviews. These types of interviews are loosely structured and guided by a topic list rather than well-structured questions. Hence, the interviewer and interviewee will have more room not only to discuss the issues based on the guiding list but also extend further on the topics of particular interests of interviewees. This pieces of information are

critical for the researcher to encapsulate the dynamics of the events, the patterns, relations, and forms of interactions (Bryman, 2012).

Semi-structured interviews are mainly used in the getting-on stage of the first phase. I developed a list of questions related to different topics. Three sets of semi-structured interviews were prepared for three different groups of actors, including the tour providers, the local community and the visitors. Interviews for tour providers cover the issues about their heritage-related services and products, their perceptions on heritage, the images of World Heritage used in their services, the horizontal and vertical interactions, channel of communications, and participation in the management process. Interviews for local community target to obtain general information on their recognition of World Heritage status, assessment of its impacts, and participation level in heritage-making processes. Lastly, visitors will be asked about the images they have before and after visiting the sites, interpretation of those images, channel of communication. These topics of semi-structured interviews are inspired from the review of literature and secondary information collected before the fieldwork. Data collected from semi-structured interviews are then coded, analysed and structured as the materials for the in-depth interviews later in the getting-on stage of phase 2.

In-depth interviews permit an in-depth exploration of a particular topic with someone who considered to have rich experiences or hold valuable information that is critically important for the researched topic. These are identified as the key informants of the research (Yin, 2014). The study applied several ways to identify key informants. Firstly, they are found in different policy documents, reports, news, and websites. These informants will then be contacted for certain appointments. In many cases, I have to use personal networks in order to get appointments with key informants. I would be introduced to the key informants through the connectors. Connectors can be friends, colleagues or acquaintances. These nominations often promise me better trust in front of the informants; therefore, interviews in these cases are often successful, intensively informative. Another way to approach key informants is through snowballing methods led by the previously selected interviewees (Creswell, 2014). In-depth insights and explanations, meanings were asked in these interviews. Informants would have great leeway in order to explain their perceptions, assessments, and actions.

Interviews are conducted face-to-face, which often range from 30 mins for semi-structured to 120 minutes for in-depth. Semi-structured interviews are mainly jotted down at the time of interviewing. In the case of an in-depth interview, the researcher often preferred using an audio recorder. However, this method was only used in the acknowledgement and agreement with the interviewees in advance. Otherwise, data will be noted down and transcribed right after each interview so that the researcher's memories and impressions remain fresh and clear. Follow-up conversations are kept with many informants after the formal interviews. Normally, I would

contact the informant through mobile phone, or messenger if I have any emergent concerns. In total, the study conducted 103 official interviews. Details on the methods used and targeted group of actors are provided in tables 3-3 and 3-4.

Table 3-2. Number of interviews by methods

Methodology	Site 1 Hue	Site 2 Phong Nha - Ke Bang
In-depth interviews	26	14
Semi-structure interviews	26	22

(Source: Data collection, 2017-2018)

Table 3-3. Number of interviews by actors

Actors	Site 1 Hue	Site 2 Phong Nha - Ke Bang
Provincial/communal Officers	6	2
Site management board	1	2
Other staff	2	1
Tour operators	6	2
Tour guide	2	3
Tourism Photographer	1	0
Accommodation providers	4	4
Experts	1	1
Other local businesses	2	2
Local People	38	20
Visitors	4	2
Total	67	39
	103*	

(Source: Data collection, 2017-2018)

The total number of interviews came to 103 because there are 3 informants working in both sites. They are the tour guides and tour operators that provide service between Hue and Phong Nha- Ke Bang. Furthermore, other staff is identified as employmees of governmental agencies exept from the provincial or communal offices and Management Boards of sites. These agencies include tourism centres, promotion centres, museum. Lastly, other local businesses are the households

who open small, supplementing services in and around the designated sites, such as food and beverage, bike renting, bike fixing.

3.4.2. Focus group discussions

A focus group discussion (FGD) is a method that gathers people with similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss in depth a specific topic. In this setting, participants can agree, disagree or even challenge the ideas of each other. Consequently, the researcher can gain the insights of different aspects within a FGD concerning: the range of different opinions, the way the group think about the topic, their interactions, and the way meanings and knowledge about a phenomenon are collectively made, the (in)consistency or variations of beliefs, experiences, and practices that exist (Bryman, 2012; Green and Thorogood, 2013). In addition, during the discussion, new aspects might likely be probed that could be valuable for further in-depth discussion or triangulation.

The research conducted 2 focus group discussions. The first discussion gathered 10 participants who are the inhabitants right under the wall of The Citadel – the most iconic site amongst The Complex of Monument in Hue. These inhabitants' families have been living in the area since the country unified in 1975, which currently comes to the third generations. The ages of participants range from 24 to 65 years old. The first FDG took place at the end of the getting-on stage in phase 1 when I have gained a certain extent of acceptance and trust from the local people. However, at this stage, I was lack of clear understanding of the actual situation of the local people living with the World heritage sites, their range of perceptions, and their interrelations with other actors. Within nearly 2 hours, the participants were asked about their experiences with the Citadel with and without the World heritage titles, the changes that they have gone through, their interpretations of heritage values, and their involvement in the process of nominating and developing of sites. Information in this discussion was valuable for the research to understand the actual perceptions of people, the benefits and obligations they have from the titles, their activities as an individual and as a collective group in influencing the process of heritage-making, and the channels that connect for their influences. The dynamics of the local group have also been revealed in the discussion. This information has confirmed and broadened my collected data from the semi-interviews, and afterward is used for the question and probing issues in the second phase of the research.

The second FDG was organised for the rightful descendants of the Nguyen royal family. Five people who belong to the Nguyen Kinship Union came to the discussion to explain their position and thinking over the heritage that is supposed to be under their possession. This FGD was done in the second phase when I have had a clear understanding of the overall situations. However, I wanted to progress further with a very specific group of actors, the heir of the Nguyen Dynasty, in other words, the heritage owners. The second FDG focused specifically on the roles these heritage

owners have played in the process of heritage making. It concerned issues of spiritual beliefs, the attached values, and perceptions, the exercised traditions, the cultural practices, norms, as well as conflicts that the heirs have had under the World Heritage valorisation. It also provided information for the researcher to cross-check the governmental policy and program towards the people, and depict their actual activities and relationships on the spot.

3.4.3. Observations

When putting the research in the real-life context, observations are proven to be the most valid sources of evidence on social behaviors in a case study design that flexibly range from formal to casual activities (Green and Thorogood, 2013; Yin, 2014). Depending on different stages of the data collecting process, different methods of observations have been applied in order to achieve the objectives of the researcher the most. In the first phase, when the researcher aimed to gain access to research sites and an overview of research objects, the covert observation method was applied. Covert observation refers to the methods that do not disclose the fact that I am a researcher so that the researcher can gain an overview of the research topic without interfering with its natural settings and interactions. The advantage of this method is that it allows me to quickly collect mundane and unremarkable daily practices of local residents in their own settings (Green and Thorogood, 2013). This enables me to identify the potential access points, the gatekeepers, as well as some precautious sensitivities that need to be kept in mind when doing the research. I started by taking several tours to a different location of the World Heritage sites, I wandered around, I sat down in different local cafeterias located nearby the designated sites. After the first getting-in period, I could obtain from my observations the general structure of management at sites, general products of heritage tourism, the main operators, their operation routes, local services that involved in these routes, as well as the interactions between the tour guides and the people, between the people the visitors, and between the people themselves.

Forwards to the second phase, I conducted overt observation with minimal participation. It means that the researcher observes but limits her participation minimally into the groups' core activities. Information from observations is treated as an additional source of triangulation. Interviews hold prominent lead (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, observation during the later stages is used majorly for probing questions and information cross-checking. In case when the observations were considered to be highly relevant and valuable, pictures would be taken under the clear acknowledgment of the objects' permission.

3.4.4. Virtual collection of secondary data

Yin (2014) suggests that a case study research should consider a data collection from six different sources. Next to the primary sources such as interviews, observations, group discussion, secondary sources play the equivalent importance in the research. Secondary data was collected

in different types (documentary, photography, videos…) from different sources to help the researcher corroborate and augment the information obtained from other sources. One of the most important data sources that have been widely used in the research is the virtual information. The net is not only the largest storage of information, but also a platform of social interactions (Gosling and Johnson, 2010; Hewson, Yule, Laurent, and Vogel, 2002; Hughes, 2012). Following the virtual information and interactions provides the researcher with valuable up-to-date information that explains the process of heritage-making at the global level to the very local level. By surfing the internet, I do not only access the diverse categories of information but also follow and observe the discussion and movements of different actors on the issue of World Heritage sites in Vietnam. Virtual information collected ranges from documents, media articles and news, to information shared on social networking websites and blogs.

When using the internet for data collection, It is extremely important to assure the reliability and accuracy of the information (Hewson et al., 2002). Therefore, I always chose official authorised websites to search for documents concern laws, policies, administration reports, governmental statements or campaigns. In parallel with the official documents, media news and articles are also an important source of information. News act as the chronological record of certain events that might not be well reported in official documents. Information is extracted from the well-recognized and most-read newspapers in Vietnam such as VNexpress, Thanhniennews, Saigontimes. Besides, considering the strict control on media content in Vietnam, I also search for international sources of media from the Huffington, ABCnews, National Geographic, Lonely planet so that different perspectives could be fully reviewed and triangulated.

More importantly, the research benefits greatly from the information shared on social networking websites and blogs. In the information age, social networking websites and blogs have become part of mainstream social communication and information dissemination (Mazur,2010). They allow the researcher to access and analyse an enormous amount of textual, visual, and oral contents that are created and reacted by large and diverse populations (ibid.). With more than 57 million active users in Vietnam currently (Askwill, 2018), Facebook obviously became the most potential platform amongst different social networking websites to mine for data. According to Wilson, Gosling, and Graham (2012), Facebook is useful for social science research as it is an ongoing database with information being continuously added. Furthermore, it is also popular across a wide range of groups unrestricted in localities. Hence, it offers not only a unique source for me to retrieve information, but also interlinkages to track potential informants.

Before, during and after the fieldwork, I have always kept up with virtual discussions and interactions taking place on the internet. I follow websites, social network pages of different actors such as the local authorities, the organisations, the enterprises. Daily updates of news and activities on these sites and pages are being recorded. In an era when the number of views, likes,

and shares are increasingly becoming the criteria of influence power, information achieved from the virtual sources become the valid evidence for further theoretical inferences.

3.5. Data analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organizing the data for analysis, and then reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally representing the data in figures, tables, or a discussion (Creswell, 2013).

The analytical movement in critical realist research method, therefore, comprises a movement from a concrete context within which causal mechanisms are abstracted and analysed and then back to the concrete context to understand how these causal mechanisms operate.

3.5.1. Transcription and coding

As voice recorder was not favorable by the majority of informants, most of the interviews were noted down directly. I personally made a good decision to transcribe all interviews by myself. They were all transcribed instantly on the field either after the interviews or at the end of every working day. I realised several benefits as I was transcribing interviews myself. The information offered particularly from the in-depth interview would have been easily distorted just by improper usage of words if it was handled by a novice (Yin, 2003). Therefore, by transcribing all the interviews, I could assure the quality and the originality of information since all of the information is recalled directly and freshly. Second, I could integrate my observations and impressions of the overall settings, the reactions of informants along the transcription process. And thirdly, I could develop a mind-mapping overview of the data from which quick mental analysis was conducted simultaneously so that I could learn and adjust quickly for the next scheduled interviews. The only exception was the contents of two FGDs. Since I had to perform the role of moderator, information from the two discussions was noted by my research assistant. However, I carefully reviewed and added critical points to the contents afterward.

All collected data were structured and transferred to the coding process assisted by the computer software ATLAS.ti. Data were then processed from the "round up" through several rounds of coding (Yin, 2014). The first round applied the thematic coding to identify different events (themes) such as visitation of UNESCO directors, the designation of sites, the international festival at the site, tours at the local places…etc. In each event/theme, coding continued to categories the actors and the demi-regularities. Demi-regularities are the interactions between different actors that happen accordingly to each event and generate some kinds of results or impacts. For example, when the UNESCO director visited Hue, different actors could be identified in this event such as UNESCO, the international scientists, the local authorities… Their interrelated activities then contributed to the nomination and listing of the site. Or in the other case of PNKB, in the events of tours organized through several local places, major actors identified can be "tour

providers" and the local community, their interactions in the tours would lead to the inclusion or exclusion of different groups. And finally, the coding process was guided by the concepts and analytical framework in order to provide the abstractions and theoretical understanding from the concrete data. This step in the coding process increased the level of theoretical engagement of the analysis above the intensive description of empirical data. The codes used in this step were "actors", "power", "flows", "networks", "structure", "dominant", "mobilized resources", "channel", etc. And finally, a map of the relationships between different codes was sketched out to understand the underlying mechanism of the studied phenomenon.

Between these steps of coding, triangulation was simultaneously used in order to cross-check collected information, reduce bias, and to strengthen the reliability of the research findings (Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2014, 2003). Triangulation was an iterative process that occurs multiple rounds of structuring and cross-referencing. It made use of multiple sources of evidence to identify and compare different perspectives on the same topic or question. Data were triangulated through the double-checking from interviewing different informants. Furthermore, in the latter part of the analysis process, data were also cross-referenced with documents, scientific publications, observations and other sources of news (Bryman, 2004).

3.5.2. Discourse analysis

A discourse analysis concerns the exploration of the relationship between discourse and reality. From a critical realist perspective, discourses are perceived as social constructions, but different from a relativist point of view, these constructions are constrained by the material conditions such as material environments, physical spaces, embodiment, and social structures. Therefore, in analyzing the discourses of World Heritage-making, the study will place them within the consideration of other contextual factors such as the physical environment in the case of Natural World Heritage sites, the governmental policies on cultural and natural heritage, other Macro development plans strategies and policies. These factors are treated as having an extra-discursive ontology and as the producing factors of contexts in which certain discursive constructions will be produced (Edwards et al., 2014; Sims-Schouten, Riley, and Willig, 2007).

The most readily and diversely available are the secondary sources, particularly the published documents in both formal and informal forms. These are rich in information which can be turned into a valuable source of data for the research objective. Therefore, besides analyzing data from the primary sources, the study conducted discourse analysis to mine into the information of secondary data sources, especially the documentary types. Although the term discourse analysis is elaborated in numerous ways across the research methodology literature, I used discourse analysis in reference to that analysis of the text (include written and spoken forms, verbal and image forms that can be analytically treated as texts). The aim was to overcome the superficial meanings to understand deeper and less obvious ones (Green and Thorogood, 2013). The

process of discourse analysis then comprised of organisation, comparison, and integration of data into coherent arguments

3.5.3. Visual material analysis

Visual material such as pictures, advertisements, booklets, billboards contributes significant evidence to analysis the process of heritage-making in the study. Especially, they reflect the perceptions and the purposes that are visualized in forms of simplified images being attached to the World Heritage sites. During field trips, the research paid special attention to either capturing pictures or collecting visual materials from the informants or from different virtual platforms. These materials were then analysed carefully by adopting the visual culture approach. The visual culture approach considers visual artifacts to socially produced, distributed and consumed with given functional, communicational or aesthetic intents (Duncum, 2001). In this cycle, transformations take place and also do the struggles and contests over what they mean and how they are used (Lister and Wells, 2000). In short, the visual culture approach focuses on the question of how sight, knowledge and power relate. Hence, visual culture approach emphasises to study visual materials their contextual richness, as part of an ongoing social discourse that involves their influence in social life (Duncum, 2001). It encourages the analysts to look at two things: the social conditions in which the artifacts are produced, distributed, consumed; and the substantial conventions that not only infer meanings but also signify sensory modes of the viewers

Contexts scrutinised in this research included the context of production and the context of viewing. The context of production concerned the production and distribution of images. Questions to ask were how and why it was made? Who made it? How and why it gets to the place it was? Understanding the context of production helped to reveal the intentions and motives of the makers inscribed in the images, the institutional and social conditions, imperatives and constraints in which they worked (Lister and Wells, 2000). The context of viewing then investigated the use of the images from the distributed visual artifacts. It looked at the physical and social contexts in which images were placed, the context that explains the way viewers encountered and used the images.

In parallel, the research also looked for the conventions inside the visual materials for analysis. Conventions are the visual codes, and/or semiotics that are understood as socially agreed ways of doing or interpreting something. Conventions can be photographic which ignite sensory modes of the viewers and can be social which depict relationships and deliver messages. Understanding these conventions will help the researcher to understand the meanings encoded in them. Furthermore, they can also reveal the power relations between the producers and receivers, and between the groups of viewers.

3.6. Ethical concerns

There are several critical reasons that show why scientists in general, and social scientists, in particular, should concern about ethical aspects of their work. Ethical thinking and behaviors help to avoid the long-term, systematic harm, and thus to ensure the common good for the researched objects (as individuals, organisations, communities…) and their environments. In return, ethical consciousness would be beneficial for the research process, the research integrity, and the researchers' reputations. Israel and Hay (2006) explain that:

> *"Our individual research endeavors form part of interconnected local, national and international networks of activity. We build incrementally on each other's advances. If any of these contributions are inaccurate, unethically acquired or otherwise questionable, we all bear the costs. Poor practices affect not only our individual and professional reputations but also the veracity and reliability of our individual and collective works" (p.5).*

In terms of research ethics, Guillemin and Gillam (2004) identify two different dimensions that are the procedural ethics and the "ethics in practices". Procedural ethics involves the accomplishment of the ethical assessment and search for official approval from the ethical committee. For the above reason, ethical concerns in this research have been brought up to discussion before the conduction of fieldwork. Centre of Development Research (ZEF) is one of the leading institutions in Europe that conducts ethical assessments on projects to assure that all potential ethical issues are well pinpointed and covered by the researchers before they enter the field. The procedure has helped me to foreseen and be alert with different sensitive situations and potential dilemmas that I could encounter in real settings. Different topics about safety, cultural sensitivity, confidentiality, consents, and positionality were covered. I was even tested with different scenarios of daily interactions where the ethical concerns lay in between and can be easily violated. These ethical clearances have prepared me for the best in order to start my fieldwork.

However, as a reality in the qualitative research was far more complex, I encountered ethical dilemmas in the field on a daily basis which was understood as the second dimension – the "ethics in practice" (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). In these daily encounters, there are four aspects that a qualitative researcher should pay close attention including voluntary participation, informed consent, no harm to participants, and anonymity and confidentiality (De Vaus, 2001).

Voluntary participation and informed consent were highly respected principles for me in conducting the research. All informants participated in the research in their own will. They had the rights to withdraw out of the research at any moment. All informants were always clearly informed and asked for their consent. By informed consent, I do not only mean reading or signing consent forms but more towards the fact that I openly discussed and answered all concerns raised

by my informants prior to interviewing. I understand that being clear and honest is at the heart of an interpersonal process to build up trust between the researcher and participants. Prospective participants should be informed thoroughly about the research project and made free to decide whether or not, and to what extent, she/he wants to participate (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). Before participating in any research activities, I explained clearly the research objectives, the duration of the procedure, the selected methods, as well as reassured that their identities will not be disclosed in any circumstance without their consent.

However, I encountered several sensitive moments during the research process in terms of positioning myself at different research stages. I conducted covert observations in the getting-in stage of phase 1 to grasp the first view on the studied sited. I participated in different tours as a normal tourist. Although most of the time, I would frankly introduce myself as a researcher who wanted to learn about heritage values, there were some certain moments, I could not, especially when I was taking the community-based tours. At the beginning, because I was holding certain presumptions and expectations as a researcher, I have confronted difficulties to refrain from the eagerness to ask for questions. Other moments along the tours, I sometimes witnessed the manipulations of tour guides to the tourists. Tour guides are those who have information that puzzles tourists. Whereas tourists thrive to enjoy the genuine local specialties but they hardly have any details on what, where and how; tour guides, on the contrary, have the key but act rationally for his own interests, thus often introduce places that are not authentic but personally beneficial for them. I was actually almost involved in a debate with a tour guide when he proposed some places for tourists that I knew their services were not adequate. However, being aware of the pitfall when using covert observation, I managed to limit myself with no interference or interventions in the interactions of the events.

Secondly, coming to phase 2, I spent a great amount of time staying and working intensively with the local people. Since I was working for Hue College of Economics, I initially addressed myself as a teacher who was conducting research on World heritage sites. However, not everyone in the community understood properly my position, this is explained in the way they called me during my fieldwork, sometimes as "teacher" and the other as "young lady". Sometimes, although being fully introduced and explained, my interviewees mistakenly presumed that I was a staff of an NGOs, which is the common case that they have been experiencing in the areas. Thus, they expected that they would be paid with money upon interviewing like other NGOs' officers often do. In other cases, my informants assumed that I was a tour agent who was looking for possibilities to set up activities for tourists. These identities ironically was often the advantage that vaguely implants expectations for local people so that they tended to open up and give more details. However, I had always tried my best to clarify my study objectives and myself several times during the discussion in this case. Fortunately, the intensive working time enhanced my

interactions with local people, I then could be portrayed properly among local people and created a good rapport with them.

Avoiding harm to the participants in qualitative research is utmost the basic principles. However, harm is a vigorously questionable concept for researchers. Harm consists of many aspects ranging from physical to emotional, from short to long term (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). Israel and Hay (2006) give several difficult situations that researchers might have to deal with in day-to-day research work where the moral anchor is drifting and vaguely defined for proper ethical conduct. I placed myself in such dilemmas when conducting the focus group discussion with the Nguyen Dynasty descendants. Before being designated as a cultural World Heritage site, the Nguyen Dynasty heritage is a controversial property that had been mistreated for a long period of time. The members of the Nguyen royal family hence went through discriminations under the effects of political changes in the country. During our discussion, previous experiences and memories were brought back. Especially, when the group went into details on how they conserve the royal traditions and workshopping rituals before and after the designations, different sensitive issues were mentioned. The participants were sometimes overwhelmed with emotions. As a result, I personally had to question the boundary of the research and constantly reflected on the way I should handle the collected information. I got extremely precautious on the emotional harm that might be overshadowed during the process of the research.

As a consequence, the process of conducting the research is aligned with the process of analyzing the costs and benefits. What might be remarkably beneficial for the credibility and quality of the research at the moment, can be of a great cost for the informants in the coming future. Therefore, the principles of anonymity and confidentiality are at the front to be prioritized under all circumstances. During several interviews, informants at some moments asked me to turn off my recorder or stop noting down. From those moments, they told me their own story with the heritagization into depth. However, as heritage is made relevant and significant in all aspects of lives, putting in the setting of Vietnam – a highly controlled country, these pieces of information become extremely politically sensitive. Although these kinds of data can be of great value in validating the research arguments, principles of anonymity and confidentiality have to come before any intention of using the information.

3.7. Challenges and lessons learned from the field research

Conducting empirical research in the field is similar to going through a rollercoaster ride. There are moments of great joy and excitement working with people on the field, while other times the process is slowed down with challenges, obstacles, and pressures. I did two empirical cases in the Central region of Vietnam where I have spent most of my growing up, living and working. In this regard, It is considered more as a coming-back home than an outsider's intrusion. Regardless of

the fact that I speak the local language, understand the local cultures and working in a familiar environment, the research still encountered several unexpected challenges.

"Oh! Just another researcher"

I first came back to started off with the getting in process in Hue city – my hometown. I assumed that I know the town as I know myself and that this would provide me with opportunities and supports. Nevertheless, most of the time I received skeptical attitudes from the local people when I approached them because I am a local. Apparently, my assumption as strength has turned into my challenge in the field. I was often asked whether I am a journalist or a kind of authority investigator. I realised that foreign researchers are normally more welcome when entering the field because the local people portrait them as an outsider whose work will be at somewhere outside of their lives and thus will not have any impacts in the future. Meanwhile, local people often concern the local looking person who wanders around their neighborhood and asks questions about their experiences and perceptions.

When I repeatedly confirmed that I am a researcher whose objective was just to "learn"[6] more about heritage sites, they replied to me "oh, just another researcher". There are obviously multitudinous precedent research, studies, and projects that have been conducted in both of the cases in different fields. Local people have sometimes participated or being put under studies with hopes and expectations. However, little or no positive results and impacts have been actually applied in the field afterward, thus it leads to indifferent attitudes of the local people towards researchers in general. There are even cases that the local people had bad experiences from participating in research. It is extremely important for me to address the research objective and its expected results. I only expressed my appreciation, gave the promise that I can keep and refused to provide any false hope for the people during the fieldwork. This relates to the second challenge that usually occurred.

Token or bribery

On my personal observation, people always expect benefits for the time and effort that they put into any kind of activity. These benefits can be in the monetary forms, or as a gift, or sometimes opportunities for positive changes in the future. Recently, local people are normally paid with a certain amount of money when they participate in projects or research. As the levels of the informants in the governmental structures increase, the amount of money should be equivalent understood as an unwritten law. The issue can get to the extreme cases of bribery. This issue has been encountered and described by my ZEF senior – Tran Tu Van Anh – who did her research on civil society actions against water pollution in Vietnam 2017. There is a folklore saying in our

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[6] I used the word "học hỏi", sometimes "tìm hiểu", which often refers to a strongly humble statement of objective. It means that the person wants to obtain information from someone who is respectfully knowledgeable and experienced, just for the sake of knowledge and not for any other interests.

culture that states: "the money being put in the front is the smart one" (Đồng tiền đi trước là đồng tiên khôn). This implies that money is the foremost important element that could smooth the process of achieving one's targets. Since there are increasing international and national projects that have been carried out in the area, local people have learned that they can get money by providing information. Throughout the field research, I avoided providing my informant with money. Instead, I prepared small gift packages as a gesture of thanks, the packages contained bags of Haribo candies – a specialty of Bonn, small seasoning bags or coffee (average value ranges around 5 euros). In case when interviews were conducted in local coffee shops, I would pay for the drinks and snacks. At the early stages, several informants expressed disappointments and lost their willingness to participate in interviews when I presented them with a symbolic package rather than money. In the later stages, the situation changed greatly since I succeed in gaining trust and building up a good rapport with the communities. They often greeted me as "Ms. Teacher" when they met me going around the neighborhood. Some of them also introduced me to the next potential informants. I have learned that although money can buy you a quick ticket to enter the studied sites, trust and good rapport with the local community are more important to provide you with high-quality sources of information.

"First relations, second money"

It is challenging for the researcher to approach the governmental officers for interview purposes in the case of Vietnam. Especially if the person is holding a high position in the political structures, it can be impossible even to have your chance to meet them. I received many rejections when trying to get some interviews with the Management Board in Hue. I spent more than two months coming to the Hue Monument Conservation Centre; however, the information I could obtain was still vigorously limited. I managed to get a signature from the Director that allowed me to ask for information related to my studied topic. Nevertheless, the signature did not promise me any further access. I was pointed from department to department with minimal participation. After two months, what I had in my field diaries and data were three statistic numbers, some observations from the library of the centre, and a lot of frustrations. Therefore, I had to adjust my approach.

In Vietnam, we have another saying that "First relations, second money" (Nhất quan hệ, nhì tiền tệ) which means that in order to get permissions and acceptance to any organisation or structure, the most important resource is a wide and deep connection, money comes later. Even when you have sufficient money, but you do not have such networks, you are likely to get rejected. Thanks to the references from several professors of Hue University, especially from the faculty of Hospitality and Tourism, I re-entered the field and was able to conduct my interviews with different governmental officers at different levels. They have received me with openness. Since I

was introduced through renowned professors, the level of trust was adequate for me to explore the topics into depth. This also released me from the ethical dilemma of bribery for information.

Utilising my previous networks was also applied to obtain interviews in a wide range of cases during my fieldwork. Most importantly is the "strength of weak ties" that has made my research possible (Granovetter, 1983). Weak ties are your acquaintances with whom you develop a tenuous relationship. Nonetheless, these weak ties might bring you to the most crucial information or new connections in your interested field. Just as psychologist   confirms early in 1929 in his famous theory of "six degrees of separation" that we are just six connections, or even fewer, away from each other, I have received generous support from my acquaintances who have helped me to connect with many important informants during my research. It surprised me on the fact that how small the world could be and how well connected we are. It is also a kind reminder for me to always treat people with honesty and goodwill because you might meet them and require their help one day. Thanks to them, I could obtain so much valuable information from different perspectives. They offered their most enormous help even in the politically sensitive moments, and even when all I could repay are my gratitude and a promise of quality research.

As I have mentioned earlier, doing research is just like going on a rollercoaster ride. There are tremendous challenges and pressures, but there are also opportunities and joys. Above are several challenges that I encountered during my field research in Vietnam. The principle that helped me to overcome those challenges is always to put the people first, turn ethical concerns to ethical conduct. In order to do that, the researcher should be self-reflected, sensitive, and extremely precautious on the impacts that she/he might create. Doing research is not only an opportunity for me to develop my arguments or dissertation but more for me to develop myself.

CHAPTER 4. WORLD HERITAGE AGENDAS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM

4.1. Introduction

So far, the research has been putting immense efforts to argue that World Heritage is selectively made serving different political interests. In order to understand the process of heritage-making, it must be read it within the filters of specific contexts of the society where it is implemented (Breidenbach and Nyíri, 2007). Therefore, before trying to understand how World Heritage is made in Vietnam, one needs to acknowledge the key political, social, cultural and economic features of the country. Most importantly, Vietnam is a socialist country that is strongly and centrally governed under the leadership of the Communist Party. Meanwhile, heritage is generally supposed to convey the beliefs of the politically powerful. It is thus crucial to first understand how the nature of the communist ideology combined with the settings interact with the currencies of heritage – the past, modernity, and development (Lask and Herold, 2004; Long, 2012).

The chapter hence aims to elucidate the panorama picture of World Heritage agendas in the specific contextual settings of Vietnam. It opens by quickly reviewing the evolution of the World Heritage programme globally over the last five decades. Based on this introduction, the next three sections will go specifically into the case of Vietnam. Section 4.2 sets out to review the relationship between the Vietnamese State party and UNESCO. This paves the way to understand Vietnam as a transforming socialist country who hurries to get connected with the global in which World Heritage designations are the bridges. Later on, the section opens the discussion of World Heritage in the national narratives dominated by the centralised government. It reveals the functions attached to World Heritage in the contemporary settings of the country. Section 4.3 continues the contextual descriptions with the management structures and the roles played by the dominant actors. From these facts, section 4.4 looks into the positioning of the local community within the World Heritage programme as perceived by the governing structure and policies. These are the foundations that explicitly explain the research rationale and interests in the following empirical sections.

4.2. World Heritage: A half-century evolution

The WH Convention has enjoyed almost five decades of great popularity in international politics and scholarship. It is not difficult to find intensive discussions and reviews on issues related to the Convention. Hence, this study does not aim to add more sand to the sea but it would rather try to look at the chronological evolvement of WH Convention so to understand the development of World Heritage concept and the expansion of the networks of actors which will eventually elucidate the dynamics of the World Heritage agenda. According to von Dorste, the Founding

Director of the World Heritage Centre, the course of WH Convention implementation and popularisation can be divided into 4 phases as illustrated below:

Figure 4-1. Four phases of World Heritage implementation

1975	1991	1999	2005 now
1975 – Convention came into force	Dominance of Europeans sites	**1999** - Develop and promote Action Plan	**2003** – Merge the two sets of inscription criteria
1977 – Adopt Operational guidelines	**1992** – Adopt the concept of cultural landscape	**2000**- establish PACT – encourage the professionalization of experts	**2004** – Decide to limit the number of nominations per year
1979 – Adopt the delisting procedure	**1994** – Adopt the Global Strategy	**2002** – Announce the 4Cs strategies	**2007** – Include the fifth C – Community – in the strategies
1980 – Reduce the scope of cultural criteria	**1994** – Modify the cultural criteria	**2003** – Introduce the concept of Intangible heritage	**2012** – Engage World Heritage with Sustainable development
		End of period – the 4Cs strategies was failing	**2015** – Adopt the safeguarding of Documentary Heritage

(Source: Adopted from Bandarin, 2007; and Albert and Ringbeck, 2015, UNESCO, 2018)

The history of the convention dated back to the year 1945 when belligerent countries did not hesitate to destroy tangible cultural properties as a political move to suppress the contestants' identities and power (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015). It explains for the establishment of the UN and UNESCO both in 1945 as a commitment to safeguarding these assets. Soon after the establishment, the first successful international cooperation was launch in 1959 in a mission to save the Nubian monuments of Egypt nurturing the idea of a World heritage trust which proposed during the White House Conference in the US, at the same time the term "World Heritage" was coined (Bandarin, 2007). As a logical and inevitable consequence, in 1972, the General Conference of UNESCO, developed from the World heritage trust, adopted The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (aka. The World Heritage Convention) that aimed to stimulate the international and collective protection of heritage with 'outstanding universal value' (Meskell et al., 2015).

In 1975, the Convention, ratified by 20 countries, came to force marking its first phase of evolving. The first phase was characterised by the first effort to establish a standardised procedure of inscriptions and the modalities of implementation for UNESCO and the state members. In 1977, the "Operational guidelines for implementation of the World Heritage Convention" were officially

published. Up to date, it had been revised several times to update new concepts, knowledge and experiences. The Guidelines contain a series of instructions as well as the mandatory criteria for inscriptions so that the signatory nations can implement the convention properly (UNESCO, 1972). All activities under the Convention were administrated by the World Heritage Centre and its Advisory Bodies including International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). However, the State Parties were the powerful decision makers, especially those currently have representation on the World Heritage Committee. The Committee made up of twenty-one States Parties, elected at the biannual General Assembly, that serve a four-year term (Leask and Fyall, 2006). The Committee decides the inscriptions of sites, the distributions of funds, and other general policy; nevertheless, they relied all of their decisions on the expert services of the Advisory Bodies (Meskell, 2015).

The second phase was signified by the introduction of Global Strategy, which widened the scope of WH Convention and opened the corridor for a wider range of actors' participation. By the end of the first phase, the World Heritage list bears a great imbalance where European properties showed a strong dominance. This trend was explained by the Eurocentric characteristic of the WH Convention per se which strictly perceived heritage as "freezing", tangible objects, being more favourable to most of the European sites and overlooking other non-Western sites in the world. Therefore, in order to balance geographic cover the designated List, the WH Convention had to expand its scope and recognised the human expression embedded in Heritage designations. The modification led to the publication of The Global Strategy in 1994 that manifested to prioritise the nominations of living heritage and everyday culture "in their broad anthropological context" (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015). In line with the Global Strategy, criteria for cultural heritage inscription were modified in which the concept of "cultural landscape" was introduced. This is considered to be the most significant reform which reflected the fact that UNESCO had accepted the dynamics of the relations between different people who lived the heritage and between people and the site itself. World Heritage properties were now not only the immoveable items that required strict protections, but they can be a site that is used and lived and evolved with people in their daily life. In other words, World Heritage sites from now on are not only for conservation but also for development.

In practice, at the end of this phase, this recognition resulted in the proliferation of inclusions from non-European state members (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015). WH Convention hence started to gain its popularity worldwide cast by the involvement of larger stakeholders (mostly transnational organisations, and developing national states). However, as the number of inscriptions from non-European states increases, so did new issues in World Heritage governance emerge. When the outstanding values are recognised worldwide, the degree of appreciation and must-visitness surged; World Heritage site exposed to tourism coming from all over the world.

By 1999 -2000, at the end of the second phase, World Heritage and its diverse actors experienced both positive and negative impacts of the Convention's success. World Heritage governance started to face challenges from the break-out of heritage tourism under the umbrella of development manifestation, especially in developing states. Therefore, the third phase was characterised by the UNESCO's effort to reverse the development (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015). At the end of 1999, an Action plan was adopted that aims "to proceed analysis of site on a regional, chronological, geographical and thematic basis"[7] that helps the Committee to evaluate sites and develop appropriate actions plans. The Action plan has called in the wider participation of experts in governing World Heritage globally. In the following years, UNESCO established the World Heritage Partnerships for Conservation Initiatives (PACT) network which was meant to broaden the circles to both experts and non-experts in World Heritage governance. The most significant contribution of this initiative is to engage the participation of private and national institutions and to promote the international inter-university networks (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015). In 2002, in the endless attempts to balance the World Heritage list, UNESCO established its four strategic goals (also known as the 4Cs) including Credibility – Conservation – Capacity building – Communication (Bandarin, 2007). The strategic 4Cs pays strong attention to calling for professional assistance to boost up governing capacities for state members, and on increasing public awareness and involvements to heritage management through different means of communications. This has put the first points on the global stretching of networks of actors through the application of ICTs to get involved in the World Heritage issues. Regardless of the above efforts, the end of the third phase was confronted with several failures of the 4Cs Strategy as the local population were still being excluded from the whole picture.

The fourth phase began around 2005 and is currently going on when World Heritage has become phenomenal globally. Up to date, the most significant measure of this phase is the addition of the fifth C into World Heritage Strategy, which denotes Community involvement in 2007. This decision aims to return the World Heritage conservation and development to its rightful place of local people. Along with the other four Cs, "Community Involvement" targets to minimize the current problems faced by UNESCO due to the differences in stakeholders' interests by synchronising the concurrent supports towards the developments of its communities. This is considered to be the key concept for the future of the WH Convention (Albert, 2013). The fifth "C" quickly grew out to be the focal working theme of UNESCO. In 2012, in the celebration of the 40th 40th anniversary of the WH Convention, the Committee decided to advocate more for the role of communities by choosing the theme of "World Heritage and Sustainable Development: the Role of Local Communities". This choice had reflected the emerging belief that a balanced relationship between local community involvement and socio-economic development is extremely vital for the

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[7] Statement on Action Plan at the 24th session of the World Heritage Committee in Australia from 27th November to 2nd December, 2000 (https://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/24COM)

protection and management of World Heritage properties all over the world. One of the most important released this year is the Kyoto Vision which promoted a people-centred approach in the work of World Heritage. This statement further emphasised that the relationship of people and heritage should be strengthened on the respect for cultural and biological diversity as a whole, that community is an integral component of the heritage. Only through this approach could we achieve sustainable development (Han, 2018; UNESCO, 2012). However, up to date, there have not been many substantial changes take place regardless of the mounting attentions to include communities in heritage management policies and studies. According to the Bernd von Droste, what has changed significantly in the fourth phase is the greater diversity of actors in WH Convention along with even more complex multiple discourses brought by them (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015).

After nearly 50 years, through different stages of evolvement and reform, the World Heritage concept has become more complicated and fluid than ever before. This conceptual fluidity legitimates the popularity of WH Convention that attracts concerns of numerous actors from governments, organisations to individuals. UNESCO claims that WH Convention has spread its impact to different corners of the world which inspires the involvement of different stakeholders across different levels (Meskell et al., 2015). Although a major part of the 50-year course witnessed the strong influence of the dominant global actors in shaping World Heritage, it was not to deny that recently the local has also gained a larger recognitions and generate greater impacts towards the global sphere. This fact asserts a new request for contemporary scholars to traverse and translate across multiple scales to grasp the full swath of political-economic effects of the World Heritage realm (ibid.).

4.3. World Heritage in Vietnam

4.3.1. Vietnam with UNESCO

UNESCO and its notion of heritage were formally considered as one of the Western ideas brought into Vietnam by the French colonial back in the 1940s-1950s. In 1951, because Vietnam was not recognised as a sovereign state in the global sphere, to join UNESCO, Emperor Bao Dai had asked for the representation of the French colonialism. After the Emperor resigned, the country entered a war-time division between the North and the South from 1954 to 1975. In this North-South division, membership in UNESCO was transferred to Diem's government who was known as a pro-Western. Under the Diem's regime, several cooperative activities between UNESCO and the South government had been carried out in Hue. Most noticeably was the reconstruction of 95 structures sponsored by the South government. However, in 1968 Tet Offensive, army troops loathed the whole city and levelled all Feudal constructions. In 1975, Saigon fell and lost the war to the Communist North. The country was reunited as one ruling by the Communist Party. The membership in UNESCO was de facto put in the hand of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam since

July 1976. Promptly in October the same year, the newly-established Socialist government sent their first representatives to participate in the meeting of the WH Committee in Nairobi, Kenya.

Since the early days, the Vietnamese Socialist Republic has acknowledged that UNESCO is an important international organisation that could contribute greatly to the national reconstruction and development. As a result, The UNESCO National Commission in Vietnam was established on 15th June 1977. Up to date, the relationship between Vietnam and UNESCO has been greatly strengthened and developed, which can be divided into four following major periods:

a) From 1976 to 1986: Establishment of relationship

Although Vietnam has participated as a member in UNESCO since 1951, the period of 1976-1986 was considered as the first period that Vietnam as a sovereign national state established its relationship with UNESCO. Vietnam in the post-war era was devastated. The situation was worsened by a series of factors including border conflicts with the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia and the Chinese, the effects of US trade embargo, and the failures of the national centralised planned economy (Ashwill and Thai, 2005). The relationship established with UNESCO had been a saviour source for the country in time of difficulties. Through the active participation with UNESCO, Vietnam gradually managed to gain international recognition and redefined the image of the country that was mostly at wars throughout its history.

At the end of the period, Vietnam was voted into the Finance and Administrative Commission of the UNESCO Executive Board (1978 – 1983). In 1982, the Vietnamese representative department was set up in UNESCO. The most important event in the period was the official visit of UNESCO General Director M'Bow to Vietnam in 1981. Many successive activities were initiated after the visitation that has changed the fate of World Heritage in Vietnam eternally up to the present day.

b) From 1986 to 2000: Cooperation and development

The second period began with the official ratification of Vietnam into the WH Convention in 1987. During this period, Vietnam was undergoing the most dramatic transformation in the history of the country. In December 1986, after years being pressed by hyperinflation, poverty, inefficient economy, the government introduced a new master programme called "Doi Moi" – which literally means to change to something new. In general, the key target of the programme is to transform the previous centralised command economy into a market economy under the socialist orientation (Ashwill and Thai, 2005; McCargo, 2004). The Reform policy has opened a new era for Vietnam, an era of international exchanges and economic growth. Hence, since the beginning of the 1990s, Vietnam thrived for international recognition, cooperation and investments.

More activities with UNESCO had been actively carried out. For example, the country joined in the "World decade for cultural development" initiated by UNESCO from 1988 to 1997. In 1993,

Vietnam got its first World Heritage designation in cultural categories. The following year, Halong Bay was nominated and enlisted as the second site. Furthermore, in 1999, Vietnam got two more sites enlisted into the list. Due to this progressive participation, Vietnam has been able to allure enormous international supports from UNESCO and other organisations. The Vietnamese government emphasised that the support and influences of UNESCO in terms of heritage conservation and development have induced positive awareness and changes towards the national cultural policy. It has also acted as a vital reference source which was later used by the Communist Congress in establishing the Decree on developing a progressive Vietnamese culture that imbued in national identity.

c) From 2001 to 2011: Enhancing the international integration

Coming to the new millennium, the government vigorously advocates for the total integration into the regional and global sphere. This reflects strongly in the policies concerned with World Heritage conservation and development. In 2003, Vietnam ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage 2003. Two years later, the country continued to support The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Between 2001 and 2005, the Vietnam State Party was voted into the UNESCO Executive Boards and held the vice-chairman position of the Board for the years 2001 and 2003.

Throughout this period, Vietnam has been extremely active in nominating national properties for the World Heritage list. Within ten years, the country has achieved an impressive number of successful inscriptions. In total, 24 properties are enlisting into the key World Heritage schemes of UNESCO. These inscriptions were not just impressive in terms of number but also extremely diverse in categories. In detail, these inscriptions consist of 4 natural and cultural sites (either newly inscribed or re-inscribed), eight intangible properties, four documentary, seven biosphere reserves, and one global geopark (See Annex). All of these have spoken for the tremendous attempts of the Vietnamese government in order to integrate into the global.

d) From 2011 to present: Expanding the country's integration in the international communities

Taking off from the successful establishment and cooperation in the previous periods, the Vietnamese government urges for further integration into the international communities. The country aims for a stronger voice and influences in the relationship with UNESCO. The country has participated in different positions such as a member of the World Heritage Committee 2013-2017, member of Executive Boards 2015-2019. New nominations continue to be enlisted, and many more are enlisted in the tentative list (See Annex 1). Nowadays, Vietnam has successfully promoted its image as culturally rich and naturally untouched destination majorly thanks to Wold Heritage designations. In 2016, the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam

announced that World Heritage sites had become the strategic tool for nation-building, defences, and development[8].

In general, World Heritage inscriptions have transformed the country in a great way. They are the bridge that enables Vietnam to enter the world with different image and position. They are the generative source of international financial and technological supports. They are a crucial resource for economic development from tourism and investment activities. However, simultaneously, other global flows and ideas, standards, influences were channelled through these inscriptions. These flows, in return, affect the national contexts greatly in all directions that challenge the politically powerful in several ways.

4.3.2. Cultural heritage and national narratives of unifying and identity

The post-war years for the newly reunited Vietnam as one sovereign state were extremely difficult. According to Goscha (2016), the road leading the total Vietnamese reunification and development was not a straight line but rather a tragic one. After over 113 years of constant conflicts and wars, myriad of contesting ideologies, identities as well as sovereignties had proliferated from North to South. Hence, after 1975, except for the peace announcement for both the North and the South, everything remained a battlefield for the Socialist Republic Government (Goscha, 2016). Nationally, Vietnamese people were regionally and ideologically fragmented. The economy was impoverished due to the wars as well as the centralised policies. Internationally, Vietnam was isolated since the Socialist bloc collapsed in Europe, worsen by the trading embargo established by America. Civil and border conflicts went on for years after the reunion (Goscha, 2016; Hayton, 2010; McCargo, 2004). In the search for a way out, heritage turned out to be one of the strategic tools. This section will focus on how cultural heritage has been leveraged in different phases of national unification, national-building and development in Vietnam. It will scrutinise the process that utilised cultural heritage in three different phases of country building and developing. Firstly, it shows how cultural heritage in the post-war era was used to blur away the previous history of feudalism and colonialism in Vietnam. Secondly, cultural heritage manifested for a common identity of what is so-called – The Viet – during the time of unifying and building the country from the ashes. Finally, when the country headed into development era, cultural heritage has helped to reinforce the new socialist identity and cultural uniqueness against the force of globalisation.

Culture has always been an endless contested ground between the communist, the non-communist nationalists, and the colonialists in the modern history of Vietnam. Since the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) took over the control after 1975, cultural heritage has been

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[8] It is stated in the Government Portal of The Socialist Republic of Vietnam at http://www.chinhphu.vn/portal/page/portal/chinhphu/NuocCHXHCNVietNam/ChiTietVeToChucQuocTe?diplomacyOrgId=126, accessed on 13th April, 2019.

actively used to overcome the contestations. It is the attempt to find authentic traditions which seem to be untainted by colonialism and to claim those as a source of national pride (Ninh, 2002). This was the period when the Vietnamese national state ratified WH Convention and actively established the relationship with UNESCO. In 1993, after receiving great support from this organisation, Vietnam got the first cultural World Heritage listing for the Complex of Monuments in Hue. It needs to quickly remind that Hue was the capital of the Nguyen Feudal Dynasty who shook hands with French colonialism. It embraced the symbols of feudal systems with the colonialist influence – both are the opposite components of the current government. Hue was also known as the strategic city at the time of the North-South division. Therefore, the designation of the Hue Complex of Monuments into the prestige list was assessed to symbolise the unification of the country (Akagawa, 2014). The presentation in the cultural heritage of Hue was made to by-pass the feudal and colonial rulers in the past, and then directed towards the "ingenuity, craftsmanship, and hard labour of Vietnamese workers" (Hitchcock et al., 2009; Keenan, 1998, p. 54). These are the key characteristics captured by the socialist government in order to construct the Viet national identity in the following period after the country unification.

In 1998, based on the experiences participating in UNESCO programme "World Decade of cultural development" (1988-1997), the central committee of the VCP decreed their first resolution on cultural aspects, called the National Resolution No.5 on "building and developing Vietnamese culture in the modern time". The resolution confirmed the importance of culture in the process of safeguarding, unifying and building the country. Above all, the resolution emphasised the notion of "The Viet" which represents all people who are living in the territory of Vietnam regardless of their background or culture. Vietnam is a multi-ethnic country with 54 different ethnicities, among those, the Kinh account for more than 86% population who are economically and politically dominant. Historically, the 54 ethnicities have always involved in a series of civil conflicts and territorial struggles. However, at the time of unification, the Viet is a convenient concept that has blurred them all. The Viet represents for a homogenised value system of all Vietnamese people. The creation of "The Viet", of which cultural heritage is a medium, is highlighted in the National Constitution as the strength for the Vietnamese as an integrity nation to do the impossible. It is the patriotism strength that fought the giant enemies, the strength of communities' bonding that helped each other in critical circumstances, and the strength of hard work and creativity that built up the country. On the one hand, the Viet which was coined as a version of homogenised national identity has united the previous contestations in the national histories, ideologies, and identities so that the idea of nationalism would be reinforced widely without inducing into any challenges (Templer, 1999). On the other hand, with this unification, the state could justify their unified administration of cultural development and issued a ban on any other reactionary and depraved ideologies and culture. Logan comments that "Vietnam severely limits civil and political rights in

order to maintain the one-party rule that is seen as essential to hold the country together and to prosper" (Logan, 2010, p. 193).

Since the beginning of the new Millennium, Vietnam economy has been rising as a new Asian Tiger, however under the glinting surface lay the gaps between different ethnic groups, poverty, disappointments and contestations (Hayton, 2010). Noticeably, between 2001 and 2005, violent clashes had boiled down to resource competition between hill-tribes in the Central Highlands and the Kinh (Logan, 2010). To adapt to the emerging reality, cultural heritage has been navigated towards the narrative of "Diversity in Unity" which implies a more balance attentions to develop the lives of other ethnic minorities throughout Vietnam. By 2001, when the Vietnamese State Party has got three enlisting in the cultural World Heritage, the first national law on cultural heritage was established. Once again, the role of cultural heritage in the national safeguarding, national building and national development processes was reiterated. However, different from the previous period, the diversity of its multi-ethnic culture has now been increasingly advocated. The law manifested that the Vietnamese culture is the constitution of 54 different culture and traditions of 54 ethnicities. Each culture carries different unique value, however, in total, they compensate and harmonise with each other to enrich the national identity and culture, thus furthermore reinforces the "great unity" (đại đoàn kết). With a unique "soft power", the value of heritage culture has diversified the national identity, connected ethnic groups, and reinforced nationalism (Ho, 2018). The term "54 brothers of ethnicities" (54 dân tộc anh em) is widely used in order to frame for this "Diversity in Unity" narrative. "54 brother ethnicities" was the term coined from Vietnamese folktales "Lac Long Quan and Au Co" that explains the origin of all groups of ethnicities[9]. The story implies that although groups of ethnicities in Vietnam are diverse in terms of culture, they all share the same origin. In practice, the central government also paid more attention to policies that increasingly recognised the culture of ethnic minorities. In 2005, space of Gong culture in Tay Nguyen became a World Heritage, proclaimed as "the Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible heritage of humanity". The Gong Space plays a crucial role in the traditional and spiritual life of more than 20 minority groups in 4 highland provinces of Vietnam including Dak Lak, Kontum, Lam Dong and Gia Lai (Logan, 2010).

