

Sense of place and sustainability of intangible cultural heritage – The case of George Town and Melaka



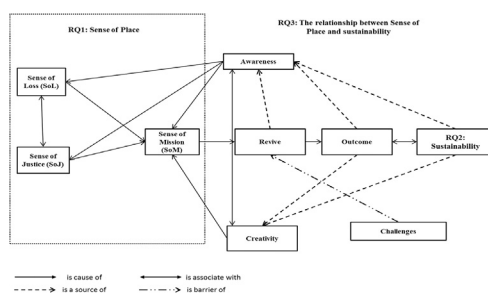
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HIGHLIGHTS

- Sense of Place comprises of Sense of Loss, Sense of Justice and Sense of Mission.
- Sense of Community is a vital intangible heritage that local would like to sustain.
- The intangible cultural heritage may evoke local's awareness and creativity.
- Awareness motivates our sense of belonging, regardless the time we stay in a place.
- Creativity leads to the Sense of Mission which is vital for preserving a WHS.

GRAPHICAL ABSTRACT



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ABSTRACT

The pressure of tourism on heritage sites is threatening the cultural heritage of such places. Local community voices should be studied in order to understand what and how to preserve the intangible cultural heritage at WHSs as they are the main players of this intangible heritage. With reference to the concepts of place attachment, this study examines the elements of 'person-place bonding' that may contribute to the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage, and how these elements help the sustainability of heritage tourism. In-depth interviews, observations were conducted in the WHSs of George Town and Melaka, Malaysia. A total of 32 documents were analysed. The 'Sense of Loss', 'Sense of Justice' and 'Sense of Mission' emerged as the three main themes of 'person-place bonding'. This bonding motivates community participation in sustaining the intangible cultural heritage they value. Besides, 'awareness' and 'creativity' are two vital codes that link the ecosystem of WHSs.

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1. Introduction

Heritage and tourism are two concepts that have been frequently discussed in conjunction with each other over the past few decades. Invariably their relationship is characterized by contradictions in that conservationists and ecologists perceive

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heritage tourism as compromising the goals of preservation and conservation for profit (Aas & Ladkin, 2005). Although it is undeniable that heritage tourism may help the economic growth for cultural-rich destinations, it might also threaten the heritage of the destination (Li, Wu, & Cai, 2008; Yang, Lin, & Han, 2010), especially the intangible cultural heritage. In particular, tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005) forces the local residents of heritage cities to leave, and the standardization of tourism products, such as hotels and cafés, make such cities look the same all over the world (Richards & Wilson, 2006).

The World Heritage Convention (WHC) aims to safeguard the sustainability of World Heritage Sites (WHSs). However, being inscribed on the UNESCO's World Heritage List (WHL) appears to highlight such sites to the world, thus raising the chances of them becoming the next destination of a multitude of visitors. In other words, the inclusion of a site on the WHL is virtually a promise that the number of visitors will increase (Boyd & Timothy, 2001). This is particularly significant for the WHSs which are not popular to tourists before the WHS listing, for example, before the designation in 1995, number of tourists to Shirakawa-mura was under eight hundred thousand, and increased to more than eighteen hundred thousand in 2008 (Jimura, 2011). Accordingly, the World Heritage brand is desired by many developing countries for the added tourism income (Nicholas & Thapa, 2010; Yang et al., 2010), as tourists and revenue are expected to flow into the country in increasing numbers.

The pressure that tourism might put on WHSs, to some extent, arises from the conflicting value of the WHC, that is, WHSs ought to maintain a function in contemporary community life, while being preserved and conserved for transmission to future generations (UNESCO, 1972). In other words, there is a need to manage the sustainability of heritage tourism, especially the intangible cultural heritage, as it is always reconstructed by communities in response to their environments. Scholars acknowledge that there is a need for conversation, discussion, and collaboration among the stakeholders in order to minimize threats to the heritage (Aas & Ladkin, 2005; Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Selin, 1999). If mutual ground between the related stakeholders can be found, the local community's resources can be preserved and the heritage tourism can be sustained (Bramwell & Lane, 1999; Selin, 1999).

In emphasizing formal planning and stakeholder participation, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2005) suggest that an effective management system should comprise a constant cycle of planning, implementing, monitoring, evaluating and feedback, as well as the active involvement and participation of stakeholders in the planning process. The expectation of a complete and incorporated approach to achieving "... an appropriate and equitable balance between conservation, sustainability and development", and ensuring "... the active involvement of [...] local communities" is further emphasized in the Budapest Declaration on World Heritage (World Heritage Committee, 2002). Unfortunately, little advice or guidance is given on how to achieve such a goal (Landorf, 2009; Wilson & Boyle, 2006).

Management of sustainable tourism at WHSs requires stakeholders' participation, in particularly a genuine engagement with local community stakeholder, however, even in the developed countries, such as the UK, there is an apparent lack of grass roots discussion in their WHSs management plan (Landorf, 2009). And, the suggestion of equitable community participation remains an idealistic thought (Aas & Ladkin, 2005). When community involvement does occur, input is limited to consultation regarding

the strategies established by formal planning bodies, rather than active participation in strategy development (Landorf, 2009). Hence, how to involve community participation remains questionable due to the complexity of the implementation. Notwithstanding the numerous challenges to the development of collaboration for the preservation and conservation of the intangible cultural heritage, such as power imbalances (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Brohman, 1996; Jamal & Getz, 1995, 1999; Tosun, 2000), and the capability of the stakeholders for participation (Brohman, 1996; Reed, 1997), the local community should be included as they are the core players of intangible heritage.

The participation of stakeholders is important for planning and managing the heritage, and that place attachment is connected to community participation (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Su & Wall, 2010). Place attachment is considered to have the potential to encourage community participation and involvement in the development process (Anton & Lawrence, 2014, 2016; Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Fornara & Caddeo, 2016; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2013). Although place attachment and place meanings play a vital role in the planning process, the planning literature has ignored the exploration of their connections in the process; whereas, the psychologists who study place attachment, on the other hand, seldom discuss on community development and participation (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Places, especially heritage places, can create different feelings and meanings for different people. Nevertheless, how these emotional and cognitive-links assist in community participation have been overlooked.

Therefore, the values, beliefs and meanings that citizens attach to places, especially heritage sites, within the community, should be learnt, understood, appreciated, and preserved in order to obtain their support and involvement (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Gifford, 2014; Su & Wall, 2010; Williams, 2014). There are relatively few studies on understanding the local community's perspective in terms of their participation or of sustaining the intangible cultural heritage at WHSs, especially in developing countries, and hence, the voice of the local community is seldom heard.

