TOURISM PLANNING AND POLICY
IN THE GREATER MEKONG SUBREGION:
LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATION
A STUDY OF ETHNIC COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN THAILAND

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A thesis submitted to the University of Melbourne
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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The University of Melbourne
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To my late father
HEEGANG SAE-TAE
who dedicated his life to providing me with strength and patience

and my mother
SUMON THEERAPAPPISIT
who has supported and inspired me for the higher education and living with Sappurisa-dhamma*

To them I dedicate this work.

*Sappurisa-dhamma: qualities of a good person (i) to be endowed with the seven virtues: to have confidence, to have moral shame, to have moral fear, to be much learned, to be of stirred up energy, to have established mindfulness, and to have wisdom; (ii) to consort with good people; (iii) to think as do good people; (iv) to consult as do good people; (v) to speak as do good people; (vi) to act as do good people; (vii) to have the views of good people; (viii) to give a gift as do good people. (Payutto, 1995, p. 259)
DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis comprises only my original work, due acknowledgement has been made in the text of the thesis to all other material work used and the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures, references, appendices and footnotes.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates how ethnic communities perceive the problems and benefits of local participation in the tourism planning process. It also explores how inhabitants perceive the general impacts of tourism development. In particular, problems associated with tourism development in terms of its impacts on ethnic communities, as understood by the local residents involved, are identified. One factor suggested by the results is that such impacts are in part a result of both insufficient and ineffective participation of local residents in tourism planning.

The thesis uses a comparative case study approach in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), looking at three case study areas in Chiang Rai Province, Northern Thailand. The areas have each adopted different policy frameworks for planning tourism—'top-down', 'intermediate' and 'bottom-up' approaches. In each case study area the research techniques used were those of policy document review, in-depth and informal interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires, participant observation and projective picture making (with local residents as respondents), in order to examine local perspectives on participation in the planning process and on the overall impacts of tourism development. Open-ended data was content analysed under the four main aspects of economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal concerns.

The findings in this thesis suggest that there is often a large gap between the tourism development goals desired by policymakers and those of local ethnic communities. The major finding was in the policy priorities desired by policymakers, namely to develop tourism resources with measurable economic 'outcomes' rather than focusing on 'processes' and 'contents' in preserving or conserving local heritage resources. The overall findings from the 'bottom-up' approach suggest somewhat stronger support for the role of mediators in tourism planning and more positive impacts of tourism development than was apparent in the case study areas in the 'top-down' and 'intermediate' approaches. Common to all case studies, though to different degrees, was, firstly, the emphasis of villagers on conserving landscape and cultural integrity, while wishing for future modern development and, secondly, a lack of consistent support from local government structures in developing efficient learning processes aimed at meaningful community involvement in the tourism planning process.

The thesis concludes that insufficient and ineffective participation in tourism planning and conflicts of interest among tourism stakeholders, in particular between policymakers and local residents, are deeply embedded as problems in all three case study areas of ethnic communities in Northern Thailand. These problems need to be addressed with a new ethical framework in tourism planning and development for Thailand, and indeed for the subregion. Tourism in the Mekong riparian nations will not be a positive force unless the multi-level bodies have the wisdom to embrace or incorporate the values of local ethnic communities.
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Although I cannot list all the good people with whom I exchanged ideas and learned along with my ‘ups and downs’ of over a decade of Ph.D. study (though literally only 4 years), they will be in my memory forever. Last but not least, I wish to express my special thanks to all my family members and relatives for their constant moral support while I have been away from home. They have motivated my Ph.D. completion over a lengthy period and gave me some wise words at times whenever I am feeling down. Most importantly, for my parents, my late father who spontaneously gave me an extraordinary strength in working hard and my mom who always understands me and supports my higher education regardless of her condition. In deep gratitude I dedicate this thesis to them.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHC</td>
<td>Australian Heritage Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>AMTA</td>
<td>Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities</td>
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<td>ASEAN</td>
<td>Association of South-East Asian Nations</td>
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<td>CBT</td>
<td>Community-based Tourism</td>
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<td>DTDP</td>
<td>Doi Tung Development Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESCAP</td>
<td>Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific</td>
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<td>GMS</td>
<td>Greater Mekong Subregion</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCAC</td>
<td>Mirror Cultural Art Centre</td>
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<td>MTO</td>
<td>Mekong Tourism Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>NESDB</td>
<td>National Economic and Social Development Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTO</td>
<td>National Tourism Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OEPP</td>
<td>Office of Environmental Plan and Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>PATA</td>
<td>Pacific Asia Travel Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCI &amp; TEAM</td>
<td>Pacific Consultants International and TEAM Consulting Engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAO</td>
<td>Sub-district Administration Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STD</td>
<td>Sustainable Tourism Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAT</td>
<td>Tourism Authority of Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TISTR</td>
<td>Thailand Institute of Science and Technological Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNEP</td>
<td>United Nations Environment Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCED</td>
<td>World Commission on Environment and Development</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Tourism Organisation</td>
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Only after the last tree has been cut down
Only after the last river has been poisoned
Only after the last fish has been caught
Only then will you find that money cannot be eaten

– A Cree Indian Prophecy

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The World Commission on Environment and Development advocates that planners and policymakers at all levels embrace the concept of ‘sustainable development’ (WCED, 1987, p. 43). Such development must ‘meet the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations’. The 1992 United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development (UNCED, 1992) put forward ‘Agenda 21’ for development as an action plan with a ‘bottom-up’ approach based on the involvement of local communities (Keating, 1994). There is, however, a challenge, namely that of knowing how to gain the full support of local people and to respect their value systems in implementing sustainable development (Harding, 2002, pp. 61–81). In many developing societies, tourism is a major source of change and development, and so international organisations such as UNESCO have developed conservation planning and management strategies aimed at mitigating problems brought about by conflicts between the forces of such change and the needs, wishes, cultures and environments of communities in tourist destination.

The Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS)\(^1\) ‘lies uneasily on the periphery of the world economy’ (Parnwell, 2001, p. 231). In 1998, the ADB annual report stated that the ADB aimed to make the GMS ‘the new frontier in the East Asian miracle’ and to help raise average per capita incomes in the region three to four fold by the year 2020 (Parnwell, 2001, p. 236). While most of the countries in the sub-region are poorly equipped in terms of the infrastructure and support services necessary for maximising tourism potential, each is endowed with a rich cultural heritage and varied natural

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\(^1\) The subregion is defined by contiguous areas that share the Mekong River: Thailand, Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Vietnam, and Yunnan Province of the People’s Republic of China (ADB, 1996, p. iii).
geography, making the sub-region as a whole a particularly desirable tourist destination (Asian Development Bank, 1996, p. 140).

One of the attractions for tourists to GMS countries is the cultural and physical link with the past that these countries provide. The Mekong River\(^2\) regions are endowed with a diversity of ethnic groups that possess spiritual beliefs, customs, traditions and religions that make them of particular interest to tourists (Parnwell, 2001; Osborne, 2000; Nguyen, 1999). The traditional social activities and life patterns of rural communities and indigenous peoples in the subregion, especially those of minority ethnic groups living in the mountainous environments of the area, are in themselves tourist attractions. Visitors may enjoy firsthand experiences of different cultures, lifestyles, traditional agricultural and fishing techniques, festivals, religious practices and craft production. Tourist attractions also include the experience of ‘soft’ cultural attractions such as folklore traditions, textiles, music, painting and sculpture (PCI & TEAM, 1998). As a result, there have been numerous plans to make the GMS an important natural and cultural tourism destination in the global tourism marketplace (PCI & TEAM, 1998, p. 5).

However, there is growing evidence to suggest that ethnic communities in the GMS countries are experiencing undesirable impacts, such as disruption of their farming and living habitats, resulting from regional trade and investment agreements and major infrastructure projects (see for example, Cornford & Simon, 2001; Parnwell, 2001; Pleumaram, 2001; Walker, 1999). A major concern is that there are serious environmental impacts arising from building projects carried out without consultation with local people (Carley & Christie, 2000; Dore et al., 2000; Hall, 2000; Hall & Pfeiffer, 2000; Dearden & Mitchell, 1998). Tourism is equally of concern, and without the collaboration and involvement of destination communities it too cannot be implemented in such a way as to limit negative impacts (Hall, 2000; Hall, 1992; Murphy, 1985). The simple reason is because the diverse structure of the tourism industry has meant that coordination of the various elements of the planning process has been extremely difficult (Hall, 2000, p. 82).

\(^2\) The Mekong is the twelfth longest river in the world, measuring more than 4350 kilometres from source to sea (Osborne, 2000, pp. 16–7).
Senior policymakers at the international and national levels may not always plan, develop and implement tourism strategies with adequate concern for the value of local involvement in the planning process (see for example, Hillier, 2002; Goldstone, 2001; Preston, 2001; Hendler, 1995; Hall, 1994). This is an important issue since different interested parties, groups and individuals are likely to prefer different future development options (Hall, 2000, p. 81). However, if the perceptions of local residents living in tourist destination communities could be assessed, policymakers would gain more balanced views on the impacts of tourism development than is the case at present, and so better outcomes for all would be more likely (Tosun, 2006; Tosun, 2002; Williams & Lawson, 2001; Pearce et al., 1996). Achieving sustainable development outcomes is of major importance to those communities that need to support themselves on the basis of available resources (Richards & Hall, 2000; UNCED, 1992). Thus, tourism planning that incorporates better understanding of the perceptions of people living in ethnic communities is integral to the concept of sustainable tourism development in the GMS.

1.2 **Problem Statement**

The GMS Programme of Economic Cooperation\(^3\) was initiated in 1992, with the assistance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). This programme has the aim of developing infrastructure for the subregion with a focus on enhancing economic benefits, with the ADB playing a coordinating role (ADB, 1996, p. 4). Tourism promotion has been seen as a particularly promising source of development. For this purpose, the marketing of local cultures and environments for tourism has emerged as an increasingly vital economic concern for both the public and private sectors in the tourism industry (Singh *et al.*, 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Lacy *et al.*, 2002; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Hall, 1999; Hatton 1999; Nuryanti, 1996). However, often only small groups benefit while the greater public interest is neglected (Parnwell, 2001, p. 231). For example, it has been found that tour operators, representing commercial

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\(^3\) A series of Ministerial-level conferences established policy directions and sector priorities. Seven sectors were featured in the program: transport, tourism, trade and investment, energy, telecommunications, human resource development, environment and natural resource management (ADB, 1996, p. vii).
interest groups, can gain more profit from tour package income than most local residents can benefit from tourism activities promoted in their own area (Richards and Hall, 2000, p. 304).