By the end of the 2000s, Vietnamese culture not only contributes to the national "great unity", but also claims its part in the universal human civilisation. The adjusted cultural heritage law in 2009 defines Vietnamese culture as an integral part of the global culture. In this period, the direction for cultural development was brought forth to back up for international integration. The 2009 law confirms that the principles of cultural development in Vietnam are to integrate with the

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[9] Lac Long Quan and Au Co were two holy gods. Lac Long Quan was the son of the sea, and Au Co was the daughter of the mountain. On the very beginning days, they came to the land of Vietnam. They got married and gave birth to a hundreds children. Fifty of them followed Lac Long Quan to the coast, the other fifty followed Au Co to the mountain. And since that moment, they started to build of Vietnam until today.

international while maintain the national identity. Hence, cultural heritage continues to be the bridge that enhances the international integration policy of Vietnam. From 2009 up to date, Vietnamese World heritage designations have boomed. The World Heritage programme gains the central stage in socio-economic development plans of the country. In a newspaper interview in 2007, Vietnam's Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Van Tho, provided five reasons for embracing the World Heritage program as follow: 1) is aligned with government policy, especially in building an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity; 2) it promoted a new image of Vietnam as well as our pride to the world; 3) It offered the opportunities for foreign investment, especially in tourism; 4) It was the prerequisite to developing human resources; 5) It acted as a branding tool for our history and rich nature and culture (Logan, 2012).

Since international integration has been magnified, around the 2010s, Vietnam started to face other emerging challenges which mostly triggered by the impacts of globalisation. As Hayton observes, international integration has brought in enormous benefits for the socialist economy; however, it also caused the declining effectiveness of socialist ideology amongst Vietnamese people (Hayton, 2010). The VCP has prompted to look for new ways that could effectively reinforce the national identity so that the people's behaviours could be governed in the era of globalisation. The VCP conducted new propaganda of "integrating but not dissolving" ("Hòa nhập mà không hòa tan") where the intangible aspects of culture are being focused more than ever. Intangible cultural heritage holds the mission to reinforce the identity of the new socialist Vietnamese. The new socialist identity embraces the "The Viet" in time of globalisation. It represents a typical Vietnamese who are civilised and modern, as well as imbued with the country culture and traditions (Nguyen, 2013). To support this identity manufacture, old rituals, traditions, beliefs, and ideas which might be previously captured as backwards, taboos or superstitions have now been revitalised, reinterpreted, re-produce in order to protect the national identity against the forces of globalisation (Akagawa, 2014; Hayton, 2010). After 30 years of cultural development, the government recently confirms that the essence of Vietnamese identity has been well reserved, simultaneously also developed accordingly with the international standards (Ho, 2018). Akagawa (2014) comments that the VCP always has a pragmatic approach to cultural heritage in which they are well prepared to change or adjust their interpretations of ideologies and related cultural policies in accordance to different emergent realities. The essential way to ensure the ruling position of the communist party is covering the gaps induced ideological contradictions (Akagawa, 2014). In this way, cultural heritage is assessed to fulfil its ideological function in the case of Vietnam vigorously.

4.3.3. Natural or constructed – natural World Heritage in the national narrative

The preceding section has depicted the evolution of cultural World Heritage in the narratives of the country over the different phases. This section will focus on the construction of World

Heritage in the natural category. In Vietnam, the process of natural heritage construction mainly reflected in the transformation of two key perceptions. The first concerns the beliefs in the relationship between humans and nature, and the second relates to the national narrative of "forests are golds, oceans are silver", which have morphed over time to justify the control over natural resources of the VCP.

Vietnam has always been described as a natural wonder which is favoured with the breath-taking landscape, a wide range of biodiversity, and rich natural resources. The country is officially introduced to be bestowed with: Three mountains, four seas, the best for the land, with mighty mountains and forests, immense plains and Eastern Sea with four waving seasons. Traditionally, Vietnamese people held a strong mythical belief in the organic relationship between nature and humans (Cuc, 1999). Nature is personified and respected as the Mother-nature. It is perceived in two halves – physical and spiritual ones. The physical such as land, trees, and rivers are those providing the resources that humans rely on, while the spiritual is the invisible forces that govern all human activities (trời cho, trời ban). The belief is strongly reflected in traditional legend, folklore, worshipping rituals, and local ceremonies (Cuc, 1999; Pham and Rambo, 2003).

However, under the influences during the Western colonialism and later on the Marxist-Leninist ideology, nature was prevailingly perceived as resources to be exploited for the services of people's lives (Cuc, 1999; Hayton, 2010). The philosophy of "Man conquers Nature" were increasingly deployed during the period between the 1940s and 1980s by the socialist government in order to overcome the great famine and malnourishment after 1945 and national poverty in the post-war era (Hayton, 2010; McElwee, 2016a). In the relationship with nature, the Viet in this period was narrated as those who had withstood throughout natural disasters and could turn "rocky land into rice" (sỏi đá cũng thành cơm) with their hard work and creativity. In order to unify the country and establish socialism in the country, policies towards environment and natural resources management before the 1990s were highly state-led. Priorities were not on ecology or environment protection per se, but natural resources played as the instrument of state formation, national mobilisation and control of labour, and development (Lentz, 2011). During the post-war era, the famous statement of Ho Chi Minh – the father of the country – "Forests are gold, oceans are silver" was taken up as propaganda of natural richness and diversity. This unique asset of nature was considered as the leading resource to be exploited for development. The socialist government strived to nationalise natural resources in an attempt to justify the national mission of re-building and development (Bayrak, 2019). For that reason, ecology was generally sacrificed for the economic benefits of industrial socialism during this period. As a result, by the end of the 1980s, the natural resources especially forest were tremendously destroyed, environment degraded, and social struggles and protestations due to natural crises broke out (McElwee, 2016a).

By the end of the twentieth century, attitude towards environmental and natural resources management of the country changed one more time, shifting toward the "green" narratives. "Forests are gold; oceans are silvers" statement was now reinterpreted as precious resources to protect. "Protecting the environment" was set as a target in the national socio-economic development plan for the first time in the 7th National Congress of the Communist Party in 1991. This direction was kept in the next ten year Social-Economic Development Strategy (2001 – 2010). Most importantly, the plan states directly towards: "promptly develop the economic, effectively and sustainably, economic growth has to be combined with social equality and protecting the environment". This is the first time the 3 aspects of development were officially recognised among communist officials. It is also the ideological foundation for the government to establish the Vietnamese Agenda 21 under Prime Minister Decision 153/2004/QĐ-TTg in 2004 which concerned the "strategic direction for sustainable development in Vietnam". In 2001, the 11th National Congress of the Communist Part manifested that Vietnam has officially changed its strategy from "fast economic growth" to "sustainable development". Different policies and activities have been boosted as an attempt that can simultaneously balance the protection and development of natural resources in Vietnam, centralise the protection authorities into the hand of the state, and attract more international financial supports. Protected areas establishment and afforestation hence received high attention (McElwee, 2004; Sikor and To, 2011; To, 2009). From 1998 to 2010, national project No.661/QĐ-TT of "5 Million Hectare Reforestation" was promoted which is reported to be 93,5% successful (McElwee, 2016a). Second natural World Heritage sites in Vietnam was officially enlisted in 2003. And by 2013, the country had established one global geopark, eight Biosphere Reserves, two Natural UNESCO World Heritage Sites (Ha Long Bay and Phong Nha- Ke Bang National Park), five Ramsar sites, and other four ASEAN Heritage Sites (MONRE, 2014; VCP, 2015).

However, regardless of the official claimed success, the increasing areas of protected areas and enhancing environmental rules have generated rampant friction and conflicts with the communities (To and Dressler, 2019). Under the effects of protected areas regulations, access and livelihoods activities of local communities in these areas were mostly prohibited. In the case of special-use forests such as Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park, traditional livelihoods including timber, hunting and trapping, collecting were illegalised. Other groups were displaced according to the resettlement policy in the case of Ha Long Bay. Generally, local people were being withdrawn from all opportunities to participating in the process of natural resource conservation and management (Larsen, 2008; McElwee, 2016a). Natural conservation in Vietnam has come at a high cost of local communities, which induces more problematic environmental, social, economic and political consequences (McElwee, 2009, 2016a).

Towards the 2010s, the government increasingly recognizes the role of communities in different conversation and development programmes. The Ministry of Natural resources and Environment

directed that a community – based approach is highly relevant and efficient to promote sustainable uses of natural resources, programmes and projects (MONRE, 2014). Within this direction, especially after the UNESCO year of sustainable development in 2012, World Heritage schemes in Vietnam have advocated to engage more and more with the local community and all aspects of their lives. Increasing corpus of projects dealing with heritage in Vietnam have thrived to response to different environmental and developmental by addressing a closer collaborative partnership with the local people. Since 2010, in different protected areas such as Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park, a number of international NGOs and donor have worked with national agencies to trial the model of payments for environmental services (PES). PES is a "market-based" mechanism that provide incentives for the local communities to protect forest. PES has now been applied nation-wide and claimed by the government as a great success, reflecting the transnational character of such sustainable development schemes (To and Dressler, 2019).

Simultaneously, the increasing integration with the global trend of World Heritage also shifted the attention from the material to intangible cultural aspects of designated properties. These intangible elements extracted from the interactions between the local people with nature across a long period of history are believed to ensure the equilibrium of the ecology (Galla, 2002). Local community who were previously framed as one of the threats to the integrity of nature become one of the key stakeholders to protect and develop heritage sites sustainably. As this way of thinking gets popularised in World Heritage discourses, the traditional belief of the Viet on "nature and human" turned out to be suitable and effective for the management and development of World Heritage in the current settings. The organic and intertwined relationship between Mother Nature is now conveyed to back up the government policies of heritage conservation as well as of heritage valorisation (Larsen, 2008; Larsen and Nguyen, 2012).

One way to recognise the inextricable link between people and their environment at designated sites is the establishment of the Ecomuseum model in Ha Long Bay case. Ha Long Ecomuseum was designated in 2006 by the government, knowing as the first ecomuseum in the world that was listed legally as a national museum. The concept of ecomuseum perceives human activities as one of the fundamental components of the total environmental resources. Therefore, social elements of local communities including practices, traditions, history, and culture which have been carried at the designated sites from the past to the present are as much as an integral part of the heritage. These activities of human are constantly interacting with other natural elements such as trees, caves, plants, and natural inhabitants (Galla, 2006, 2002). The ecomuseum projects in natural World Heritage sites are believed to ensure a sustainable development that takes into account tangible and intangible aspects of the heritage (Partal, 2014). In the report of Agenda 21 for culture on "Culture, local governments and Millennium Development Goals (2009)", Professor Galla affirms that: "The most important intervention made by the local community stakeholder groups is the reclamation of the control of their cultural values through the Ha Long Ecomuseum

project which brings people and their heritage together. While the external heritage model brings in a dichotomy between the natural and cultural, validating the natural for the recognition of World Heritage values, the local self-empowerment process through the Ecomuseum has been able to mainstream a local holistic approach to the total environment, challenging the imposition of an externality on local values" (cited in Partal, 2014, p.3). Recently, the National Department of Cultural Heritage has identified community-grounded museology as a vital approach to alleviate poverty and improve local community lives through the promotion of the protection of cultural diversity and intangible heritage.

Another way that has integrated intangible cultural elements into the World heritage schemes is to revitalise traditional rituals and ceremonies. Ironically, such rituals, for example the Rain worshipping, the sea and fishing ceremonies, and the Heaven sacrifice, were once considered to be superstitious or backward neglected or negatively framed. Nowadays, they are promoted and organised by the governmental officials and the local communities. More saliently is the commodification of cultural and local elements of communities in heritage activities. Since 2010, there is a break-out of community-based tours in which legends, myths, folklore stories and songs on the history of the nature and the Viet people are visualised and enacted into different forms of performances and products. All thrive for a story-telling that makes the place universally unique.

In general, the "natural heritage" concept is consistent with the current global concern of "save the planet". Notwithstanding the intrinsic importance of nature, the section narrates the way natural World Heritage has been transformed through the national narratives of nature management in Vietnam. Furthermore, it elucidates that the transformation is about managing people as much as reinforcing the control over natural resources of the VCP. Hence, from the contextualisation of World heritage in Vietnam, I advocate the argument stated by Parnwell that natural World Heritage is also a cultural construct (Sundin, 2005) and a discursive creation (Lowenthal, 2005). Following such arguments, the question on for whom and on whose purposes that natural heritage has been made significantly important. In this process, how has the balance of preservation and development been manifested? And where do the local people fit in between these manifestations? All of the questions will be analysed further from the specific case of Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park in chapter 6.

4.3.4. World Heritage in the Vietnamese contemporary society

A wide chronological review has elaborated on the positioning of World Heritage fitting into different contexts during the historical transformations of Vietnam. The leading party has deliberately utilized the crucial ideological function of heritage to navigate the people over the courses. This section will reverse the angle which zooms out from the point of the World Heritage site to understand their contributions to society. This will anchor World Heritage at the

contemporary era to eventually explain the economic function of heritage as the basis for development.

Vietnam is a developing country locating in the Southeast Asian region. Thanks to the geographic typology and the eventful history interacting with Indochinese peninsula countries over 4000 years, Vietnam possesses rich natural and cultural heritage values. Nationally, Vietnam has recognized more than 2500 historical properties, some of which are assessed to contain significant international importance (Duong, 2016). After the official ratification of the WH Convention in 1987, Vietnam has been an extremely active member in nominating properties into the World Heritage lists. Up to date, Vietnam has successfully obtained among the State Parties in the UNESCO with 35 enlisting in all schemes of UNESCO, of which 24 were designated into World Heritage agendas (UNESCO in Vietnam, 2017). The success is considered to not only well locate Vietnam into the global heritage map, but also effectively promote for a beautiful, authentic and untouched Vietnam to the international communities (Hayton, 2010; Hitchcock et al., 2010).

Suffice to stress that like most other developing countries, World Heritage description in Vietnam is usually nested in the economic benefits generating from the potential rise of heritage tourism (Hitchcock et al., 2010). Apparently, Suntikul, Butler, and Airey (2010) assess that Vietnam inherits a unique mixture of different types of heritage that can attract different groups of tourists. These include natural sites of breath-taking karst systems of mountains and caves, or cultural sites of traditional Sino-Vietnamese culture, the relics of French colonialism, or the attractions repackaged from the controversial trend of "war tourism" (Suntikul et al., 2010). This explains well for the statistic report of more than 82% of visitors who consider heritage as a major value of Vietnam's attractiveness in modern times (ibid.). The number of visitors to Vietnam surged up dramatically after the Reform program which brings about significant revenues for the economic development. According to the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism (MOCST), in 1986, the year of "Open-door", Vietnam received 54 thousand international visitors. The number rocketed to 5 million in 2010. In 2017, 8 UNESCO sites in natural and cultural categories of Vietnam had alone welcomed more than nearly 16 million visitors, of which 7 million were international tourists (VNAT, 2018). Revenues from tickets at these sites brought about 2,500 billion VND. Also in this year, nearly 4.1 million jobs have been directly and indirectly generated (World travel and tourism council, 2018). In 2018, in total, tourism sector contributes 620 trillion VND (26.75 billion USD) to the national GDP, which helps to put Vietnam into the list amongst the fastest-growing tourist destinations in the world (VietnamBriefing, 2019). For the next decade, it is forecasted that the tourism sector will generate more than 900 thousand billion VND, offer around 3 million direct jobs, and support other 4.79 million jobs (World travel and tourism council, 2018).

Recognising enormous financial benefits, most development plans and policy papers of the government always frame World Heritage designation as the strategic resource for economic

development. World Heritage is attached to all development goals including job generation, economic growth, and poverty alleviation, equality between ethnicities, community development and sustainable development. Prime Minister, Nguyen Xuan Phuc, emphasises:

"Heritage is not dead fossil, but it needs to contribute to sustainable development. Therefore, it is our responsibility to revitalize heritage and make good use of them"[10]

In 2011, the Prime Minister approved "Strategy on Vietnam's tourism development until 2020, vision to 2030", on positioning the tourism industry as a major driver of economic growth. The strategy divides Vietnam into seven tourism development zones and identifies 4 core tourism products in three keys assets marine/beach, culture, nature and cities (Figure 4-2) (MOCST, 2011).

Figure 4-2. Core tourism products of Vietnam

Source: (ESRT programme, 2013)

According to the framework, World Heritage designations are not only relevant but highly crucial. Three out of 7 zones explicitly proposed World Heritage as the key destinations or products. They are promoted as unique offerings that seek to cater to a wider range of tourists. In the national marketing campaign globally, the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism (VNAT) predetermines the strength of Vietnamese tourism which provides some exceptional landscapes and natural assets, valuable cultural heritage and vivid traditions and cultural habits of its friendly people. Based on those strengths, it is envisaged that Vietnam can attract 20 million international visitors by 2020, and will be doubled by 2030. From the scale of the targeted criteria, it is possible to foresee that World Heritage values will be increasingly exploited to achieve the objectives (ESRT programme, 2013).

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[10] Statement of Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc at the National Conference on "Conservation and development of cultural heritage for sustainable development", held in Hanoi on 27th July 2018.

Apparently, World Heritage in contemporary Vietnam holds not only the ideological function in the process of national unifying and building but also the economic function that is believed to lead the country to prosperity and sustainable development. However, it is always easier said than done. Incorporating the ambiguous notion of heritage with any-less fuzzy term of community within a sustainable development regime will just further complicate the headache maze (Hitchcock et al., 2010). World Heritage properties in Vietnam remain a highly political issue. Heritage is translated differently in Vietnam as it revolves more about people with the present interests rather than the past values. Furthermore, heritage can be interpreted differently between actors at different levels which often induces problematic consequences (Di Giovine, 2009). Given the current background of Vietnam, it is highly pressing to unveil how the local communities actually mobilize to get involved in the processes of heritagization.

4.4. Management structures of World Heritage in Vietnam

Overall, the central government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam exerts its highest and unifying control over World heritage properties at the national level. For many years, the formal World Heritage management structure in Vietnam has been criticised for being overlapping and contain numerous confusions (Larsen, 2008). Although the Vietnam State Party had the first designation in 1993, not until 2001 did the country approved the first Law on cultural heritage which state the responsibilities of different governmental agencies in the conservation and development of cultural heritage. The 2001 Law procedural in 2009. However, concerning natural designations, there is still not an independent regulation or law but natural heritage was equally defined as natural resources and managed within this same framework. Since World Heritage sites have become more significant in the contemporary era, it has requires the Vietnamese government to develop a unifying regulation for all World Heritage designations. As a result, in 2017, the government approved the Decree No.109/20017/ND-CP concerning the "protection and management of cultural and natural World Heritage in Vietnam". After 32 years of participating in the WH Convention, Vietnam has defined its management structure of World Heritage from national to local levels (figure 4-3).

Figure 4-3. The management structure of World Heritage sites in Vietnam
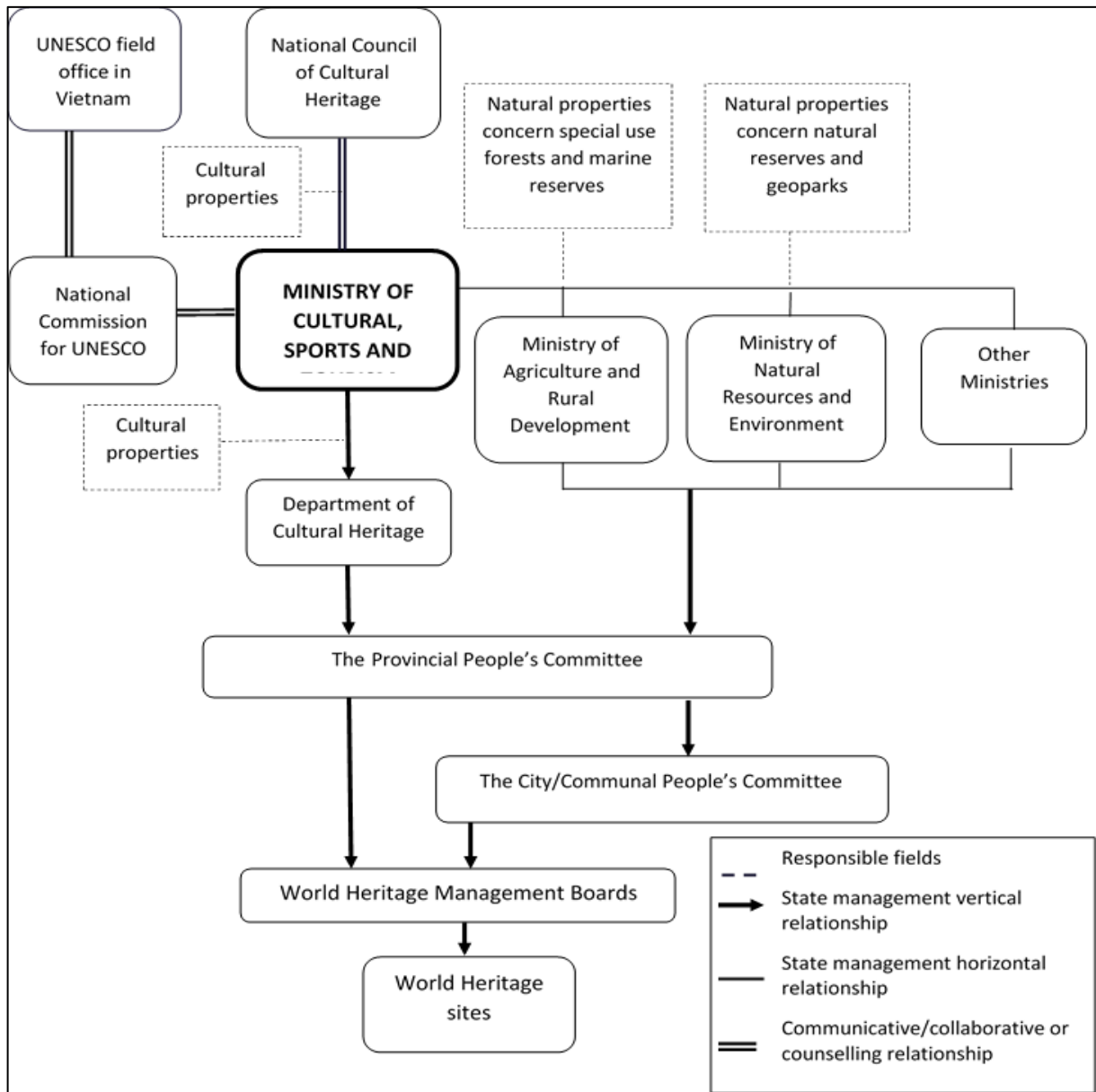
(Source: Author's presentation, 2019)

a) The Ministries

According to the Decree No.109/20017/ND-CP, Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MOCST) is responsible in front of the central government in implementing the unifying state management of all World Heritage designations. The main responsibilities of MOCST comprise of conducting an appraisal and approve World Heritage management and development master plans and projects; approving the identification of heritage zones submitted by the provincial People's Committees (core zones and buffer zones); directing and organising propagation and dissemination of legal documents on the protection and management of World Heritage.

Besides, depending on different categories of the designations, MOCST will collaborate with other Ministries and ministerial-level agencies. To manage cultural heritage, MOCST forms its own sub-unit, called the Department of Cultural Heritage. The department is assigned to counsel for the Ministry in achieving central state management missions in fields of cultural heritage. Moreover, the department is in charge of directing and instructing all professional management activities relating to the protection and development of cultural heritage values accordingly to the vision and policy of the VCP and government.

Monitoring plans and management profiles of cultural heritage are made by MOSCT under the supervision and collaboration of the National Council of Cultural Heritage. The council maintains close evaluations on the implementation of World Heritage conservation and development plans that have been suggested and deployed by the MOCST. Providing in-depth scientific knowledge of heritage, the National Council of Cultural heritage acts as a councillor for the Prime Minister on following cultural heritage issues: laws, strategies, directions, master policies and programme on conservation and development; identification and ranking of outstanding cultural properties; nominating cultural properties to UNESCO, and other scientific knowledge of cultural heritage that could contribute for the national development Master Plan.

However, natural designations will be managed differently. In the case of natural sites that cover partially or entirely in special-use forests or marine reserves, MOCST has to collaborate with the Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Development (MARD). MARD decides and instructs planning and development activities in fields of agriculture and forestry in the core and buffer zones of the sites. Meanwhile, if the sites belong to natural reserves or geoparks, MOCST will coordinate with the Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment (MONRE). MONRE will play the leading role in assessing the natural resources, biodiversity, geology and minerals, as well as in estimating environmental impacts. In these cases, the master plans for management and development of the natural properties will be incorporated into one document. This document combines the evaluation of biodiversity, forest or/and other natural resources with historical and cultural relics protection plans, tourism development plans, obligations of the community, and other related legal provisions.

Along with these key Ministries who are directly responsible, there are several Ministries and ministerial-level agencies involving in the state management of World Heritage in Vietnam such as the Ministry of Constructions, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Planning and Investment. Each of these agencies is supposed to either direct or coordinate with the MOCST in order to achieve the state management mission within their respective fields. For example, the Ministry of Finance ensures regular executive funds of heritage conservation activities; monitors distributions of funding; establishes regulations on entrance fees at designated sites according to financial and heritage laws.

In general, although there have been several adjustments to improve the state management structure of World Heritage in Vietnam recently, it remains relatively cumbersome and inefficient. Mr Michael Croft - Chief Representative of UNESCO Office in Vietnam - once stated:

> "…[A]t the central level, it is recommended that the state management power in the field of World Heritage management be strengthened by firstly eliminating the overlaps in legal regulations. For example, the existing overlap between Cultural Heritage Law and Decrees on the management of Natural and Cultural Heritage with Construction Law, Public Investment Law and Tourism Law. The overlaps in these regulations create barriers to the unified management of the state, create loopholes in the implementation process and hinder long-term, quality investment, and renovation activities. " (Hoang, 2018, Magazine article published on To Quoc News, 7th August 2018).

The Former Chief of Department of Cultural Heritage, Prof.Dr. Dang Van Bai, highly accuses these overlaps on the inefficiencies of the management of World Heritage in Vietnam. According to him, even the recently improved and established laws and regulations between 2014 and 2017 have not clearly defined the working areas, power, and responsibilities of different governmental agencies in aspects of conservation, development and tourism activities at heritage sites.

b) The National Commission for UNESCO

In order to bridge between UNESCO and the central government, Vietnam National Commission for UNESCO has been formed since 1977. The national commission for UNESCO is an inter-ministerial organ which covers different working subjects of UNESCO in Vietnam, including:

- Culture (based under the Ministry of Culture, Sport, and Tourism)
- Education (based under the Ministry of Education and Training)
- Natural Sciences (based under the Ministry of Science and Technology)
- Social Sciences (based under the National Center for Social Sciences and Humanities)
- Communication (based under the Ministry of Information and Communication)
- Secretariat (based under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

The commission is considered as a focal communicator of the relationship between Vietnam and UNESCO. Over the past 40 years, it has informed the Vietnamese government the different UNESCO policies and activities. It helps the Vietnamese state party to increase its access to international knowledge, global experience, and financial and technical support to serve national priorities through the development of guidelines and policies. It played an active role in supporting Viet Nam in attaining UNESCO recognition of 35 prestigious titles.

Towards the national directions, the Commission proposes to the Prime Minister the proper orientations, policies and action plans that Vietnam should conduct towards UNESCO schemes. It

works closely and collaboratively with the MOCST in order to inform and transfer the UNESCO frameworks. Furthermore, it helps achieve the obligations as a member of the WH Convention.

Towards the international directions, the commission ensures the regular contact and transparent communication between Vietnam and UNESCO Headquarter, UNESCO's regional offices, UNESCO field office in Hanoi, and National Commissions for UNESCO of other member states. It is also in charge of directing the contact with different representative agencies of the Vietnamese government outside the country such as Vietnamese Embassies, Permanent Mission of Viet Nam to UNESCO, or offices of Foreign Diplomatic Missions… when there are issues relating to UNESCO.

c) Local authorities

Local-level authorities which are responsible for World heritage sites vary from provincial to city and district levels. The leading offices are the People's committees at the provincial, city, district or communal levels. These offices are in charge of directly managing World Heritage properties that locate within their administrative territories. Following the instructions of MOCST, they have to develop their regulations and plans concerning the protection and development of heritage values at their locality. They organise the implementations of World heritage Conventions, regulation and plan on sites. In the first quarter of each year, the committees are obliged to submit their management reports and the planning for the next year to the MOCST, and other relating Ministries.

Local-level people's committees can independently mobilise for their executive funding from numerous sources, including the national sources, the social sources or other charity or international supportive funds. They can also decide on the use and distribution of all these financial resources for the heritage or generating from the heritage. Local-level committees can suggest orientations and plans concerning the conservation and development of heritage values based on their experiences and demands to the MOCST or the Prime Minister. In the nomination process, they have to participate and contribute to providing the information and support

Since the local committees have the possibility to decide on their management models, they are probably one of the most powerful actors. Lask and Herold (2004) observe that there are unclarities between different administrative units at the local levels on protecting and managing World Heritage properties in Vietnam. Regardless of several reforms and progress provided recently, there has not been an integrated planning framework between national and lower administrative levels (Bui and Lee, 2015). With a wide range of autonomy, most local authorities choose to prioritise commercial exploitation heritage values in excuse of mobilising funding for protection and maintenance of sites and the general development of the locale. As a consequence, sites are alarmingly over-commercialized and disfigured.

d) World heritage Management Boards at sites

World Heritage Management Boards are founded under the authorities of the provincial People's Committee and are not directly mentioned in the national Decree No.109/ND-CP or in the Cultural Heritage Law. Due to that fact, there is a wide range of differences in how the Management Boards are organised and under which local levels they are administered between different properties at different localities across Vietnam.

In detail, Management Boards of 4 sites namely: Hue, Trang An, Thang Long, Phong Nha – Ke Bang are being put under the administrations of People's Committee at the provincial level. Two other boards in Hoi An and Ha Long belong to the People's Committee of the cities, another board in My Son is under district level. At the same time, the Citadel of the Ho Dynasty is exceptionally governed by MOCST itself. Not only different in the models of management, but the connections between these Management Boards with the higher levels of authorities are also weak. As a result, some Management Boards become isolated in the implementation of international and national regulations and plans at the sites. They hence face numerous obstacles and confusion, especially when dealing with issues that require the decision-making powers from inter-ministerial and inter-departmental agencies. Besides, the current reporting regime between the Management Boards of the Heritage and central management agencies are widely inconsistent in terms of content, categories, forms and reporting indicators. This delays the process of reporting vigorously and updating the issues inducing at the sites. The higher level of management agencies often fails to capture quickly, consistently and effectively pressing issues from the local levels.

Another unsettling issue is that all Management Boards are formed as "government/public services/professional units", not as "government/public administrative units"; hence all Management Boards are not legitimated with state management function. This limits the inspection and enforcement of the law at the site of heritage protection, as well as the decision to reallocate income from revenue of heritage activities that can only be reported and transferred to other or higher government agencies (Hoang, 2018). In other words, they are the ones who directly manage the sites but without adequate power to do their job.

However, of all the differences, all Management Boards in Vietnam end up in one same situation, that is the overlapping and intransparency in the management power and responsibilities in conserving and developing heritage sites between sets of laws and regulations, and between agencies. In some cases, they are even contrasting and conflicting with each other. Therefore, most World Heritage sites especially those that entail different types of resources, cover different ecosystems, or belong to different categories are trapped in the fuzz of governing authorities which results in an emergence of different types of problems. Due to the lack of systematisation between the legislative and regulatory frameworks, insufficiency and mismatch emerge, resulting in recorded degradations and overexploitation of sites. At the local level, local management

systems of sites are weak, passive and infective. Consequently, this has generated greater pressures on the socio-environmental development of the local and turned these designations into a conflicted place (Parnwell, 2010). Consequently, local agencies lack coordination; agendas and goals conflict; and the underlying tension between governmental and local levels emerges (Lloyd and Morgan, 2008; Parnwell, 2010).

4.5. Positioning community

I have gone through the narratives that mould World Heritage into the contexts of Vietnam throughout different courses of modern history and transitions. I then elaborate further on the current state management structure of World Heritage sites which reflect the positions of the responsible governmental agencies in the fields of heritage. However, so far, the study has elaborated neither the position of the community in the heritage field nor the way it has been transformed along with the transition of Vietnamese history. This part seeks to unravel this issue.

Heritage in Vietnam is a process that first involves a long-term national unifying and identity formation and secondly intertwine with all kinds of the development process. Going through different phases, the position of community has magnificently changed in the manifestations of the government. Vietnam in the post-war era was highly fragmented. At the time of unification, the Communist victors realised the huge gaps in both economic and ideological aspects between the Vietnamese of the North and the Vietnamese of the South (Goscha, 2016). This was identified as a threat to the new unification and stabilisation of the country that needs to be subdued. Messages of unity and solidarity were promoted to direct the population into one common national identity - the Viet. Heritage has been an effective tool for this national homogenisation and propaganda against the Vietnamese in different regions of the country. Hence, it can be stated that local people are generally perceived the object of heritagization process and all related policies and programmes after the reunion up to the Doi Moi era during the 1980s.

Coming towards the 1990s, Vietnam was striving to merge into the global economy, and attract more international exchanges. In the field of World Heritage, since the government was anxious in getting the first universal designations, international scientific judgments were strongly valorised and prioritised at this time. Vietnam also eagerly followed the current global agenda of World Heritage, which exclusively focused on the material, monumental and scientific values of sites (Waterton, 2015). This focus served two main purposes. On the one hand, it would grant the Vietnam state party the first designation. Furthermore, aligning with the global agenda was supposed to bring Vietnam into the radar of the global map of economic development, funding influx, cultural exchanges and tourism development. On the other hand, it navigated the people away from the previous contested ideologies, and histories, and legitimated the existing narratives of the VCP. However, by prioritising scientific knowledge, the heritagization process during this period largely ignored the role of the public both in the global sphere and in Vietnam.

By the early 2000s, Vietnam has successfully had three cultural inscriptions and two natural inscriptions on the list. Heritage became phenomenal all over the country. However, prestige designations also come at a high cost of community. Between 1990 to early the 2000s, more designations meant more displacement and moralisation of local people in different sites (Di Giovine, 2009; Larsen, 2008). As Suntikul et al. (2010) comment on Vietnamese heritage attractions, heritage has been reactively edited and presented in the favourable way of the powerful actors. Thus, access to heritage attractions also varied depending on the social and political contexts that they exist. In natural cases, the inauguration of sites concurringly denied all forms of interactions between the local communities and the sites which generally are their habitat for generations. Communities became problematic for the manifest of conserving universal value. Their traditional lifestyles and livelihood activities had now considered endangering the integrity and the biodiversity of the sites. For example, sampan communities in Ha Long Bay were thus displaced under the resettlement programmes (Galla, 2002; Lloyd and Morgan, 2008). Montagnard communities in Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park were prohibited from accessing. Their traditional livelihoods were illegalised (Larsen, 2008). In the cultural case, heritage was chosen to fit the narrative of building a national culture of the Viet. Therefore, those with their heritage that does not fit into that narrative would be marginalised. Studies reveal that mostly the ethnic minorities and the highlands communities were often left out of the World Heritage development programme. They were framed as "backwards", as "out-dated", who do not fit with the orientation of creating the "new socialist people with advanced culture" (Di Giovine, 2009; Salemink, 2016). In other words, communities were perceived as the infringement, the threat, or the enemies of the heritage.

The negative conceptualisation of community had promptly backfired on a large scale. Frictions were widened between the local people and the authorities, particularly with the heritage management boards who are in direct charge of the heritage sites. In most World Heritage sites in Vietnam, local people are increasing disenfranchised from their heritage. Contestation due to resource use restrictions broke out. Vice versa, the detachment of people from sites has gradually reduced the authenticity of the place itself.

As conflicts piled up in numerous sites across the world, UNESCO was urged to reassess its global strategy of which community has been widely ignored. UNESCO agencies and experts began to realise that heritage values are strongly connected with the people. Eventually, in 2007, community was officially added as the fifth C in the global Strategy of World Heritage. Since then, on a global scale, the roles of the local community are getting more attention globally. They became visible and significant in all process of development. In 2012, the UNESCO year of sustainable development, once again, the position of the local community is stressed in global heritage projects. Apparently, this also became trending in Vietnam. The local community is

announced as the bull's eye of the country's World Heritage management programme. In July 2018, Mrs Dang Thi Bich Lien – Deputy Minister of MOCST – concluded that:

> "… All contents and forms of heritage conservation and development need to base on the actual needs of the community… Community is the objects of the heritage, the centre and the target of sustainable development."[11]

Following the switch in recognition of community from object to subject and from negative to positive, their ownership towards heritage values is well stated. It can refer to the case of intangible cultural heritage. Intangible cultural heritage was officially recognised and defined for the first time in the Law of Cultural Heritage 2001. This version completely ignored the role of the community in conceptualising intangible aspects of heritage. However, this view was revised and adjusted in 2009, in which intangible heritage is defined as: "a spiritual product associated with the community or individuals, objects and cultural space concerned, valuable historical, cultural, scientific, expressing the identity of the community, ceaselessly recreated and handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth, vocational training, performance and other forms" (Law of Cultural Heritage, 2009, Clause 1, Article 4, p.1).

To the present day, although Vietnam remains a heavy central-state, voices of the local communities who are the direct users of World Heritage resources are increasing turned up in the realm of World Heritage governance. There have been programmes that respect and pay more attention to the perspective and participation of the local community in heritage management such as the promotion of Eco-museum projects in Hoi An ancient city, and in Ha Long Bay, the co-management model in Phong Nha-Ke Bang. These programmes promise to enhance a meaningful engagement of local people, especially the indigenous in the management of the places that they are the custodian from the past to the present (Galla, 2006; Logan, 2017)

However, as community is an ambiguous term that simplistically taken for granted in community development policies and programmes, it needs to be reassessed how the premise of World Heritage and community engagement works in reality. Policy-makers tend to overshadow the fact that the communities might also have their own interests, interpretations and want to conserve and use sites in their own ways. Contextualising this argument in the constantly changing settings of Vietnam, the extent of community participation in the processes of heritagization is still under-studied. Given the influences from different stakeholders, how are the community manoeuvring their ways to get involved in the process? What are their opportunities as well as obstacles? How do they mobilise to capture the opportunities and also to overcome the existing obstacles? In order to expose those concerns, the coming empirical chapters will take the case of Hue Complex

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[11] Statement of Ms. Dang Thi Bich Lien at the international conference of "World Heritage and Sustainable development in the contemporary context" held in Hanoi on the 9th and 10th July 2018

of monuments and Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park as the basic materials to provide thorough analysis and understanding.

4.6. Conclusion

Waterton and Watson assert that heritage is not simply just a collection of objects, but it would rather be a discursive process in which the past is carefully selected and moulded to fit into different contemporary intentions (Waterton and Watson, 2013). This suggests studying heritage in the contextual settings where it has been emerged and transformed. This chapter aims to provide such contextual understanding by setting up the chronological evolution of the World Heritage in the aligning between the global trends and the Vietnamese transformative situations.

Internationally, over the course of a half-century, the World Heritage concept and its global discourses have gone through 4 different phases in which they have constantly been expanding in scopes as well as in the networks of actors involved in the process. World Heritage is no longer deadly locked in the aesthetic judgment of abstract things. The concept has covered from the cultural tangible to the cultural intangible, from nature to landscape, from an item to an ecosystem. More importantly, World Heritage has been recognised in the interaction with the communities and their surrounding settings.

Ever since the Reform Policy, Vietnam as a State Party has thrived in integrating into the World Heritage agendas. It has actively adopted each global phase and translated into the context of the country serving the purposes of the politically powerful actors over different courses of national history. World Heritage in Vietnam is characterised by the influence of the dominant national actors. Depending on particular cultural, economic, and political situations of different historical phases, the leading party has strategically utilised and transformed heritage to serve for their purposes (Bui and Lee, 2015).

The chapter has reviewed the evolution of World Heritage agendas in Vietnam. This deconstruction has elucidated that the heritage in many forms developed in the national project not as nostalgia but as justifications and resources for the national building and development narratives. Consequently, Long (2012) has concluded that World Heritage enlisting in Vietnam is bound up in the process of ideological legitimation and economic development.

In the fast-changing situation of Vietnam, despite the heavy control of the central state, non-state actors, particularly the communities, have increasingly turned up to negotiate for their involvement in the realm of World Heritage. Since 2010, there have been several promising heritage programmes that offer more meaningful engagement with the local people across the country. However, until the present day, it still lacks empirical research to understand the actual extent and ways of community involvement in the contemporary processes of World Heritage in Vietnam. The empirical chapters hope to fill in these gaps.

CHAPTER 5. FROM ISOLATION TO VALORISATION: THE HERITAGIZATION OF HUE COMPLEX OF MONUMENTS

5.1. Introduction

Taking the case of the Complex of Monuments in Hue, the chapter focuses specifically on the heritagization of cultural World Heritage properties in Vietnam. It will deconstruct the evolution of a contested past that has been transformed into the most important cultural icon and the leading resource of contemporary Vietnam.

The chapter begins by proving the backdrop of the Complex' politically problematic profile before its enlisting. It then provides an in-depth analysis of how this controversial property has been justified and manufactured to be the World Heritage icon through the different stages of de-politicisation, recognition, re-integration and then public valorisation. These stages are distinguished and analysed into the three phases of isolation, idealisation, and valorisation. These phases are firstly suggested by Di Giovine (2009). However, Di Giovine studies these phases only within the bureaucratic procedure of the World Heritage Center. My objective is to go beyond the narrow procedural formality that is authorised by UNESCO in the World Heritage agendas. I want to study three phases of isolation, idealisation and valorisation in much broader contextual settings. Heritagization would not end at the moment of site designation; it is rather an on-going process in which the designation is a turning point for the local-go-global properties.

Finally, the chapter will look particularly into the role of different actors played out to intervene in each phase of the process.

5.1.1. Study site

Thua Thien-Hue province is located in the narrow strip of the Central region of Vietnam whose administrative centre is Hue city. It shares the border with Quang Tri province in the North, and Da Nang city in the South. The west of the province is fenced by the Truong Son Mountains, and the East faces the Pacific oceans. Therefore, the province has a diverse geographic typology ranging from mountains to valley, lagoon, and coastal. Thua Thien-Hue is known to have the biggest lagoon in Southeast Asia. These geo-characteristics offer Hue not only breathtaking landscapes but also nurtures rich natural resources. In 2017, the provincial population reached 1,154,310, which distributes to 230 people/km^2 (Thua Thien-Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2019).

According to the Provincial People's Committee, Hue has the location advantage that connects the North and the South, the past the present and the future. In the direction from North to South, Thua Thien-Hue lies in the middle between the Capital Hanoi (658km) and the megacity Ho Chi Minh (1075km). The National Highway, the National Railway and the industrialised Ho Chi Minh

highway all pass through the territory of Hue. Meanwhile, in the direction from East to West, the province is just 150 km away from the border gate opening to the entrance of lower Mekong countries such as Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar, and connects with other Asian countries through the long domestic and international coastal lines.

Also, due to these strategic geographical locations, Thua Thien-Hue has interfered with multi-layers of cultures, and political regimes over more than 700 years (since 1306)(Le, Nakagawa, Nakazawa, Sakamoto, and Hayashi, 2004). Between 1802 and 1945, Hue city was the capital of the last Feudal regime of Vietnam prior to the Indochina wars. The province, in particular, Hue city, was traditionally considered to be the historical, cultural, political and religious centre of Vietnam (Bui, 2016; Le et al., 2004). Inheriting from history, Hue nowadays is a well-known destination for its unique culture, impressive historical and religious monuments combining with a splendid natural landscape (Bui, 2016).

Figure 5-1. Study Site

(Photo: sizedus.com, accessed 10th September 2018)

In 1993, UNESCO enlisted the Complex of Hue Monuments as the World's cultural heritage under the criterion (iv). The Complex was known as the first designation of Vietnam after being a State party of WH Convention. The Complex entails 14 components locating over 30km of the Perfume River which runs across the centre of Hue city. These components spread mainly in Hue city, and other four neighbour administrative districts. In 2003, once again, Hue got their first enlisting into the Intangible Cultural Heritage list as The Royal Court Music was officially recognised. After 2010, Hue has been successful in nominating two more properties in the documentary category and

shared one other Intangible cultural inscription with ten provinces in the Central region of the country. So far, Hue is the only province that has 5 UNESCO designations.

5.1.2. Methods

Hue city, Thua Thien-Hue province was the first site that I entered at the beginning of the fieldwork in July 2017. Hue city is originally my hometown; therefore, most of the time, I was staying in the city. As I have mentioned in chapter 2, I encountered serval obstacle penetrating this study site ironically because I am a local.

Because the designated monumental complex comprises of 14 components, which scatter from the city centre to the rural area of the province, the local communities living around the recognised sites are extremely heterogeneous and dynamic. This requires the researcher to have different approaches for different communities in order to obtain information. I spent the first 4 months mainly gathering information of 14 components, introducing my presence at 5 out of 14 components, participating in tours, and establishing connections to gate-keepers. At different sites, I had to conduct different methods for the getting in phases.

Figure 5-2. Components of the Complex of Monuments in Hue

(Source: Google maps, accessed March 2019)

For sites located in Hue city, the official permit from the city administrative offices granted me neither entrance into the listed sites nor direct contact with the local people. Therefore, I had to conduct two different approaches in my getting in phase. On the one hand, I made daily visits around the sites. I would act out as a local who often come to local cafeterias nearby inscribed

components daily to drink coffee and enjoy the sight in front of these designated components. After a certain period, I was able to initiate causal talks and discussions relating to the heritage firstly with the shop owners and then with the local people. By making a regular visit, I could also observe the interactions taking places at the gates of designated sites. I could record the dynamics between the visitors, the gate-keepers at sites, and the locals who are working around the sites, as well as the local who are living near the site but do not have any direct interest or interaction with sites. During this time, I reconnected with my previous networks who might be able to influence my targeted informants. I was able to conduct my first interview in the fifth month in the field. The snow-balling method was then applied so that I could approach more respondents.

On the contrary, obtaining access through the official district administration was a proper approach at the sites located in the neighbouring districts and communes. I was supported by officers at the district or communal levels, who had shown me around the communities. Most of the case, the officers would introduce me to the heads of different villages; afterward, the village heads would introduce me to the households that fit with my criteria. Eventually, I had interviewed 67 informants of different positions. The profiles of informants can be referenced in the following table:

Table 5-1. Profiles of interviewed informants

Actors	Number of informants		
	Semi-structured interview	In-depth Interview	Focus group discussions
Provincial/communal officers	3	3	
Site management board		1	
Other staff	2		
Tour operators	4	2	
Tour guide		2	
Tourism photographer		1	
Accommodation providers	4		
Experts		1	
Other local businesses	2		
Other local people	23		15
Visitors	4		
Total	**67**		

(Source: Data collection, 2017-2018)

5.2. The background of World cultural heritage values in Hue

The very first enlisting into the World Heritage list of Vietnam was the "Complex of monuments" in Hue, which was designated in 1993. This designation has brought enormous benefits to the nation in terms of reputation on the World Heritage map, and to the socio-economic development. It was considered one of the first bridges that connected Vietnam to the world after the Indochina War in 1975. The designation furthermore led to an active role of the Vietnamese government in nominating for many new inscriptions years afterwards. Therefore, before analysing the making of the Complex, it is worth for us to look into the historical background of the Hue city with a focus on the process of appraising the heritage values in feudal monuments.

5.2.1. Peculiar profile

The Complex of Monuments was built during the reigning time of the last Feudal dynasty – The Nguyen – in Vietnam between 1802 and 1945. The Nguyen Emperors were living majorly in the heart of Hue city where they built the Citadel, the Imperial City, Forbidden City and a variety of different monuments. In the suburbs of the city were the tombs where descending Kings would be buried and believed to rest for thousands of years (thiên thu). Most of the recognised cultural aspects of the Complex are extracted from the feudalism ways of life. All components were built along the Huong river which runs across Hue city and divides the city not only in North and South banks but also in tradition and modern (Long, 2003). Along 30 km of the River, the construction of the Royal Complex reflected the lives, the ideology and the power of more than 400 years settling and developing of the Nguyen Dynasty (Tran and Phan, 2002).

However, the history of Hue was not only revolved with feudalism. In the late 19th century, the French invaded the country and overthrown the Dynasty's power. They had developed a thorough plan to establish a modern institution in Indochina countries based on the European standards. Hue, as the central power of Vietnam at that time, was affected directly (Le et al., 2004). French institutions were built from Hue to the South up to Saigon. Schools, hospitals, museums, stations…etc. were set up accordingly to the colonised concepts across the city next to the weakening Nguyen Dynasty. Vice versa, Vietnamese culture was also introduced to Europe on different occasions of international expositions in French from 1906 to 1931 (ibid.) Hue during the early 19th century was described in the official historiography as "a feudal, semi-colonial regime" (Lockhart, 2001).

In 1945, the last king Bao Dai resigned and handed over the country to the French. Because of this fact, the Nguyen Dynasty was detested and portrayed as the "one who sold the country" for a long period of time by the conventional Marxist historians and political elites (Long, 2003). Since then, the city when through tremendous historical upheavals. From 1954 to 1975, the country was divided into contested regimes: the Vietnamese Democratic Republic in the North led by Ho

Chi Minh who followed Marxist-Leninist ideology; and the Republic of Vietnam in the South led by Ngo Dinh Diem under the support of American imperialism. Hue became the disputed land between the two regimes. As a strategic location, both regimes wanted to take Hue into their territories. However, with strong lobbies from the Nguyen Family in the South, especially under the influence of Queen Tu Cung (The mother of Bao Dai Emperor), both came to an agreement – known as the Geneva Accords – to split at the seventeenth parallel (at Quang Tri province nowadays) and to include Hue into the South of Vietnam. The inclusion of Hue was interpreted as a transfer of symbolic and political legitimacy from the previous feudal regime onto the Diem's government (Di Giovine, 2009; Le et al., 2004). However, regardless of the signed Accords, all belligerent sides still raced into diplomatic and military struggles to gain control over the strategic land. During this period, the city went through two wars of the Communist army against the French and American which resulted in severe destruction. Especially in the Lunar New Year of 1968, one the longest and bloodiest battles between the North and the South of Vietnam broke out in Hue. This has later on widely called the Tet Offensive 1968, marking the most tragic and devastating event for the people in Hue in modern history. The Communist army had held the city in the longest battle than any other during the Vietnam War. In the end, The North overthrew the city and claimed their total control regardless of sever casualties. The celebration of victory in Hue is considered to be as important as the final celebration of the country in 1975. Hue had now been embodied as the victorious communist Vietnamese.

