

Putting Community First:
Tourism for Development in Doi Village,
Central Vietnam

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Declaration

This thesis represents original research undertaken for a Master of Development Practice at the University of Queensland, and was completed during 2007. The interpretations presented in this thesis are my own and do not represent the view of any other individual or group.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Quy-Hanh Nguyen', is written over a light gray rectangular background. The signature is cursive and includes a long vertical stroke extending upwards from the end.

Quy-Hanh Nguyen

01 November 2007

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
List of Acronyms	viii
Abstract	ix
Acknowledgements	x
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Introduction	1
Aims and objectives	3
Arguments and contribution of the research	3
Research design and methodology	4
Research design	4
Data collection	8
Data interpretation	13
Limitations and biases	14
Thesis organization	14
Chapter Two: Development and Tourism: Evolving Thinking	16
Tourism as modernization and “smokeless industry”	16
Tourism as a “plantation economy” and dependency theory	19
Tourism development and economic neo-liberalism	20
Alternative tourism and alternative development	21
Another tourism and post-development?	25
Summary	27
Chapter Three: From Mass to Alternative Tourism: Old Wine in New Bottles?	30
Mass tourism: a ticket to development?	30

Alternative tourism: rhetoric unchanged?	33
Ecotourism or eco-terrorism?	36
Sustainable tourism or sustainable industry?	37
Pro-poor tourism: poverty reduced?	39
Community-based tourism: what community development?	42
Summary	43
Chapter Four: Tourism and Community Development: Contentious Relationship?	45
Tourism and community development	46
Agency	46
Participation	47
Empowerment	49
Tourism development in ethnic minority communities	51
Summary	55
Chapter Five: Case Study: Tourism Development in Doi Village	56
Vietnam: growing tourism in the new millennium	56
Tourism in Thua Thien Hue Province	59
Tourism development in Nam Dong	64
Tourism in Thuong Lo Commune, Doi Village	66
Social setting of Doi Village	66
Tourism in Doi Village and external imposition	69
Tourism development versus community development in Doi Village	72
Questioning tourism in Doi Village	76
Implications for development	77
Summary	79
Chapter Six: Conclusion	81
Development theories and tourism development	81
Summary of findings	83
Lessons and implications	84

References	86
Appendix A: Ethical clearance approval by SSERC	96
Appendix B: Introduction letter by MDP Program Director	97
Appendix C: Participant information sheet	98
Appendix D: Informed consent form	100
Appendix E: Letter of appreciation and feedback	101
Appendix F: Major questions for semi-structured in-depth interviews	102
Appendix G: A price list of tourism services of Doi Village	104
Appendix H: Some photos of Katu traditional art performance and Kazan waterfall at Doi Village	105

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Overview of the critical theory paradigm	5
Table 1.2: Advantages and disadvantages of the case study	7
Table 1.3: Comparison of structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews	12
Table 1.4: Interview participants	13
Table 2.1: Characteristics of traditional and modern societies	17
Table 3.1: Characteristics of mass versus alternative tourism	34
Table 4.1: Examples of ethnic tourism development projects in Vietnam	54
Table 5.1: Tourist number to Nam Dong District 2004-2006	65
Table 5.2: SNV activities to facilitate Doi Village tourism development	68-69

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Dimensions of observation	10
Figure 1.2: The thesis structure	15
Figure 2.1: Rostow's stages of economic growth	17
Figure 2.2: Paradigms of feminist development theory	23
Figure 2.3: Sustainable development: principles and objectives	24
Figure 2.4: The evolution of the development and tourism thinking: A framework	28
Figure 2.5: The conceptual basis for mainstream and alternative tourism	29
Figure 3.1: Spheres of alternative development and alternative tourism	35
Figure 3.2: Criteria often used for sustainability in tourism	38
Figure 3.3: Typical distribution of tourism income	40
Figure 3.4: Benefit distribution in existing tourism system and pro-poor tourism	41
Figure 4.1: Taxonomy of participation to tourism	47
Figure 4.2: Full participation versus token participation	48
Figure 4.3: Framework for assessing extent of empowerment of community involved in tourism	50
Figure 4.4: Elements of ethnic tourism	52
Figure 5.1: The structural pyramid of the presentation of Chapter five	56
Figure 5.2: Thua Thien Hue Province map	61
Figure 5.3: Thua Thien Hue tourism management chart	62
Figure 5.4: Doi Village map	68
Figure 5.5: Doi Village tourism organization and management	70
Figure 5.6: The participation matrix of Doi Village tourism's main stakeholders by project elements	72
Figure 5.7: The tourist number and revenue of Doi Village tourism in 2004-2006	73

List of Acronyms

CBT	Community Based Tourism
CD	Community Development
CPC	Commune People's Committee
DPC	District People's Committee
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
GAD	Gender and Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IUCN	The World Conservation Union
IYE	International Year of Ecotourism
MDP	Master of Development Practice
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAD	Postmodern and Development
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PWWII	Post-Second World War
TTHDoT	Thua Thien Hue Department of Tourism
TTHPPC	Thua Thien Hue Province People's Committee
SALPs	Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes
SPPT	Sustainable Pro-Poor Tourism
SNV	Stichting Nederlandse Verijwilligers
SSERC	School of Social Science Ethical Review Committee
UN	United Nations
VNAT	Vietnam National Administration of Tourism
VND	Vietnam Dong
WAD	Women and Development
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WED	Women, Environment, and Alternatives to Development
WID	Women in Development
WTO	World Tourism Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature
WWII	Second World War

Abstract

Since the end of the Second World War, shaped by mainstream development theories, tourism has been touted as a panacea for economic backwardness in developing countries. However, critics have also begun to question its effectiveness as a strategy of economic development since the 1970s. Even with the emergence of alternative development and the rise of eco-, sustainable and pro-poor tourism, skeptics continue to find tourism development disappointing if not downright destructive to community development. This thesis examines whether tourism even in its more recent forms remains more concerned with sustaining the industry rather than enhancing the well being of people in local community. To this end this research investigates tourism development in Doi Village, one of the poorest ethnic communities in Vietnam. It explores the relationship between tourism and community development.

The research has found that while local people were generally happy with tourism development in their community, the motivation for their participation in tourism activities was less economically but more community driven – all for the hope of producing a more equitable, secure, and cohesive community with which they had deep affection and identity. Reflective of their commitment to their community was the fact that some volunteered to work for the village tourism project at the expense of earning less for themselves had they work independently. Some also believed that tourism should be operated with a social conscience, like using the revenue generated to establish a community fund that could offer vulnerable households and those who were in dire difficulties in the village ready assistance. In the end, the case study has affirmed that tourism development works best when integrated with community development.

Acknowledgements

In writing this thesis, I have accumulated much intellectual debt. While I cannot possibly thank every single individual, the contributions of a number of people deserve special mention.

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My deepest thanks must also go to each and every villager in Doi Village who not only allowed me to conduct the interviews, but also provided me with the opportunity to understand their lifeworld and culture. I am equally thankful to participants from the Thua Thien Hue Department of Tourism, Nam Dong People's Committee and Office of Industry and Commerce, and the two NGOs, SNV and WWF in Vietnam. The information I gained from them has been most valuable and this thesis would not have been possible without their assistance.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

Tourism for development is contemporary but not a novel theme in the literature of tourism development. From the late 1950s, the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank (WB) have supported tourism as a means of development (Holden 2005: 133). In particular, Naylor (1967, cited in Oppermann and Chon 1997: 16) in discussing the value of tourism to Spain; which was considered a developing country at the time pointed out that:

One reason was already alluded to in tourism is perhaps the only sector of economic activity in which the principles of free trade still apply. More important, it is now possible for underdeveloped countries to improve their economies, not by increasing exports via low-cost production, but by tourism. (Naylor 1967: 23)

De Kadt (1979), in his pioneering volume, *Tourism: Passport to Development*, however, began to question its socio-economic impacts and advocated better planning for tourism growth in developing nations. Likewise in *Tourism: the Good, the Bad, the Ugly*, although Rosenow and Pulspher (1979) argued that tourism played a significant role in preserving a country's diversity and made communities more livable, it also developed an anti-tourism development stance. The costs or *blight* of tourism was further seen to outweigh its benefits or *blessing* by other researchers (see for example Young 1973; MacCannell 1976).

Despite these critical assessments over the past decades, developing economies however have continued to pursue tourism as a development strategy. The reason might be that tourism has been frequently referred to as "the world's largest industry", enticing many, if not all countries to jump on the "bandwagon" (Sharpley and Telfer 2002: 1). Hawkins and Mann (2007: 353) observed that under the World Bank's framework, 80% of the 56

low-income countries implementing poverty reduction strategies had cited tourism as one of most common options for economic growth, employment, and poverty reduction. Notably many nations also gave tourism equal weight, considering it as important as other industries such as agriculture and manufacturing (Hawkins and Mann 2007: 353).

What is most amazing is that although in both academic theory and practice, there has been widespread representation of tourism as an effective means of achieving development, little attention has been given to critically examine the inherent processes, influences, objectives and outcomes of tourism related development (Sharpley and Telfer 2002: 1). Furthermore, as Sharpley and Telfer (2002: 2) argued, the developmental role of tourism should not be celebrated without an understanding of how development is defined and the processes by which it might be achieved. More importantly, development cannot simply mean economic growth as it used to be conceptualized. Rather, it “has been taken to mean different things at different times, in different places, and by different people in different professions and organizations” (Chambers 2004: 2). For instance, Sachs (1992: 1) asserted: “The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape. Delusion and disappointment, failures and crime have been the steady companions of development and they tell a common story: it did not work [...] development has become outdated”. In contrast, Thuveson (1995, cited in Chambers 2004: 2) optimistically commented: “As the existing system crumbles around us, new and exciting alternatives are sprouting in the rubble”. Following this logic, the issue raised by Sharpley (2002a: 34) is critical: “If development itself is a debatable concept, then the potential for any activity, including tourism, to contribute to development must also be in doubt”.

This argument, coupled with the evolution in both tourism and development studies and practices, requires a review of the concept of tourism for development. This task is undertaken in this thesis.

As an introduction, this chapter will present the research’s aims and objectives, main arguments, research design and methodology as well as how the thesis is organized.

Aims and objectives

The aim of this study is two-fold. Firstly, it re-examines the advocacy and practice of using tourism, either mass or alternative, as a catalyst for development, particularly in developing countries and their ethnic minority communities. Secondly, in an attempt to understand how tourism development can affect an ethnic minority community, the Doi Village in Central Vietnam was selected as a case study to provide empirical evidence to clarify and theorize tourism and development. In this context, the objectives of this thesis are to:

1. Review the relationship between development and tourism
2. Provide a critical analysis of mass and alternative tourism, and re-assess if alternative tourism is a better strategy for development as its advocates proclaim
3. Examine under what values and principles would tourism help to sustain a healthy community, and in particular for ethnic minority groups
4. Document how tourism is conceptualized and implemented for development at national, provincial, and district level in Vietnam. This will provide the necessary background for understanding tourism development in Doi Village, particular from a local perspective that highlights how locals could become agents rather than passive recipients in managing tourism development in their community.

Arguments and contribution of the research

This study argues that tourism is not necessarily a panacea for all developmental ills as some might argue. Firstly, it contends that development is an ambitious but ambiguous notion and it cannot be measured in terms of economic development. Secondly, it questions whether tourism, no matter if it is in the form of mass or alternative tourism, has promised too much but delivered too little. It queries the validity of recent fashionable labels, such as eco-tourism, sustainable tourism or pro-poor tourism and

investigates if they have turned out to be nothing more than an attempt to maintain the domination of tourism industry in the developed world that continues to impose power and structural inequities on developing nations. From a local community perspective, this thesis also sees tourism and development as having a contentious relationship. This will be illustrated by the case study of Doi Village where interventions from local governments, development agency, tour operators are high while participation in decision-making by the local community is passive, leading to an abuse of community based model for tourism and community development. This thesis suggests that only through stronger commitment and partnership with appropriate local stakeholders, would tourism provide the local community a decisive role, and the opportunity for capacity building that makes it possible for them to become empowered.

To these ends, this thesis employs a multidisciplinary approach to examine the relationship between tourism and community development. This will be done first by a critical study of the evolution of development theories since the Second World War (WWII) and the emergence of tourism development framework as pathways to economic prosperity. This will be followed by a critical assessment of the different forms of alternative tourism and how they are affecting local community particularly in terms of community values and long-term community development. The case study of tourism development in Doi Village in Central Vietnam will illustrate clearly the costs and benefits of tourism development for a poverty stricken community.

Research design and methodology

Research design

Critical theory paradigm

This research adopts a critical theory paradigm as its guiding investigative framework. According to Kincheloe and McLaren (2000),

A critical social theory is concerned in particular with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses, educations, religion and other social institutions, and cultural dynamics interact to construct a social system (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000: 281).

More specifically, Jennings (2001: 41-44; cf. Lincoln and Denzin 2000: 1056) saw this as a means to change conditions and achieve social justice through empowerment of the oppressed, subjugated or exploited groups. Furthermore, in the views of Jennings (2001: 56) and Hollinshead (2004: 76), the paradigm has significant implications for researchers in ontological, epistemological and methodological terms for researchers and for members of minority groups¹ to challenge assumptions and values held by those in power (see Table 1.1). And for this research, this means not only the local perspective, and the focus on the transformative participation of the minority groups is of paramount concern (Jennings 2001: 42-43; Tribe 2004: 55-56), simultaneously the critical awareness of power relationships of the researcher and his recognition of the transformative capacity of the minority groups is equally important (Velazquez 1998: 65–66, cited in Higgins-Desbiolles 2006: 7; Guba and Lincoln 1994: 110, cited in Jennings 2001: 42).

Table 1.1: Overview of the critical theory paradigm

BASIS	DESCRIPTION
Ontology (How is the world perceived?)	- Complex world organized by overt and hidden powers - Critical realist
Epistemology (What is the relationship between the researcher and the subjects or objects of the research?)	- Between objective and subjective - Values immediate inquiry which is participative and/or which reflect the values of human players
Methodology (How will the researcher gather data/information?)	- Predominantly qualitative - Participative: dialogic and transformative – seeking the elimination of false consciousness and the facilitation of a transformed world

Source: Adapted from Jennings 2001: 56; Hollinshead 2004: 76

¹ Minority groups include “single parents, sole carers, people with physical disabilities, people with intellectual disabilities, people from socioeconomic backgrounds, senior citizens, gays, lesbians, women, residents in host communities, employees in developing nations, and governments in developing nations or small island states” (Jennings 2001: 43).

Qualitative methodology

The use of a critical theory paradigm suggests also the employment of qualitative research methodology in this research. The word *qualitative* implies a focus on “the qualities of entities and on processes and the meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 8). Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers emphasize “the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry” (Denzin and Lincoln 2000: 8; cf. Phillimore and Goodson 2004: 30-42). As such, the key principle of qualitative research is to understand the thoughts of a people based on their concepts, not ours through empathetic understanding (Jennings 2001: 158; Phillimore and Goodson 2004: 4). As qualitative methodology aims to “problematise, reveal hidden realities, initiate discussion” (Hollinshead 2004: 70), it is well fit to fulfill the specified aims and objectives of this research.

Case study inquiry strategy

Case studies are used extensively in tourism research (Beeton 2005: 37). According to Stake, “there is something that we do not sufficiently understand and want to - therefore, we do a case study” (1995: 133, cited in Beeton 2005: 47) -- a study of a specific “bounded system” (1994: 236, cited in Hollinshead 2004:70). A research case study can thus be described as “a holistic empirical inquiry used to gain an in-depth understanding of a contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context, using multiple sources of evidence” (Beeton 2005: 42). A number of aspects make the case study both a valid methodological tool in tourism research as well as a broadly criticized approach (see Table 1.2).

Table 1.2: Advantages and disadvantages of the case study

ADVANTAGES	In-depth data is collected on a single case or multiple cases
	Evidence is grounded in the social setting being studied
	Study members can check the data for “accuracy and palatability”
	Member checking may remove researcher bias
	Methodological triangulation is used
DISADVANTAGES	The case study focus is emergent - as the study progresses, the focus is refined, that is it uses “progressive focusing” (Stake 1994), rather than the research focus being clearly stated at the outset. This may extend the amount of resources that are required to conduct the study, especially time and money
	The research process is subjective as opposed to objective
	Evidence may be denied for reproduction based on the use of member checking
	The researcher may not act ethically and consequently data collection, analysis and findings may contain bias
	Findings are specific to the case study, not able to be generalised to other cases

Source: Entries in this table are from Jennings 2001: 178

This use of case study approach in this research is consistent with qualitative methods because it allows researchers to explore as well as testing theoretical concepts against local experiences and place-specific conceptual insights for wider applicability (Beeton 2005: 39). More specifically, through an in-depth analysis of Doi Village in this research, insights could be gained from the local perspective but the lessons learnt may also be tested against other similar cases. Given that there is no official national assessment of alternative tourism projects in Vietnam so far, a case study approach could also contribute to establishing some sort of benchmarks for assessment of other similar cases.

Ethical considerations

Social research is about “interfering with people” (Kellehear 2002: 70) and qualitative research share many ethical concerns (Christians 2000: 138-140). According to Ryan (2005: 15-16), “care and nurturance might be the ethical stance appropriate to the research complexities of contemporary tourism experiences”. In a broader view, Marczyk et al. (2005: 240-243) discuss fundamental ethical principles to protect human participants, that is to ensure autonomy (human beings have the right to decide what they want to do and to make their own decisions about the kinds of research experiences they want to be involved in, if any), beneficence (being kind, or a charitable act or gift) and justice (the selection of research participants must be the result of fair selection procedures and must also result in fair selection outcomes).

This research is under the ethical clearance requirements of the School of Social Science Ethical Review Committee (SSERC) of the University of Queensland, Australia (see Appendices A and B). As such, all participants were informed of the project purposes and other necessary information via an information sheet (see Appendix C). Before each interview commenced, an informed consent form (see Appendix D) was presented for the participant to sign. The participant’s confidentiality and privacy were strictly protected during and after the research process, in both data collection and presentation. A summary of the findings of the completed thesis can also be sent to participants who wish to have it (see Appendix E).

Data collection

According to Wong (2002: 247, cited in Lee 2003: 32), since a research method has both strengths and limitations, dependence on a single method can cause methodological biases. To complete this research, data were collected from both secondary and primary sources.

Secondary sources

The secondary sources used in this research include academic books and journals, archival records, government reports, statistical compilations, journal and newspaper articles, tourism maps and development reports that are more specifically focused on Thua Thien Hue Province and Nam Dong District in Vietnam. They were collected from library research, internet search and access provided by local government officers, NGO staff and local people. The validity and reliability as well as their authenticity and consistency were carefully checked and double checked before they were used.

Primary sources

Primary data of the research were collected from two main methods: observation and in-depth interviews. They were carried out in Vietnam between August and September this year in Doi Village. I first visited the research site as part of a tourist group to gain insight into how tourists behaved and how they perceived and expected from traveling in Doi Village. This was followed by a second visit with a project assessment team from the Dutch NGO SNV that allowed me to gain an overall impression of the issues and predicaments the village and its residents encountered before a third visit was made to carry out focused, in-depth interviews.

Observations

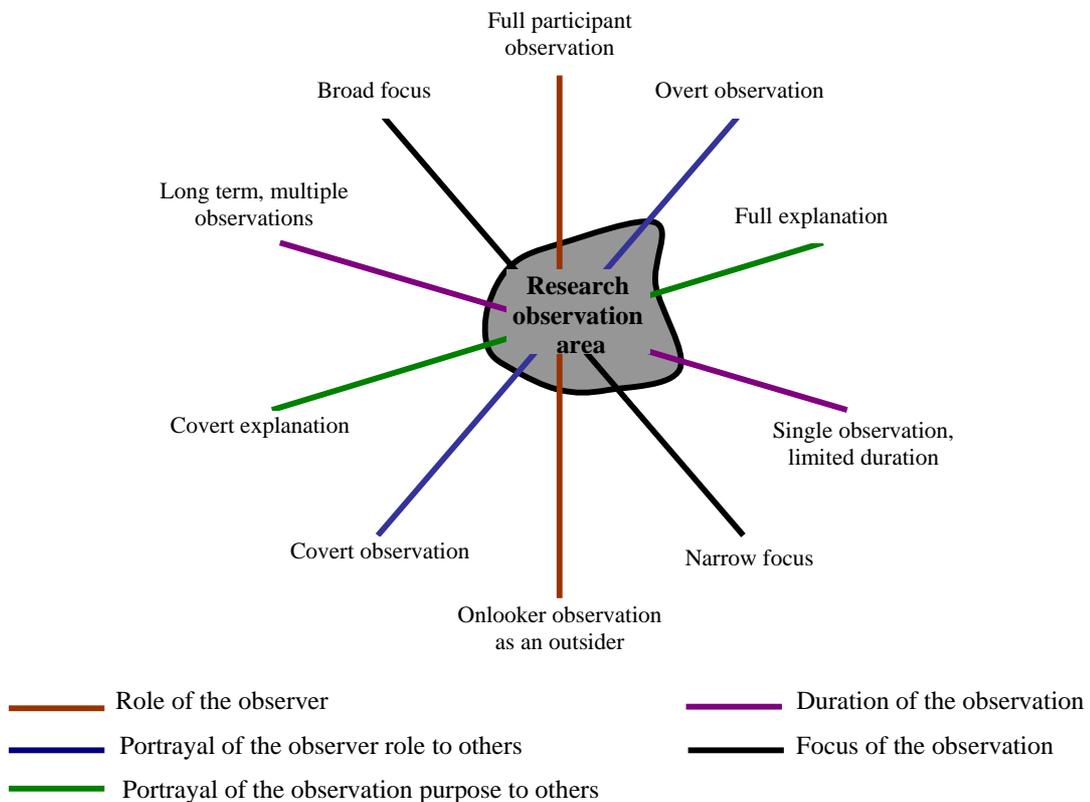
Observation “entails the systematic noting and recording of events, behaviors, and artifacts (objects) in the social setting chosen for study” (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 98). In Doi Village, this was carried out to gather information on tourism project activities, their processes and participation by various stakeholders. Observations allowed the researcher to understand the local situations firsthand and prepared one to plan for the eventual evaluation activities (cf. Patton 1990: 70). Furthermore, there were other additional advantages:

- First, by directly observing a program the researcher is better able to understand the *contexts* within which tourism program activities occur.