A particular demonstration of the importance of tourism in the region is that many government policies in the GMS countries have used market-driven tourism development as a ‘boost up’ tool to recover from the economic crisis of 1997 (Chon, 2000, p. 55). However, the policy approach advocated in these efforts focuses on the international and national levels, with minimal local participation, especially in the early development stages (Pleumarom, 2001, p. 28). This ignores the fact that when choosing strategies and tactics for tourism development it is essential to balance the needs and wants of the consuming tourists with the desires and vulnerabilities of people who act as hosts (Walle 1998, p. 15). Without mutual respect between tourists and local residents a deterioration of heritage features and the natural environment can occur, sometimes causing immense environmental and social conflicts. This has been seen in many instances in Thailand, Myanmar, Vietnam and Cambodia (Pluemarom, 2001, pp. 10–8). Summing up the situation, Chayant Pholpoke (1998, p. 274), a Bangkok-based tourism critic who worked with the Tourism Investigation and Monitoring Team (TIM-Team)—an independent research and monitoring initiative set up by an NGO called the Third World Network—states that:

‘The impact of mass tourism in Thailand on the local people, their culture, natural resources and built environment has been substantial. Two striking effects of over-zealous profit-oriented tourism development efforts have been: (i) the disproportionate shift of capital to mass tourism-related construction and real estate developments at the expense of other sectors such as agriculture and small industry which are locally oriented, and (ii) the promotion of over-consumption of excessive local resources with attendant new social and environmental pressures on local people and environments.’

Active collaboration and communication can also be seen as a means to encourage shared values and common interests amongst various stakeholders, especially between those from the tourism business sectors and local residents (McKercher & Cros, 2002; Bramwell & Lane, 2000).
A number of scholars have pointed out that the achievement of sustainable tourism requires the determination of whether local communities have benefited economically from tourism development without suffering from environmental and socio-cultural impacts (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Mastny, 2001; Hall, 2000; Williams, 1998; Murphy, 1985). It is therefore clear that there cannot be one universal planning framework to solve all problems, given that individual tourist destinations have different local political, institutional, and environmental contexts (Hall & Lew, 1998, p. 200).

It can be assumed that, to some extent, there will be inevitable conflicts of interest between various groups of stakeholders, especially between powerful top-level policymakers and poor local residents living in the remote ethnic communities of the GMS countries. This problem may result from factors such as the management styles of the stakeholders involved, and the assumptions, practices and terminologies they employ. Many conflicts that arise between stakeholders in tourism planning are attributed to misunderstandings due to a lack of communication (Hall, 2000), especially for poor powerless ethnic minorities. Since the objective is to minimise such conflicts, it is clear to many researchers in the field that mitigating and resolving potential and actual conflicts can be achieved by employing the general principles of sustainable tourism, and above all the involvement of local people right from the beginning in the planning process (Singh et al., 2003, p. 274; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, p. 329; Hall & Lew, 1998, p. 202; Ashworth, 1997, p. 187). However, the question remains of how local perspectives from minority groups of ethnic communities can be integrated in the tourism planning process, especially in the contexts of development and participation.

As planning is a decision-making process aimed at guiding future actions and avoiding future problems, tourism planning has the potential to provide the opportunity for improving the quality of life of all the various stakeholders, rather than benefiting just one group within a society at the expense of other groups (WTO, 1993, p. 60). Such sustainable tourism planning will involve a complex set of choices in the decision-making process including interrelationships between local perceptions of various aspects in tourism development and their participation through this process.
1.3 Aim
The aim of this study is to investigate how ethnic communities, as a target tourist destination in the GMS, consider the problems and benefits of local participation in the tourism planning process. It also explores what local residents perceive as the impacts of tourism development under three-planning policy approaches, here described as ‘top-down’, ‘intermediate’ and ‘bottom-up’.

The central issue addressed in this study is the difference in perceptions and attitudes that exist between policymakers and various local groups. The two research focuses are tourism development impacts on ethnic communities and the participation of such communities in tourism planning.

The hypothesis is that tourism planning in the GMS within different policy frameworks is based upon differing sets of goals for various interest groups and stakeholders in particular regions. The consequences can lead to conflicting perspectives between local residents living in ethnic communities with tourism development pressures and policymakers regarding the concepts and impacts of tourism development. It is possible that, in this subregion, there could be more problems than benefits of local participation in the tourism planning process.

1.4 Structure of the Study
This first chapter (chapter 1) introduces the research and its aims. The next two chapters examine the literature on development concepts and aspects of sustainable tourism (chapter 2), and different policy approaches and issues of local participation in tourism planning (chapter 3). The impacts and issues of tourism development in the GMS countries are briefly reviewed with a focus on ethnic communities in Northern Thailand. Development in Thailand is discussed in the contexts of ethnicity and planning issues in chapter 2. The concepts of community, perceptions and conflicts are further discussed in chapter 3.
Chapter 4 presents a series of research questions and the methods used to address them. It also gives the rationale for selecting Chiang Rai Province, Northern Thailand, as a study area and for the selection of the case study communities within the region.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 report on the three case studies that were conducted to answer the research questions of how policymakers and local residents perceive the existing problems and future needs of tourism development and also their views on participation in the early stage of the tourism planning process. The findings of these three case studies are summarised and compared with ideas of research implications in chapter 8. Finally, chapter 9 discusses the concluding remarks and provides suggestions for future planning.

Figure 1.1 is a flow chart showing the overall structure of the study.


CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT POLICIES
AND TOURISM PLANNING

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief overview of different development ideologies and roles of tourism in development contexts, both in developed and less developed countries. The issues of sustainability are then identified in the global-local context. Concepts related to the notion of sustainable tourism development (STD) are discussed with regard to its goal of minimising development impacts on tourism resources and local communities while still achieving economic benefits. The last section of this chapter presents an overview of tourism development in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) including Thailand and its Northern Province of Chiang Rai. Planning contexts in relation to development and ethnicity in Thailand are reviewed. Both potential benefits and impacts of tourism in this region are also discussed, particularly in the context of ethnic communities.

2.2 CONTESTED CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT AND TOURISM

The term ‘development’ has traditionally been defined as modernisation aiming for economic growth (Redclift, 1987). However, it is an ambiguous term that is used descriptively and normatively to refer to a process through which a society moves from one condition to another, to the goal or outcome of that process, and also to a plan guiding the process towards desired objectives (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, p. 23). It seems that ‘development’ is a philosophical concept about a desirable future state for a particular society, implying positive transformation or ‘good change’ (Thomson, 2000). This concept can relate to all parts of the world at every level, from individual to global transformations (Elliot, 1999, p. 10). It means developed countries may produce change or progress in their societies in different directions of ‘good change’ as compared with those in the less developed world.
2.2.1 Development Paradigms, Tourism and Sustainability

Development theory can be divided into development ideology (the ends) and development strategy (the means of implementing the development process guided by a specific ideology) (Hettne, 1995). Goldsworthy (1988) argues that there is a need to clarify the ideological underpinnings of development theory as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Political Ideological Underpinnings of Development Thinking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservative</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Radical</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Market</strong></td>
<td><strong>Non-structural reformist</strong></td>
<td><strong>Social struggle</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- open market competition</td>
<td>- direct assault on poverty</td>
<td>- Marxist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- minimal state role</td>
<td>- basic needs</td>
<td>- class struggle as route to development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Authoritarian</strong></td>
<td><strong>Structural reformist</strong></td>
<td><strong>Commandist</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- strong role of state allied with capital</td>
<td>- broad based reforms for greater social distribution of power and wealth</td>
<td>- political elite commands economy to organise production in the name of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- top down development</td>
<td>- land reform</td>
<td>- Leninist</td>
</tr>
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This Table 2.1 has an American-oriented perspective in its ideological spectrum. Goldsworthy (1988) argues that these three main development ideologies reflect a spectrum of values found in differing development options, from top-down approaches with market-driven or authoritarian governments (either conservative or radical) to bottom-up approaches (liberal). The latter focuses on social needs, with more equity in the distribution of power and wealth between the rich and the poor. It would be trite to observe that the ideological biases of policymakers will reflect their chosen development paradigms, which in turn will have a significant effect on those local people who are the objects of the development strategy.

While tourism has become the development sector of choice for many governments, as they strive for economic growth and prosperity (Reid, 2003, p. 67), there have been many problems associated with tourism, development and the impacts of globalisation. The impact of liberalisation of trade and the reduction of restrictions controlling the tourism business can have very adverse effects in struggling economies. It cannot be said that market-driven economic growth will always eventually eradicate poverty in host communities, without having negative environmental impacts on the planet. Although the potential of tourism to contribute to development in most countries is widely recognised, it has also been strongly argued that the less developed world may
paradoxically better represent the ‘good life’ than developed societies — the world’s most ‘primitive’ people have few possessions but they seem to have good inter-personal relationships and are in tune with their environment (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, p. 34). Thus, if ‘development’ is a debatable concept, then the potential for an activity such as tourism to contribute to development must also be in doubt.

Along with a focus on people, development can be closely connected to the environment and sustainability. The international call for sustainable development, as expressed in the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987), advocates the application of principles of environmental sustainability in various contexts. There have been consistent global efforts to develop plans for sustainable development as embodied in ‘Agenda 21’, which was formulated as a result of the First Earth Summit on the Environment and Development in 1992 (the Rio United Nations Conference, 3–14 June).

One strategy for achieving sustainability presented in Agenda 21 is based on the involvement of local communities and a bottom-up approach to development planning. This strategy encourages the translation of principles of sustainable development into strategies meaningful to local communities (‘Local Agenda 21’ or ‘LA21’) (Environs Australia, 1999, p. 5). Tourism was not, however, specifically discussed until the following Earth Summits, Rio +5 in 1997 and Rio +10 in 2002 (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, p. 37). These conferences singled tourism out because it is a complex industry which can generate considerable economic benefits in the form of foreign income for developing countries.

Nevertheless it has a great propensity to cause negative environmental and social impacts, and it can also be argued that an over-reliance on foreign investment was one of the root causes of the Asian economic crisis in 1997 (Hall & Page, 2000, p. 287), although at the same time tourism was considered one of the methods of helping to overcome the crisis by bringing in more foreign exchange. Another significant issue is that underpinning LA21 is the concept of democratic decision-making in the planning and implementation of tourism development (DANTE, 2002; Dodds, 2001; Holden, 2000), while most governments in developing countries have authoritarian regimes controlling the power of legislative and political structures from central governments (Hall & Page, 2000, p. 289).
Overall, the concept of sustainable tourism has been criticised for its ambiguity (e.g. Butler 1993; Wahab & Pigram, 1997). Mowforth and Munt (2003, pp. 24–5) suggest that sustainability is a contested concept that is socially constructed and reflects the particular interests of those involved. The following sections discuss the differing definitions and goals of Sustainable Tourism Development (STD) and how policymakers could balance these goals in practice.

2.2.1.1 Defining and Balancing the Goals of Sustainable Tourism Development (STD)

The definition of STD has complex origins and can be interpreted rather differently in different situations and locations. The World Tourism Organization (WTO) defines sustainable tourism as involving the fulfilment of current economic, social and aesthetic needs while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems in the long term (Inskeep, 1998, p. 21).

As Inskeep (1991, p. xviii) argues, STD can be applied to any scale of tourism development from large resorts to small, special-interest tourism facilities, with sustainability depending on how well the planning is formulated relative to the specific characteristics of an area’s environment, economy and society.