After the reunification in 1975, as aftermath, it was recorded that The Forbidden city was completely levelled. In the area of the Citadel, only 62 out of 136 monuments and buildings were still standing. Other Emperors' tombs were also heavily damaged, and hundreds of other properties of the dynasties shared the same fate. The whole city suffered from tremendous loss (Tran and Phan, 2002). Nevertheless, although the country had entered a new era of peace and reconstruction, Hue and its Complex of Dynasty's heritage could not enjoy the victory to wish for recovery. On the contrary, the profile of Hue became problematic for the newly-established regime of Socialism, who was ideologically anti-feudalism, anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism. As Hue happened to be the place of them all, the VCP turned the negative constructions towards the city, of which the most targeted was the Feudal heritage from the Nguyen Dynasty. Therefore, the Dynasty' complex in post-war continued to endure many "political prejudices" (định kiến chính trị) shaped by the Communist Party. Until early of the 1990s, the Feudal largely remained being framed as the "feudal rebel" (Phong kiến phản động) which led to further decay in most buildings, and properties in time of country unification and high socialism (Salemink, 2012). Many constructions and components of the heritage were abused and misused for different purposes such as a part of the Imperial city was turned into a printing factory, Duc Duc Tombs were made as collective resident housing, Temple of Letters was a

military training school. Hence, the Dynasty's heritage was assessed to suffer a long period of crisis and recessive between 1945 and 1981 (Tran and Phan, 2002).

Associating with the title of the "reactionary" feudal Nguyen Dynasty, the art and culture in Hue were also highly criticized. For a long period of time, all feudal art and culture under the Nguyen Dynasty received no appreciation but only accusation of copying the Chinese and later on the French. Their authenticity was entirely neglected amongst the revolutionary writers. Some other even labelled these art and culture as "half-breed" (lai căng) or as "bastardised" and argued that this is the inevitable product of a "reactionary dynasty" (Dang and Hoang, 1989).

5.2.2. The Official designation and the follow-ups

The fate of the feudal heritage changed in 1981 after the visit of Mr Amandou Mahtar M 'Bow, former director of UNESCO, who recognised the aesthetic, historical and cultural values of the Royal monuments. Following the appeal of Mr M'Bow, international efforts and funding have been pouring in for the restoration and conservation of these monuments. According to Mr Phan Thanh Hai, former Director of the Hue Monuments Conservation Center, the nomination profile for the Complex had been ready since 1983. However, Hue had to wait ten more years in order to be officially enlisted. Eventually, in 1992, ICOMOS suggested the nomination of Hue Complex for UNESCO under criteria (iii) and (iv) as follow (Boccardi and Logan, 2006):

- Criterion (iii): Hue represents an outstanding demonstration of the power of the vanished Vietnamese feudal empire at its apogee in the early 19th century.
- Criterion (iv): The complex of Hue monuments is an outstanding example of an eastern feudal capital.

Obviously, the manifestation of criterion (iii) has been deliberately termed in a way to avoid the political sensitivity and clashing interpretations. Firstly, as being "vanished" power, the designation did not pose any threat or question to the existing political leading regime in Vietnam. Secondly, a "Vietnamese feudal empire" is rather a vague definition, which did not point out directly to the contested Nguyen Dynasties. Next to that, criterion (iv) targets majorly to the material aspects of the cultural properties. Regardless of the neutral assessments from ICOMOS, in the end, the official designating text only recognised Hue Complex vaguely under criterion (iv). By that, listed elements were totally related to buildings, monuments or artworks. They have been classified into three categories by the national government (Bui, 2016):

- The Royal complex of citadels and palaces: This complex covers an area of 520 hectares and consists of hundreds of monuments. It was constructed in three layers of the citadel including the Royal City (Kinh Thành), the Imperial Citadel (Hoàng Thành) and the Forbidden Purple Citadel (Tử Cấm Thành).

- Royal tombs and mausoleum: There are the seven tombs of seven Nguyen kings in different generations, including the tombs of Gia Long, Minh Mang, Thieu Tri, Tu Duc, Duc Duc, Dong Khanh and Khai Dinh. All the tombs might vary in structure, style, and scale. However, they all feature the oriental philosophy, which believed in the interrelationship between humans and nature.
- Architectural works of religions, beliefs, and rituals: There are seven temples, pagodas, and 14 architectural works associated with the spiritual beliefs of the Nguyen dynasty. The most important architectural works are the Celestial Lady Pagoda (built in 1601) and the Esplanade of Sacrifice to the Heaven and Earth (built in 1806).

After the designation, the Complex has been vigorously benefiting from its fame. The glamorous UNESCO status also gradually contributes to the wider acceptance and popularity of The Nguyen Dynasty and their culture amongst national and international communities, which consequently results in four more inscriptions, including:

Table 5-2. List of World heritage inscriptions in Hue

Inscriptions	Categories	Year of inscriptions
Complex of Monuments	Cultural heritage	1993
Royal court music	Intangible heritage	2003
Royal woodblocks	Documentary heritage	2009
Royal archives	Documentary heritage	2014
Royal literature on Royal architecture	Documentary heritage	2016

(Source: Hue Monument Conservation Centre, 2017)

5.2.3. World Heritage as the economic significance

Hue, after the millennium, is one of the most visited destinations in the Central Region of Vietnam. The World Heritage status has helped the city enjoy significant interests nationally and internationally. Most salient is the steady increase in the numbers of visitors to the recognised properties year by year. Following the influx of tourists, the revenue generated from selling tickets to visitors has steadily increased (Figure 5-3). The income generated from entrance fee rocketed for the last five years when it tripled from nearly 80.1 billion in 2012 to more than 262.7 billion VND in 2016. Besides, heritage-related services added more than 100 billion VND further to the provincial budget. It is estimated that in the coming decade from 2017 to 2026, the total income from entrance fee at heritage sites would reach the number of 3,800 billion VND (Hue Monument Conservation Centre, 2018).

Figure 5-3. Income from selling tickets to visitors from 1996 to 2016
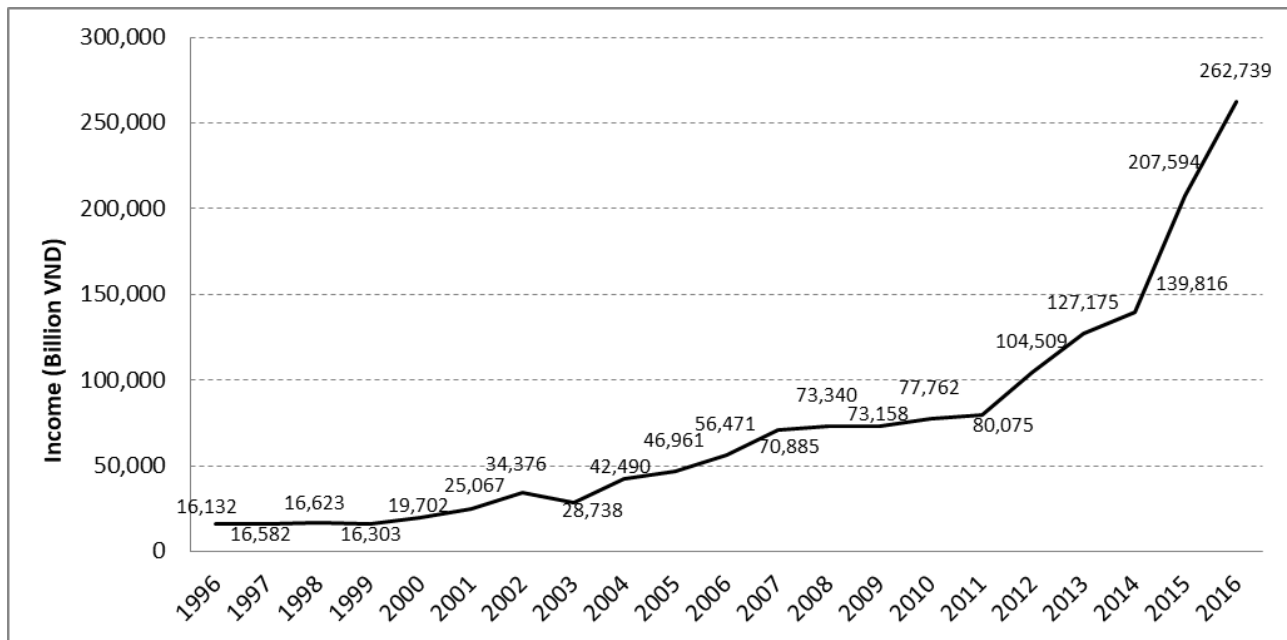
(Source: Hue Monument Conservation Centre, 2018)

In the present, Hue becomes iconic for history, culture, education, and tourism development thanks to the prestige status of World Heritage site. Differently from the previous period, the city is consciously appraised as a historic place, a symbol and manifestation of Vietnam's history (Lockhart, 2001). To argue for the iconic manifestation of Hue, Lockhart has cited directly from the provincial travel guidebook, titled as "Hue: World Cultural Heritage":

> *"The Nguyen rulers at their zenith bequeathed to Hue and to the nation a complete architectural monument characteristic of the Vietnamese feudal state, significant as a final preparation of the traditional culture of their forefathers [so that] the new generation could pass with ease into the era of modern technology".(Lockhart, 2001, p.26)*

In conclusion, with the World Heritage status, Hue has turned its fate from the "rebellious" and "prejudiced" into the "prestige" and "favourable". After 25 years, World heritage values have become the leading resources for the national social, economic and cultural development. The World Heritage values have confirmed its position and new functions in the social life in general and in the heart of the Hue people in particular (Dang Van Bai, 2013). However, not all the transformations happen overnight; they have undergone a complex process.

5.3. Turning the table: The global influences

This section initiates the analysis of the heritagization of the Complex of Monuments in Hue. It will start with the process of depoliticising the feudal monuments in a way that can shake off the previous contestations and pave the way to UNESCO recognition.

In 1945, after 200 years of ruling, Bao Dai resigned and hung the country over the French colonisation. This historical moment was considered a national shame, leading to the accusation towards the Nguyen Dynasty as the national traitors. The Dynasty, thus for a long historical period had been criticised by Vietnamese Marxist scholars as feudal, reactionary despots (Lockhart, 2001). After 1975, the new Vietnam Socialist regime continued to carry negative assessments towards the feudal remains; hence, the Complex continued to be mistreated (Tran and Phan, 2002).

As aforementioned, the turning point for the Complex was the visitation of the UNESCO director in 1981. The following year founded the Hue Company for cultural heritage management which later on changed its name to the Hue Monument Conservation Center (hereby known as HMCC). Two years later, 1983, the preliminary profile for the nomination of heritage in Hue to UNESCO had been ready thanks to the intensive work of international and national experts in artefact reconstructions. However, the current government was not interested in the project of Hue designation yet. The disinterest of the government in creating a heritage at this time can be totally understandable due to two major reasons. Firstly, the current priority was to unify and rebuild the divided crumbling country, not to preserve or nominate a previous feudalism property. This concerned the second reason that the narratives around Hue and the former imperial regime were still a repellent mixture of feudalism and colonialism (Di Giovine, 2009). Therefore, the site needed another story that could mask any intimation towards the embarrassing former events of the Nguyen, a story that could separate the image of a new country under the new socialism direction from the image of being colonised by the two capitalists.

Consequently, the Complex has to start with the isolation which exploited the global supports and influences as the key materials. This has been done by three steps: 1) leveraging the flows of international expertise and funding, 2) adopting and navigate the focus to the aesthetic judgment and the material bias of UNESCO, and 3) adjusting deliberately with the evolution of World Heritage currencies.

5.3.1. Leveraging the flows of international expertise and funding

Between 1981 and 1990, diverse international initiatives and funds were pouring into the reconstructions of the Nguyen Dynasty's architecture that gradually caught the attention of the government. In 1986, Vietnam declared to open its gate to the regional and international markets, marking the beginning of the Đổi Mới era. In 1987, Vietnam ratified the World Heritage Convention, officially became a State party. This movement was considered to be one of the national strategies to connect with the world. The Complex grew to be the first and the important cultural bridge between Vietnam and the World that was materialised through the global-local Hue-UNESCO working group at the time.

Hue-UNESCO Working Group was founded in 1982 which marked the cooperation between UNESCO experts and Vietnamese scientists from the HMCC. The working group was assigned to lead and monitor the conservation and reconstruction of the Complex from 1982 to 1999. The group had played a vital role not only in reconstructing works but more importantly in the lobbying at both national and international levels for the recognition of cultural values in Hue (Le et al., 2004). After the official call of Mr M' Bow, the group had cooperated with the famous Poland architecture Kazimierz Kwiatkowski and the PKZ organisation (Pracownie Konserwacji Zabytkow) in order to assess the destruction level of Hue monuments. Furthermore, the PKZ and Mr. Kazimierz also conducted various research on the unique values of Hue, distinguishing those from Chinese. These assessments and research had contributed crucially to the scientific judgments, which not only satisfied the standards of application procedures issued by UNESCO but also set Hue out from the accusation of inauthenticity (Hue Monument Conservation Center, 2017). In 1991, with the technical and scientific supports of the working group, the Vietnamese government finally lodged its first application for World Heritage lists. The nomination profiles of the Complex in Hue to UNESCO comprised of 52 working papers, 62 big size maps, 100 aerial photographs, 64 slide films, drawing records, and a 45-minute videotape (Le et al., 2004). In 1993, the Complex was successfully announced to be the cultural World Heritage. The properties which localized in Hue have officially join in the international club of prestige outstanding values. Meanwhile, Vietnam was one more step connected to the global sphere.

Immediately affected, supporting activities concerning the conservation and restoration of monuments had never been busier than before. All components within the Complex were fully mapped and studied. International workshops, exhibitions were carried out to attract more and more international cooperation. Five years after the global recognition, Hue received more than 1 million USD internationally and 30 billion VND to reconstruct 50 totally destroyed components, and to restore the other 60 components which are 30-60% destroyed. By 2009, the total budget for reconstruction activities had reach VND 400 billion, helping more than 100 monuments and structures to be fully or partly restored. Especially only in 1999, 15 components were rebuilt with the overall fund of 20 billion VND (Hue Monument Conservation Center, 2018). During the period of 1992 to the mid-2000s, numerous international sponsors had supported for the conservation of the Hue Complex, of which some important sponsors apart from the UNESCO Regular Program were the UNDP, the Poland government, the Delegation for Territorial and Regional Development (DATAR) of France, Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD), The German government, The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), World Heritage Fund by Soka Gakkai (Japan), The Waseda University, Ford Foundation. As a result, in the 9th conference of the Hue-UNESCO working group, UNESCO representative confirmed the end of the crisis period of the Hue Complex, and announced its next period – the period of "sustainable development".

5.3.2. Navigating the focus towards aesthetic judgment and material bias

The early years of the heritagization process in the case of the Hue Complex witnessed a strong emphasis on aesthetic characteristics. "Aesthetic" has become the catchword taken out firstly from the appeal of Mr. M'Bow to be used as the justification for the canonisation of heritage values in Hue. This follows exactly the implications of the authorised heritage discourse, of the 1972 WH Convention. The authorised heritage discourse, termed by Smith in her book "Uses of heritage" (2006), "is a professional discourse that privileges expert values and knowledge about the past and its material manifestations, and dominates and regulates professional heritage practices" (p.4). This discourse is drawn heavily from the Western European perceptions of architectural and archaeological practices of heritage. Hence, heritage out of anything needs to be initially material, monumental, and aesthetic to be a universal value (Kuutma, 2012; Smith, 2006). Although this material bias in the World Heritage agenda received rising criticism in the twentieth century (Winter, 2008, 2009), during this time, it happened to be convenient for the Vietnamese government in de-politicising Hue heritage. In the nomination profile submitted in 1992, Vietnam State Party justified the inscription of the Complex as followed:

> *"The Hue complex represents unique architectural, sculptural, and aesthetic achievements and highly creative labor by the Vietnamese people over a long period of time, particularly in monumental arts, town planning, and landscape design" (ICOMOS, 1992, p.124*).

According to Di Giovine (2009), this is a clear signal for the separation process. The navigation of Hue heritage to "unique architectural, sculptural, and aesthetic achievements" and to "creative labor"' has successfully sidestepped its previous historical contested profile. The justification has re-negotiated the intersection between awkward history and heritage in several ways including emphasising the aesthetic achievements and construing the heritage values to the creativities of Vietnamese people. So far, this section has thrived to explicate the former. Several scholars have termed this aesthetic validation as "the depoliticising the past" (Long, 2003; Vu and Ton-That, 2012) which airbrushed the monumental appreciation of the present over the past contentiousness.

At the same time, the UNESCO status manifest for the possession of all humankind over all enlisted sites. This collective possession has lifted the Hue Complex from its locality, thus erased its contextual connotations. In the way that regardless of any previous interpretations and meanings are given to the site, they are now formalised under the structures, guidelines, assessments and understanding of the international experts from UNESCO. Since then, the Complex has joined in the global professionalization, its discussions has been switched to technical concerns on the methods and objects to be conserved and reconstructed, rather than those about political and ideological issues (Long, 2003). This switch has also distracted the interests towards the "global protection", the "international peace" and "common welfare" as

stated in the Convention (Saltiel, 2014). Obviously, Hue heritage connections to the global ideology and standards have disrupted the historical linkage with the place. The Hue Complex of Monuments hence has been neutralized and got accepted not by its vivid embedded history but by it monumental aestheticism.

The authorised heritage discourse of UNESCO also imposed a strong bias on material and monumental aspects of the Hue Complex in the early years after the designation. Majority of reports, conferences, speeches and interviews tend to take up the quantity of restored buildings, monuments and items as the crucial criteria of the conservation success of this Complex. From 1996 to 2005, Hue had conducted 140 reconstruction and archeological projects in different recognized components (Hue Monument Conservation Centre, 2018).

5.3.3. Adjusting along with the evolution of the global World Heritage agendas

Coming towards to the 2000s, activities of HCCM were shifting to the protection and recognition of intangible cultural heritage. It reflects firstly in the concern towards intangible aspects of culture in the Master Plan for conservation and development of heritage values in the Hue period 1996-2010 and later extended to 2020 (Le et al., 2004). The plan explicitly defines that the conservation and development work within the area of the Nguyen Dynasty in this period will be on intangible culture. In practices, a series of 15 international and national conferences on Intangible heritage values (such as Han-Nom poem, art of Tuong music, the Royal court music) was held by the Center between 1996 and 2000. This increased attention to intangible cultural heritage is actually guided by new trend of the global heritage discourse.

In 2003, the 1972 WH Convention was extended to the "Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage". As all the intangible cultural values can now enjoy its own Convention, Vietnam quickly lodged their nomination profile for Royal Court Music, and successfully got enlisted in the intangible cultural World Heritage list in the same year. Once again, the intangible aspects of the Nguyen Dynasty's culture marked the first enlisting, leading the way for a series of other intangible cultural nominations from Vietnam in the following years. The shift to a more intangible perspective is the answer to the increasing criticism of the Eurocentric nature of the WH Convention (Albert and Ringbeck, 2015). This shift is argued to be an inevitable product of the popularization World Heritage Convention in the context of globalisation. It reflects the UNESCO attempt to ensure the global inclusive listing and the universal relevance and application to different contexts of all state parties around the world (Harrison, 2013).

Never fail to catch up with the global trend, the Vietnam State Party has vigorously utilised the feudal intangible values that synchronised with the evolution of the global heritage discourse within UNESCO. This has shown the dynamism in the heritagization of culture in Hue which was strongly affected by the global discourses. This questions the hidden motive of the Vietnamese

government in applying the global heritage agendas to the national context. The next section will seek an in-depth explanation for this questioned motivation.

5.4. National narratives and the cultural heritage values of Hue

5.4.1. National unifying and building

Under the agreements signed in the Geneva Accords, Vietnam was divided at the fifteen parallel which locates in Quang Tri province nowadays. Nevertheless, when the VCP announce the victory that unified the country, Quang Tri was not the problematic location, but Hue was (Tai, 2001). Vietnam at the unification was oriented towards the development of socialism following the Marxist-Leninist ideology. This Vietnamese version of Marxism-Leninism was divergent from the mainstream. It perceived feudalism not just as a stage of socioeconomic development that preceded capitalism according to Marx's theories; but as a broader negative connotation referring to an outdated period when people were oppressed and society was heavily corrupted (Lockhart, 2001; Tai, 2001). Combining with a long period being colonised and two wars against the capitalists, Hue had in itself the relation to all contentious political elements that the VCP was against: anti-feudalism, anti-colonialism, and anti-capitalism. In the early years of unifying Vietnam, the heritage of the Nguyen Dynasty did not fit into the socialist agenda, thus, it had encountered much suppression and mistreatments (Long, 2003; Tran and Phan, 2002).

However, after the launch of the international campaign setting out by Mr. M'Bow in 1981 and the successive follow-up events, the Vietnamese authorities started to recognize the international interests that brought in diverse funding and investments for the preservations of Hue Imperial heritage. As the result, the early 1990s saw the changing attitudes of the government towards the Feudal traces that commented to be more "neutral, and even favorable assessment that would have been unthinkable even a decade earlier" (Lockhart, 2001, p. 10). And the designation in 1993 not only dissipated the political hardness but also transformed the national grand narratives on history and heritage dramatically (Saltiel, 2014). This designation was assessed to be the greatest manifestation for a real unification of Vietnam after years being tormented and fragmented. Hue was the land that had witnessed all historical upheavals between regimes (of feudalism, colonialism, revolutionary Communism), between Vietnam and invading foreign nations (the Chinese, the French, the Japanese, the American), and between the North and the South. Therefore, the designation of Hue Complex is assessed to the symbol for the victorious VCP, for the unity of Vietnamese who stood against the giant aggressors in wars. Nothing can depict better the nationalism through the designation of Hue. Di Giovine (2009) commented:

> *"If executed properly, designating Hue as the nation's first World Heritage site could both symbolically unify the people and valorise that Socialist in the eyes of those at home and abroad. It was a choice to recognize Hue as an ideal representation of the contemporary Vietnamese people – To themselves and to the world" (p. 221).*

5.4.2. National identity

Justifying for the aesthetic values of Hue Complex was not simply an attempt to reconstruct the past of the Vietnamese government, moreover, it also aims to define the idealised characteristics of the Viet identity (Johnson, 2009). In this case, it started with the label tagged to the Complex as a refelction of "creative labor by the Vietnamese people over a long period of time" (ICOMOS, 1992). This creativity did not imply as one specific thing asociated with a specific Dynasty. It would rather symbolise the essence of the Viet across the long course of history. This characteristic of the people has built up a Hue as a "masterpiece of urban architectural poetry" (Hue Monument Conservation Center, 2018).

The Hue Complex joined in the global list at the time when Vietnam announced the total reformations of the economy which would be globally integrated, and at the time when American lifted their 20-year trade embargo. These conditions thus had brought into Vietnam the new winds of economic development, international exchanges, foreign investments, and mass tourism. However, accompany the wealth were various foreign social and cultural influences that shook the socialist ideologies of the VCP. Therefore, in this period, consolidating the national identity is considered one of the six national long-term strategies for Vietnam along its pathway to develop a market-based economy under the direction of socialism. The official inscription of Hue was one of the foundations for the VCP to form the national mission on building and developing a socialist culture that is imbued with national identity in the modern age (VCP, 1998).

Cultural heritages are identified the first among vital components of the national identity which are supposed to consolidate the spiritual lives of Vietnamese people on one hand, and to be the objective of the macro socio-economic development on the other hand (Long, 2003; VCP, 2015). More specifically within this national grand narrative of identity-making, Hue become an important part of the national self-definition that ensure the proper distance against the influences and contradictions of the fast socio-economical changes in the country and against the encroachment of the foreign cultures – termed as the "Western cultures" – as a result of the "Open door" policy (Johnson, 2010).

In 2001, Vietnam Law on Cultural Heritage came out that continued to emphasise the role of cultural heritage – both tangible and intangible – in developing the national identity of the Viet. However, if before the aim was to isolate the people's perceptions of the politically sensitive past for unifying, this has been switched to idealizing a version of a perfect the Viet that could both enhance for the international integration and reinforce the national identity between the global flows. Also in this year, the 9th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam called for a stronger mechanism to utilize culture as a means of "stimulating human being's efforts for personality, self-perfection, inheritance and self-support for national construction and defence" (Long, 2003; VCP, 2001). As a result, coming towards the twenty-first century, the Vietnamese

government on one hand advocates for the diversity of Vietnamese culture of 54 brother ethnicities, and on the other hand valorises more into depth the intangible aspects of culture that connect them all – which is largely known as the "diversity in Unity" narrative. Intangible cultural heritage, therefore, makes the spotlight serving as the cultural validation and development resource of the Party-State. Mrs. Nguyen Kim Dung – expert at Ministry of Culture and Information reported to UNESCO that "the Government of Viet Nam views the identification, protection and promotion of intangible cultural heritage as vital in the present period of rapid socio-economic transformation" (Cited in Salemink, 2013, p.165).

Simultaneously, this transformation was strongly influenced by UNESCO discourse on intangible cultural heritage marked by the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, Hue also successfully nominated the Royal court music as the "Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity", simultaneously inscribed it to the World Intangible Cultural Heritage list. Since then, the focus of the heritagization of the Hue Complex vigorously drives on valorizing royal art and culture. In 2010, Prime Minister Nguyen Thien Nhan signed Master plan for the conservation and enhancement of the Complex of the Hue Monuments' value for the period of 2010-2020, and boldly stated that:

> *"The Complex of Monuments and the Royal court music are the invaluable properties of the nation. Protecting the integrity of the Hue cultural values means to protect the national identity as well as enrich the culture of the humanity."[12]*

Turning from the "half-breed" criticism, recenlty the intangible cultural heritage of the Nguyen Dynasty in Hue has gradually received impetus attentions. Royal culture and arts relating to the Hue Complex after the 2000s are no longer perceived as the negative but as the comparative advantage of the province, and the country in general. Utilising this momentum, from 2009 to 2016, the royal culture succeeded to achieve 3 more inscriptions into the World Heritage list, including the Royal woodblocks, the Royal Archives and the Royal literature on Royal architecture under the category of the documentary. Nguyen arts and culture gradually confirm its role in the contemporary discourse of heritage within the grand narratives of identities and nation-building. It appears more and more both in scholarly discussions and media that imperial art and culture of the Hue Complex are preciously unique which creatively adopted from the Chinese influence to build up our own characteristics into the national traditions and to reflect the Vietnamese people' ideology and identities (Lockhart, 2001; Long, 2003).

Nowadays, the royal inheritance is commonly perceived as the pride and the properties of the region and of the whole nation. In 2014, a retrospective statement of the Outstanding Universal Value of the Complex of Hue monuments was approved by the World Heritage Committee at the

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[12] Statement in Decree 818/QD-TTG, extended from the previous "Master plan for the conservation and enhancement of the Complex of the Hue Monuments" values period 1996-2010' Decree 105/QD-TTG signed in 1996.

38th session as of follows: "Hue is not only an example of the traditional architectures but also the spiritual highlight and cultural center in which the Buddhism and Confucius mingle with the local cultural tradition embedding the distinctive ideology of religion, philosophy and ethics" (Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2015, p. 29). This made up the essence of the country that was concentrated in Hue giving it the most distinctive cultural characteristics.

5.5. The heritage on stage: Imagineering of the cultural heritage

From the most contentious object, the feudal heritage has now been claimed to be the universal value and national significance. So far, this transformation was made through two processes of isolation and idealisation. However, an World Heritage designation will not last if the idealised values could not practice its functions back in the respective society. In order to achieve this, the enlisted heritage needs to be re-contextualised so that it can be reintegrated into normal lives with added values, and also be publicly recognised and appreciated. This section will go into depth the valorisation process of the Complex of Hue Monument. Valorising heritage values is believed to gain the acceptance of the wider groups of audiences, thus, help to increase the designation position in the society.

5.5.1. Imagineering: Selling the heritage story

Imagineering was originally termed by Walt Disney in the entertainment business in the 1990s. It initially referred to the combination of creating iconic images and the technological engineering of those images to the reality (Salazar, 2011). In the context of developing countries, imagineering has been widely applied in order to manufacture the culture for different valorization purposes (Salazar, 2010; Walsh, 1992). This study perceives imagineering as a process to produce a simplified story or image of a heritage site that fits certain "themes" in order to trigger connections and sentimental emotions within the broader audiences so that the site will be widely recognised, accepted, valued and thus might urge potential consumptions.

During my field trip in Hue, I participated in several tours between different components of the inscribed heritage under the cover of a normal tourist. There are many options for tourists to experience the feudal monuments either by foot, by bicycle, by motor-bikes, or by boat. I took 2 walking tours in the Imperial City, one daily tour to different Emperors' tombs, one boat tour including Hue singing and Hue gastronomy services on board. Regardless of the eventful history of Hue, in all tours, tour guides always presented a Hue which is imbued with traditions, with rich culture. The same experiences are also expressed by other scholars. For example, Mark Johnson illuminate the story of a romanticising Hue, a city of beauty and charm reflected in culture and traditions in both of his studies (Johnson, 2010, 2003).

Hue has been positioned among the public as a place with its own unique culture, called the Hue culture. Hue culture is described as an integral part of Vietnamese culture, however, with its own

elements. These elements are the combination between the feudal dynasty culture, the Buddhism, and the folklore culture which have been co-existed, evolved and intertwined into integrity (Dinh, 2019; Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2019; Thua Thien Hue historians association, 2017). It is definitely challenging in order the separate these cultural layers separately in the ways of lives in Hue. Therefore, it makes Hue a special land that is often termed as "Xứ Huế" (translated as "Hue Land"). "Xứ" is an ancient Han-Nom (ancient Chinese-Vietnamese) character denoting for a geographic area with its own population and culture (Bui, 2008). "Xứ Huế" hence implies that Hue is different from any other places in Vietnam not only for its traditional uniqueness but also for the preservation against the effect of globalisation. Hue has its own branding title for everything including Hue heritage, Hue culture, Hue people, Hue girl, Hue language, Hue food, Hue landscape, Hue lifestyle. All imply towards somethings traditional, conservative, gentle, feminine, calm, tranquil, and romantic.

Nowadays, this dominant storyline of Hue is strongly linked with tourism branding and marketing activities. As cultural heritage tourism has vigorously boomed in Hue, efforts of imagineering cultural elements of Hue heritage are tremendous. The imagineering produces a simplified icon of the place so that it would be easier to appeal to the visitors. Hue heritage tourism depends greatly on their inscribed status to sell their stories in and outside the country. On the official commercial website of Vietnam National Administration of Tourism, Hue is introduced:

> *"Hue is a city chock-full of stories. The Kings of the Nguyen Dynasty built their feudal capital along Hue's fertile riverbanks and atop its forested hills, but their imperial legacy is just one of many reasons to visit. Hue's refined cuisine is the stuff of legend, and its leafy streets are lined with mossy pagodas, art déco mansions, and eye-popping markets. Through the whole scene flows the Perfume River, setting a languid pace the rest of the city is happy to follow." [13]*

The same could be seen on the Lonely Planet, the largest traveling webpage in the world:

> *"Hue is a historic citadel. Pronounced 'hway', this deeply evocative capital of the Nguyen emperors still resonates with the glories of imperial Vietnam, even though many of its finest buildings were destroyed during the American War."[14]*

Regardless of the cumulative layers of Hue history and culture, feudal heritage obviously is the most item that has been materialised in the production of Hue story. This fact is consistent with the images depicted about Hue for tourists. A research on measuring the attractiveness of Hue by Bui and Mai (2012) finds out that the tranquil landscape and the richness of historical and cultural heritage are the most ranked by the tourists. Interviews with the local tour operators also

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[13] Description of Hue city on website of Vietnam National Administration of Tourism: https://www.vietnam.travel/places-to-go/central-vietnam/hue

[14] Description of Hue city on Lonely Planet: https://www.lonelyplanet.com/vietnam/central-vietnam/hue

received the affirmation that the Dynasty story and World Heritage status are always used in the promotion of their tour products.

> *"We always refer to the World Heritage status and the dynasty life and culture when we sell tours. There are numerous tours related to World Heritage. It is very convenient if we mention the UNESCO status, visitors rarely interrogate into depth the real values of the properties. It is just easy that way, it is the brand of Hue" (Male, Tour operator, Hue city)*

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) argues the World Heritage list is such a convenient, low-cost, visible call to do symbolic things; in cases as Hue, this symbolic thing is the branding that boosts up heritage tourism activities at the site. The designated of Hue Complex has undergone that same evolving track of World Heritage properties that transform over time from a scientific judgments for conservation to become a highly recognised and appreciated brand that the city uses to appeal more tourists; and tourists in return by and large depend greatly on the image attached to the status to choose the destination to visit (Ryan and Silvanto, 2009). The next section will elucidate these images that have materialised the cultural heritage of Hue by focusing majorly on the iconic biannual event which is called the Hue Festivals.

5.5.2. Promoting the double-bind images – Hue: the city of festivals

Every other year, the city of Hue stages a magnificent international Festival. On stage, along the Perfume River and in the streets, the city celebrates its legacy as Vietnam's imperial capital and the home of its last feudal dynasty. Performances from all over the world will come and pack up the streets of Hue in order to entertain the audience to the very best (VNAT, 2019). This is the inviting description of the Vietnamese National Administration of Tourism about the Hue Festivals.

Hue Festival is a project moulded from the cooperation between the provincial government and the French Embassy in Vietnam. The first Hue Festival was held in 2000 which is described as the showcase of large-scale international festive and performances on culture, arts, tourism, and a forum to promote economic and cultural exchanges (Hue Festival Center, 2019). Since 2004, the festival took its official theme as "cultural heritage with integration and development" in order to fit in the larger master development plan of the city, the province and the country. This confirms the role of cultural heritage in the socio-cultural and economic settings in Hue. On the official website of the Hue Festival Centre, the Hue Festival is advertised as an international festival of national scale that showcases stunning art performances representing different cultures of Vietnam and other countries in the world. It will offer the audiences the quintessence of Hue's cultural and artistic values, inspired by UNESCO-recognized world heritages. The objectives of the festival are to honour Hue's cultural heritage as well as Vietnam's national identity towards people from all over the world. However, the ultimate function is to serve as the pre-requisite to building up Hue - the festival city of Vietnam and of the region. Over the 10 successive festivals, Hue strives

to shape this "city of festivals" image which strongly represents the official themes of both local heritage promotion and development and global integration.

Consequently, the key image depicted during Hue Festivals is always the outstanding uniqueness of the culture. The main performances are enactments and exhibitions of the Nguyen Dynasty culture and art (figure 5-4). After every Festival celebration, more and more traditional rituals have been revitalised in order the diversify the festival activities as well as to better promote the world-recognised heritage of Hue.

Figure 5-4. Enacting performances of cultural heritage

(Source: Hue Festival Center, 2018 and Hue Monument Conservation Center, 2018)

According to the HMCC, after 10 successive festivals, the government have successfully conserved, revitalised and promoted the local cultural distinctiveness which reflected in the increase and diversification of festival activities. Many rituals and traditions have been re-enacted each time such as performance of Royal court music (first performed in Festival 2004), re-enact the Royal night (2006), Nam Giao Offering rituals (2006), Xa Tac Offering rituals (2010) (Hue Monument Conservation Center, 2018).

One of the most important events in Hue Festival is the "Royal Night" (also referred as "Imperial Night") (Figure 5-5). Royal Night is an art program associated with festivals held in Hue since 2006. It is the re-enactment of shimmering beauty of the royal life within the Citadel at night. By paying

1.9 Million VND (approximately 65 euro), visitors will be able to discover the routine and royal rites of royal families just as lively as how they were hundred years ago. The provided package offers a night within the Imperial city where in the old time was highly restricted only for the King, his Queens, and royal children. During the night, visitors will be served with royal cuisine while the royal music and performances, folk games would be played in the background. There is also a place for tourists to try on costumes of King, Queen, or mandarins and sit on duplicated thrones.

Figure 5-5. Images of the Royal Night (3 photos)

(Photo 1 – Hue Festival Center, 2018)

Photo 1 shows the ambience of an imperial night which took place in the Forbidden City inside the Citadel. Highlights of the program include the enactment of the royal family such as the Emperors, the Queen, the concubines and the mandarins (photo 2), and the Royal banquet (photo 3).

(Photo 2 – Enactment of Royal Family – Hue Festival Center, 2018)

(Photo 3 – Royal banquet that showed off the Royal cuisine – Hue Festival Center, 2018)

Royal cuisine is another famous aspect of Royal culture that brings out the authenticity and the tastes of the past. Royal cuisine mostly serves in shapes of Phoenix and Dragon, which symbolise the power and nobility of the Royal family. It is also referred back to the fairy tales about the origin of the Viet People - the children of the Dragon and the Fairy lady. The dishes are prepared by the gastronomic artists to assure the original taste and display. In the international symposium organised by HMCC on 20th March 2018, royal cuisine was recommended to apply for a World Heritage status by the Vietnam National Commission of Heritage.

In contrast with the traditional story of the feudal families, another side of Hue Festivals delivers exceptionally bright, lively and integrated performances of arts and music. On every occasion of Hue festivals, art troupes and performers from Vietnam and other countries are invited to stage in public places for the audiences (Figure 5-6). The 2018 Hue festival alone had invited participants from 21 countries all over the world including French, Belgium, Poland, Mongolia, Japan, Sri Lanka, Mexico, Cuba, and ect., (Hue Monument Conservation Center, 2018). These performances strengthen the symbol of the international integration of the Vietnamese culture in general. On accessing the impacts of Hue Festival, the interviewed expert asserts:

> *"In term of cultural promotion, Hue Festival has gained significant success. It has contrasted the uniqueness of Hue culture compared to the others, but also simultaneously, integrated this uniqueness as a part of all other cultures in the world"*
> *(Female, Expert in heritage tourism, Hue city)*

Figure 5-6. Street performances in Hue Festivals

(Photo: Anh Dang Photographer @maze Vietnam, 2018)

By integrating different performances in the display of Hue festivals, the imagineering of cultural elements, on the one hand, has reinforced the previous national narratives of nationalism imbued with diverse culture and identity; and on the other hand, promoted the sense of integration and modernity. Nonetheless, it should not be ignored the juxtaposition between the ideological and economic functions of cultural heritage in the case of Hue. Hence, the imaginary production is to explicitly serve the political and economic purposes for the interested parties.

5.6. Reiteration of heritage values and position

Valorisation of heritage value is the process that re-contextualise back to the current society but by adding values and attaching new functions so that it can be widely respected and desired. This is the final step of the process of heritagization when the chosen items from the past fully have a new life in the present.

In the case of Hue, the cultural heritage, the unfavourable past such as the relics of the Nguyen Dynasty, now have vividly been revitalised and given new functions. Dating back to the time of economic reform in Vietnam, Hue cultural heritage has been playing well the role of bridging the country with the international community in terms of bringing in foreign expertise, investments and tourists (Long, 2003). The first designation of the Hue Complex as World heritage in 1993 has paved the road for early engagement of international organisations, most noticeably was UNESCO, for the country. It helps to put the name of Vietnam into the global map not as a

warzone but as a prestige and culturally unique place that is worth visiting. Commenting on the impacts of the designation in Hue, Vu and Ton-That state:

"The impact of listing was two-fold. On the one hand, it stimulated interest in the city's cultural heritage and brought an increase in tourist arrivals. On the other hand, international resources and expertise, made available for the protection and renewal of their cultural assets, have facilitated a transformation in the way the city's cultural heritage is presented for tourists, which in turn, re-positioned Hue's heritage in light of its aesthetics and cultural achievements" (Vu and Ton-That, 2012, p. 238).

Along with the modern history of unifying and developing Vietnam, the national and provincial government from time to time have reaffirmed the values and importance of Hue cultural heritage. Throughout the heritagization process of Hue's cultural heritage, three key claims have been repeatedly made and re-made.

The first claim confirms the role of Hue cultural heritage in the construction of national identity. This claim is salient since the 1990s after the open door policy. Against the flows of international economic and social exchanges, Hue cultural heritage acts as the anchor of an idealised set of modern Viet's identity, which helps unite and separate Vietnamese collectively from other foreign influences. The master plan for the "conservation and enhancement of the Complex of the Hue Monuments" value for the period of 2010-2020 strongly emphasised that "protecting the integrity of the Hue cultural values means to protect the national identity". This vision was then reiterated in the most recent Management Plan of The Complex of Monuments in Hue period 2015-2020, vision 2030, approved by the Thua Thien-Hue Provincial People's Committee in June 2015.

The second claim emphasises the bridging function of World Heritage properties which was developed from the date of the designation until recently as shown saliently in the celebrating themes of the Hue Festival. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006), the listing of cultural heritage values de-contextualises the selected items with any local settings, and thus, the list becomes the context of the items themselves. However, the study has shown a more complicated process of de-contextualization and re-contextualization of recognised heritage. To be nominated into the World Heritage list, the Hue Complex's cultural heritage values were initially isolated from its existing contextual settings; nevertheless, it was not obtained only in the prestige list only, but it would rather be perceived as the linkage between the duo spaces. As a property in the list of universal value, it represents the fact that Vietnamese culture has been accepted and valorised as an element of the human being's culture (Phan, 2018; Tran and Phan, 2002). On the reverse direction, it bridges the international flows – promoted as the flows of industrialisation, modernity and civilisations – back into Vietnam. Until the present day, this claim of bridging between spaces is purported in the celebration themes of Hue Festivals. "Culture Heritage with integration and

development" has become the main slogan for Hue Festival nearly the past two decades. At every Festival event, the slogan will be reiterated on a large scale.

> *"Hue Festival is just like a friendly reminder. Every two years, it reminds the people that Hue is possessing a valuable World classed heritage. It is like a friend who occasionally calls you up, reminds you of his existence and reconfirms your friendship" (Male, Photographer at 5 Hue Festivals, Hue city)*

The third claim, which is increasingly relevant in the current settings of Hue province and Vietnam, canonises heritage values as the leading resources for the socio-economic development of the province and the country. The Master plan for the social and economic development of Thua Thien – Hue province until 2020 (approved by the Prime Minister in Decree No. 89/2009/ QD-Ttg on 17th June 2009) committed to developing Hue as a centre of culture and tourism, a unique City of Festivals in Vietnam. This will be the momentum for the economic growth, which will be the driving forces for the socio-economic development of Thua Thien – Hue province and the key economic region of Central Vietnam. Following this claim, the conservation and utilisation of Hue heritage for the provincial and national socio-economic development have been inextricably linked. The provincial target for the period of 2020 is to protect and enhance the World Heritage values to development Hue into a cultural – tourism centre of the nation and the region (Decree No.86/2009/QD-TTG on the Master plan of social and economic development of Thua Thien-Hue to 2020). It appeared that this once-denied traditional cultural heritage rather than the contemporary culture become the greater concerns of the Vietnamese national state to shape their culture and development policy in the modern age (Saltiel, 2014).

Therefore, the awarding of World Heritage status to the Hue Complex in 1993 has been crucial hitch to the reassessment of Hue's past, present and future. It has re-defined the contentious feudal past to be the sources of socio-economic development of the nation at present (Long, 2003). Witnessing the influx of global investments and tourists, the Vietnamese government soon realises that cultural heritage generates enormous economic benefits through the development of tourism. The Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism publicly addresses this inextricable links between heritage conservation and tourism. According to them, tourism is the only source of inspiration that can motivate people to visit historical and cultural relic sites. Tourism can mobilise and create enough resources that will be financed for preservation, up-gradation and day to day operational costs of the heritage sites. In return, only good preservation combining with marketing and investment in infrastructure will attract more visitors (Vietnam National Administration of Tourism, 2017). And apparently, for the last three decades, the cultural heritage in Hue has lived up with its new functions as heritage tourism became the greatest source of income for the provincial budget. The Citadel, one of the 14 components of the Complex, has alone attracted millions of tourists which generates a great source of revenues for the heritage

conservation and for the provincial development budget. Heritage has gradually become an asset (Bendix, 2009; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006).

5.7. Dominant actors and their pieces in the story

"The Complex of Hue has earned its new position and function in society in general, and in the heart of the Hue people in particular."

That is the statement of Professor Dang Van Bai, Vice Chairman of the Vietnam Heritage Union in the International symposium of "Sustainable Management and appropriate utilisation of the cultural landscape and historical-eco system at royal tombs of Nguyen Dynasty and Huong river's upstream basin" organised under the collaboration between the HMCC and Waseda University, on 18th March 2018, Hue city. It is not difficult nowadays to find such a statement about the heritage values of Hue since the feudal legends have been re-constructed from the detested to be the favourites. Although it is a common thing that all nations construct their own myths, legend and story, the interesting thing in the case of Hue is the intertwining of both global and local dominant actors in this process of construction.

To reverse the position of the Hue Complex, it was firstly due to the active supports from the UNESCO and other international interventions in answering the call from Mr M' Bow between 1981 and 1990. In this period, the national government still paid no interest in the heritage values of Hue due to political prejudices. The outside intervenes have ignited the reconstruction and conservation of the mistreated monuments. More importantly, the foreign factors have put the first step to separate the heritage from its previous ideological and political controversies.

In the isolation phase, the leading involvement of international experts, as well as their materially aesthetic judgements, have avoided the government to confront their difficult position. Scientific measurements and inventories that are provided from the international experts have effaced the political aspects of the monuments. This is the crucial step that had decontextualised the heritage as well as navigated the focus to the material and aesthetical appreciation of the properties. In different records of the Hue Complex profile, the roles of international experts in the early days of recognising heritage values are strongly emphasised including some of the most vital scientists such as Mr Martin Brown, Mr Jean-Pierre Pichard and Mr Kazimier Kwiatkowski. Mr Martin Brown was an American architect from UNESCO. He was among the first scientists coming to Hue right after the Tet Offensive battle to assess the destruction of the Hue monuments and the condition for reconstructions. His research results were latter submitted to UNESCO providing the scientific plan for reconstruction. Mr Jean-Pierre Pichard – a French archaeologist – was another scientist sent by UNESCO to Vietnam to reassess the current damages of Hue. His visit had led to many more visitations of other experts from UNESCO after the official call of Mr M'Bow. One of the outstanding names is Mr Kazimier – a Polish architect and conservator from the PKZ organisation.

Mr Kazimier not only contributed his scientific work to the assessments of the heritage values of the Complex, but he also widely introduced the heritage to the other Soviet-bloc experts. It is believed that these were the first foreign tourists coming to Hue and Vietnam at the time when the country was under severe recession and suffered heavily from the American embargo. Thanks to the efforts of the international experts, the cultural heritage of Hue has got the interests of the national government who had later nominated this property. The involvement of the international experts had also helped to construe the Complex as an architectural and artistic masterpiece and ignored any political and historical intimidation.

After the official designation to the list, the Hue complex was now being reassessed with a more positive image. Since then, the manufacturing of the heritage values entered the phase of idealisation. In this phase, the national government plays a leading role. Aligning with the UNESCO World Heritage trends at different times, VCP has utilised the cultural values to manifest for its grand narratives of national unification and then of the "diversity in unity". Cultural heritage is manifested to symbolise the idealised set of Vietnamese identity, which is described as the new socialist man. This leading role of the national government in shaping the ideological functions of the cultural heritage of the Hue Complex has never been forgotten to be reemphasised. It reflects clearly in a series of laws and development plans, namely the 1998 National Resolution No. 5 on building an advanced Vietnamese culture imbued with national identity, the National cultural heritage Law 2001 and 2009, Plan to develop Hue as the Festival city 2007, the Plan of conservation and development period of 2010-2020 for the World Heritage in Hue, management plan of the Hue Complex of monuments 2015. Most recently, in the official meeting with the provincial People's Committee of Thua Thien – Hue province, the Deputy Prime Minister Vu Duc Dam asserts that: "Until this moment, the culture of Hue people and Hue people is still very traditional and charming. This is not because of the inheritance from the tradition, but it is also the most obvious result of a development process of Hue's cultural and human leading by the ideology and spirit of the Communist Party Central Committee accordingly to the National Resolution 33"[15](Dinh, 2019).

In the valorisation stage, the local government holds the most power to decide the conservation and development of the recognised heritage under the leading ideologies of the Communist part. Heritage is termed by the provincial government as the pride highly representative for the local people and as the leading resource for the economic development of the province. Hence, all of the heritagization activities at this period are to nurse this juxtaposition of conservation and development. Being authorised the direct management power over the Hue cultural heritage, the HMCC has materialised the cultural elements in the manifestation of valorising this 'universal'

[15] Resolution 33-NQ / TW dated 9/6/2014 in the Eleventh National Congress meeting which focused on "Building and developing Vietnamese culture and people that meet the requirements of sustainable development of the country".

designation to gain universal recognition and appreciation. The HMCC is believed to get increasingly more powerful along this process of shaping and spreading the heritage images.

> *"It is ironic that the HMCC is more powerful than the provincial Department of Tourism, although in principle the Department should hold the control. But "people are strong because of rice, powerful because of money" (mạnh vì gạo, bạo vì tiền). The HMCC holds all the funding and revenues in the UNESCO monuments, sure they have the power." (Male, officer of provincial Department of Tourism, Hue city)*

In the promotion of Hue Festival, the Center was also observed to have the most significant position. The centre works directly and authorises access to designated sites for other stakeholders during the Festival, including the tour providers, tourism enterprises, media, or tour guides. Under my encounters with different tour operators, tour guides, as well as photographers, I learn that the centre always ensures that the images of Hue are properly recorded, reported and transferred. Certain stories of the Dynasty are also trained among the tour guides so that a common version of Hue history will be told to the visitors. One of my interview with a photographer who has been working for 5 Festivals in Hue, and many other arts and cultural events in the city for the last ten years was going as following:

> *Researcher: "Do you have certain requirements when taking pictures and reporting on events relating to the World Heritage in Hue? Such as in the events of Hue festivals?"*

> *Photographer: All pictures taken are under orientation and strict monitoring of the Center. However, it is the unspoken rules around the reporters here. We silently know what to capture and report. I heard that they do have a "blacklist" of reporters who did not comply with the rules. He will probably get no invitation and will end up his career taking pictures under the Truong Tien Bridge[16].*

This finding relates back to the previous research of Mark Johnson on "Aspiring to the 'Tourist Gaze': Selling the Past, Longing for the Future at the World Heritage Site of Hue, Vietnam" (2010). Working closely with researchers and tour guides from the HMCC, he pointed out that researchers and tour guides have overtly been spreading the dominant authorised view of Hue which was framed as a "testament of Vietnamese cultural creativity and a key to a renewed sense of national identity" even when several of them might have critical concerns over this authorised construction of the heritage in Hue (Johnson, 2010, p. 197).

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[16] "Under the Truong Tien Bridge" is a common public spot. Local people and visitors often come to this place to rest and many of them will want to casually ask for help of taking pictures. This is perceived as an unwanted job for a photographer's career.

5.8. Conclusion

The chapter attempts to understand the heritagization of cultural World Heritage in Vietnam through the case of the Hue Complex. In the process, multiple flows, as well as the negotiations between actors, have been traced and analysed. The findings illustrate that the transformative process of the Hue Complex consists of three different phases, including isolation, idealisation, and valorisation. These phases are not only about de-politicizing a past that would not challenge the dominant regime, but also about present attempts to define cultural values into a set of symbolic materials that effectively idealises the best of Vietnamese national culture and people, and to valorise it as the pre-eminent sites for tourism development. This process contains political, ideological and economic purposes (Di Giovine, 2009; Johnson, 2010, 2003).