This research endeavours to advance the knowledge concerning the concepts of place attachment and the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage, especially at World Heritage Sites (WHSs). It is motivated by a desire to understand how person-place bonding may contribute to sustaining the intangible cultural heritage of WHSs, specifically in respect of George Town and Melaka, Malaysia. To investigate these relationships, this study examines the place attachment of local community, which includes the NGOs, old town's local residents, and traditional traders, and how this person-place bonding contributes in reviving or transforming activities. It then evaluates how these relationships relate to the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage. This study has three research questions: 1. What is the person-place bonding that may contribute to the sustainable development of a WHS? 2. What does the community want to sustain at a WHS? 3. How does 'person-place bonding' help to sustain the intangible cultural heritage?

2. Literature review

2.1. Place attachment, sense of place, and place identity

The bonding that connects individuals and their meaningful places – place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992) – has gained attention over the past few decades. It refers to the experience of a

continuing affective connection to a specific place, and the meaning related to that connection (Morgan, 2010). The way that people and groups connect to a place, and the nature of the psychological interactions that happen between the environment and individuals, are issues that pertain to the place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010a). The psychological aspects, or 'sense of place', as termed by Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), emphasizes the affective, cognitive, and behavioural components (Morgan, 2010; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a). First, it consists of an emotional connection to a specific place, both positive and negative, such as feelings of pride, love of a place, sadness, longing, or a sense of well-being, etc. (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Fullilove, 1996; Giuliani, 2003; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Hummon, 1992). Second, place attachment as cognition consists of the creation of place meaning, and the cognition that enables closeness to a place (Scannell & Gifford, 2010a). It is sometimes referred to as 'place identity', which defines the physical world socialization of the self (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983), and "it is through one's interactions with the particulars of a place that one creates one's own personal identity and deepest-held values" (Frederickson & Dorothy, 1999, p. 22). Knowledge, beliefs, memories, and meaning about a particular place make us attached to the place, as it comes to represent who we are (Hay, 1998; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Manzo, 2005; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a), and it is an active and dynamic phenomenon that changes and develops through lived experience (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Proshansky et al., 1983). The third aspect of place attachment is the behavioural level, which is conveyed through certain actions, such as proximity-maintaining behaviours, protecting native vegetation, engaging in ecological behaviours, paying for the conservation of natural areas, and other responses for or against changes in natural protected area (Bonaiuto, Carrus, & Martorella, 2002; Fornara & Caddeo, 2016; Gosling & Williams, 2010; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a, 2010b, 2013).

Place attachment has always been linked to the length of residence, in that, generally, the longer an individual stays in an area, the more attached they become to the place (Hay, 1998; Lewicka, 2011). An individual will cultivate a sense of belonging, or a feeling of affection for a place, when he/she lives in a certain place over an extended period; and that place becomes 'one anchor of his/her identity' (Hay, 1998; Lewicka, 2011). These affective bonds to a place may encourage action as individuals are motivated to search for, stay in, safeguard, and develop places that mean a lot or are important to them. In other words, person-place bonds will impact on an individual's engagement and commitment to those places, whether it is reacting to changes, retaining or improving them, or simply to staying there (Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003).

Place attachment can be used to design public spaces; and its association with place protective attitudes helps in understanding pro-environmental actions (Bonaiuto et al., 2002; Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Fornara & Caddeo, 2016; Gosling & Williams, 2010; Kyle, Graefe, & Manning, 2005; Sanders, Bowie, & Bowie, 2003; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a, 2010b, 2013). As we are rooted in a physical environment, we should comprehend the nature of our relationship to a place (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Suzanne de la Barre (2013) examines the place identity of the wilderness and cultural tourism guide, and how such an identity is used to design and deliver their guiding activities; she later assesses how these guiding activities link with the goal of sustainable tourism. Her study is useful in understanding how the guides deployed their activities based on the place identity. However, her study was in a remote area, where community participation is neither significant nor necessary to include.

2.2. Place attachment, community participation and sustainable heritage tourism

Place attachment, place identity, and sense of community may help us to better understand how neighbourhood spaces might encourage residents to perform collectively to protect, conserve, preserve, or develop their community, and contribute to the local planning process (Belanche, Casaló, & Flavián, 2017; Bonaiuto et al., 2002; Gosling & Williams, 2010; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2010b, 2013). Brown et al. (2003) state that place attachment and sense of community play a major role in revitalizing the neighbourhood. Manzo and Perkins (2006) acknowledge the significance of place attachment to community participation and development. They state that the study of place attachment emphasizes individual feelings and experiences but overlooks these bonds in a larger and socio-political context; while, on the other hand, the study of community planning focuses on participation and empowerment, but fails to relate the emotional links to place. They also argue that the integration of these views can offer a better understanding, not only of how planning may influence our experience of place, but also how community-focused emotions, cognitions, and behaviours may influence community planning and development. Nevertheless, the combinations of these perspectives have received little study.

The shared neighbourhood space by different groups does not guarantee a sense of community; hence, there is a need to comprehend the different implications that a neighbourhood embraces for its residents in order to construct a successful place (Loukaitou-Sederis, 1995). This understanding may assist in fostering the action of all stakeholders who have an emotional stake in the place (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015). The emotional link is central to a sense of community (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). Since the sense of community is emphasized by the connections among people, place attachment can act as a counterpart to a sense of community, because both can encourage community members to take part in neighbourhood planning and development efforts. However, how they can complement each other has yet to be determined. In addition, although Manzo and Perkins (2006) propose that collective action processes work better when there is an emotional connection to a place and the residents are cultivated, they also state that further study needs to be conducted in order to understand more about the processes by which place meanings and attachments act as a stimulus to citizen participation and community development efforts.

3. Methods

3.1. The context of the study - Melaka and George Town

Melaka and George Town, both historic cities of the Straits of Malacca (Malaysia), have developed over 500 years of trading and cultural interactions between the East and West in the Straits of Malacca. Melaka is located in the southern region of the Peninsula Malaysia, next to the Straits of Malacca; its capital – Melaka City – is 148 km south east of Malaysia's capital city Kuala Lumpur; and Penang is situated on the northwest coast of the Peninsular Malaysia, by the Straits of Malacca; its capital – George Town – is located at the north-eastern tip of Penang Island. The Straits of Malacca was part of the "Maritime Silk Road" which connects trading between east and west. Due to its strategic locations, Melaka and George Town were once the international ports of South East Asia. The influences of Asia and Europe have awarded the towns with a unique multicultural heritage that is both tangible and intangible (UNESCO, 2008). Melaka and George Town were declared UNESCO World Heritage Sites on 7 July 2008, and are now

entering their 9th anniversary. The World Heritage inscription authenticates the outstanding universal value¹ of the two cities as places with unique cultural assets. Melaka and George Town are listed under three criteria: “as exceptional examples of multicultural trading towns permeated with many layers of history; as living testimony to cultural and religious diversity reflected in multicultural living heritage, both tangible and intangible; and, as townscapes of vernacular architecture – particularly shop-houses and townhouses – without parallel in East and South Asia” (UNESCO, 2008).