- Second, firsthand experience with a tourism program allows the researcher to be inductive in his approach.
- A third strength of conducting observation is that the trained researcher has the opportunity to see things that may routinely escape conscious awareness among participants in the tourism program.
- A fourth value of direct observational approach is the extent to which the observer can learn about things that participants in the tourism program may be unwilling to talk about in an interview.
- A fifth and closely related point is that observations permit the researcher to move beyond the selective perceptions of others.
- Finally, getting close to a social setting through firsthand experience permits the researcher to access personal knowledge and direct experience as resources to aid in understanding and interpreting the program being observed (Patton 1990: 72-74)

In this research, observations were also carried out with the consent of local community and the role of the observer and research purposes were explained clearly to the observed before the activities commenced (cf. Patton 1990: 80-81). In addition, observations were made to cover five main dimensions as illustrated in the following diagram (Figure 1.1):

Figure 1.1: Dimensions of observation



A careful protocol was developed as suggested by Smith (1995: 43) to “ensure that the information collected is not biased as a result of arbitrary or careless selection of observation periods, the observer’s own prejudice of the meaning of the phenomenon being observed”. Field notes were taken in a careful and detailed manner.

Interviewing

Jennings (2005: 101) defines an interview as “an interaction following a question-answer format (stimulus-response) or an interaction more akin to a conversation”. This definition can be referred to the description of different types of interviews specified in the Table 1.3. Shaped by a qualitative methodology, a conversation style (semi- and unstructured interviewing) is the focus of the research. The reason is that, as Byrne (2004: 180-184) suggests, qualitative interviewing is flexible in allowing an exploration of voices of those who are believed to have been ignored, misinterpreted or suppressed and experiences from below.

Sampling decisions should consider the relationship of the research with the participants, data collection feasibility, validity and ethical concerns (Maxwell 1996: 69-73). In this research, interview participants were recruited through purposeful sampling on a criterion-based selection. Maxwell (1996: 69-70) asserted, “This is a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can’t be gotten as well from other choices”. Participants of the research included four major groups (see Table 1.4). The first was five local government leaders and officers of different levels, ranging from provincial to district levels. Officials responsible for making decisions on tourism development were targeted specifically. The interviews focused on exploring the role of governments and their decision-making process in planning for tourism development and their consideration for developing appropriate strategies for ethnic minorities in the villages.

The second group included three personnel from SNV and WWF, the two major NGOs which played a significant role in promoting pro-poor and community-based tourism development in Thua Thien Hue Province. The third group involved tourists and tourist

guides to Doi Village. They provided important comments and suggestions for Doi tourism model from tourist and tour operator perspectives. The fourth group, and key participants in this study were Doi villagers, including the Village Head and the Head of the Tourism Management Board. The Village Head was first contacted and other informants were recruited through referrals by the Village Head. A total of 15 household representatives, both tourism participants and non-participants, were interviewed.

Table 1.3: Comparison of structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews

Descriptor	Structured	Semi-structured	In-depth, unstructured
Style	Specific protocol question and answer	Conversation-like	Conversation-like
Design	Structured	Semi-emergent	Emergent
Researcher stance	Objective	Subjective	Subjective
Researcher perspective	Outsider (etic)	Insider (emic)	Insider (emic)
Consequence of researcher stance and perspective	Limited reflexivity	Reflexivity	Reflexivity
Exchange issues during the research process	Limited reciprocity	Reciprocity	Reciprocity
Language used	Subject/respondent	Informant, participant co-researcher	Informant, participant co-researcher
Material/Data collection	Data Presentation Checklist Some open-ended questions	Empirical materials Slice of life Field notes Transcription and recording	Empirical materials Slice of life Field notes Transcription and recording
Basis of analysis	Mathematical and statistical analysis	Textual analysis	Textual analysis
“Findings” expressed as	Numeric representation	Depthful and thick description	Depthful and thick description
Writing style for reporting research	Scientific report	Narrative	Narrative

Source: Jennings 2005: 101

Table 1.4: Interview participants

Interview Participants	Number
Provincial and district government leaders and officers	4
NGOs representatives	3
Tourist guide	1
Tourists on spot	2
Village Head, Head of the Tourism Management Board and locals (including tourism participants and non-participants)	15

Participation in the interviews was on a voluntary basis. Each interview ran no longer than one hour (see Appendix F for major questions of semi-structured in-depth interviews in the case study). All interviews were conducted in Vietnamese with the exceptions of representatives from the NGOs, some of whom could only be interviewed in the English language. Interviews were tape recorded with minimal note taking in order to not interfere with the interview process (cf. Jennings 2005: 111). As much as possible a gender-balanced sample was attempted. However, given the nature of the government structure and NGOs, it was not always possible to achieve a gender-balanced sample for this study.

Data interpretation

As qualitative research, the collected data were sorted, compared, classified and synthesized, as Weaver and Lawton (2006: 400) suggested, “with a much higher level of subjective or personal judgement than occurs in quantitative analysis”. The reproduction of the interviewing information was based on full verbatim transcripts, which allows monitoring the communication styles (cf. Jennings 2005: 112). A most important task in interpreting collected data is that “the researcher should determine how useful the data segments drawn on to support the emerging story are in illuminating the questions being explored and how they are central to the story that is unfolding about the social phenomenon” (Marshall and Rossman 2006: 124). As the aim of the research is to “give voice” to the local people and make the arguments evident, the narrative style with the use of traditional short quotations to support the research points was applied (cf. Jordan and Gibson 2005: 228).

Limitations and biases

Despite much effort, the research encountered some theoretical and methodological limitations. First, due to time and resource constraints, the research could not afford a longer duration of fieldwork. It may be argued that it is the quality not quantity of the sampling in qualitative research that is of great importance. However, it should be noted that one major problem in qualitative studies is key informant bias where a small number of informants are relied on and there is no warranty that their views are typical (Maxwell 1996: 70-73). Second, the limitation of qualitative research should be noted. In particular, Jennings (2005: 110) cautioned that the “level of engagement of the researcher, interviewing in small numbers, power relationships, interviewer credibility, when to stop interviewing, using recording equipment or not, ways to report” could always be problematic. Furthermore, the application of purposeful sampling and in-depth interviews also raise the questions of biases that are well documented.

More problematic still, the literature on tourism in Vietnam, both at the national level and lower administration units is limited. Also, documentation from governmental and non-governmental agencies can possibly be biased.

Thesis organization

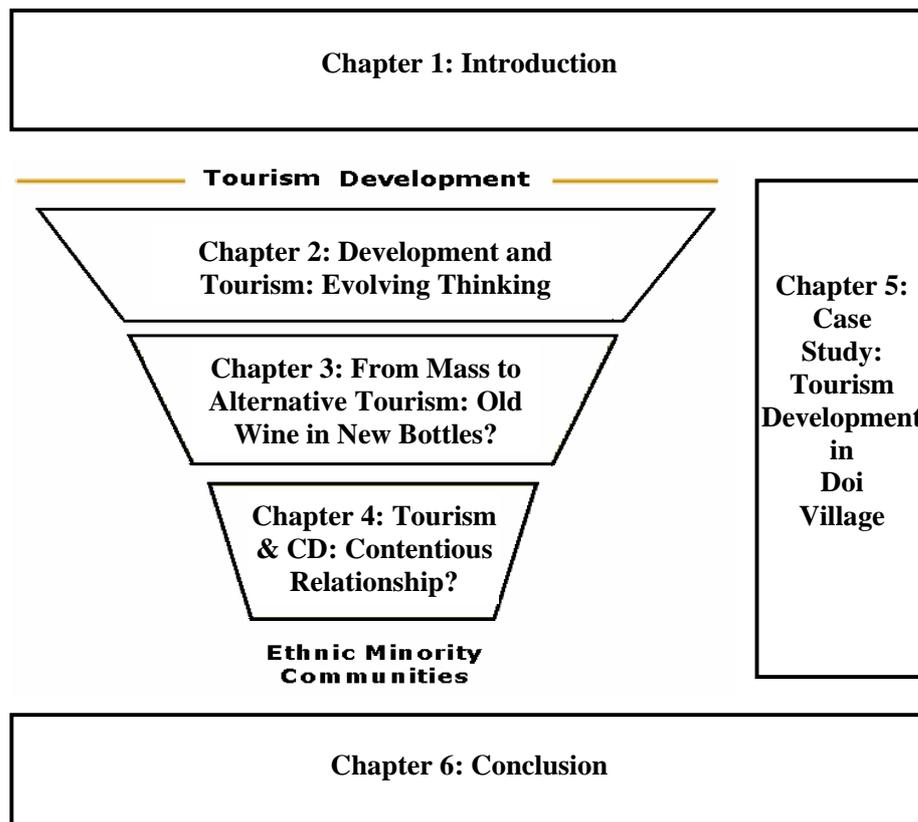
The content of this thesis is presented in six main chapters (see Figure 1.2). The first introduces the main themes, significance, aims and objectives of the research as well as its main arguments and contribution. It also describes the research design and methodology.

The next three chapters provide a discussion of tourism, development and community development. Chapter two reviews five development paradigms since WWII, including modernization, dependency, economic neoliberalism, alternative development and their relationships to evolving paradigms for tourism development. Chapter three underpins the shift from mass tourism to alternative tourism and questions whether this is another

case of old wine in new bottles. Chapter four examines in details the role, values and principles of community development in (alternative) tourism.

Chapter five proceeds to the case study of tourism development in Doi Village, a poor community with high ethnic minority concentration in Central Vietnam. It first outlines tourism development strategies and situations of Vietnam, before it examines tourism development in Thua Thien Hue Province and Nam Dong District, and then in Doi Village. Chapter six brings the thesis to a conclusion, with a summary of the main arguments and findings and lessons learnt for fostering tourism as a means for development.

Figure 1.2: The thesis structure



Chapter Two

Development and Tourism: Evolving Thinking

Despite heated debates in development theories over the past five decades, tourism development does not seem to feature prominently in the discourse. Yet when examined closely, tourism development in developing world in fact has been most influenced by various development paradigms (Telfer 2002a: 35, 50; Holden 2005: 109-115). This chapter reviews the close relationship between various development frameworks and how they have shaped how different forms of tourism development implemented in the developing world.

Tourism as modernization and “smokeless industry”

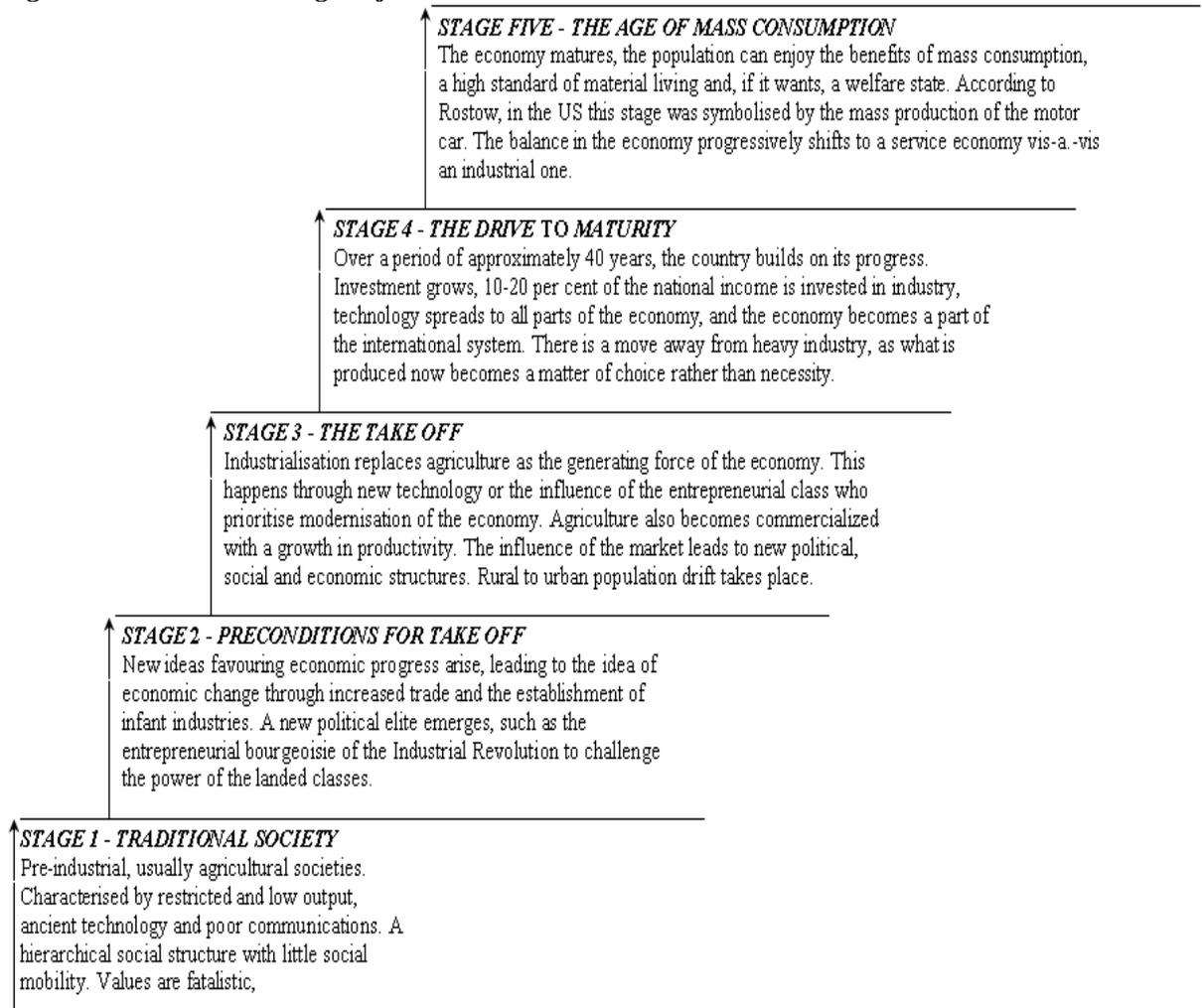
Modernization was the first major development theory that emerged in the 1950s that saw socio-economic development in the developing world through an evolutionary and linear path, changing from a traditional into a modern society (Holden 2005: 110; Isbister 2003: 32-41). The paradigm first suggested that these different forms of society inherited different characteristics (Table 2.1) (see also Telfer 2002a: 40). More specifically, Rostow proclaimed that all societies would have to go through five stages before they could become a modern society characterized by rapid economic development and high consumption (Peet 1999: 80-83; Sharpley 2002a: 24; Telfer 2002a: 40; Holden 2005: 110) (see also Figure 2.1).

Table 2.1: Characteristics of traditional and modern societies

TRADITIONAL	MODERN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditionalism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - orientation to the past/ tradition - inability to adapt to new circumstances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional values less dominant: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - ability to change/ adapt - challenge to obstacles of tradition
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinship system: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - economic, social, legal structures determined by kin relations. - ascription as opposed to achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open social system: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - geographical/ social mobility - economic, social, political freedom - achievement as opposed to ascription
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence of emotion, superstition, fatalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forward looking society: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - innovation, entrepreneurial spirit - objective, rational approach

After Sharpley 2002a: 25. Source: Adapted from Webster 1990

Figure 2.1: Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth



Source: Adapted from Holden 2005: 110

Modernization was criticized substantially. Its argument that modernization of less developed countries must emulate the Western path was widely seen as a justification of neo-colonialism (Telfer 2002a: 41; Holden 2005: 110). The unidirectional pathway to development was also chastised for its assumption that “traditional values are not compatible with modernity” and for not considering “alternative of traditional models of development” (Holden 2005: 112, cf. Wall 1997; Mehmet 1999; Said 2002). Considered from an environmental perspective, the paradigm was also accused of transplanting unsustainable Western industrialization worldwide and causing further strains on natural and environmental resources (Holden 2005: 112).

Still, in its hey days, modernization theorists regarded tourism as a “smokeless industry” that would enable the developing world to modernize its economies and improving its international trade (Holden 2005: 112, 119). As Holden (2005: 112) recalled, the common sentiment at the time was that:

[...] any lesser-developed country proposing to use tourism as a means for development would by-pass the heavy industrialised process outlined by Rostow. This in turn is a reflection of the importance of tourism in international trade, and that the countries which generate the majority of international tourists have themselves passed into the “age of mass consumption” in which tourism is a popular purchase.

Following the establishment of World Tourism Organization (WTO) in 1946 to promote international tourism (WTO n.d.), tourism development was prescribed by the World Bank as a top economic policy for Third World governments (Srisang 1991: 2, cited in Holden 2005: 118). And during the 1960s, tourism was proclaimed to transfer the West’s capital, technology, expertise and “modern” values and development to the developing world as part of the modernization paradigm (Holden 2005: 118-119). For some, tourism was also seen as an indicator of being modern and its “symbolic consumption” (Telfer 2002a: 53). However, in hindsight, Lanfant and Graburn (1992: 101) found the modernization paradigm severely problematic:

Using this vocabulary [child development theory], developing nations are “still in their infancy”, and need to be pushed to maturity where citizens are assured a “stable consumption economy”. The “immature” countries are labeled by their

inability and have to accept the paternalistic aid of scientific experts in tourism. They are shown that it is “tourism or nothing”. But nothing is not just nothing in this case, it is “the image of death appearing on the horizon” (Rostow 1961: 84). (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 101)

Tourism as “plantation economy” and dependency theory

The critique of modernization theory was at its sharpest when the dependency paradigm made its appearance in the 1960s, offering a framework explaining the causes of underdevelopment in the developing world (Telfer 2002a: 41; Holden 2005: 112). It argued the reason why developing countries had failed to become “developed” was because there were internal and external economic, political and institutional structures keeping them “dependent to” developed countries (Bianchi 2002: 269-271). As Peet and Hartwick (1999) explained:

The basic message of the dependency school was that European development was predicated on the active *underdevelopment* of the non-European world. For dependency theorists, Europe’s development was based on external destruction: brutal conquest, colonial control, and the stripping of non-Western societies of their peoples, resources, and surpluses (Peet and Hartwick 1999: 107).

However, more specifically to Frank, he believed that development and underdevelopment are part of the same world capitalist system (Peet and Hartwick 1999: 108; Holden 2005: 112) and that “underdevelopment was generated by the same processes that developed the center; in particular, underdevelopment in the periphery resulted from the loss of surplus that was expropriated for investment in the center’s development” (Frank 1979, cited in Peet and Hartwick 1999: 111). In his view, the origin of dependency could be traced all the way back to the time when colonialism was started and perpetuated in the seventh century when a system of “metropolises and satellites” in which development in one part of the world system occurred at the expense of another (Holden 2005: 113-114; Isbister 2003: 41-49).

The contribution made by dependency theory in the introduction of a world perspective of oppressed peoples living in the world’s distant corners was particularly significant

(Peet and Hartwick 1999: 122). However, it also had its shares of criticisms. Critics charged that

... its theoretical concepts are vague and its ideas are too radical and too Marxist. ... Frank's work is also criticised as being too generalised and failing to recognise the differences between countries and levels of development. Marxists have also criticised Frank's failure to provide a revolutionary programme for how countries can break free of the world capitalist system. (Holden 2005: 114, cf. Peet and Hartwick 1999: 118-120; Telfer 2002: 44)

Escobar was even more dismissive. He found that dependency theorists continued to function within the same discursive space of development as those they criticized (Crush 1995: 20). Still, its contribution to link tourism to underdevelopment, especially seeing it as equivalent to a new type of "plantation economy" in which wealth generated from metropolitan centre in the developing countries was transferred to "the motherland", cannot be ignored (Telfer 2002a: 54). In other words, the core/centre-periphery relationships that prevented tourist destinations from fully enjoying tourism benefits marked a new way of assessing tourism development (Telfer 2002a: 54; cf. Murphy 1985).

Indeed, its influence in the subsequent critical tourism studies has been most apparent. Bruner (1989: 439, cited in Mowforth and Munt 1998: 52) asserted that "colonialism ... and tourism ... were born together and are relatives". Turner and Ash (1975, cited in Telfer 2002a: 53) used the term "pleasure periphery" to indicate how tourists from the industrialized zones of the world extracted pleasure and exploited indigenous people in the developing world for profits. Some dependency theorists even began to see small-scaled and locally-owned tourism were the new battleground (Wall 1997: 37) even before the discourse on alternative development and alternative tourism became popular.

Tourism development and economic neo-liberalism

The early efforts in establishing a more critical school of tourism studies however were derailed by the first global oil crisis at the beginning of the 1970s and the subsequent international capitalism restructuring (Telfer 2002a: 44). The crisis necessitated an

emphasis upon supply-side macroeconomics, free competitive markets and the privatisation of state enterprises (Goerge 2001: 14; Telfer 2002: 44; Holden 2005: 114) in many ways consolidated the authority of neo-liberal economic doctrine. Worse still, caught by the energy crisis, many developing countries also found themselves in dire financial troubles, and increasingly dependent upon the use of Structural Adjustment Lending Programmes (SALPs) offered by the neo-liberalism dominated World Bank (Telfer 2002a: 56). In accepting additional loans, developing countries were advised by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to “specialize in primary exports to emphasize their “comparative advantage” (Holden 2005: 115).

This left many developing countries few other options but to export tourism as a way to generate foreign exchange. As Holden (2005: 115) summarized the economic situation:

The role of tourism as an export industry and as a means of earning foreign exchange is strongly supported by multinationals as they continue to attempt to secure new markets for their products. They also wish to have unimpeded access to resources, which includes natural, cultural and human ones. Some developing countries have also wanted to increase tourism as a consequence of falling world commodity prices during the 1980s and 1990s, and the requirement to fulfill debt repayments to the IMF and World Bank. (Holden 2005: 115)

According to Dieke (1995, cited in Holden 2005: 115), consequently SALPs fostered the rise of the private sector in tourism development in the developing world while the role of the state was diminished to “enabling rather than operational for the tourist sector.”