Possessing a multi-layered contested background, the Hue Complex had to be firstly isolated from its political controversies before getting the state's interest of nominating for World Heritage status. To do so, the cultural values of the site have been navigated towards the aesthetic judgment and architectural and artefactual endorsement of the property. This has simultaneously neutralised the previous political contestations and aligned the Complex values with the UNESCO standards, leading to the official enlisting. Ever since the designation, the Complex has been re-integrated into the contemporary society with idealised values and functions. Heritage values are construed into the narratives of national unifying, building and development. Most importantly, in this phase, the central government has forged and promoted a symbolic "the Viet" identity through idealising the recognised values. Furthermore, cultural values are imagineered into simplified images that could be suitable for mass consumptions. These consumptions mostly refer to national branding and marketing for tourism activities. This process aims to valorise the Complex as an appealing attraction that will be desired by large groups of tourists nationally and globally. The Complex thus turns into an enormous source of income which contributes significantly to the economic development of the country.

Along the process, international and national actors are spotted to be the main players. However, the relation between them shifted differently between the three phases. In isolation, the international actors such as the UNESCO, its bodies, and experts played the most dominant roles. Heritagization was made based on their technical assessments. The later phases witness the leading role of the national state in which World Heritage designation is made as political and economic strategic tool articulating specific narratives claims for the purposes of the nation-state itself (Di Giovine, 2009). Nevertheless, it does not mean that the heritagization of Hue complex is dispatched completely from the global trends at this point, it rather synchronises in a way that could ensure the national heritage schemes to maintain the fit in the global standardisations. Eventually, moving towards the third phase, the relationship between global and national actors is increasingly shifting to be more collaborative.

CHAPTER 6. "FORESTS ARE GOLD?" THE HERITAGIZATION OF PHONG NHA – KE BANG NATIONAL PARK

6.1. Introduction

This chapter continues the main argument by looking at the heritagization of natural World Heritage sites in Vietnam. It takes Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park (PNKB NP) as a case to analyse the transformation of a specific place into a natural World Heritage. Brief background information about the chosen site and conducted methods will be presented in the first two sections. From section three to six of the chapter, the process that transforms the Park into an iconic site will be fully elaborated through different phases. Through these analyses, the last part will reflect on the roles played by different actors along this process.

6.1.1. Study site

Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park is located in the administrative territory of Quang Binh province, around 40km North-West from the provincial capital city - Dong Hoi. Road distances are about 500km to the South of the Capital Hanoi and around 210km to the North of Hue city (figure 6-1).

Figure 6-1. The map of Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park
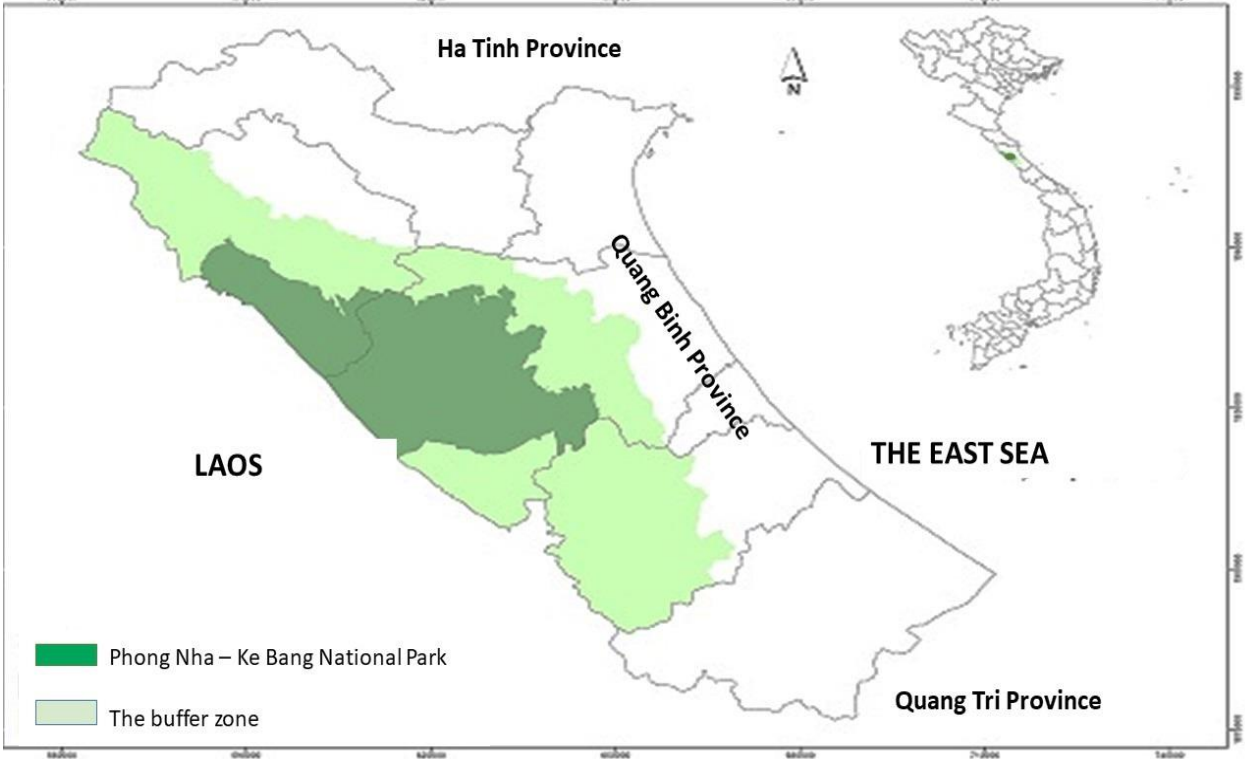
(Photo: PNKB Management Board, 2018)

The Park shares its border with the Hin Namno Nature Reserve in Khammouane Province, the Peoples Democratic Republic of Laos to the West. The Park has a complex geographical topology which comprises highly steep mountains, systems of rivers, and underground caves. These characteristics divide the region into three basic geographic forms: mountains, transition areas, and narrow plains. The mountainous areas are 800m high on average; some places can peak 1600m. PNKB NP is covered by a large area of primary forests on limestone which is the habitat for diverse natural species. It is known as one of the two largest limestone regions in the world. The history of limestone formation in PNKB is believed to have dated back more than 400 million years ago.

Being bestowed upon massive natural resources and biodiversity, Quang Binh province, however, is generally known as the poorest area of Vietnam. In 2018, the provincial GDP per capita was 37.5 million VND (approximately 1,620 USD, compared with the national average of 2,587 USD)[17]. Moreover, the province ranks amongst the most affected by natural disasters and environmental changes. In 2017, the province had been hit by three big typhoon, four floods, and one tropical depression. The estimated total damage caused by these disasters was 7,922.511 billion VND (around 345 million USD). This figure was double the total budget revenue of the province in that year (Nguyen H., 2018).

This situation is even worse in the PNKB area. PNKB is the mountainous area of the province. The National Park alone covers an area of more than 343,000 hectares included both core and buffer zones, which is inextricably connected to the lives of more than 68,000 people (The Management board, 2017). Besides, the local demography is characterised by the diversity of ethnicities, including the Kinh, the Bru-Van Kieu, the Ruc, and the Chut. In the area, local livelihoods are historically dependent on natural resources. The majority of the local people are still living in deep poverty. At present, the average poverty rate of the PNKB area was at 40.54%, compared with the national average of 6.72% in 2017 (MOLISA, 2018; Truong, 2018).

6.1.2. Methods

The research process in PNKB NP was divided into 2 phases that not only helped the researcher to collect a rich amount of both secondary and primary data but also allowed a scientific triangulation and analysis process. It was the first time that the researcher worked in the area; therefore, intensive reviews were carefully carried out in order to obtain a general view of the area prior to the first field visit started in August 2017. Thorough plans of networking and drafting piloting question were carefully designed in this period.

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[17] National statistics in 2018 provided by General Statistics Office of Vietnam
https://www.gso.gov.vn/default.aspx?tabid=512&idmid=5&ItemID=19298, accessed on 13th April, 2019.

The first phase took place between Augusts to December 2017, where the researcher adopted the four-stage methods (Buchanan et al., 2014, 1988). Getting in was considered perusing official permission for entrance and practising research activities in different communes of the area. Due to the large geographic area and population, I only focused on three communes, namely Son Trach, Hung Trach and Phuc Trach. Son Trach is known as the gate to the Park. Most administrative bodies and tourism activities take place in this commune. Hung Trach and Phuc Trach are the two neighbouring communes of Son Trach. Besides, Phuc Trach lies along the highway that connects PNKB with Dong Hoi, the capital city. Under the expanding impacts of the World Heritage designation, these communes are believed to be the most dynamic. Hence, conducting fieldwork in these communes will provide valuable insights into the study.

During the getting in, village wandering and observations were applied in order to map out the whole picture of the studied area. Backing up by the fact that the researcher's grandparents originated from the neighbour region of Quang Binh province, I easily introduced myself as both visitor and researcher who wanted to learn about my grandparents' birthplace. Therefore, I was more warmly welcomed by the local people. This enabled me with more advantages to move around different villages and conducted both overt and covert observations. Different stakeholders were also identified in this stage. Afterwards, getting on stage followed up with the practice of approaching and building up a rapport with the previously identified stakeholders. In parallel, the researcher took part in different tours in the area in order to learn how the flows of tourism, of people, of images, are being operated. This stage also helped the researcher to understand more the interactions between different stakeholders at the very local level. Different pilot interviews and informal talks were exploited whenever the chances came up. The final research step in the first phase was getting out, which means the researcher left the study site and prepared for coming back.

Data collected in the first phase was promptly structured, reflected and adjusted for the second phase, which took place between January and June 2018. The second phase continued with the stages of getting back – getting on – getting out. Thanks to the rapports established in the first phase, I started a series of in-depth interviews with a wide range of actors including the local people, the boat drivers, the tour guide, the tour companies, etc. Information from these interviews was repeatedly reflected with the research questions, as well as coded into different urgent topics. These topics were picked up into the interviews with a higher level of Park management, including in-depth interviews with three officers of the Management Board, one forest ranger, two provincial officers, and an IUCN expert. I also approached different local tour operators (2 people), accommodation providers (4), tour guide (3), tourist (2) and especially the local people (20). In total, the study has conducted 39 interviews.

Table 6-1. Profiles of interviewed informants

Actors	Number of informants	Conducted methods
Provincial/communal Officers	2	In-depth interviews
Site management board and staff	3	In-depth and Semi-structured interviews
Tour operators	2	In-depth interviews
Accommodation providers	4	In-depth and semi-structured interviews
Tour guide	3	In-depth and semi-structured interviews
Experts	1	In-depth interviews
Other local businesses	2	Semi-structured interviews
Local People	20	In-depth and semi-structured interviews
Visitors	2	Semi-structured interviews
Total	**39**	

(Source: Data collection, 2017-2018)

During the whole research period, the researcher regularly follows the virtual flows about PNKB NP on the internet. This source of information captures the process of creating images, destination marketing and promotions of the Park for the wider audiences. It also helps the researcher to understand the informal discourse and interactions between different actors in the cyberspace, which nowadays play no less important role in the heritage-making process.

6.2. Profile of Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park

6.2.1. Brief history

Phong Nha - Ke Bang National Park was formerly established as Phong Nha special-use forest in August 1986. Its total area at the time of establishment was about 5,000 hectares. It was the first special-use forest in Quang Binh province which aimed to preserve the ecosystem of primaeval forest on Limestone Mountains associated with the historical relics of the Vietnamese nation. In 1993, Quang Binh provincial People's Committee decided to transformed Phong Nha special-use forest into Phong Nha Nature Reserve and extended its area to 41,132 ha. In 2001, the reserve was upgraded to National Park opening its protected areas to 85,754 ha. Due to the expansion, the park now covered both Phong Nha cave system and Ke Bang limestone mountains, from which it earned the name – Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park.

In the 27th session of the World Heritage Committee at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in 2003, PNKB NP was inscribed as a natural World Heritage site under the criterion (i) which was written as:

- Criterion (i): Phong Nha is part of a larger dissected plateau, which also encompasses the Ke Bang and Hin Namno karsts. The limestone is not continuous and demonstrates complex interbedding with shales and sandstones. This, together with the capping of schists and apparent granites, has led to a particularly distinctive topography (UNESCO, 2003, 27COM8C.8, p.106).

In 2015, the Parks was re-nominated and inscribed once more time under the criteria (ix) and (x) of biodiversity. Another extension was applied, which increase the park surface to 126,236 hectares (a 46% increase). The extension was justified for more thorough protection that can ensure the integrity of the whole limestone landscape. Nowadays, PNKB NP is globally valorised by three main characteristics, including (UNESCO, 2015):

- Criterion (viii): a distinctive example of a complex karst landform in Southeast Asia, and great importance for the understanding of the geologic, geomorphic and geochronological history of the region
- Criterion (ix): a complex limestone landscape, the largest remaining areas of relatively intact moist forest on karst in Indochina which protects globally significant ecosystems within the Northern Annamites Rainforests and Annamite Range Moist Forests priority ecoregions.
- Criterion (x): a high level of biodiversity

In summary, UNESCO stated that: "PNKB displays an impressive amount of evidence of earth's history. It is a property of very great importance for increasing our understanding of the geologic, geomorphic and geochronological history of the region" (UNESCO, 2018).

6.2.2. Natural values

PNKB NP covers a unique limestone karst ecosystem that is outstandingly known as the oldest major karst area in Asia evolving since the Palaeozoic period of some 400 million years ago (UNEP-WCMC, 2017; UNESCO, 2018). Due to terrific tectonic changes of the earth's history, the karst landscape in the Park is both complex and ancient which favours the place with marvellous geodiversity, geomorphic features and habitat-wise settings. The formation of the karst system has led to the creation of underground rivers, and more than 300 caves with different varieties including dry caves, terraced caves, suspended caves, dendritic caves, and intersecting caves (Figure 6-2). PNKB is home to Son Doong – the world's largest cave in terms of diameter and continuity, which was explored in 2009 (UNESCO, 2015).

The limestone karst structures have architected a complex forestry landscape in PNKB which are considered as one of the largest moist forests on karst in Indochina. The forest is estimated to cover 94% of the Park, of which 84% is primary. Besides, the cave ecosystems and habitats in the underground rives are unique with high levels of endemism and adaptations displayed by cave-dependent species. There is also strong evidence that sulphurous solution and hydrothermal action have significantly formed the broad-scale landscape and the caves (IUCN, 2002)

Figure 6-2. Phong Nha – Ke Bang landscape and caves

(Photo: PNKB tourism centre, 2017-2018)

Furthermore, the Park also harbours a high level of biodiversity with numerous endemic faunal and floral species with 2.951 types of plants and 1.394 types of animals. Of which, there are over 800 vertebrate species, 154 mammals, 117 reptiles, 58 amphibians, 314 birds, and 170 fishes. In terms of animals, there are 835 varieties, 289 families, 66 sets, 12 classes, four branches. 83 species are recorded in the Vietnam Red Book, 110 species are recorded in the IUCN Red Book. Meanwhile, the flora is also extremely diverse, consisting of 1,006 genera, 198 families, 62 orders, 11 classes, six branches. 112 floral species are recorded in the Vietnam Red Book, 121 species are recorded in the IUCN Red Book (Hoang, 2018; IUCN, 2010). The Park clearly has impressive levels of biodiversity within its intact forest cover, notwithstanding some gaps in knowledge of the population status of some species (IUCN, 2002; Quang Binh Provincial People's Committee, 2016).

6.2.3. Zoning and social lives

PNKB NP is managed in two zones, including the core zone and the buffer zone. The core zone is further divided into three components: the strictly protected, the ecological recovery, and the administrative and services (Table 6-2). According to the Provincial People's Committee, the strictly protected zone is protected and preserved for the natural processes and site integrity. The ecological recovery is reserved for forest and natural recovery. Lastly, the administrative and service zone is used for the construction of administrative buildings, research centres, laboratories, and other entertainment and services properties (Quang Binh Provincial People's Committee, 2007).

Table 6-2 Total areas of different zones in Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park

Zones	Core zone (ha)	Buffer zone (ha)
Strictly protected	100.296	
Ecological recovery	19.619	
Administrative and service	3.411	219.855,34
Total of the core zone of the Park	**123.326**	
Total affected area	**343.181,34**	

(Source: PNKB management Board, 2018)

In the strictly protected and ecological recovery zones, all activities that affect, change, cultivate, or extract forest and natural resources and landscape are extremely prohibited. Although the core zone is protected from the interventions of people's activities, there are two villages of the ethnic minorities living in the ecological recovery zone nowadays. These people belong to Arem and Dong villages who are of 307 people living in 79 households. These people have been living in the Park over a long period of history (T. V. H. Nguyen, 2018;Truong, 2018).

With the newest extension of the Park in 2015, the buffer zone has now covered the area of 155 villages in 13 communes of 3 districts and affected the lives of 68.501 people (PNKB Management Board, 2018). The Kinh ethnicity is the majority of the local population which accounts for 83,1%. The following are the Bru-Van Kieu (12.6%) and the Chut (4.3%) (Truong, 2018).

Three districts of PNKB located in the mountainous area of the province where the local lives are poor and forest-dependent. The population density is low due to the complex geographic typology, which is recorded around 19.96 people per km2 (PNKB Management Board, 2018). For comparison, the average figures of the province and the whole country in 2016 are 110 and 280 people/km2 respectively (General statistics of Vietnam, 2018). However, population distribution among the communes is uneven. Communes with high density are Phuc Trach (181 people / km2),

Hung Trach (122 people / km2), and Son Trach (107 people / km2). On the contrary population in the higher mountainous areas such as Tan Trach and Thuong Trach are very sparse (Tan Trach commune is more than one person / km2, Thuong Trach commune is more than three people / km2) (Truong, 2018). Major livelihood activities in the buffer zone are agriculture and forestry, accounting for 97,98% of total household income. The socio-economic indications of 13 communes are reflected in Table 6-3:

Table 6-3. Average household income and poverty rate of communes in the buffer zone in 2017

No.	Communes	Number of households	The average income per capita (Million VND/ year)[18]	Poverty rate (%)[19]
1	Sơn Trạch	2,674	16,80	19.86
2	Phúc Trạch	2,507	7,50	49.75
3	Xuân Trạch	1,428	8,60	54.62
4	Hưng Trạch	2,833	12,80	11.50
5	Phú Định	784	16,23	11.50
6	Tân Trạch	74	1,60	74.30
7	Thượng Trạch	483	3,44	97.50
8	Trung Hóa	1,234	5,40	19.80
9	Thượng Hóa	737	4,20	50.75
10	Trọng Hóa	759	3,90	84.58
11	Dân Hóa	790	4,38	87.72
12	Hóa Sơn	375	4,26	40.00
13	Trường Sơn	1,013	9,00	50.15
Total buffer zone		**15,700**		**40.54**

(Source: Provincial annual statistics, 2017)

Most of the Kinh people live in the lower terrains along the Son River and Chay River, where they mainly cultivate rice and vegetables. Meanwhile, the ethnic minorities live in the higher communes, which are so much remoted and underdevelopment. They depend vigorously on primitive agricultural practices such as swidden and nomadism, and forest resources such as collecting timber, hunting animals, picking up fruits. As a consequence, the designation of PNKB NP has directly affected the livelihoods of the local people in 13 communes of the buffer zones in different directions.

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[18] Exchange rate in December 2017 was 22,432.69 VND/ 1USD
[19] According to the Ministry of The Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs, the average income and the poverty rate of Vietnam in 2017 were 53.3 million VND (equals to 2,385 USD) and 6.72% . The poverty line for the rural area is 400 thousand VND per month (total to 4.8 million VND per household per year)

6.2.4. Management systems

The institutional framework for management and monitoring of the PNKB NP is complex, which relies upon close inter-agency cooperation for effectiveness (Figure 6-3).

Figure 6-3. The institutional framework for management and monitoring of PNKB NP
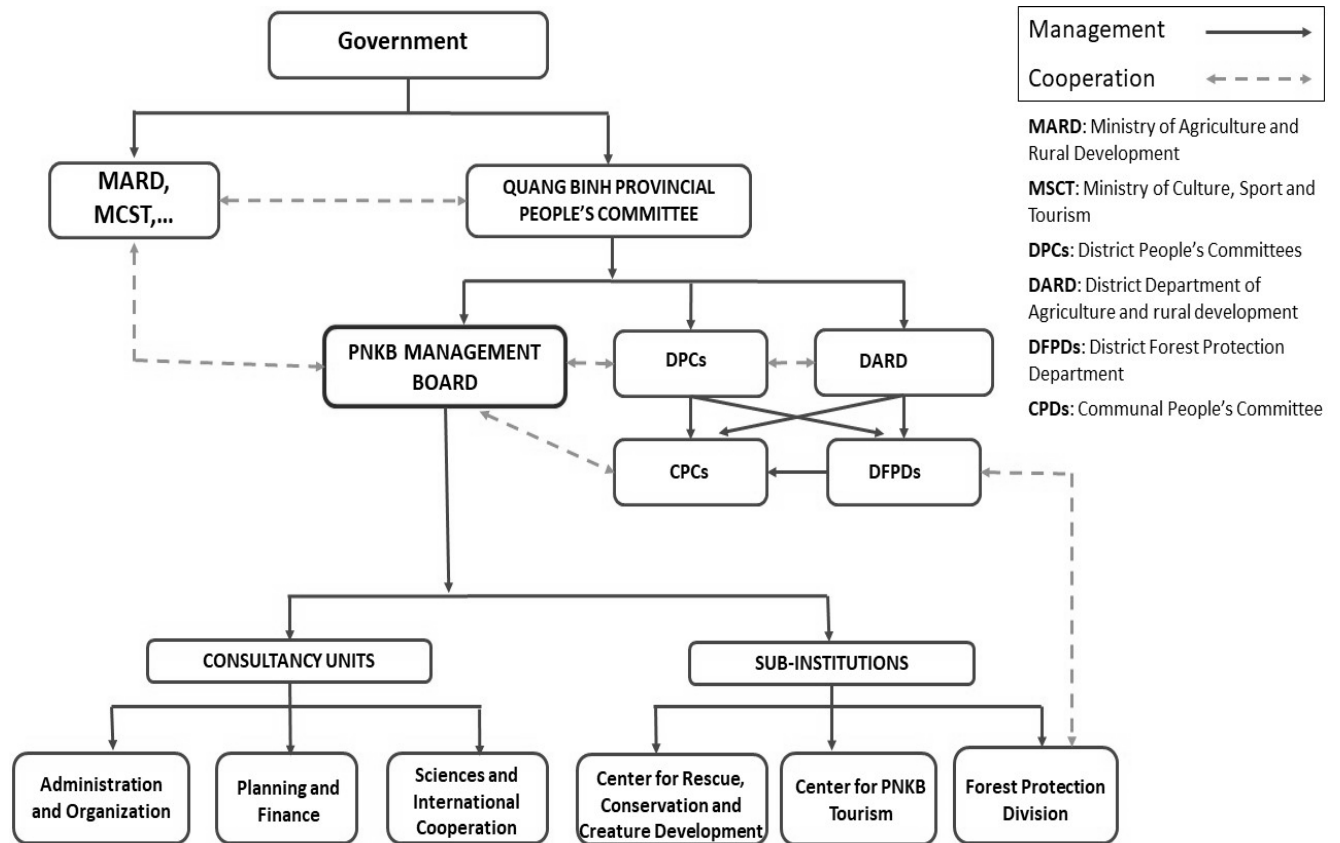
(Source: PNKB Management Board, 2017)

The Provincial People's Committee of Quang Binh Province holds the highest level of authority and responsibility for managing and monitoring activities in the PNKB NP. Under the jurisdiction of the Provincial People's Committee, PNKB NP Management Board is missioned to advise and assist the Provincial People's Committee in implementing the responsibility of managing, protecting and developing the values of nature, the standard of ecosystems, biodiversity, genetic resources, historical and cultural relics, and landscapes of the park; as well as providing forest environmental services by law. Other national, provincial, district and communal institutions are supposed to provide support and expertise to the PNKB Management Board.

6.3. A park to a site: The road to the World Heritage list

The road to the world prestige list for PNKB NP was never straight forward. Its nomination had undergone several revision and assessment processes. Its nomination was even deferred twice by

the WH Committee in 1999 and 2000. This section aims to trace back this transformative road in order to elucidate the discourse, changes, incentives and other causal settings that interdependently defined PNKB NP as a World Heritage site as it is today.

During the second Indochina war, PNKB area was the entrance point of the Ho Chi Minh trail which channelled the transportations of materials, food and army of the Revolution Communists from the North to the South. Consequently, the area was heavily bombed by the Southern army and the American in order to disrupt the fuelled channel of the North between 1961 and 1973 (Larsen, 2008). This had affected the local lives tremendously. Most of the people had to flee from their lands and took shelters in different caves within the forest. Forest resources such as wild animals and plants became extremely critical for human survival.

After the war in 1975, the whole area entered the recovery period. People returned to their lands and rebuilt their houses with support from the newly established socialist government. Resettlement policy (Định canh định cư) was engineered by the central state for the ethnic minorities. Previous gather/hunting communities in PNKB such as the Ruc were encouraged to settle down in villages and change from shifting cultivation to more settled agriculture practices. However, people continued to depend vigorously on forest resources in order to rebuild their normal lives in post-war. In order to recover from destructions, the Vietnamese Communist Party strongly advocated the narrative of "man conquers nature", resulting in a sharp increase of nature extraction national-wide between the 1980s and 1990s. In PNKB, forestry resources were thus vigorously exploited for different uses. The Park was still far from the list of prioritised protection areas for more than a decade after this period.

Until 1986, influenced by the waves of forest protection regimes in Vietnam after Doi Moi, PNKB was first designated as Nature Reserve with a small area of 5000 hectares (Decision 194/CT, 1986). The year 1990 marked the first research and expedition in the area which was conducted by the scientist groups from the British Cave Research Association (BCRA) cooperated with geologists and geographic scientists from Hanoi University (Howard, 2009, 1999). This year, the group made the first discovery of a magnificent cave system and underground rivers in Phong Nha cave (3.3km) and Dark cave (4.5 km). Fascinated by the astonishing structures of the areas, other expeditions were carried out in PNKB in 1992, 1994, 1997 and 1999. By the year 1999, the group had discovered more than 40,018 km length of the cave system. The findings of BCRA has ignited increasing attention towards the natural values of PNKB. In 1991, the Forest Inventory and Planning Institute (FIPI) carried out further surveys of vegetation cover, flora and fauna characteristics. From 1991 to 1995, studies on primate species were conducted by the zoologists from FIPI and Xuan Mai Forestry College (Phan, 2013).

Active research activities and valuable scientific findings of PNKB had facilitated the provincial government to establish the management plan and the investment project on developing Phong

Nha as a Nature reserve which extended the protected area from 5,000 to 41,132 hectares in 1992/1993. In 1993, Phong Nha management board was also founded in order to systematically protect and executive the management plan. Four years later, in 1997, the provincial People's Committee established the "Project on conservation and management in Phong Nha – Ke Bang", in short, Phong Nha – Ke Bang programme, whose objectives were two-fold. Firstly, the programme aimed at building up PNKB to be a National park, and secondly, it would prepare to nominate PNKB to the World Heritage Committee (IUCN, 2002).

As a result, the following years have marked increasing research initiatives and cooperative projects between the provincial and national authorities and different international experts (Nguyen, 2016). From 1996 to 1997 research on the biodiversity of Phong Nha led to a symposium on biodiversity conservation along the Laos-Vietnam frontier. The provincial department of Science, Technology, and Environment conducted different environment assessments in Phong Nha Nature Reserve. In 1998, further surveys of the bird and mammal fauna were made by a team of scientists organised by Fauna and Flora International. World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) sponsored the project to link Hin Namno and Phong Nha through parallel conservation. In 1999 scientists from the Vietnam-Russia Tropical Centre also conducted zoological and botanical surveys in the Ke Bang area. Another scientist group led by R.J Timmins and sponsored by the Netherlands Embassy produced a preliminary assessment of the conservation importance and priorities (IUCN, 2002; Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2001).

According to Dr Nguyen Huu Hoai, Chairman of the Provincial People's Committee, the outstanding values PNKB was revived and promoted widely thanks to the cooperation between national and international experts from different universities, institutes and organisations, such as the Hanoi National University, The forest inventory, and Planning Institute, The British Caving Associations, The Australian geological society, WWF, IUCN…etc (Nguyen, 2016; K. T. Nguyen, 2013). Based on the scientific results, Vietnam was able to submit the first documents on PNKB to UNESCO in 1999. However, the WH Committee decided to defer the application and suggested an expansion of boundaries with the Hin Namno Karst reserve in Laos PDR with an associated management structure (K. T. Nguyen, 2013; Phan, 2013) (See figure 6-4).

Taking the suggestion of the World Heritage Committee promptly, the site was revised and nominated for the second time in 2000 including a much larger area. However, at this time, the Vietnamese state party was planning on the construction of the North-South Ho Chi Minh Highway and the link road between the Highway and Route 20. These routes would bisect the core area of Phong Nha reserve. Reacting to this construction plan, different international organisations such as IUCN, the Flora and Fauna International had expressed cautions on the potential impacts of the project to the conservation values, especially on the potential loss of

outstanding values of the area (IUCN, 2002). Therefore, the consideration of the nomination was not proceeded further by WH Committee at this time.

Table 6-4. The major chronological events of Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park

Year	Event	Note
1975	War ended	The area was heavily bombed
Mid-1980s	Abusing forestry resources	The country liberalised its economy, causing an increase in natural timber trading
1986	Established as Special-use forest	The established area was 5,000 ha
1990	The first cave expeditions	Conducted by the BCRA
1993	Become the Nature Reserve	Extension of core zone to 41,132 ha
1997	Established Phong Nha – Ke Bang programme	Two mains objectives: (1) build up as a National Park. (2) Prepare for World Heritage nomination
1999	Nominated for UNESCO the 1st time	The decision was pending for extension
2000	Revised and applied for UNESCO the 2nd time	The decision was pending for the constructions of 2 highways
2001	Become the National park	Extension of core zone to 85,754 ha
2003	Designated as Natural World heritage under criteria (viii)	
2015	Re-nominated to Natural World heritage under criteria (ix) and (x)	Extension of core zone to 126,236 ha

(Source: Literature review, 2019)

In 2001, the Prime Minister signed the Decision No. 189/2001/QD-TTg that recognised PNKB as a National Park with a much larger area. This new entitlement was stated to ensure the achievements of different purposes. Firstly, it aims to protect the "integrity" of the natural resources and diverse forestry ecosystem, including the entire faunal and floral species, speaking the same language as the WH Convention. Secondly, the enlargement of the protected area into a National park would mobilise the advantages of natural landscape for tourism development, thus contribute both to environment protection and socio-economic development (Nguyen, 2016). In 2002, Vietnamese State Party officially nominated PNKB, now as the National Park, double the size of its first nomination from more than 41 thousand ha to more than 85 thousand ha. Attached along with the documents was full justification for construction plans of two highways across the

protected area, as well as a management plan of the National Park. Therefore, PNKB could finally enter the prestige list after two revising efforts in 2003 (IUCN, 2002). Later on, IUCN experts commented that the values of PNKB are much greater than the recognised area. Its biodiversity of the forestry landscape and resources was also undervalued.

After the designation, PNKB NP increasingly received impetuous attention from the national government and the international agencies. Most noticeably, in 2005, The German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) collaborated with the Provincial People's Committee to conduct the project on "Integrated nature conservation and sustainable management of natural resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park Region". The German Development Bank (KfW) sponsored an amount of nearly 15 million euros for the project from 2006 to 2016. Four key components were identified as the project objectives, which include support biodiversity monitoring, research and implement biodiversity-friendly livelihood models, facilitate the transboundary cooperation between PNKB and Hin Namno, and provide policy advice. Furthermore, between 2000 and 2014, different research activities in different fields ranging from geology to biodiversity continued to take place in the area by both international and national scientists from different organisation and institutes such as Flora and Fauna International, Birdlife International, Cologne University, Frankfurt Zoological Society, Vietnam Forest Inventory and Planning Institute, Hanoi University and Vinh University.

In 2015, PNKB NP was re-nominated and then successfully re-designated by UNESCO in 2015 for its globally significant ecosystem of Northern Annamite Rainforests and Annamite Range Moist Forests (criterion ix); and high level of biodiversity (criterion x) (Quang Binh Provincial People's Committee, 2014). Its total surface at this time has increased up to 126,236 hectares – 25 times larger than its original area at the first recognition in 1986.

The section has scrutinised the process of PNKB NP designation chronologically. My argument here is that the PNKB did not happen to be a well-recognised place, but it has been (re)produced purposely from time to time since the very beginning to be qualified for the World Heritage enlisting. The process showed the strong influence of the international and national actors who repeatedly emphasise the scientific judgments of its geological, geographical and biodiversity values. The long and highly interdependent relationship between the park and the local people, however, has rarely been discussed up to the point of enlisting.

6.4. World Heritage and national narratives of forest management under the line

6.4.1. Phong Nha Special-use forest, and Nature Reserve 1986-1999: Strict conservation agendas

The first official recognition of Phong Nha as a protected area in 1986 fell in the period when the country was undergoing the greatest transformation of the Doi Moi policy. As discussed in section 4.2.3, after Doi Moi, the Vietnamese government was facing serious environmental crises. In the forestry sector, previous regimes of State Forest Enterprises (SFEs) encountered undeniable failures resulting in the highest rate of forest loss as well as increasing conflicts between the state and the forest users (Meyfroidt and Lambin, 2008; Sikor and To, 2011). After 1986, the government was forced to re-interpreted their narrative of "forests are gold" in order to tackle these difficulties. Concurrently, because the country had opened the door to the world, greater international exchanges flowed in with greater pressures. In the field of natural resource management, global initiatives required the Vietnamese government to reform for stronger forest conservation and devolution. In response to the international obligations, the government targeted to increase the forest protection areas to tackle the high deforestation rate. Many of the previous SFEs were converted into protected areas and national parks in this period (Zingerli, 2005). The first Phong Nha 1986 designation as a special–used the forest and its 1993 extension to Nature reserve fell within this attempt of the Vietnamese government.

Following these designations, new technologies of rule were used in order to strengthen forest conservation as well as the state management power. The most important ones include the resettlement of ethnic minorities, forest land allocation for communities in the buffer zone, and heavy forest restrictions in protected areas. Following the 1991 Law on forestry protection and development and regulations on sanctioning administrative violations in the field of forest management and protection, all forms of activities that impact the forest natural values and habitat were strictly prohibited. This involved traditional livelihood activities of the local people such as slash and burn cultivation, swidden, logging, hunting, trapping animals, picking woods, etc. These new regulations thus had impacted the lives of local people in PNKB tremendously who are most depend their lives on such activities; especially those are ethnic minorities. Clashes between these stakeholders emerged.

Although the government had attempted to provide the resettlement policy for the ethnic minorities, in parallel with the forest land allocation, the result was still far from succeed. Scholars found out that between the 1990s and 2000s, there was a sharp rise in the demand for timber and other forest resources in Vietnam due to the liberalisation of its market (Bayrak, 2019; Dinh, 2005; McElwee, 2016). The tightening of forest restrictions at the beginning of the 1990s just worsened the situation that reduced the supply hence increased the price. In the PNKB area, this created

incentives for the local people to violate the forest protection regime. More and more local people were believed to intrude in the core area and smuggled valuable timber out. They became illegalised and captured by the public media as the "forest hijacker" (lâm tặc). Vietnamese newspapers repeatedly reported in national-wide stories that illegal loggers damaged the forest – the national common heritage and used violence against the forest rangers (Sikor and To, 2011).

However, more in-depth studies showed a much complicated picture of the criminalisation of logging in PNKB at this period. Larsen (2008) and McElwee (2004, 2016) explore the illegal logging in Quang Binh in the wider interrelated networks between the administrative officers, the forest rangers, the traders and the local population especially those entitled in this new class of illegal loggers. They demonstrate that the prohibited forest extraction activities might not be that prohibited. Increased protected areas and stronger restrictions, in fact, aimed to centralise the total control of national resources towards the national states, which was executed through national forest rangers. These rangers with their given position of "forest protectors" (as opposed to "forest hijackers") however involved in informal dynamics of corruption in which the hijackers tried to bypass the system through bribery or subterfuge. Actually, Quang Binh was accused of being one of the two most notorious provinces where corruption ran for many years resulting in significantly reduced forest cover (McElwee, 2004).

6.4.2. Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park and UNESCO enlisting: The "green" narratives

International obligations and funding continued to be the driven force for stronger commitments in forest and biodiversity conservation in Vietnam between the late 1990s and late 2000s. In 1997, the Vietnam Government and the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development assessed that the current network of protected areas in the country was not adequate for effective preservation; thus, a list of 94 special-use forests was provided, which aimed to expand the network of special-use forests from 1.3 million to 2 million hectares (6% of the country area) by the year 2010 (Dang, Turnhout, and Arts, 2012; ICEM, 2003). Between 1998 and 2000, another project of Forest Inventory and Planning Institute and Birdlife International suggested adding into this so-called "2010-list" 25 more areas. In 2002, supported by several assessments of WWF, the Forest Protection Department proposed to further increase the coverage of protected areas from 6% to 7.9% (BirdLife International and Forest Inventory and Planning Institute, 2004). Under the narrative of a "more equitable coverage of Vietnamese biodiversity" and of "conservation of many globally threatened species", PNKB got its up-gradation to National Park title with a major expansion. The designation brought higher attentions from the scientists of WWF, FIPI, Fauna and Flora International, and IUCN to assess its biodiversity values that could grant a World Heritage status (IUCN, 2002; Stolton, 2004).

Upon on the enlisting of PNKB NP in 2003, it was also the period when concerns over the local livelihoods emerged strongly in the discourse of national forest management. Since the beginning of the 2000s, two competing coalitions had been formed in the field of forest and biodiversity management. The domination coalition consisted of policymakers from the national Department of Forestry and Department of Forestry Protections cooperating with scientists from FIPI, Vietnam National Institute of Forestry Science, WWF and Birdlife International. This coalition advocated for the importance of protected areas that could promote a strict conservation-oriented interpretation of sustainable forest management. The second coalition comprised of scientists from other international organisation, international and national universities who raised the concern over the local communities in the discourse of sustainable forest management. Larsen (2008) criticised the expansion and strict restriction of protected areas that had externalised the local communities. He showed that the local people in local people were heavily affected as they were locked out of their previous forest land and thus lost their traditional livelihoods. Conservation has come to the cost of the local community, Larsen concluded (Larsen, 2008)

In response to the increasing criticism, adjustments have been made in the institutionalisation of the sustainable forest management discourse which moderated several strict regulations on prohibited forest uses (GSRV, 2006). Forest policy had gradually shifted from the prevention of deforestation through disciplinary interventions to the cultivation of "green" conduct and the promotion of afforestation projects with more participation (Dang et al., 2012). In 2004, the role of local communities was recognised as legal recipients for forest and land-use rights by the Law on Forest Protection and Development (National Assembly of Vietnam, 2004).

PNKB NP now accommodated by the World Heritage status started to put into "sustainable use" by a series of reforms that considered to benefit local people. On the one hand, the national discourse of participation in forest management has initiated more land allocation for the communities in the buffer zone under the project "5 million hectares reforestation programme". On the other hand, as tourism soared after the designation, new opportunities for employment and income from the tourism sector are generated for the local communities. The Park management Board reported having employed local people for working for its tourism centre and the boat services. Stories of increase local employments, changing livelihoods from illegal logging to tourist services have been widely reported in various official documents and media of the province in the period before and after 2010 (Larsen, 2008).

6.4.3. Phong Nha – Ke Bang re-nomination: Advocating community engagement

Answering the emergent call for more inclusive development and management plan for PNKB, the GIZ and the German Development Bank Kfw have sponsored 15 million Euro for a ten-year project on "Integrated nature conservation and sustainable management of natural resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park Region" from 2007 to 2016 (GIZ, 2012). The key objective of the

project is to support people living near to the with alternative income opportunities. It aimed to develop a master plan for the development of the buffer zone that could integrate the protection of resources with the development needs of local people. Under the support of the GIZ project, the provincial government has been able to deliver a checklist for Potential World Heritage Planning Considerations, and a Mission report on World Heritage Management Planning Requirements for PNKB national park in 2012 which facilitated the success of its re-nomination in 2015.

During this period, the Vietnamese government has further softened its regulations and restrictions on protected areas. In 2010, the Prime Minister signed the Decree No.117/2010/NĐ-CP that passed on the organisation and management power from the central government to the local-based management boards. In other words, the Decree authorised more autonomy for management boards of all protected areas in developing their own projects as long as these projects can ensure the conservation and sustainable development of forest resources. Under this scheme, local participation in forest conservation and development has now been highly encouraged. In 2012, the Prime Minister also issued Decision No.126/QD-TTg on the benefit-sharing mechanism with special emphasis on generating income and improving local livelihoods. Based on the adjustments in these new legal frameworks, the Management boards of PNKB has played an active role in calling for international sponsors for community and tourism development projects, encouraging more investors, and developing networks with private enterprises in order to design and promote widely different types of tours and services in PNKB.

Due to the above transformations, different impacts have occurred consequently in the recent five years. GIZ continued to help the park Management Board establish the "Plan to develop sustainable tourism in PNKB national park for the period 2010 and 2020, vision 2025". Consequently, tourism has been favoured at the leading sector for the socio-economic development of the park with more investments and funding. Tourism activities thus started to bloom in the region. Meanwhile, the importance of local engagement in the park conservation and sustainable development of the region has been vigorously iterated. The object and subject of forest management have now shifted towards the local people.

This section has analysed further into depth the (re)production of PNKB throughout different periods of its respective socio-economic contexts. This process is strongly driven by the global and national discourses in the intersection of legitimating their nature management agendas. This section aims to provide an overarching picture so that we could better understand the reason why PNKB has to undergo the trajectory it had to become a World Heritage site. It reflects the underlined political purposes of the national states justified by their attempts to comply with the international obligations and standards on the one hand and to resolve each tension induced in

the dynamics of state control, natural sources exploitation, and local people over distinct moments on the other.

6.5. The Imagineering of the Park

This section explores the process that engineers the site into contemporary society. It focuses particularly on the way the Park is widely valorised as an iconic attraction. This paves the way for the Park to achieve a vital position in the current socio-economic development of the region.

During the getting in stage, I used to participate in different cycling tours around Son Trach and Hung Trach communes. When we were cycling towards the main entrance of the Park, I asked my tour guide:

> *Researcher: "How could you briefly describe the transformation of the Park since the World Heritage designation?"*
>
> *He replied: "Phong Nha has turned from a stop for rest-room along the Ho Chi Minh trail to be the most fantastic destination."*
>
> *(Field Diary, 13th September 2017)*

6.5.1. The Park on the screens

Despite the fact that PNKB NP was awarded the global status in 2003, it was not until 2009 that the Park could be national and internationally known and desired. The year 2009 marked the official discovery of Son Doong – the largest cave in the world – through the expenditure work of British caving experts based on the story of a local logger. The announcement of Son Doong explosively covered the mass media domestically and internationally, which started to inscribe the name of PNKB into the curiosity of national and global tourists. Son Doong discovery was the launching moment for the tourism in PNKB to rocket since 2010. On their official website of the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism, it is written as:

> *"Not long ago the sleepy village of Phong Nha barely got a mention in guidebooks, but the surprise discovery of one of the world's largest caves has catapulted it into the adventure tourism spotlight. The Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park is a rugged swathe of limestone mountains riddled with gigantic caves. It is also home to endangered wildlife and ethnic minority groups."[20]*

From the end of 2011, the central government lifted the legislative barriers for Management Boards of protected areas in general. Intermediately, PNKB Management Boards leveraged the new policy and increased their cooperative activities in tourism development with both the

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[20] Description of PNKB NP on the official website of VNAT: https://vietnam.travel/places-to-go/central-vietnam/phong-nha, accessed on 14th April, 2019.

international experts and local entrepreneurs. The Board provided tremendous legislative support for the Oxalis Adventure Company – a local tour operator established in 2011 – to implement the trekking tours to the caves in the core zone of the Park. Besides, Oxalis received technical supplies and consultancy from the caving experts of BCRA. Due to these supports, in 2012, the Oxalis Adventure Tours was granted the "International Tour Operator's Certificate" by the National Tourism Bureau of Vietnam and was authorised by the Management Board with the monopoly right to exploit tours to Tu Lan Cave, and later on Son Doong. Two British cave leading experts, Howard and Deb Limbert, have now become the technical directors of the company. The name of Oxalis and its tours grew with enormous popularity that tours are always fully booked a year earlier. The Company is extremely active in working with different media channels to promote for Phong Nha – Ke Bang in general and for Son Doong Cave in particular.

> *"We benefit a lot from the networks with international experts since the discovery of Son Doong. Many world-famous channels have come and made documentaries in Son Doong. We utilised that opportunity to promote PNKB to different media channels, magazines and even to Hollywood." (Female, Oxalis marketing team, PNKB)*

Consequently, Son Doong earned its shows on big screens around the world, including National Geographic, CNN and Good Morning America. Most noticeably, in 2016, the Oxalis founder successfully got a deal with Hollywood director - Jordan Vogt-Roberts - making PNKB and Son Dong the leading scenes in the blockbuster movie "Kong: The skull island" (Box 1, next page). This became one of the most discussed events on social media of that year. PNKB has been a must-go destination in Vietnam for adventurous travellers ever since (Tatarski, 2017). The scenery of PNKB in the movie became the most depicted images of the Park in promotion campaigns and activities.

Box 1: Blockbuster Movies and its effects

Kong: Skull Island is a 2017 film co-produced by Legendary Pictures and Warner Bros. The film was directed by Jordan Vogt-Roberts. It belongs to monster genre which is a reboot of the King Kong franchise, following 2014's Godzilla.

The film tells the story of a crew funded by the U.S government to explore an uncharted mysterious island in the Pacific. Under the guise of geological research, the team travels to "Skull Island". Upon arrival, the group discover that their mission may be complicated by the prehistoric wildlife which inhabits the island. The beautiful vistas and deadly creatures create a visually stunning experience that is sure to keep your attention.
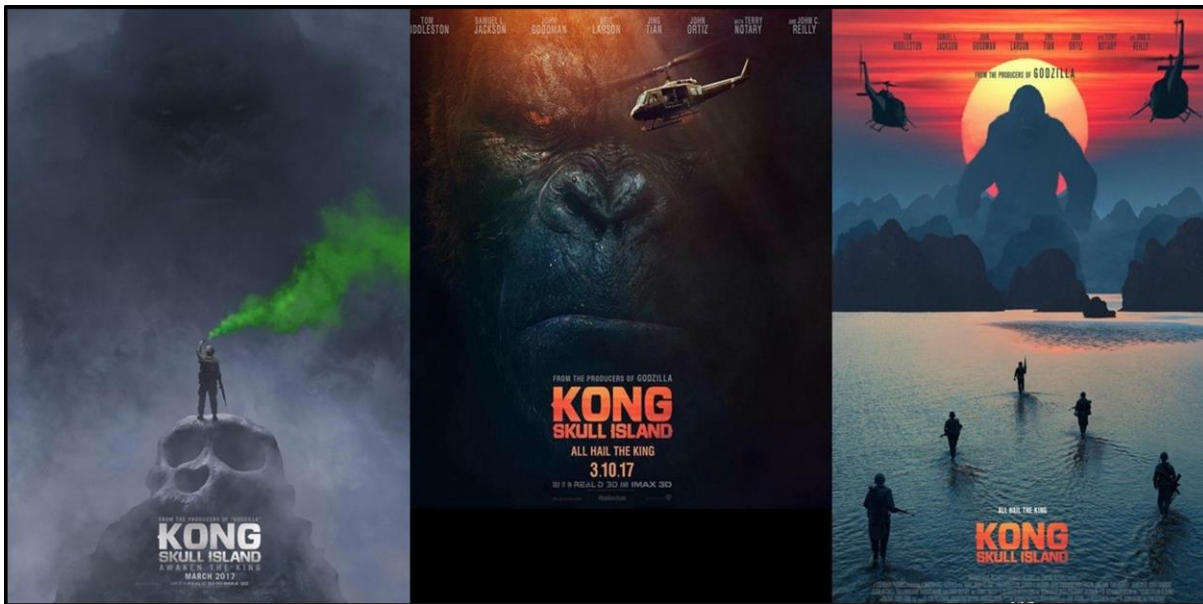
The movie received positive feedback from the audience all over the world for its graphic visual effects, action, and performances. Commercially, it was a box office success, and aesthetically it was nominated for Best Visual Effects at the 90th Academy Awards – the 90th Oscars in March, 2018. In Vietnam, the movie attracted huge attentions from both the authorities and the audience. In 2017, Director Vogt-Roberts was event promoted to be the ambassador of Vietnam tourism for the period of 2017-2020.

Although the filming took place in different locations in Hawaii, Australia and Vietnam, PNKB was the most widely advertised. Using the scenes of mysterious Skull Island in the movie, PNKB has increasingly captured as another place outside of earth. In an interview with the Provincial Department of Tourism, Direct Vogt-Roberts commented: "it (PNKB) is so otherworld and spectacular".

In 2017, the debut of "Kong: The Skull Island" in the global market also shook off phenomenal attention towards PNKB on the media in Vietnam. Seizing the success of the Kong movie, the images of magnificent cave systems, natural and primitive landscapes enriching with the diverse fauna and flora resources are promoted as the brand-marking for the uniqueness of the Park. This constantly links with the prehistoric creatures, the wild, untouched jungles depicted in the movie that trigger a sense of mysteries and appealing adventures awaiting for tourists to set their first step of exploration. As such, on the website of Lonely Planet, PNKB NP is described as the "cave explorer's paradise", and "speleologists' heaven on earth".

The Park in the King Kong's world was just exactly prehistory, mysterious and adventurous as how PNKB has been shaped. It is straightforward to find the King Kong image creatively used to advertise for tours in the areas (Figure 6-4.)

Figure 6-4. Advertised images of Phong Nha – Ke Bang tourism

(Source: Advertisements of Oriental Sky Travel and Oxalis Tour Company, 2018)

Nowadays, PNKB has been widely recognised as the "Cave Kingdom" or the "Kingdom of caves". This image of the park is believed to be a well-wrapped and easy-to-consume package for tourism development. Mr Le Nguyen Chieu, Vice Chairman of the Provincial Department of tourism, insisted that it is no exaggeration to call PNKB as the "Kingdom of caves" due to the magnificent specimens. "Kingdom of caves" is the competitive advantage that is believed to attract more

investments and development projects for the region (Tourism conference for the promotion of PNKB – the Kingdom of caves, 2016). In 2019, the provincial government decided to celebrate the first "Cave festival", and also made it as an annual event in order to promote the local tourism resources and products to tourists, investors and travel companies at home and abroad[21].