The effectiveness of the implementation of plans and the continuous management of tourism resources are also important. Butler (1993, p. 29) defines sustainable tourism as:

“…tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of their activities and processes.”

However, the emphasis on locality has often been ignored in the past. For example, the WTO (1993; 1999) provides general, i.e. universal, guidelines for local planners in implementing STD principles at the local level,4 as well as a global code of ethics that policymakers and planners are urged to adopt.

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4 The local level in this context refers to any homogeneous place capable of tourism development, such as cities, towns, villages, major tourist attraction sites and rural areas, that are not at the national and regional levels of planning and development.
Finding a balance between the use of resources required for the tourism industry and the preservation of those resources for others, particularly residents in tourist destinations, is difficult. As Ellul (1996, p. 106) points out, the objective of STD is not to restrain development, but to promote tourism development for all stakeholders, while respecting and conserving the natural, cultural and social heritage of a place. That means that it should

- not jeopardise the quality of life of the host community
- offer tourists a quality experience
- provide the investor with an adequate return on investment.

However, it should be noted that while these principles might be relatively easily applied to local communities in the developed world, it may not be simple to implement such principles in communities of developing or less developed countries because of their differing political systems, social structures and cultural values. For example, so-called international standards may not be accepted in local belief-systems or matched with local identities and social structures (these issues are discussed in Butler & Hinch, 2007; Burns and Novelli, 2006; Smith & Robinson, 2006; Singh et al., 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Wahab & Cooper, 2000; Hall and Page, 2000, to name just a few).

Furthermore, since these goals may often be conflicting, priorities in the implementation of policies are needed. Choices often involve trade-offs between the conservation of natural and cultural heritage resources and economic development for tourism facilities and activities. As Parnwell (2003, p. 287) argues, tourism will destroy tourism if safeguards are not instituted: scientific, technological and management measures; proper investment in infrastructure; restricted access to fragile ecosystems, and forward planning.

2.2.1.2 Planning Principles for STD

Sustainability in tourism development thus clearly means achieving multiple goals. The challenge for tourism planners is how to effectively balance these goals by optimising economic benefits without compromising environmental and socio-cultural conditions. Arguably of most significance is the way in which power and uneven and unequal development are manifested through these processes and reflected through tourism projects. This means that different aspects of sustainability in the various development
forms of tourism need to be examined in a comprehensive way, which includes particular consideration of the situation of community participants at the local level.

Despite the call for community input in implementing STD principles, most models of tourism planning tend to place emphasis on how to encourage communities to achieve tourism development plans, rather than permitting communities to make real choices as what development they desire (Sofield, 2003, p. 111). Thus, what developers and tour operators regard as suitable activities in any particular area might not necessarily be desirable for host communities or for the conservation of local resources. Indeed, one problem might be a lack of initial discussion or assessment as to whether or not tourism development should be promoted at all (Bramwell & Lane, 2000, p. 55; Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 25; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, p. 14).

There is no agreement on how much or what kind of community involvement is desirable. Goodall and Stabler (2000, p. 80), for example, recommend top-down, command-and-control methods as being essential for promoting sustainability at the local level, particularly to avoid certain forms of environmental impacts such as noise, visual intrusion, congestion and inappropriate land-use changes. However, over the years there have been many case studies demonstrating that as a result of poor planning of tourism development by outside top-down decisions, and where local environments have been ignored, this has led to damaging impacts on the natural environment and protected areas (Wood 2002; Wearing and Neil, 1999; Honey, 1999; Wood, 1998; Wearing and McLean, 1997). Generally speaking, therefore, the majority of researchers have recommended a balanced approach.

Jamieson (2001, p. 4) argues for community involvement in planning as well as for clearly visible benefits for local communities, and maintains that the four most important principles of sustainable tourism development are as follows:

- tourism should be initiated with the help of broad-based community inputs and the community should maintain control of tourism development;
- tourism should provide quality employment to its community residents and linkage between local businesses and tourism should be established;
- a code of practice should be established for tourism at all levels — national, regional, local — based on internationally acceptable standards. Guidelines for
tourism operations, impact assessment, monitoring of cumulative impacts and limits of acceptable change should be established; and

- education and training programs to improve and manage heritage and natural resources should be established.

Similarly, Butler (1999, pp. 68–9) argues for three integrative principles in policy-making: gaining local acceptability, efficiently managing the planning process, and harmonising with existing activities. He also suggests the following planning principles:

- Priorities: traditional primary activities in destination communities should have higher priority than tourism development activities;
- Control: appropriate public control of tourism development activities on resources and space is needed;
- Scale: small-scale developments can be integrated into communities more easily than large-scale ones.

2.2.1.3 Assessing Outcomes with Integrated Goals of STD

Although many scholars (such as Hall & Lew, 1998; Nuryanti, 1997; Coccossis and Nijkamp, 1995; WTO, 1993) have discussed factors involved in STD similar to those suggested by Butler, the question remains: how can we measure ‘sustainability’? The answer will differ according to the various interests of stakeholders, and those of a local community will not necessarily coincide with those of other parties; nor is it even likely to be the same for all people within the host community (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 250). Eagleton (1991, p. 9) suggests asking ‘who is saying what to whom and for what purposes?’ Whose responsibility should it be to measure sustainability in a tourist destination? The question is whether or not the tourism stakeholders, both in the public and private sector, will ethically balance their goals under their own controllable legislative and political powers.

Despite the difficulties of measuring aspects of the STD concept because of their inter-relationships, most frequently suggested assessment criteria fall within the categories of economic, environmental and socio-cultural factors. Figure 2.1 illustrates these three domains:
**Figure 2.1: Concepts of Sustainable Tourism Development (STD)**

Economic goals are developed to achieve optimisation of economic efficiency, such as through business and marketing strategies and improved production of goods and services, and the contribution of the tourism industry to increased employment and income (Jamieson, 2001 p. 3)
Environmental goals include strategies regarding conservation and carrying capacity to maintain ecological integrity and the preservation of biodiversity (Jamieson, 2001, p.3). Tourism can greatly alter both the natural environment and cultural heritage resources beyond acceptable limits of change, although it can also provide the finances for conservation of these resources (Gunn, 1979, p. 4). Many impacts are quite major, being linked with the construction of general infrastructure such as roads and airports, and of tourism facilities, including resorts, hotels, restaurants, shops, golf courses and marinas. If unchecked, the negative impacts of such tourism development can gradually destroy the environmental resources on which it depends (UNEP, 2001).

Socio-cultural objectives represent social and cultural values as manifested in destination communities, including concerns for maintenance of traditional values, social equity, quality of life and personal experience issues (Wahab & Pigram, 1997). Such personal experiences can, for example, include opportunities for contact with the outside world and learning about other people and cultures. Jamieson (2001, p. 3) also includes intergenerational as well as intra-generational equity in the distribution of wealth in this list of desirable objectives.

One parameter that is commonly neglected when discussing quality of life is the personal, no doubt because it is the most difficult for researchers to quantify. Nevertheless it can be highly significant, as will be noted later.

2.2.2 Tourism Resources and Impacts

The term ‘tourism resource’ includes natural, cultural and human resources. Protection and preservation of tourism resources should not be limited to those that are economically quantifiable but should include intangible values that range from historical and aesthetic to spiritual qualities (Hashimoto, 2002, p. 213). For example, traditional arts and crafts, the day-to-day lifestyle of the host community, religious events, carnivals and traditional festivals are all potential cultural tourism resources. While such resources may be attractive to tourists, they can be difficult to assess when making management decisions regarding commercial tourism interests.

Because there is a diversity of values placed on tourism attractions, both neglect and/or destruction as well as a conservation ethic for safeguarding and preserving cultural and natural resources can be found. Conservation of resources, however, clearly
carries economic benefits for the tourism industry (Coccossis & Nijkamp, 1995), while at the same time tourism can also support the conservation of values. The European Union’s report on *European Sustainable Cities* (1996, p. 217), for example, claims that the cultural sustainability of a city depends on maintaining cultural heritage, leisure activities and tourism as well, to be successful. Cultural elements include cultural identity, such as the recognition of the historical evolution of different ethnic groups, their language and social patterns (European Commission 1996, p. 217).

The three areas of assessment noted above, namely economic, environmental and socio-cultural categories (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 30; UNEP, 2001; Dowell, 1997, pp. 107–47) each have numerous impacts. Table 2.2 summarises the major positive and negative aspects of tourism consequences as described by Smith (2001, p. 109).

**Table 2.2: Aspects of Tourism Impacts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample positive impacts (benefits)</th>
<th>Sample negative impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>Economic aspects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Foreign exchange earnings</td>
<td>- Seasonality (e.g. weather, timing factors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Multiple effects (e.g. incomes from related goods and services, taxes/levies on tourists)</td>
<td>- Economic leakage (e.g. large-scale transfer of tourism revenues out of the host country/exclusion of local businesses and products)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Better infrastructure: road, water, sewage, airport, recreation opportunities</td>
<td>- Immigration of outsiders as managers/labour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Labour-intensive service industries</td>
<td>- Cost of security to offset crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Income from residents’ use of amenities</td>
<td>- Loss of receipts owing to external economic crises/terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-cultural aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>Socio-cultural aspects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Appreciation of heritage and ethnic identity</td>
<td>- Cultural clashes, loss of cultural identity in the ‘global village’ (Urry, 2003, p. 98)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Widening of social perspective</td>
<td>- Commodification of culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Preservation of family ties</td>
<td>- Deterioration of historic sites owing to overuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Upward mobility</td>
<td>- Fearfulness from terrorism and crime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Folklore stimulus; creation of museums</td>
<td>- Misuse of intellectual property rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>Environmental aspects</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Awareness of conservation needs</td>
<td>- Pollution and preservation costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Establishment of eco-labels</td>
<td>- Transformation of national parks and zoos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Awareness of global resource limits</td>
<td>- Loss of wilderness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Establishment of land use regulations</td>
<td>- Overuse of habitat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Interestingly, Smith’s table shows impacts at both the national level and on the host communities, in both developed and developing nations. Generally, however, most concern has been expressed about the negative impacts of tourism on host communities in less developed areas. Hall (2003), for example, notes the problems of insufficient
knowledge of the impacts of tourism on the specific ecosystems and complex institutional arrangements of Asian destinations in particular. Even more concern is expressed about what Hall and Boyd (2005, pp. 4-6) call ‘peripheral areas’, where environmental impacts can have more severe effects because of a combination of geographically remote locations with high aesthetic amenity values but limited flows of internal economic services and information, and hence less effective political and economic control.

Nevertheless they also point out that “communities found in peripheral areas are often simple in their structure, hence more homogeneous, and where tourism development is concerned, are more often favourable to that form of development and change for their community than opposed to it. Support can often be garnered on the belief that the type of tourism being developed is less exploitative of the natural capital of regions, less impact prone as a passive relationship with local surroundings is being encouraged, can directly benefit in monetary terms local communities and is in many cases the only real option open to them” (2005, pp. 275–6).