It is undeniable that the visitors to the cities of George Town and Melaka are increasing from year-to-year. From 2000 to 2015, the number of tourist arrivals to Malaysia increased from 10.2 million to 25.72 million: In Penang itself, 6.25 million tourist arrivals were recorded in Penang International Airport (Imran Hilmy, 2016); and 12.2 million tourists visited Melaka (Murali, 2016). However, many visitors just queued up to take photos of the recently painted murals, bought the ‘made in other countries’ tourism products, and left behind tons of rubbish. The core zones of the WHSs at George Town and Melaka have become clusters of hotels, guest houses, and cafés, in which the traditional traders have moved to the outer areas due to the high rental in the core zone. In addition, many of these ‘historical spots’, such as the Melaka Port, have disappeared due to the riverfront beautification project, and land reclamation.

3.2. Respondents and procedure

This study wishes to analyse the opinions of the local communities that have been excluded and neglected from dominant resources for various reasons, such as political issues and language barrier. According to Lim, President of the Penang Heritage Trust (PHT) – a non-governmental organization that aims to promote the conservation of Penang’s heritage – language is an important factor that may influence residents’ recognition and the degree of participation in cultural heritage activities. In her interview with a local Chinese newspaper, Lim mentions that 73% of the population in the George Town heritage area are Chinese (GMDaily, 2015). A similar situation exists in the Melaka core heritage area, in which the majority of traders and local residents are Chinese. However, because the Chinese language is not the official language of Malaysia, their voices are seldom included in the planning and development process. Nevertheless, they are important stakeholders who practice this intangible cultural heritage. Hence, these people must not be excluded from the process (Tosun, 2000) as they themselves try to preserve and conserve the intangible cultural heritage with limited resources. Therefore, their initiative is worth studying as these people play an active role in their communities and places.

This exploratory and qualitative research employed a constructionist and interpretive approach (Suzanne de la Barre, 2013). The constructionist approach affirms that human beings are active agents and create meaning (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001)

as they engage with the world they are interpreting, while an interpretive approach is used to provoke thought about people and their relationship to places (Stewart, Hayward, Devlin, & Kirby, 1998). Mixed methods were employed in which data were collected from interviews, participant and non-participant observations, and textual documents.

The in-depth interviews, and participant and non-participant observations were conducted in George Town and Melaka, Malaysia’s WHSs, between March 2015 and July 2016. Theoretical sampling was employed in this study, and this is a purposive sampling practice that allows selection of information-rich and important sources that offer informed empirical materials (Patton, 2002). Purposive sampling does not endeavor to create a representative sample set (Kensbock & Jennings, 2011), but encompasses the selection of informed participants who have had active participation in ICH conservation and preservation. The in-depth interviews were conducted with four representatives of NGOs, two authors cum tour guides, one settlement tour guide, ten traditional traders, two school teachers, and a researcher of an old temple, as shown in Table 1. These interviews were conducted using Mandarin, English, Hokkien or Cantonese, depends on the preferred language of the respondents, as the researchers are able to communicate using these languages and dialects. In addition, four guided tours were participated for observation, including guided tour by a group of high school students (age 13–17 year-old) in Malacca Stories Hall, Hakka Community Society, Melaka; by a local resident in a settlement; by a NGO’s committee member, and a certified tour guide in old town. These guided tours were led by local people, who took the initiative to introduce the heritage city to their friends, without funded or sponsored by the government. In addition, document related to traditional trades in Melaka and George Town was collected, including online news and newspaper cutting from September 2013–September 2016; brochures printed by NGOs regarding the intangible heritage practitioners; and books published by NGOs and independent writers. A total of 32 documents, including interview transcripts, and textual documents were analysed.

With reference to the concepts of place attachment, the interview questions emphasized three psychological aspects of place attachment: affective, cognitive and behavioural. For example, “What does this place mean to you?”, “You said it means a lot to you, can you please elaborate upon on this?”, “What do you think about this place, before and after it was enlisted as a WHS?”, “What

Table 1
Respondent’s profile.

| Respondent | Gender | Age | Role/Occupation |
|------------|--------|-------|------------------------------|
| R1 | F | 35–44 | Editor, researcher |
| R2 | M | 35–44 | NGO committee |
| R3 | F | 35–44 | NGO committee |
| R4 | M | 35–44 | NGO committee |
| R5 | F | 25–34 | School teacher |
| R6 | F | 25–34 | School teacher |
| R7 | F | 55–64 | Tour guide, writer |
| R8 | M | 65–74 | Silversmith |
| R9 | M | 55–64 | Tin plate maker |
| R10 | M | 75–84 | Wooden bucket maker |
| R11 | M | 65–74 | Silversmith |
| R12 | M | 25–34 | Writer, travel route planner |
| R13 | F | 75–84 | Nyonya shoe beader |
| R14 | M | 45–54 | NGO committee |
| R15 | F | 35–44 | Housewife, PAPA apprentice |
| R16 | M | 65–74 | Bead shoe maker |
| R17 | M | 55–64 | Wooden signboard engraver |
| R18 | M | 75–84 | Wooden signboard engraver |
| R19 | M | 55–64 | Settlement tour guide |
| R20 | M | 65–74 | Joss-stick maker |

¹ Melaka and George Town, Malaysia “are the most complete surviving historic city centres on the Straits of Malacca with a multicultural living heritage originating from the trade routes from Great Britain and Europe through the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent and the Malay Archipelago to China. Both towns bear testimony to a living multicultural heritage and tradition of Asia, where the many religions and cultures met and coexisted. They reflect the coming together of cultural elements from the Malay Archipelago, India and China with those of Europe, to create a unique architecture, culture and townscape” (UNESCO, 2008).

² Chitty people: The descendants of the Klings who married the local women.

³ Cheng Ho: Ming Dynasty’s Admiral, historical records reveal that he visited Melaka at least five times during his famous seven voyages to the Western Ocean (“Cheng Ho Cultural Museum,” n.d.).

is your feeling when you see this change (after the respondent described the change since it became a WHS)?”, “What cause you to take action?”, “How will your action change this place?”, “Do you think this can help? Why?”, “If it does not help, why do you still want to do so?”

The interview transcripts and other documents were imported into ATLAS.ti software for analysis. There are certain benefits of using Qualitative Data Analysis Software (QDAS) in that the processes are more transparent and replicable, and it can yield a better performance (Hwang, 2008). In addition, QDAS may assist the researchers to systematically document the research process decisions, such as maintaining emphasis on expansive action through hyperlinking and network views (Paulus & Lester, 2015).

In order to achieve the study's trustworthiness, which include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), different types of triangulations (Decrop, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) were implemented. First, data were triangulated from primary data such as interview transcripts, observation field-note, and secondary data such as books, brochures, online and printed newspaper; second, observation, in-depth interviews were used for method triangulation; third, the same body of data was interpreted by three researchers; forth, literature from different disciplinary angles such as management, environmental science, environmental psychology, sociology, and tourism studies were reviewed and compared.