Alternative tourism and alternative development

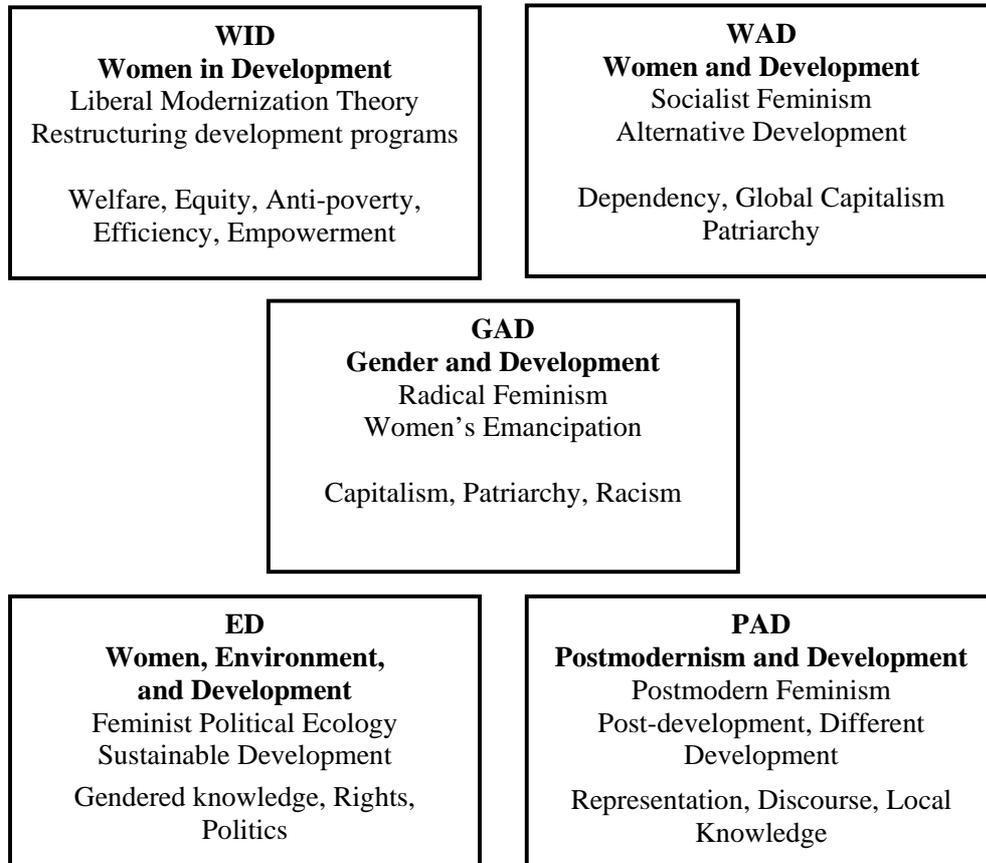
Like development theories, the search for an alternative model for tourism development began in the early 1970s (Thomas 2001: 657; Telfer 2002a: 47). However, the notion of alternative tourism did not gain prominence until the paradigm of alternative development became a serious undertaking in more recent times (Thomas 2001: 657; Telfer 2002a: 47). Disillusioned by the development outcomes in the past decades, a number of new or alternative directions for development were proposed. Ekins (1992, cited in Thomas 2001: 657), for example, contended that development should be:

1. need-oriented (material and non-material);
2. endogenous (coming from within a society);
3. self-reliant (in terms of human, natural, and cultural resources);
4. ecologically sound; and
5. based on structural transformations (of economy, society, gender, power relations).

But there were also others highlighting the significance of meeting basic needs, and paying attention to issues relating to grassroots participation, gender equity and sustainability. The basic needs approach was proposed to aim at “providing opportunities for full physical, mental and social development of the human personality” (Telfer 2002a: 47). The grassroots paradigm prescribed that local participation, empowerment and control (i.e., self-directed and self-reliance-focused development process), indigenous/community-based development, and structured flexibility were the keys to better decision-making and hence better quality of life (Telfer 2002a: 47).

The growing recognition of the role of women in development also gave rise to a diverse set of frameworks for addressing gender issues in development: Women in Development (WID); Women and Development (WAD); Gender and Development (GAD); Women, Environment, and Alternatives to Development (WED); and Postmodern and Development (PAD) (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Paradigms of feminist development theory



Source: Peet and Hartwick 1999: 179

However, in the last decades of the twentieth century, the issue of sustainable development became widely popular among international agencies, governments, non-governmental organization (NGOs), private sector and academia (Holden 2005: 117), and established a consensus to commit to safeguard development to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED 1987: 43, cited in Wall 1997: 43). Yet in closer examination, sustainable development in more recent times have also embraced poverty alleviation, environment conservation, intra- and inter-generation equity as their goals (Holden 2005: 117). As Sharpley (2002b: 329) observed, their principles and objectives had been ambitiously broadened (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: Sustainable development: principles and objectives

<p>Fundamental principles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Holistic approach:</i> development and environmental issues integrated within a global social, economic and ecological context • <i>Futurity:</i> focus on long-term capacity for continuance of the global ecosystem, including the human sub-system • <i>Equity:</i> development that is fair and equitable and which provides opportunities for access to and use of resources for all members of all societies, both in the present and future 	<p>Sustainability objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable population levels. • Minimal depletion of non-renewable natural resources. • Sustainable use of renewable resources • Pollution emissions within the assimilative capacity of the environment
<p>Development objectives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement of the quality of life for all people: education, life expectancy, opportunities to fulfil potential • Satisfaction of basic needs; concentration on the nature of what is provided rather than income • Self-reliance: political freedom and local decision making for local needs • Endogenous development 	<p>Requirements for sustainable development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adoption of a new social paradigm relevant to sustainable living • International and national political and economic systems dedicated to equitable development and resource use • Technological systems that can search continuously for new solutions to environmental problems • Global alliance facilitating integrated development policies at local, national and international levels

After Sharpley 2002b: 329. Sources: Streeten 1977; Pearce et al. 1989; WCED 1987; IUCN 1991

However, sustainable development remains ambivalent and ambiguous (Southgate and Sharpley 2002: 235), particularly when the question of for whom sustainability is represented is raised (Holden 2005: 118). A main concern was that for many developing nations, “escaping from the pollution of poverty is more vital than the luxury of sustainability” (Sharpley 2002a: 34). Meanwhile, there were similar concerns about the basic needs approach because of its underestimation of political change and possibility of having too much state control (Telfer 2002a: 49). Other grassroots development theories are also seen to be too idealistic, leaving problems of consensus building, participation barriers, weak institutions and lack of accountability and international funding integration unresolved (Telfer 2002a: 49).

Despite the criticisms and reservations, the idea of alternative tourism has been given life and propagated. New labels have been in offer in the last few years: responsible tourism, “new” tourism, soft tourism, low impact tourism, special interest tourism, sustainable tourism and so on (Scheyvens 2002: 11; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006: 199-200).

Another tourism and post-development?

A continuing concern in development studies is the question of what *alternatives of development* are available other than the mainstream *status quo* (Esteva 1992: 14-16)? According to post-development theorists, the question should really focus on alternatives *to* rather than *of* development. In their view, development should be rejected *in toto* because it is not only a paradigm that aims at “westernizing” the world, but also one that imposes power, cultural homogenization and environmental deconstruction to the rest of the world (Pieterse 2001: 99; Sachs 1992: 4; Latouche 1993: 160). Escobar (1995: 39) further added that its intentions, its worldview and mindset problematize poverty and glorify a middle class lifestyle that the world cannot possibly support (Pieterse 1998: 361).

This post-development view of development was not without controversy. It was criticized as dismissive of the positive aspects of development and assuming development as singularly hegemonic and invariably negative (Corbridge 1998: 6; Escobar 2000: 12; Storey 2000: 45). It was also blamed for its inherent romanticized notion of local traditions and social movements, without recognizing that the local is still in global power relations (Storey 2000; Escobar 2000: 12; Ziai 2004: 1050). Most importantly, it was seen as a “cop-out” when it failed to offer any concrete alternative program for future (Pieterse 1998: 366; Keily 1999). For these reasons, it was argued that the paradigm was more interested in deconstruction rather than reconstruction (Matthews 2004: 373; Nustad 2001: 489; Pieterse 1998; Storey 2000: 45).

Nonetheless defendants believe that post-development theory is not necessarily anti-development. Ziai (2004:1405) affirmed that its major contribution was its critique of development as a “Eurocentric discourse” and project. Agostino (2005: 84) further

argued that finding alternatives *to* development does not require the production of an alternative development discourse. In these contexts, post-development thus opens up a broader development paradigm beyond the unconditionally-accepted Western framework. By using Foucault's concept of bio-power and development discourse, post-development theory explains the operation of Western hegemony through contemporary development (Brigg 2002: 424-432).

Others likewise acknowledged that post-development theory has correctly embraced culture, indigenous knowledge, practices and social movements in its conceptualization. Binns and Nel (1999), Bebbington A. and Bebbington D. (2001), Maiava (2002), Horan (2002 cited in Siemiatycki 2005:60), Curry (2003) and Sirski (2005), in their diverse fieldworks in Mpofu (South Africa), Bolivia, Samoa, Tonga, Papua New Guinea and Tucuman (Argentina), all reported that the indigenous people were quite happy with their current lives and economic initiatives although their existence might not be considered as acceptable by Western standard and epistemology. Agostino (2005: 86) commended that post-development theory helped in redefining poverty in Africa – that it cherishes well-being rather than well-having. As well, Maiava (2002) welcomed the new direction and decided that its contribution should be recognized and supported.

What is the implication post-development theory has for tourism development? Its critical thinking and emancipatory practice can serve as a theoretical landscape to explore whether another “alternative tourism” is possible (see Ounvijit 2004; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006). Its emphasis on indigenous perspective also allows research on non-Western understandings of tourism proliferate (see Inayatullah 1995 on tourism in the Islamic world, and Berno 1999 on the Cook Islands), illustrating that rather than non-Western cultures and people, tourists from the developed world must also respect, if not only making adjustment to accommodate other social and cultural values in tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006: 51).

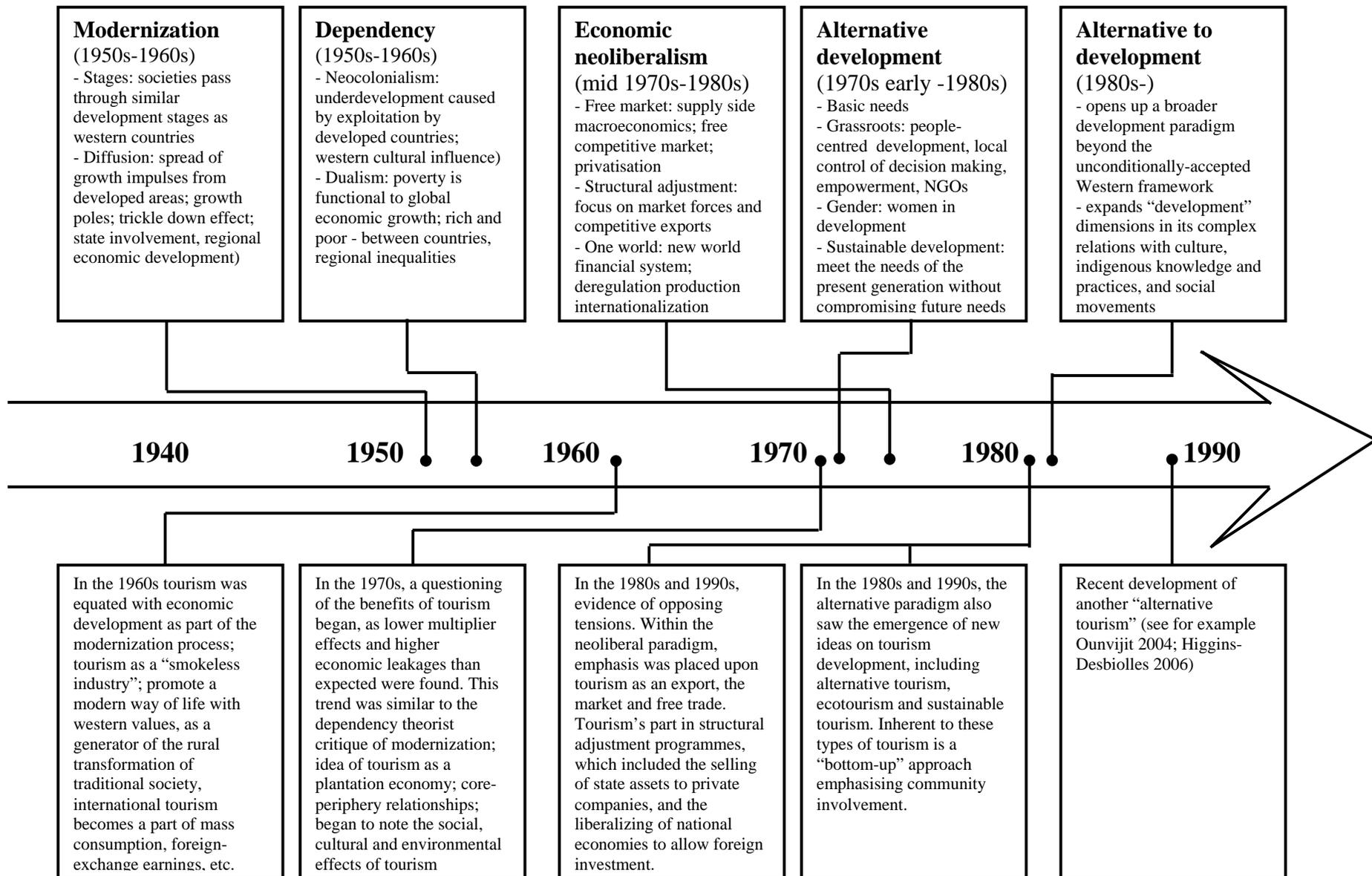
Summary

This chapter traces the relationship between the evolution of development thinking and tourism development in the developing world since the end of the Second World War. It became apparent that development theories played a strong role in shaping and determining how tourism was implemented and how people were impacted in the developing world (Telfer 2002a: 50). The popularization of the modernization theory in the 1950s saw tourism urged and prescribed as a way for developing countries to modernize themselves through a “smokeless industry”. The unexpected first oil crisis in the early 1970s saw the rise of neo-liberal economic doctrine but at a time when many developing countries unprepared for the rising fuel prices and found themselves in grave economic difficulties, they also had few options other than bowing to the pressure of economic neo-liberalism to develop mass tourism as an export to generate much needed foreign currency. The rise of dependency theory witnessed a new perspective of seeing tourism development in the developing world as exploitation and “underdevelopment”, and began the long journey for critics to seek for alternative development and tourism.

There is little doubt that tourism development in the development is intimately linked to the rise and fall of development paradigms in the West. This is best illustrated in Figure 2.4 although it should also be noted that the timeline should be regarded as tentative rather than exact and precise (cf. Telfer 2002a: 37-39).

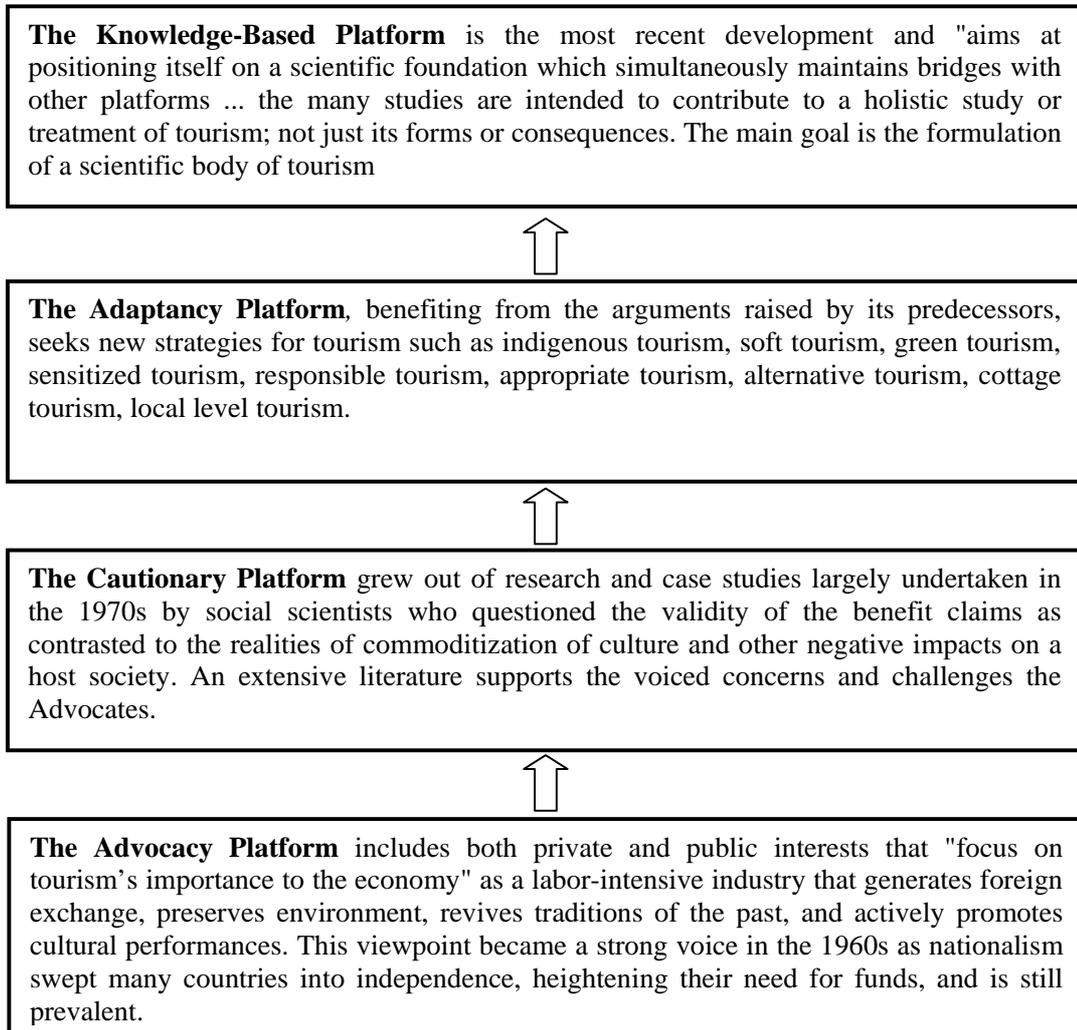
What can be gained from this examination is that while for some developing countries tourism is one (and in some cases, the only) avenue which development or the “good life” may be pursued (Shapely 2002a: 34), it is also crucial for them to understand and interpret how contemporary tourism has evolved and build a knowledge platform (see Figure 2.5) that they can use to control, adapt and manage tourism development to their own advantage (Telfer 2002a: 51), or even to develop alternative forms of, or alternatives to, tourism (Eadington and Smith 1992: 11, Miller and Twining-Ward 2005: 28-35).

Figure 2.4: The evolution of the development and tourism thinking: A framework



Sources: The entries from boxes between Modernization and Alternative development are from Telfer 2002a: 39; Holden 2005: 105-134

Figure 2.5: The conceptual basis for mainstream and alternative tourism



Source: Adapted from Eadington and Smith 1992: 10-11

Chapter Three

From Mass to Alternative Tourism: Old Wine in New Bottles?

Contemporary tourism has witnessed a marked transformation from mass to alternative tourism. It is pointed out that “mass tourism, especially that associated with luxury hotels and resorts, does not always bring the best returns and has significant negative social impacts on local communities” (Shah and Gupta 2000: 39) and that in response to such critiques over the social, economic and environmental impacts of conventional, numerous forms of alternative tourism are emerging (McLaren 1998: 118) with tourism providers offering a growing diverse selection of “alternative” tourism products (Scheyvens 2002: 11).

This chapter discusses the transformation process and the criticisms that have been directed to the tourism industry. Although the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific has suggested that “with careful planning, positive partnerships between private and public sectors, concern for social, economic, and environmental impacts and a clear view of responsible tourism, countries can use tourism strategies as an important development tool” (Jamieson 2003: 3), critics in the field of tourism development in developing countries insist that tourism, regardless of its forms, has promised much but deliver little; and when it does, it is “often in forms different from what its advocates anticipate” (Rothman 1998: 10).

Mass tourism: a ticket to development?

Tourism has a long history. Tourism literature describing travels other than trade, warfare and exploration are plenty and it is widely accepted that it was an activity that originated from ancient times (Moscardo et al. 2001: xxii). Mass tourism, in comparison emerged only when modern industrial society was established in the nineteenth century (Butcher 2003: 5; cf. Sindiga 1999: 126). Burkart and Medlik (1974: 42, cited in

Vanhove 1997: 51) regarded mass tourism as a recent social phenomenon. In their views,

Mass tourism refers to the participation of large numbers of people in tourism, a general characteristic of developed countries in the twentieth century. In this sense the term is used in contrast to the limited participation of people in some specialist forms of tourist activity, such as yachting, or in contrast to the situation in developing countries or in countries with extreme inequalities of income and wealth or, indeed, to the limited extent of tourist activity everywhere until a few decades ago. Mass tourism is essentially a quantitative notion, based on the proportion of the population participating in tourism or on the volume of tourist activity. (Burkart and Medlik 1974: 42)

Moreover, mass tourism was consolidated by the rapid expansion of resort development, with large-scale infrastructure constructed to provide services and conveniences for its growing market (Sindiga 1999: 126). The expansion was dramatic. According to WTO (2003, cited in Robinson and Novelli 2005: 2),

The term “mass tourism” is problematic to define with any precision but certainly there is a common-sense understanding that the development of tourism over the past 40 years can be depicted by the growth of tourist resorts, agglomerations of hotel developments, growth in the number of attractions designed for significant numbers of visitors, larger aircraft, an increase in air traffic and a general expansion of infrastructure to support some 700 million international trips in 2002 (WTO 2003).

The success of mass tourism in developed countries had made it easy for development planners to see it as a convenient panacea for economic development in developing countries. They saw tourism promised enormous economic benefits, ranging from bringing in much needed foreign currency that developing nations desired to restore their balance of payment (Rossel 1988: 6). Confronted by structural problems such as population increase and rapid urbanization, high unemployment, weak and unproductive economies and dwindling export markets when agricultural productivity remains low and industrialization was going nowhere, leading to low per capita income, insufficient infrastructure and low literacy rates, tourism seemed too easy and in many cases offered the “only hope” in the quest for development (Oppermann and Chon 1997: 16-17). Moreover, it also made economic sense when they realized that what they had in terms of natural resources for tourism development -- natural beauty and warm climates, the

sun, sea and beaches, for example -- were their comparative advantage. With low taxes and cheap labour (Vanhove 1997: 66-67), the ticket to development for the Third World seemed so enticingly feasible.