6.5.2. The local authenticity

However, PNKB is not all about caves. Ever since the tourism boom, it has always strived to diversify with more new products that satisfy the visitors. Recently, being facilitated by the advocacy of community engagement, local elements have been strongly used in the imagineering of PNKB. Besides the adventurous advertisement, different tours to experience the local lives are being praised by the tourists. The local people, their agricultural lives, foods, and war-time history are now commodified as tourism experiences. Various community-based tours exploit the everydayness of rural lifestyle, the alternatives of local fishing and farming village life, the intangible of local culture and cuisine, and the nostalgic of local history (Figure 6-5).

Figure 6-5. The images of local elements depicted in the destination marketing strategies

(Photo: Union of tour operators in PNKB, and visitphongnha.com, 2017-2018)

When I was taking part in one of the community-based tours, I was promised to have the most authentic experiences with the local people by the guide. He emphasised that:

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[21] A strategic vision to commodify the caves in PNKB NP as the leading product as well as the destination branding through "Cave festival" is announced in the Plan No. 863 / KH-UBND on "Organizing Quang Binh Cave Festival in 2019", signed by the Provincial People's Committee on 06th June, 2019.

"We have cycling, motorcycling and jeep tours. You will stop at the duck farm where you can feed the duck, ride the buffalo. You can ride along the paddy field and see the farmers working. If you want you can go down to the field and try doing fieldwork like them. We also bring you to the veteran who shared his story of PNKB in the war-time. And after that, you can taste the chicken cooked by the locals in a local way." (Male, tour guide, PNKB)

Those are the experiences that have not been memorialised by the officials or professionals in the reports, the travel books or official histories which make the place more competitive in the larger tourism market. When the traditional museum and heritage parks are being perceived as old-fashioned, these otherwise living spaces are now ready-made to satisfy the new tourism consumptions (Salazar, 2011).

The imagineering process of PNKB is a formula that entails a coherent storyline that utilises the heritage values attached with world-recognized icons (at the moment it is the image of Kong), combining with easily consumable images of tourism activities such as trekking, cycling, swimming fitting into the real, local settings. Consequently, the process delivered the Park to the audiences as a package of an imaginary space of all the "Otherness". This process, on the one hand, brings down the globalisation ideas, standards, and norms of conservation, heritage tourism development while on the other hand, enhances the local elements and engages with the local people. In this process, the local private entrepreneurs have obviously played the most active and vital role that shapes and promotes the images of PNKB for wider audiences.

6.6. The contemporary Park: new status – new functions

Nowadays, PNKB NP has been re-integrated into contemporary settings with not just a considerable expanded forest coverage but also with various important functions.

Firstly, the Park is a gene pool, a biodiversity reserve, and a book of under-discovered geological Earth history. Originated as a Nature reserve, the area has played well the role of conserving biodiversity and landscape protection. After being designated as a National Park, PNKB has been put under strict regulations for protection. Activities that affect forest resources are highly prohibited. Enforcement system was strengthened by the cooperation between the management board and the Ranger Units of provincial and communal levels. More than 10,639 patrols have been conducted and prevented more than 2,358 forest violation cases (Hoang, 2018). Furthermore, since the World Heritage enlisting in 2003, the Park has received more than 20 international projects working in the field of environmental developments, biodiversity, natural resource protection and management, sustainable tourism development and community engagement. After 15 years of designations, scientists have discovered 42 more new species, including 38 animals, and four plants (ibid.). 15 typologies of forest ecosystems in PNKB were also identified and being studied. More than 145 caves have been studied and digitally mapped (Dinh,

Le, and Vo, 2013). Especially, the discovery of Son Doong Cave has pedestaled the Park into global recognition.

Secondly, PNKB NP is a well-known destination that generated enormous revenue from tourism. Just before 2010, PNKB was simply a "displayed park" that exploited different caves for mass tourism. The official designation in 2003 brought great attention in the following year; however, the effect immediately eased off in the five successive years (Figure 6-6). The year 2009 marked the official discovery of Son Doong, which was explosively covered by the mass media domestically and internationally. The discovery was the launching moment for tourism to rocket since 2010.

Figure 6-6. Number of visits to Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park from 2002 to 2017

[22](Source: PNKB Management Board, 2018)
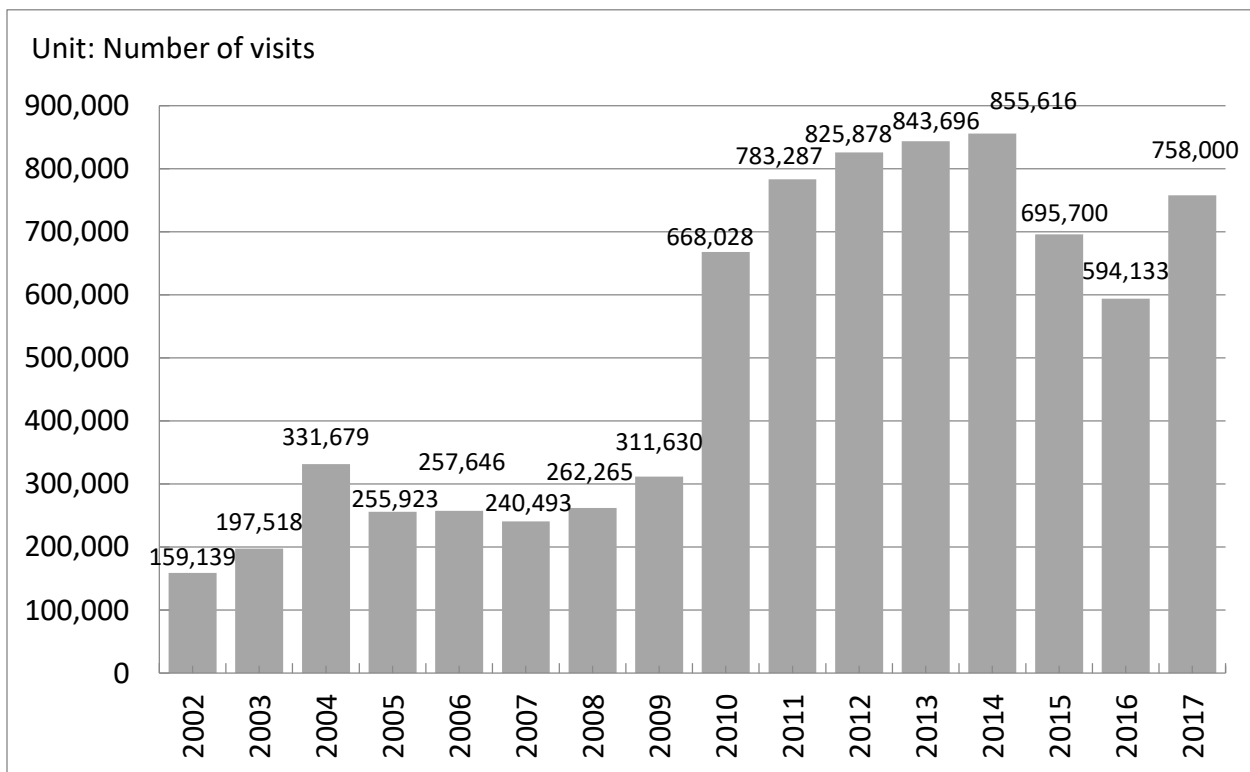
The impetuous transformation in tourism at PNKB was majorly made possible due to the softening of previous regulations on forest uses which offers the legal framework to socialise the forest resources in 2010. The provincial government thus was able to encourage investments for tourism services from private enterprises and organisations. In 2011, the PNKB Management board signed the first leasing contract with Truong Thinh Group in order to provide the forest environment service for ecotourism business. The contract allows the Group to utilise Paradise Cave with an

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[22] In 2015 the scandalous environmental event Formosa happened in three coastal provinces in the Central region of Vietnam which caused a decline in tourism in 2015 and 2016 in PNKB area.

area of 65 thousand ha for ecotourism activities in 50 years. Management Board holds the responsibility of general management abiding with the current law without participating or interfering in the business activities. In reverse, Truong Thinh Group is obliged to pay the leasing accounting for 2% of the yearly revenues (Hübner, Phong, and Chau, 2014).

Especially, after the central government Decision No. 24/2012/QĐ-TTg which entitled Management Board the power to decide their own projects and cooperation with other individuals, organisation and private enterprise to exploit the forest resources sustainably, the Management Board has actively worked with different local enterprises, and with the BCRA to develop different trekking and adventurous tours into the core zone. Up to date, there have been 15 different trekking tours that are coordinated between the Management Board, the forest rangers, the local enterprises, and the international experts.

Along with the development of trekking and adventurous tours in PNKB, since 2012, tourism activities have exploded with different types of community-based tours, diverse accommodation provisions, restaurants, and entertainment services. Consequently, in 2017, PNKB received 758 thousand visits, of which 135,648 are international tourists. The total avenue from tourism at the Park reached 645.19 billion VND, 9.7% higher than 2016 (T. V. H. Nguyen, 2018). Heritage tourism has put PNKB into the focal point of the provincial socio-economic development plan. The provincial government is focusing on boosting tourism development in PNKB until 2030 with the expectation to receive 2.5 million visitors in 2025, and increase to 3.5 million in 2030. Tourism revenue aims at 4,000 billion and 8,200 billion VND in 2025 and 2030, respectively. In 2018, The Chairman of the Provincial People' Committee boldly confirmed that PNKB NP has become the "heart of Quang Binh tourism".

Thirdly, PNKB NP has contributed greatly to improving local livelihoods. Different from the previous narratives of strict forest restrictions in the 1980s, current forest policies have been claimed to fully recognise the role of local communities. For the last five years, dramatic changes are considered to be brought into the lives of local people in the buffer zone of the Park. The Vice Manager of the Park Management Board said in one of my interviews:

> *"Local lives have been changed a lot since the designation of the park, especially in the last five years. The poor communities in the mountainous areas are given forest lands. Households that live along the Son Rivers are now working at boat drivers for tourists to visit Phong Nha cave; the money comes directly to them; we do not ask for any fee. Especially, the previous illegal loggers have stopped intruding the forest and found new jobs as porters, homestay owners, etc. Many other locals are also working for tourism services. Things are getting better in PNKB compared to before" (Male, officer of Management Board, PNKB)*

During my visits to the areas, the narratives of "converting lives for illegal loggers", "new livelihoods in the tourism sector" were reiterated by many local officers as well as private enterprises. It is visible during my fieldwork in Son Trach Commune. Along the highway that leads to the entrance of the Park, local lives have been hectic and active with resorts, homestays, hotels, tour agencies, restaurants, coffee shops, bicycle renting shops.

> *"It has been so different for us for the last five years. To know how busy this area is you can simply count the number of cars and motorcycles passing my shop. Before rarely anyone went to this mountainous place, it was very remote and poor, but now, you see… as we are talking, I can count up to ten cars already. I quitted my previous job to open this restaurant. We have a good income, especially in the summer. My husband was a logger before, but now he is working as a constructor, there is always a shortage of workers here in PNKB" (Female, small local business, Son Trach Commune, PNKB)*

Lastly, due to the heritage tourism boom, the Park became the leading force that has been now mentioned in national and provincial Master Plan for the social and economic development until 2030. According to the Plan, the province will integrate natural conservation with tourism development, enhance the heritage values to construct the Park as one of the most appealing ecotourism centres in the Asia-Pacific region, identify the Park as the booster for poverty elimination and economic development of the province and the Northern Central region of Vietnam (Decision 209/QD-TTg, 2015). Besides, a PNKB tourism centre is being constructed with an area of 2,500 ha covering six communes of Bo Trach district in the buffer zone. To develop the centre, the provincial government encourage socialisation and investment from the private sectors to develop and diversify sustainable tourism activities. Gradually, tourism is targeted to be the leading economic sector of the province[23].

In conclusion, the World Heritage status has brought about an influx of funding, investments, as well as experts and tourists which transformed the Park and further redefined it with new values and functions in the contemporary settings of the region. From a small Nature reverse, the heritagization of PNKB NP has magnified the international and national concerns to the area. This resulted in a great park extension, intensive biodiversity research, and cave explorations, as well as blooming tourism activities. Not only becoming a protected area that ensures the biodiversity and the ecosystem evolving for more than 400 million years of the earth history, but PNKB has also now contributed greatly to the development of the community and the provincial economy. The process of site canonisation in the case of PNKB is highlighted by the powerful influences of the international experts from the nominating until the development phase.

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[23] It is stated in the Master plan of socio-economic development to 2030 of Quang Binh province – Decision 952/QD-TTg, 2011; and the Plan to develop tourism center in PNKB to 2030 - Decision 2128/QD-TTg, 2017.

6.7. The dominant actors

From the aforementioned analysis, I argue that heritage-making, in this case, is intertwined in a larger context of forest management where the national narratives are strongly influenced and shaped by the international agendas. WH designation does not end at the point of enlisting, but it would rather be a turning point of a development process. Along the process, different stakeholders keep (re)negotiating their perception and position in shaping, managing and using the site. However, it is extremely salient in the case of PNKB that the global actors and discourses have a strong influence throughout all of three phases of isolation, idealisation, and valorisation

Firstly, PNKB NP was physically isolated from its settings under the designation of the Special-use forest in 1986. Strict regulations started to be implemented, which refused all kinds of access from local users to the forest resources. At this point, the designation and regulations have been said to comply with the international obligation and to bid for access to international funding (Meyfroidt and Lambin, 2008; Zingerli, 2005). After ratification the Convention for Biodiversity in 1994, the urge to increase the protected areas with strict restrictions in Vietnam was intensified in general. In particular, the World Heritage Committee and IUCN experts also suspended PNKB nomination for further Park extension and management clarifications. Under these circumstances, from 1986 to 2003, the Vietnamese state had decreed several upgradations on both protected areas and mechanisms in PNKB in order to achieve the desired title. As the Park is increasingly extended and put under stricter regulation, it is more and more detached with the local population to whom the area is tantamount to their life-supporting system over hundreds of years.

Isolation was not only made by the refusal of forest access of the local population, but it also decontextualised PNKB from social elements by concentrating on the scientific geological and biodiversity values. The dominant coalition was formed between national policymakers and international experts in order to validate their bias towards natural aspects. On assessing geological and geographical values, the BCRA was the leading expert group to conduct a series of expeditions into the cave and underground river systems. On assessing biodiversity values, different international organisations such as the WWF, FFI and IUCN have come to work at PNKB since the end of the 1990s. There intensive research and evaluations have magnified the natural superior of the Park, which either overshadow the people's lives or narrate them as one of the threads to the natural values. For example, in the first nomination form, a majority of more than 500 pages of the assessment reports was dedicated to the magnificent geology and biodiversity of the Park. In contrast, local people were only mentioned just as a small fraction subjected for conservation. Even when being mentioned, the people were portrayed as a group of species that need to protect rather than a social actor with agency. Particular, in this case, was the ethnic minorities living in the core zone. Vietnamese National State deliberately identified them under

"criterion (iv): Biodiversity and threatened species" in their nomination document submitted to the World Heritage Committee. It stated as follow:

"The Arem and Ruc ethnic tribes living in PNKB forest are the two smallest ethnic groups in Vietnam. Some groups still live in rocky caves and gather forest products. These ethnic groups are an attractive subject for ethnological study" (Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2001, p.12).

Secondly, global actors are also seen to decide the idealisation of the Park. Idealisation took place at different stages in the case of PNKB. During the nomination and designation, the park values were idealised based on the scientific findings that confirmed the 400 million years of formation, and enormous natural values. PNKB NP was titled with all the best such as the oldest, largest, and most unique. The discovery of Son Doong made by the British caving experts just added another exceptional stamp for the site. It symbolises profoundly for the Park as the untouched, the unknown, the magnificent, and the surreal.

Lastly, since 2010, PNKB NP is increasingly re-integrated into the socio-economic development of the region with new values and functions. The Park conservation and management is now shifting towards sustainable growth and community engagement for development. The process is characterised by the intertwined networks between three stakeholders, including the local government, especially the Management Board, the local enterprises and the international organisations and experts.

The relationship between the local government and international organisations continued to be strengthened after the Park designation. In 2010, the international consultant group from GIZ project and IUCN supported the Management Board to produce the "Plan for developing sustainable tourism in Phong Nha Ke Bang national Park period of 2010 and 2020, vision 2030". Different models of alternative livelihoods have been implemented on pilots. According to the Vice Manager of the Park, development activities in the area are being conducted based on this plan.

"The idea to develop an integrated plan for PNKB had initiated around 2003-2004; however, there was a lack of funding and expertise at that time. Later on, thanks to the GIZ project, in 2010, we managed to produce the plan for sustainable tourism development. Besides, the GIZ experts also helped us to develop several management tools and a management strategy. Until today, all of our activities concerning PNKB are directed and conducted based closely on these plans." (Male, officer of the Management Board, PNKB)

In the near future, the Management Board will continue to call for more international funding and expertise in order to develop an integrated plan for both conservation and development of PNKB

NP. As we discussed further, it became clearer that not only in conservation, international experts also play a vital role in managing tourism activities. Specifically, certain regulations on tour operations at caves within the Park are decided upon on experts' suggestions, such as:

"We still have not had any scientific evaluations on the capacity of the caves. Therefore, we took the suggestions from Mr Limbert – our cave experts. At the moment, each trekking tour consists of 36 people in total. And Mr Limbert said that for now, it is acceptable. Moreover, in the case of Son Doong tour, there is always one British cave expert accompanying the group" (Male, officer of Management Board, PNKB)

In parallel, the Management Board cooperates with private entrepreneurs. Since 2011, the devolution trend of forest management has granted the Management Board with more autonomy in deciding the models of management and exploitation of the park values for sustainable tourism development. Consequently, there have been three different schemes emerged in PNKB NP:

Table 6-5. Forms of ownership and partnership in exploiting heritage values in PNKB

Year	National forest management schemes	Event	Type of revenue for the Park	Type of ownership/ partnership
From 2001	State-led forest management	PNKB tourism Center exploits two caves for mass tourism	Visitor entrance fees Concession fees to photographers, souvenir vendors, and boat operators Souvenir vending	State-owned
From 2011	Devolution and socialisation of forest use and conservation	Truong Thinh Company signed the rental contract of Paradise Cave for 50 years (from 2011 to 2061)	Lease payment (2% of yearly revenue)	Leasing out
From 2012	Devolution and socialisation of forest use and conservation More autonomy for management boards	Different companies are authorised to provide adventurous tours and trekking to different caves in the strictly protected zone	Environmental fee	Public-Private partnership

(Source: Literature review, 2019)

Under the Management Board, a sub-unit called PNKB Tourism Center has been put in charge of exploiting the Heritage values through tourism development. This Center is organised as a state-

own body. Since 2001, the centre has developed two cave-exploring tours targeting mainly for mass tourism. The tours gained its great hit in 2004 thanks to the World Heritage designation a year earlier with more than 331,679 visitors which double the number of visitors in 2003. The main service activities that generated benefits for the Park and the local people were from selling entrance tickets, providing boats, photography and souvenir vending. However, after the 2004 peak, the effect eased off, resulting in a gradual decreasing of visitors the years after.

Since 2011, alternative forms of forest use and management are verified by the central government which encourage the role of private entities. Promptly, the PNKB Management Board signed the first leasing contract with Truong Thinh Group in order to provide the forest environment service for ecotourism business. The contract allows the Group to utilise Paradise Cave with an area of 65 thousand ha for ecotourism activities in 50 years. Management Board holds the responsibility of general management abiding with the current law without participating or interfering in the business activities. In reverse, Truong Thinh Group is obliged to pay the leasing accounting for 2% of the yearly revenues (Hübner et al., 2014).

In 2012, the Board continued to cooperate with other private companies under the scheme of public-private partnerships. Private companies will be authorised to exploited adventurous tours in the core zones under the monitoring of the Management Board and the Forest Protection Department. The companies are responsible to pay environmental fees for their business activities accordingly to the number of tourists.

The last relationship is between private enterprises and international actors. At the moment, there are two local enterprises that are authorised. Oxalis is the first and the leading tour provider whose monopoly provides the Son Doong tour. Moreover, the company is also working at four other caves, including Tu Lan cave, En Cave, Tien Cave, and Va Cave. The company has such significant advantages and capacity because of the professional and technical supports from the BCRA. The BCRA not only supplies the equipment, provides training on expenditure techniques, but also accompanies personally in each tour. Thanks to this relationship, Oxalis has leveraged it to expand its network with other international agencies to advertise for Son Dong and PNKB NP globally. Currently, a majority of the international shows about the Park on international channels are either initiated or supported by Oxalis.

> *"Our company aims to enhance branding recognition for PNKB. We focus on international networks. For tourists, we encourage them to use hashtags, write reviews and feedbacks on tourist websites… For other projects such as the King Kong movies and other international channels, our manager normally contacts the crew directly. All are organic, which means we did not pay money. Normally we will develop proposals and send out to different channels, director in different countries such as Singapore, England, and*

America… We have been so successful for the last five years." (Female, Marketing team of Oxalis, PNKB)

The flexibility of the different management schemes has boosted up the promotion and tourism activities in PNKB, thus magnifies the valorisation of the Park nationally and internationally. It also gives more room for other non-governmental actors to influence the management and development of the site. PNKB NP has finally transformed from a relatively small conservation area to an iconic world-classed site.

6.8. Conclusion

Natural heritage is also a cultural construct creating from discursive contexts (Sundin, 2005, Lowenthal, 2005). PNKB NP has been proved to be an exemplary case. The findings show that the formation, expansion and nomination of PNKB NP since the beginning have aimed purposefully to a World Heritage status. Besides, the expansion and re-nomination of PNKB NP have testified that World Heritage sites do not become a fixed place but keep revolving in a process of (re)producing to fit into the different settings at different times. This process is driven vigorously by both international and national discourses on forest management which have shifted from strict protection to a more participatory sustainable management that internalised the role of local communities.

Rapid economic development after the "Open door" policy has put Vietnam under the pressures of escalating environmental crisis, which spilled out of the coping capacity of the government. Enlisting into the natural World Heritage has been considered as one of the effective gateways that could equip the country the expertise, technical and financial support to resolve the problems. As a result, the heritagization of PNKB NP involves a strong influence of the international actors and discourses, which affect the domestic policy and practice of forest management. Assessments of the global actors on the natural aspects of the park are always leveraged as the vital ingredients in all phases of isolation, idealisation and valorisation. Global stakeholders thus have the opportunities to connect not only with local government but also the local enterprises.

Interestingly, unlike the case of the Hue Complex, the imagineering process of PNKB NP is highlighted by the active role of the local enterprises, which mainly reflected in the activities of heritage tourism. On the one hand, the local private entrepreneurs have actively connected with global companies and organisations and utilised international experts' supports in order to transfer global ideas, standards, and models of ecotourism and community-based tourism to the site. On the other hand, local entrepreneurs develop close cooperation with the local authorities and engage local communities in enhancing the heritage uniqueness that promotes their services.

Consequently, they have succeeded in shaping and promoting the image of "The Cave Kingdom" for the area, simultaneously created better opportunities for community involvement.

The notion of "heritage" is conveniently consistent with the global environmental concern to "save" resources and functioning ecosystems for the use, benefit, and appreciation of both current and future generations (Parnwell, 2010). The discourses revolved around the making of the PNKB World Heritage site has elucidated how the natural heritage merges with agendas of protecting natural resources. However, protection of nature at PNKB sometimes means to protect from the local users. Only recently has it been claimed that local communities must be recognised and engaged throughout all process of World Heritage. However, in reality, where and how do communities actually fit into the processes that are dominated by global and national elites? The next chapter will set out to answer this question.

CHAPTER 7. THE TWO TALES OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENTS

7.1. Introduction

The preceding chapters have shown that international actors and states play the dominant roles in the process of heritage-making in Vietnam. However, since the 40th Anniversary of the WH Convention in 2012, UNESCO has sent out the call for a shift towards a people-centred approach in heritage conservation and management intentionally (Rössler, 2012). The community thus has been manifested to be at the heart of the World Heritage programme at both national and global levels. In Vietnam, various initiatives and programme have also been designed to better engage community ever since (see Chapter 4). However, until recently, people engagement, especially the local community within the World Heritage arena is still swinging in tensions between normative and programmatic advocating and constrained reality. In the attempts to reassess the good intentions of local engagement in World Heritage agenda, Waterton and Watson (2013) affirm that: the only thing that we are we are sure about community involvement is that there is a great diversity in the nature of community engagement and the ways in which this is manifest in a global context.

Questioning against the normative and programmatic assumption of community and their involvement in the WH agendas, this chapter particularly aims to unveil the actual positions of the local communities in the reality of heritagization process. The chapter scrutinises and compares the involvement of communities at two sites in Vietnam in order to explain better in which ways communities are able to get involved in the heritage-making process, and what influences these ways of involvement.

To reiterate, the study embraces the fluidity in the concepts of both community and heritage. Therefore, the involvement of the community will be scanned in the networks that they participate, and in the flows of resources that granted their participation. Two analytical scopes will be examined throughout the chapter. The first two sections will zoom into the specific networks between the community and other actors of two selected cases. This helps to understand the positions and forms of involvement of the community. The last section will zoom out to explore the counter-dominance of the local places against the top-down influences of the global and national power. It aims to investigate the dynamics of domination and of resistance to domination in the case of heritagization in Vietnam. This expects to identify the opportunity for the local to bypass the state dominance and to increase their influence in shaping and managing the heritage.

7.2. The (dis)connections at Hue Complex of Monuments

7.2.1. Local communities in focus

In order to have a better grasp of the local community in the case of Hue Complex, it is utterly important to firstly understand the spatial distribution of this World Heritage designation. According to the World Heritage list, the Complex comprises of 14 different components that stretch along 30km of the Perfume River running across Hue city towards other surrounding districts and communes in an area of approximately more than 1000 square kilometres (see figure 7-1). The area is divided into diverse socio-economic settlements between the urban and rural.

Figure 7-1: Distribution of World Heritage components and studied sites
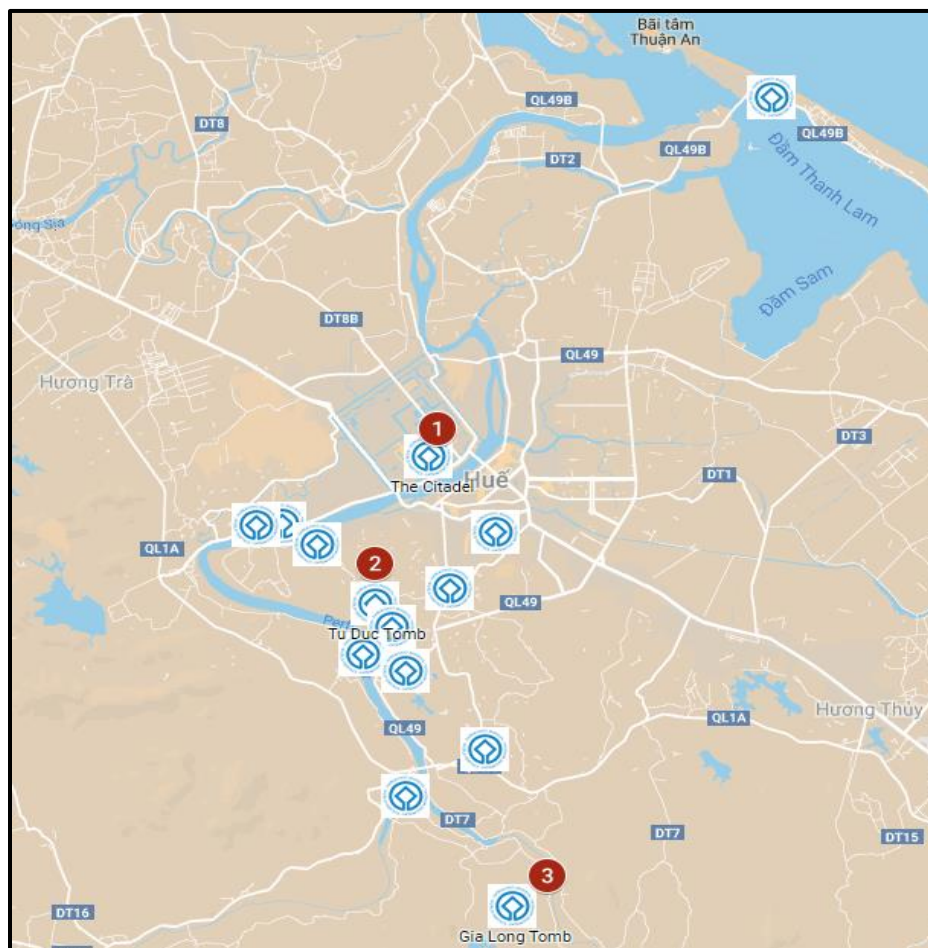
(Source: Google maps, 2018)

Moreover, the separation between past values and contemporary dynamism is also spatially enforced (Di Giovine, 2009). Different from other World Heritage sites of the country, the Hue Complex could not be defined in one total dimension, but rather designated monuments are

delimited as part of the sites with its own protected boundaries. As a result, these delimitations surround each component form a series of core and buffer zones across the province. According to the National Cultural Heritage Law in 2001, the protected zone at each component of the Hue Complex is divided into Zone I and II. Zone I covers the core structures of the heritage, which is strictly protected without any modifications, interventions and landscape alteration. Zone II surrounds the outer of Zone I, on which, supplementary constructions served the purposes of infrastructure development, residential living, and landscape manipulation are allowed under the authorisation of the national and local government (Boccardi and Logan, 2006). Spatial limitations restrict not only the areas of land manipulated but also the height of constructions. Structures that are higher than 11 meters, equivalently to a two floor-building, are forbidden in Zone II. Plans for residential reconstruction need to obtain legalised documents directly from the Provincial People's Committee (Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2015).

The establishment of multiple buffer zones has consequently induced in the extremely complex nature for the studies of local communities at the World Heritage site in Hue. Statistically, the total core zone of the Hue Complex is 315.4 hectares, and the buffer zone is 71.9 hectares. However, its actual affected area could reach much further than that. First of all, considering the large geographical distribution of the Hue Complex, local communities directly and indirectly under the impacts of designation are estimated to be enormous. According to the updated statistics in 2013, a rough estimation of the local population living in protective zones type I and II of the Hue Complex can reach up to 130,000 – 140,000 inhabitants which account for one-third of the city's population approximately (Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2015). Secondly, not only enormous in population size, the heritage communities are highly heterogeneous in terms of demographics, economic and social characteristics.

Another important aspect to consider is that although share the same list, each component enjoys different fame and attention. Amongst enlisted 14 components, the Citadel is the most important at which focalises the reconstruction funding as well as visitation. Since 1996, 89 out of 140 reconstruction projects have been invested for the Citadel area (Hue Monument Conservation Centre, 2018). In terms of visitation, 43% of heritage-related tourists came to the Citadel, while 21% to Tu Duc tomb, 20% to Khai Dinh Tomb, and the other 16% share for all other monuments (Tran, 2013). Due to these differences, the developing dynamism in the surrounding local of each monument is different. Highly invested and visited site often generates greater impacts on the local communities.

Last but not least, the multiple components and their zones blur the concepts of World Heritage in the people's perceptions. Of all 23 local people interviewed, none was able to list all 14 components of the Complex. Most of the respondents equivalent the Complex with the

Citadel along with the interviews. Most of them use "Citadel", or "Hue" in general to refer the whole Complex when talking about the World Heritage designation. Therefore, it is questionable how the World Heritage status, as well as the heritagization, will impact the local communities giving these complexities.

Due to the above issues, it is crucial to clarify the focused groups of communities in this case. The study was conducted at three locations: the Citadel in the centre of Hue city, Tu Duc tomb, and Gia Long tomb. The first two sites located in the urban settings of Hue city and the third belongs to more rural settings located in Huong Tho communes, Huong Tra district. Additionally, the study also approaches the descendants of the Nguyen Dynasty, who logically are assumed to be the truthful owners of the designated monuments.

The Citadel

The Citadel was built at the heart of Hue city. Its territory covers the administrative areas of 7 wards including Thuận Thành, Thuận Lộc, Thuận Hòa, Tây Lộc, Phú Hòa, Phú Bình, and Phú Thuận. The Citadel lies in the Northern banks of the city, which is structured into three different layers, including the Citadel, the Imperial City and the Forbidden Purple City (figure 7-2).

Figure 7-2: Structure and zonation of the Citadel in Hue
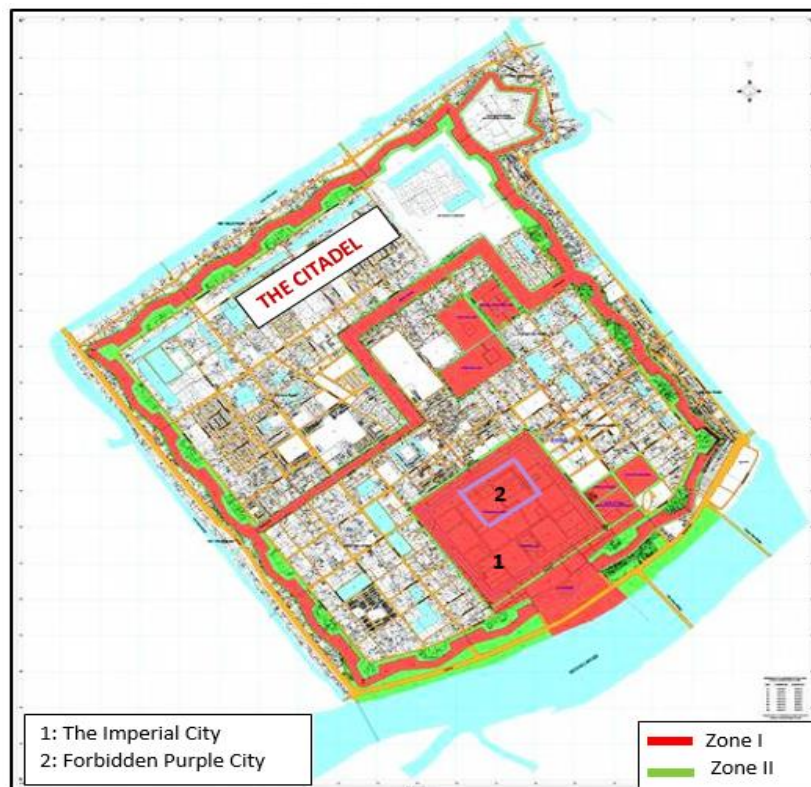
(Source: Department of Tourism, Hue, 2017)

The Citadel has an area of 520 hectares surrounded by an outer Wall – called "Thượng Thành" – and is connected with the outside through 11 gates. The Wall itself is a historical monument that is 21 meters wide, more than 6 meters height and has a circumference of more than 10 km in length. Within the Citadel, contemporary activities still carry on merging and co-sharing the spaces with the protected heritage.

The second layer is the construction of the Imperial City (37,5ha), which served as the working and worshipping place of the King and his mandarins in the old times. The third layer, also the centre of the Citadel, lies the Forbidden Purple City (9 ha). The Forbidden Purple City was the innermost area that was restricted only for the imperial family's members and their servants (Vo and Nguyen, 2014). The total area of the designated monuments in all three layers of the Citadel is 159.71 ha and the buffer zone is 71.9 ha (ibid.). Nowadays, unlike the first layer, the Imperial City and the Forbidden Purple City is enclosed for conservation and tourism activities.

The Citadel has a long background of urban formation and development since the 17th Century. Until today, it is recorded that there are about more than 80,000 people living inside the Citadel. Especially, Zone I and II of the areas are now inhabited by nearly 20.000 people, most of them are living on and around the Outer Wall. As urbanisation keeps growing along with the socio-economic development, residents in and around the WH sites of the Citadel are becoming a part of urban life, breaking down barriers between the past and the present (Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2015).

I focus closer to the local people who are living on and around Thuong Thanh area, mainly in three streets: Xuan 68, Ong Ich Khiem and Tran Huy Lieu. On average, these informants have been living in the area for over 30 years who are mostly common labours such as cyclers, construction workers, vendors, and household business people.

Tu Duc Tomb

Tu Duc Tomb is the second studied site. The tomb is situated at Thủy Xuân ward, which is 6km in the Southwest from the city centre. The area of the World Heritage Property of Tu Duc tomb is 13 ha. The entire core zone of the tomb is closed only for tourists. Tu Duc tomb ranks the second among the most visited places of the Hue Complex.

44 households are living in Zone II of the property. I conducted interviews with five households who live right along the entrance of the tomb. Two of them open small shops to sell drinks, snacks, and souvenirs, besides they also offer bike park services for the tourist. Both of them have been living in the area for more than 45 years. The other three produce and sell incense products who have lived here for nearly three generations. Incense production has been transferred from the previous generations to them. On average, family produce and sell incense

have a higher income than other families in the areas; they also have better connections with the tour operators in their business.

Gia Long Tomb

The third studied site in Hue is at Gia Long tomb. Gia Long tomb is the furthest which locates 24 km away to the South from the centre. Administratively, the tomb belongs to Huong Tho commune, Huong Tr district. The area of the World Heritage Property of Gia Long tomb is 207,198m2. Like Tu Duc, the core zone of Gia Long tomb is also reserved for visitors with entrance fees.

Before 2014, the tomb was hardly known by the tourists. However, thanks to international initiatives, particularly the Waseda University, attention to research on the value of Gia Long tomb has been increased and promoted. Consequently, new roads and bridges were invested in the region, which improved access to the Tomb. In 2016, Gia Long tomb started to open officially for tourism activities. Since then, new infrastructure projects are being invested in and around the tomb. Between 2017 and 2018, a pilot project to develop a community-based tour at Gia Long was conducted under the collaboration between Waseda University and the HMCC.

At the moment, there are about 25 households living in Zone II of the property. Most of the family are farmers whose livelihood depends on the short-term industrial tree. In this site, I interviewed one communal officer and two other households.

The descendants of Nguyen Royal family

The descendants of the Nguyen Dynasty are the children of the Royal blood-line. After historical regime transformations, they become normal citizens; however, they still carry royal families' traditions and worshipping activities in their kinship. Since the designation of the Complex, the HCMM announced that they still paid high respect to Nguyen Dynasty's families to conduct ceremonies and rituals at the monuments. The Center also promised to create favourable conditions so that the royal descendants can actively participate in different conservation and reconstruction activities of monuments and at tombs of Nguyen Lords (Hue Provincial People's Committee, 2015). However, regardless the close relationship between these descendants and the recognised properties, there has been little investigation on either the perceptions of these the owners on the designations of their fathers' properties; or their contributions throughout the heritagization of the site.

Stemming from that, the study aims to fill in the gap to better capture the picture of the Hue Complex heritage-making process in which the royal descendants are the crucial actor. They are not only seen as a specific group of community, but more importantly, they are the direct

owners. Understanding their involvement in this process will definitely reveal so much about the actual position of the local community in this case. During the field trip in Hue city between 2017 and 2018, I had the chance to meet with different members of the Royal family. Thanks to the introduction of a gatekeeper, after series of unofficial meetings and conversations, three members of the Union of Nguyen Phuoc kinship[24] and other two descendants agreed to further discuss their perceptions and experiences with the heritagization of the Hue Complex in my focus group discussion in April 2018

7.2.2. Under the shadow of the heritage

As a historical result, the population living around all the components of the Complex are quite enormous who bear the direct impacts of the heritage status as well as affect back to the conditions of the heritage. Previously, all heritages were used for contemporary purposes without any conservation practices. However, after the designation, regulations have established that limit public access. Gates are closed for the reconstructions, conservation activities work, and of course for tourist. Although the Center has a free – entrance policy for local people on certain national holidays, most of them show little interest to visit.

The areas around the components are densely populated. Most noticeable is the case of the Citadel in the centre of Hue city. People have always been living in the first layer of the Citadel, on and next to the Citadel Wall. In 2019, an estimated 4,200 households are living on top of the outer Wall of the Citadel, reaching a population of 15,000 people (People's Committee of Thua Thien-Hue province, 2019). Most of them came to the Wall after 1975, picked up a piece of land and built their houses. According to national mission reports, these people and their daily life activities are identified as the leading factor of damages and pressures on the heritage components. In 2011, the provincial government made a decision to reallocate people from the Wall to the suburbs of Hue city[25]. Funding of 1,282 billion VND was provided. However, after seven years of implementation, the projects only succeeded to move only 166 households.

> *"There has been information for rehabilitation not only in 2011 but even for more than 15 years. I have been waiting and doing assessments on our properties for compensation. However, nothing happens after 15 years. And my child is going to have*

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[24] The Union of Nguyen Phuoc kinship contains 10 members. Every five years, all descendants of the royal family voluntarily vote for the members of the Union. The Union will then act as the representatives of the whole Royal family. They are responsible for taking care of worshipping places and activities in the kinship, manage and distribute kinship budget in important kinship activities, protect property of their ancestors.

[25] The provincial government signed the Decision No. 1918/QĐ-UBND on 11th September 2011 to implement the project of conservation, restoration and embellishment of Imperial City system in Hue. A component was to reallocate people who live on the Citadel Wall.

his own son now, but we still stay here hanging on the wall of the World heritage sites"
(Male, local people, 30 years living on the Wall, Xuan 68 Street, Hue city)

Figure 7-3. The conditions of households living on the outer Wall of the Citadel

(Photo: Author, 2018)

Over time, the number of people living on the Wall is growing, which generates enormous pressures on the conditions of the heritage components (Figure 7-3). While the HMCC emphasises the need to reallocate the people to protect the site, little progress has been made.

> "We want to move, of course, you see, three generations in the same small house. Our house is so old and shaggy. But we will not move. I have lived here since the 1980s; at that time we just chose a land and built a house, we do not own any "red book"[26]. So, based on their assessments and rules, we are not entitled to land compensation, they only give us some amount of money. How are we secured without land? And what are we supposed to earn for a living there? At least, we need an appropriate land so that we can build a house for us and our children and grandchildren." (Male, local people, 30 years living on the Wall in Xuan 68 Street, Hue city)

It is clear that the people are willing to move; however, they still act against their will due to the insufficiency in the reallocation and compensation policies. Most of them require appropriate compensations in forms of land or money in order to be secured in case of rehabilitation. However, according to the Provincial People's Committee, only those who lived on the Wall before 19/5/1976 and possess legalised land-use documents – the red book – would be

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[26] The "red book" is an official document that legalises the rights of possession and use of land and properties on that land in Vietnam.

compensated with a land. The others, which encounter for half of the population, will receive partial financial support based on official assessments of their properties.

In reality, the population living on the Wall comprises of different groups; most of them are the common labour, the poor, and the less-educated. Most of them came to the Wall after 1975, picked up any piece of land and built their houses. They do not have any legal document of "red book" to claim for their possession of land. This leads to many disadvantages for them due to the terms of compensation. With the current regulations, they could not afford to buy new land, build a house and settle down. Furthermore, the resettlement area locates in the suburb, which would offer fewer employment opportunities for common labour. Therefore, although people are suffering from poor living standards on the Wall, a majority of them remain. Over time, this area becomes so socially complicated that it is better left ignored. The project of resettlement has been jammed and named as the "hanging project" (dự án treo) for years.

To visualise the current conditions, I made a walk along Tran Huy Lieu Street – Huynh Thuc Khang in one straight line. This street lies right outside under the Citadel Wall, separated by a canal. The two contrast images were then clear (figure 7-4). The left picture shows where households had been reallocated, providing a clear lane with the view to the Wall and the canal. Tourists sometimes take this lane to enjoy the Citadel on cycles. The one on the right is on the other half of the street, where many households still live poorly and crowdedly, we cannot see the Wall and the canal on this side. This area is considered to be socially complicated, which would normally discourage any outsiders' intrusion.

Figure 7-4. Two faces of a street line

(Photo: Author, 2018)

Asking one of the citizens on this street about the impacts of the World Heritage designation, she answered:

> *"To be honest, after the designation, there have been improvements, especially the environment. Before the canal in this part was much polluted, in sunny days the horrible smell came off from the water and we cannot bear it. Also before, there were many low-income families lived here, they are not well educated, which impacted the social lives; however, they have been rehabilitated to other places. But just a small part of them have been moved. If you cross this street to the next part, families still live next to the wall, and the situation is still more or less the same as before." (FDG1, Hue city)*

However, environmental improvement seems to be the only salient impact on the people under the shadow of the heritage. In all three research places, local people confirmed to receive little economic benefits. The ones who can directly benefit from the heritage are the vendors, the small restaurants, accommodation provider. However, most tourists come to Hue in big groups with organised tours; therefore, they just visit the components and then leave.

> *"They just come down from the buses, then go into the Imperial and Forbidden City, they will not stop at our restaurants. They mostly stay in hotels on the other side of the city here it is more modern and busier with more fancy shops and restaurants. If they want to enjoy the authenticity of Hue, they come to the recommended famous restaurants. Tourists often go by here but rarely stop. I mostly serve the local workers who come for a cheap coffee, or beers and food after a working day." (FGD1, Hue city)*

The situation looks similar at the sites that are located in Huong Tra district. This area is more rural, and the people depend more on agriculture and forestry for their livelihoods. Timber is the main source of income. Although there are two World Heritage tombs in this district, people living in their proximity do not receive many benefits from these two monuments.

> *"Everything happens behind the walls. We did not earn any benefits from that. All are managed by the HMCC; all the tourism revenues go back to the HMCC and the province. They always said that the Complex is the invaluable property of our nation and of humanity, so we - the one who lives under the shadow of heritage sites - need to protect the site, but what do we have back instead? Not many benefits but so many troubles and obstacles" (Male, communal governmental officer, Huong Tho Commune, Huong Tra district)*

"Obstacles" is the term that appeared many times in the informants' replies on how they perceive the designated heritage. The World Heritage status comes with different sets of laws and regulations. While the assumption about the trickle-down effects of benefits from

investment and tourists to local people is vague, those laws and regulations affect the people do directly. According to the heritage laws, it is prohibited to build houses in Zone I; and the construction of new houses, or to repair or reconstruction of old ones in Zone II is strictly controlled. People need to apply for permission from the provincial People's Committee. A woman living on the Wall of the Citadel, which is part of Zone I, complains:

> *"You see, they said there would be tourists coming. But they come to somewhere else, not our house. We do not have a good space for tourists. I want to have a restaurant but my house is small. I want to build up several floors for more space, or maybe to make a motel. But we are not allowed to. It is law." (Female, local people, Citadel, Hue city)*

Go further to the rural area of the province, local people at the designated sites face the same issue with binding heritage law and regulations. However, the impacts are intensified as they have more limited resources for livelihoods.

> *"I have been staying here for nearly 60 years of my life. This land is all I have. Now my son has been married and I want to build another house on this land for him as an inheriting gift. And then they said this is the land of heritage in zone II, so I have to apply for provincial permission. How can I do that? I am just a poor farmer, and the provincial government is so far away" (Male, local people, Huong Tho Commune, Huong Tra district)*

I came to Huong Tho commune on the same day when this farmer came to the Communal people's Committee to file his complaint on reconstructing his house. He has attempted to apply for reconstruction several times; however, his application has not been properly received and answered. Although thoroughly understand the reasonable demand of the farmer, the communal officer in charge could not offer him any support as he said that this issue goes beyond his responsibilities. He shared:

> *"Do you see the irrationality here? According to the land use law, people with authorised land-use certificates have the rights to reconstruct the house, or build new ones upon their wish. However, the heritage laws and regulations restrict this recognised right. People in zone I and II cannot use their land in the same way as other people do." (Male, communal governmental officer, Huong Tho Commune, Huong Tra district*)

Not only the land use rights are strictly controlled, other economic activities within the zone I and zone II are also hindered in order to preserve the larger landscape of the heritage. Around

Gia Long tomb, many farming households are not allowed to use their land for industrial plantation since the cultivation of these plants will degrade the overall landscape.

"I understand it is the heritage land. But tell me if the farmers cannot grow trees here then there would be solutions for them. One, the government can replace them with another land that can be cultivated. Or two, the government should introduce the farmers with other methods of cultivations or other kinds of plants. The short-term industrial trees are their pot of rice. It is not that easy to tell them to stop planting it for any reason." (Male, communal governmental officer, Huong Tho Commune, Huong Tra district)

Small business is also being affected. In the last several years, the HMCC has closed down the street in front of the Imperial city to allow walking visitor only. The other two connecting streets were cleared out and turned into one way. Street sales at these streets are increasingly prohibited. A female street vendor complaint to me:

"For the first few years, it was great for us. Visitors were coming to my place for fresh coconut juice. But now, they block the road, make it one-way street and prohibit vendors. Tourists stopped coming as it is not convenient anymore. I am only surviving here. I have the whole family to feed." (Female, small business, Hue city)

In all, against the shining images of heritage as precious properties and resources for social, cultural and economic benefits, the local people who live right next to the heritage seem to receive little promised benefits than the obstacles.

7.2.3. The truthful heir – the Nguyen descendants

It has always been an unsettling question in the field of heritage studies on whose heritage it is. In the case of the Hue Complex, it might be reasonable to argue that the descendants of the Nguyen Dynasty are the truthful heir of all the recognized components. After hundreds of years of building and reigning the last Feudalism, the Nguyen kinship had expanded greatly. Although after the Indochina wars, most of the Nguyen descendants had fled out of Vietnam and seek settlement, many remained and passed on their family's name and traditions in Hue. Though it is obviously crucial to know to whom the recognized heritages really belong, in this study, it focused more on how do these descendants perceived their rightful possession of the heritage.

As a tradition in Vietnamese culture, children and grandchildren carry their family names, worship their ancestors, and take care of the ancestors' houses. Failing to follow these traditions is considered as a great insult to the whole kinship. In the Imperial period, royal families carried distinctive family names which showed the positions and the relations between each of the individuals within the kinship and among royal families' generations. The Royal

family had strict rules to name their children applying differently for boys and girls. These family names express the nobility of the carriers which differentiate them from each other and from "common people"[27]. However, after the Communist Party took power, former members of the royal families were mistreated and bullied. Realizing their roots just by their names, it was more difficult for them to integrate into the communist society. Therefore, many royal families had changed their royal family names and took "Nguyen" generally as their family name instead. With the opening at the end of the 1990s, the attitudes against the royal family became friendlier. However, descendants of royal families continue to use "Nguyen" as a family name to avoid administrative complications.

Discussing with me into depth, the descendants agree that losing family name leads to the loss of certain traditions and connections among the royal kin. The family name is also an inheritance from their father that will transfer to their children, so it can be perceived that a part of the royal heritage could not pass on to the next generations. However, they accepted that it is inevitable due to the historic dynamism and other social and institutional requirements. Nevertheless, the participants emphasised that there are several ways to still be connected with the tradition and conserve their heritage, most exemplary is the practices of worshipping in the royal shrines. However, this would not be easy to conduct just around a decade ago.