This study has several limitations. First, regarding the socio-demographic profile, although these two sites had been enlisted as WHS for their ‘multicultural trading town of many layers of history’, the majority of the old traders in these core zones are Chinese, and hence, the respondents interviewed were all Chinese. Second, regarding the intangible cultural heritage, this study focused only on traditional craftsmanship, although multi-religions and multi-linguistics, which are beyond the scope of this study, are some other important ICH of these sites.

4. Findings and discussion

4.1. ‘Person-place bonding’/sense of place

Sense of Loss (SoL), Sense of Justice (SoJ) and Sense of Mission (SoM) emerged as the main themes of ‘person-place bonding’. SoL refers to the respondents' feeling of ‘losing something’. It reveals relationships to cultural traditions that are vanishing or already gone (for example, traditional skills and knowledge, old trades, artefacts); and relationships to disappearing landscapes that have been destroyed (for example, old town and old building). Six sub-themes emerged from the coded data: the loss of childhood memory, the discontinuity of traditional skills and knowledge, the disappearance of old trades, the disappearance of old trades, the ‘deconstruction’ of old buildings, the loss of old town's identity, and the loss of good artworks, as shown in Table 2.

SoL is associated with SoJ. SoJ reflects the respondents' thinking and judgement, in which they know that ‘things should not be like that’. It conveys a justification that ‘something’ is not being treated fairly or equally. Eight sub-themes emerged here: indulge in empty talk, the lack of cultural awareness, no one knows about the real history, the lack of sense of belongingness, the lack of financial support, the misjudgement of local authority, the occupying of the outsiders, and, too tourism-focused on the old town, as shown in Table 3.

SoJ and SoL could evoke SoM. Some respondents felt that ‘losing something’, or ‘things should not be like that’, and they wished ‘to do something’. SoM explains the mission and passion of local communities to protect and preserve the cultural heritage. It reveals the respondents' responses in facing the complexity of a multicultural society. Five sub-themes emerged under SoM: do something for the community, know our own place, preserve our cultural heritage, seeding, and pressure the government, as shown in Table 4.

Table 2
Sense of loss.

| Theme | Subtheme | Quotations |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Sense of Loss (SoL) | The loss of childhood memory | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> When I was young, I could see clear sky and a wide sea from here, but now, you can only imagine, as here and there, all became land. (I-R5) We used to play with friends in these lanes; the Chitty² came from that side, heading towards the temple on the other side. He bought some fruits, such as bananas for praying, and we, the Chinese kids, waited for him after his prayers. When we see him, we keep calling him ‘Ah chi Ah chi’, and he will give us the bananas. (I-R4) |
| | The discontinuity of traditional skills and knowledge | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> These craftsmen have their own children, but they always told their children not to follow their footstep as for them is a suffer job. And they always persuade their children to study hard in order to get rid of this kind of jobs. This caused the children not to learn the skills from their parents. (I-R14) After the old traders die, the old trades will die as well, as there are no inheritors, and the traditional skills and knowledge will disappear sooner or later. (D-N2) |
| | The disappearance of old trades | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some of these old trades, sooner or later, will be faded out, due to many reasons such as no demand. Hence, we need to consider, what we want to preserve? (I-R1) These old trades should transform, as we are moving to the new era. What we need to think is how can they be transformed? (I-R12) |
| | The ‘deconstruction’ of old buildings | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The worst thing is, these houses started to ... the first roof tile started to fall, the first window started to crack, slowly, the plant started to grow, and the whole house started to destruct ... (I-R2) Many boutique hotels, cafés coming to town, the owners are willing to pay the high rent, of course the landlords will be more willing to rent the shops to those who can afford the high rent. (I-R14) |
| | The loss of old town's identity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We have the UNESCO heritage status, but the problem is, it became too commercialized, and even we, local people, cannot recognize it. It lost its identity. (I-R3) When your target customers are tourists, you won't care about the quality of the food, because you know these tourists just come once in a while. (I-R7) A lot of people moved out from Georgetown, the population drops a lot. They used to have 40 000–50 000 people in town but dropped below 10 000 people at night. Georgetown becomes dead town at night. (I-R14) The authority set up a signboard stating that here is the place where Cheng Ho³ landed centuries ago, but can you imagine? According to history, he bought a large fleet of vessels with hundreds of people, how could these vessels have anchored here? The river is narrow and the river bed is shallow. (I-R2) |
| | The loss of good artworks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many artefacts had been bought back to Singapore, especially those baba-nyonya's artefacts, because of the currency, for Singaporean, RM5000 is cheap ... (I-R8) Local tourists do more window-shopping, and foreigners more appreciate the beauty of these artefacts (I-R15) |

I = Interview; R = Respondent/Interviewee; D = Document; N = Newspaper/News.

Table 3
Sense of justice.