However, it became increasingly evident that the growth of mass tourism had also created much problem for the developing world. Environmental, social and cultural degradation was common, and unequal distribution of economic benefits, the spread of new diseases and the increasing abuse of paternalistic power in tourism development likewise became rampant (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 90). The eventual loss of cultural identity and dignity among local resident population deriving from falsification of traditions in selling tourism to foreign tourists was frequent (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 102). Not surprisingly Rothman (1998: 10) regarded tourism as a devil's bargain:

Despite its reputation as a panacea for the economic ills of places that have lost their way in the postindustrial world or for those that never found it, tourism typically fails to meet the expectations of communities and regions that embrace it as an economic strategy. Regions, communities, and locales welcome tourism as an economic boon, only to find that it irrevocably changes them in unanticipated and uncontrollable ways. From this one enormous devil's bargain flows an entire collection of closely related conditions that complement the process of change in overt and subtle ways. Tourism transforms culture into something new and foreign; it may or may not rescue economies. (Rothman 1998: 10)

The optimism so evident in the 1960s and 70s suddenly became broken promises. The discourse of tourism also turned sour. Questions were raised whether tourism was a "blessing or blight", "trick or treat", "boom or doom", "panacea or new slave trade", "mirage or strategy for the future" (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 103). Developing nations were told "not to choose tourism amounts to eventual death according to economists, but to choose tourism is also death according to anthropologists" (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 103). It was in this context that the notion of alternative tourism was proposed (Eadington and Smith 1992: 3).

Alternative tourism: rhetoric unchanged?

Alternative tourism was first proclaimed as a new form of tourism that is “consistent with natural, social, and community values and which allows both hosts and guests to enjoy positive and worthwhile interaction and shared experiences” (Eadington and Smith 1992: 3). It emphasises small-scale, dispersed development demanding fewer investment capital and higher local participation (Sindiga 1999: 126). According to Holden (2005: 127), however, alternative tourism should also have the following attributes:

- pace of development directed and controlled by local people rather than external influences;
- small-scale development with high rates of local ownership;
- environmental conservation and the minimisation of negative social and cultural impacts;
- maximised linkages to other sectors of the local economy, such as agriculture, reducing a reliance upon imports;
- maximisation and an equitable distribution of the economic benefits of tourism for local people;
- empowerment of women and other marginalised groups in democracy and decision making;
- attracting a market segment that is willing to accept local standards of accommodation and food and that is interested in education in the local culture and environment.

In sum, the approach was to define alternative tourism as distinct as possible from mass tourism (see Table 3.1). However, as Butler (1992: 31) observed, alternative tourism in fact was not “alternative” to all other forms of tourism, but only to the least desired mass tourism. In doing so, alternative tourism was discussed without knowing exactly what it really was (cf. De Kadt 1992: 47-48).

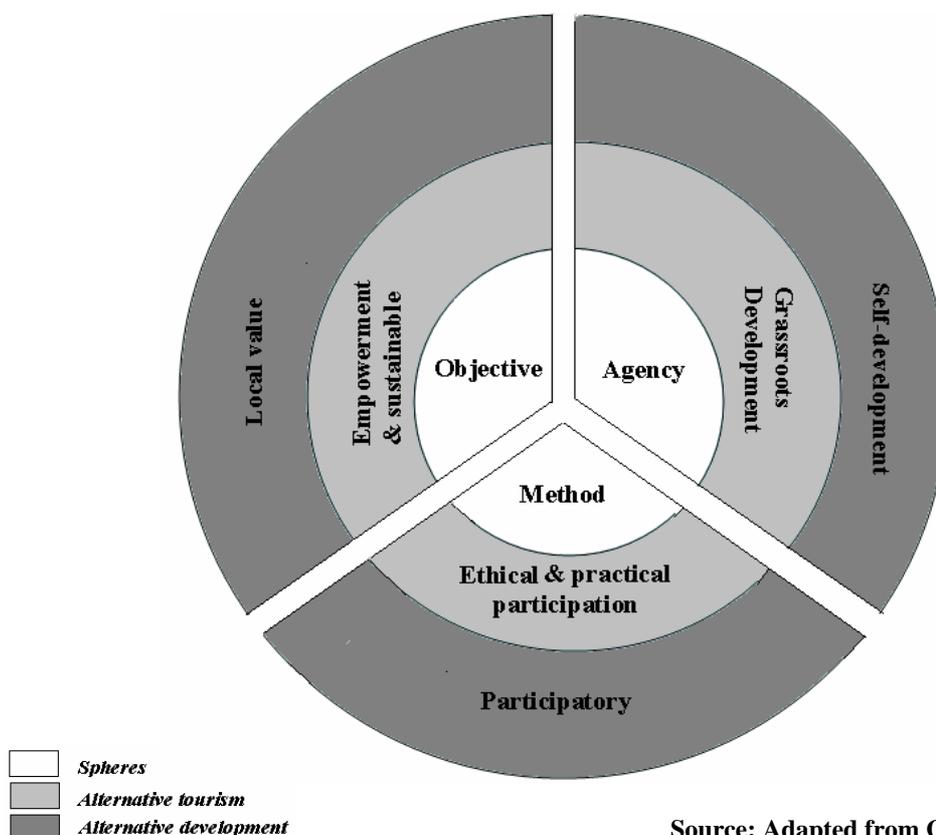
Table 3.1: Characteristics of mass versus alternative tourism

MASS TOURISM	ALTERNATIVE TOURISM
<p><u>General features</u></p> <p>Rapid development Maximises Socially/ environmentally inconsiderate Uncontrolled Short term Uncontrolled Sectoral Remote Control</p>	<p>Slow development Optimises Socially/ environmentally considerate Controlled Long term Controlled Holistic Local control</p>
<p><u>Development strategies</u></p> <p>Development without planning Project-led schemes Tourism development everywhere Concentration on “honey-pots” New building Development by outsiders Employees imported Urban architecture</p>	<p>First plan, then develop Concept-led schemes Development in suitable places Pressures and benefits diffused Re-use of existing buildings Local developers Local employment utilized Vernacular architecture</p>
<p><u>Tourist behaviour</u></p> <p>Large groups Fixed programme Little time “Sights” Imported lifestyle Comfortable/ passive Loud Shopping</p>	<p>Singles, families, friends Spontaneous decisions Much time “Experiences” Local lifestyle Demanding/ active Quiet Bring presents</p>

After Sharpley 2002b: 324. Source: Adapted from Lane 1990; Butler 1990

However, there have been further attempts to highlight what constitutes alternative tourism. Ounvijit (2004: 25) believed that what constitutes the core of alternative tourism is similar with alternative development -- its objective, agency and method (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Spheres of alternative development and alternative tourism



Still, critics concurred that alternative tourism, often used synonymously as appropriate or sustainable tourism, sounded attractive and suggesting “concern and thought, a new approach and philosophy toward an old problem, and it is hard to disagree with” (Butler 1992: 31). However, critical questions should be asked: Appropriate for whom? Under what conditions and by whose decision would it deemed appropriate (Butler 1992: 39)?

Not surprisingly other critics (Scheyvens 2002: 11) held that alternative/sustainable tourism were “just new names for old product which have ultimately been repackaged to appear more attractive to consumers, or do they indicate a fundamental change in approach to tourism?” They (Scheyvens 2002: 12; McLeod 2004: 203-204) argued that in fact negative effects of alternative tourism on host community could be more invasive than those derived from mass tourism as it penetrates further into the personal space of local residents. Hence its benefits are not often considered more favourably by local

communities even when compared to mass tourism (Weaver and Oppermann 2000, cited in Scheyvens 2002: 12). As Scheyvens (2002: 15) rightly concluded:

While alternative tourism theoretically aims to distinguish itself from mass tourism by adopting a more sustainable and equitable approach, this is not what always happens in practice. While we can still use these terms, therefore, it should not be assumed that alternative tourism is ethically superior to mass tourism, nor that they are polar opposites. Examples of both forms of tourism need to be carefully scrutinized when considering ways of promoting the development of local communities.

Eco-tourism or eco-terrorism?

Ecotourism is widely posed as a form of alternative tourism in the industry. However there is no common agreement on the concept. The Ecotourism Society has defined ecotourism as “responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of the local people” (Western 1993: 8, cited in Sindiga 1999: 127) but others (Sindiga 1999: 127; Diamantis 2004: 233-234) claimed that the following four elements were more important when considering whether eco-tourism was something unique:

- the natural environment is the primary attraction with the cultural environment playing a secondary role;
- sustainable use of the ecological and cultural environments;
- focus on education and interpretation of the resource; and
- provision of benefits to host communities.

Holden (2005: 128) however challenged that a number of questions relating to the political and economic structure, environmental and social responsibility and long-term sustainability of ecotourism must be asked:

For instance, is ecotourism about challenging the political and economic influence of multinational hotel corporations and operators; is ecotourism about empowering local communities with the rights to determine development decision-making, thereby challenging the influences of central and regional governments; is it a form of more balanced and environmentally sustainable

development; or is it purely about promoting the nature and physical characteristics of environments to encourage more tourism? (Holden 2005: 128)

Pleumaron (1995: 2, cited in Butcher 2007: 38, cf. McLaren 1998: 97-114) likewise found that ecotourism had threatened “the expropriation of the ‘virgin’ territories”, while Honey (1999: 90, cited in Butcher 2007: 38) and concluded that in some areas “ecotourism is at the front line of foreign encroachment and can accelerate the pace of social and environmental degradation and lead to a new form of western penetration and domination of the last remaining ‘untouched’ parts of the world”. In a similar vein, Wheeler (1992, 1993, cited in Butcher 2007: 39) also regarded the claims ecotourism had made were simply a politically correct smokescreen covering the continued deleterious effects of a burgeoning tourism industry.

Sustainable tourism or sustainable industry?

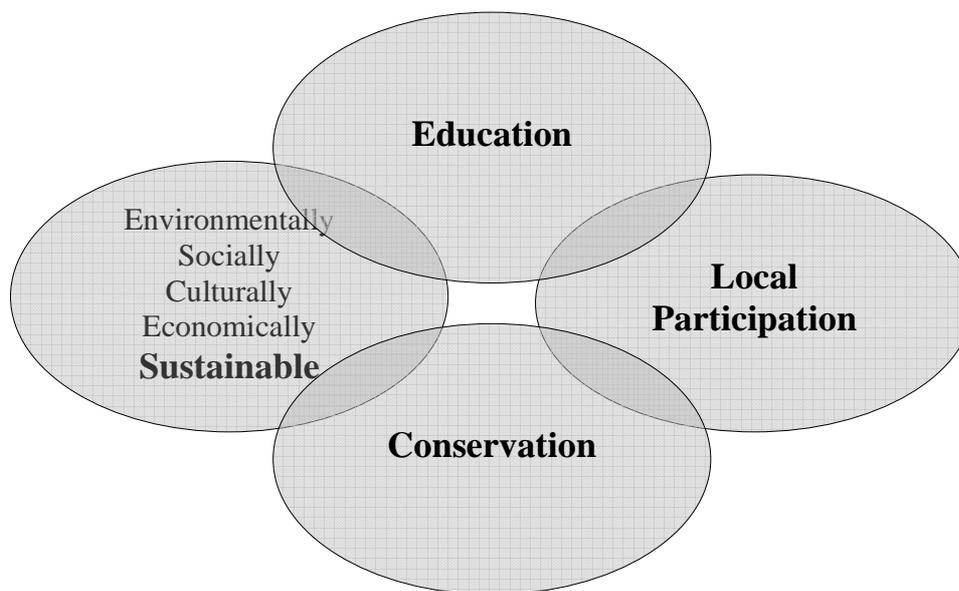
Sustainable tourism is another form of tourism development that claims to meet the standard of its “parental paradigm” – sustainable development (Butcher 2007: 5). Sustainable tourism is conveniently defined as “all types of tourism (conventional or alternative forms) that are compatible with or contribute to sustainable development” (Liu 2003: 461, cited in Bjork 2007: 36). In recognition of tourism’s role in development, the Globe 90 Conference in Canada proposed three fundamental principles to guide tourism planning and management (Cronin 1990, cited in Sharpley 2002b: 327):

1. Tourism must be a recognised sustainable economic development option, considered equally with other economic activities when jurisdictions are making development decisions.
2. There must be a relevant tourism information base to permit recognition, analysis and monitoring of the tourism industry in relation to other sectors of the economy.
3. Tourism development must be carried out in away that is compatible with the principles of sustainable development

Furthermore, sustainable tourism is advocated as an inter-dependent, “wider and permanent socio-economic development process” (Miller and Twining-Ward 2005: 38), that distinguishes between “sustainable tourism” that aims at sustaining the tourism

industry and “sustainable development in the context of tourism” that meets “the greater good or human needs through tourism” (Wall 1997, cited in Higgs-Desbiolles 2006: 215). Mowforth and Munt (1998: 98) also proposed that sustainability in tourism should include ecological, social, cultural and economic sustainability where education, local participation and conservation are emphasized (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Criteria often used for sustainability in tourism



Source: Adapted from Mowforth and Munt 1998: 98

However, the concept of sustainability remains ambiguous as different interpretations are often offered by different groups with opposing ideologies and, in most cases, by those who have the power to make decisions (Holden 2005: 122). Hence some researchers conclude that sustainability is “a contested concept, a concept that is “socially and politically constructed” and reflects the interests and values of those involved” (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 18), including those challenging the existing social, political and economic structures underpinning tourism development (House 1997, cited in Holden 2005: 122). In this context, the sustainability of sustainable tourism remains questionable.

Pro-poor tourism: poverty reduced?

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) was proposed as yet another way to define what alternative tourism should be. Although its overall intention is not to refute sustainable tourism, it however makes clear that the latter is not about poverty reduction (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 95). Hence activists insist that the distinctive feature of PPT is its ability to “generate net benefits for the poor” (Ashley et al. 2001: 2, cited in Holden 2005: 131), and “put poor people and poverty at its centre” (Holden 2005: 132). The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) further contends that:

Poverty essentially has three closely interrelated aspects: poverty of money, poverty of access and poverty of power. These make the working, living and social environments of the poor extremely insecure and severely limit the options available to them to improve their lives. Without choices and security, breaking the cycle of poverty becomes virtually impossible and leads to the marginalization and alienation of the poor from society. (ESCAP, cited in Jamieson 2003: 24)

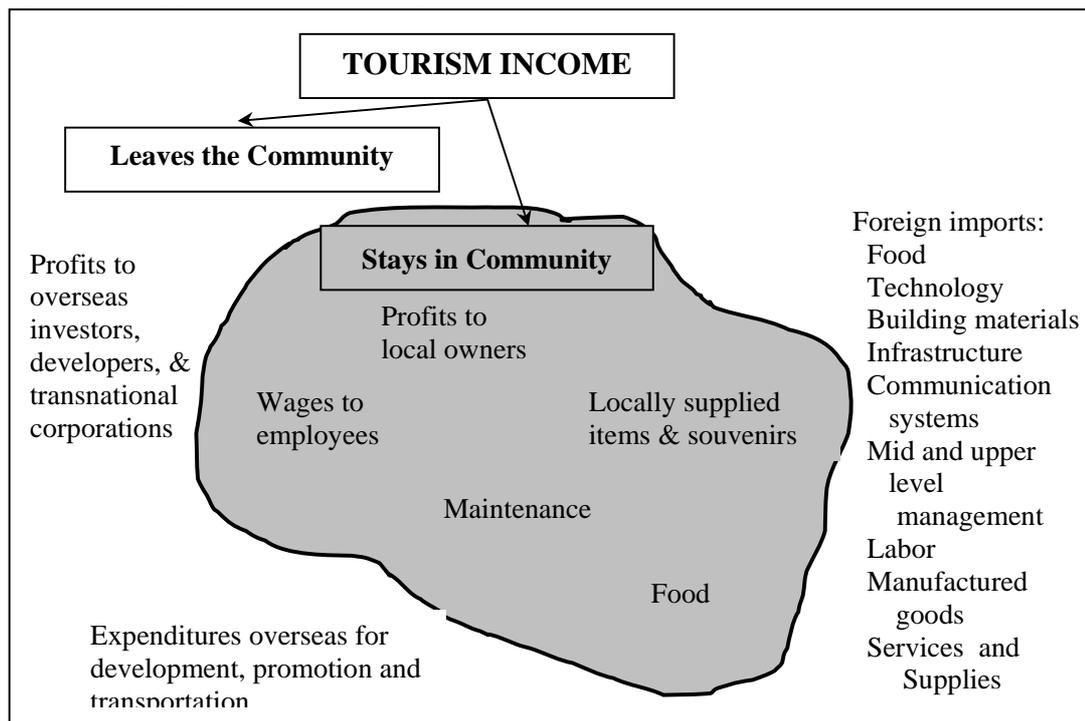
Therefore, Holden (2005: 132) believes what defines PPT should lie in its capacity to empower the poor and improve their livelihoods that includes:

- Unlocking opportunities for pro poor economic growth by providing formal and informal employment.
- Creating profit and collective income from locally-owned enterprises.
- Facilitating social development by increasing access to infrastructure, providing local people with the opportunity to access tourism infrastructure.
- Helping increase participation of the local communities in decision-making as tourism products are often assets owned by the poor.
- Reducing vulnerability by helping to diversify income opportunities.
- Promoting environmental protection as natural and human environment are the life lines of tourism development (Jamieson 2003: 29).

For Miller and Twining-Ward (2005: 32), the strategies for promoting PPT are thus about “the removal of red tape and unfair advantage to foreign investors, expanding backward linkages between tourism business and the informal sector, addressing social and cultural impacts, and building a supporting tourism policy and process that allow for the participation of the least powerful stakeholders”. And in order to achieve its goals,

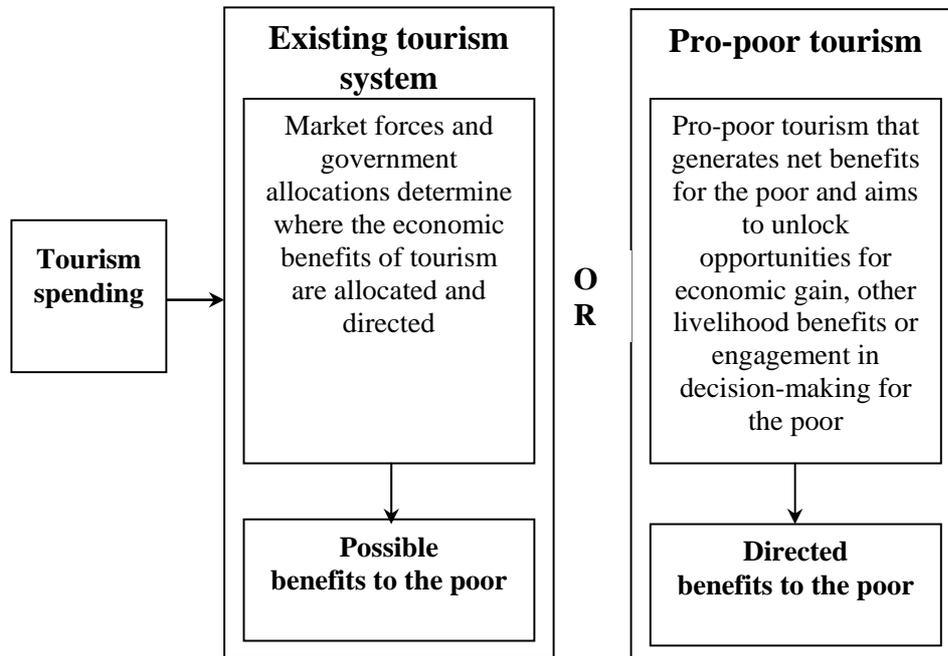
PPT should seek not only to increase the size of the industry but also redistribute its benefits and create opportunities for disadvantaged groups (Miller and Twining-Ward 2005: 32). Still, whether the benefits of pro-poor tourism and “other tourisms” in reality can be maximized for local disadvantaged groups remains debatable (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).

Figure 3.3: Typical distribution of tourism income



Source: Adapted from McLaren 1998: 33

Figure 3.4: Benefit distribution in existing tourism system and pro-poor tourism



Source: Jamieson 2003: 4

In many ways tourism is highly political. For one thing, the global neo-liberal market economy presents severe challenges for PPT to meet its objectives (Chok et al. 2007: 144) because developing countries have weak bargaining power vis-à-vis international tour operators and experience discrimination (Williams 2002, cited in Chok et al. 2007: 144). Although it is widely acknowledged that significant poverty reduction can be achieved if the benefits of growth are redistributed to the poor (WTO 2002: 59, cited in Holden 2005: 132), chances are that powerful stakeholders and the rich would direct opportunities to first serve their own interests (Chok et al. 2007: 151). Hence despite participation is encouraged in pro-poor tourism, it cannot be automatically assumed that it is meaningful and able to lead to an equitable distribution (Chok et al. 2007: 159) especially when PPT is implemented through a top-down model (Holden 2005: 132). Consequently, while a few are lifted out of income-poverty, many more remain gap-fillers (PPT n.d., cited in Higgins-Desbiolles 2006: 225). As Zhao and Ritchie (2007: 127) aptly remarked, it is important that PPT cannot or should not be a form of charity. Yet when structural inequities are not addressed, tourism, pro-poor or otherwise, will be most “unlikely to reap significant and long-term benefits for the already marginalised”

(Chok et al. 2007: 146, cf. Hawkins and Mann 2007). Understandably, Hall and Brown (2006:14) decide that PPT “remains locked within an ethos predicated on profit-generating, industry-expanding intentions” and has not made much progress (Chambers 2004: 20).

Community-based tourism: what community development?

The most recent rhetoric emerged in the discourse on alternative tourism relates to community based tourism (CBT) or community tourism. It emphasizes “the involvement of the host community in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry” (Hall 1996, cited in Blackstock 2005: 39, cf. Mowforth and Munt 1998: 95). Within this framework, according to its advocates, it is not important whether the tourism activities are alternative or not (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006: 226); more important is whether there are local supports given to the implementation of tourism development to ensure its success (see Reed 1997; Kibicho 2003; Harrill 2004).