I met with an old lady on a tour into the Imperial city. She introduced to me as a bride in the royal family. She is amongst the very few who still conduct worship rituals in the Imperial City. She said:

> *"It was very difficult for me to enter the Imperial city in the past. I was chased away, even threatened by the guards. But I was consistent, I am destined to do this. How can we let our fathers' alters cold and ignored? Fortunately, there have been changes in the last 10 years. Maybe they have known me so well, or perhaps they are just too tired of me." (Female, the descendant of Nguyen Dynasty, Citadel, Hue city)*

As the current attitudes have been changed, the descendants of the Nguyen Imperial are now allowed to practice their worshipping inside the Forbidden City of the Citadel. However, still, not every Nguyen descendants can enter freely. All activities need to be permitted firstly by the Nguyen Phuoc Kinship Union (Hội đồng họ tộc nhà Nguyễn Phước), and secondly the HMCC. The Nguyen Phuoc Kinship Union comprises of 10 members who act as the representative for the kinship. Every five years, all descendants in the royal kinship voluntarily nominate and vote for the members of the Union. The selected members will hold the responsibilities to organize

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[27] Some example of the royal family name for princes under Nguyen Dynasty were Miên, Hồng, Ưng, Bửu, Vĩnh, Bảo… And those for princesses were Công Nữ, Công tôn Nữ, Công Tằng Tôn Nữ…

activities concerning worshipping, connect Nguyen descendants domestically and internationally, provide support to the Nguyen in needs, and manage the Union fund. They represent the Nguyen family in all official affairs with the local government agencies. For example, if one descendant of the Nguyen Dynasty wants to visit the heritage sites, he/she needs to apply to the Union. The Union will then make a list and submit to the HMCC for entrance permission. If they do not follow this procedure, they have to purchase tickets as normal tourists. In this case, they are not allowed to conduct their traditional rituals at the royal shrines.

Furthermore, it is salient in our group discussion with the Union that they have little acknowledgment and information concerning the conservation and management of the sites. None of the members in the Union could confirm the authenticity of the artifacts and objects that are used and displayed in several main Royal shrines in Forbidden City. Besides, the Union was not included in activities concerning conservation works and other decision-making processes of their ancestors' resting places. They could rarely participate in projects, working groups or meetings which aim to decide the fate of the heritage. One member of the Union of Nguyen descendants condemned:

> *"It is their money, their funding, and their working groups. They have their research groups when they reconstruct some components of the Complex, but we were not in. We were not able to protect or reconstruct the components, so we are in no position to criticize. They do what they think is necessary." (FGD with Union of Nguyen descendants, Hue city)*

According to HMCC, the Nguyen descendants are highly respected and supported to connect with their roots within the components of the Complex. They are allowed to conduct ritual activities as tradition within the Forbidden City of the Citadel every year. In these events, however, the Union needs to submit their plan and a list of participants for the HMCC in advance. Organizers and all participants have to follow the regulations even though sometimes this means to go against tradition. For example, burning incense is one of the important rites that is believed to help transfer our praying for the death in Vietnamese culture. However, due to safety reason, it is limited for people to burn incenses in a big number such in these cases of Nguyen descendants. The Union said that some people come back from different places domestically and internationally to attend the worshipping occasion, it is difficult for them not to burn any incense and offer their praying to their father and grandfather. However, it is the regulation of the HMCC to avoid fire hazards, the Union always finds themselves facing the difficult situation of persuading our relatives to prioritize and follow the rules primarily over practices of gratitude and tradition.

In general, it is extremely important for the Nguyen royal descendants to connect with their ancestors, and to connect between different members within the kinship. The designated components, on the contrary, are lesser of their concerns. Little connections have been found between the Nguyen descendants and the World Heritage inscriptions, as for them, they accept that those inscriptions are not under their possession, as found out during the Focus Group Discussion: "They are now the national properties. We cannot ask for anything. They are not ours any longer." (FGD2, The descendants of Nguyen Dynasty).

7.2.4. The other heritage

"Asking how Hue people think about the heritage? I would say they are turning their back towards the heritage. there are people 60 or even 70 years old but know nothing about heritage, and there are younger people do not care about heritage." (Male, officer of Provincial department of tourism, Hue city)

That was the statement of a governmental officer who has been working at the provincal Department of Tourism for nearly 30 years. According to him, heritage values of Hue as a tourism product has come to its saturation. Heritage values as a discourse for national pride and identity building have lost its connection to the local people.

"This disconnect should be realised in its historical roots. In the Feudal time, local people could not enter the Citadel, every time the royal families appeared in public, the local people had to bow and were not allowed to look up into their face. Since the beginning, there has always been a straight divided line. In the modern times, royal properties have turned into visiting places, and royal culture has been commodified in performances. It is not for everyone to experience. The World heritage inscriptions, therefore, are moving into more distant with the Hue people" (Male, officer of the Provincial Department of tourism, Hue city)

Most of the interviewees agreed that World heritage does not generate a direct impact on their lives. Some of them perceived the World heritage merely as tourism attractions of Hue.

"I only go to the heritage sites when I need to show my guests or my friends from other cities around. I only visit several of the main places. The tombs are somehow the same. For other royal performances, it is expensive to buy tickets. And I think it is boring to listen to the old-style music and watch the old style dances which I do not understand" (Female, local people, Hue city)

World heritage status in Hue has grown to be mediocre to the local people. The glamorous effect of listing has been fading away over time. Explaining for this indifferent attitude of local

people, head of the travel management section - department of tourism Thua Thien-Hue province, said:

> *"The major of Hue people do not know what heritage, and the other part does not concern because they do not see the direct impacts of heritage on their lives. The other reason is that the government did not do well into integrate and educate the heritage values widely to the local people. Of all 1.4 million people in Hue, how many of them have visited, just say, the Citadel? How many are really interested? There is an open-day policy for local people which is good but not enough. Visiting and remembering and then understanding are three different things"* (Male, officer of the Provincial Department of tourism, Hue city)

However, informants express the pride to be Hue people, and in their perception Hue is distinctive to any other cities of Vietnam. The Hue culture and identity are influenced by Confucianism which is strictly practices in the Dynasty and Buddhism. These two factors intertwined, and over long dynamic courses of history, have built up a unique Hue. The culture of Hue is the combination between the royal and the folklore culture which reflected in the Hue people through their lifestyles, cuisine, music, etc....

> *"It is beautiful to have a World Heritage status. Hue deserves that recognition. But that is not crucial. The heritage of Hue is much more than just those inscriptions. It is the food that I am eating, it is the traditional values embraced in the lifestyles, and it is a unique set of qualities in the people."* (Male, local people, Citadel, Hue city)

In "Hue people, who are you?", Buu Y discussed that each Hue person is born on a "spiritual heritage" which comprised numerous values passing from generations to generations, that are taught constantly in every activity of social lives. The spiritual heritage of Hue entails the strong family bonds and awareness, the moral bases, and appreciation of traditions. Possessing this spiritual heritage, the Hue people are always proud, or even sometimes arrogant to set themselves as being "exceptional" compared to the people from other provinces (Buu, 2004).

In conclusion, contrasting to the great values and significances claimed by the international and national stakeholders in chapter 5, this chapter has showed different perspectives of the local people on the designation of the Hue Complex. For those who live right under the shadow of the heritage, they do not earn the direct benefits from the status but rather have encountered obstacles and troubles resulting from the heritage abiding law and regulations. Meanwhile, the rightful owners, the descendants of the Nguyen Dynasty, have conceded their loss of possession and control over their ancestors' inheritance. Their rights are limited, their knowledge and consensus are being ignored. In general, while the Complex is said to have made a wide recognition and appreciation on the global scale, it seems that little do the local

communities know what heritage exactly is. And while the heritage is manifested to successfully connect Hue and Vietnam to the universal standards appealing to the global communities, it is losing the connections with its own people. Local people in a contrary way are embracing a different version of heritage – a more spiritual one.

7.3. Manoeuvring their ways in at Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park

7.3.1. Local communities in focus

Unlike the Hue Complex, the designated area of PNKB NP are spatially well-defined. Covering most of the mountainous area of Quang Binh province, the Park is considered to connect directly with the lives of more than 68,000 people with multi demographic and ethnical backgrounds. The majority of this population lives in the buffer zone which is administratively divided into 155 villages of 13 communes in 3 districts. As this matter of fact, challenges to study local communities in PNKB were not so much about identifying the local groups, but rather about understanding the people-park relationship evolving during the heritagization.

Local communities of the area are highly forest-use independent. They have developed a long-standing relationship with the forest resources over different courses of history. During the Indochina war period, especially between 1961 and 1973, PNKB was a heavily bombed area which drove the local Kinh communities away from their lands and pushed the ethnic minorities into caves for shielding and shelters (Larsen, 2008). After the war, the Kinh returned to their homes, while the ethnic minorities roamed back into the forest practicing slash-and-burn lifestyles. During this time, the forest became the savior resources for these people to overcome the war destructions, food crisis and rebuild their lives back to normal.

Since the late 1980s, the country entered the economic reform and social engineering period. The prior centralised planned economy of the Socialist regime gradually switched to a more market-based economy. As an impact of the open-door policies, forest use activities have also been transformed in terms of the types and intensity (Dang et al., 2012). Resources that served as subsistence for domestic uses or for low-scale commercial have vigorously been commercialised for the newly opened market. Noticeably, demands rose strongly towards high-valued timber and wildlife species. Forest extraction activities erupted in different forms such as logging, trapping, hunting. PNKB became the busy market place for groups of loggers, hunters, and traders who majorly are the Kinh communities. On the other remark, during this time, ethnic minorities gained momentous attention from the policy-makers under the national narrative of "Unity in diversity". In the field of forest management, traditional livelihood practices of the ethnic peoples such as subsistence animal hunting or wood gathering, swidden cultivations were identified as "backward" by the Socialist Republic government. Therefore,

they had been seeking to settle down ethnic minority communities and to reduce the swidden cultivation practices under the scheme of sedentarization policies ever since (Larsen, 2008).

In the middle of the increasing concern over the national forest protection discourse between the 1990s and early 2000s, PNKB was initially designated as a protected area, following by the up-gradation to National Park. This process was undertaken in a top-down manner affecting greatly by the national narrative on forest management suggested mainly through experts and scientific institutions. This explained the exclusion of local communities in the legislation systems. Protected area laws and regulations which exhibited all forest use activities since the 1990s have illegalized most of the livelihood activities of the local communities around the Park which induced several frictions and conflicts. In this period, local people were often defined as problems, or threat to the forest resources (Dang et al., 2012). Ironically, as the protected area was designated, the forest used were strictly prohibited, demands for forest timber and wild animals increased at an unprecedented speed in the buffer zone. The 1990s witnessed a forest rush in the area where Kinh men got more and more specialized in hunting and logging, and ethnic minority people were also engaged more in trading forest products with the Kinh (Larsen, 2008). Local people violated forest resources for escalated financial benefits. A network of now-framed illegal loggers and traders widely developed which were permitted by forest rangers through informal transactions and bribes. Forest rangers, the direct forces of authorities in protecting forest resources at the local level, became the gate-lifters for the forest extractors (ibid.).

> *"PNKB was heaven for illegal loggers even after being recognized as protected areas. Many rangers shook hands with illegal loggers for money. It was because our legal framework especially the enforcement towards forest management and protection were not strong enough. However, after the UNESCO designation and the establishment of forest laws in 2004, things have been changing positively in the region." (Male, forest ranger, PNKB)*

Recognising that the legal and institutional frameworks for forest protection were insufficient, inadequate and out-of-date, between 1997 and 2001, the Department of Forest Protection proposed adjustments to the management plan for protected areas to the central government. At this point in time, IUCN standards have been used as a template in order to integrate into the Vietnamese regulations which fit the national conditions (Stolton, 2004). In 2004, the adjusted Law on forest protection and development was issued. Combining with the official guidelines of UNESCO concerning the conservation and development of heritage values, different schemes have been developed in PNKB in order to eliminate the forest extraction activities as well as secure the livelihoods of the local communities. Thanks to these reforms, it

has been repeatedly reported that the local communities are increasing respected and well included in the conservation and management programmes of PNKB NP the past five years.

In order to understand fully the involvement of local communities in the heritage-making of PNKB, I focused particularly on Son Trach and Hung Trach communes of Bo Trach district. Bo Trach district is considered as the home of PNKB NP. Especially, Son Trach commune is the entrance gate to the Park. The headquarters of the NP management board, as well as the Centre for PNKB tourism, are situated within Son Trach communes. Demographically, Son Trach and Hung Trach are the most populated communes among 13 communes in the buffer zone with the densities of 107 and 122 people/km2 respectively. Economically, these are the busiest and the most emergent places in the whole area. Furthermore, because Hung Trach and Son Trach locate along the Ho Chi Minh trail that connects Dong Hoi city and PNKB NP, most of the activities concerning the park have to pass through these two communes. Selecting these communes will be potential for the researcher to obtain the richest sources of information given the conditions of research constrains.

7.3.2. The emergent narrative of community transformation and inclusion

On a day in August 2017 before my first field trip to PNKB, I met with a man at a handicraft village in Hue. As I observed his car plate is originated from Quang Binh, out of curiosity, I approached and started a conversation with him. Learning that I have interested in touring around PNKB, he eagerly offered:

> *"You have to come to Phong Nha, it is much livelier than in Hue. Life has changed dramatically in Phong Nha. It is all about tourism now. People are either working for tourism or enjoying tourism there."*

<div align="right">

(Field diary, 5th August 2017)

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It did not take long for me to realise that this statement of "life transformation" is the most pervasive narrative of the Park. The most iconic example of all must be the story of Ho Khanh – a illegal logger who turned to a successful businessman, a role model of the local communities.

Mr. Ho was just like any typical man of this poorest area of the province. Back in the 80s and 90s, he was living in deep poverty, and had no other livelihood alternatives than intruding into Phong Nha forests for timbers and other valuable resources. Since these activities were against law and regulations at this time, he was made as a "forest hijacker".

Forwarding to the 1990s, during one of his trips into the deep forests, Mr. Ho accidentally discovered a gigantic cave. However, he quickly forgot this encounter because at this time he was still struggling with his life. Until the 2000s, the scientists of BCRA led by Dr. Howards and Deb Limbert came to work in PNKB and requested the support from the experienced locals. Ho

Khanh had the chance to work with Dr. Limbert and told him the story of the mysterious cave. Later on, based on the memory of Ho Khanh, the BCRA made one of the greatest discovery in the field of caving expedition and geology. Son Doong, as now that mysterious cave was named, was found in 2009 and claimed to be the biggest cave in the world so far. Since then, Mr Ho is also known as the first man who found Son Doong. His name was event carved on the entrance to the cave (The left picture in Figure 7-5).

Figure 7-5: The story of Mr Ho Khanh

(Photo: PNKB Management Board, 2018)

However, interestingly, the story did not ended there. After that, Mr Ho quitted his illegal-logging life and worked with the BCRA. He managed to build up good rapport with different stakeholders in the area. Eventually, encouraged by the British scientists, Ho Khanh opened his homestay, one of the first in his village, which became the most recommended homestay by the local tour operators. Nowadays, he is a successful businessman, an influencer of the local people, and a consultant for the authorities and the caving experts. Due to his extraordinary accomplishment, on 28th May 2015, Ho Khanh was rewarded with the Third-class Labour Medal by the Provincial People's Committee of Quang Binh, side by side with Dr. Limbert (the right picture in Figure 7-5). The story of Mr. Ho has now widely been told by the local authorities, the media, and other communty members as a typical man in PNKB who turned from an illegal forest intruder to the "king of cave kingdom".

This is not just a story of a single man, but it symbolises the dominant narrative of the positive transformation brought by heritage designation and tourism development to the local communities in PNKB. The story has justified the efforts of the Vietnamese government to facilitate involvement of the local people in forest conservation and development. Indeed,

according to the "Management and development Plan of PNKB NP until 2030", the central strategy is to increasingly engage communities in site conservation and development. Recently, positive resulted has been reported by the local government in order to strengthen the vision.

Interviews with both governmental officers and private entrepreneurs confirmed that the lives of local people have changed significantly in the last five years thanks to the World Heritage status. People are earning numerous benefits namely new employments, financial supports, and educations. These statements from the informants have triggered many concerns about the actual reality of the local people in the region. To what extent do the local communities really benefit from the World Heritage designation? How do they get involved in the process of heritage management and development for their benefits? Who are included and who are not? The next section seeks to answer.

7.3.3. The involvement of local communities

By the late 2000s, at the national level, the concerns over local livelihoods in the context of extending establishment of protected areas became the emergent issue. Scientists worried that the expansion is constraining the livelihood options of the people. Local people were forced to lose their lands, and the accommodated rights over the land use. Strict regulations on forest protection and development were not suitable for the local conditions especially for the poor communities (Dinh, 2005; Larsen, 2008). Consequently, failures of the government in conserving and managing special-use forests occurred in many parts of the country. Increasing critics towards the central government's neglect of local lives, thus, called for more inclusive forest policies which balance the conservation and local livelihoods (Nguyen, Tran, Nguyen, 2011; To, 2009). In response to the criticism, institutional changes have been made in various national laws, ministerial decisions, and policy documents which softened the previous restrictions and internalised the local communities as an integral in the management of special-use forests in 2004, 2006, 2007, 2010, and the latest in 2012[28].

At the local level in the PNKB NP case, the convergence of both global and national discourses generates paramount impacts. Local communities both in the core and periphery zones of the

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[28] 2004, adjusted Law on forest protection and development No. 29/2004/QH11 recognized 'communal communities' as an eligible entity for forest land allocations. It developed a separated section for communal communities in managing forests, as well as detailed the forest tenure rights of forest owners which were vaguely mentioned in the previous version.
2006 Article 20 of Prime Minister Decision No. 186/QĐ-Ttg allowed certain uses, impacts, and adjustments within special-use forests.
2007 Circular No.70/2007/TT-BNN of Ministry of Agriculture and Rural development provided official guidelines to implement local forest conservation and development plans
2010 Decree 117/2010/NĐ-CP allowed more autonomy for management boards of protected areas to develop projects with individuals, organisations, enterprises for forest development which ensures conservation
2012 Decision No.126/QĐ-Ttg established pilot policy for benefit sharing mechanism in forest development.

Park are increasingly being prioritised and involved through different channels. The first is through the official policies and development projects. The second is through heritage tourism which has rocketed in the last five years.

7.1.1.1 *Through governmental policy and development projects*

Backing up by the global discourse of engaging the fifth "C" in World Heritage governance which has been now put into the implementation, more and more global and national initiatives have been diverted towards the inclusion of local communities. In PNKB NP, the local government are working together with the international organisation in order to engage the community into the development of the site. Furthermore, the Vietnamese government is also establisting national policies to stimulate community particpation in Park conservation and management.

PNKB NP benefits greatly with the project of "Integrated nature conservation and sustainable management of natural resources in Phong Nha-Ke Bang National Park Region" that was executed under the collaboration between the PNKB Management Board and the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). The project was commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Coop eration and Development (BMZ) between the period of 2007 and 2016. One of the key components of the project is to secure local livelihoods without placing additional strain on the Park. Furthermore, between 2010 and 2015, PNKB has received around 800 billion VND, approximately 45 million USD, of investment for community development projects. Of which, national budget accounted for 80 billion, equivalent to 4.5 million USD (T. V. H. Nguyen, 2018). The PNKB Management Board has adopted flexibly the newly established law and regulations of forest protection and development combining with different financial and technical support from the international donors to facilitate more involvements from the local communities in various ways concerning the demographic diversity of the area.

Ethnic minority communities in the core zone of the Park inhabited in 2 different villages with a number of 307 individuals. These communities have been living in the forest for a long period of time which were always described as people who came out from the cave. Historically, these communities practiced shifting-cultivation and pilgrim lifestyle. After the National park inauguration, the village of the Arem was resettled since 2003 accordingly to the wider national policies of stabilizing and sedentarizing ethnic minority communities (Larsen, 2008). An internal buffer zone was administratively mapped for the Arem to ensure their lives. Forest lands were given to people, simultaneously annual financial support from the provincial budget was also provided to ensure the forest plantation and other livelihood activities of the people. Meanwhile, another village of the Doong is believed to continue the pilgrim lifestyle. Recently,

the increasing flows of tourists into the core zone have generated incentives for the people of the village to settle down.

> *"The ethnic minority people have been living in the core zone long before the World Heritage designation. They are pilgrimages, they come when they like, if not they will move to another part of the forest. However, when there are tours going to Son Doong cave, and En cave, more and more tourists pass by. The tourists give them money, buy their food… The ethnic minority people see the real benefits so that they gather their children and start to stay at one place ever since" (Male, officer of the Management Board, PNKB)*

Currently, the Management Board is suggesting to the higher authorities to establish the second internal zone for the Doong village with a proper administration management procedure. The settlement is expected to provide the village proper supports to sustainably develop. Besides, the Provincial People's Committee has allowed a private company to exploit community-based tours to the two ethnic minority villages. Different pilot tours have been tested in the period of 12/2017 to 05/2018 (PNKB Management Board, 2018).

In the buffer zone, allocating forest lands, co-forest protections, diversifying livelihood options, and encouraging participation are the main strategies that target to engage the involvement of the local communities. These strategies are considered to serve a dual-objective of world heritage conservation and local community development. Since 2007, the buffer zone has been highly invested resulting from the collaborated project between the Management Board and GIZ. The project was divided into three phases that focus on three different aspects: biodiversity monitoring, local livelihood diversification, and transboundary cooperation. The project has facilitated the participation of more than 2,000 households until 2016. More than 8,200 ha forest lands were allocated for the management at communal levels, of which 3,600 ha were directly given for individual households for reforestation (Provincial Department of natural resources and environment, 2018). In each participated commune, a communal forest management group has been established with funding of 200 thousand VND per allocated hectare per year, within 6 years from 2010 to 2016. The main responsibilities of the groups are cooperating with forest rangers in preventing and reporting forest violations, raising local people's awareness of forest protection. Moreover, participants in regular forest patrols with forest rangers will receive a payment of 100-200 thousand VND. Diversifying the livelihood options was one of the main objectives of the project. To date, 1,000 models of livelihood have been designed and transferred to the local communities. Different models were assessed to be highly applicable for the local conditions such as the mushroom productions, cow and goat husbandry.

Simultaneously, the Management Board also work with the communal authorities based on the national government policies which stimulated the direct management of people in forest plantation and protection. Since 2013, each forestry commune is provided with the annual forest management budget worth of 40 million VND. Different forest protection clubs were established at the communal levels. Extra curriculum on heritage values and protections were developed for the primary and secondary schools which stimulated children to participate in different activities such as plantation, drawing contests on heritage and forest values, heritage clubs. In the master plan of developing the PNKB area until 2015 vision 2030, the Provincial People's Committee commits to building up 13 communes of the buffer zone as the "new rural" – a national programme of rural development – which combines both forestry agricultural production and tourism. The strategy is to build up households in harmony with the nature of forest to extract the agricultural and forestry production and develop local tourism (Quang Binh Provincial People's Committee, 2015).

7.1.1.2   *Through engaging in tourism development*

Despite the fact that heritage tourism is growing at an unprecedented speed in the area for the last couple of years, the generated impacts are prevalent only in certain communes where the flows of tourists pass by including Son Trach, Bo Trach, Hung Trach. Especially in the area of Son Trach commune – the main gate to PNKB National Park, busy tourism activities are giving local people different chances of getting benefits. The headquarter of the PNKB tourism Center has generated employments for the people such as recruiting center staff, local boat driving, tour guide, photography, retailers, and other logistics services. At the moment, there are 450 boats that are used to transport tourists to Phong Nha and Hang Tien caves. Local households with proper boats and safety equipment can be registered as a boat driver for tourism. Whereas they have to bear the fuel expenses and a small amount of annual tax for the tourism centre, each boat can earn 600 thousand VND per ride. During the peak season in summer, each boat can have 2 journeys per day. Both local government and the Park Management Board conceded that tourism has improved the lives of local people dramatically, which in return, also reduced the negative impacts to the protected forest. The exemplary case that has always been taken to support this narrative was the case of Mr. Ho Khanh.

As the new discourse and regulation lifted up the barriers, private tourism services broke out in PNKB area, majorly in the areas of Bo Trach districts. Communes locating around the main entrance of the Park are flooded with flows of investments, infrastructure improvements, labors, and tourists. Private sector became one of the leading stakeholders in developing tourism for PNKB NP. Simultaneously, the private enterprises are also the most active who mobilize the involvement of local communities at different extents.

Firstly, Local enterprises have included different social responsibility strategies in their business that could dedicate back to the benefits of the local. These activities range from charity cycling tours, amazing race contests, contribute a certain percentage from their souvenir sale for the local fund, building schools, playgrounds, and the provision of scholarships. Oxalis Tour Company even establishs the Oxalis foundation which serves the purposes of the common good. The foundation sets their annual targets which aims at building floating houses for people in the flood-prone areas, or providing scholarships for poor students. In 2019, Oxalis targeted to contribte 3.9 billion VND (approximately 175,000 USD) for community services including 1000 scholarships, 200 septic toilets, and 30 floating houses (Oxalis foundation report, 2019).

Secondly, local enterprises have provided employment and training preferably for the local labor force. At the moment, there are more than 3,000 local people working in different tourism operators. Oxalis Tour Company is a lucid example. As mentioned above, benefiting from the professional supports of British caving experts, and the good network with the management boards, since 2012 Oxalis has virtually monopolized the cave tourism which includes Son Doong the largest cave in the world, and Tu Lan the third largest cave. Its staff has grown dramatically to over 500 people; 95% of that is the local people (Tatarski, 2017). As trekking tours are being favored by tourists, many local men can work as individual tour guides, and porters. Moreover, tourism services also create numerous chances for local employment (Pham, 2018). For example, when the number of visitors surges up over the years in the areas, the services initiated by local people are also increased in number and diversified in forms. They can range from small supplementing services such as renting motorcycles, repairing services, food and beverages, to luxury accommodation and other entertaining services. A strong wave of doing services is rising among the people living in the buffer zone of PNKB NP.

> *"There are two scenarios for the people in PNKB area. Either you go abroad to work in Taiwan, Malaysia, Philippines etc., or you stay and work for tourism. People work for tour companies, hostels, hotels, or restaurants. All kind of work like cleaning, waiters, or if you are good enough you can work at reception desks. Especially there is an extremely high demand for construction workers."* (Female, local people, Son Trach commune, PNKB)

Thirdly, because local elements are being exploited in order to develop community-based tours, many companies realise that by including the local household and business into their tours it would be more attractive for the tourists, especially the foreigners. Therefore, local enterprises have supported local households financially and technically so that they can set up their own business. In return, these households will act at nodes along with the tours where tourists will stop and experience the authentic local tastes. The most relevant example can be taken at Bong Lai Valley, in Son Trach Commune. Bong Lai Valley is considered as the most important node

among the community-based tours, cycling tours, motorcycle tours, and self-exploring tours in PNKB. The valley has been developed into an alternative destination for tourists who want to explore the local life next to caving and trekking activities. As a satellite village closed to the Park entrance, Bong Lai has become a promising place to invest in. Different households were encouraged with the idea to start up their own business based on the assets that they have.

Figure 7-6 illustrates three pictures of three small household businesses located in Bong Lai Valley, which is one of the most important routes for community-based tourism in PNKB. Initiated by the local tour operators, these local families have utilised their normal livelihood production to commoditise them for community-based tourism services. In the raising wave of tourism boom in PNKB, Bong Lai becomes the favourable alternative tour route next to the caving and trekking tours.

Figure 7-6. Small household business in Bong Lai Valley

(Photo: Fieldwork, 2018)

"Pub with cold beer" is opened by a family who was the first to have a small refrigerator in the village. The idea of opening this pub was facilitated by the local private enterprises to sell cold

beers and additional food for tourists. In realizing the ideas, they firstly provided small financial support for the family to upgrade their refrigerator, and secondly included the family as one of the stops on their tours. After three years, "Pub with cold beer" has grown significantly, by the end of last year, the family was able to set up their own homestay for an expanding business. The other two pictures show the duck stop and Donald Trump'office – the other two small household businesses. These two places started from the most common cattle of the rural life in Vietnam: the duck and the buffalo. The tourists will have the chance to experience the joy of leading the cattle of ducks, and riding the water buffalo like the real local farmers[29].

Lastly, at the higher level, the local enterprises have not only engaged the local people from passive to more active positions, but they have also transformed the awareness of the people in doing good tourism for both personal benefits and heritage conservation to a certain extent. In this aspect, one of the icons is an Australian entrepreneur, named Mr. Ben, who got married to a local woman. In 2013 he settled in Son Trach commune and started his first hostel which later developed into a chain of accommodations ranging from hostels to villas. He was the first who practices the idea of hostels, homestay, villa, and other related services into the region for the local community in Son Trach Commune. On one hand, he brought in the globalized models of the hostel, of backpackers, of tourism standards. On the other hand, he has also been successful in using the local labor forces, and trained them well to do tourism, and educate on doing fair tourism. He was the main people behind the idea of "pub with cold beer", the duck stop, and Donald Trump's office.

> *"I started with a very small convenience store, although it was the only in the village at that time. And Brother Ben came and helped us a lot. He instructed me to sell cold beers and served the tourists with the fresh chicken in our garden. He even gave me some amount of money and taught me English at the beginning. To date, he keeps recommending our shop to his tourists. This has been going well so that we decided to open our own homestay since 2016" (Female, owner of Pub with cold beer, PNKB, 2018)*

Not only providing support and training, but Mr. Ben is also said to transfer his vision and principle of doing community-based tourism that should benefit directly to the local people. After 3-4 years, several of his employees have started up their own homestay while continuing to practices his idea. He became the figure that every local people will refer to in terms of tourism doing and tourism development.

> *"It all thanks to Ben. He trained us all. At first, when I came to Phong Nha, I did not know what tourism especially tourism for the local communities really is. But after 4*

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[29] Buffalo was pronounced as 'trau' in Vietnamese which is similar to "Trump". So that the family offers the buffalo for the tourist to ride as the real local farmer on one hand, and as a joke of Trump on the other hand.

years working with Ben, I saw how he changed the people. I see how tourism does good for the people and the forest. Now I will keep on with his vision and mission even with my own homestay. We work in respects with each other and mostly respect the benefit for the local people" (Male, tour guide, homestay owner, PNKB)

7.3.4. Who involved: the whole, the many or the few?

The foregoing section has unveiled the extent and flows of community involvement in the heritagization of PNKB NP. The results show that local communities majorly involved in the later part of the process. The heritage-making process is still mainly the game of official discourses created by global and national actors. Local communities could be engaged only after the fifth "C" became more visible to the World Heritage Committee at the global stage, affecting the national narratives afterward. This transformation nevertheless could only promise the communities a voice in the valorization of heritage values when they are being imagineered for tourism development, rather than in the decision-making procedure of nomination or designation.

Although the processes of nomination and designation into the world heritage list of PNKB NP barely saw traces of communities' involvement, the prestige status absolutely generated various impacts into the local lives. These transformations provide various alternatives for the local people in both core and periphery zones. Images of local communities are increasingly entangled with the management and development of the recognized site. In parallel with the outstanding natural values, it is the diversity and uniqueness of the local lives that ensure the fame and appealing of the site towards the larger groups of domestic and international audiences. These interrelations have created opportunities for more involvement of local people ranging from passive to active manners. In the passive manner, the governmental policies are tailored that could provide financial and technical supports to engage communities through forest land allocations, participation in forest patrols and monitoring, and diversifying livelihoods. In a more active manner, local entrepreneurs have played a significant role in connecting and facilitating the communities into heritage tourism activities.

However, consider the large area of the Park and its buffer zone, the local communities which should be mentioned are extremely enormous and dynamic. According to the latest statistical number, an encouraging number of 3,000 people are working in the tourism sector. Approximately other 20,000 other who are passively receiving other benefits from tourism development activities (Provincial People's Committee, 2018). However, it is still far to reach the number of more than 65 thousand of which nearly 41% are poor, and the other 24% are near-poor. These numbers imply that only a fraction of local communities can actually get involved for the benefit from the processes of heritage making. Indeed, there has been always

skeptic over the participation of communities in heritage management and development. Vast bodies of work have demonstrated that communities can reap only a few direct benefits from participation (Beeton, 2006; Hitchcock et al., 2010; Leask and Fyall, 2006). The study of the PNKB case confirmed the argument as it clearly shows that only certain groups can get into the flows.

Previously, it has been argued that the local communities are not homogenous entities but rather they are intensively heterogeneous. Therefore, in practices, certain groups with certain resources are more likely to mobilize for their involvements. The study envisages these resources as favorable locality, local knowledge, money, and social networks.

Locality advantage is well explained in the cases of villages in the core zone, and households that live at the border with the Park. These are the people who mostly have direct impacts on the Park during their livelihoods activities, simultaneously they are the most likely to intrude the park for natural resources. Thus, given the large effecting areas of the Park, in most the cases, these local groups will often be prioritized in forest land allocating programmes which usually accompanies a source of financial supports. For those who live in the core zone, due to the long history inhabitance, community – based tours are often designed to pass these villages which could generate direct income for the villagers.

However, in the case of participating in tourism, there are several factors that can be strategic for the local community to get into the flows. Firstly it is the knowledge of the place that ensures room for local people's involvement such as the case of Mr. Ho Khanh. Due to his outstanding knowledge about the forest and caves, Mr. Ho has been actively participating in cave expeditions, adventurous trekking tours, and furthermore established his own homestay. Similarly, a number of previously illegal loggers have utilized their forest understanding and experiences to work as porters or private tour guides in the area.

Money is another factor that has been captured in the study. At this point, it needs to be clarified that money, in this case, is conceptualised in a social rather than an economic point of view. In economic studies, money is widely known as a medium of exchange and measure of the value of goods and services. Meanwhile, in the social system, money is seen as a resource that can create incentives for other actors to show loyalty to its source (Renn, 1992). Hence, the actor who has control over money can mobilize it in order to persuade or entice others. This can be seen in the case of the local small businesses who gain a share of the tourism golden cake either through their own investments or through financial support. More noticeably Mr. Ben who got married to a local woman has been providing initial amounts of money for different households in Bong Lai Valley in order to develop community-based tours and services. Therefore, accumulating money is a decisive mean to enhance involvement within the

area of heritage tourism. In contemporary society, money is getting more and more functional to become an important medium that creates influences as well as social ties between people. Relationships are thus established through money (Deflem, 2003). Here links to the next element of the analysis which is social networks

Social network within a community is repeatedly defined as a valuable asset that people strategically mobilize to pursue their targets (Adler and Kwon, 2009). In the study, social networks are salient in terms of long-term relationships. Long-term relationships are believed to enforce trust and understanding between people within a community that increases the efficiency of works. The findings show different cases of local people who separated and set up their own business after several years working for the local enterprises. These people often get benefits from the relationship building between them and their previous employers. They establish an informal network of tourism services and tend to recommend or guide tourists to use services among them.

In all, it is obvious that although habiting within communities of heritage sites, not everyone can get a fair same share of the benefits that heritage brings. Only those with certain social resources can claim for their involvement. Since flows are always attached to power and inequality, exclusion is an inevitable result (Castells, 2010, 1996). Regardless of inspiring results of community inclusion activities, the rhetoric fifth "C" actually hints at a few rather than the community as a whole in the reality of PNKB NP.

Overall, obtaining the World Heritage status has generated certain positive impacts to the local communities in the case of PNKB NP. However, the study finds that local communities majorly involved in the latter part of the heritage-making process. The chapter progresses to elucidate two different forms of local involvement: the passive involvement that is granted through the governmental policies and development projects; and the active involvement made through networking with local enterprises in tourism activities. Either form requires the communities certain sets of capitals to mobilize for their involvement including locality advantage, local knowledge, money and social networks. This confirms that community is an extremely heterogeneous entity who is not passively affected by the global flows, but they actively mobilize their capitals for their benefits.

7.4. The grassrooting in the space of flows

On 30th January 2018, I received a share on my Facebook about the petition titled "Stop Cable Car Construction to Son Doong Cave, Hang En and PNKB National Park's core area"[30].

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[30] Petition link: https://www.change.org/p/stop-cable-car-construction-to-son-doong-cave-hang-en-cave-and-pn-kb-national-park-s-core-area

Sender: They are doing it again. There is a rumour that they are still lobbying the cable car construction in Phong Nha – Ke Bang.

Researcher: Are you sure? There is nothing on the news.

Sender: Don't you wait for the news? It has been over Facebook for the last few days. Remember they said FLC had conducted assessments for the construction before? They are going to do it for sure. Please follow the link, sign, and share! We have to make it big. This cannot happen.

(Field diary, 30th January 2018)

Several days later, posts about Son Doong and the link for the petition were all over Facebook. In the end, I did sign in the petition, just as more than 173,000 people did.

In the current society of networks, communities should not be narrowly defined in the place-based approach. Notwithstanding that people live in places, they utilised different networks in order to participate in virtual groups for different purposes. Supporting greatly by the ICT innovations, new forms of power can be conducted on the cyberspace which generates real influence back to the place (Sassen, 2004). This argument will be examined in this last section which focuses particularly on the conflicts and negotiations around the proposal for constructing a cable car in PNKB NP initiating since 2014. Firstly, section 7.4.1 will provide insights into the contested plan to construct a cable car in the core zone of PNKB NP. Later, it will analyse the way local actors are stimulated through globalization and ICTs innovations and enable to achieve their goals and urge social changes against the dominance.

7.4.1. The cable car project

In fact, this was not the first time that the project caught up in tensions. In October 2014, the Provincial People's Committee of Quang Binh called for investors to construct a cable car through the national park as part of a planned "tourism, service and luxury resort complex". The local government later resorted to Sun Group in order to execute this project worth approximately 212 million USD (Tran, 2014). In a press conference held on 4th November 2014, the PPC of Quang Binh confirmed that preliminary assessments had been conducted by the Sun Group, and provided further more details. According to the tentative design, the cable system would be 10.6km long and consist of two main routes:

- Route 1: connects between Phong Nha Cave and Trang Ang Bridge. The distance is estimated to be 6,788m.
- Route 2: starts from Trang Ang and ended 300m away from the entrance of Son Doong Cave. It extends over a distance of 3,872m.

This system was expected to host 1000 visitors every hour to the core zone of the Park. The investor claimed that the system would be the most environmentally friendly means of opening the area to tourism. Moreover, Company spokesperson – Mr Quach Bao Tran – also said the project would develop Quang Binh as a tourism centre and generate thousands of jobs for the poor local people (Rosen, 2014). Later of the year, the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism gave the tentative nod of consent to the cable car project. Answering in a press conference on 9th October 2015, Mr Nguyen Van Tuan, Chairman of the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism re-affirmed that the Administration supported this project because the cable system would be operated from high above which would hardly impact the Park, and more importantly this cable would not enter Son Doong Cave (Lam Giang, 2014; Vu, 2015).

However, experts disagree with these claims. Most geomorphologists and cave experts fear that building the towers needed to support the cable car could damage the fragile network of more than four million-year-old caves in the area. Meanwhile, professors in tourism development acknowledged that the remote PNKB area was incapable and ill-equipped to manage the flood of mass tourism brought by the cable car services (Rosen, 2014).

At the same time, the project had drawn unprecedented objections from the community at large. News and experts' statements on the potential risks of the project to Son Doong Cave and the Park were shared rigorously over the social network platforms. Exemplarily, the Guardian newspaper article of Elisabeth Rosen about this topic roughly got 2,579 shares after four days of publication (Huynh, 2014). On 22nd October 2014, an activist group – called SaveSonDoong – was established. The first move of the group was initiated and spread an online petition that called for supporters who voice against the contested projects. The group quickly got unexpected supports and attention from the public. Due to these circumstances, the project was believed to be cancelled.

However, at the beginning of 2017, rumours started to spread that the local government of Quang Binh was resuming the cable project once again. On 24 April 2017, in the event of the Annual General Meeting of Shareholders, the FLC group confirmed that they had received the invitation to invest in the new cable project in PNKB NP. The group mentioned that in 2016 they had conducted initial investigations under the permission and coordination of the local government (Hoanh, 2017; VietnamFinance, 2017).

It was assumed that the PPC of Quang Binh had submitted to the MOCST to attach the cable car project to the Development Plan of the National Park to 2030 around mid-2016 (Son Tung, 2016). The plan was adjusted from the previous cable car design, which reduced the length of the system from 10.6km to 5.2km. The cable route would go from the gate of the park on the

Ho Chi Minh trail until En Cave which is more than 3.5km away from the entrance of Son Doong Cave. This implies that the new project will not touch on Son Doong Cave.

Once again, the experts and the public slammed the plan on the internet. They generated such a great impact that the WH Committee requested the local government to thoroughly report on the detailed plan. Finally, on the 41st session of the WH Committee Meetings in Poland, the Committee stated:

> *"The State Party's confirmation that the proposed cable car project to Son Doong cave, located within the strictly protected zone of the property, will only be implemented upon endorsement by the Committee is noted. However, the facts that Quang Binh People's Committee has agreed to surveys and that research is being undertaken in the area indicate that the project remains under consideration… [The WH Convention reiterates] concern about proposals to construct a cable car to provide access to the Son Doong cave within the strictly protected zone of the property and the project's potential impacts on the property's Outstanding Universal Value, and urges the State Party to permanently cancel plans for its development"(UNESCO, 2017, pp. 77–78)*

Despite the concern of the UNESCO, the project was still brought to discussion with the Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc in Quang Binh on 25th August 2017. During the discussion, the Prime Minister expressed his support with the project given that the local government must provide proper assessments and follow the standardised procedures from both of the MOSCT and UNESCO (Hoang, 2017). Clip of his supportive statement was then shared on local news and around social pages. This resulted in out-breaking contestations on the internet.

Since 2018 until the present day, the local government has been refusing all investigations of FLC in the area, which was against all information provided previously in the media. During my interviews with the members of the PNKB Management Board, I always received the same explanation of "misunderstanding" or "mismatch" between the initial development plan of the cable car and the information reported on the news.

> *"About that [the wide oppositions against the construction of cable car in PNKB], we need to thank the public actually. In fact, it shows that PNKB attracted wide attention and care from the people. However, there is a misunderstanding here. We had never wanted to construct a cable into the caves, but only over the cave for tourists to enjoy the view from above. It is not possible to go into caves by cable. People misunderstood our plan and then established many fan-pages to go against us. This was an unwanted mismatch between reported information. However, we will be more careful in the future for sure. And whatever plan we have for PNKB, it will be under the strict*

endorsement and monitoring of the World Heritage Committee." (Male, Officer of Management Board, PNKB)

While the Management Board did not refute the construction plan but emphasised the misunderstanding; there is a different statement from the PPC of Quang Binh instead. At an international press conference announcing the survey results of Son Doong cave, jointly organised by the PPC of Quang Binh and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 9th April 2019 in Hanoi, Mr Tran Tien Dung – Vice-chairman of the PPC– said that the information about cable car spreading in 2018 was just "an idea of some private corporates"[31]. However, in the end, he further affirmed that there is truly no plan for construction of cable car in PNKB (Thien Dieu, 2019).

7.4.2. Hashtag (#)SaveSonDoong

This last section will discuss the SaveSonDoong movement, which happened mostly on the internet started in 2014 and peaked in 2018.

Between the first fuzz around the cable car construction in 2014, Ms Huong Le Nguyen Thien and seven young activists initiated a campaign called "#SaveSonDoong". Ms Huong – normally known with several nicknames such as the "cave girl", "wandering teacher" and a Forbes 30under30 – is a teacher who worked hard to save 3000 USD to register one of the pilot tours into Son Doong Cave in 2014. Having a chance to work with Mr Limbert, Oxalis and other local porters in Son Doong, she nurtured an enormous passion for the place. Therefore, she could not agree with any construction plan that harms the Park and the marvellous Son Doong cave. She started by writing blogs about Son Doong in Vietnamese and English. Receiving unexpected supports from her blogs, she was determined to achieve a greater influence which resulted in the establishment of #SaveSonDoong. At the very beginning, the campaign aimed to mobilise the public for the protection of Son Doong and PNKB NP from the potential damages of the cable car system. In 2014, in opposing to the first construction plan, the group opened a petition – "Stop the Construction: Save the Son Doong Cave!". The petition attracted 73,879 supporters, which was considered as one of the key factors urging the PPC to idle the project. Since 2015, the group has diversified their strategy into three directions.

The first direction is to increase internet coverage, provide multidimensional information, and connect with a large number of audiences. The most crucial channel of the group is through their Facebook page – #SaveSonDoong, and their official website at savesondoong.org. In a

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[31] FLC was adamant that the PPC of Quang Binh sent the invitation for investment to them three times, and that they would not have conducted any activities without the approval of the PPC. Meanwhile, the PPC of Quang Binh did not provide detailed explanation on this statement. (https://baodatviet.vn/chinh-tri-xa-hoi/tin-tuc-thoi-su/cap-treo-son-doongflc-duoc-moi-3-lan-quang-binh-khong-hieu-3334667/).

country that has 40% of 96 million people access to the internet, of which 48% internet users follow daily news through social networking sites[32], there is no doubt that Facebook will be one of the fastest and most convenient ways to communicate with the public in Vietnam. Indeed, all of the activities concerning the campaign and the construction plan have been promptly updated on Facebook page #SaveSonDoong, which by now has reached 214,346 followers. In 2017, against the resuming of the adjusted cable car project, the group imitated another petition, "Stop Cable Car Construction to Son Doong Cave, Hang En and PNKB National Park's core area"[33]. Due to the new adjustment manifested by the local government, the petition now included its opposition not only with Son Doong but also En Cave and the entire core zone of the Park. It was stated in the petition:

> *"The project proposed initially by Sun Group has been stopped for two years due to a huge opposition, and now back with the new investor - FLC Group. The FLC Group was approved by the provincial government to conduct surveys for the construction of a cable car system to the Son Doong Cave (and now to Hang En Cave). These cable car projects must be stopped before it has a huge and damaging impact on the Son Doong Cave/ Hang En Cave and the ecosystem of the entire Phong Nha - Ke Bang National Park." (Petition against cable constructions in PNKB).*

The movement immediately became out-breaking all over the social networking platforms between 2017 and 2018. People expressed a magnituous support for the movement by sharing link and calling for signature. In the end, the 2017 petition received a shocking number of 173,849 signatures.

It is worth to notice that since early 2017, the group started to address themselves as "nhà Đoong" (Doong family). Gradually, this term is used inclusively for the larger group of communities who share the same interests of protesting against mass tourism development plans for the protection of PNKB natural values. This can be observed when the motivation behind #SaveSonDoong movements was questioned, and the group was accused of getting supported by an opportunistic private company. They publicly reacted on the accession:

> *"Come back to the question: Who is behind #SaveSonDoong?*
> *To answer… It is YOU*
> *It is 163,000 people who like this page. It is those who have worn and took pictures of SaveSonDoong t-shirt. It is those who joined our events. It is those who keep sending us*

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[32] Statistics provided by a cross-national survey in 2017 (Mitchell, Simmons, Matsa, and Silver, 2018), and by Internetlivestats (https://www.internetlivestats.com/) (Accessed on 18th September 2019).
[33] 2017 petition link: https://www.change.org/p/stop-cable-car-construction-to-son-doong-cave-hang-en-cave-and-pn-kb-national-park-s-core-area

supportive messages for the last 2-3 years. It is this Doong big family who is always having our back that does not allow us to stop the movement!"

(Facebook post, #SaveSonDoong, 2ⁿᵈ March 2017, Translated from Vietnamese)[34]

It can be interpreted from the above statement that there has been a group of communities forming virtually. Members of this community are not identified by geographic locality, religions, occupations. Regardlessly, they can still distinguish between them and the others, between those who care to protect SonDoong and PNKB and those who do not.

The second strategic direction is to connect with the international media, activists, and organisations to bypass the government control power and to promote Son Doong Cave and PNKB NP towards the international community. They shared on their page that:

"At the beginning of this year, this page voiced up about the plan to restart the cable car construction, while the provincial government vigorously refuted, and the national and local media is "restricted", Doong family had to knock the doors of international news agencies. Doong family had flown to Los Angeles to meet and persuade the RYOT News of The Huffington Post to report about the case."

(Facebook post, (#)SaveSonDoong, 8ᵗʰ May 2017).

The group succeeded in convincing the RYOT News, a virtual reality channel of the Huffington Post. In March 2017, the RYOT news flew to Quang Binh and filmed their documentary "The Turnaround your world in 360: Saving Son Doong". This documentary comprises of three parts, with the first two has been made available on Youtube[35]. The team has used a new filming technique that allows visitors/viewers to explore a full 360-degree panorama inside the magnificent Son Doong Cave while listening to local and international experts and activists discuss the importance of protecting the Park from the cable car construction (McCarthy, 2017). According to the team, the project aims to address the international community about PNKB NP so they can voice up to protect it.

On 3rd May 2017, Ms Huong Le, now working as a Field Producer along with RYOT in this 360-degree documentary, had a chance to come on air in a live show of AOL channel in New York. In the broadcast, she called for a collective effort to stop the project and to protect PNKB NP. Commenting on this event, the fan-page said:

"(#)SaveSonDoong was invited to New York to join a talk show by AOL - the BUILD Series - to talk about the awesome 360-degree documentary that HuffPost's RYOT did

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[34] SaveSonDoong answered to online accusations (in Vietnamese):
https://www.facebook.com/NoCableCarInSonDoong/posts/1827053044215892:0
[35] The Turnaround your world in 360: Saving Son Doong/ Part 1: https://youtu.be/4nMNzjGs7gI
The Turnaround your world in 360: Saving Son Doong/Part 2: https://youtu.be/-rpJxWEXn0c

on #SaveSonDoong. This is great news for our "cave community". As we are such a small group of young environmental activists, there are moments when we feel lonely in this never-ending-battle. But seeing how much the global community cares about our Heritage, we know that our cave has a chance!"

(Facebook post, #SaveSonDoong, 8th May 2017)

Obviously, communication innovations and interactive internet-based platforms play a crucial role in this strategy. It has enabled an unprecedented out-breaking discussion about Son Doong cave and thus has generated enormous influences which traversed the national geographic borders. Global initiatives against the cable car construction were motivated thanks to this virtual movement of protecting Son Doong and PNKB NP. For example, in March 2017, a billboard designed by graffiti artist Thrashbird protesting the cable car project inspired by the movie "King Kong: Skull Island" was set up on the Hollywood boulevard, California, The USA (Figure 7-7).

Figure 7-7: Billboard opposing cable car project on a street in Hollywood

(Photo: Thrashbird, 2017)

The same King Kong figure was used as it delivered the messaged that the imagineered primitive creatures and landscape require primitive approaches of exploitation. As Castells (2015) asserts that the power of images is paramount, the billboard by using the iconic Kong image has generated enormous emotional connection and reaction for the viewers in Vietnam,

and around the world. The issue of the cable car in PNKB thus becomes more globally visible. The artist later posted the full video on the making of this billboard on his personal pages and addressed that this was his call to the world acknowledging the cable car construction in PNKB NP. Furthermore, he also included the 2017 petition link in order to increase the influence and call for more support.