In addition to the components as outlined in Table 2.3, impact assessment may also involve political issues related to policy-making. Political impacts upon a tourism destination can result in both positive and negative outcomes in relation to the sustainability of local resources. On the positive side, efforts can be made to ensure a fair distribution of tourism business income to all those involved. Governments can, and should, also play a vital role in legally controlling and monitoring tourism development in sensitive/protected areas such as World Heritage Sites and National Parks.

On the negative side, political eagerness for development can have very serious impacts. For example, the United Nations Commission found that the Burmese (Myanmar) Government’s ‘Visit Myanmar’ year campaign of 1996 involved a serious denial of human rights in the hotel industry (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, pp. 289–90). Among the various instances of oppression, thousands of people were forced to work without pay on tourist sites to ‘clean up’ areas. Plans were put into action to relocate more ‘picturesque’ ethnic people to special villages where they could be visited by tourist groups in what amounted to a human zoo (Mahr & Sutcliffe, 1996, p. 29 cited in Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 290), while others were simply removed from their established homes, as in Pagan. Recent news from Tibet is also of concern. The Chinese
government has encouraged both development and tourism by the opening of a railway line to Lhasa, with the result that the number of tourists in 2007 outnumbered the number of Tibetan residents (Stanway, 2008). This is clearly a disturbing phenomenon involving both political and social ramifications.

This is a clear example of the harmful impact of overexploitation of destination communities and environments. The impacts of tourism development and changes to rural communities at the village level are often greater than in urban communities, due to their smaller scale. However, social and environmental costs can be difficult to see in the short term, and may therefore be ignored. The negative impacts on socio-cultural and environmental aspects, such as deterioration of historic sites and environmental pollution caused by the development of tourism facilities and activities, can also negatively affect economic aspects. There may, for example, be increasing costs of operation, maintenance, upgrading, conservation and environmental protection programs in order to maintain a high standard and quality experience for tourists. Tourists may also choose not to keep going to places that have become degraded as a result of overuse.

To achieve sustainable tourism development outcomes, the extent of undesirable impacts from increasing tourism development activities has to be acknowledged. This can lead to the encouragement of alternative forms of tourism that are community-based, with more stringently defined quality and performance standards (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Indeed, several case studies have shown how input from local residents enhances sustainability objectives (Hall & Richards, 2000; Reed, 1997; Prentice, 1993). For example the Aboriginal communities in Uluru National Park, Australia, have control of the Park, and offer interpretative and educational services at their own cultural centre, to ensure that the cultural and religious significance of the area is understood and respected by tourists. Restrictions on tourist activities imposed by the Aboriginal custodians have in no way undermined Uluru’s status as a leading tourist attraction in Australia (Singh et al., 2003, p. 27).

Table 2.3 summarises the four impact analysis criteria for sustainable development: economic, environmental, socio-cultural and personal aspects. There are also associated aspects corresponding to each criterion, as shown in the right-hand
column of this table. These economic, environmental and socio-cultural aspects are in the outer domain while personal aspects are in the inner domain.

Table 2.3: Analysis Criteria of Aspects of the STD Concept

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analysis criteria</th>
<th>Goals</th>
<th>Examples of Associated Aspects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outer domain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Economic</td>
<td>Economic freedom and balance</td>
<td>Creation of employment, Continuity of employment, Economic cooperation/networks and partnership initiatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Environmental</td>
<td>Ecological balance</td>
<td>Conservation of physical/built environment, Preservation of natural environment, Environmental pollution, Agricultural/biological productivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Socio-cultural</td>
<td>Sense of place/community Sense of security</td>
<td>Cultural identity and diversity, Cooperation, communication networks, Social justice and welfare, community health and issues, Political influences/relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inner domain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Personal</td>
<td>Emotional and intellectual freedom</td>
<td>Human capital, knowledge, wisdom, Perceptions, attitudes, opinions, Spirit/soul, passion, senses, feelings, Ethical principles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Smith, 2001; Chanthongkaew, 1999; Wilson, 1991; Barbier, 1987; Payutto, 1987

These aspects of sustainable tourism development are also shown in the conceptual diagram given in Figure 2.2. As suggested in the figure, these aspects of STD are usually overlapping and interrelated. Therefore, a multiple methodological research approach is required in an analysis of tourism planning and development processes.

![Figure 2.2: Conceptual Diagram of an Approach to Sustainable Tourism](image-url)
The most unquantifiable impact on host communities is probably also the most significant, but is frequently ignored. Changes such as cultural denigration, corruption, loss of traditional pride and ethnic identity and so on are extremely difficult to measure accurately and interpret objectively (Hitchcock, et al., 1993, p. 6). As Hitchcock, et al. (1993, p. 29) point out, ‘what have been very much neglected are the local perspectives on tourism and leisure, as against the representation of those who promote and sell the tourist product’. Sofield also argues that “resilience and adaptation with concurrent benefits to host communities may be more prevalent than negative reactions to tourism, but the current state of research does not allow definitive conclusions to be drawn about how the relationship between host and guest, resident and tourist, is translated into particular behavioural patterns and forms of social interactions and how, or indeed if, these encounters change tourist and resident images, views and prejudices” (Sofield, 2003, p. 55).

Often there are intermediaries, such as the tour agents, guides and leaders who act as social and cultural brokers between tourists and hosts and who convey information, organize and conduct encounters, and portray local cultures and scenes (Hitchcock, et al., 1993, p. 30), while perceptions from local residents, particularly the native or ethnic minority or indigenous communities, may be totally ignored. One recommendation is the use of ‘agents of change’ that should comprise local informants to discuss different views of all the different groups in the locality through various workshops, focus group meetings and in-depth interviews, not just following ‘top-down’ pronouncements from outsiders (Din, 2003, p. 334).

Such concerns about the socio-cultural and personal impacts of tourism on traditional communities raise the highly controversial question of what sustainability should actually mean at the local community level.

2.2.2.1 Community-level Sustainability: Conflicts and Paradoxes

The goals of STD are not only problematic in terms of whose benefit should be the primary focus, but also because there is no agreement about what sustainability should mean for host communities in traditional areas. On one side there are the regional and national top-down planners who enthusiastically support tourism as a form of cultural exchange that is of benefit to both parties (Pleumarom, 2001). On the other there are
those who argue that ‘tourism should be actively and continuously discouraged on ecological or cultural grounds’ (Hunter, 1997, p. 862).

In terms of economic and environmental goals the question arises of how much development is necessary or desirable and therefore ‘sustainable’. In some cases traditional forms of livelihood have become unavailable and tourism may then be an essential income substitute, required for the very survival of a community. For example, while the creation of national parks may be seen as valuable for both tourists and the environment, in some cases it has actually prevented traditional people from continuing to maintain their livelihoods from such practices as hunting, gathering and swidden agriculture (Bartsch, 2000). Even economic benefits can become doubtful if they lead to social disharmony as in a case cited by Sofield (2003, p. 49) of villagers in Nepal, where the wealthier members of the community, as lodge owners, benefited much more than the poorer ones from tourism income, leading to increased social divisions, with strongly divided communities and social sustainability at risk.

One response to the issue of local participation for sustainability is the concept of ‘Alternative Tourism’ (Smith & Eadington, 1992), which is emerging in connection with changes in worldviews (Mowforth & Munt, 2003; Sharpley & Telfer 2002; DANTE, 2002; Hardy & Beeton, 2001; Nelson et al., 1999; UNESCO & NWHO, 1999; ESCAP, 1999; WTO, 1999). These new forms of alternative tourism development focus on destination impact management with the object of being respectful to, and appreciative of, the diversity of tourism resources (Smith & Eadington, 1992).

One increasingly popular form of this kind of apparently environmentally sustainable tourism is ecotourism. However, even this is controversial. As an editorial in Mekong Update and Dialogue puts it, “On the one hand, ecotourism has emerged out of a critique of culturally and environmentally insensitive tourism development over a longer period of time. On the other, ecotourism itself targets the environment as a resource to be commodified in response to a ‘market in nature’, as demanded by tourists who are sold images of the Mekong as exotic, pristine, a new frontier (AMRC, 2002, p. 1).

Michaud (2000) also cites the case of the involvement of villagers in conducting trekking tours in Northern Thailand where, once numbers increased too much, there was not enough time left for traditional agricultural activities to be carried out, since the high tourism season coincides with the peak agricultural season. The exchange of a
subsistence for a monetary economy is not always beneficial to the community in such cases.

Leksakundilok (2004), in his paper on Ecotourism (ET) and Community-based Ecotourism (CBET) in the Mekong region summarises the situation well by pointing out that there are both benefits and constraints to this form of sustainable tourism. He does not agree with those critics who ‘have pessimistically predicted from past experience of conventional tourism development that ecotourism will follow the same paths’. However, he goes on to say, “This, of course, does not mean that ET and CBET is free from causing any impacts. However, the risk of impacts is always greater when development focuses mainly on economic benefit and neglects environmental and social dimensions. This is a risk of commodifying nature and culture (community identity) when stressing a resource’s authenticity, exocity, pristineness, rarity and remoteness as ecotourist selling points.” He then goes on to argue strongly that the experience in Thailand and other Mekong areas demonstrates that, “a top-down approach, with limited community participation cannot benefit the overall community, but on the contrary creates imbalances and uneven development. It is clear that empowerment of communities in controlling their resources and services will help them develop their knowledge and skills to cope with this new community business.” (Leksakundilok, 2004, p. 34. original italics). The issue of empowerment is in fact another topic open to debate, and is discussed below.

If well conducted, therefore, it is generally agreed that small-scale developments such as ecotourism can be ‘extremely significant, allowing population and lifestyle maintenance and possibly even a small amount of growth, without the dramatic improvements that many regions and their politicians seek’ (Hall & Boyd, 2005 p.10).

The most controversial issue, however, is that of cultural sustainability. One paradox is that in indigenous or tribal communities the unique culture is seen as a resource for tourism. On the other hand, there is the common view of governments and development organisations, as described by MacCaskill, towards the ‘legitimacy’ of such cultures. “Cultural differences tend to be viewed in the development field as a potential impediment to the desired goals of material progress and integration into the nation state. At a more general level, cultural differences are perceived as a challenge to the belief in a kind of universal humanity based upon the idea that the world is rapidly
homogenizing through the diffusion of technology, communication, and population movements” (McCaskill 1997, p. 40). Burns and Novelli also comment on contested cultures, where ‘the collusion between the state and the tourism sector can construct social identities that exclude minorities considered inappropriate to the image of tourism at particular destinations’ (2006, p. 21).