In other words, CBT seeks to develop the tourism industry in harmony with the “needs and aspirations of host communities in a way that is acceptable to them, sustains their economies, rather than the economy of others, and is not detrimental to their culture, traditions or, indeed, their day-to-day convenience” (Fitton 1996: 173, cited in Timothy 2002: 150). As such, it correlates with community development. However, critics argue that CBT still fails to address the vexed issue of power relations and empowerment (Beeton 2006: 50). Moreover, Blackstock (2005: 40) points out that despite their rhetoric, CBT advocates in fact diverge from the ethos of community development in three ways:

Firstly, CBT accounts lack of transformative intent of community development, as CBT is presented as a way of ensuring the long-term survival of a profitable tourism industry rather than empowering local residents. Secondly, local communities are presented as homogeneous blocks, devoid of internal power struggles of competing values. Thirdly, CBT accounts ignore the external constraints to local control.

Likewise Mayo (cited in Blackstock 2005: 40) reckons that CBT is nothing but an example of community development driven by economic imperatives and a neo-liberal agenda rather than values of empowerment and social justice.

Summary

For a long time, tourism has been considered as a panacea, or an economic, social and environmental “cure-all” (Chok et al. 2007: 146). As the WTO declared at the Manila Declaration on World Tourism:

World tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that will help to eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries. (WTO 1980: 1, cited in Sharpley 2002a: 13)

However, when mass tourism failed to deliver its economic promises but instead brought significant adverse social impacts on local communities (Scheyvens 2002: 11), the demand for “quality, responsibility and respectability” (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 89) as well as “appropriate” tourism emerged (Butler 1992: 43). Different alternative forms of tourism were offered, each claiming to focus on environmental conservation and sustainability, poverty alleviation and community participation, empowerment and control. As Lanfant and Graburn (1992: 89) observed, the rhetoric is attractive, but the label is deceiving. Critics soon found that despite all good intentions, alternative tourism was also aimed to sustain the tourism industry, with its structural inequities intact and the *status quo* maintained (Lanfant and Graburn 1992: 112). The “new” tourism that is currently embraced by the West similarly disappoints (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 300). As Chok et al. (2007: 161) summarized:

As a tool, tourism is overly burdened with ideals it cannot realize, especially on a large scale and with any regularity or consistency. Fortunately for some and unfortunately for many, tourism is also a highly profitable and pleasure tool, which may go some way in explaining the global reluctance to relieve it of some of its misplaced burdens. (Chok et al. 2007: 161)

However, Sharpley and Telfer (2002: 3) seemed to disagree. They suggested “in practice, tourism may prove to be most effective as a development catalyst at the local, community level”. How valid is this claim will be further examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Tourism and Community Development: A Contentious Relationship?

“Tourism is not the answer to development problems facing diverse communities throughout the Third World, but it may provide assistance in meeting the goals of a number of these communities” (Scheyvens 2002: 244).

The search for alternative tourism in recent years has inevitably led to a new discourse in tourism development in the developing world focusing on how tourism could bring about healthy communities, especially where they are populated by ethnic minorities and located in remote and rural regions. The discourse on community development and tourism, according to Bhattacharyya (1995: 61), is premised on the assumption that “people have the right to agency”, that is, people have the capacity “to order their world, ...create, produce, change and live according to their own meaning systems” and the power to “define themselves as opposed to being defined by others”. Moreover, in Kingsbury’s (2004: 221) view,

Community development is the basic of community participation, and a lack of it reflects a failure of the capacity or the will of governments to meet the development needs of people in localized, usually rural or minor urban areas. It also reflects the notion that development, broadly conceived, is about the enhancement of the potential of people to emancipate themselves. That is, it is intended to give them greater control over their lives. This is usually referred to as “empowerment”.

Hence the recent discourse in tourism development has also taken on a new set of values – agency, participation and empowerment; and because these values are often cherished and promulgated by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), they have also become a prominent stakeholder in community and tourism development.

Tourism and community development

Agency

According to Bhattacharyya (1995: 61) community development is essentially “animated by the pursuit of solidarity and agency”. Here, solidarity was referred to as “a shared identity and a code for conduct, both deep enough that the rupture in them entails affective consequences for members” (Bhattacharyya 1995: 61). At the same time, agency was about the ability “to act and change the world” (Chambers 2004: 21), or the capacity “to intervene in the world, or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs” (Giddens 1984: 14, cited in Bhattacharyya 1995: 61). In other words, when talking about community development, people are the agent and not merely the recipient of development. In this context, in Bhattacharyya’s (1995: 63) view, community development implied “an alternative politics, a politics that is non-impositional, non-manipulative, and scrupulously respectful of the will of the people”. Ife and Tesoriero (2006: 121) concurred:

At the heart of community development is the idea of change from below [...] The idea that the community should be able to determine its own needs and how they should be met, that people at the local level know best what they need and that communities should be self-directing and self-reliant is attractive and it is consistent with much of the ecological and social justice.

More importantly, as Ounvijit (2004: 32-33) argued, agency also allowed how responses, decisions and strategies of different actors were shaped by power, influence, knowledge and efficacy. This means that the idea of change would come from below, demanding rhetoric to be translated into actual practice, and thus challenged assumptions that had been frequently taken for granted, and threatened powerful interests (Ife and Tesoriero 2006: 121). Not surprisingly success in community development is hard to achieve.

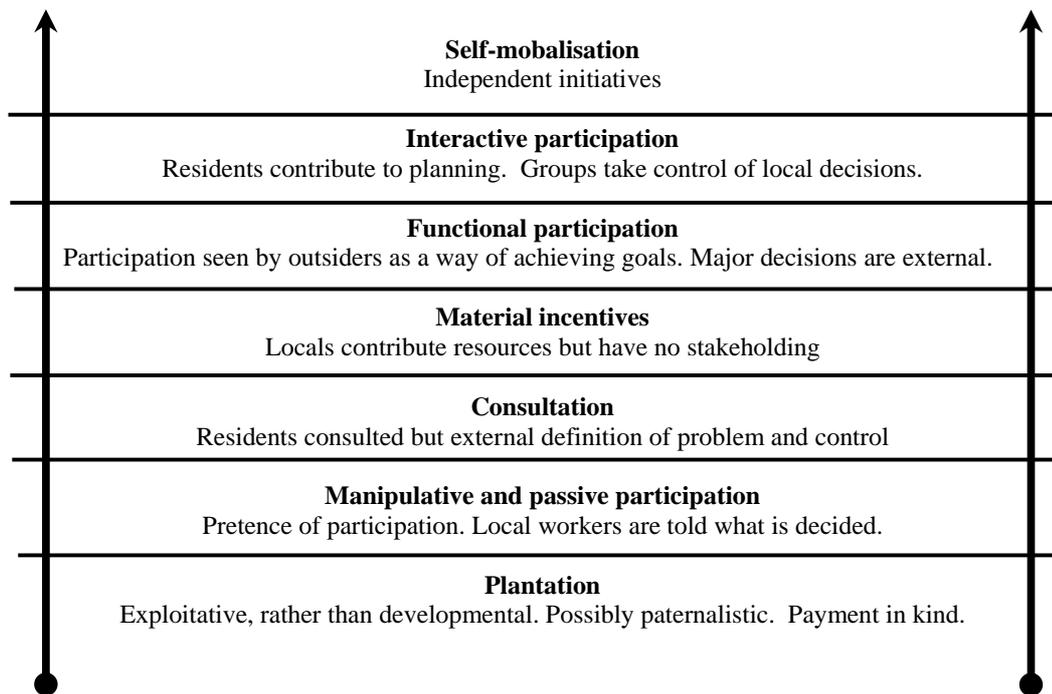
For these reasons, in his research on *Community Development through Tourism*, Beeton (2006: 229) decided that if tourism development was to be successful and bring benefits to local communities, they must be accompanied by agency and solidarity, that is,

people having the rights as a collective and act with a sense of collective purpose and identity to choose the level and type of tourism they want, including saying “no” to tourism as an option.

Participation

However, agency is only part of the picture. Research in more recent times has found that successful tourism *and* community development also require participation, both as a means and an end (Ife and Tesoriero 2006: 150). However, France (1998, cited in Timothy 2002: 150-151) also recognized that when examined closely, participation is not homogeneous but consists of taxonomy, ranging from exploitative to self-mobilizing (see Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Taxonomy of participation in tourism



Source: Adapted from France 1998, cited in Timothy 2002: 150-151

In these contexts, it becomes apparent that active participation assumes community control (Scheyvens 2002: 58) and decision making is also central to participation (Ife and Tesoriero 2006: 160). Therefore when aiming at bringing about community

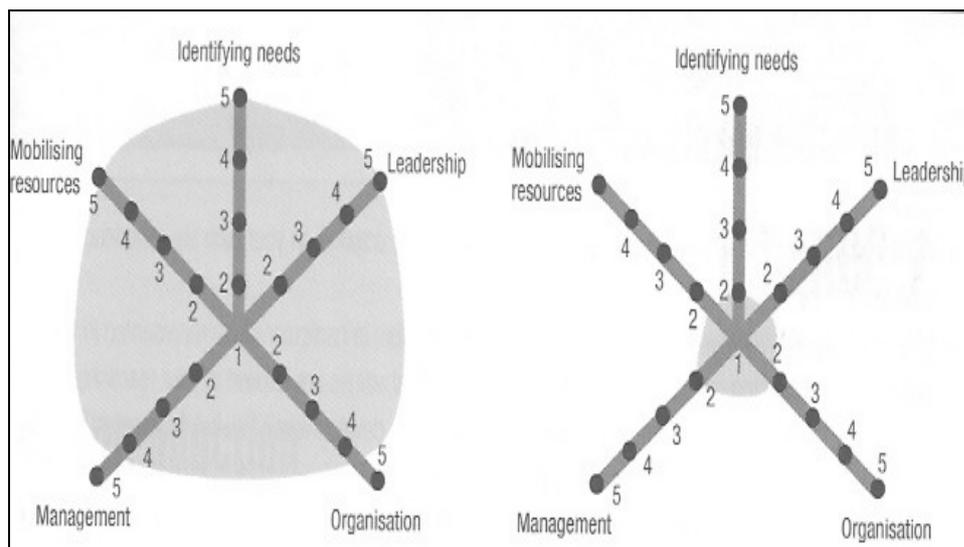
development through tourism, the local community must hold the power to decide whether or not tourism is an appropriate avenue to pursue and in what way it should be pursued (Scheyvens 2002: 58). Understandably community development is by no means a simple process as community participation in tourism development is often constrained. According to Scheyvens (2002: 57), for example,

- Communities often lack proprietorship over land and natural resources, thus participation in tourism is limited to co-option in ventures controlled by outsiders.
- Appropriate skills, knowledge and resources for developing tourism ventures are often lacking at the community level.
- Poor communities find it difficult to accumulate or attract the capital necessary to develop tourism facilities or attractions.
- Communities are typically heterogeneous, comprising a range of different interest groups which may come into competition regarding the development of a potentially lucrative tourism venture.

Furthermore, participation could be hampered by tokenism (Ife and Tesoriero 2006: 155) when little attention is given to empowering the community (Cole 2006: 96). Ife and Tesoriero (2006: 169), for example, identified different forms of tokenism (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2: Full participation versus token participation

Each process is graded from 1 (minimum participation) to 5 (maximum participation)



After Source: Bickman, Rifkin and Shrestha 1989

Similarly Butcher (2007: 92) found community participation could also be used as a cover for developmental schemes aiming at replicating the Western modernization experience. Scheyvens (2002: 210-232) thus suggested it would be paramount to examine the existing power imbalances between “Third World” and Western NGOs, between NGOs and local action groups and local communities. In his view, despite good intentions, NGOs do not necessarily and automatically give the same priority to the interests of local people. Butcher (2007: 66-100), after reviewing projects carried out by the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF), Stichting Nederlandse Verijwilligers (SNV), International Year of Ecotourism (UN IYE), also raised some serious questions about their agenda:

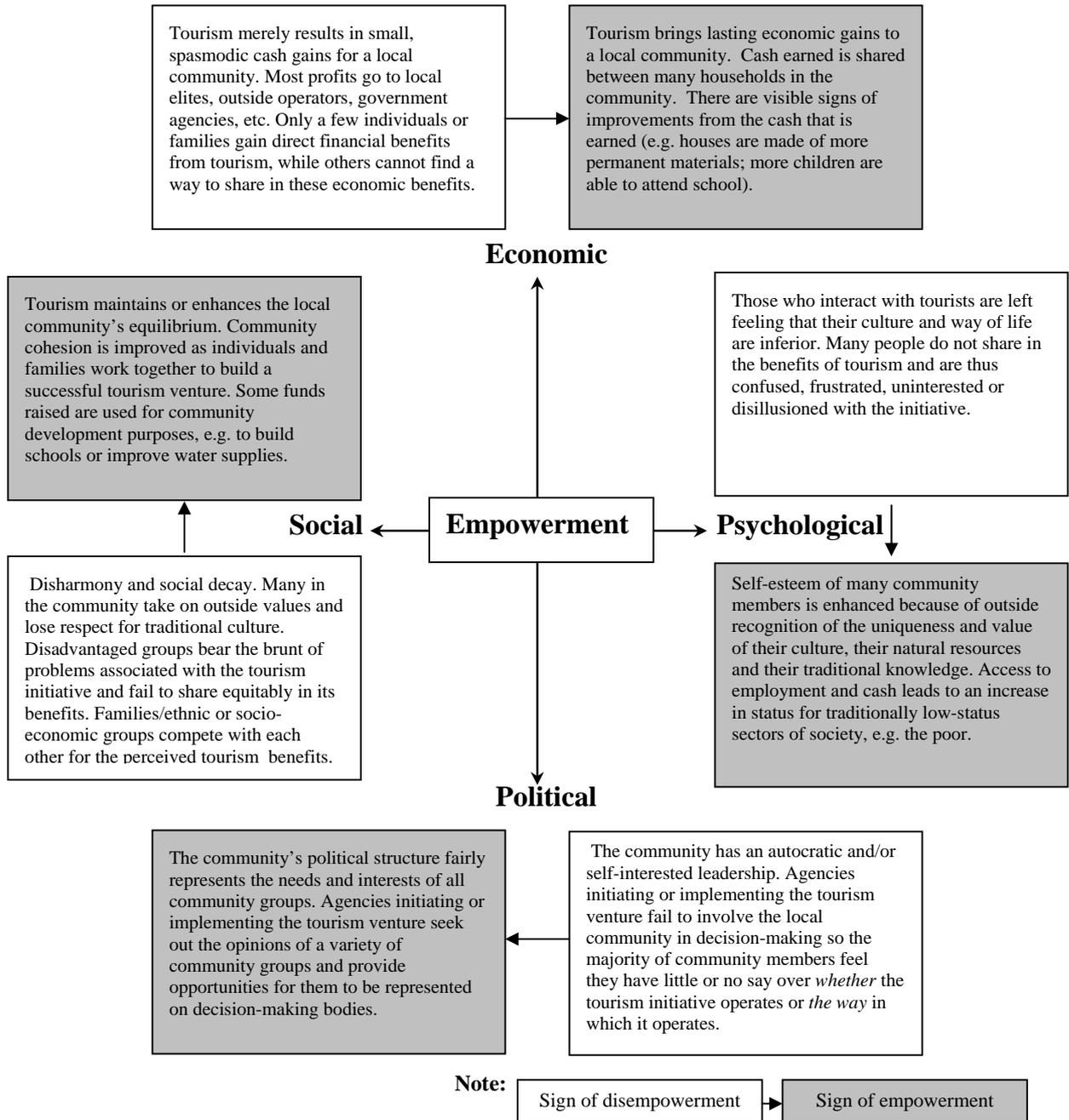
Formally, community participation may be very thorough. However, the extent of choice over what is being participated in is very limited. It would seem that participation is instrumental – it acts as a means to organise and involve, and to give people a stake in projects. Ultimately, community participation is about negotiating the terms on which a project is implemented, rather than about the nature of development project itself. To engage with this may simply be the pragmatic option for communities, given that available aid funding is linked to the acceptance of these projects.

Empowerment

Researchers however found that in order to make participation work, empowerment seemed also a pre-requisite (VeneKlasen et al. 2004: 8). Both France (1997c: 147, cited in Scheyvens 2002: 59) and Narayan (2002: 14, cited in Ounvijit 2004: 35), for example believed that empowerment was a process through which individuals, households, local groups, communities, regions and nations shaped their own lives and the kind of society in which they live.

However, in the case of community development through tourism, empowerment must be extended to cover economic, social, psychological and political arenas in the community (Scheyvens 2002: 59-60) (see Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Framework for assessing extent of empowerment of community involved in tourism



Source: Adapted from Scheyvens 2002: 60

Meanwhile Sofield (2003: 69-114) also suggested that empowerment was crucial for tourism development because of its links with sustainability. In his view,

- Without the element of empowerment tourism development at the level of community will have difficulty achieving sustainability.
- The exercise of traditional or legitimate empowerment by traditionally oriented communities will be an ineffectual mechanism for attempting sustainable tourism development.
- Traditional empowerment must be transformed into legal empowerment if sustainable tourism development is to be achieved.
- Empowerment for such communities will usually require environmental or institutional change to allow a genuine reallocation of power to ensure appropriate changes in the asymmetrical relationship of the community to the wider society.
- Empowerment of indigenous communities cannot be "taken" by the communities concerned drawing only upon their own traditional resources, but will require support and sanction by the state, if it is to avoid being short-lived (Sofield 2003: 114).

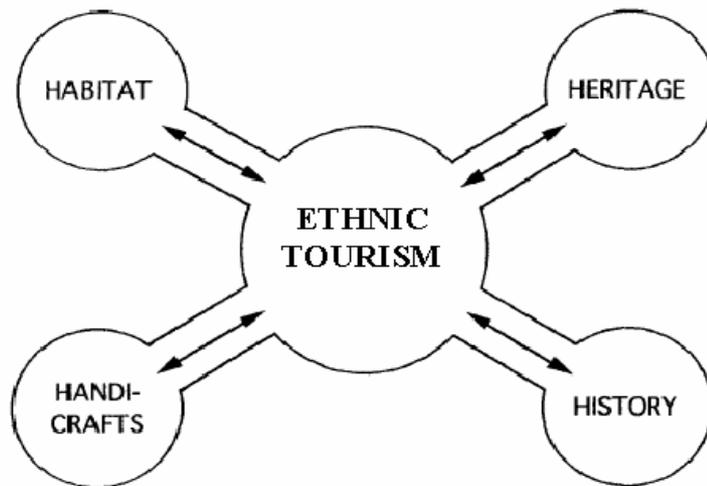
In sum, if tourism is to be successful to bring about community development, empowerment must happen not at the level of rhetoric (Richards and Hall 2000b: 303). Instead, local communities must be able to make decisions and determine how benefits can be fairly and widely distributed (Timothy 2002: 164). In turn, this frequently means that the community's capacity must be strengthened so that they can maintain their development initiatives (Beeton 2006: 88-89; Zeppel 2006: 284) and develop a stronger commitment than the other interest groups representing the government, developers and NGOs (Timothy 2002: 163-164).

Tourism development in ethnic minority communities

However, often ignored and overlooked in tourism and community development are the vulnerable groups. And there is no group more vulnerable than the indigenous ethnic minorities in local communities. For example, the exclusion of tribal groups in Africa, hill-tribes in Thailand, *adivasis* in India or ethnic minorities in China, Philippines and Vietnam, in government decision making, particularly in matters relating to tourism development, has been well acknowledged (Hinch and Butler 1996: 9). Yet as tourism continues to boom, ethnic tourism, emphasizing direct contact with minority cultures

and their environment in fact became even more appealing (Zeppel 2006: 8-9) because of its cultural uniqueness and exotic quality (Wood 1984: 361, cited in Cole 2006: 90). More specifically, their habitat (geographic setting), heritage (ethnographic traditions), history (the effects of acculturation) and (marketable) handicrafts were the main attraction (Smith 1996: 287-299) (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: Elements of ethnic tourism



Source: Adapted from Smith 1996: 288

Ironically the ethnic minorities were also the most exploited in tourism development. Butler and Hinch (1996: 280), for example, highlighted that

In the majority of cases of tourist development in indigenous communities, the development is initiated from outside the communities, and often remains controlled by external agencies. Local indigenous input into decision making is frequently minimal, if it is present at all [...] Thus information and priorities which they may wish to input to the development process may be ignored or misunderstood because of confusion over meaning and interpretation.

Furthermore, the need for care and accuracy in the transmittal of the images of their cultures and communities, and the correct identification of the needs and desires of indigenous peoples who wish to become involved in the tourist industry were by and large ignored (Zeppel 2006: 9). It was only until more recent times, after learning from

the failures of numerous ethnic tourism projects, researchers began to understand that the only way to ensure the success of ethnic tourism and community development in their communities was to understand the morphology of each element in the indigenous community so that their cultural assets could be built up and strengthened to create a type of tourism that would be compatible with local interests and abilities. Or otherwise, it would be better to forego tourism and seek alternative economic opportunities (Smith 1996: 288).

As part of global trend of tourism development, ethnic tourism in Vietnam began to emerge in the last decades. Summarized below (Table 4.1) are the ones which have gained prominence. Yet little research has been conducted to assess their outcomes, particularly in community development terms.

Table 4.1: Examples of ethnic tourism projects in Vietnam

TOURISM PROJECTS	MAIN FEATURES
Ba Be National Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In total, Ba Be Park has five ethnic groups living in nine villages, with some villages farming flat lands near the shore of the lake. - In 2001, programmes began with environmental education of villagers and greater park control of resource activities. An ecotourism strategy was also developed in consultation with communities living in the park, with ecotourism facilities and services providing economic benefits for villagers. - Tourism work provided an alternative to logging, hunting and harvesting activities. A rural credit scheme or “village assistance fund” was set up to help local people establish small tourism enterprises. The ethnic villages were also encouraged to retain their traditional customs and architectural styles, as a visitor attraction.
Cuc Phuong National Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There were 2500 Muong people still living in the park and 50,000 Muong settlers around the park. - The village of Ban Khanh, inside the park, had 116 people in 20 stilt-houses. The village was located beside a river and was used for overnight stays by foreign tourists trekking through the park. A park guide led visitors on a package tour to the village and paid the group fee of US\$2-3 per group per night directly to the villagers. All tourists stayed with the village headman’s family. The other village people gained some income from selling crafts, weaving and honey to visitors. - Since 1995, the villagers in Ban Khanh also received government loans and UNDP funding to invest in community projects. Foreign NGOs, however, funded environmental education rather than community development projects - The Muong people in Ban Khanh had better access to resources, and had diversified their income-generating activities into cottage industries and tourism.
Hilltribe tourism in Sapa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The Sapa region is home to five minority hilltribes, mainly from the Black Hmong (53%) and Red Dzao (24%) groups. - Four hilltribe families around Sapa operated homestays for trekking tourists, while a few people from hilltribes worked as porters or guides. Some 38% of international tourists went on hilltribe treks, staying overnight at four key villages. The entrance fee to hilltribe villages around Sapa was set at 5000 dong by local district authorities but some international tourists refused to pay the fee as it was unclear what the money was used for. Vietnam has promoted ecotourism development and minority cultures in mountain areas that received 10% of all international visitors. - Since 1997, the SNV-IUCN community-based tourism project in Sapa district aimed to increase local benefits and reduce negative impacts of tourism on hilltribe cultures and the environment. - Tourism in Sapa was dominated by Vietnamese-owned businesses. While IUCN-SNV supported the community benefits of ecotourism around Sapa, this was not linked to nature conservation.