| Theme | Subtheme | Quotations |
|------------------------|---|--|
| Sense of Justice (SoJ) | Indulge in empty talk | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many of us, I mean, local people, no matter is media or my own social group, once an old trade (old business) shut down, we started to criticize. I mean, we have a lot of complaints, but lack of long-term planning. And, many things disappeared when we indulged in empty talk. (I-R1) |
| | The lack of cultural awareness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We need to come out with a proper management plan, but unfortunately, we do not have a supporting environment. This cultural environment must be managed. Our corporations seldom consider this. But we cannot condemn them as well, as it needs long-term planning. How to plan and manage it, is really a long process. We are lacking of this supporting environment. (I-R1) Our management people do no notice about this, or perhaps they don't think cultural heritage is important as these old stuffs are not practical. It's true, when we talk about cultural heritage, it cannot feed your people, but it is our identity and vital for our existence. We need it. Now, many people are using 'heritage' as a brand to make money, but if we do not aware about our own heritage, it will not be sustained. (I-R5) We shall not underestimate our cultural value, on the contrary, we should use it as our base, know about our history and ourselves, and feel pride of our own culture. (D-N5) Many tourists just went to certain spots to 'check-in', to prove that they had visited the places. That's it. (D-N8) |
| | No one knows about the real history | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We ourselves also did not know about the history of that traditional crafts if we did not talk to the practitioner. (I-R4) Now I can even bring the local people who born here (Heeren Street) to visit this place and tell them something they did not know about the place. They don't know about the past, because no one tells them before. (I-R7) Tourists visited George Town, took photos with the mural paintings, but seldom read about the background of these works. They came to Penang, but they never know about George Town. [...] If government just emphasize on the quantity of tourists, then the tourism policy, its management and strategies will also be directed to a more superficial level, just to achieve the target within the short period. (D-N8) |
| | Young generation – The lack of sense of belongingness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Our ancestors came and built up the country here. However, our generations, especially the younger generations are ungrateful about this. They migrate to other countries when they can afford to do so. Why? Yes, perhaps we have some problems, but they are supposed to come back and help us to build a better future, not leaving the country. (I-R7) |
| | The lack of financial support | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We have to collect a small amount of money for the map and guided tour, so that we are able to organize some other activities. (I-R2) We need to subsidize the invited speakers, we cannot ask the speakers to pay out of their own pocket. Hence, we educate our participants to donate a small amount of money. We need to have the awareness that everyone has to contribute to our own culture. (I-R6) |
| | The misjudgement of local authority | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> We need a lot of resources if we want to help these old traders to survive and sustain. Many countries are doing so, such as guiding or assisting the establishment of community museums, or encouraging the corporations to adopt them. I mean, at least you can provide some guidelines. (I-R1) We need to preserve the uniqueness of our city, hence, government should do something to control or restrict the over-development that will destroy this uniqueness. (I-R1) Yes, government did something, of course, it spends a lot on reclamation, beautification, and even created new tourism products, such as the duck boats, but not in preserving the intangible cultural heritage. Why can't government sponsor the cultural activities? (I-R2) Of course, we need development, we wish to have better living, better economy and better future. But it is not necessary to scarify our cultural heritage for the development. They should supplement each other and not opposing each other. Unfortunately, what policy maker did was superficial. Hence, local community has to do something, although what we can do is limited. (I-R5) Why does the government want to focus on 'shopping' while cultural heritage is our uniqueness that others cannot compete with? This is our uniqueness, our root. [...] Even in our anniversary (enlisted in UNESCO world heritage list), government didn't organize any activity. (I-R7) Malaysia is a free market. Shops are available for those who can afford the rental. Before year 2000, there is a Rent Control Act set up by British government after the Second World War, because the government wanted to encourage people to stay in town. But, what you can see now, is, only those who are able to pay high rental staying in town. (I-R14) Tourist numbers, hotels' occupancy rates, tourist expenditure are some vital measurement for tourism industry. These measurements are the fastest way to know about the performance and achievement of the industry. Hence, figures seem to be equivalent to the success of our policy. However, if we just focus on these 'numbers', and aim to attract more 'touch-and-go' tourists, the industry will not be sustained. (D-N8) |
| | The occupying of the outsiders | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> There are so many outsiders come to do businesses here, and the house price became millions ringgit. Local people cannot afford, hence, they have been chased out from the city, left only those outsiders who do their business here. [...] Today when you enter the Jonker Street, you cannot find our heritage. (I-R4) We do not anti-commercial activities, but we need to educate people first. If everyone knows about the importance of preserving the cultural heritage, then, when these outsiders start to do the business in the heritage area, they will not just look for the profit. (I-R5) |
| | Too tourism-focused on the old town | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Our old town has 600 years of history, but when tourists visit the 'A Formosa', 'red house', the clock tower, and etc., they do not know the background of these heritages. Melaka River has become a cruise river, it is beautiful of course, compare to last time. But, do you know about its story? It played a vital role in our history many years ago. (I-R2) I joined tour visit to other places last time. We just spent an hour visiting the area, and later, shopping, shopping, shopping ... (I-R7) |

I = Interview; R = Respondent/Interviewee; D = Document; N = Newspaper/News.

In terms of 'place attachment' or 'sense of place', this finding shows that SoL and SoJ evoke community's SoM, as shown in Fig. 1. This is in line with the literature that highlighted the psychological aspects of place attachment, which include affective, cognitive and behavioural components (Belanche, Casaló, & Orús, 2016; Bonaiuto

et al., 2002; Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Fornara & Caddeo, 2016; Fullilove, 1996; Giuliani, 2003; Gosling & Williams, 2010; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001; Morgan, 2010; Scannell & Gifford, 2010a, 2010b, 2013). SoL serves as a local community's affective

Table 4
Sense of mission.

| Theme | Subtheme | Quotations |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Sense of Mission (SoM) | Do something for the community | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What come to my mind is, I want to record this intangible heritage before they disappear. I feel like I have the mission to do so. [...] We need to document or record these collective memories, so that at least our community knows what this is about. (I-R1) • We must document all these old streets before its too late. We collected the data from these old streets/lanes. Besides, that time we even have Chinese-English version. We know if we have only Chinese-version of data, others will not have the opportunity to know about us. (I-R4) • She plays an active role in bridging the NGO with the Chinese community as she is bilingual. Step by step she brings some preservation ideas to the community. (D-N7) |
| | Know our own place | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You need to connect these points to become a complete picture. If your story is interesting and make sense, people will appreciate it. The first step is, we must know our own place, our own history. If not, we won't be able to tell a proper storu to others. (I-R2) • I don't know what I can do, but we have to do something, at least we ourselves should know about our own history, and should be able to tell the history to our friends. (I-R6) • The readers are invited to discover their place through the eyes of a French writer who stay in Melaka. (D-N1) • This fieldwork data collection is a way of learning for our students. They are not only helping the documentation of cultural heritage, but also getting to know about their own history. (I-R12) |
| | Preservation: take action to preserve cultural heritage | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We are in new era. It is not that practical to keep these craftsmen in their traditional functioning. We need new ideas, new input. Documentation is important, it plays a vital role in the sense of, after people know about it, this will generate more ideas. Perhaps, these people and ideas may help us to rejuvenate our cultural heritage. (I-R1) • Another way is, you bring more people to visit these craftsmen, and help these practitioners to identify their uniqueness. (I-R2) • The Hakka Association also agreed to 'transform' the hall to become an exhibition area, to exhibit the info and data that had been collected. (I-R4) • I mean, every business can have its new life. For example, the old skills can be used in repairing something. (I-R7) • I give talk to university students, and by doing this, I wish I am able to encourage more youngster to participate in preserving the cultural heritage. (I-R12) • PAPA program is an initiative by PHT, aims to attract young generation to learn the skills from the craftsmen. (I-R14) • She lives in the heritage building inherited from her grandfather. This is a way to preserve the cultural heritage as well. (D-N5) |
| | Seeding | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We brought media reporters to visit our heritage routes, and told them the stories of our heritage. (D-N7) • We won't expect all students who attended our talks or activities will follow our path. We just wish to plant a seed in their mind, perhaps, many years later, the small seed will grow and become a tree. (I-R2) • Education is the only way to solve the problem. Hence, we keep telling our students what is cultural heritage, what is this UNESCO world heritage site, and the importance of the heritage. We have to educate our young generation, it is difficult to change an adult mind, but we can tell our children. (I-R5) • I keep telling my audiences in different universities, we as an individual can contribute to our own cultural heritage. (I-R12) |
| | Pressure the government | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I also teach my nieces to do the beading. This can be very practical as well. (I-R13) • We just want to collect the public opinions, and found solutions for these problems. (I-R12) • Through newspaper reporting, PHT is not only able to get the public attention but also government attention and sometimes UNESCO attention. We must do something to awake people. (I-R14) |

I = Interview; R = Respondent/Interviewee; D = Document; N= Newspaper/News.

connection to the WHS; SoJ as cognition in which the local community 'know and justify' that something should not be like that; whereas SoM is the behaviour in which the local community expresses their mission of doing something. This is consistent with the literature that suggested that people who are discontented with the circumstance of the places they value, are more likely to take actions to improve the circumstances (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015). In addition, by identifying this 'sense of place' and their relationship, this study extends the literature on place attachment by illustrating how community's SoL and SoJ may evoke the SoM.