There are major debates about how much traditional culture can and should be maintained or preserved. Tourism as an economic activity has been blamed for the commodification of cultures, leading to degradation of the authenticity of local cultural products (Macleod, 2006, p. 177). Leepreecha (2005, p. 2) also states that, ‘Based on four decades of experience of ethnic tourism in the highlands of northern Thailand, the more tourism develops, the less authenticity of ethnic culture exists. Instead, it becomes a staged authenticity that is being performed for the tourist.’ Such loss of authenticity, it is argued, can both damage host communities and provides faked experiences for visitors. Jonsson (2000, pp. 219–23) also describes a situation in a Thai hill tribe area of ethnic performances being put on by the decree of a local official, leading to not only a fake experience for the tourists, but the degradation of the culture for the participants. Similarly Higham (2003, p. 134) draws attention to traditional culture being diluted through developing ‘human zoo’ tourist attractions, again in a hill tribe communities located in mountainous border area of Northern Thailand. A particularly striking example is that of the Padaung (long-necked) women refugees from Burma who have been kept in refugee settlements for many years to provide income from tourists, most of which goes to the Thai officials.\(^5\) Nevertheless, as Cohen points out (2001, p. 170), in Thailand tourism has not only contributed to the commodification of art, culture and sex, but has also contributed to the preservation of crafts and customs which would otherwise have disappeared, as well as to the emergence of new artistic styles of cultural performances.

The argument about ‘authenticity of culture’ is sometimes couched in terms of tradition and modernity. Some believe that modernity leads to alienation; and that ‘reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler life-styles’ (MacCannell, 1976, p. 3). Others, such as

\(^5\) A recent report in the Australian media (ABC News, 2008) claims that some such women who have been accepted for refugee re-settlement in other countries have been refused permission to leave by Thai authorities, fearing the loss of income.
Burns and Novelli (2006, p. 4) argue against the ‘hypocrisy and paradoxes that surround attempts at cultural preservation.’ Zhang (2005, p. 14) also maintains that the protection of a culture should not be to keep it static as it is impossible and against the law to stop a culture from changing, and stresses that respect should be given to the choice of its people. Burns (2006, p. 19) points out that actually ‘culture is mediated from both sides of the equation, assigning multiple meanings. In the hybrid culture of tourism (that is to say at the local-global nexus) the aim should be for institutions, civil society and the tourism industry to weave a social fabric that allows culture to be mediated for commercial purposes (thus creating economic opportunities) while at the same time reinforcing mutual respect and mutually beneficial relationships.’ Nevertheless, this is not always the case, and, as he says, appropriated cultures are often represented in brochures and the media in demeaning and sentimentalised ways.

In spite of all these potential problems, Hall (in Hall and Page, 2000, p. 95) argues that while a culture may need some protection, this does not mean that it should be kept static. Parnwell (in Hitchcock et al., 1993, p. 235) also argues for a pragmatic approach. He describes the situation of traditional handicrafts in the hill tribes of Thailand, and points out that while there are now cheap reproductions of traditional textiles, there are good reasons for this development to be welcomed because, as he points out, the pure quality goods are too expensive for most tourists and artisans also have economic needs. Therefore, the demand from outsiders may ‘breathe new life into moribund industries’, while there is nothing to prevent the people from keeping a separation between items for the external market and those for internal use. At the same time, as Cohen notes (2001, p. 170), tourism has also led to the emergence of new artistic styles of cultural performances in Thailand.

2.2.2.2 The Meaning of Empowerment

As already indicated, community participation in tourism planning is widely recognised as being essential. Indeed, through the evolution and development of Local Agenda 21, participation has become part of the apparatus of development in general, an inseparable process associated with the concepts of ‘empowerment’ and ‘sustainability’ (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 212). In fact, there is more debate about the degree of inclusion or control to be exercised by destination communities than about the need for their involvement at all (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 104).
However, a belief in participation fails to acknowledge the possible uneven power structures and unequal political priorities, both within so-called ‘communities’ and between these communities and outsiders conducting participatory exercises (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 214). Participation is certainly not a panacea, and does not automatically or necessarily lead to a change in the underlying structures of power when it is simply not working because it has been promoted by the powerful, and is controlled by existing power structures (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, pp. 214–5). In the worst case scenario local peoples, particularly ethnic minorities living in less developed countries, do not have any degree of control in the planning and development process if the local authorities are not interested in involving them in the process.

Hall (2007, p. 253) argues that even community decision-making does not give everyone equal access to power and representation, as is sometimes naively believed. In fact, in some cases wider community involvement may just be ‘tokenism’. Moreover, one of the most significant obstacles to the participatory planning approach is traditional power structures, which are still strong in many traditional societies (Timothy & Tosun, in Singh et al., 2003, p. 197). In developing countries it is common for a limited number of people or one individual from the privileged class to have all the voice in social decision-making, leading to the belief among leaders and community members at large that representational democracy, from the Western perspective at least, is unnecessary (Tosun, 2000; Haywood, 1988).

Timothy and Tosun (2003, p. 197) conclude that traditions of power distribution exclude most population groups from decision-making and commonly preclude them from participation in the benefits of tourism. This is particularly the case for women and ethnic minorities, who throughout history have been considered socially marginal in systems governed by particular rulers (Timothy, 2001). It is doubtful if ethnic minorities in less developed countries either have the right, or recognise that there could be any processes, to oppose the decisions that are made by their local leaders or the public sector. MacCaskill (1997) also maintains that disenfranchised groups such as rural people, women and indigenous persons are being increasingly marginalised and are not recognised as having a right to involvement in development processes because of the top-down approach.
Parnwell (1993 in Hitchcock et al., p. 300) also takes the issue beyond the local perspective and points out that the economic weaknesses of developing countries and regions mean that they are subjected to pressures from outside agencies, such as transnational corporations and international financial bodies. On the other hand he is also able to give a much more refined depiction of actual local power balances in his description of a case study in North-East Thailand, where “a cluster of rural communities has wrested control of local developmental and environmental processes from extra-local actors and institutions through a ‘moral community’ approach” (Parnwell, 2005 p. 2). The background to this was not only the presence of a very dynamic and charismatic monk, but also a significant shift in the Thai political processes, including ‘democratisation, decentralisation, civil society, localist discourse, alternative development discourse, environmentalism, populism’ (Parnwell, 2005, p. 2).

This rather positive interpretation contrasts strongly with an earlier view expressed by Pleumarom (2001) who, on the subject of Mekong tourism, pessimistically wrote that “there will be a focus on ecotourism and other alternative tourism forms such as ‘village tourism’ as long as there are major bottlenecks in infrastructure, which restrict large-scale tourism. Once all gates have been thrown open and the necessary facilities in place, the plan is to tout for all shades of tourism, which ultimately means a shift to the development of mainstream mass tourism.” (2001, p. 7). She based this summary on the report of the Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities (AMTA) of 1998 (PCI & TEAM, 1998). Clearly, Parnwell is right when he concludes that ‘the contestation of the balance of power appears to function bi-directionally from the bottom-up and the outside-in’ (2005, p. 19).

There are, therefore, not only contrasting and possibly conflicting goals towards sustainable tourism outcomes, but also a wide range of interpretations of how these goals should be defined. Finding the right balance is the question that must be asked of both the policymakers and those local people living in destination communities who are affected by the tourism development outcomes, either positively or negatively. The next section is a review of such tourism impacts in the planning process that have had significant effects upon ethnic communities in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS).
2.3 Review of GMS Tourism

This section gives an overview of tourism planning and destinations and recent development projects in the GMS, and specifically in Thailand’s Chiang Rai Province, and provides a rationale for the selection of the case study areas focused on in this thesis.

2.3.1 An Overview: GMS and Tourism Development

In 1992, with the assistance of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS) countries entered into a program of subregional economic cooperation, designed to enhance economic relations among the various member countries (ADB, 2003). This program has contributed to the development of infrastructure to enable further development and sharing of the common resource base, and to promote the free flow of goods and people in the subregion (ADB, 2003). However, most land use in this subregion is agricultural, especially in remote areas of the Mekong River Basin

6 (Hill, 2002, pp. 64–5). Another feature is that the area of mainland Southeast Asia and Southwestern China is one of the most ethnically complex regions in the world (Aasen 1998, p. 58). This means that, while it is of great appeal to tourists, tourism may have a particular impact on the various ethnic communities living in this area.

Tourism in the GMS is expanding at an enormous rate, with visitor arrivals being forecast to be almost 30 million people by 2018 (PCI & TEAM, 1998, p. 14). This significant expansion in tourism development has meant that destination communities in the area have faced problems of determining how they can minimise actual and potential adverse impacts associated with tourism development, whilst improving their quality of life and conserving local resources.

The objective of the GMS tourism program is to foster development of tourism in the GMS by stimulating demand from appropriate high-yielding tourist markets (ADB, 2003). This has been implemented through a series of joint marketing

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6 The Mekong River, the largest river in South-East Asia (Hill, 2002, p. 3), rises in Tibet and flows from southern-western China to Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam.

7 The ethnic groups in this sub-region are, for example, tribal people living in the mountainous areas, such as the Karen, Hmong, Lahu, Mien, Akha and Lisu.
initiatives, such as the Mekong Tourist Map, produced in 1999 by AMTA, or by a publicity campaign entitled the ‘Jewels of the Mekong’ (see Figure 2.3), which promotes the region’s natural, historical and cultural attractions (PATA, 1996).

Figure 2.3: Subregional Tourism ‘Jewels’
Source: ADB Subregional Working Group on Tourism (Parnwell, 2001, p. 238)

The concept behind the ADB’s economic/tourism co-operation project has been a focus on the distinct natural and cultural attractions and experiences accessible by different modes of transport networks within the GMS countries. Along the Mekong River six tourism circuits were identified as priority tourist routes (see Figure 2.4). Each
segment is navigable for a maximum of three days of downstream river travel and includes proximity to at least one regional/international airport. Other criteria for ranking the ‘priority’ and ‘additional’ circuits and routes were also identified: for example, the need for upgrading existing infrastructure, facilities and services, the likely length of stay and spending, social and environmental sensitivity, uniqueness of natural beauty and cultural significance (PCI & TEAM, 1998).

![Figure 2.4: Six Tourism Circuits in the GMS](image)

**Figure 2.4: Six Tourism Circuits in the GMS**


Private investors have also been involved in tourism development in the GMS. Among the travel destinations promoted in the Asian Development Bank’s Tourism Planning Study (ADB, 1996) are five historic cities that were included in a project
initiated in 1993 by a group of Thai business people, and backed by influential Thai and Chinese politicians. This project, called Quadrangle for Economic Cooperation (QEC) involved the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) of Thailand, and selected as the focus of their development plans five cities along the upper Mekong River: Jinghong, Kengtung, Luang Prabang, Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai, in four countries: China, Myanmar, Laos and Thailand, as shown in Figure 2.5 (NESDB, 1994).

Investors promoting the QEC were especially eager to win concessions and attract funds to build roads and to develop tourism projects in the border areas of Northern Thailand, Laos, Myanmar and Yunnan province—Southern China (Pleumarom, 2001, pp. 4–5).