Source: Entries in this table are mainly from Zeppel 2006: 238-240

Summary

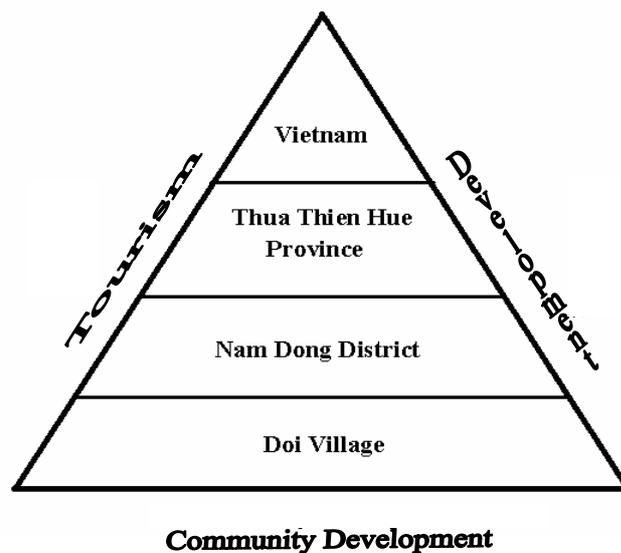
In more recent times, as the quest for alternative development and alternative tourism continue to gain attention, the discourse turns to community development for guidance. More specifically, the values and the emphasis on agency, participation and empowerment are seen as the new benchmarks for responsible and sustainable tourism. The new discourse in tourism development also draws attention to the ethnic minorities who have long been regarded as the most vulnerable and excluded members in local communities to benefit from tourism development. Given the growing popularity and demands for ethnic tourism, their agency, participation and empowerment, and ultimately community development have also become the focus of intense scrutiny. As a latecomer to ethnic tourism, Vietnam in the past decade has opened up numerous sites for tourism development. Yet how the ethnic minorities have been impacted by the growing desire for consumption of everything ethnic remains under-investigated. This thesis represents the first step to explore their consequences.

Chapter Five

Case Study: Tourism Development in Doi Village

This chapter presents a case study of tourism and development in Doi Village, a rural community in Nam Dong District, Thua Thien Hue Province, Central Vietnam where the majority of its residents belong to an ethnic minority. Before proceeding to assessing its tourism and community development, it is necessary first to understand the national, provincial and district policies on tourism development in the country and its implications for local community development. Figure 5.1 illustrates the framework for analyzing and assessing this case study.

Figure 5.1: The structural pyramid of the presentation of Chapter five



Vietnam: growing tourism in the new millennium

Lying on the eastern part of the Indochina peninsula, Vietnam² is a 1,650km long, thin, S-shaped country with a population of more than 80 million people belonging to 54

² The information in this paragraph is taken mainly from the official website of Vietnam National Administration of Tourism: www.vietnamtourism.gov.vn

ethnic groups. It is adjacent to Cambodia and Laos to the west and China to the north. The history, diverse cultures and scenic natural landscapes have seen the country enjoying a rapidly growing popularity as a tourism destination. Dowling (2005, cited in Berger 2005: xi), for example, proclaimed the country a “tourist's paradise”:

Vietnam is a tourist's paradise, and I believe that it is the best travel destination in the world today. The country is a magical mix of natural, cultural, and historical delights that appeals to emerging new travelers who seek more than the usual replication of their own culture in a far-off land. Straddling the edge of Southeast Asia, Vietnam demarcates the edge of the Indochina peninsula as it abuts the Pacific Ocean from the South China Sea to the Gulf of Tonkin. The country's lengthy coastline, which stretches from the Mekong Delta in the south to the Red River Delta in the north, contains beautiful beaches and a range of other coastal landforms. The lowland plains are covered in a rich tapestry of green rice paddies, and inland the country rises to include cooler plateaus and forested mountains. Three-quarters of the country are either hilly or mountainous, forming the borders with Laos and Cambodia.

However, despite its success, particularly aided by its relatively stable political environment and government intervention (Mok and Lam 2000: 160), shortage of capital or investment funds, inadequate business laws and policies, high inflation and poor infrastructure also hampered its tourism development (Dowling 2005: 12-15; Mok and Lam 2000: 161-162; Oppermann and Chon 1997: 30-34). Since *doi moi* (renovation) in government was introduced in 1986, tourism has grown into a major industry for generating international revenue and is now master-planned and funded by the WTO (Oppermann and Chon 1997: 30). Beginning from 1999 when the campaign *Visit Vietnam Year* was launched, similar promotions were carried to highlight Vietnam as a destination for the New Millennium and more recently, the focus in boosting international tourism in Vietnam was focused on its “hidden charm”. There is little doubt that the industry has made significant contributions economically. The growth in international tourists jumped from 1,782,000 in 1999 to 3,583,000 in 2006 (VNAT n.d.), and it is projected to reach 6,000,000 and 10,000,000 in 2010 and 2020 respectively (Pham 2004: 20). Its economic turnover also expanded from 3,269 billion VND³ in 2000 to 10,735 billion VND in 2004 (Vietnam General Statistics Office 2006). In the “Strategy for Vietnam Tourism Development 2001-2010” approved by the Government

³ VND: Vietnam Dong (1 USD ~ 16.000 VND)

in 2002, the goal was further extended to “develop tourism into a key economic industry to support and contributing to national industrialization and modernization” and to turn tourism in Vietnam into a “developed” industry in the region by 2010 (Vietnam Government 2002: 1).

More importantly it was also the objective of the government to utilize tourism as a strategy to foster development in economically disadvantaged communities. Article 6 of the Vietnam Law on Tourism specifically prescribes that the state will provide incentives and preferential policies on land and finance to domestic and foreign individuals and organizations who invest in developing tourism in remote and isolated areas where socio-economic difficulties are common. Locations with potential for tourism development were also encouraged to take tourism development seriously to create new jobs providing goods and services, to raise income levels and reduce hunger and poverty (Vietnam National Assembly 2005: 78).

Moreover, local communities are encouraged to participate in tourism development as stated in the Law:

- Local communities shall have the rights to participate in and enjoy lawful benefits from tourism activities; be responsible for preserving tourism resources and nurturing the local identity; and maintaining security, safety, social order and environmental sanitation to generate the attractiveness of tourism.
- Local communities shall be provided with conditions to invest in tourism development, restoration and promotion of various traditional cultures, folklore arts, crafts, and production of local goods in service of tourists, contributing to raising the material and spiritual life of local inhabitants. (Vietnam National Assembly 2005: 79)

In the early 1990s, tourism further received an additional boost from NGOs who have been most enthusiastic in pursuing alternative tourism, either in the form of community-based tourism or ecotourism, aiming at generating benefits for ethnic minorities by highlighting their traditional heritage (SNV 2007: 8). Subsequently projects were launched in North Vietnam (for example, in Moc Chau, Sapa), Southern Mekong Delta, and Central Vietnam, including Thua Thien Hue Province (SNV 2007: 8).

Tourism in Thua Thien Hue Province

Located in the central part of Vietnam with an area of over 5000 square kilometres and a coast line of 120 kilometres, Thua Thien Hue is one of Vietnam's centres of culture and tourism (TTHPPC 2001: 2) (see Figure 5.2 for map of Thua Thien Hue). The province is most renowned for its scenic beauty and ancient cultures. The complex of Hue Ancient Capital is most famous as a masterpiece of ancient urban architecture in Southeast Asia, and has been world heritage listed by UNESCO (Vo 2001: 37-39). Moreover, Thua Thien Hue is known for its pride in preserving its traditional cultures through staging festivals, trade villages, and promotion of minority group cultures, particularly those of Katu, Paco, Ta Oi and Van Kieu. Its Nha Nhac (royal music) was also world heritage listed by UNESCO (TTHPPC n.d.).

Not surprisingly tourism in Thua Thien Hue has recorded significant increases (TTHDoT 2007: 2). Between 1995 and 2005, tourism grew by 12% per annum in which international tourism expanded by almost 11% per annum (TTHDoT 2007: 2). In the first eight months of 2007, it is estimated that there were 798,347 visitors in Thua Thien Hue, representing an increase of 13.2% compared to the same period of the previous year (TTHPPC 2007). The economic growth of tourism was equally impressive at 19% per annum. Hotel occupancy rate also grew more than 10% (TTHDoT 2007: 2). It was forecast that the direct and indirect employment in the tourism sector would increase by 24% per annum between 2006-2010, with a total of 61,333 workers employed in this sector in 2010 (Vietnam Institution of Tourism Development, cited in TTHDoT 2007: 44). Tourism accounts for 28% of the province's GDP in 2005 and is expected to reach 38% in 2010 (TTHDoT 2007: 6). The upgrade of Phu Bai-Hue international airport has now been undertaken and approved by the Vietnamese Government (Ngoc Dinh 2007). In September 2007 when it opens it will fuel further opportunities for tourism development for Hue and the province (TTHPPC n.d.).

For many, tourism development on the provincial level is often hampered by limited tourism products and human resources. Regional cooperation has been suggested as an efficient way not only to pull all resources together but also for training and marketing

(Vo 2001: 39). The Thua Thien Hue Department of Tourism, a government authority responsible for tourism development and promotion (see Figure 5.3 for its management structure) also agreed that

For the future development, tourism in Thua Thien Hue should be based on tourism resources and potentials to create and maintain high quality tourism products and importantly, on sustainable development principles. It means that all and every tourism project must carry out environmental and social impact assessment before its implementation. (Deputy Director of TTHDoT)

Moreover, for people who live in the remote mountainous areas, the Department also has developed a plan for them:

The areas are poor, yet have great potentials for the development of ecotourism and cultural tourism focusing on ethnic minority cultural and traditional values. The province and tourism department have paid much attention to bring positive changes and relevant investment in tourism development in these areas. It is hoped that along with tourism development and tourist growth, tourism will help upgrade local infrastructure, raise the intellectual level, reduce poverty and increase the living standard of local residents. (Deputy Director of TTHDoT)

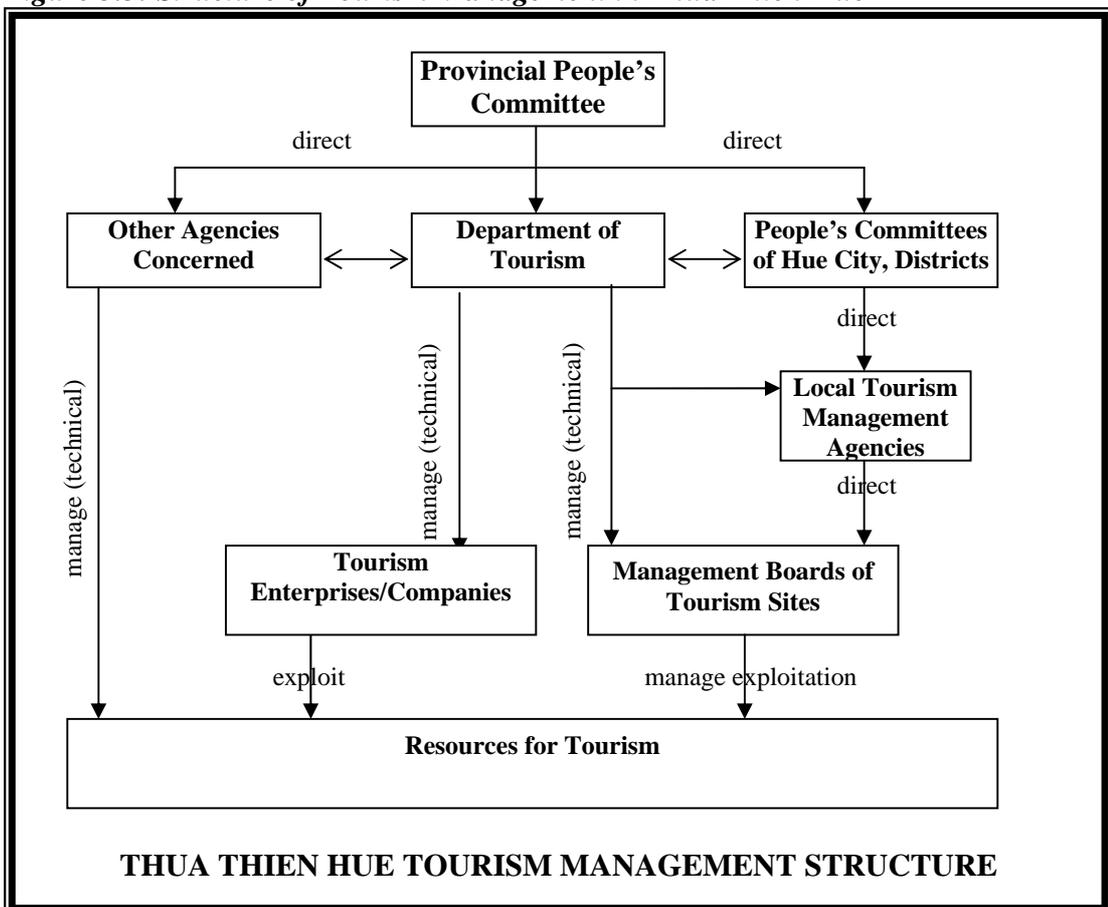
Figure 5.2: Thua Thien Hue Province Map



Source: http://www.vietnamtourism.com/e_pages/country/province.asp?mt=8454&uid=76 with adding the location of Doi Village

It is easy to see that tourism is full of promises for government. However, similar optimism was also shared by the NGOs in Thua Thien Hue. The Department of Tourism has collaborated with two major international NGOs, SNV and WWF, to implement community based tourism, ecotourism and ethnic tourism in the mountainous districts in the province, including Nam Dong, A Luoi, Phu Loc and Phong Dien. These projects were regarded as models of appropriate and sustainable tourism development for local communities.

Figure 5.3: Structure of Tourism Management in Thua Thien Hue



Source: TTHDoT 2007: 73

SNV⁴ is a Dutch development organization dedicated to assist communities to pursue sustainable development through capacity building of local organisations. In Vietnam, SNV has been working since 1995 and supporting sustainable tourism development since 2001. Sustainable Pro-Poor Tourism (SPPT) was initiated with the mission of using “tourism as a development tool, supporting the Government of Vietnam in the implementation of the Comprehensive Poverty Reduction and Growth Strategy”. The specific objectives of SPPT in Thua Thien Hue are described as follows:

- Support rural development by developing tourism initiatives in rural areas that contribute to poverty alleviation, sustainable resource use, rural infrastructure, cultural conservation and other community-building objectives.
- Build the capacity of local partners to develop sustainable tourism;
- Create models of tourism development that contribute to poverty reduction;
- Promote sustainable resource management;
- Support sectoral cooperation and partnerships.

From 2003, SNV in cooperation with the Department of Tourism have supported the development of community-based eco-tourism initiatives in three districts in Thua Thien Hue Province. They include tourism development of Khe Su community in the buffer zone of Bach Ma National Park in Phu Loc District, Katu ethnic community in Nam Dong District and tourism development strategy formulation for A Luoi District.

Meanwhile, WWF-Vietnam⁵ through the Green Corridor⁶ project, established in 2004, aims to strengthen the capacity of local stakeholders and to conserve the landscape of this green heritage. One component of the project is eco-tourism. Two community-based ecotourism projects have been implemented in A Bia Nor, also known as Hamburger Hill and A Roang commune, A Luoi District. Training and infrastructure development have been provided under the project’s Linking Livelihood and Forest Conservation grant scheme. The sites are open since Hue Festival 2006.

⁴ The major information on SNV is selected from its official website: www.snv.org.vn

⁵ The major information on WWF Green Corridor Project is selected from its official website: www.huegreencorridor.org

⁶ The Green Corridor, the area between Bach Ma National Park and Phong Dien Nature Reserve in Thua Thien Hue Province in Central Vietnam is identified as one of the highest conservation priorities in Vietnam.

With the assistance of NGOs, alternative tourism has flourished over the past five years. These models have provided a number of promises of development for disadvantaged communities. This requires a careful assessment of implemented projects under the development perspectives. Lessons learned would help to reorient tourism activities, for the future development of the community, rather than industry.

Tourism development in Nam Dong

Nam Dong, a mountainous district of Thua Thien Hue Province, consists of ten communes and one township (see Figure 5.2). It has 1,922 households with 9,892 people of Katu background, accounting for 42.48% of the total population. The Katu people mainly reside in six ethnic communes. Thuong Lo Commune, which is located in Doi Village, is one of the two communes experiencing most economic difficulties in the district.

In recent years, the central and local governments, in conjunction with NGOs, have been injecting into the district much needed funds and inputs to improve its socio-economic situation and standard of living through land cultivation and settlement. At present, this ethnic group no longer suffers from hunger and paved roads connecting all villages are also readily observed. Still the district remains poor – while 18.6% of the households in the district is living under poverty line, the proportion of households in poverty among the ethnic minority is higher at 38.33%.

In Nam Dong, there is not yet a master-plan for its tourism development although tourism has been identified by planners from provincial and district government, NGOs as well as tour operators as the key for economic development. Numerous tourism projects have already gone ahead to exploit the pristine waterfalls and selling the unique cultures of the Katu people. In the eyes of a local leader, Nam Dong is destined to become a tourist destination:

Located only 50 kilometres from the city centre of Hue and 23 kilometres from the 1A National Highway, Nam Dong has a number of spectacular waterfalls, such as *Mo* (Dream), *Truot* (Slipping) and *Kazan*. The district is also the

homeland of ethnic minorities whose cultures have been celebrated traditionally in folk festivals. These resources allow the development of community ecotourism based on the tradition of the Katu people and they have tremendous appeals to both domestic and international tourists.

Before 2001, tourism development in Nam Dong was literally unheard of. However, starting from 2002, initiated and guided by the District People’s Committee (DPC) and related agencies, different forms of tourism have been brought into the area, leading to a rapid proliferation of construction of guest-houses, restaurants and services selling food and beverages, and employment opportunities as tourists started to arrive. According the recent report by the DPC (2007: 2), the number of visitor has grown from 9,650 in 2004 to 13,750 in 2006 (Table 5.1) with an economic outcome reaching 8,735 million VND in 2006.

Table 5.1: Tourist number to Nam Dong District 2004-2006

YEAR	LOCATION	VISIT	IN WHICH:	
			FOREIGN TOURIST	DOMESTIC TOURIST
2004	Total	9,650	52	9,598
	Mo Waterfall	5,500		5,500
	Truot Waterfall	3,878		3,878
	Kazan Waterfall	272	52	220
2005	Total	11,607	207	11,400
	Mo Waterfall	6,000		6,000
	Truot Waterfall	4,600		4,600
	Kazan Waterfall	1,007	207	800
2006	Total	13,750	490	13,260
	Mo Waterfall	7,600		7,600
	Truot Waterfall	4,460		4,460
	Kazan Waterfall	1,690	490	1,200

Source: NDDPC 2007: 2

Despite these figures, tourism development in Nam Dong remains primitive and is constrained by poor infrastructure and management, low quality, undifferentiated and uninteresting packaging, lack of professional training and advertising. As indicated by an officer from the Office of Industry and Commerce of Nam Dong District (OIC):

Tourism is quite small compared with other industries in the district. However, the development of tourism means a lot to the locals who are poor. It promises to create jobs and generate incomes for people participating in it.

He also believed that in order to develop a successful tourism project, it will require close cooperation between local government and people:

Tourism development is something new for local people, even for government officers, planners and policy-makers. For this reason all stakeholder need to work together to bring in good results, particularly when local people are most enthusiastic about participating in it. They are eager to improve their income and spiritual and cultural life.

Tourism in Thuong Lo Commune, Doi Village

Social setting of Doi Village

Thuong Lo Commune in Doi Village was officially established in 1974. Traditionally the villagers practiced shifting cultivation. However, this practice has been discouraged by government policies and the ethnic minorities in the area were made to settle in the village and abandon their nomadic lifestyle. Unfortunately, because of their unfamiliarity with intensive farming techniques and the relative poor quality of farm land, life for the ethnic minorities has been difficult. Living on subsistence farming and supplemented by foraging in forests, the village is not only one of the poorest communes in Nam Dong District, but also one considered to be in the poorest 10% in all Vietnam (earning about one USD per day). This village currently has 117 households with 589 persons, accounting for half of the population of Thuong Lo Commune (see Figure 5.4).