The findings are also in line with and extend the literature that suggested that community-focused emotions, cognitions, and behaviours can influence community planning and development (Anton & Lawrence, 2014, 2016; Belanche et al., 2017; Bonaiuto et al., 2002; Brown et al., 2003; Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Fornara & Caddeo, 2016; Gosling & Williams, 2010; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Scannell & Gifford, 2013, 2010b), by showing how SoL, SoJ and SoM 'push' the local community to work for the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage.

4.2. The goals – sustainable development

The local community's vision can be categorized under five

main themes – a sustainable tourism system, a lively old town, the inheritance of culture, a sense of community, and the transformation of old trades. The quotations under these subthemes are shown in Table 5. For traditional traders, they welcome tourists from all over the world, especially international tourists who are willing to spend more and appreciate the local crafts. However, the current tourism system does not seem to encourage the cultural heritage crafts, but rather the 'mass produced' tourism products. For example, the alliances between tour agencies and other tourism-related companies do not encourage the traditional crafts. Instead, tourists are brought to the shops that sell mass products. In addition, many 'free and easy' independent tourists will just simply enjoy the fun of taking photos with the iconic buildings, or mural paintings without really understanding the background of the city, as few guided tours are available and accessible. The old towns become standardized tourist destinations where local residents have been abandoned.

Sustainability, as an independent concept, provides a general direction for enduring progress, that is, by considering economic, environmental, and social well-being. It is often challenging for different stakeholders to strike a balanced goal. In WHSs, the cultural inheritance is undoubtedly a significant dimension that the local community does not want to compromise, even though there

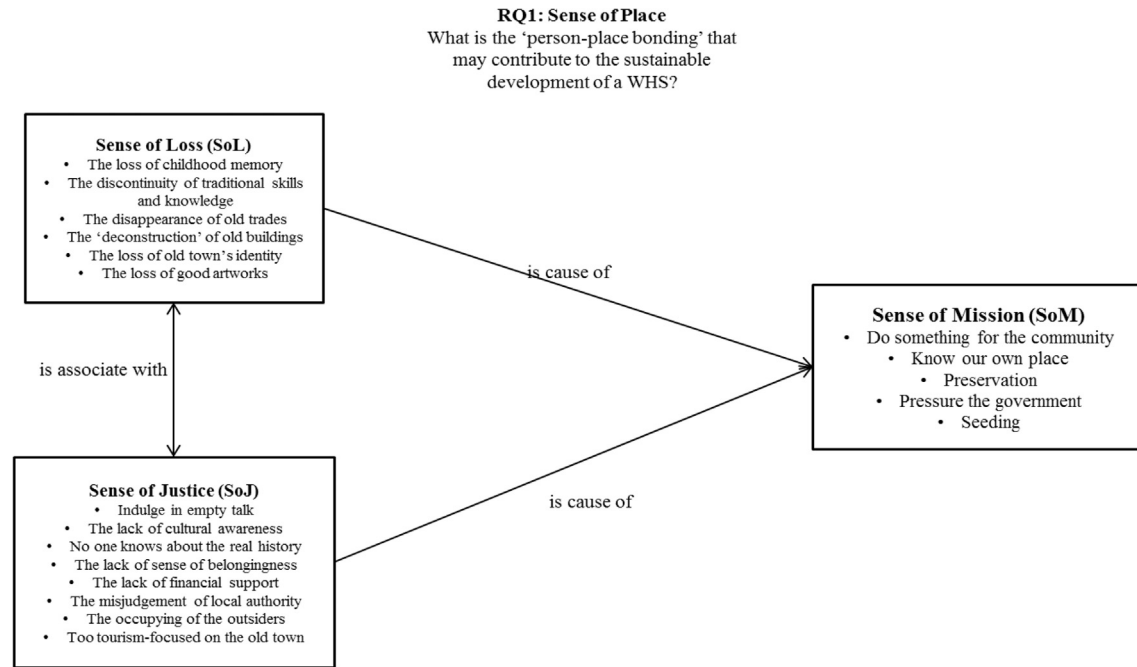


Fig. 1. Sense of place.

is no demand or inheritor for some of the traditional skills or crafts. However, this intangible cultural heritage is important as it tells the story of our ancestors. In addition, the traditional trades also play their role in helping the people to understand the development of their nation, for example, why and how these trades were needed at that particular period of time. Hence, they should not be ignored by the authority. In order to preserve the traditional skills, and crafts, the local should help them to conduct workshops, as this helps to preserve the skills and crafts, and also brings income for the economy.

4.3. Sense of place and the sustainability goals

Knowing about the sense of place and what the local community wants to sustain at a WHS is not sufficient for understanding how the local community contributes to the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage. SoM should lead to real actions. Individuals and NGOs should take action to identify ways to preserve the cultural heritage. The ‘Revive’ codes that emerged from the data include ‘bring people on-site and tell them about the story of the place’, ‘documentation’, ‘train young generation’, ‘organize the activity for learning the traditional skills’, ‘create job opportunities’, ‘cooperate with other parties’, ‘popularize the cultural activities’, ‘promote the activities using social media or through word-of-mouth’, ‘move into the old town’. On the other hand, ‘language matters’, ‘lack of government support’, ‘lack of fund’, ‘activity is not attractive’, ‘lack of human power’, etc., were codes that emerged from the data and coded under ‘Challenges’.

The reviving activities generate the ‘Tangible Outcome’ such as books, e-books, CDs, cultural maps, guided tours, workshops, seminar or talks, exhibitions, micro-credits or loans, and more coverage in newspapers or other media; and ‘Intangible Outcome’, such as the value of the traditional trades has been cultivated, the living heritage has been acknowledged, the locals know their story and are able to share with others, self-identity, sense of belongingness, and, most importantly, the “awareness” of the society.

The ‘Outcome’ is hoped to achieve the vision or the goal – the

sustainability – from the local community’s perspective. The local community welcomes the recognition of being a WHS, but there must be an equal weightage between heritage and tourism.