![Figure 2.5: Quadrangle for Economic Cooperation (QEC) Project](source: NESDB, 1994)

### 2.3.2 Policy Implementation

The major macro-policymaking bodies in the GMS countries are the ADB⁸, ASEAN⁹, ESCAP¹⁰, PATA¹¹, AMTA¹² and NESDB¹³. Since 1992 the ADB has been the most prominent agent for establishing planning and development policies for the GMS in

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⁸ The Asian Development Bank
⁹ The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
¹⁰ The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
¹¹ The Pacific Asia Travel Association
¹² The Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities
¹³ The National Economic and Social Development Board of Thailand
order to encourage economic coordination between countries. From the perspective of the ADB, the priority for the tourism sector is to promote sustainable economic growth within the six GMS countries by considering them as one single tourist destination (ADB, 2003; NESDB, 2005). The ADB nominated 243 development projects over a twenty-year period (1999-2018) as identified in a tourism planning study produced by PCI and TEAM consultants (1998). Based on this report, the total direct and indirect gross expenditure was estimated at US$3.8 billion over the planning period, including subregional cooperation programs in marketing, investment in infrastructure development and product development, and improvements in safety, security, travel regulations, administration and human development (ADB, 1996, p. 147).

Figure 2.6: Transportation Networks of the GMS
Source: Reproduced from NESDB, 1994; TISTR, 1999
Promotion and marketing of tourism has been a major focus of regional tourism policy. A continuing activity of the ADB Subregional Working Group on Tourism, for example, is to promote marketing, coordinated by the Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities (AMTA), which has been based at the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) since 1996 (Vilaileot, 1998).

Apart from the ADB, there have been a number of other major international and national agents involved in the GMS tourism promotion schemes, namely:

- World Tourism Organisation (WTO), Asia-Pacific Regional Office;
- Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA);
- Asia Pacific Tourism Association (APTA);
- ASEAN Tourism Association (ASEANTA);
- APEC Tourism Working Group (APEC-TWG);
- Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) Tourism Business Forum;
- Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID); and
- National Tourism Organisations (NTOs) of the six countries.

(after Pleumarom, 2001, p. 5)

In addition to these agents for promoting business, investment and marketing, the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) has initiated a number of tourism study plans and education and training programs for the public and private sectors in this subregion. Regional co-operation has been supported by the annual Mekong Tourism Forum (MTF), which, since 1995, has had two main objectives: to provide a platform for the public and private sectors of the six countries to meet to discuss subregional tourism issues; and to raise the profile of the GMS as a tourist destination (PATA, 2000). The GMS countries have also undertaken measures to facilitate travel by opening new border checkpoints, providing new air transport routes and making available visas on arrival in some GMS capitals.

International tourism in the subregion has been growing at around 8 percent per annum since 1995, around twice the pace of global international tourism (see Figure 2.7; ADB, 2005, p.7). The left hand figure shows that the share of total international arrivals to the Asia Pacific region has increased significantly since 1995, reaching around 153 million out of around 760 million (20 percent) in 2004. The World Tourism Organisation (2001a) suggests international tourism will increase to around 1.6 billion
by 2020 and there will be around 46-52 million arrivals in the Mekong subregion by 2015, more than double the number in 2006 (about 22 million, as shown in Table 2.4 below). In addition, more than 24 million tourists travel between border provinces of the subregion each year, using border travel passes (ADB, 2005, p. 7).

### Table 2.4: International Visitor Arrivals to the GMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>10,061,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>2,330,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan (China)</td>
<td>1,131,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>604,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>673,823</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myanmar</td>
<td>204,862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GMS Total (as of March 2007)</td>
<td>15,008,908</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PATA Strategic Intelligence Centre, 2007.
The official statistics from the GMS’s national tourism authorities in 1996 showed that there were about 10.5 millions visitors (TISTR, 1999), less than half of the total number visiting the GMS in 2006. The number of GMS tourist arrivals is projected to continue to rise through this decade and to reach over 42 million by the year 2010.14

In contrast to this economic and infrastructure co-operation, social and environmental impact assessments of tourism development are rarely implemented, even when these matters are acknowledged as important, such as in the ADB’s report entitled ‘Mekong Lancang River Tourism Planning Study: Concept Plans’ (PCI & TEAM, 1998). Since 1998 there have been various meetings to follow up on the progress of this study among the private sector, government and international organisations (e.g. ADB, 1996; PATA, 2000; Parnwell, 2001). However, efficient action plans or practical strategies to avoid the potentially undesirable environmental and socio-cultural impacts of tourism development often receive little attention in terms of budget allocation for implementing these types of programs. As a result, tourism activities have had some very undesirable effects. For example, riverside communities have experienced significant impacts such as riverbank erosion, degradation of fisheries and even noise pollution from cruise vessels (Pinyorat, 2003).

There have, however, been a number of initiatives of UNESCO aimed at fostering higher standards of environmental conservation, community development, and planning and management of natural and cultural heritage resources. These include a manual about geographic information system (GIS) applications to cultural resource management for heritage site managers (UNESCO-PROAP, 1999), and a report about planning for sustainable tourism development in World Heritage Sites, with a case study of Hue in Vietnam used as an example (UNESCO-PROAP, 1995).

Because of their rich combination of cultural, natural and historical attractions, especially in remote settlements of ethnic minority groups along the upper Mekong River (ADB, 1996), GMS countries can of course offer various types of tourism opportunities as featured in the GMS tourism marketing promotion materials. Figure 2.8 shows the diversity of these promotional materials.

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14 Speech by H.E. Somphong Mondkhonvilay, Chairman of the Laos National Tourism Administration, Minister to the Prime Minister’s Office, given at the Opening Ceremony of the Mekong Tourism Investment Summit, 28 March 2006.
There are a few publishers in the global market that provide travel guides covering travel information about five of the six countries of the GMS in one book, namely Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, together with Northern Thailand and Yunnan Province of China. In September 2007, Lonely Planet launched the first edition of its GMS travel guide. This new guide recognises that travellers are increasingly interested in this region as a multi-stop destination. The 524 page guidebook includes 28 maps, a chapter on ancient wonders, detailed information on border crossings, sustainable travel information and extensive accommodation listings (Ray et al., 2007). It is not surprising that the cultural diversity of hill-tribes is a tourist attraction. One of the top-ten Mekong experiences mentioned in this book is to ‘meet the minorities, a multicoloured mosaic of mountain people’ (Ray et al., 2007, p. 20). There are also 17 pages devoted for the topic of ‘the culture’ of people with details of only five ethnic groups and their lifestyle in brief. At least, this guidebook provides foreign visitors with some useful ideas, including appropriate cultural codes of conduct, to earn the respect of the locals (p. 74).

While this book provides comprehensive information about the Mekong related areas of all five countries (and a useful guide to the regional transport hub of Bangkok, as the entry point for many visitors to the GMS), there are, as may be expected, fewer details here than provided in the individual one-country travel guides by Lonely Planet for the GMS countries. The Mekong is fundamental to the lives of all of the people of

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15 Myanmar (Burma), although nominally a GMS country, is not covered in the book.
Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam and so these countries are dealt with more comprehensively than the Mekong affected areas of Thailand and China. Nevertheless, this new publication is a useful addition to the accessibility for intending visitors of the emerging tourist powerhouse in Southeast Asia that is the GMS.

2.3.3 Unresolved Issues in Development, Tourism and Sustainability

For the GMS governments themselves, the main driving force behind economic cooperation with respect to tourism development has been a desire to increase national income by increasing the number of tourists. This is to be accomplished through progressive physical infrastructure development and marketing strategies (ADB, 2003; PATA, 2003; TISTR, 1999). A mid-term review of the GMS Strategic Framework 2002-2012 (ADB 2007) reports on 29 projects listed in the tourism sector strategy (ADB 2005, pp. 62–5). The budgets estimated for the categories of marketing and infrastructure development of these projects come to a total of US$ 245 million, while human resource development, heritage conservation, social impact management, pro-poor tourism and public-private partnership programs altogether are estimated to reach a total cost of US$ 55 million — four times lower than the previous group.

Pleumarom (2002, pp. 143-4) strongly criticises the contradictions in the ADB’s GMS strategy plans for promoting unlimited large-scale tourism infrastructure development while claiming to support the concepts of sustainability, ecotourism, village-based tourism as well as poverty reduction. She reviews four case studies in the GMS countries which confirm that although there are some success stories with economic benefits derived from tourism development activities, these are minor compared with irreversible harm done to local resources in the natural environments and/or cultural landscapes, as well as inevitable degradation of indigenous societies and traditional cultures. She also points out that only a tiny proportion of tourism income actually reaches villagers (Pleumarom, 2002, p. 144). This has been quantified in a case study of a remote hill tribe village in Northern Thailand, where little more than two percent of the money spent by tourists reached the tribal villagers (Bartsch, 2000, p. 207).

In other words, there seems to be an unbalanced form of development in the subregion, since policies are clearly based largely on catering to tourist demands rather
than on improving the quality of the ‘supply’ side, namely the host communities and the local resources. It is therefore not surprising that there has been a call for alternative policies to control the growth of tourism and associated development. There is now a challenge to understand how changes associated with different tourism development policies impact on local communities and associated tourism resources.

The unified approach to promoting tourism in the GMS must also be questioned. Some observers (Kaosa-ar d & Dore, 2003, p. 2) note that the regional context is being shaped by a wide range of historical and contemporary forces, and that, partly as a consequence of relative peace, but owing also to various other global and regional drivers, there is an increasing transnational regionalism, with a surge in regional connections that is led either by the state, business or civil society. Nevertheless, countries in the GMS have experienced varying rates of growth (PCI & TEAM, 1998, p. 14) and the relative lack of political stability in some member countries may slow down the progress and full benefits of the GMS economic cooperation (Krongkaew, 2004). This means that different forms of tourism development will be sometimes more and sometimes less suitable for different countries and societies and their development needs and objectives (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002, p. 3). The concept of ‘the Mekong’ as a region may require critical analysis because many fundamental questions remain about what it connotes, in terms of its complex entity and various roles, and not just its geographical elements, but also its cultural and social dimensions and, above all, the people who live in the area, with their distinct identities, culture, and a history that has alternated between peace and conflict (Diokno & Chinh, 2006, pp. 2–13).

These differing rates of development, and therefore needs, are generally ignored, since most government policies in the subregion have focused on large-scale economic development programs, such as physical infrastructure, business opportunities and marketing (NESDB, 1999; TISTR, 1999). For example, a high-priority investment budget for proposed road and railway projects has been allocated for promoting transportation networks (see Figure 2.6). Similarly, the Mekong River navigation project aims to improve international trade and tourism by widening the navigation channel of the river (Pinyorat, 2003).

What is more, of the six countries in the GMS, only Thailand has had long exposure to international market forces (PCI & TEAM, 1998, p. 3). The other five
countries are at various economic stages, from socialistic command economies to market economies, and therefore the mind-set of their political leaders, and policy implementation in each of these countries with regard to future domestic development and international cooperation and investment, is not uniform. A further regional problem may be the ADB’s lack of transparency in policymaking for GMS development. Cornford and Simon (2001, p. 79) point out that the ADB’s meetings are open only to donor countries, and that it conducts country level operations where it is rare that anything but token public input and participation occurs.