Despite their poverty, local residents did not seem to be overly depressed about their situation. They appeared to be happy with the way they were, having land for food production. There was also electricity and water supply, schools for children, health care for the elderly and a sense of closeness, or cohesion within their community that seemed to provide good future for them. The sentiment indicated by the Village Head was illustrative:

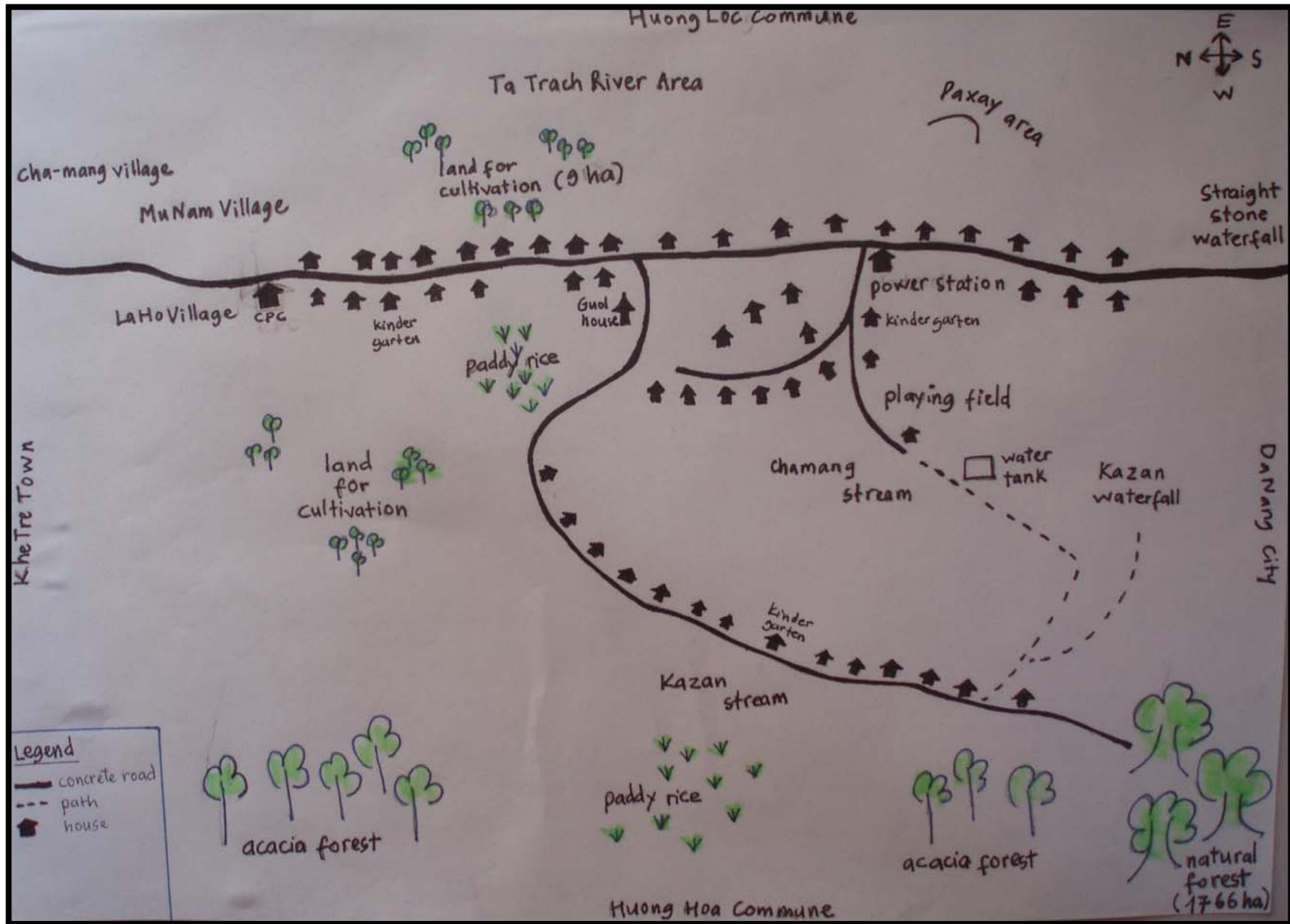
When compared with others in the lowland, our village is poor. But our people are happy with their lives after settling here. Food production is adequate with productivity of rice reaching 300 kilograms per 500 square metres. There are also pigs and vegetable gardening as well as collection of rubber and planting acacia. There are three kindergartens and children all go to schools. Currently, there are four university and about twenty high school graduates. People here live in harmony with nature and other villages. Our most important concerns are forest protection and cultural preservation.

A middle-aged lady in the village was similarly pleased:

Instead of growing mainly cassava and sweet potatoes, we are now planting rubber and acacia. We have enough rice and garden vegetables for the entire family. Still my children crave for cassava and sweet potato (laughing) [...] My situation would be even better if the acacias were not destroyed by the typhoon last month...

In sum, in spite of its poverty, people in Doi Village did not seem to lack well-being although they did not have much.

Figure 5.4: Map of Doi Village



Tourism in Doi Village and external imposition

Why then tourism was introduced in Doi Village if people seemed to be contented with their lives and what they had? In January 2004, SNV and Thua Thien Hue Department of Tourism initiated the Doi Village tourism project, officially termed Doi Village Community Cultural Tourism Project, or Doi Village Community-Based Eco-and-Cultural Tourism. More specifically, the project was instigated by local governments (ND DPC and OCI, Thuong Lo Commune), local tourism training institution (Hue Tourism School), tourism business (Dong Kinh Tourism Company), before SNV was asked to assist with preparing the implementation of the project, especially in raising awareness, planning and organizing product development and marketing (see Table 5.2). The District People's Committee of Nam Dong/District Office of Industry and Commerce and Thuong Lo Commune decided to offer support in infrastructure development and community organization, as well as supplying labor and construction materials where necessary. Hue Tourism School was delegated with the responsibility for training, in particular in guest reception, food preparation, accounting and so on. Dong Kinh Tourism Company, the only tour operator conducting tours to Doi Village, took over product development and tour operation. At present, tours are only offered in spring and summer.

Table 5.2: SNV activities to facilitate Doi Village tourism development

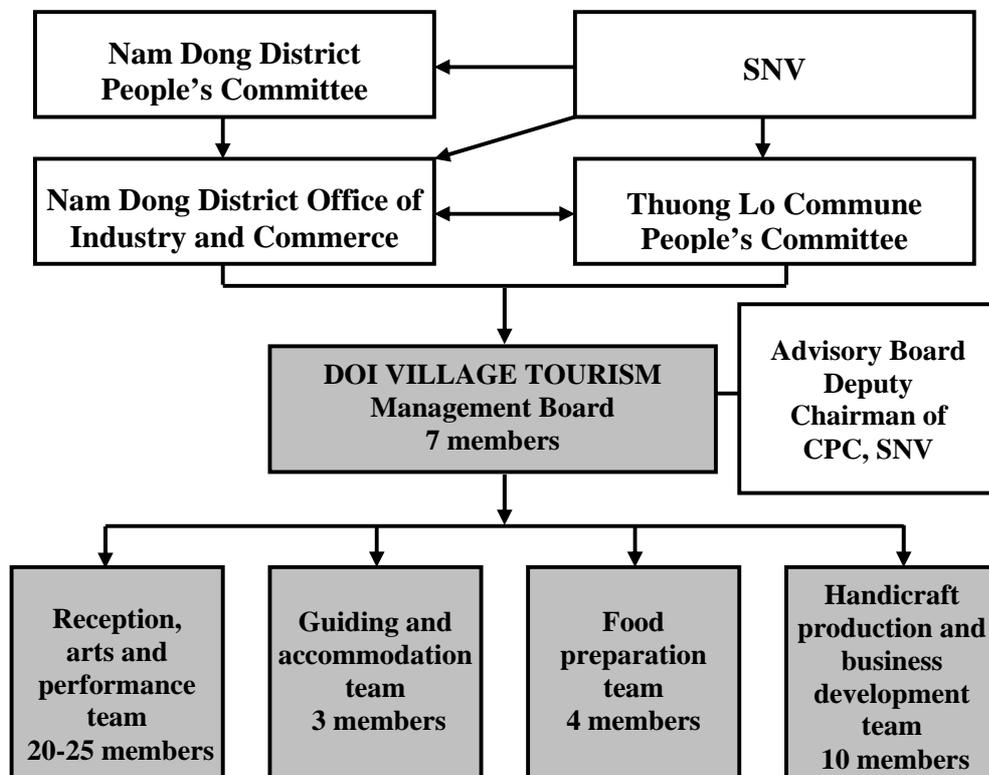
ACTIVITIES	DESCRIPTIONS
Awareness Raising	Community-level seminars on tourism impacts and management, Study tours/exchange visits to other communities involved in tourism
Community Planning	An APPA (Appreciative Participative Planning and Action) was taken to identify community tourism development potential and interests as well as to develop action plans to bring these potentials into reality
Community Organization	Activities were conducted to establish the three Tourism Service Teams and a Community Tourism Management Board
Entry Point Activities	Focused and initiated community involvement. Providing the Cultural Performance Team with traditional costumes and musical instruments and cleaning and organizing the waterfall area
Training	Community-level planning, traditional dance performance, safe food preparation, hosting skills, basic accounting and management continuously provided

Product Development	Formation of the Cultural Performance, Food Service, Waterfall Management Teams, and building of a Community Cultural House
Marketing and Promotion	Trips for local tour operators, brochure design and distribution, participation of the cultural group in tourism festivals in Hue city, as well as featured in television and other media.

Source: Adapted from SNV 2004: 5-6

Tourism in Doi Village was managed by an Advisory Board, a Management Board and four teams. The Management Board was responsible for coordinating the development of tourism activities in the village. Its members were elected by local residents once every two years. It was also under the supervision of the Advisory Board, which was made up by advisors from SNV, leaders and representatives from the Commune People's Committee (CPC). The Advisory Board was operated on a volunteer basis and members did not receive any payment. The four teams managing tourism were rather specialized, each taking a specific aspect in tourism, ranging from reception, arts and performance, tourist guides and accommodation, to food preparation, handicraft production and business development (see Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Organization of Tourism Management in Doi Village



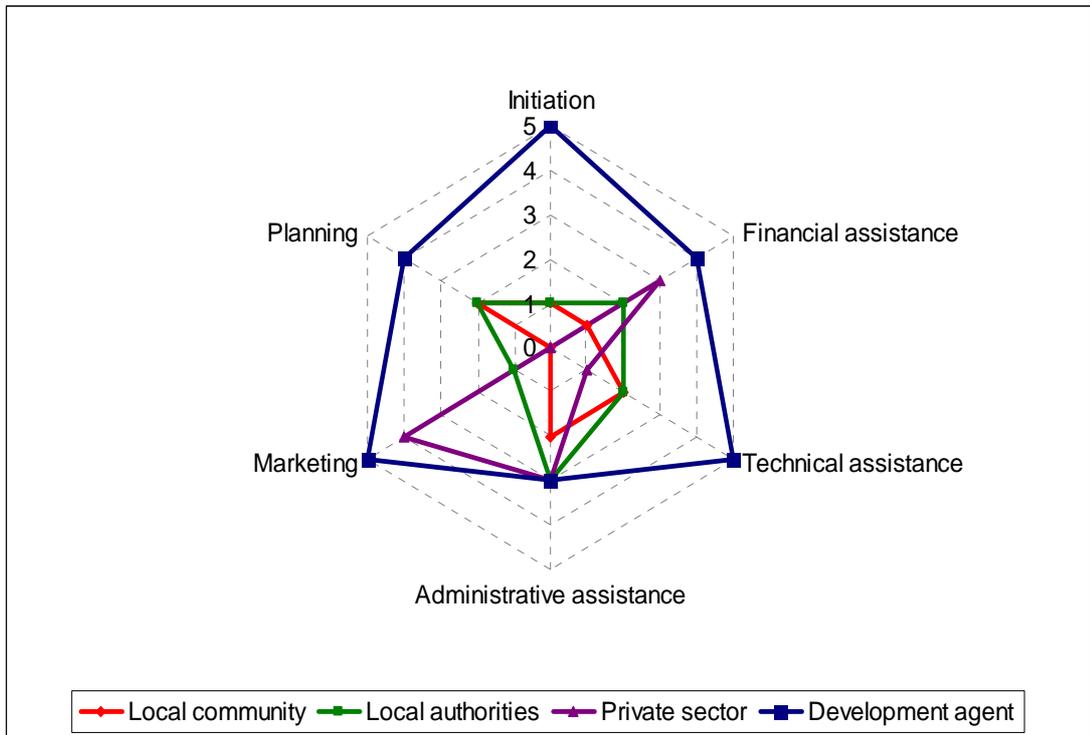
Prices for delivering tourism services, distribution of benefits and the prospect of a community fund were common concerns of the local community. For example, locals wanted to charge between 500,000 to 700,000 VND for performing traditional songs and dances. In Kazan, tourist guides wanted to bring in between 100,000 to 250,000 VND for their services (see Appendix G). And for those who cooked for the visitors also wanted to make between 15,000 and 30,000 VND for each tour group. There was also request from village households for charging a fee between 15,000 and 20,000 VND when tourist group wanted to visit their homes, depending on the size of the tourist group. Likewise, members on the handicraft team wanted to see artisans enjoying a percentage from the incomes generated by the sales of their work. At the same time, the idea of setting up a community fund was also proposed to support the expenses incurred by the Management Board in managing tourism, and to invest in tourism amenities and activities that would contribute to the tourism development and community well being. It was proposed that 10% of the net benefits generated from tourism should go into this fund for managing tourism in the community.

With promises of economic growth and cultural revitalization, the local community did participate in initiating and planning for the project, but their role was admittedly passive as many knew very little about tourism, obtaining funds, setting up structures for management and promotion. In this context, tourism development in Doi Village had a dependent beginning – many of the necessary inputs had to be externally sourced and in many ways, the model of tourism was imposed externally (see Figure 5.6).

For this reason, tourism development in Doi Village had its limitation, and in Harper's view, there were reasons why its sustainability could be in doubt:

Sustainable tourism in the context of working with rural communities is like any other rural development project which involves change. In order for the change process to be sustainable it is vital to involve the local community. To influence change within the local community is a slow process which requires a thorough understanding of its social make-up. It is considered that the best approach to encourage change is to identify the local opinion leaders in the community, understand them, listen to them and work with them so that the change process is driven by these 'local influencers' rather than be imposed from outside. (Harper 1997: 149)

Figure 5.6: The participation matrix of Doi Village tourism’s main stakeholders by project elements



Source: Adapted from SNV 2007: 54

Tourism development versus community development in Doi Village

Based on Butler’s⁷ model of tourism life cycle, tourism in Doi Village at present is still at its exploration stage characterized by constraints of amenities, services, small number and poor access and restricted local knowledge of their needs (cf. Beeton 2006: 31).

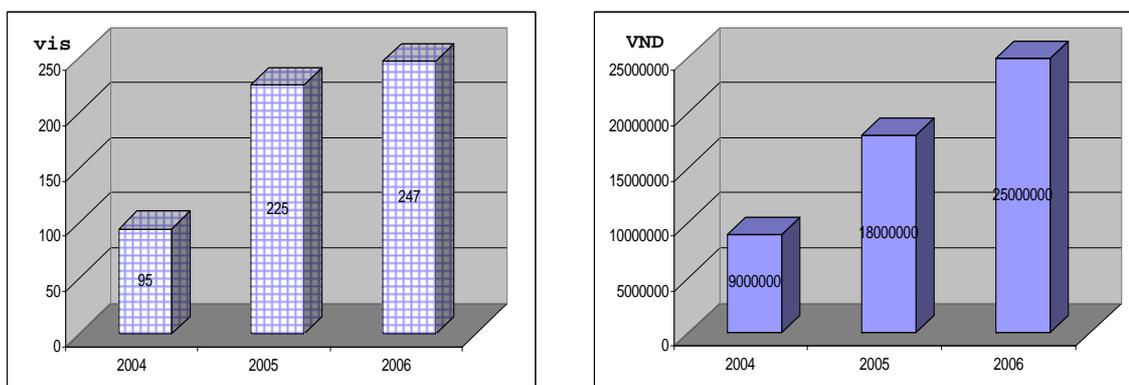
Six months after tourism was introduced, the village received its first tour group delivered to them by the tour operator Dong Kinh from Hue City. The group consisted of 20 to 30 people with the majority from Japan. When asked to recount their experiences with visitors, frequently they recalled tourists offering children in the village instant noodles, or stationeries as gifts. They also reported that when the tourists arrived, which was usually in the afternoon, they would spend between two to four hours

⁷ Butler (1980, cited in Beeton 2006: 33-30) describes a tourism destination development into four stages: exploration, involvement, development and decline. Though it is criticised for its being simplistic, the model is a good basic for further understanding to be developed.

in the village, first briefed by the Village Head of the history of the village before they were treated with a traditional Katu performance, followed by Katu traditional foods and an opportunity to purchase local handicrafts at the *Guol* (community centre). The traditional dance was performed by local young boys and girls with music played by older people using traditional musical instruments. A typical traditional meal was usually served with grilled meat, sticky rice, rice wine and bananas. Many tourists however found it too much as they had had their lunch in town before their arrival. The handicrafts the village sold to tourists however were not made locally – they were bought from other regions. What proved most interesting for locals were the cultural exchanges they had with the visitors particularly through singing and dancing. Local children however were most intrigued by the games tourists played with them. After the performance, tourists were generally taken to the waterfall in Kazan or walk around the village. Tourists were welcome to stay overnight in the community building. Nonetheless, home stay, services in restaurants and trekking activities had become contentious issues lately.

Figures have shown that there has been a continuous increase in visitor numbers and economic benefits over the last three years since tourism commenced its operation. The number of tourists has expanded from 9 groups with a total of 95 people in 2004 to 21 groups with 267 people in 2006. In the first months of 2007, 11 tourist groups have visited the village. Tourism generated 9 million VND in 2004; but in 2006, the figure became 25 million VND (see Figure 5.7). Furthermore, a total of 357 boxes of instant noodles, 700 notebooks and 30 bags of clothes were given to the village by tourists.

Figure 5.7: The tourist number and revenue of Doi Village tourism in 2004-2006



There was little doubt that tourism had provided a significant but seasonal supplement to the villagers' regular incomes. And the economic benefits were not restricted to those receiving a salary and serving on the Management Board. Local producers of honey and rice wine also had benefited from the presence of visitors. In addition, gifts donated by tourists were distributed evenly to the children. The community fund also received enough money to assist those needing assistance. Overall, tourism seemed to have created stronger bonds among community members. As reported by the Head of the Management Board:

Since the development of tourism in 2004, local people have become more secure with their material belongings. Thanks to tourism development, not only members on the Management Board, life for all local residents have generally improved.

A young woman who produced and sold local rice wine also maintained:

With tourism, I can produce and sell more wine. Normally, I sell 5-6 bottles everyday. On the day when tourists arrived, I produced 10 bottles and generated more income for my family.

Another woman who served on the Management Board provided a broader picture in relation to how the benefits were distributed:

Those who did not take part in tourism activities were excited to be part of the audience when the performances were on. All the gifts donated by tourists were distributed evenly to all households in the community. The community fund was now used to assist those who needed support when they suffered from sickness or in financial difficulties due to emergencies or death of family member.

Others residents interviewed during fieldwork also seemed to hold positive views about what tourism had done for the Village. Some considered cultural pride was most noticeable and others reported an increase of awareness on environmental protection. Katu traditional songs and dances were reported to enjoy a revival and popularity after they were performed for visitors. Some were most impressed by feedback from tourists who had claimed that in their ten-day visit in Hue, the traditional culture of minority groups particularly stood out and special. As a consequence, the village now hosts

cultural events for non-tourism purposes (SNV 2007: 25). Moreover, with locals becoming more aware of environmental issues, forest protection and tree planting, as well as public hygiene in areas near the Kazan waterfall have become visibly improved.

A local older man had this to say:

Tourism development has led to the reconstruction of a wider concrete road and a cleaner village. We are trying our best to protect the waterfall and to make it easily accessible and more scenic. Previously, trees around the waterfall were freely chopped down. This is no longer allowed without approval by the community.

It seemed that at this stage, there was an absence of adverse tourism impacts and conflicts in Doi Village since tourism was initiated. However, a number of challenges have been identified. From the perspective of NGOs, their main concern is to further develop tourism. This includes exploring how to “commercialize” better tourism products; how to foster stronger partnerships among stakeholders; how to integrate local tourism regionally with other popular destinations (for example, Bach Ma National Park), and conducting better marketing.

For local residents, they are more concerned with building better capacity for tourism development and management, and finding additional capital for upgrading tourism amenities. A member on the Management Board also felt that the capacity of the Management Board should be strengthened – mere enthusiasm cannot guarantee successes in tourism development.

Positive as they appeared, in recounting their experiences of encountering tourism in Doi Village, people did not seem to directly address issues dealing with community development. In a recent survey conducted by Imai (2007) on 88 households in the village, it was found that some of the most impoverished households had not been getting any benefits from tourism. Many complained that they were not invited to participate in tourism activities by the managers or they were told that there was no job available for them. Some were excluded because they were considered too busy with their works or they had no traditional skills (Imai 2007). Noticeably women were seldom included. Before 2006, among the seven members serving on the Management

Board, only one was woman. And she had many other job commitments. As she explained:

I work as a cashier [an accountant] for the tourism project. However I also have to cook, clean the community centre, sell handicrafts and perform songs and dances. I get very tired and sometimes I cried. The others seem to do only one thing... It's good that more women are now elected to sit on the Management Board. It has made my job easier.

Furthermore, inequities in terms of rewards offered to teams were apparent. For example, the team working as cooks had much longer working hours than those performing songs and dances, and some individuals were required to take up more than one job across teams. These complaints were common.

Others also charged that participation, awareness raising and capacity building had not been given consideration and adequate support. Some found that the capacity building activities organized and funded by SNV, though invaluable, seemed more focused on promoting tourism and not enough on enhancing capacity. As the Head of the village residents said,

Tourism is new to us. We are like a baby trying to stand up on our own two feet. We need further support from higher authorities.

Questioning tourism in Doi Village

Although a new tourism attraction, a visit to Doi village will provide visitors a rare opportunity to experience and participate in traditional cultural activities and enjoy the beauty of nature. Along with the hospitality of Doi village, economic contributions made by visitors will also contribute to improving the livelihoods of this poor but charming community.

The above is quoted from a recent brochure on Doi Village tourism jointly prepared by the Dutch NGO, SNV and the tour operator Nam Dong. In some ways, this reflects the trend that NGOs are taking – partnering with tour operators to introduce ethical/responsible tourism through a community-based model. In this case, the codes of

conduct were formulated based on the consensus between the local community and tour operator (see Appendix H) to bring about measures taken to “limit the damage commonly associated with mass tourism” (Weeden 2005: 233).