The third strategy is to reach out and educate the young people around Vietnam about Son Doong and PNKB NP through their Virtual Reality project. Since the beginning of 2017, #SaveSonDoong has kicked off their plan to develop the "Son Doong Virtual Reality" project as they believed that this would be a great edutainment tool to promote the beauty and values of the Cave to the young around Vietnam. They started crowdfunding campaigned which achieved 5,691 Euros[36]. Afterwards, they cooperated with the famous Sweden photographer Martin Edström from National Geographic to provide a virtual tour into Son Doong Cave. The virtual tour is a showcase of Son Doong using 360-degree interactive photo spheres which allows people to "literally walk through the largest cave in the world without leaving Facebook."(Bisharat, 2018). Noticeably, Edström firstly conducted this photography project in 2015 under the sponsor of Facebook and National Geography when he learned about the construction plan in 2014, and the SaveSonDoong movement (Lee, 2015). He sees Facebook's new feature of allowing interactive WebVR and 360 content as a powerful new conservation tool. He emphasised:

> *"This is not just a story about a cave. It is a story about sustainably managing our natural heritage and making sure our grandkids still can marvel at its beauty."(Bisharat, National Geographic News, 2018)*

"Son Doong Virtual Reality" was launched to the first group of students in Vietnam in June 2017. Since then, the group has brought these virtual tours to different universities and institutes around Vietnam in several big cities of Vietnam, including Ho Chi Minh, Ha Noi, Can Tho, Da Nang. "Son Doong Virtual Reality" was also introduced at different important international summits and events in Vietnam such as in 2018 APEC summit, and the UNESCO Talent Generation 2018. Nowadays, growing out from an initiate against the construction of one project at a specific site, #SaveSonDoong project is no longer a project of individual, group of individuals or an organisation, #SaveSonDoong becomes a project of the whole society and requires the involvement of many elements in the society (Savesondoong.org).

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[36] Link to crowfunding for "Son Doong Virtual Reality": https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/s-n-doong-th-c-t-o#/

7.5. Conclusion

Setting out to understand the actual position of the community in the heritage-making process, the two studied cases have shown that the community could hardly participate in the early phases when heritage values are defined and designated. Despite that the World Heritage rhetoric of community engagement is increasingly advocated globally and nationally, heritagization process has proved to be majorly determined by powerful international and national actors. Community can only come in much later when the recognised values are valorised in development programmes, such as in heritage tourism activities.

Furthermore, the cases have illustrated several facets of community involvement in the heritagization process by zooming in the networks and flows at the places as well as zooming out to the interactions of the locals in the global spaces. The case of the Hue Complex reflects an increasing disconnection between the heritage and its own communities. People living right under the shadows of the heritage claim to receive more obstacles than direct benefits from the WH site. The rightful owner, Nguyen descendants, concede their loss of control over their ancestral inheritance. And the Hue people in general show limited knowledge and interests in the designated values. Although they agree that they are proud, even sometimes arrogant, with their cultural richness, they consider the recognition by the UNESCO only as a minor part of their identity. Moreover, as the cultural heritage of Hue is also being commodified in a festival and performances, in some way local people feel excluded, and might lose their interest in exploring their own "outstanding values". Instead, it seems that the community is developing their own version of heritage – a spiritual one.

Unlike the case of Hue Complex, in PNKB NP, it found out that although the WH designation prohibited access and extraction of forest resources, it offers different alternatives for the local community in both core and periphery zones of the Park. Local people are manoeuvring their ways to get benefits from the Park, either passively or actively. While some groups are included as an object in international and national projects of Park conservation and development, others actively connect with the local enterprises and leverage their supports in order to get involved in tourism activities. However, in general, both forms of involvement are not destined for the community as a whole, rather only a small fraction who possess certain sets of resources can mobilise for their participation.

The chapter concludes by looking at the trend of grassrooting globalisation through the social movement #SaveSonDoong. This can be understood as an attempt from the local level actors who thrive on forging wider alliances and supports in countering the higher-level decision-making (Routledge, 2003). From the analysis, it is confirmed that there is a community of interest who utilised the technological advances for visibility in a more global context of polity

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(Sassen, 2004). In this case, the community was formed under the same consideration of the integrity of natural values in PNKB NP. Their success does not only confirm the argument that local actors increasingly transcend their locality to participate in the dominant global space of flows, but also raises the theoretical concern over the current definition of "community" popularised within the global World Heritage agendas.

CHAPTER 8. DISCUSSION: NETWORKS, FLOWS AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AT WORLD HERITAGE SITES IN VIETNAM

8.1. Introduction

In mid-July 2019, during the conference of "Engaging with Vietnam: An interdisciplinary dialogue" held in Leiden, the Netherlands, I had a chance to meet up with Professor Oscar Salemink, who has been working with World Heritage policy in Vietnam for more than twenty years. In our discussion, he shared a story:

> *In the late 1990s, I involved in some heritage projects in Hue when the HMCC was preparing for the nomination of The Royal Court Music to the Intangible Cultural Heritage list. The director of the centre at the time, Mr Thai Cong Nguyen had shown me how he shortened the Royal court music scores. According to Mr. Thai, this was conceived as an improvement because the original form would be too long and hence, boring to watch.*

> *(Research diary, 18th July 2019)*

The anecdote has touched upon the core problems of the contemporary World Heritage. On one hand, it reflects the dominant perception of heritage as concrete "thing", so that they can manipulate accordingly to the purposes of those in power. On the other hand, ironically, it reveals a part of how hertitage is being produced, which simultaneously refutes the above perception.

This material bias in the conceptualization of heritage is not specific only in the case of Vietnam, but it has been common in the global heritage agendas promoted by UNESCO. It, however, is increasingly criticized to be problematic. The heritage perception as innate thing fails to capture the complexity and fluidity in the designation, conservation, management and development of World Heritage which usually induce in dissonances and conflicts especially when it is transferred from the global to a more local level.

The study sets on the quest to understand the relationship between heritage as a process and the local community as a dynamic compound. To do so, it takes Vietnam as the analytical case. World Heritage inscriptions in the country are increasingly boosted not only in number but also in its importance across all aspects of contemporary society. They have become the ubiquitous resource with many contemporary cultural, economic and political functions. Adopting the processual argument of heritage, the study seeks to deconstruct this phenomenon. It expounds how and by whom heritage has been produced and practiced, translated and adapted, consumed and experienced, managed and deployed in Vietnam (See chapters 5 and 6). Notwithstanding, the study analyses into depth both the critical discourses of the heritage-making, and its material flows and impacts towards the communities at the designated sites. From here, it advances to

unravel the actual position of the community and their ways of getting involved throughout the process (see chapter 7).

This chapter provides the theoretical and empirical reflections on the findings in the aforementioned chapters. It is structured in a way that helps to explain thoroughly the research questions (see Chapter 1). In the next section 8.2, the processual conceptualisation of heritagization will be discussed in its multiple phases and facets. The networks of actors and their leveraged flows will be carefully unfolded. Based on the analysis of networks of actors, section 8.3 raises the central concern towards the community involvement. Not only revealing the position of community compared to other actors, it also contrasts and explains the heterogeneous ways of maneuvering for participation between different groups of the community at two studied cases. Finally, the chapter closes by re-addressing the broader argument relating to the struggles between two spaces of heritagization, from which new dimensions of community are exposed.

8.2. Understanding phases and facets of heritagization

8.2.1. Phases of heritagization

In this study, heritagization is understood as a purposeful process that selects and transforms certain past for the present uses. Two key components have been carefully studied, including the authorised discourse that recognized the heritage, and the imagineering that promotes it to fit in the current society. Based on the analysis of two sites in Vietnam, it finds out that heritage-making process is conducted through several phases. Adopting the conceptualization of Di Giovine (2009), the study coins these phases as isolation, idealisation, and valorisation (Figure 8-1).

Figure 8-1. The phases of heritagization
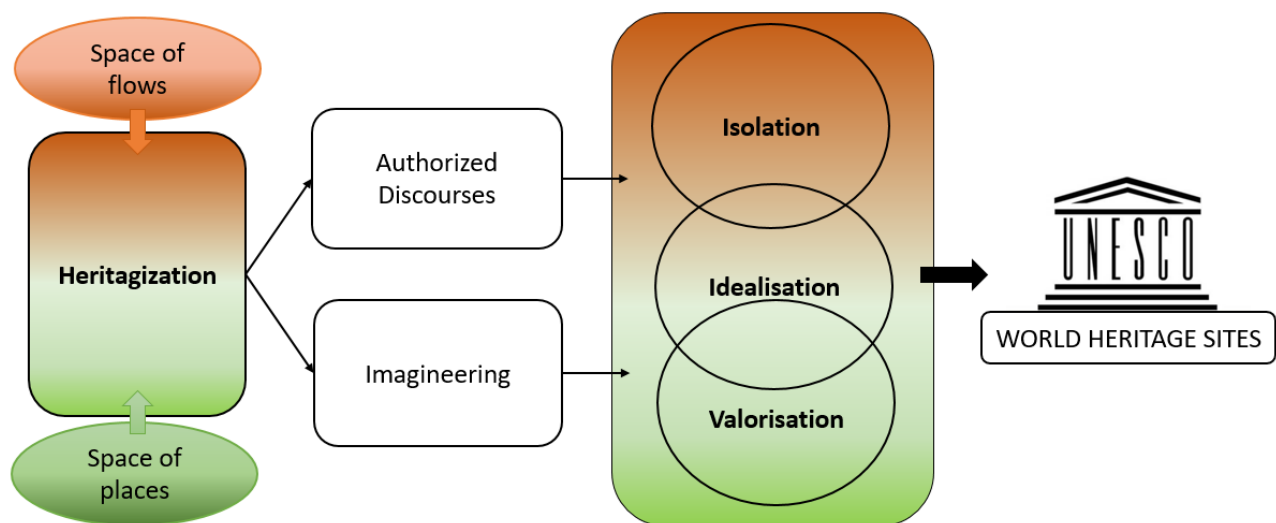
(Source: author's presentation, 2019)

However, if Di Giovine narrowly encapsulates these phases in the institutional perspective concerning the official procedure of nominating and designating properties conducted by and at the World Heritage Committee, I want to nudge for a further understanding by analyzing these phases in the wider societal settings. I argue that the heritagization does not stop at the moment of official designation, it is rather just a turning point for the next on-going transformation. Heritagization should be studied as an integral of the political, social, economic processes. Hence, three phases of heritagization should not be captured in the bureaucratic procedural sequences, but they would rather be perceived as highly intertwining and overlapping phases which are driven by the surrounding societal dynamism.

8.2.1.1. *Isolation*

Any property – be it object, place or practice – has to be originated from certain places at different times in different courses of historical contexts. For that, properties would bear in itself different meanings depending on the relationship with different groups of people. This strongly reflects in the case of the Hue Complex. Before the designation, the Hue Complex is accumulated with multiple layers of historical and political contestations. Meanwhile, PNKB NP although was not so much of a political taboo, the Park itself develops a complicated relationship with the local people which differentiated between the Kinh and other groups of ethnic minorities. Hence, these disperse properties could not automatically join in a globally common list and become shared assets and aspirations of all human being.

For that reason, before being globally recognized, properties need to go through the phase of isolation which refers to the de-contextualization of selected properties. It aims to chip away the previous political, social, economic controversies so that new values can be attached, new meanings can emerge. And with these new, they are justified to worth the World appreciation and protection. Di Givion compares isolation with museum practices in the colonial time when artefacts were pulled out from its environments and then collected, displayed or traded as treasures. And at this point, these artefacts are – argued by Di Giovine – "able to speak their meanings without any help from their original home" (Di Giovine, 2009, p. 201).

However, World Heritage could not be physically displaced like museum artefacts, therefore, the isolation process firstly has to start with discourses. In this case, it is the authorised heritage discourse formulated by the World Heritage Committee and its agencies (Smith, 2006). The authorised discourse focuses particularly on the aesthetically pleasing material aspects of the selected properties (ibid). It finds out that this discourse is dramatically convenient for the case of the Hue Complex in several ways. Most important of all, it helps to navigation the attention towards the architectural values of the Complex which neutralize its previous political controversies. Speaking about the Hue complex in the nomination documents had nothing to do with disputed regimes, of contested ideologies, or armed conflicts. But the Complex's values were

stated to represent the unique architectural, sculptural, and aesthetic achievements of an Eastern feudal capital (ICOMOS, 1992; UNESCO, 1993).

The case of PNKB NP has also illustrated a dominant influence of an authorised discourse switching from "Park without people" to "Park with people". The study has proved that the construction of PNKB NP at the very beginning has already targeted for the World Heritage status. However, it took PNKB NP six years and three times of (re)nominations in order to be listed. After each time, the core protected area kept being extended. Until 2015, core zone has grown more than 25 times larger compared to its original establishment which roughly implies that the local people have been pushed away 25 times further from accessing the park. Besides, since the end of the 1980s, stronger regulations have been enforced which prohibited all kinds of park-people interactions. PNKB NP entails a long historical, economic and social relationship further with the local people. The bond between Park and people was even stronger with the ethnic groups who have been living and practicing swidden lifestyle in the heart of the Park for centuries. Notwithstanding, priorities were converged merely to manifest for the geological and physiographical integrity as defined by the WH Convention. Endorsement on the natural values which claimed to have existed more than 400 million years cast away any sight of people's interventions. Social aspects revolved in and around the Park were vaguely addressed either by the national state or the UNESCO experts. In the nomination documents, ethic people were listed as endangered species, and other local groups were identified as a threat to the Park's integrity.

To materialize the authorised discourse, professional knowledge and evidence have been utilized greatly in the phase of isolation. It has been seen in both cases that the monumentality discourse had brought in influx of international funding and experts. Only based on the research and assessments of these experts could selected sites be qualified for consideration of the World Heritage Committee. Furthermore, expertise's suggestion will help the Committee to further delivered the definition of the universal outstanding values for each site. These definitions are delivered in a way that is both vague and powerful enough so that the sites can be conceptually isolated from their previous judgments, and thus become globally applicable (Smith, 2006; Turtinen, 2000). Due to this fact, in isolation, global actors such as international organisations experts play the most vital role.

In all, the process of isolation aims to depoliticize the nominated properties so that potential contestations or conflicts will be eliminated. This serves the overall vision of the UNESCO that advocates for the global celebration of diversity (Brumann, 2014; Di Giovine, 2009). The World Heritage list is the most striking visualisation of this vision of global solidarity in practice. Properties of different times and spaces are brought into one same list with a commonly assigned "universal value" (Di Giovine, 2009; Harrison, 2013; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). Only by being isolated from the former contexts can dispersed properties be put altogether in one same list. This

list has become a new context. By then, it can pave the way for the inscriptions toward global possessions, conservations, and utilization.

8.2.1.2. *Idealisation*

After recognised as a global property, World Heritage bears in itself new defintions and values. In order to be re-integrated back to its originated places, these global values need to be translated in the ways that can be easily and widely recognized. This requires the discourse of World Heritage to turn discursive so that the newly-recognised sites can be protected and developed by the respective socitey at large. This starts with the idealisation phase. The idealisation takes place at two levels. At the global level, the official World Heritage designation simultaneously validates the properties' nominated universal outstanding value. In this phase, localized sites are redefined to be the ideal representations or quintessential embodiments of the humankind (Di Giovine, 2009). Later on, at the national level, these properties enter a more important process of re-contextualize in the national settings now with the globally defined qualifications.

This phase concerns a discursive practice in which the newly-designated values are used as the main ingredient to slowly construct a sort of collective social memory and/or identity. More often and also in this study, the national state is the key actor who conducted the idealisation of World Heritage sites. Hall (2004) explains that just as individuals and families construct their identities by "storying" event of their lives into a single coherent narrative, nations also construct identities by binding chosen high points and achievements into an unfolding "national story" (p.25). World Heritage are those well-stamped high achievements. At the first sight, idealisation seems to justify the urgent quest to protect, to conserve and later to develop those World Heritage for the sake of the nation, or of humankind as a whole. However, a closer look into heritagization of Vietnamese sites reveals much more complex nested purposes.

World Heritage is idealised as a national attempt to legitimating the contemporary regime. Coming towards the 1980s, Vietnam was a newly established socialist country which was struggling in both political and economic crisis after the Indochina war. Domestically, the communist leaders urgently looked for narratives of national unification that could be distanced from any former colonialism and capitalism (Hitchcock et al., 2009). Internationally, especially after the 1986 Reforms, Vietnam as a nation thrived for a new international recognition not as a war zone but as a newly "open" economy. The central government came to realise the way to achieve the above purposes was through promoting the heritage values nationally and internationally (Logan, 2012, 2009, 2006). Chapter 5 has clearly depicted that nominating Hue Complex as the nation's first world designation was a strategic choice of the VCP to symbolically unify the people and to valorise the Socialist Republic regime both in and outside of the country (Di Giovine, 2009) (see section 5.4).

Furthermore, via the idealisation of heritage values, the national state has utilised sites as the political tool to consolidate their power. In the time of national transition in the 1990s and 2000s, since the country is integrating into the globalization, ideologies became diverse, society thus got more and more fragmented, the leading elites urgently searched for policies that could respond to such diversities and fragmentations. Both cultural and national World Heritage sites are made into a strategic political tool to consolidate the state authority. In PNKB NP, natural values are idealised in the narrative of "forests are gold" so that the state could affirm the total control of natural resources under the name of forest "protectors", testify their assimilation policy of ethnic minority groups, and venture for more international conservation finance (McElwee, 2016b). In the case of cultural heritage, the study finds out that values of Hue Complex are leveraged to forge the representative qualities of a new national identity, known as "the Viet". This identity has subsumed 54 different groups of ethnicities in Vietnam as brothers who share the same mythologized origin and possess a unique set of idealised characteristics.

The process of idealisation is also the construction and diffusion of a more purely nationalistic narrative (Long, 2012). World heritage sites simplify and concretise the aspects of nationalism claims. The UNESCO designations became strategic for national branding. It confirms the world-classed qualities of Vietnamese culture and nature, while simultaneously differentiates the country from others. Therefore, in the era of increasing globalization, the Vietnamese government continues to use World Heritage to convey their narratives of national pride and patriotism. In 2007, Vietnam's Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Van Tho, explained the government's motivation to embrace the World Heritage program as "…to build and advance Vietnam culture with strong national identity; it promotes national pride and Vietnam's image in the world…" (Cited in Logan, 2014, p. 70). Therefore, in the present settings, the symbolic importance of World Heritage grows even stronger in the process of political and ideological legitimation.

Last but not least, World Heritage is idealised in order to serve different economic interests. In both cases, World Heritage has proclaimed to be the key resource for economic development. Heritage is not the past fossil, but it needs to be revitalised in order to generate economic benefits, which is most salient in heritage tourism revenue. This has been the leading claim of the national heritage policy in Vietnam contemporarily. Both Hue Complex and PNKB NP have shown the same trajectory of being imagineered and promoted into top tourism destinations which in turn, could attract investments and generate economic income.

To conclude, in the idealisation phase, World Heritage values have been re-defined at UNESCO, and then translated to national level in a way that they can represent, or entail the testimony of something. In the case of Vietnam, this something refers to the narratives of regime legitimation, national unification, and economic development. This process is determined largely by the government which aims to ultimately strengthen their control and power. Therefore, at the

national level, heritage has been extensively idealised to express the cultural, social, and political interests of the political leaders under the effort to create their version of nationalistic narratives (Bui, Jolliffe, and Nguyen, 2011; Long, 2012).

However, the idea of idealising heritage stories has proved to be common between nations (Long, 2003). Interesting in the case of Vietnam is that although the national state holds the dominant position, there is an intrusion of the global elements along the process. My analysis in chapter 5 and 6 illustrate that the evolution of World Heritage in Vietnam has always been adapted to align with the global World Heritage trends. This finding is in line with the previous studies conducted by Long (2003) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) which concluded that the World Heritage programme affect the Vietnamese heritage policy in a way that official attitudes and claims towards heritage sites have to be adjusted to achieve both national and international merits.

8.2.1.3. *Valorisation*

The last phase is to bring the official designation back to its local places where its new status is publicly confirmed and valorised. Hence, the study conceptualises valorisation phase in correspondence to the re-integration of World Heritage sites into the daily activities however with the added values and functions. By integrating the sites into the contemporary society, the ideological and economic values and functions defined by the powerful can be discursively practiced, so whatever nested interests could be achieved given that could be either conservation of the past, ideological legitimation/diffusion, nationalism enhancement, or increased attractivity for tourism development.

While there are many different purposes invested in the valorisation, it is common that at this phase, all the local-gone-global designations have become something different. World Heritage sites are defined in the global sphere by the dominant bodies based on globalized scientific assessments. Therefore, after the designation, they could no longer be interpreted simply in local terms, but rather attached with several national and international authorised significances (Di Giovine, 2009). Therefore, the valorisation needs to translate these significances in a way that could easily enable a wide range of public appreciation.

Due to this reason, World Heritage often undergoes the process of imagineering. In this study, imagineering refers to the discursive construction of imaginaries of certain recognized site, which simplifies its values, however still makes powerful enough to influence the development paths within the society (Salazar, 2012; Suitner, 2015). The study has expounded the aspects of both materiality and discourse in the imagineering process of two sites. It observes in all cases that the imagineering was conducted in order to serve the elites' purposes of national building and/or the development of heritage tourism. The values of both sites are manufactured into stories and images to trigger connections and sentimental emotions within the broader audiences so that the

site will be widely recognized, accepted, valued and thus might urge potential consumptions. Through this process, it has achieved several valorisation purposes.

Firstly, it depicts the iconic imaginaries of sites that people could not only easily understand but also internalise with directed meanings. For the Complex of Hue, it is the image of a place that is chocked with traditional cultural richness symbolizing for the creativity, the glory of the Viet as a united nation. For PNKB NP, it is the image of natural beauty that is the oldest, largest, and most marvellous in the world. This common understanding of sites makes possible a widely shared sense of national pride and patriotism. On one hand, this common understand could draw in greater engagement of the local population. On the other, it will further legitimates certain common practices among them. Depending on the vested meanings, practices could be embracing, conserving, protecting, and/or exploiting the heritage values.

Secondly, next to triggering emotions, imagineering heritage values aims to produce a versatile, easily applicable tourism product for almost all kinds of consumptions (Salazar, 2012). Harrison (2013) asserts that heritage is no longer just a symbol of civic society or an educative apparatus of the powerful elites, but it has become an important industry worldwide. As an industry, it revolves around endless processes of branding, marketing and promoting commodities that could attract the larger groups of tourists the better (Meskell, 2014). The study has illustrated that the UNESCO status is widely codified into tourism images and products. It is utilised by tourism enterprises to advertise not only for the place but more important for their provided services. The most salient example could be detected in the use of World Heritage emblem at local places (see Figure 8-2).

Figure 8-2: World Heritage emblem used in tourism advertisement
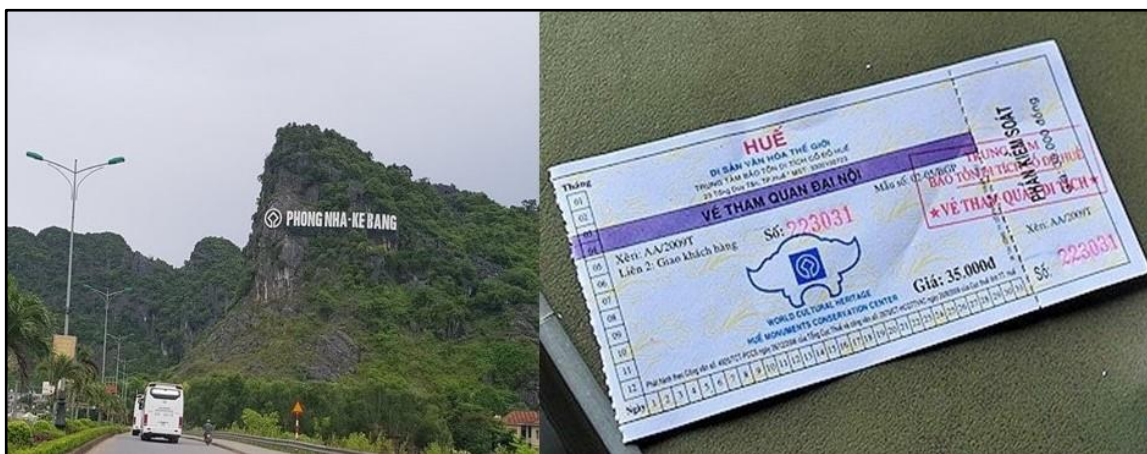
(Photo: Fieldwork, 2018)

It is not difficult to find the signal of World Heritage status at both sites during my fieldwork. On entering the National Park in PNKB, one could easily see the emblem carved firmly into the top of one mountain (picture on the left, Figure 8-2). The emblem can also be found easily in various

places, advertisements or tourism-related products. The right picture in figure 8-2 is one example where the emblem is printed on the entrance ticket of the Citadel in Hue. Apparently, the World Heritage emblem is a global brand, a mark of distinction. It promises the viewers the sites' visitability and worthy experiences (Harrison, 2013; Poria, Reichel, and Cohen, 2011).

The study advances to show that designating the cultural values in Hue, and natural values in PNKB is not just about conserving the past, but more about staging the past for the present consumptions of tourists since the ultimate objective of World Heritage designations in Asia seems to be "more tourism" (Bui and Lee, 2015). In order to increase the tourist consumptions at sites, imaginaries of heritage values are (re)produced and diversified that aims to attract the greatest multiplicity of audiences nationally and internationally. These are commodified into different products and services. For example in the case of Hue are the traditional enactments and festive performances, while in PNKB NP are the adventurous trekking, exploring tours…

Noticeably, in the valorisation, the study has witnessed a larger involvement in the local population. This local involvement is recognized in different aspects throughout the study. As discussed above, the local population is the object of valorisation. In which, the national elites expect to valorise their meta-narratives by the means of World Heritage over the people so that their governing purposes could be achieved. Simultaneously, the local population is also the subject of the phase. After all, any World Heritage designations are bounded with and practiced by localized people at localized places. Nonetheless, the study realises different extents of local involvements in the two studied cases. In the case of the Hue Complex, people seem to become more and more disconnecting with the recognized values. Meanwhile, in PNKB NP, local people are manoeuvring their way in order to both protect and benefit from the designation. The study specially emphasises the role of the private enterprises in this case, who increasingly engage the local communities in order to diversify their tourism products and provide more support and benefits for them.

At the end of the valorisation phase, the World Heritage sites are integrated into society with its ideological and economic functions. However, at this point, the sites' meanings have been altered (idealised and valorised in different ways). Therefore, the interactions between the sites and the community have inexorably transformed (Di Giovine, 2009). As interactions take place and transform over time, heritage and community become more and more co-evolving and dynamics.

8.2.2. Between the global homogeneity and local differentiation

It is increasingly agreed that World Heritage has gone global to become a world-wide homogenized condition of the post-modernity (Daugbjerg and Fibiger, 2011; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). In contrast, there is also a wide assumption that claims all heritage before designation must always be bounded in places with habitats and their own pasts, hence, after designation, they continue to reflect and promote for that uniqueness of places and people

(Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2008; Di Giovine, 2009). The study, however, sought to argue that World Heritage is revolved and transformed into a double-bind process in which global homogeneity and local differentiation are the two inextricable components.

8.2.2.1. *Global process of homogeneity*

For many decades, heritage was generally assumed to be closely tied with nationalism (Daugbjerg and Fibiger, 2011), nonetheless, the World Heritage concept has proved to embrace a universalism idea aiming at global applicability (Ashworth et al., 2007; Labadi and Long, 2010). Indeed, in the late-modernity society, Harrison (2013) asserts that World Heritage is enjoying its global boom as a result of various processes associated with globalization. In the same line, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett also alleges "World Heritage is actually made possible by globalization, both in political and economic terms" (2006, p. 164). Based on the examination of the discourses and procedures implemented throughout the making of World Heritage sites in Vietnam, as well as the exploration of the actors and locales involved in the process (see chapters 5 and 6), this section aims to discuss how globally dispersed is the heritagization process. It provides insights on how World Heritage sites are produced in an institutionally formalized system. The central argument is that heritagization concerns a global process of standardization and homogeneity.

The World Heritage agendas set out a global grammar that only recognizes those who follow it precisely (Turtinen, 2000). This statement implies the procedural requirements for localized sites to be nominated and recognized. It takes one same structure for both Hue Complex and PNKB NP to be enlisted although each trajectory could differ. This structure is widely applied for all properties that wish to be globally stamped regardless of their origins, meanings and values. The first and foremost is that the nation-state, in which the property belongs, needs to ratify into the World Heritage Conventions. Only by then, they are eligible to nominate for their national and local outstanding values for the humankind. Furthermore, UNESCO established a highly standardised process of nomination with well-structured steps. All of the requirements are then materialized into guidelines. World Heritage enlisting in Vietnam did not play any outside of that flows. Both sites have to undergo the structured process of valuation, nomination, and re-evaluation. And if the World Committee defers their decision for further reassessment, the national state could not say otherwise but only compromise. Not only complying with the procedural structure, but localized sites also need to speak the global language. The globalized language of heritage is carefully tailored by UNESCO who established not only the definition of "universal outstanding values" but also provided ten criteria to measure that definition (six for cultural, and four for natural sites). All national states are urged to utilise UNESCO's typologies and criteria for inscription as a guideline, and also to solicit supports from the World Heritage Centre. For example, although the feudal monuments in Hue have claimed to be systematically harmonized with the natural landscape of the city which strongly ref lects the Eastern ideology of

Fengshui (Dung and Duc, 2018; Ly, 2018), its values were molded into merely material architecture to fit in the definition of "monument" so that the Complex could satisfy UNESCO criterion number (iv). This definition of implementing will be attached to the site and transformed the meaning of the site eventually. A tour guide at the Hue Complex recalled:

> "I was taking part in a training course for Cultural Heritage Specialist Guide organized by UNESCO. During the class, we were asked to introduce the Hue Complex to tourists in 30 minutes, then five minutes and then one minute. Most of us could not accomplish the job in 1 minute. We were then directed to quote the UNESCO definition of the Hue Complex in this case. Hue is an example of an eastern feudal capital. That is the core value of the site" (Male, tour guide, Citadel, Hue city)

It is salient to realise that textual entitled to the Complex by UNESCO term has discursively construed its instinct qualification. It becomes the language that speaks for the site towards universal groups of audience. This case has encapsulated the normalization of the global authorised discourses at the local reality.

This textual procedure is similar in the case of PNKB NP, and it is argued to be common for all designating processes. Givione (2009) scrutinizes that World Heritage designations have to pass through a textual procedure in which UNESCO and its advisory bodies carefully tailor definitions and typologies for all properties. This textual production serves to conceptually isolate sites from its former notions of values or uses, blur away its contextual interactions. So as it is now, whenever talking about a site, it could not be expressed by any local terms, but rather by universally defined wording. In all cases, this textual is often vague but powerful so that it can entail a broad range of interpretations.

Furthermore, after the designation, World Heritage sites are played by the global standards in both conservation and development. Sites are required to be managed and developed in certain directions that monitored by the UNESCO. Those who could not comply with these standards will be put in the special list – known as the "World Heritage List in Danger". Placing a site on the Danger List is a way of signalling that the site is facing the danger of losing its outstanding value, and urging nation-state to have remedial conservation measures and to gradually re-establish its normality (Bandarin, 2007). Sites that still fail the remedial process will be eternally removed from the prestige list, hence lose all its fame and favour.

> "Although we have never been warned by the Committee such in the case of Hue Complex or Ha Long Bay. But we are extremely careful to make sure that we follow the UNESCO guidelines to conserve and develop the Park. If we conduct the wrong measurements here, the Committee will "blow the whistle" on us for sure. If you do not follow they will place the site into the list in Danger, and if you still do not follow the site

will be delisted. Of course, no country wants to have their enlisting removed" (Male, officer of Management Board, PNKB)

That is the explanation of an officer on how they are being monitored by the global establishment of UNESCO in PNKB NP. Globally, World Heritage is a process of standardization. It requires standardised notions of culture and nature, categories, typologies, and procedures for making heritage conceivable as an entity to apply and manage at diverse contexts (Turtinen, 2000).

Not only standardised in the procedural monitoring process of conservation, but global standardizations are also intruding on the development at sites, most strongly in heritage tourism. Every globalization aspect process of imagineering, branding, promoting and developing sites as tourism destinations have been spotted in the two cases. An example is the way World Heritage emblem is presented at sites which has been illustrated in the previous section. Other globalized tourism requirements reflect in the way sites are being experienced in displaying themeing of disneyization (Salazar, 2011). In the case of Hue is the street festive events. This idea is believed to be suggested by the French tourism experts. In PNKB NP, trekking themes are being presented. In order to support these services, global standards of equipment are being invested, training courses are being provided by the world-renown experts. Besides, every international visitor contributes to the globalization of heritage by asserting the value of the site as universal and the right of general access to it (Di Giovine, 2009). Heritage development was and still is itself an international phenomenon and part of every globalization. Heritagization is intrinsically a global process.

Although UNESCO was neither the originator nor sole custodian of the leitmotif "heritage", nowadays they decide the current global-level instruments which mobilize resources, reproduce dominant arguments and rationales, establish program agendas and policies, and dispense status surrounding the conservation and preservation of whatever called "World Heritage" (Askew, 2010, p. 19). Although there have been serval studies in Australia (Smith and Akagawa, 2008) and Japan (Stovel, 2008; Suzuki, 1995) demonstrated that the local discourses also in some case have influence and force the global discourses to adjust. This has not been the case of this study. Vice versa, the two cases still reflect a strong dominant of global trends onto the local places. Global heritage schemes still strongly influence the national heritage policy and development in the case of Vietnam. Within the discourse of universal heritage, there is little room for specific cultural, political, or religious positions that diverge from western, secularist viewpoints (Salazar, 2013, p. 279).

In conclusion, the section reflects that World Heritage is created through highly standardised, transnational processes and procedures. World Heritage sites although originated from dispersed and diverse localities across the world, they are being globally homogenizing to be constitutive parts of a universal entity, known as the World Heritage of humankind (Turtinen, 2000).

8.2.2.2. *Local places of differentiation*

On the other side, it is argued that World Heritage sites, either cultural, natural or mixed are bounded to places. They are still socially differentiated and have their separate historical development path (Di Giovine, 2009). This path is highly intertwined with specific locale in which their values are accumulated, and their meanings are constructed. Later on, any results made out of this localized path will be selected and act as key ingredients for the construction of the authorised heritage discourses. Therefore, despite the fact that UNESCO tries to homogenize or standardise the process of heritage-making globally, the study recognized a trend of local differentiation emerging in parallel.

Scrutinizing in the construction of a heritage manifestation in national narratives, the study shows the strong motivation from the national power, who utilizes the heritage value for consolidating and differentiating a unique set of national identity and pride. In Hue, although international identified by its architectural values, the Complex is increasingly mythologized and then idealised into stories that not only include all groups of Vietnamese but also set them aside from other nationalities. Going through different courses of nation-building and development, cultural heritage has always been localized into the symbolized set of qualities of the Vietnamese in general. Before the 21st century, the Complex represents the creativity and diligence of the Viet. Coming more into the globalization era, the Complex has been represented for the iconic figure of the Vietnamese "new socialist man". In the same manner, the natural heritage value of PNKB NP also joins in the process of local differentiation after the UNESCO inauguration. Vigorously iterated as the largest, the most ancient, and the biggest, especially after the discovery of Son Doong, the Park is integrated into the localized settings with an ideal pride serving effectively the national discourse of "forest are gold". Hence, although sites are designated in the international sphere with certain standardised criteria when transfer to the national context, other larger aspects of the values are being explored and construed into the meta-narratives in a way that speaks for the state purposes while does not conflict with the global texts.

The local differentiation became clearer when it is studied in the production and promotion of heritage as iconic tourism destinations and products in the valorization phase. A common objective in nominating sites into the global maps of World Heritage is to increase tourism activities. In this sense, local uniqueness becomes the most vital factor that triggers the tourists' interests. Captured in marketing terms, it is known as the product's "unique selling point" (Salazar, 2013). As a result, local differentiation has been conveyed in branding strategy for heritage tourism. All local elements are seen to be vitalized and promoted in both Hue and PNKB. Especially, with the valorised value of Hue cultural heritage, the places are being imagineered into a different land called "Xứ Huế". "Xứ Huế" does not simply mean a place, but it is more an imagined land in which everything is well-preserved with a sense of traditional, conservative,

romantic and most of all authentic. To serve these images, it thrives to find all traditional artifacts, and rituals to (re)enact display, and performance. This process also leads to four other designations for Hue into the World Heritage schemes. Eventually, it aims to set everything within this place exceptionally out from other places in the country and in the world so that it will be a worthy experience for visiting.

Moreover, after all, heritage is also lived by the locals. The involvement of the local elements is hence argued to be extremely crucial in the development of heritage. As the world tourism has morphed from gazing more to experiencing, nowadays promoting the local otherness will be more appealing to pull tourist in. As it can be observed from the heritage tourism development in and around PNKB NP, more and more localized elements have been materialized into tourism products and services. Following is a typical advertisement of tourism services that could be found easily around Son Trach Commune in Quang Binh.

Figure 8-3: Extension of World Heritage values with more local uniqueness at PNKN NP
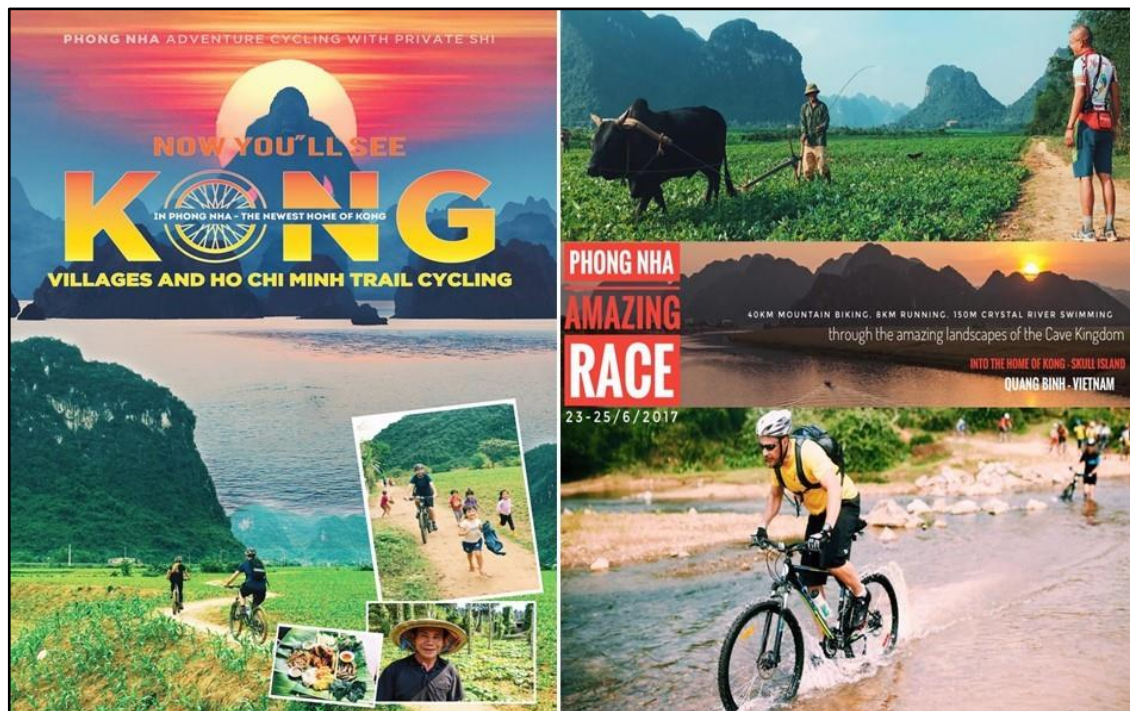
(Photo: Oriental Sky Travel and union of tour operators, 2018)

As it can be observed from Figure 8-3, beside the globally branded of PNKB NP (such as mountains, rivers, iconic King Kong…), there are vernacular images of the local people and local way of living interacting with the visitors in their daily settings. In the last five years, under the heritage tourism boom, the pressure to diversify tourism activities has resulted in an increasing trend of localizing services in the area. In tandem with cave explorations, local lifestyle and culture have been vigorously utilized. Interesting is that these local elements do not separate from the

designated natural value, but they are advertised as an inexorable aspect of it. A typical type of local food that was brought with the loggers when they worked in the core areas of the forest in the old-time, now has been served for the tourists. Stories of old veterans who found shelters between caves in wartime are now been retold. All of these community-based tours, local lives' experiences, local food, local homestay and farmstay in PNKB are thriving in a process of marking this place out in the heritage tourism maps nationally and internationally.

As World Heritage sites are being shaped by global flows, there is also a pressing attempt at sites in order to differentiate them by localizing their recognized outstanding values. Therefore, against the argument of seeing World Heritage as an integral of globalization process, there is an influential assumption that pleads if certain past is unique to a specific place and people, then its transformation into World Heritage should produce a localized product reflecting and promoting the uniqueness of place or of group identity (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2008).

To conclude, the study wants to emphasise on the double-bind of heritagization in the case of Vietnam. The tendencies of both the global processes of homogeneity and local differentiation are intertwined facets in the making of World Heritage. Indeed, this finding fits with the argument of David Harvey. He attests that "such globalising and localising tendencies are underlined through almost every museum and heritage site display or case study" (Harvey, 2015, p. 577).

8.2.2.3. *Networks, its nodes, and centers of power*

Previously, I have spent an ample amount of discussions to exfoliate the phases and facets of the heritagization process. Between the findings, I have hinted on the power relations played by different actors in the networks of heritage-making. Heritagization is characterised global in scale upon which various networks are continuously collaborating and competing for their interests of protecting and/or using the sites (Adams, 2003). This section, thus, aims to entangle the interrelated power relations between these actors by analysing the networks governing heritagization, its constituted nodes, and the power within and between them.

The manufacturing of World Heritage from the isolation until the valorisation phase emerges with multiple networks of actors (figure 8-4). These networks are dispersed and diverse in many aspects. The spectrum of these networks can be identified from the global levels as the UNESCO, its advisory bodies, the international scientists and organisations, to national levels as the national governmental bodies, the domestic researchers who work nationally, until the local levels as groups of local people who either live with the heritage or hold strong interests with the heritage. However, networks could also be identified in contrast between the state actors and the non-state actors. Actors will mobilise their resources to gain influence differently depending on their positions and purposes, as well as the functional typologies of networks.

Figure 8-4. Illustration of networks of actors in heritagization
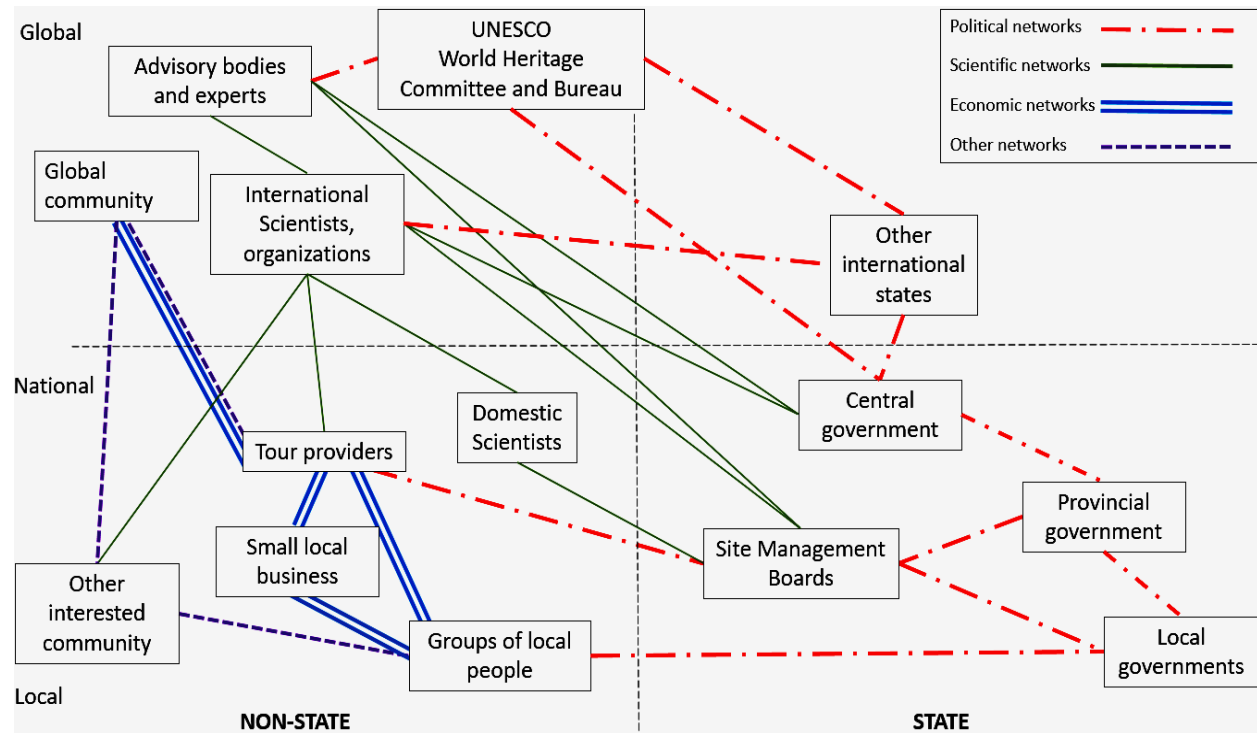
(Source: Author's presentation, 2019)

UNESCO and State Parties are perceived to be more dominant in political aspects. In these political networks, UNESCO exercises their power through World Heritage Conventions, World Heritage lists, as well as their global standardisation and categorisation. First and foremost, UNESCO has the power to programme the World Heritage all over the world. Any state party wants to have their local or national uniqueness recognised must comply and act by their rules. After the official enlisting, UNESCO still maintains their power in distance by establishing the reactive monitoring guidelines, periodic reports, and most of all list of World Heritage in Danger. The list implies liminal zones betwixt and between the intensive measurement of protection and complete deletion of World Heritage sites. Obviously, the withdrawal of World Heritage status is none of any national states' favour considering the benefits brought by it. Therefore, Jan Turtinen concludes that UNESCO and their heritage institutional system possess a powerful regulative capacity which enables them to establish rules, inspect or review the conformity of members, and issue sanctions and punishments (Turtinen, 2000, p. 16). The networks of state actors are also highly characterised as political in which central, provincial and local government thrived to convey their political ideology and purposes through heritage values. It is necessary to point out that the national state makes nominations of sites. Although UNESCO also authorises non-government organisations to suggest properties for the Committee, this has not been ever the case in Vietnam. As a result, all designated sites were selected by and for the state. The study has unveiled the way heritage is idealised into various national narratives serving for the

government's purposes. The central government decides the ways to interpret the universal values of World Heritage sites at the national level and directs those down to other local-level state bodies. Through these directed interpretations, World Heritage can act as the ideological and educative apparatus of the state, which helps to consolidate their power and manifest for the governmental policies. In Vietnam, the central government claimed the highest power of protecting and managing all World Heritage sites.

Besides, the scientific network is another network that has broad coverage and strong influence in the heritage-making process. Nodes in these networks are the experts and researchers who can be international or domestic. Regardless, their scientific assessments play a vital role in the process. Especially, the study has illustrated that information, knowledge and evaluation of the experts not only enable the isolation of selected properties but also re-define its values so that properties can be transferred from any localised places into the World Heritage lists. Due to the material bias of the World Heritage scheme, the role of scientists and experts in the heritagization has been clearly proclaimed in the 1972 Convention that all the outstanding universal values are evaluated under the scientific point of view (UNESCO, 1972). Therefore, to a large extent, the recognised values of sites are dependent on the prevailing ideas and beliefs among the scientific networks, especially those who work in UNESCO advisory bodies. Not forget to mention that terms and typologies are often vaguely formulated, this ambiguity endows the experts with even stronger influence in interpreting the sites later on. Also, through scientific networks, the Vietnamese state could assess a wide range of heritage funding sources. For example, from 1992 to 2012, the Hue Complex has been supported by 17 funding sources brought by the collaboration between international experts and organisations and HMCC. The total funding was estimated to be more than 7 million USD (Hue Monument Conservation Centre, 2018).

After sites are reintegrated back to its respected society, the economic networks grow to be more and more relevant. In economic network, local entrepreneurs have been seen to develop a large span of connections ranging from local to global levels. They have networked actively with global actors such as international experts, international media channels, and international tourists. In the other direction, they also involve closely with groups of local communities in different ways. For example, they employ local labour; they support financially local households with small business; they include local households as service nodes in their tours. Noticeably, they also connect with local people through their responsible social projects, for example, the annual amazing race initiative in PNKB will contribute all their administration fee and reward to renovate schools for the poor students, or Oxalis foundation contribute parts of their annual revenue to build floating houses for flood-prone regions, provide scholarships for under-privilege and ethnic minorities children. In expanding the networks in both global-local directions, local entrepreneurs are able to boost up their business as well as strengthen their political power.

Eventually, the more sites are being valorised, the more extended, dynamics and intertwined networks become. In the end, World Heritage sites have become an arena evolving in the networks of both governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, of formal and informal mechanisms (Winter, 2015). Actors not only perform in their own network but also get connected with other actors from other networks in order to negotiate their purposes and interests. For example, in PNKB, on the one hand, international experts are seen to provide scientific assessments and advice for the local government in conserving natural heritage sites in political networks. On the other hand, they are also connecting closely with actors in economic networks; such as the BCRA has co-operated with Oxalis Company and Ho Khanh homestay since 2011. The BCRA has supplied the Oxalis with expedition equipment, provided expedition training courses, and educated company members.

There are two sources of power identified in the study, including the ability to constitute and programme in a network, and the ability to connect and ensure cooperation between networks. Holders of the former are called the programmer, and holders of the later are switchers (Castells, 2011). For example, in the political networks of the non-state actors at the global level, the powerful programmer is UNESCO with its institutional systems because they decide the procedures and structures of nomination, designation, and implementation of World Heritage agendas globally. Another fundamental form of power is the ability to connect different networks. We can identify such ability at the Management Boards at the World Heritage sites. Alternatively, in the other cases, Oxalis is another powerful node who can switch its influences with the international scientist networks, with the global media network, the local government, local business and local people.

Apparently, World Heritage is tied to complexities of multiple networks with multiple centres of power in and between these networks.

8.2.3. Conclusion

Heritagization starts by the selection of certain local places, objects or practices and then isolates it from the former contextual setting. The selected properties will then be shaped with a new definition which is often vague in wording but powerful in term of interpretations. Thanks to this, the properties can be designated under the name of World Heritage of humankind. However, the study emphasises that this process does not simply end at the moment of inscription. Rather it is just a turning point in the transformation of World Heritage sites. The study hence explores further the re-integration of sites after designation. This has been captured in two other phases of idealisation and valorisation. Idealisation is conducted mainly by the national state who aims to create a discursive discourse on the newly-designated properties so that it can be manufactured into collective national themes or stories. These themes and stories are then valorised for the wider recognition, acceptance and appreciation of both domestic and international audience.