The coded data showed that the sources of awareness include documents (e.g., books, e-books, maps, articles), influence of friends, history (e.g., oral history told by the older generation), activities participated, and working experience. Awareness is linked to the activities that the respondents are now organizing, but for which they were the participants of ‘similar-type’ activities years ago when they were young; some learnt from the history and documents, etc. In other words, although they are not sure what they are doing now can really evoke the young generation. However, from their own experience, at least they themselves were the ‘seeds’ that were planted when they were children, or when they visited other places. This is consistent with the literature that suggested that direct experiences in places and indirect learning from documents can help to develop critical awareness and historical understanding among visitors (Kudryavtsev, Stedman, & Krasny, 2012; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010).

In addition, the ‘reviving activities’, ‘outcome’ and ‘sustainable goals’ are sources of awareness. Not only that, they are also sources of creativity. Creativity does not exist from nothing, as some respondents stated, “we need to have a rich cultural environment, or know about our ancestor’s story, or other legends; when all these ‘points’ come together, perhaps the ideas pop-up suddenly”. Creativity can be learned in our daily life and it should not be seen as a process that happens in a genius’ mind. This is in alignment with the Four-C Model of creativity that proposed the transformative learning, or mini-c creativity, in which “central to the definition of mini-c creativity is the dynamic, interpretive process of constructing personal knowledge and understanding within a particular sociocultural context” (Kaufman & Beghetto, 2009, p. 3).

Awareness is associated with creativity. However, awareness is the cause of SoL, SoJ, and SoM, but there is no data showing that creativity is the cause of SoL and SoJ, although creativity is the cause of SoM. Creativity may encourage someone to do something with some good and creative ideas, however, no link was found between

Table 5
Sustainability.

| Theme | Subtheme | Quotations |
|----------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Sustainability | A sustainable tourism system | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We just want to let them aware of the importance of our intangible cultural heritage; at least, you know, in the future, these people will opt for 'in-depth' guided tour instead of shopping tour. [...] We are promoting this idea (in-depth guided tour), starting from ourselves, our friends, and now, getting more local people start to do this in their own hometown. (I-R7) • The intention of the trail was to help visitors discover the Dutch part of the joint history that Malacca shares with the Netherlands. Many visitors, and even the people in Malacca do not realize that it was the Dutch era that was the longest – for over 160 years – compared to 130 years of Portuguese rule, and 155 years of the British (D-N9) • Public must aware of these traditional trades ... this intangible heritage. We may provide in-depth guided tour to bridge the industry practitioners and tourists together. On one hand, tourists can learn about this heritage, on the other, practitioners can earn some money. (I-R12) • The conservation/preservation (of ICH) and the development (economy) can complement each other. ICH is part of our identity; it plays a vital role in tourism industry. [...] We organize seminars, talks, public programs to instill the importance of ICH, in addition, we also train heritage tour guides, to attract more 'culture tourists'. (D-N5) • 'Culture tourists' are willing to listen and to discover the local voices. They are willing to pay for in-depth guided tour, and also buying hand-made crafts/artefacts. They are the tourists who can bring positive impact to our economy. (D-N8) |
| | Environment: A lively old town | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sometimes the best way to preserve the intangible heritage is to keep it as it is. Just like 'quasi-museum', no need to change it, just keeping it, remaining its function, when people visit the shop, they will be able to see and to know what is happening, now and the past. However, it needs sponsorship, for example, the blacksmith, if you want to keep the shop and its function, the first thing is you need to help the blacksmith to earn his living. Only when these people need not to worry about their living, the old town can be a lively place and a 'quasi-museum'. (I-R1) • The local 'kopitiam' (traditional coffee shop) is a place where locals and tourists can mix together. Locals having their breakfast there, their daily life are happening there, it is totally different from what you can see in cafés. When tourists visit the 'kopitiam', you can see how these locals recycle the milk tins ... you know, our generation actually is quite creative, because we were born in an age of scarcity, hence we really appreciate all these things, if something can be recycled, we will recycle it. (I-R7) • People can also reuse the old building, for example, those buildings with well-preserved structure can be used as museum or shooting scene of movies. (D-N5) • Living heritage is the soul of an old town. Hence, those practitioners should remain in the town. (D-N7) |
| | Culture: Inheritance | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documentation is a must. The best way to preserve it is to integrate these skills and knowledge into our education system. We have 'Living Skills' and Art subjects, I mean, school can organize fieldtrip, bring students to visit these craftsmen and learn their skills, me myself think it is a better way of learning, instead of just reading the textbook. We can enrich our life experience, meanwhile to preserve our heritage. (I-R1) • Children are more open-minded, they are willing to accept every possibility. If they were exposed to these skills, they will know how to apply it, and this will be part of their life. (I-R6) • Participants not only learning the theory, but also practicing it. They are learning by doing, and they will apply it in their daily life. (I-R12) • Conducting the workshop may invite more youngsters to learn the skills. Hence, we need to attract those who are really interested to come and join the team. (D-N7) |
| | Social: A sense of community | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We keep telling the story, bringing our participants to visit these places and to talk with the industry practitioners. We hope that our participants will appreciate it after they know about the history, and feel like "we belong to this place, this is our home; we are connected to this place and the people here". (I-R2) • We had an exhibition to exhibit the 'collective memories' of the locals. At that time, more locals came and shared with us their stories. They were so excited and would like to let us know what had happened last time. (I-R1) |
| | Old trades: Transform | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The old trades have to transform. New inputs are needed. We know some of these practices have no more demand, for example, it's quite hard for the blacksmith to earn his living by just selling the old stuffs. However, perhaps, the shop can be transformed, to exhibit its different types of scissors; the practitioners can share with us the different techniques required for different scissors and its functions. Actually they can tell us a lot of stories and knowledge. (I-R1) • We may help to find the new value for the old trades. Many craftsmen do not know their uniqueness and of course they don't know how to 'sell' their uniqueness. For example, we know a rice wine maker, his rice wine is really pure, very smooth, no preservation, really tasty. However, not many people know about them if locals do not introduce them to other. We can bring people to visit him and taste his wine, and this will help him to promote his products. (I-R2) • Last time when we want to congratulate someone for starting up a new business, or granting a 'title', we will send him a big wooden plaque. But nowadays people dislike the big size one, furthermore it is very expensive. So, the engraver carves a smaller plaque. It became very popular because it is very nice and people can afford it. (I-R7) |

I = Interview; R = Respondent/Interviewee; D = Document; N= Newspaper/News.

creativity and SoL or SoJ, as shown in Fig. 2.

This study aims to understand how person-place bonding may contribute to the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage. By visualizing the process (Fig. 2), the relationship of place attachment and identity can be understood in terms of how they interact and contribute to the sustainability of heritage tourism. It is essential to develop a more complete view of how people's relationships to place influence their experience of place and the success of the communities. Our finding is consistent with the literature that suggests that place attachment can supplement a sense of community (Manzo & Perkins, 2006), in which the Sense of Place in this study is important for us to know about ourselves, define our identity and create a sense of belonging to the place and community. In addition, it also extends the literature, as once the local

people have a sense of community, it will awaken their awareness, which will lead to a 'sense of place' (SoL, SoJ and SoM), and become a self-driven social cycle.