However, it is important to note that tourism had been interpreted differently by the local community. To Doi villagers, tourism meant having “fun” and “cultural exchanges”, “a directive from commune, district and province” or “a community fund or common cause”. These were indicated by the different ways locals talked about what tourism meant to them:

Although I can make a lot more money [100,000 VND on some days] independently, I like being part of the tourism project [that gives me only 20,000VND a day]... I think the project is a kind of social welfare, providing the poor loans from the community fund. I don't earn much, but it is good for our commune to have tourism. (Chef from the Cooking Team)

I would still want to be part of the performance team even if I were rich. This is for the community and it helps to broaden my knowledge when I can meet visitors and exchange views on cultures. (Member from the Art Performance Team)

Broadly speaking, things are more cheerful and exciting when visitors, whether they are foreign and domestic, are around. It provides good opportunities for young people to make contact and learn from other cultures. With the State's open policy, we can take responsibility to learn and discuss tourism. (Older man not involved in tourism directly)

Tourism development is a movement for benefiting the community. If it is done solely to benefit businesses, it should not be encouraged. (Member from the Guiding and Accommodation Team)

Implications for development

From the information gathered from Doi Village, it is apparent that tourism means differently for locals and other stakeholders. For local governments, NGOs and tourism operator, their intention was to introduce “community-based” and ethical tourism to the village as a means to reduce poverty, preserve and revive traditional cultures and

conserve environment. However three years after tourism was introduced, it was clear that community development principles had been somewhat forgotten by those who initiated it although by and large villagers continued to expect it to be a social movement or a social cause for the entire community. There were locals who were willing to earn less and participate in the tourism project because they saw tourism in the end would benefit the community collectively when the poor could access loans when they were in dire need. It was also apparent that many locals in Doi village felt tourism brought new cohesion and development for the community as new opportunities for cultural exchange could be fostered. Yet some also felt that tourism could do a lot more for the entire community, and as things were, the benefits were just not good enough. Some felt that should tourism produce consequences that would not in the interest of the community, it should be discontinued.

These observations have reflected the concerns highlighted earlier in this thesis on tourism, development and community development.

First and foremost, like any development project, in spite of good intentions, tourism development in Doi Village has been focused too narrowly on poverty reduction and income generation, goals that are externally determined rather internally generated by the needs of local community. Indeed, Doi Village was one of the most economically backward communes in Vietnam, yet it is also a community where people seem to value collective welfare, community pride and cohesion more than earning more income as individuals. Locals are much aware of their poverty, but they do not problematize it as something of which they need to feel shameful. They seem to contend with what they have, but they are also willing to work harder to strive for a better life for themselves and for the community. In other words, its collective base is considered its greatest asset for making tourism works without denigrating the inputs, support and assistance it has received outside of the community. It is this community base that has provided its people incentives to participate and engage in, and commit to keep the tourism project going. This mirrors very much what Burns (2006: 20) said about an empowered community – that it has “civic pride and positive social identities” derived from having

the “capacity, creativity, solidarity, pride in their traditions, and rightful attachment to their place, space and identity” (Burns 2006: 20).

The experience of tourism development in Doi Village has clearly also illustrated that in development, community development sometimes is more valued by members in the community than mere economic benefits. For this reason, an important lesson for development practitioners is that without a proper understanding of the community base of local people, economically focused tourism development could run the risk of first fragmenting the community, leading to individual competition, conflicts and ultimately control of tourism by external forces (cf. Harper 1997: 149). In this respect, while community development may not foster rapid tourism development, its slow and cautious approach nonetheless encourages agency, participation and ultimately empowerment. The commitment and cohesion it brings to local community not only is essential for building pride and identity for community members; more importantly, it also helps to project itself a clear vision of what the community stands for, thus attracting only visitors who are genuinely interested in experiencing cultural exchange rather than romanticizing and consuming exotic minority cultures (Weeden 2005: 243). The pitfalls of pandering to the demands of visitors without taking care of the needs of local community could also be prevented (cf. Richards and Hall 2000a: 11).

Summary

Doi Village in Nam Dong District, Thua Thien Hue Province in central Vietnam is one of the poorest communities in the country where there is a concentration of ethnic minorities. As a measure to reduce poverty, the provincial and local government, with inputs from two international NGOs and WWF, as well as a private tour operator, a cultural tourism project was introduced to the village in 2002 to take advantage of the national government’s policy of promotion of tourism as an economic development strategy.

Since its implementation, in general tourism development in Doi Village has been largely successful albeit its scale remains relatively small. Economic benefits were

generated, and employment was also created with a growing number of visitors streaming in. However, in closer analysis, amidst the successes, there were rumblings of disappointments. While people were generally satisfied with the economic benefits procured, however, there were also other community concerns. Gender inequities were found, with women on the Management Board working longer hours and rewarded less. Some community members also indicated they were more concerned with the purpose of tourism development – in their view, it would not be proper if tourism development was only for benefiting for businesses and not the collective good. Reflecting on the issue, members on the food preparation (or cooking) and traditional songs and dance teams indicated that their participation was more motivated by community pride and identity rather than personal financial gains. In other words, they valued community well-being more than individual gains, and it was in this context, tourism development in Doi Village had shown that its focus so far had been less attentive to the broader community issues. Instead, efforts in tourism development had been directed more to generate economic benefits in spite of its good intention for developing an “alternative” tourism..

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Development theories and tourism development

It has been long recognized that since the end of the Second World War, there has been an unending search for both the developed and developing world to find out the best strategy to assist the latter to overcome their economic backwardness. First appeared was the modernization theory, prescribing and urging the developing world to follow the pathways which have been proved so successful for the Western world to achieve economic affluence so that they can replicate similar successes of the former through industrialization and growth. It was in this context that mass tourism was first proposed by one of the most influential international development agency, the World Bank, as a “smokeless industry” to countries in the developing world for generating economic revenue and surplus as their warm climates, the sun, surf and beaches were considered the “comparative advantage” they possessed in the world tourism industry. For a period between the 1950s and 60s, mass tourism boomed and its volume escalated. However, soon rumbles began to surface from the tourist destinations, acknowledging that while mass tourism had brought economic benefits, most did not remain in the destinations but leaked and transferred back to the developed world instead. Even when these benefits stayed, they were not distributed evenly locally, frequently concentrated in the hands of a few elite groups.

At the same time, fuelled by the emergence of the dependency theory, criticisms directed against mass tourism intensified. Not only were its economic assumptions heavily scrutinized and under attack, the social and cultural impacts of mass tourism were simultaneously questioned and condemned. In the context of “the evolution of knowledge in search of truth” (Dredge and Jenkins 2007: 10-20), the economic credibility of mass tourism was rapidly challenged and ultimately eroded and collapsed. To borrow the term used by Nustad (2001), while economic development was regarded

as “the devil we know”, tourism development was also seen as the “devil’s bargain” (Rothman 1998).

Given the close links between development theories and tourism development, it was not surprising to find that when the dependency was under severe criticisms for its logical determinism and dogmatic rigidity, the quest for an alternative paradigm for development, and hence also an alternative tourism, proliferated. While numerous attempts were subsequently made to uncover new ways to assist the developing world to attain “development”, a new discourse on tourism development for the latter was also on the rise, often accompanied by a set of fast changing, fashionable labels such as sustainable, eco-, cultural or community-based tourism.

A main concern emerged from the current discourse on developing alternative tourism is community development. Researchers have argued that more often than not, when tourism is introduced for development, economic development usually receives the main attention while the well-being of the local community is sidelined. In their view, ultimately whether tourism can bring “development” to the developing world in fact should be judged by how the well-being, or quality of life, of everyone in the community is improved, and not by how well the tourism industry is maintained, particularly in upholding the structural inequities and exploitative practices it imposes on communities and people in the developing world. However, like other types of alternative tourism previously proposed, the viability, feasibility and practicability of safeguarding community development in tourism development has been questioned, particularly in terms of whether agency, participation and empowerment can be protected.

The case study of Doi Village, one of the poorest ethnic communities in Vietnam, in this research is motivated by the concern to clarify whether community development should be observed when implanting tourism development. It explores further the complexities involved in their relationship – i.e., what role does a community play in tourism development if it were to succeed? What outcomes are considered more important for members of local community, economic benefits or community well-being?

Summary of findings

In Vietnam, tourism development has been introduced and promoted for the purposes of fast-tracking industrialization and modernization of the country. In recent years, however, supported by international NGOs, tourism has also been seen by the government as an effective strategy for reducing poverty, protecting indigenous cultures and conserving environment and natural resources. Therefore it is not surprising to find that Nam Dong District in Thua Thien Hue Province becomes a targeted community for developing cultural tourism in Vietnam.

With inputs and advice from both the local government and SNV, a Dutch NGO, cultural tourism was introduced in Doi Village. After four years since it first appeared, both the number of tourists and revenues generated have experienced impressive growth although when the scale of its operation is compared to other destinations, it remains relatively small. With good intentions, the model of its operation was initially decided by external stakeholders, the international NGO and local government rather than the ordinary folks living in the community. Although its goals are decidedly aimed at improving the social, cultural and environmental well being of the community, its focus somehow was directed more to generating economic incomes than fostering agency, participation and empowerment. Despite that in general people were happy about the outcomes so far produced by tourism development, there were quiet discontents directed to the concern of whether the direction of tourism development had strayed away from enhancing pride, identity, cohesion and solidarity in their community.

This research has found that while local people were not unhappy about their growing incomes, the motivation for their participation in tourism activities was less economically but more community driven – all for the hope of producing a more equitable, secure, and cohesive community with which they had deep affection and identity. Reflective of their commitment to their community was the fact that some volunteered to work for the village tourism project at the expense of earning less for themselves had they work independently. Some also believed that tourism should be run as a worthwhile social cause, like the establishment of a community fund that could

offer the vulnerable households and those who were in dire difficulties in the village ready assistance.

Lessons and implications

What are the lessons learned from this research and what are the implications for further theorizing tourism development?

Based on what was observed from Doi Village, it becomes apparent that for an economically deprived ethnic community, what mattered most for members in the community were not necessarily the economic outcomes, but the sense of community well being they gained from knowing their cultures were respected and appreciated, the community pride they experienced through their interactions with visitors in tourist activities. The lesson this observation provides for practitioners of development, particularly if they were from outside of the community, is that they should be more aware of the values local people hold, especially in relation to social well being as opposed to cash and material goods. More often than not, given their lifeworlds are rooted in cash economies emphasizing individual competition, they tend to forget in poor and under-privileged communities, poverty may not be problematic but vulnerability is. In this context, members of local communities must be respected as the agent, rather than the recipient of development. And for this reason, the conceptualization and design of development project or program, tourism included, must encourage better incorporation of practices of active participation and empowerment should the project aim to succeed. On a theoretical level, this observation has reaffirmed the validity of post-development theory and its contribution to assisting development practitioners to rethink, reorient, and re-interpret development goals – the discrepancy between their economic focus and the community's preference for collective well-being is instructive and should be taken seriously.

However, despite their concern for community well-being, gender and economic equity observed among individual members, particularly in relation to women having to take on

more duties, work longer hours and receive less monetary rewards, have indicated that equitable and active participation by both genders in community development was overlooked and received insufficient attention. The complaints and discontents have illustrated that in implementing development project an economically deprived community, economic rewards cannot be seen independently without taking into consideration the broader contexts of rights, including the rights to gender equity and cultural respect. This has shown that in conceptualizing and designing development, the principles proclaimed by the feminist PAD (Postmodernism and Development) (see page 24) are compellingly informative and well founded.

Meanwhile, while the problems observed in Doi Village seem to vindicate the significance of community development in tourism development, it is also clear that the tension between economic and community well-being, community and industry benefits, cannot be resolved without making steps to develop long term strategies for enhancing agency, capacity building, empowerment. The sentiment is well summed up by Shaw and Williams (2004: 275-276), and their wisdom has provided a fitting conclusion to this thesis:

Tourism research needs to be more holistic, in the sense of situating tourism in the context of wider social-science debates. There are, of course, distinctive features of tourism ... that do mark it out from other branches of the service and experience economies. However, we should no more expect an analysis of tourism, than of say manufacturing change or of urban restructuring, to be written in isolation of wider social changes and an understanding of them. Furthermore, while we argue the need to bring mainstream social- science debates about identity, class, etc. to tourism studies, this is not a call for their mechanical application... Instead, we see tourism as being deeply embedded in all aspects of life. As such, the understanding of tourism contributes to the understanding of society.

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Appendix A Ethical Clearance Approval by SSERC



School of Social Science
(Anthropology, Archaeology, Criminology & Sociology)
HEAD OF SCHOOL
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26th July, 2007

Mr Quy-Hanh Nguyen
C/- A/Prof David Ip
School of Social Science
The University of Queensland

Dear Quy-Hanh,

Reference: Ethical Review Application for 'Tourism and development' (ethics application number M4/2007)

The School of Social Science Ethical Review Committee (SSERC) has considered your responses to your application for ethical clearance to conduct the above project, and I am pleased to advise you that approval has been granted under the clearance number M4/2007.

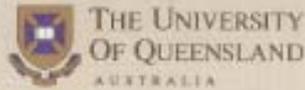
Please remember to advise the committee if you wish to make an amendment to your approved proposal, by submitting an 'Amendments to Approved Proposals' form. Please also quote the above ethical clearance number in any future correspondence.

Best of luck with your research

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'L. Cheshire'.

Dr Lynda Cheshire
Chair, Social Science Ethical Review Committee.

Appendix B Introduction Letter by MDP Program Director



School of Social Science
(Anthropology, Archaeology, Criminology & Sociology)
HEAD OF SCHOOL,
Professor Geoffrey Lawrence

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Facsimile +61 7 3365 1544
Email socoffice@uq.edu.au
Internet www.enrcc.uq.edu.au

August 2, 2007

To Whom It May Concern: Mr Nguyen Quy-Hanh

I am writing to introduce Mr Nguyen Quy-Hanh and to request your support and assistance for his research on the impacts of tourism A Luoi District, Thua Thien Hue Province, Vietnam.

Mr Nguyen is currently a full-time *bona-fide* student enrolled in the Master of Development Practice (MDP) in the School of Social Science at the University of Queensland. As part of the requirement of the program, he is expected to complete an independent research and prepare a thesis for his coursework. For this reason, he is doing research in Hue from August to October 2007 to gain a better understanding of how the local residents in the villages are affected by the impacts of tourism development. The information he gathers from the interviews will be kept strictly confidential, and will be only used for the purpose of thesis writing. Please also note that in the course of his research, if you feel uncomfortable with participating in the research process, you are free to withdraw from it.

It will be much appreciated if you could extend your generosity in helping him to conduct his interview and research. Please contact me should you have any question about her research or his studies in the MDP program. My email address is: d.ip@uq.edu.au and my contact number is +617 3365 3309.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'David Ip'.

Dr David Ip
Associate Professor
Director, MDP Program

Appendix C

Participant Information Sheet



School of Social Science
HEAD OF SCHOOL
Professor Geoffrey Lawrence

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PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

(to be translated into Vietnamese)

Dear Sir/Madam:

I would like to request your consent for an interview for my research on the development of tourism in Thua Thien Hue Province. I am a full-time student currently enrolled in the Master of Development Practice at the School of Social Science, University of Queensland. The main aim of the research is to document and understand how tourism has developed in Nam Dong District, Thua Thien Hue Province with a focus on its impacts on the local ethnic community. You are selected to be interviewed because of your involvement in the process of local tourism development. Your insights into how your local community is affected by tourism will be most valuable for this research.

I would like to arrange a suitable time and venue which is convenient for you for an interview. The interview will be tape-recorded but only with your consent. It is expected to last no longer than 60 minutes. I do not foresee any risks to you from your participation. You can refuse to answer any particular question during the interview. You can even withdraw from the interview, if you wish, during the interview at any time should you feel uncomfortable about participating in the research. Your withdrawal will have no impact on this research. Please also noted that your participation in this study is voluntary and will receive no financial payment. This research is not connected to any law enforcement activities. All identifying markers (e.g. names, ages...) will be removed from transcripts. Data (tapes, transcripts and notes) will be kept in a locked facility and they will be destroyed at the end of this study. This will ensure your identity and the information you would provide would be properly protected and remain confidential.

Your participation in the research would be greatly appreciated. You may request the feedback of the research findings and should mention this to the researcher if you wish to receive this feedback. Should you have any questions and further information relating to my research, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor or me. The contact details are as follow:

Project Title: Tourism and Development – A Case Study of Tourism Development in Ethnic Minority Communities in Nam Dong District, Thua Thien Hue Province, Vietnam

Investigator's Affiliation: School of Social Science, University of Queensland

Name of investigator: Quy-Hanh Nguyen

Contact phone number: +61-7-32178712 (H); 0423286335 (M); +84-54-510145 (Vietnam)

Email: s4126152@student.uq.edu.au

Name of Supervisor: A/Prof. Dr. David Ip – Program Director of Master of Development Practice

Email of Supervisor: d.ip@uq.edu.au

Contact phone number: +61-7-3365-3309

This study adheres to the guidelines of the ethical review process of The University of Queensland. Whilst you are free to discuss your participation in this study with the researcher, if you would like to speak to an officer of the University not involved in the study, you may contact the Ethics Officer on + 61 3365 3924 or contact directly to University of Queensland, Brisbane Qld 4072 Australia.

If you would like to participate, please complete the attached consent form and return it to the researcher.

Yours sincerely,

Quy-Hanh Nguyen

Appendix D
Informed Consent Form



School of Social Science
HEAD OF SCHOOL
Professor Geoffrey Lawrence

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INFORMED CONSENT FORM

(to be translated into Vietnamese and signed before each interview commences)

Project Title: Tourism and Development – A Case Study of Tourism Development in Ethnic Minority Communities in Nam Dong District, Thua Thien Hue Province, Vietnam

Affiliation: School of Social Science, University of Queensland

Name of Investigator: Quy-Hanh Nguyen

Contact phone number: +61-7-32178712 (H) 0423286335 (M); +84-54-510145 (Vietnam)

Email: s4126152@student.uq.edu.au

Name of Supervisor: A/Prof. Dr. David Ip – Program Director of Master of Development Practice

Email: d.ip@uq.edu.au

Contact phone number: +61-7-3365-3309

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and I fully understand the project, my role in the project, and the consequences of the study. I accept that I have freedom to withdraw without penalty from the interview or project at any time. I have been assured that the researcher, Quy-Hanh Nguyen, will take steps to ensure my anonymity. I am aware that there is no fiscal benefit for participation.

Signature of research participant
(for verbal consent only)

.....
.....

Date:

Signature of Witness

Appendix E Letter of Appreciation and Feedback



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LETTER OF APPRECIATION AND FEEDBACK (to be translated into Vietnamese)

Dear Sir/Madam:

I would like to thank you for participating in my research by granting me the opportunity to interview you. Your valuable information has made it possible for me to complete my research. Please be assured that your identity and the treatment of the data collected will remain strictly confidential.

Should you interest in the outcome of my research, I am most happy to send you a summary of the findings after my thesis is completed by December 2007. A taped summary can also be made available should you indicate your preference. Should you have any question relating to my research, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor or me. The contact details are as follow:

Project Title: Tourism and Development – A Case Study of Tourism Development in Ethnic Minority Communities in Nam Dong District, Thua Thien Hue Province, Vietnam

Affiliation: School of Social Science, University of Queensland

Name of investigator: Quy-Hanh Nguyen

Contact phone number: +61-7-32178712 (H) 0423286335 (M); +84-54-510145 (Vietnam)

Contact email: s4126152@student.uq.edu.au

Name of Supervisor: A/Prof. Dr. David Ip – Program Director of Master of Development Practice

Email: d.ip@uq.edu.au

Contact phone number: +61-7-3365-3309

Thank you once again for the assistance you have extended to me.

Yours sincerely,

Quy-Hanh Nguyen

Appendix F

Major Questions for Semi-Structured In-Depth Interviews

I. With the (Provincial, District, Tourism) Government Officials

1. Could you tell me the overview of development strategies, achievements and challenges of the province/district, particularly poverty reduction and ethnic minority communities?
2. What are the real situation, opportunities and challenges of tourism development in the province/district?
3. Could you describe the government attitudes and possible influence/support to tourism development in the province/district?
4. Could you further explain the government focuses and expectations of tourism development in ethnic minority groups?

II. With NGOs

1. Could you tell me the overview of your organization and its operation in Vietnam and Thua Thien Hue, particularly in terms of tourism development?
2. What is your organization philosophy in tourism development?
3. What were the main expectations and strategies related to community development (poverty reduction, economic development, cultural restoration, environmental protection, participation, empowerment, etc.) when tourism development is promoted in Nam Dong and Doi Village?
4. What are the strengths and weaknesses (if any) of the tourism model in Doi Village? What are the impacts and assessments of tourism development

III. With villagers and village head

1. Could you tell me about the development history and general situation of Doi Village?
2. What are your opinion and feelings about tourism development in the village?
3. How tourism was introduced to the community?
4. What are the role and expectation of the community via tourism development?
5. How much are you involved in the village tourism activities? What makes you to participate (not to participate) in tourism?
6. How would you assess the local life (before and after the tourism development initiative)? Any impacts and changes caused by tourism development?
7. What are suggestions for the village tourism development model?

IV. With tourists and tour guide

1. What was your motivation to visit this place? How satisfied are you with this visit?
2. What are your comments and suggestions related to tourism development in this area?

Appendix G
A price list of tourism services of Doi Village

No	Services	Price (VND)	Requirements
1	Overnight at Guol house	50.000 guest/night	Clean, dry community house Sufficient blankets, mats, mosquito nets Sufficient clean bathing water and toilets. Good security
2	Art performance - group under 10 tourists - group of 10 and over	500.000 700.000	10-15 performers 8-10 turns Traditional musical instruments Snack with local fruits (or watermelon), boiled cassava (or corn) and refreshments.
3	Guide for visiting Kazan waterfall - group under 5 tourists - group from 5 to 10 - group of 10 and over	100.000 180.000 250.000	- Group under 5 tourists: 1 tourist guide - Group from 5 to 10: 2 tourist guides - Group of 10 and over: 3 tourist guides
4	Guide for visiting around the village - group under 5 tourists - group from 5 to 10 - group of 10 and over	100.000 180.000 250.000	Include visits and guides at the Community house, some households of Zeng embroidery and knitting, garden houses. - Group under 5 tourists: 1 tourist guide - Group from 5 and over: 2 tourist guides
5	Food and drink Lunch/dinner Breakfast Forest/spring snacks	50.000 15.000 20.000	Courses: -includes combinations of meat, eggs, egg-plants and vegetable. Food are ensured to be safe and hygienic Local drinks are included (boiled water or green tea)

Appendix H
Some photos of Katu traditional art performance and Kazan waterfall at Doi Village