The mid-term review of the GMS Strategic Framework 2002-2012 (ADB 2007) recognised some of these issues, and made two major recommendations (p. 35):

- recognising the different levels of development among GMS countries, requiring flexibility and special attention to the less advanced member countries;
- promoting greater ownership and broad-based participation in the GMS program.

In its summary table of recommendations for overall strategy and programs (p. 36), it shows that although there has been good progress in ‘hardware’ aspects of cooperation, more is required in ‘software’ aspects including i) trade and investment facilitation, ii) promotion of private sector participation and iii) skills development. One of the challenges mentioned is that of expanding engagement with civil society, and pursuing a consultative mechanism in the design, implementation and monitoring of subregional programs and projects (p. 37). However, there is no mention of a local participation mechanism, particularly for members of ethnic minorities who may be unfavourably affected by development impacts. In the tourism section (p. 41), there are four recommendations, namely a GMS visa scheme, the promotion of conferences or events, reviewing the Mekong Tourism Office’s administration structure and prioritising the 29 projects listed in the tourism sector strategy. Clearly there has been little serious attention paid to the issue of ‘broad-based participation’ mentioned as above.

Pleumarom (2002) is particularly critical, and argues that in fact the planning for sustainable tourism in the GMS has largely remained a theoretical exercise without sufficiently taking into account the milieu in which tourism is evolving (p. 152). Her conclusion is that, “there is little evidence that ‘bottom-up’ development alternatives,
based on the principles of economic equity, social justice, cultural integrity and ecological sustainability, are being heeded in tourism development planning, even though such grass-roots-oriented proposals could be the key to resolve the cause of problems” (p. 156).

Parnwell (1998) also points out that despite tourism being an important manifestation of the globalisation phenomenon, its impact on host societies is very much dependent upon the influence of local institutions and actors – the ownership of regulatory power or ‘conduits of capitalism’. As a result, he concludes that local people, the poor and marginalised in particular, are exposed to greater political, social, economic and ecological insecurity. Their involvement in planning is therefore essential if they are to benefit rather than be harmed by development strategies for tourism. At the same time one should not underestimate the significance of local players in the global game, as it is by them that the success or failure of tourism development is ultimately decided (Teo & Chang, 1998).

Apart from the international, regional and local participants, there are also intermediate agents whose role is extremely important, even though it is not usually officially recognised as such in planning decisions. Ratner (2003, p. 75) points out the important role of non-state actors such as NGOs, which increase the weight that local livelihood interests carry in Mekong development decisions, in part because of the political and legal protections granted to such civil society groups within each country. He suggests that ‘where political openings have allowed communities to assert their interests effectively, debates over development alternatives have shifted notably’ and concludes about the politics of the GMS governance as follows:

“While there is no single-stroke solution to improving the representation of local livelihood interests in Mekong basin development decisions, incremental changes do matter. Diplomatic pressures that make cooperation more attractive for riparian governments, support for domestic civil society groups and their linkages in international advocacy networks, and policy reforms that increase the accountability of aid agencies and private developers across international borders are essential steps towards more equitable regional governance.” (p. 76)
2.3.4 Recent GMS Tourism Development Reviews

There are significant development plans and projects associated with tourism in the GMS countries, the larger of which involve ADB funding and are related to the overall strategies outlined above.

2.3.4.1 The GMS Tourism Sector Strategy 2006-2010

This is the ADB project that aims to promote tourism infrastructure development, attractions and products, as well as marketing and business collaboration programs as part of the vision of the ten-year strategic framework of the GMS Economic Cooperation Program\textsuperscript{16}, which can also be defined in terms of the Millennium Development Goals\textsuperscript{17} (ADB, 2005). The objective for the tourism sector is to address the impediments that prevent it from making a bigger and more potent contribution to achieving the goals. More precisely, the objective is to develop and promote the Mekong as a single destination, offering a diversity of good quality and high-yielding subregional products that help to distribute the benefits of tourism more widely; add to the tourism development efforts of each GMS country; and contribute to poverty reduction, gender equality and the empowerment of women, and sustainable development, while minimising any adverse impacts (ADB, 2005, p. vi).

A broad indication of the total financing plan and its distribution over the first years for the programs of the strategy is given in Table 2.5 below. The full cost of the strategy’s program in this period is expected to be around $441 million, with the highest


\textsuperscript{17} There are three of eight Millennium Development Goals that target integrating the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programs and reversing the loss of environmental resources; poverty alleviation (MDG1) that targets the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger and halving, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than US$ 1.00 per day; promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women (MDG3); and ensuring environmental sustainability (MDG7) (ADB, 2005, p. 22). As announced at the Johannesburg Summit 2002, the World Tourism Organisation (UN-WTO) launched an initiative to creatively develop sustainable tourism as a force for poverty alleviation called the Sustainable Tourism — Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) Initiative. Since then, there have been an increasing number of follow-up conferences and forums to develop this concept of pro-poor tourism into practice, together with an emerging literature such as Hall (2007); Hall and Brown (2006) and Roe et al. (2004). The ADB and the Mekong Tourism Coordination Office (MTCO) are the two major leading international agencies working in collaboration with the GMS National Tourism Organisation (GMS-NTOs) to fund, plan and manage strategic means, aiming to make sure that the benefits of tourism are more equitably distributed among countries especially to poor ethnic communities in the subregion.
budget of almost $373 million intended for tourism-related infrastructure development. Where appropriate, public-private partnership and private sector participation through build-operate-transfer, build-lease-transfer, and similar co-financing arrangements are also encouraged (ADB, 2005, p. 60). These seven programs need to be reviewed annually with a set of the performance baseline indicators in terms of their overall impact, outcome and/or outputs. For example capacity building and training programs for cultural and natural heritage site managers to be implemented in all priority areas by 2010 is the indicator for the heritage conservation and social impact management program (ADB, 2005, p. 68). Because some systematic and comparable baseline data do not exist for the subregional countries, such as the extent of impact on ethnic communities, a proposal has been developed to include a baseline study with pilot sites as part of the five-year monitoring plan.

**Table 2.5: Estimated Program Costs, 2006-2010 (US$ Million)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programs</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Marketing and product development</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Human resource development</td>
<td>18.10</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Heritage conservation and social impact management</td>
<td>21.70</td>
<td>1.09</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>7.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pro-poor tourism development</td>
<td>13.50</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>4.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Private sector participation</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Facilitating the movement of tourists</td>
<td>6.75</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tourism-related infrastructure development</td>
<td>372.73</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>53.85</td>
<td>97.70</td>
<td>97.70</td>
<td>119.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>440.78</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.52</strong></td>
<td><strong>64.07</strong></td>
<td><strong>113.98</strong></td>
<td><strong>114.48</strong></td>
<td><strong>140.72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, it is unclear how any impact on ethnic communities will be identified and monitored. There are no clear indicators or benchmark criteria related to capacity building and training programs for increasing the level of local participation of ethnic people living in remote areas. Thus, however well-intentioned the strategy may be, the approach is basically top-down and therefore unlikely to involve community participation in any meaningful way. Its effects on minority groups in destination
communities may therefore be very likely to create or exacerbate imbalances and uneven development, thus widening the inequality gap between ethnic minorities and the policymakers (Khanal & Babar, 2007, p. 8).

2.3.4.2 Mekong Tourism Development Project (MTDP)

This is another project funded (to the tune of US$47 million) by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) to extend over six years from 2003 to 2008, which includes tourism-related infrastructure development. The Mekong Tourism Development Project is funding 11 subprojects for Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam to be used as models for sector reform and good practice in tourism in rural and remote provinces. The development programs are intended to be sustainable, equitable, pro-poor, socially responsible and internationally competitive.

The goal is also to facilitate private sector participation in tourism marketing and promotion. In order to achieve this, the project comprises four parts, the first of which is tourism-related infrastructure improvements. The second one listed is ‘pro-poor, community-based tourism development’ and the others are sub-regional co-operation for sustainable tourism and implementation assistance to the institutions involved. In the description of the ‘policy dialogue’ for the project, the primary focus is on ‘facilitating the movement of tourists in the region’ and fulfilling their interests. Only then, as ‘other results of the intensive policy’ are the following mentioned: ‘the integration of poverty, gender, environmental, resettlement, and indigenous people’s concerns in the preparation of policies’ (ADB, 2003).

Furthermore, there is discussion of facilitated and even ‘involuntary resettlement’ in some cases (although these are described as ‘minor’). The description clearly projects a top-down approach for ethnic minorities, who are certainly intended to ‘enjoy the benefits of tourism’, but where the only mention of dealing with ‘potential negative impacts’ is that they should be ‘mitigated through training and awareness programs.’ The aim is to enable ‘the poor, women, and indigenous communities to participate in and influence development projects that directly bear on their own futures. Indigenous minorities and women, in particular, will benefit from ecotourism and village-based tourism through training as guides and managers, provision of food and

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18 There are several ADB programs and projects for GMS tourism development. They can be viewed with updates on the ADB’s GMS tourism development homepage: www.adb.org/GMS/Projects/flagshipK.asp.
accommodation for tourists, and from the manufacture and sale of handicrafts. Ethnic minorities will also increasingly value their own cultures as tourists and governments show an interest in them and their survival. Increased exposure to tourism will be accompanied by a corresponding awareness of the need to protect the physical and cultural environments from social and economic pressures’ (ADB, 2003).

While ‘participatory community consultations’ is planned, this is listed together with consultations with a large range of other bodies (including government agencies and private sector operators), all of which, both singly and especially in combination, are likely to have far more powerful voices in expressing their interests than will local marginalised communities.

2.3.4.3 Mekong River Commission (MRC)’s Strategic Plan 2006-2010 (MRC, 2006)

The Mekong River Commission (MRC) was established in 1995 by an agreement between the governments of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, with the two upper states of the Mekong River Basin, the People’s Republic of China and the Union of Myanmar as dialogue partners to the MRC. The goal has been to ‘develop the economic potential of the river’ through cooperation. The MRC is funded by contributions from the four member countries and from aid donors, including international development agencies and banks such as the ADB (MRC, 2006).