This research studies how community-emotional connections to place impact on community development, it extends the literature by identifying the elements of place meanings and attachments that influence the participation of citizens and the development of the community (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). In addition, this study found that 'awareness' is an important factor that motivates people to have a sense of belonging, regardless of the time one has stayed in a place. This is contradictory to the literature that suggests that people develop a sense of belonging when they have lived in a certain location over an extended period and have a continuing affective bond to a place (Belanche et al., 2017; Hay, 1998;

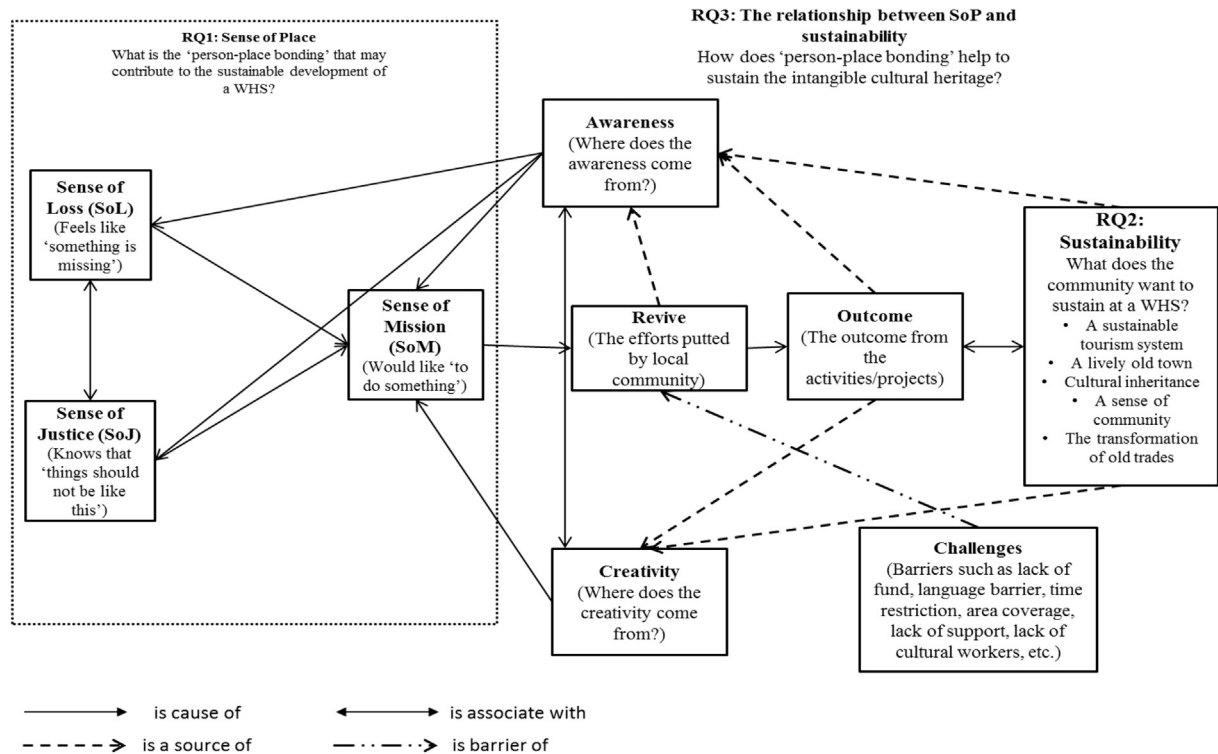


Fig. 2. The relationship between SoP and the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage.

Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007; Morgan, 2010). 'Awareness' is particularly important for WHSs, as history is not an individual or personal experience attached to a place but a social or community memory that tells the community who they are.

Literature suggests that places whose symbolic meanings are significant to a person's identity always encourage stewardship intentions and sometimes actions that the person have faith in will sustain valued aspects of the place (Antonsich, 2010; Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Gifford, 2014; Williams, 2014). Besides, the stewardship actions are most likely to happen if the desired circumstances have declined (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015; Fresque-Baxter & Armitage, 2012; Gifford, 2014; Stedman, 2002). However, stewardship actions driven by sense of place are far from certain as "attitudes may not lead to actions; some actions may not promote sustainability; and different place identities that develop in the same place may lead to different, and sometimes conflicting, stewardship goals" (Chapin III & Chapin Knapp, 2015, p. 38). Our study not only consistent with these previous research, but also go one step further by suggesting that awareness and creativity play a vital role in 'linking' the attitudes, action, as well as sustainability.

Previous literature seldom mentions the linkages between awareness and creativity with the SoP. Awareness and creativity play a vital role in connecting this 'ecology'; without these two, the goal of sustainability will not be achieved. This is not only in-line with the literature that suggests that awareness is vital for a creative experience (Tan, Kung, & Luh, 2013), but also highlights the need for the further study of their relationships.

5. Conclusion

This study illustrates how person-place bonding (place attachment) assists the sustainable development, especially the

sustainability of intangible cultural heritage at WHSs; in particular, how SoL, SoJ evoke the community's SoM and how these senses interact and generate a sense of community. The literature on place attachment, sense of place, place identity, community participation and sustainable heritage management was reviewed to understand the conceptual underpinning that explains the relations among the concepts. The qualitative data – interview transcripts, observation field notes, news articles, brochures and maps – were analysed. SoL, SoJ and SoM are 'person-place bonding' that are important for the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage at WHSs. In addition, awareness and creativity are vital for the ecosystem of the WHSs.

From an academic perspective, this study contributes to the literature of place attachment by illustrating how this person-place bonding interacts and 'pushes' the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage at WHSs. It also demonstrates how a community-based sense of place plays a vital role in complementing the sense of community, and contributes to the community's sustainable goals.

From a practical perspective, the findings of this study might serve as a reference for other places, by showing how a community that is excluded from dominant resources may also contribute to the sustainability of intangible cultural heritage. Waiting for the authority to take action is time consuming, and, perhaps there is also a lack of mutual understanding. Besides, it may provide some ideas to the authority about what a local community wants to sustain. Furthermore, the challenges faced by the local community may also serve as reference for the authority and other parties to consider if they wish to encourage these 'reviving' activities.

Lastly, there are some concepts that require further study. First, although the awareness and creativity that emerged from the data play a vital role in evoking a community's sense of place, their relationships need further clarification. Second, the data that emerged also show that some people have SoL and SoJ, but no

action has been taken, or perhaps they just indulge in empty talk. The missing links between these senses and actions may require further research.

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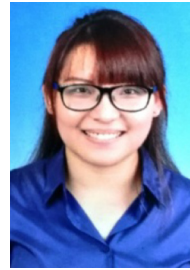
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