Undergone this transformative process, World Heritage sites hence could not be transferred back to the local places and be understood simply with the local perspective as before. On the one hand, it has been defined with global values and influenced by the influx of global flows. However, on the other hand, it has increasingly been differentiated with the local uniqueness so that its status could be secured, and its ideological and economic importance could function. Therefore, the study argues that it is necessary to realise the double-bind of heritagization (Figure 8-5). This argument is built up along with Salazar's thinking that opposes the separation between global homogeneity and local differentiation in heritage studies (Salazar, 2013). In contrast, global homogeneity and local differentiation should rather be perceived as two co-evolved facets of the same process that constantly (re)shaping the World Heritage.

Figure 8-5. The double-bind process of heritagization
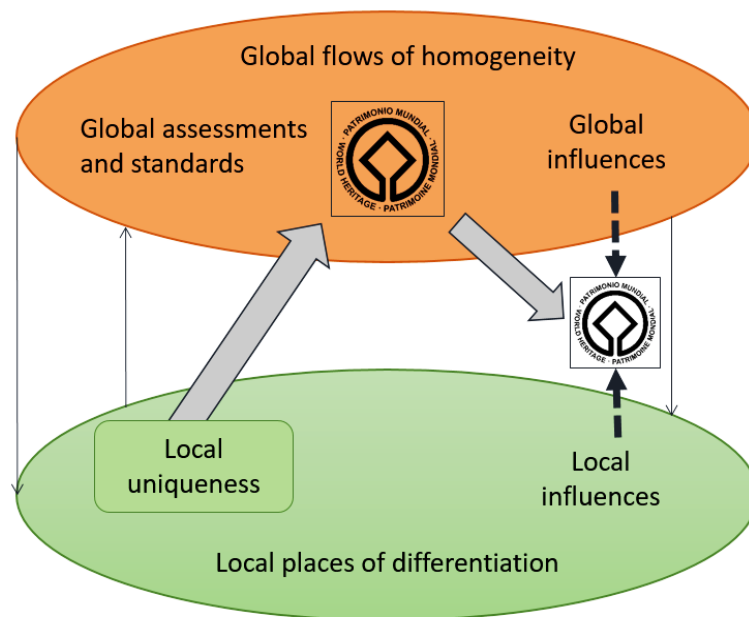
(Source: Author's presentation, 2019)

Lastly, heritagization is an elaborately transnational process that is extremely complex, multifaceted and dynamic. As the process concern with the de-contextualisation, transformation, and re-integration of sites, it involved in various political agendas of actors. These actors have constituted multiple networks with multiple centres of power throughout the process of heritagization.

8.3. Networks and flows of community involvement

Out of the complexity and fluidity of the heritagization, it is crucial to ask where the actual position of the local community in the process is. This section will revisit this second sub-question of the study. It starts by wrapping some insights into the actual position of the community within

the process. Afterwards, it advances to discuss more into depth the networks and flows used by the community in order to get their involvement. The last part will elucidate the local attempts in contrasting the dominant influences of heritagization. Based on these findings, the study aims to points some theoretical and practical concern on the community concept.

8.3.1. The fifth "C" as community: Is the latest to add also the last to involve?

In 2007, the World Heritage Committee came to one of the most significant decisions of including "community" – known as the fifth "C" – into its existing Strategic Objectives. The Committee stated:

> *"…It is now commonly accepted that indigenous and/or local populations should be directly, and meaningfully included and 'participate' in all important decisions and outcomes. This is especially necessary in terms of access and benefit-sharing…."(UNESCO, 2007b, p. 4)*

Intentionally hyphened in the original text, the term "participate" is further explained by UNESCO to have a wide spectrum. It sketches from the lowest level where groups or individuals receive information but have no opportunities to change them to the highest level of supporting independent community interests. In this level, communities are able to set their own agendas and implement the decisions (UNESCO, 2007b). Against this manifestation of the Committee, Turner and Tomer have analysed all World Heritage related Conventions and point out that the text support actions only up to level between placation and informing (Turner and Tomer, 2013). This means that even in the WH Conventions, community involvement is still set at the lowest point according to UNESCO's reference. If the textual mechanism is such limited, what is the extent of involvement that a community could achieve in reality?

Throughout three phases of heritagization, the study finds out that community could only get involved much later part. More precisely, in nominating to the WH Committee, sites are isolated from its societal settings, the community is hardly included in this phase. Intrinsically, the material and monumental bias of global heritage discourse and its standardised procedures have tightened the opportunities for local community involvement. Communities are often perceived as the destructive thread to the heritage integrity such as the communities living on and near the Citadel Wall at the Hue Complex, or the local illegal loggers in PNKB NP. Otherwise, communities are mentioned amongst the endangered species. Local community seems to be portrayed as a force that heritage should be protected from, not protected by or for.

During the idealisation of heritage, the study recognises that the community is being involved in the process mostly as an object. The national government materialised their political ideology through idealised heritage values so that they can legitimate their ideology and control over the community. Natural and cultural World Heritage become effective political tools in the hands of

the national elites to exercise their will and power. The two cases have illustrated that the World Heritage policy in Vietnam is more about managing the people than managing the sites.

Community only gets more actively involved when the heritage is re-integrated into the daily activities in the valorisation phase. Nevertheless, the study has demonstrated two contrasting pictures. In the case of the Hue Complex, the local community is generally disfranchised from their heritage. The descendants conquered the loss of possession over their ancestor's inheritance. Simultaneously, people living in and around the site associate World Heritage more with obstacles and troubles, rather than benefits. Generally, the community is losing their interests and connections with the designated site. However, the story goes differently in PNKB NP. Findings indicate that local people are manoeuvring their ways in order to get involved in the heritagization. It could be through the governmental channels that the local community get financial income from planting and protecting the protected forests, or from joining in other pilot livelihood models of funded development projects. This form of involvement is rather passive, where the local community is instructed either by the local government or the sponsored international organisations and experts. Normally, these projects have certain sponsoring duration, leaving behind unanswered questions on what would happen when the projects come to an end.

> *"Thanks to the World Heritage status, there have been several projects that provide incentives for local people to plan and protect the forest resources. At the moment, we are sponsored by the national project of 5 million hectares reforestation and GIZ project. However, they both actually have ended this year. We are still using the remaining funding to encourage the participation of local people. We still do not know what to do next year when the funding is running out."* (Male, Officer of Management Board, PNKB)

Besides, communities at the entrance of the Park are observed to be increasingly active to get involved. They work as the boat drivers, as service providers at the PNKB tourism centre, or they can find different work at the local entrepreneurs. More interestingly, in the wave of heritage tourism boom, more and more local people are opening their own businesses ranging from small services such as local restaurants, drinks, bike renting and reparations to accommodation providers, tour guide, and other entertainment services.

Nevertheless, the central argument I want to stress is that although being recognised as the heart of the World Heritage agendas, the community generally come at the last place in the process of heritagization. Not even their voice and opinion are widely neglected in the forming of heritage values; their position in managing and using these values is also not stable. They largely depend on other actors in order to claim for their influence or benefits. Only a fraction of the local community could be more active in manoeuvering their ways in this process

8.3.2. Unravelling the dynamics of community

The previous section has elucidated the actual position of the community in the process of heritage-making. However, community is still mentioned in a general term. Since the study espouses the activeness and fluidity of community, this section hence revisits this heterogeneous conceptualisation by examining the case of PNKB NP particularly.

Let firstly anchor the section in the place-based perspective. This perspective coins community as those live in the core and buffer zones of the Park. However, as I go on in analysing the networks and flows of involvement, community becomes extremely heterogeneous in the real settings. They are distinguished by numerous aspects such as locales, ethnicity, values, and identities...

There are communities of different ethnic groups. For example, the Ruc and the Arem have been seen different in the process of making PNKB a World Heritage. These are the two minority group who inhabit in the core zone of the Park. They used to be perceived as the backward, as a thread of the forest due to their traditional slash and burn practices. They do not contact with communities outside. However, recently as tourists are increasingly coming into the core zone, these communities started to settle down in administrative villages in which several community-based tours have been designed for them by the local entrepreneurs and the management board. There are also communities of other ethnicities who live in the bordering areas of the Park. Due to this locality, they have been included in different development projects. These project supported them with funding and training so that they would stop intruding the Park.

The study also identifies communities in different functioning groups such as the farmers, the boat driver, the small business, the small business households. Boat driver community consists of those who live along the Son River. In order to be a member, they have to build their own boat, register with the PNKB tourism centre, comply with safety regulations, and pay tax for the centre. At the moment, there are around 400 boats. The boat drivers form their own union. Each family in the union is given a specific number. The rules and supporting networks are made clear among them. When their turn is coming up, the previous one will contact the next boat driver by phone so that they can have time to prepare. It is not allowed to skip the number and cut the line. Boat drivers tend to work closely with each other and do not extend their networks with other groups.

Meanwhile, the networks between groups of local small businesses, accommodation providers, and tour operators are much more complex and intertwined. Accommodation providers and tour operators form their own local entrepreneur's union. The union defines clearly the rules on prices, standards of services. Members of the union will recommend each other services for the tourists. For example, tourists who stay at certain homestays will be introduced to tour options provided by certain tour operators, in return, tourists who book for tours will be suggested to stay at certain homestays or hotels. This helps to strengthen the relationship in the union. Those who violate the network rules such as inflating the price, providing unqualified services will be expelled

from the network and its attached benefits. Simultaneously, the local tour operators cooperate with some small business households to include them as nodes in their tour itinerates. Such as the Duck stop, Pub with cold beer are the households that have been supported and included in the tourism services by the local companies. Local entrepreneurs are also the most active actors who connect with other networks of state actors, of scientists, and other international networks of media and tourism.

Also, at the place base, there are people that could not be theoretically fit in the traditional concept. Nonetheless, they are widely recognised among the community as a member. I want to point to the in-ward migrants such as Mr Ben, or recently, Mr and Mrs Limberts. They are the foreigners who not only settle down in the areas but also contribute to the shared values and benefits of the community as much as others. The most lucid example can be Mr Ben. He married a local woman and set up his homestays in Son Trach commune. Over the years, he has employed local people; he helps others with their business ideas, spreads the idea of sustainability in doing business, and enhances the awareness on the link between healthy tourism and park protection. Asking most of the local informants on how they considered these in-ward migrants, they confirm that people such as Mr Ben or the Limberts couple are part of the community. This refers to the social-anthropological conception of community, in which the community is continuously (re)constructed through engagements and social interactions over time (Hall and Lew, 1998; Waterton and Smith, 2010). In this line, community becomes a fluid construction that keeps changing and expanding its boundaries, as Cohen notes:

> *"Community exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of 'fact'. By extension, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries, similarly lies in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in the structural forms." (Cited in Waterton and Smith, 2010, p. 8)*

Secondly, community is argued to exist imaginatively beyond the parameters of geography or proximity (Waterton, 2015). Findings in this research have confirmed the existence of a community of interest who are not defined by place-based term. They are drawn virtually together under the consideration to conserve the integrity of natural values in PNKB NP. The example of #SaveSonDong movement confirms that not only there is a virtual community, but this community also strategically utilises the advances of technology to achieve their shared interest. It is constructed through both place-based and face-to-face interactions and engagements (such as between the members in working groups, in exhibition shows) as well as virtual forms (such as in signing petitions, in discussions on social networking platforms). This community differentiates themselves not by geographic, demographic or professional terms, but by the idea of those who against industrial tourism development in PNKB area and the other who is not.

Lastly, I want to navigate my point against the common acceptance of community as one unified, harmony, and usually, romanticised entity, because such assumption might run the risk to blend all members, thus dismiss the internal unease, conflict, and power (Waterton and Smith, 2010). This will simplify the understanding of the community in the heritage study. Indeed, observations from this study have argued otherwise. The research has observed struggles and competitions between members of the community in getting included (See box 2.).

Box 2: Struggles between members of community

Local households have been actively worked intourism in PNKB recently. Most of them provide food, beverage, and other local experiencing services. Their local way of doing business have been fond of by a great number of tourists, therefore, tour operators are increasingly include them into their community-based tours.

During the field trip in PNKB, I encountered two neighboring local families emerged in conflicts. One family has been a well-known local stop for community-based tours, and the other – in an attempt to get into the flows – had copied and provided the same model of business with the same name. The copied model has affected the number of visitors at the original place, thus the two families confront in tensions for a period of time.

In the end, the tour operator has to step out. They offered the second family two options. The first is that they have to change to another kind of services. And the second, if they still provide the same service, they need to change their name, and assure the quality. If the family cannot accomplish then the tour operators will not bring any tourists to them, and will list them into a list of faking.

The tour operator told me that competitions between local people are often take places. And although these operators encourage more and more local households participate in tourism activities, sometimes they have to use their power to refuse unqualified households.

Networks work on the fundamental logic of inclusion/exclusion. Section 7.2.4 has previously expounded that it is not the community as a whole to be included, rather only individuals or groups whose assets are useful for the networks will then be granted the access. In the setting of PNKB area, these assets consist of favourable locality, local knowledge, money, and social networks. Besides, networks are imbued with power relations. From Box 2, it can observe that there are actors more powerful than the other as they can decide the inclusion and exclusion. Such as the tour operator can connect or omit certain households into their tour routes. Being included or excluded of course will differentiate the number of benefits that individuals or groups can achieve from the process.

Power also construes in the ability to connect with different groups. The most exemplary is Ho Khanh. He is one of the local people living in Son Trach commune; he is also a member of the local entrepreneurs; otherwise, he also connects with the international experts, and at the same time works closely with the management board. With these connections, he is not reinforced with the economic benefits but also the political power.

Another example is Mr Chau A – founder of Oxalis Company. Mr Chau A is a local man who left the commune for his education in Ho Chi Minh City. He then returned and worked as a staff for PNKB Management Board. Thanks to his education, he has outstanding proficiency in English compared to the average of the community. In 2010, the vice-director of the Management Board encouraged him to step out and establish his own company. He founded Oxalis in 2011. Since then, with the support from the Management Board, Oxalis remains to monopolise in exploiting tours into Son Doong cave to the present day. With this special position, Mr Chau A also possesses strong connection with all international scientists, and he has been extremely active in reaching out to other global channels in promoting his business, Son Doong, and the Park. He plays an important role in enhancing the involvement of local people, as well as connecting them with global tourists.

8.3.3. Conclusion

The idea of a community has long been criticised for embracing certain prerequisites of homogeneity and unity (Turner and Tomer, 2013; Waterton and Smith, 2010). However, the study has illuminated that community is heterogeneous, versatile and dynamic either in place-based or non-place-based perspectives. Community is not only heterogeneous in attributions of multiple groups, diverging in interests and seams of power, but it is also dynamic in self-construction and re-construction. It has been seen not a fixed entity who passively received the global and national influences, but it would rather transform along the process. It reacts against the in-ward flows of external influences. For example, a community can internalise the foreign migrants, and accept them as a part. There are several ways that community at designated sites react to the top-down flows of influences. These reactions will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming section.

8.4. Between the two spaces

This section aims to revisit my last argument, which concerns the struggles between the space of flows and the space of places. This is expected to determine the reactions and potential opportunities of the localised places in contrasting the dominant top-down influences. Dominant influences created by the powerful global and national elites and navigated in forms of flows have been conceptualised to inhabit in the space of flows. Meanwhile, daily localised activities of "making" heritage happen in the space of places. These activities are also organised in networks

and flows; however, their forms, functions, and meanings are attached and contained within defined territorial boundaries.

By analysing heritagization through three phases, the study has illustrated how the dominant discourses and arrangements in the space of flows can influence the space of places. First of all, in two studied cases, it exists a strong influence from the global World Heritage regimes. The global flows (such as discourses, regulations, funding, expertise and tourists) are playing the decisive role that orchestrates the formation, assessment and utilisation of Vietnamese World Heritage sites. Next to that, the national heritage policies have always been adjusted to fit along with the global trends since the early days of the country's ratification until the present. This could be explained by the urge to access international heritage funding and to increase tourism investment and revenues. Global trends are also intruding and shaping the development of sites in Vietnam. The lucid example is the imagineering of sites into themes of global "heritage village" in which the historic pasts are revitalised and commoditised for tourism activities. Sites are displayed as the showcase of heritage celebrations and performances such as the Hue Festivals of Hue Complex or the Cave Festival of PNKB NP.

Furthermore, there are also top-down influences from the national state. It needs to notice that the state is not a unified entity. It is organised in networks of governmental bodies ranging from central to communal levels. In the field of World Heritage, it operates through flows of discourses, institutions and materials (e.g. national ideologies, law, decrees, regulations, funding). These networks and flows do not only translate the global World Heritage regimes to the designated sites but also incorporate their purposes into the translations. To start the procedure, although UNESCO theoretically supports both nominations by national states and NGOs, in reality, especially in the case of Vietnam, the state remains the solely legitimated body to be capable of nominating. Furthermore, it has been analysed that the national influence posits the most dominant role in the idealisation and valorisation of sites.

Nevertheless, it has been reiterated throughout the study that places are not passive in confronting the dominant influences from the spaces of flows. Domination and counter-domination have always been the two sides of the same coin (Fuchs, 2007; Hofmann, 2018). Reactions originated from places against dominant flows have been identified in two different directions between the two cases. At designated sites of the Hue Complex, it has found out the community at designated sites are disconnecting with the official enlisted values. They, on the other hand, are embracing and practising their own version of heritage. However, to what extent does the heritage withheld by the community diverge with the authorised heritage? What will be the consequences of this divergence? In the longer run, which perception of heritage values will be lasting? How would it alter the relationship with the community and other actors by then? To answer these questions, it would suggest more investigations in the coming future.

In the other direction, the heritagization of PNKB NP shows the penetrations of local actors more into the space of flows. It is in this case I want to discuss further. In our current society, innovations of communicational technologies have proffered ubiquitous accesses for everybody into the global spaces. It has never been easier for people from disjointed localities to get connected with other like-minded across the globe. Observing the surge of digitalisation in this epoch, Sassen (2004) concludes that ICTs have enabled the politics of places on a global span. Easy access and interactive virtual platforms are providing the space for localised and resource-poor actors to join in the global networks without even lifting from their places. By this, counter-domination has begun to take different shapes. The study has identified two of those in the case of PNKN NP that will be discussed shortly.

The first is realised in the way localised actors at sites actively reach out to connect with the global actors for cooperation. These global actors are the multinational corporates or global media. Through global cooperation, local actors can achieve their networking objectives and strengthen their political influence at the places. To give an example, the local entrepreneurs are those who use this form. They have been successful in engaging with different global actors in promoting for Son Doong cave, and for the Park in general. Oxalis Company, the most significant player among local entreperneurs, shared with me about their marketing strategy as follow:

> "All of our marketing in the global sphere has been organic so far. It means that we connect with the global elites as our first customers in Son Doong tour. And after that, they spread the words internationally, they also wrote about Son Doong and Oxalis on famous newspapers, travel blogs, and websites. On the other hand, we send various proposals to international media channels and film industries. We invite them to Son Doong for field investigations so that we can show them our potential so that they will make a programme about Son Doong. Such in the case of King Kong movie, our manager was successful to invite the director to come to Son Doong through this approach. " (Female, Marketing team of Oxalis Company, PNKB)

Hence, it does not exaggerate to assume that Oxalis has contributed a part in promoting the idea of a primitive PNKB NP which has shaped the site later on. Due to the active networking toward the space of flows, local entrepreneurs like Oxalis can strengthen their position in the space of places. They have held the power of switchers who can connect different networks of both state and non-state actors in a wide range at the site. With this position, they can engage more and more other groups of local communities into the process of heritage-making. They are gradually shaping the site.

The second upstreaming form is when the localized actors utilize digital networks to connect with other like-minded people at other places but on a global span in order to spread the information, gain virtual support, and strengthen their voices. This form is captured by Castell (1999) as a

dimension for autonomous expression which is represented by purposive, horizontal communication. The best example is seen in the movement of #SaveSonDoong. Of course, the #SaveSongDoong team also conveys the first form when making their appearance and talk show in the Huffington, the AOL channel in New York. However, it is the second form that I reckon more salient in this case.

Over the last decade, the proliferation of information communication technology has tremendously altered Vietnam's information landscape (Abuza, 2015). In the context of highly controlled news and media, internet and other social networking platforms become the most utilized channel for Vietnamese to acquire information and communicate horizontally. In 2017, Vietnam catapulted into 7th place worldwide for the number of Facebook users and ranked the 4th in the percentage of respondents who check social media sites for news at least once a day (Askwill, 2018; Mitchell et al., 2018). Social media have risen as an important space for localized actors across places to establish a communication that is alternative to the state-control media. Nguyen Thuy Duong (2014) emphasises that the key contribution of social media (most importantly, blogs and Facebook) in Vietnam is to enable grassroots reporting of "untouched" topics and to offer alternative viewpoints from official media outlets. Through communicating horizontally, the #SaveSongDoong was enabled to double the state media, to connect with communities not only in Vietnam but also across the globe, and eventually to voice up against the state interests. It sketches the grassrooting in the space of flows in which local groups attempt to forge wider alliances in combating exclusion.

While establishing global networks of action and support, local groups of people are assumed to retain local autonomy over strategies and tactics at specific places (Routledge, 2003). For example, in a global span, people from different localities have come up together, gather themselves on the net to act for a common interest of protecting Son Doong cave in particular, and the National Park in general. Their actions are still very much place-bounded, such as the Son Doong virtually reality exhibitions are taking place at different universities in Vietnam, or the billboard is placed at a boulevard in the US. Their communication, collaborations, solidarities and interests are connected globally. Therefore, Sassen (2004) called this the "micro-environment with global span". It means that through technical connectivity, groups of people from all around the world are bypassing both the geographic obstacle and institutionalized control, intensively communicating their shared ideas, and inspiring each other to organize and to strategize both locally and globally (Hassan, 2004; Sassen, 2004). As a consequence, a community of interest emerges. Albeit previously mentioned as "Doong family", the study addresses that there is a community of interest who utilized the technological advances for the visibility in the wider context of heritage polity in the case of PNKB NP. This community was formed under the same consideration over the integrity of the natural values of the Park against the mass tourism development.

To conclude the section, there are two focal points to emphasise. First, I have illuminated that community can be multiscalar. People have been seen to inhabit in both spaces. They live at certain designated sites but they are also entering space of flows to achieve multiple purposes. Although much of the purposes are still place-specific, their range of activities and influence have expanded globally. This is a place-specific politics with global span (Sassen, 2004). With the increasing influence of both local entrepreneurs and Doong family in PNKB NP, it not only confirms the argument that local actors increasingly transcend their locality to participate into the dominant global space of flows, but also urges a reconceptualization of a community that is virtually bonded by common interests in the flows.

On the other hand, spaces have been seen to be increasingly connecting. It has been much easier for actors to move between and engaging in both spaces. Local actors are bypassing the traditional nested hierarchies and localities to be more capable of acting globally. Vice versa, global actors are reaching down and engaging directly with local struggles. Out of these processes, they are gradually shaping both forms of space. Therefore, rather than perceiving space of flows and space of places in opposition (Castells, 1996), the study realises that these two spaces are increasingly intertwining and transforming with each other.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION, CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

9.1. Conclusion

Compared to the time when I first started this doctoral journey back in 2015, the World Heritage list has managed to add 90 more inscriptions (UNESCO World Heritage statistic, 2019). It is reasonable to assert that nowadays, at whichever directions we look, World Heritage abounds (Daugbjerg and Fibiger, 2011). World Heritage has become ubiquitous not only in term of number but also in its scopes and uses. Heritage can be anything revitalized from the past that serves well the present purposes. However, to understand which past, how and why it is to revive requires further investigation on the actors in power and different societal contexts in time and space (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2008; Bendix, 2009; Harrison, 2013; Harvey, 2015, 2001). In the search for answers, it increasingly confirms that the conception which assumes heritage as fossil objects was no longer scientifically and practically adequate. Therefore, since the beginning of the 1990s, scholars have come to accept the importance of a processual understanding in heritage studies across the globe. This understanding perceives World Heritage properties not as innate things of the past, but as purposeful process which is termed as "heritagization".

This processual understanding strongly focuses on the contextual settings and the interconnectivity of the global, national and local. Furthermore, it raises the question on the actual position of the community, which claimed as the most vital stakeholder of the World Heritage schemes. Over the last fifty years, tensions have been recorded in relation to the normative and programmatic conceptualization of UNESCO on heritage and community (Tauschek, 2015). Current studies criticise that the normative conceptualisation is fixed and material bias, thus it has failed to fully capture the wide range of capillary effects induced within heritage making between the global, national, and local circuits over different courses of time (Meskell, 2015; Harvey, 2015). Next to that, it also over-simplifies the nature, the role and the diverse reactions of the local community at World Heritage sites (Adell et al., 2015; Brumann, 2015; Svels, 2015). In this case, the processual understanding is believed to be more useful in capturing the relationship of heritage and community (Harvey, 2015; Waterton and Smith, 2010). However, there is still a paucity of such studies in order to fully address these issues. Hence, this study has attempted to provide scientific insights in understanding the relationship between the heritagization process and community in order to fill the missing puzzle.

My intention is to locate heritagization within the contemporary context of Vietnam in order to project a better understanding of the inter-relation between World Heritage – as a selective process and community – as a heterogeneous construct. The research has addressed the key question of how World Heritage sites have been made in Vietnam, and the extent of the community involvement within this heritage-making process. It holds three key objectives. First, it aims to deconstruct the process of heritage-making which is argued to be dominated by the

powerful elites. Second, given such dominance, it explores the extent and the ways that the community can mobilise to get involved in the process. And lastly, it questions whether community is grassrooting towards the dominant sphere. From June 2017 to July 2018, an ethnographic study has been conducted at two sites including the cultural World Heritage site of The Hue Complex, and the natural World Heritage site of Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park. Adopting the dynamic processual understanding of both heritage and community, the study has applied the theory of networks and flows in its analytical framework in order to overcome the constraints of the fixity assumptions.

Firstly, heritagization is argued as an on-going transnational process, characterized by three intertwining phases and two co-evolved facets. The study deconstructs heritagization into three phases of isolation, idealisation, and valorisation suggested by Di Giovine (2009). However, if Di Giovine captures these phases narrowly in the bureaucratic procedure at the World Heritage Centre, the study investigates three phases in the wider societal settings across different times and scales. Isolation refers to the de-contextualization of selected properties so that these localized items can be lifted to the global sphere and attached with new values according to the global terms and standards. This phase is conducted dominantly by the international experts and organisations, most importantly the UNESCO and its agencies. The isolation process paves an easy path for items to be re-defined under the global standards so that they can be then validated for the global recognition. After that, idealisation concerns first step to re-integrate the now universal designations back to the respective nation, but, with its new status and values. Idealisation reflects the attempt of the national state in construing these values into the national narratives so that they can discursively perform new functions accordingly. In this phases, the purposes of the national state affects how or which aspects of the universal values will be used. In the case of Vietnam, the national state has utilised World Heritage to legitimate political regime, consolidate the controlling power, and diffuse nationalism. Finally, based on the discursive constructions produced by the state, World Heritage designations are ready for valorisation which is the last step of re-integrating World Heritage designation into the wider societal context. This phase targets at gaining the acceptance from the audiences in and outside of the country. Domestic audiences are believed to be more proud and appreciative of the properties; while international audiences are believed to be more attracted. Overall, both are expected to increase their consumptions at these designations. World Heritage eventually completes its ideological and economic functions.

Secondly, the study emphasises that the process of heritage-making entails both the global standardizing and homogenizing and the local differentiation. First and foremost, World Heritage originates from localised places which are selected, nominated and transformed with new meaning in a global context (Turtinen, 2000). Having undergone this transformative process, World Heritage sites hence could not be transferred back to the local places and be understood

simply with the local perspective as before. On one hand, it has been assessed, valorised and managed through the global processes of standardization and homogenization. These processes make sure that the universal values of designations are globally confirmed and maintained. Nonetheless, on the other hand, properties need to be constantly differentiated with its local uniqueness so that its prestige status could be secured, and its ideological and economic importance could function. Therefore, Di Givione (2009) asserts that "World Heritage sites are not undifferentiated spaces, nor are they simply localized sites. They are a specific kind of place, with a specific kind of social context" (p.70). To understand this, one must recognise this double-bind and study heritagization in a co-evolving relation of these facets.

Thirdly, concerning the fluidity of heritagization, the study continues to question the actual position of the local community, bearing in mind the dominance of both global and national actors. The answer indicates that the link between heritage and community is far more than complex. It finds out that the community could only get involved in the two later phases of heritagization (idealisation and valorisation). However, in the idealisation phase, the community was construed neither as expert nor rightful owner, on the contrary, they are seen merely as an object of the process. Only further in the valorisation phase can the community become the subject of the process. Nonetheless, it does not mean that community as a whole could fully participate in and influence the making of heritage. Rather only certain groups of them can manoeuvre their ways in, based on a different set of resources including favourable locality, local knowledge, money, and social networks. The study has also identified two forms of community involvement. The first is a passive form in which local people depend greatly on governmental policy and development projects brought by the outsiders. The second is a more active engagement in which people participate in heritage development through tourism activities. Based on the findings, it has illustrated that the community is extremely heterogenous and dynamic in both place-based and non-place-based terms. These findings have consolidated the dynamism of community in both place-based and non-place-based terms.

Lastly, the study contrasts the power relation between the local places and the global spaces. It confirms that there is an increasing trend of grassrooting up to the dominant sphere, in which the local utilizes the information and communication technologies to bypass the national power in order to enhance their benefits and influence.

In conclusion, the research has contributed insights into the processual understanding of both heritage and community. From the case study of Vietnam, it has not only identified the actual position and involvement of the community but also questioned the usefulness of community concept in heritage studies. Details on the research contributions and implications will be listed in the next sections.

9.2. Contributions to current research

The study intrigues the understanding of heritage and community captured in processual conceptions. Conveying the approach of networks and flows has helped the research to move beyond the fixity of both concepts to obtain better insights of the heritage-making in which complex networks of actors at different levels intertwine and negotiate for their vested purposes.

The overarching emphasis of the study is at the importance of a multi-sited empirical research in which the wider societal contexts and conditions are closely examined in order to explain the underlining generative mechanisms of the studied phenomenon. The study has initially placed a great concern in contextualizing heritagization in the conditions of two study sites. In parallel, it has thoroughly reviewed and analysed the historical, political and cultural views of actors at different scales and times that could inform their positions and their motivations in the process of heritagization. Insights of actors' historical, political and economic motives extracted from the multi-sited ethnographic approach have helped the study to gain remarkable findings, from which several valuable contributions have been added to the current research.

Firstly, the study has contributed to the growing literature that encapsulates heritage as a purposeful on-going act (Harrison, 2013; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Smith, 2006). Nevertheless, what is new is the attempt to deconstruct the heritagization process so that its phases and facets are fully illuminated. While the current literature goes as far as considering heritagization within the bureaucratic procedure of nominating and designating sites into World Heritage list (Di Giovine, 2009), this study has nudged further by looking at heritagization within the societal settings from global to national and local levels. It has been able to explain the transformation of local-gone-global properties in three intertwining phases of isolation, idealization, and valorization. It has given a better understanding of this transformative process of World Heritage sites by revealing the underpinned objectives, justifications, modalities, and consequences. Simultaneously, the interplay between networks of actors of different levels is rigorously reflected in each phase of the process. Furthermore, the study not only scrutinizes the dynamic interplays in and between networks, but also retains a close examination on the wider integrative processes of global-local interface. By doing so, it has revealed the binding facets of the heritage-making process. It has shown that heritagization is evolved in both global standardization and local differentiation. The former legitimates a site by giving it a position in the elite list of the universal outstanding, and the latter sustains its uniqueness to secure that position. The former brings the site to the universal recognition, while the latter enhance its appreciation and visitation. These facets become the conditions of each other. It strengthens the previous suggestions that heritage should be studied neither in the bland of the globalizing process nor in the warming glow of localization (Harvey, 2015; Salazar, 2013). The Vietnamese cases illustrate that as these two are

co-evolving aspects of the heritagization process, they should be studied in relation with one another, rather than perceived as contrasting.

Secondly, the present-centred processual conception of heritage has been strongly emphasised throughout the study. Advocating this conception means that the study is carried out amid the context of shifting spatial-temporal arenas (Harrison, 2013; Harvey, 2015).   In this context, territorial certainties are seen to be theoretically and practically shifting, therefore, studying heritage as a process should not only be narrowly place-bound, structural, or hierarchical. In contrast, Harvey (2015) encourages researchers to adopt a more progressive, open-ended perspective in exploring heritagization across different scales (of local, regional, national or global), when in the meantime, these scales also need to be perceived with fluidity and interconnectivity. Dealing with such a challenge, I have adopted the theory of networks and flows to capture roles and involvements of actors at different scales in the making of World Heritage. Such an approach has been beneficial. What is most noticeable is that while still engaged with the sense of place-bound loyalties, state and community have also been investigated in the constellation of networks, flows and inter-relations. Consequently, the study has been able to trace out the networks of actors and their interactions in making World Heritage ranging from the global to national, and to the local level. Within and between these networks, it has further identified the multiple flows in ideological, institutional, and material forms that are mobilized by the actors during the process. By doing so, it has contributed to a better understanding of not only positions and roles played by each actor at different phases of the process, but also the reasons why and how they come to such places in each phase of the heritagization. The power relations are thus better grasped and explained. Developing such a perspective has been a valuable contribution of the thesis.

Thirdly, following the above perspective, community has been reassessed intriguing toward a more nuanced conception. Over the last decade, although the issue of community at World Heritage sites has been placed at the central ground in both scholarly and policy debates, when exploring their actual position in the World Heritage system and practices at the official sessions, Brumann (2015) realises that community involvement is still of a myth more than a real commitment. One of the reason has been that the current conception of community is still far from clear and analytically useful (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher, 2005; Adell et al., 2015; Kumar, 2005; Waterton and Watson, 2013). By adopting the theory of networks and flows, I have illustrated a way of understanding community as suggested by Waterton and Smith as a politically engaged and critical conceptualization revolved with social relations in all their messiness, taking account of actions, process, power and change (Waterton, 2015; Waterton and Smith, 2010, p. 5). On this account, the thesis has added insights of two real cases of community involvement in the reality of heritage-making. Nevertheless, much more than pinpointing to the actual position of community within the process of heritagization, it advances in ravelling miscellaneous reactions

from groups of the community. The findings have contrasted several previous assumptions about community at World Heritage sites. Community used to be perceived either as a common good, unified entity, or as a passive body putting aside the dominance of other actors in the field of heritage conservation and management. However, it has been proven in the study that community is extremely dynamic, heterogeneous and changing in both place-based and non-place-based terms. Community are continuously in motion in the realities of networks that are replete with differences (Waterton, 2015). I have illustrated that diverse community groups are thriving to manoeuvre their ways into the heritage-making process by using different flows of resources. Some of the groups such as the local entrepreneurs in PNKB hold a crucial role and impact in participating to (re)shape World Heritage site. Overall, the study has contributed with real-life examples of what different perceptions of heritage held by local people may entail; how community construct their interpretations; how they steer the transformation of sites; how they get involved differently; or even how they launch the counter-discourses in order to achieve their vision of heritage.

Finally, although World Heritage sites are all places, I recognized them as products of inter-relations, rather than studying in fixity and hierarchically scalar approach. This perspective is vigorously encouraged by the previous work of Harvey (2015) and Waterton (2015). Sites are tied with a multi-levelled set of relationships putting in the wider and more integrative processes of the contemporary. This perspective helps to avoid the trap of essentializing the global, national, and most importantly the local as places of stability. Therefore, I have been able to tease out the multi-facets of heritagization, as well as the multi-scalar characteristics of the local. It shows that the local actors are bypassing the traditional nested hierarchies and localities to be more capable of acting globally. Vice versa, global actors are reaching down and engaging directly with local struggles. Out of these processes, they are gradually shaping both forms of space. Embracing the progressive perspective has enabled the study to assess the relationship between different spaces of heritagization. On one hand, it reveals both the discursive and material effects of heritagization induced from the dominant space towards the local places. However, on the other hand, it illuminates the counter-dominant reactions in the space of places. It confirms the need to develop a more processual and relational understanding of both heritage and community in the future.

9.3. Implications for future research

In 2007, Bandarin, former director of the World Heritage Center has sent out the quest to reassess World Heritage sites in order to understand whether or not the universal value has been changed when transferred and sustained at the local level over time, and if yes then how. From the case of the Hue Complex, it has been witnessed that the locals are embracing a different perception of heritage in parallel with the official recognition. In this perception, although official enlisting is not totally denied, it is rather a partial material composition of a much larger, more spiritual heritage.

Considering the intertwining and co-evolved relationships between different spaces, processes, and networks, it is encouraged to have further research in order to understand such outcomes and dynamism. Which heritage will become "inconsistent", and will be pruned out? Which are causes and effects of the process toward the community in particular, and the contemporary society in general? These are important issues to be addressed in the future. Generally, research should develop an active approach in studying the processual conception of heritage, and its roles in the contemporary society.

Another quest for further investigation is the decentralization within the established policies and its links to the community involvement in the specific Vietnamese case of heritage conservation and development. The study at hand has found out that between the two spaces of global flows and local places, there exists active networking of several actors. The most noticeable is the increasing trend of the uprooting of local actors into global networks using the advances of information and communicational technologies. In the PNKB area, local actors have overcome the institutional and geographical obstacle to establish connections with the global actors for supports and cooperation. Hence, not only do they strengthen their positions and power, they have facilitated the larger groups of the community to participate in the World Heritage conservation and development. In Vietnam, the activeness of the local entrepreneurs and local organisations seem to be beneficial to enhance the capacity and opportunities for community involvement. However, to what extent should it be decentralized? In what way can or should decentralization take place? What roles should each stakeholder hold? These are several worthy directions to take up further for the next research.

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Im Zuge der globalen Verteilung von Weltkulturerbestätten hatten Forscher nach und nach erkannt, dass die Definition der UNESCO von Erbe als physisches Objekt wissenschaftlich und pragmatisch unzureichend war. Die Definition wurde dafür kritisiert, programmatisch und materiell voreingenommen zu sein. Dadurch war die Definition nicht in der Lage den Prozess, durch den ein Welterbe geschaffen wird ("heritage making"), in vollem Ausmaß auf der globalen, nationalen und lokalen Ebene und über verschiedene Zeitabläufe zu erfassen. (Meskell, 2015; Harvey, 2015). Vor allem wenn diese normative Konzeption praktisch realisiert wird, können rasch Spannungen innerhalb der lokalen Gemeinschaften entstehen, welche im Umfeld der Weltkulturstätten leben (Adell et al., 2015; Brumann, 2015; Svels, 2015; Tauschek, 2015). Deshalb setzte sich unter Forschern seit Beginn der 1990er-Jahre die Auffassung von Erbe als ein Prozess durch. Diese Auffassung der Welterbestudien ("heritage studies") definiert Welterbe nicht nur als einen Gegenstand aus der Vergangenheit, sondern als einen zielgerichteten Prozess, der „heritagization" (Harrison, 2013; Harvey, 2015) genannt wird. Dieses prozesshafte Verständnis legt einen starken Fokus auf die kontextbezogenen Gegebenheiten und die Verknüpfungen des Globalen, Nationalen und Lokalen. Nach den Ansichten der Forschung ist das prozesshafte Verständnis besser geeignet, um die Beziehung zwischen dem Erbe und der lokalen Bevölkerung zu erfassen (Waterton and Smith, 2010). Allerdings mangelt es derzeit noch an Studien, die den Prozess der heritagization in seiner Gänze erfassen und dabei die Beziehung zur lokalen Bevölkerung untersuchen. Demgemäß ist diese Dissertation darauf ausgerichtet, wissenschaftliche Einsichten beizusteuern, um die Forschungslücke zu schließen.

Die vorliegende Arbeit analysiert, die "heritagization" im Kontext des heutigen Vietnams, um ein besseres Verständnis der Zwischenbeziehungen von Welterbe als selektivem Prozess und der Gemeinschaft als heterogenes Konstrukt zu entwerfen. Die Studie bezieht sich auf die zentrale Frage, wie Welterbestätten in Vietnam etabliert wurden und in welchem Ausmaß die lokale Bevölkerung in diesem Prozess involviert wurde. Im Vordergrund stehen dabei drei Hauptziele: 1. Die Dekonstruktion des „heritage-making", welches der Argumentation folgend durch mächtige Eliten dominiert wird. 2. Es wird das Ausmaß dieser Dominanz untersucht und auf welche Art und Weise die lokale Bevölkerung sich engagiert, um am Prozess beteiligt zu werden. 3. Es wird die Frage untersucht, ob die lokale Bevölkerung gegen die Autoritäten opponieren kann, um mehr Einfluss im Prozess zu gewinnen.

Von Juli 2017 bis Juli 2018 wurde im Rahmen dieser Dissertation eine ethnografische Studie anhand von zwei Fallstudien vorgenommen, welche sich mit dem Weltkulturerbe Hue-Komplex und dem Weltnaturerbe Phong Nha – Ke Bang National Park beschäftigen. Auf Basis des dynamischen, prozesshaften Verständnisses von Erbe und Gemeinschaft, verwendet die vorliegende Arbeit in ihrer Analyse die Theorie der "networks and flows", um die Beschränkungen durch festgesetzte Annahmen zu überwinden.

Zunächst wird „heritagization" als fortwährender transnationaler Prozess begriffen, der durch drei ineinandergreifende Phasen und zwei weitere Aspekte charakterisiert ist. Die Studie dekonstruiert „heritagization" in die drei Phasen Isolation, Idealisierung und Aufwertung ("valorisastion") nach Di Giovine (2009). Allerdings ordnet Di Giovine diese drei Phasen streng den bürokratischen Vorgängen am UNESCO-Welterbezentrum zu, wohingegen diese Studie die drei Phasen in einem größeren sozialen Umfeld über verschiedene Zeiträume und Größenordnungen erforscht. Isolation bezeichnet hier die Dekontextualisierung ausgewählter Objekte, sodass diese lokale Objekte auf die globale Ebene gehoben werden und neue Wertzuschreibungen erfahren, gemäß der globalen Bedingungen und Standards. Diese Phase wird hauptsächlich von internationalen Experten und Organisationen durchgeführt, allen voran von der UNESCO und ihren Behörden. Die Isolation ebnet den Weg, um die Objekte nach globalen Standards neu zu definieren, damit sie globale Anerkennung und Gültigkeit erhalten. Darauf folgt die Phase der Idealisierung. Diese stellt den ersten Schritt der Reintegration dar, der die nun universale Wertzuschreibung des Objekts, mit seinem neuen Status und Wert, wieder zurück auf die nationale Ebene bringt. Demnach spiegelt Idealisierung den Versuch des Nationalstaats wider, diese Werte in nationale Narrative einzubinden. Somit können die Werte im Diskurs neue Funktionen erfüllen , welche den nationalen Interessen entsprechen. Im Fall von Vietnam bestehen die Interessen in der Legitimierung des politischen Regimes, der Verfestigung der Kontrollmacht und der Zerstreuung des Nationalismus. Schließlich folgt die Aufwertung ("valorisation"), bei der Welterbestätten öffentlich aufgewertet werden, damit sie vollständig in die Gesellschaft reintegriert werden können. In dieser Phase geht es darum, eine umfassende Zustimmung bei den Zielgruppen aus dem In- und Ausland zu generieren. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass inländische Zielgruppen größeren Stolz und eine höhere Wertschätzung für die Welterbestätten entwickeln, während sie auf internationale Zielgruppen eine stärkere Anziehungskraft ausüben. Von beiden Gruppen wird erwartet, dass sie die Welterbestätten stärker frequentieren und ihr Konsumverhalten vor Ort steigern. So erfüllt das Welterbe letztlich ideologische und ökonomische Funktionen.

Im zweiten Schritt betont die Studie, dass der Prozess des „heritage-makings" sowohl eine globale Standardisierung und Homogenisierung, als auch eine lokale Differenzierung nach sich zieht. Vorwiegend entstehen Welterbestätten an einem lokalen Ursprungsort und werden dann ausgewählt, ernannt und mit neuen Wertzuschreibungen im globalen Kontext transformiert. (Turtinen, 2000). Nach dieser Transformation kann ein Welterbe nicht an den Ursprungsort zurückgegeben und dort von der Bevölkerung aus derselben Perspektive wie zuvor verstanden werden. Einerseits wurde das Welterbe durch globale Prozesse der Standardisierung und Homogenisierung bewertet, aufgewertet und verwaltet. Diese Prozesse stellen sicher dass die universalen Werte auf globaler Ebene bestätigt und aufrechterhalten werden. Andererseits müssen die Objekte fortlaufend in ihrer lokalen Einzigartigkeit differenziert werden, damit sowohl ihr Prestige als auch ihre ideologische und ökonomische Bedeutung erhalten bleiben. Dementsprechend macht Di Giovine (2009) geltend, dass Welterbestätten weder undifferenzierte

Räume, noch lokal begrenzte Standorte sind. Laut Di Giovine (2009) sind sie spezifische Orte mit einem spezifischen sozialen Kontext (S. 70). Daher argumentiert die vorliegende Studie dafür, dieses Dilemma der „heritagization" anzuerkennen und es in den daraus resultierenden Facetten zu untersuchen.

Im dritten Schritt wird hinsichtlich der Fluidität von „heritagization" die Position der lokalen Bevölkerung untersucht, wobei die Dominanz globaler und nationaler Akteure berücksichtigt wird. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass die Beziehung von Erbe und lokaler Bevölkerung weitaus komplexer als bisher angenommen ist. Es stellt sich heraus, dass die lokale Bevölkerung nur in den zwei späteren Phasen der „heritagization" involviert war (Idealisierung und Aufwertung). Zudem wurden Vertreter der lokalen Bevölkerung in der Idealisierungsphase weder als Experten noch als rechtmäßige Besitzer interpretiert. Im Gegenteil: sie wurden als bloßes Objekt im Verlauf des Prozesses angesehen. Erst später, in der Aufwertungsphase, konnte die Bevölkerung zum Subjekt dieses Prozesses werden. Nichtsdestotrotz bedeutet dies nicht, dass die lokale Bevölkerung den Prozess des „heritage-making" beeinflussen oder an ihm partizipieren kann. Ausschließlich bestimmte Gruppen sind in der Lage sich Einfluss zu verschaffen, da sie über gewisse Ressourcen verfügen wie z. B. ein vorteilhafter Standort, lokales Wissen, finanzielle Mittel und die richtigen Kontakte. Die Studie hat zudem zwei Formen von Anteilnahme der Bevölkerung identifiziert: Die erste ist die passive Art und Weise, auf welche die lokale Bevölkerung signifikant von den Maßnahmen der Regierung und ausländischen Entwicklungsprojekten abhängig ist. Die zweite Form ermöglicht es der Bevölkerung durch den Tourismus aktiv am Erbe zu partizipieren. Den Ergebnissen der Studie entsprechend wurde aufgezeigt, dass die Bevölkerung sehr heterogen und dynamisch ist. Dies gilt sowohl für die lokale Bevölkerung als auch für jene Gruppen, die zwar nicht vor Ort sind, aber dennoch die Welterbestätten aus der Distanz unterstützen.

Abschließend kontrastiert die Studie das Machtgefüge zwischen lokalen Orten und globalen Räumen. Sie bestätigt, dass es einen anhaltenden Trend einer Grassroots-Bewegung gibt, die sich gegen die Autoritäten wendet. Die lokale Bevölkerung nutzt Informations- und Kommunikationstechnologien, um die nationalen Mächte zu umgehen und ihre Vorteile sowie ihren Einfluss geltend zu machen. Diese Forschungsarbeit hat zu den Einsichten in das prozesshafte Verständnis von Erbe und Gemeinschaft beigetragen. Sie hat nicht nur die Positionen der Akteure in den benannten Phasen ausgemacht, sondern darüber hinaus auch verschiedene Formen von Mitwirkung der lokalen Bevölkerung identifiziert. Im Hinblick auf die Theorie in den "heritage studies" stellt die Studie die Brauchbarkeit des „community concepts" in Frage. Auf der Praxisebene stellt sie die Möglichkeiten vor, die zur Bemächtigung ("empowerment") der lokalen Bevölkerung im Prozess der "heritagization" beitragen und dazu technologische Innovationen nutzen.

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Annex

Vietnamese designated properties in different UNESCO World Heritage schemes

No.	Name of properties	Year of Inscription	Location
UNESCO Culture World heritage			
1	The Complex of Monuments	1993	Thua Thien-Hue Province
3	Hoi An Ancient Town	1999	Quang Nam Province
4	My Son Sanctuary	1999	Quang Nam Province
5	Central Sector of the Imperial Citadel of Thang Long	2010	Ha Noi city
6	Citadel of the Ho Dynasty	2011	Thanh Hoa province
UNESCO Natural World Heritage			
7	Ha Long Bay	1994	Quang Ninh Province
8	Phong Nha Ke Bang National Park	2003/2015	Quang Binh Province
UNESCO Mixed World Heritage			
9	Trang An Landscape Complex	2014	Ninh Binh Province
UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage			
10	Royal Court music	2003/2008	Thua Thien-Hue Province
11	Gong space	2005/2008	Central Highlands
12	Quan Họ Bắc Ninh folk songs	2009	Bac Ninh
13	Ca Tru singing	2009	16 provinces and cities in Northern Vietnam
14	Gióng festival of Phù Đông and Sóc temples	2010	Ha Noi
15	Xoan singing	2011/2017	Phu Tho Province
16	Worship of Hùng kings	2012	Phu Tho Province
17	Art of Đờn ca tài tử music and song	2013	Southern of Vietnam
18	Ví and Giặm folk songs of Nghệ Tĩnh	2014	Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces
19	Tugging rituals and games	2005	Vietnam

20	Practices related to the Viet beliefs in the Mother Goddesses of Three Realms	2016	Nam Dinh Province
21	The art of Bài Chòi	2017	11 provinces and cities in the Central region
UNESCO Documentary World Heritage			
22	Woodblocks of Nguyen Dynasty	2009	Thua Thien-Hue Province
23	Stone Stele Records of Royal Examinations of the Le and Mac Dynasties	2011	Ha Noi city
24	Imperial Archives of Nguyen Dynasty	2017	Thua Thien-Hue Province
UNESCO World Geoparks			
25	Dong Van Karst Plateau	2010	Ha Giang Province
26	Non nuoc Cao Bang	2018	Cao Bang Province
UNESCO World biosphere reserve			
27	Dong Nai	2001/2011	Dong Nai, Lam Dong, Binh Phuoc Provinces
28	Cat Ba	2004	Quang Ninh Province
29	Red River Delta	2004	Thai Binh, Nam Dinh, and Ninh Binh Provinces
30	Kien Giang	2006	Kien Giang Province
31	Western Nghe An	2007	Nghe An Province
32	Mui Ca Mau	2009	Ca Mau Province
33	Cu Lao Cham - Hoi An	2009	Quang Nam Province
34	Can Gio Mangrove	2011	Ho Chi Minh city
35	Langbiang	2015	Lam Dong Province

(Source: Literature review, 2019)