In the 2006-2010 Strategic Plan there are goals and objectives related to tourism such as infrastructure development, water resource management, impact assessment, capacity building and conflict management (MRC, 2006, pp. 47–55). These goals are supposed to be inextricably linked with poverty alleviation and environmental protection that can be achieved with an integrated and coordinated approach. Although it is noted in this plan that such an approach must be decentralised, participatory, small-scale, people-centred, non-state biased and gender mainstreamed (p. 9), there have not yet been any indicators identified to monitor those action plans in practice, but only a promise in the document (p. 45) to develop monitoring and evaluation systems towards attaining the goals and objectives in this Strategic Plan. Moreover, as is stated (2006, pp. 42–3), procedures and processes for increased stakeholder participation need to be developed, including forums for participation, methods for cataloguing information, and how gathered information will be used as input into planning and monitoring activities.
In this Strategic Plan, two objectives of the four main goals are closely related to tourism. Firstly, the objective is to build more active and efficient river transportation through increased freedom of navigation in order to increase social development, international trade and tourism opportunities (p. 49). Secondly, the objective is to develop the tourism potential of the Mekong to benefit local economies (p. 51). However, the following lists of outputs or actions are presented with no indication of funding support (pp. 49–55):

- improved risk and emergency management capacity as related to navigation;
- tourism development strategy to benefit local people;
- support of line agencies in identification and preparation of the priority sustainable tourism development projects, including environmental management and protection projects;
- network of partners (universities, research institutes, civil society and other interested and relevant organisations) established;
- capacity needs assessment reports;
- training sessions and toolkits.

There is thus a need for further investigations as to whether or not these important actions will be sufficiently funded in the near future. Without accountability built into the projects, it is hard to see who would bear any blame if there are undesirable impacts resulting from these tourism development projects and a lack of genuine socio-economic benefits to the whole community, particularly those in poor ethnic localities.

2.3.4.4 The Mekong Tourism Office’s Marketing Plan 2008-2011 (Semone, 2008)

The Mekong Tourism Office (MTO) located in Bangkok was established in February 2006, replacing the Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities (AMTA), with seed funding from the GMS Tourism Working Group which represents the six national governments in the Greater Mekong Sub-region. The MTO has two primary functions (MTO, 2007):

1) Development — to co-ordinate sustainable pro-poor tourism development projects in the Mekong in line with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals; and
2) Marketing — to promote the Mekong region as a single travel and tourism destination under the brand ‘Mekong Tourism’.

The priorities would be to consolidate resources, build credibility and win the confidence of the private sector over three phases of activity. The recommended plan for the first phase involves: i) appointing a country coordinator for Mekong activities in each member National Tourism Organisation (NTO); ii) upgrading the MTO’s website; iii) creating a Mekong Travel Planner for travel agents; iv) presenting MTO at international events; v) facilitating subregional networking activities; vi) enhancing the MTO member database; vii) improving monthly updates to all stakeholders; viii) holding regular private sector advisory meetings; and ix) carrying out market research. Later phases include GMS community engagement, social website capabilities with search engine optimisation, media familiarisation trips, re-establishing the Mekong Tourism Forum and the Visit GMS Year.

Based on information from the website, the Responsible Guide to Tourism in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, funded by the NTOs of the three countries, has been published. Up to 30 activities, attractions or outlets in each country were to be profiled in one publication. The aim is to help visitors enjoy activities that minimise negative tourism impacts, create income for local people, involve local people in running the businesses, conserve natural and cultural heritage, provide meaningful experiences for tourists, help local people and visitors with physical disabilities, and build respect between visitors and hosts. However, with the two obvious main functions of the MTO being development and marketing, as well as its staff’s limited skills in other non-economic aspects, it is doubtful how realisations of the MTO’s projects will be implemented with sensitive care, environmentally, socially and culturally.

Apart from these projects, the GMS has also been the target for other international aid agencies, including the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). The 2006 White Paper on the Australian Government’s Overseas Aid Program Australian Aid: Growth and Stability and the following AusAID’s GMS Strategy 2007-2011 identify the Mekong subregion as a continuing area of priority for Australia’s aid program. It should be noted that the strategy concentrates on some of the higher priority issues related to impacts on tourism infrastructure development, such as poverty alleviation and international water resource
One of the objectives in water resource management is to upgrade Mekong River navigation and maintain river transport facilities. While this could improve the lives and incomes of the basin’s people through increased employment opportunities in trade and tourism, it may also produce undesirable impacts on environmental resources and local communities. Most damaging would seem to be an uncontrolled increase in tourist numbers. For example, in Lijiang county of Yunnan province the thousands of tourists climbing Yulong Snow Mountain has resulted in severe environmental problems with threats to the sustainability of local communities (Seenprachaong, 2005, p. 8). It is also questionable how the relevant authorities and/or agencies will conduct further social and cultural impact assessment studies with a high level of meaningful participation and effective monitoring for the affected communities to have their voices heard. In Mekong countries — particularly Myanmar, China, Vietnam and Laos, the possibilities for public participation are extremely weak; Thailand has at least a relatively well-established civic rights and environmental movement in a free press (Pleumarom, 2001, p. 28).

Nevertheless, with all the projects discussed above, the ADB could be in a powerful position to orchestrate the power balance among various groups of stakeholders, between global and local forces, and between what Parnwell (2001, pp. 244–5) so neatly phrases as ‘regulation for and regulation of the tourism industry’ in the subregion, in a manner that is conducive to sustainable tourism development. The Bank has a clear ‘Policy on Indigenous Peoples’ to bring them the same development opportunities as those for majority and mainstream groups in society. At least in theory all levels of policymakers are supposed to strive to ensure that these minority ethnic groups are fully consulted and ideally involved when decisions are being made (Parnwell, 2001, p. 237). Still, the main question remains: how local perspectives on development impacts and participation will genuinely be the key mechanism in the planning and development processes of these international aid projects.
2.3.5 Impacts on Local GMS Communities

As described above, tourism development in the GMS initiated by international and national agencies has been the product of top-down policy-making. In this type of planning, personal attitudes with respect to local traditions and customs, as well as the cultural landscape and heritage resources in host communities, seem to receive little attention from tourism policymakers. However, any tourism planning that fails to seriously take into account these responses and the participation of local residents in tourism planning runs the risk of failure for both investors and developers, and negative long-term impacts on the local community may result. Since local residents in destination communities are likely to be a part of the experience that tourists engage in to varying degrees, positive attitudes and relationships between host communities and tourists are seen as necessary for success (Pearce et al., 1996; Murphy, 1985).

Focusing on purely economic outcomes can be misguided in a number of ways. Firstly, tourism can be driven by foreign industry interests, and so the promise of economic gain for destination countries is often greatly over-estimated. Moreover, short-term economic benefits of tourism can be expected to induce local people to change their perceptions towards future development to favour only those that generate financial benefits (Williams & Lawson, 2001, p. 274), resulting in losses of other resources. Indeed, within tourism policies and practices in the GMS there is a vast gap between ‘sustainable tourism’ as a theoretical ideal, and what has been planned and what has then been actually achieved. Finally, one of the inevitable problems for the GMS countries is the influence of political interests behind large-scale infrastructure development projects and tourism marketing campaigns, usually funded as priority outputs on economic development plans and strategies (Theerapappisit, 2003a; Pleumarom, 2001), that conflict with the interests of the people directly affected at the local level.

Growth in tourism has also had positive socio-economic effects, which can be seen in increases in cross-border activities as a result of new transport networks and the removal of barriers to international movement. Consequently, each GMS country has experienced a transition from inward-looking, centrally controlled economies to more open international regimes, including liberal trading and tourism development activities. When proposed transport infrastructure networks are completed, water transportation
long the Mekong River and roads in the four countries involved in the QEC project (China, Myanmar, Laos and Thailand) should greatly facilitate both international trading as well as tourism development.

The impact of these developments may, overall, be both advantageous and disadvantageous to tourism destination communities, in terms of their ability to enhance local employment opportunities, but with an increased risk of undesirable social and environmental impacts (UNEP, 2001). For example, the Mekong Navigation Development Project is likely to be a mixed blessing in that there will be future expansion of terminal capacity at ports on the river which will increase the volume of annual cargo flow, but which will also encourage mass tourism with all the negative impacts that can bring (not least of which is the sex trade).

Despite growing interest in the importance of ethnic and cultural diversity in the subregion, the low degree of involvement of ethnic groups at every stage, from planning to management of tourism, indicates the lack of an integrated approach to sustainable tourism planning (Theerapappisit, 2003b; Parnwell, 2001; Pleumarom, 2001; McCaskill & Kampe, 1997; Dutt, 1996). Such groups are in fact regularly ignored by central government planners. For example a number of local communities, particularly upland ethnic groups that mostly live in poverty, with virtually no employment prospects, have had to move away from forest preservation zones in National Parks in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam to make way for mega-development projects such as hydropower dams or other infrastructure developments to seek employment and/or to find somewhere to live (Morris & Vathana, 2003, p. 16).

A fundamental question that this thesis sets out to answer is to what extent ethnic communities in this subregion have any choice about whether they are willing to participate in top-down tourism development plans. If they are, to what degree, for what reasons and on what basis do these people take part in tourism planning and development?
2.3.6 GMS Village and Community Based Tourism

2.3.6.1 Proposed Village-based Tourism

One attempt at incorporating local communities within tourism planning was the ‘village-based tourism’ project which was initiated as a tourism development program for the subregion in 1999 (PCI & TEAM, 1998). Each nation nominated one village for the development of a village-based tourism program with the aim of increasing income for the villagers (as shown in Table 2.6). The principal opportunities were seen as coming from providing:

- accommodation (homestay and guest houses);
- food and beverages;
- souvenir and handicraft sales;
- guide services;
- performances of songs, dance and skills;
- transport and communications.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Thailand</th>
<th>Vietnam</th>
<th>Laos</th>
<th>Myanmar</th>
<th>China (Yunnan)</th>
<th>Cambodia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>Had Bai</td>
<td>Thoi Son</td>
<td>Pak Beng</td>
<td>Wan Pon</td>
<td>Meng Han</td>
<td>Koh Dach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2.3.6.2 Limitations to Village-based Tourism

Nevertheless, in spite of the no doubt good intentions of the planners, the top-down planning approach used had numerous limitations, which the ADB’s consultant team (PCI & TEAM, 1998) found with regard to all six sites selected for this project (see Table 2.8).

The first problem concerns the fact that there were no set agreed criteria used to identify the villages nominated by senior officers in the national tourism organisations in the six GMS countries (PCI-TEAM, 1998). Consequently, none of these six villages were unique or offered anything different from ordinary rural villages (see evaluation details in Table 2.7 below). In this way perhaps neither the tourists nor the local populations in the target areas were best served.
Another potential problem was that while most GMS tourism development programs started with an emphasis on infrastructure development, in this program as developed by the Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities (AMTA) in 1998,\textsuperscript{19} the focus was on marketing and product development, which may or may not have been perceived as beneficial by local residents in relation to community development.

\textbf{Table 2.7: Evaluation of the Tourism Characteristics of the Six Villages}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country (C) Village (V)</th>
<th>Ethnic uniqueness</th>
<th>Cultural uniqueness</th>
<th>Ability to absorb the impact of visitor traffic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(C) Vietnam (V) Thoi Son</td>
<td>An interesting area, but no unique ethnicity present.</td>
<td>An interesting set of village activities, but not unique.</td>
<td>Presently coping without major problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Thailand (V) Had Bai</td>
<td>These people have adapted mainstream external characteristics.</td>
<td>Weaving is practised less and less in Thailand, however, on the opposite bank a parallel Laos village maintains stronger traditional customs.</td>
<td>Day tripper activity appears to add to the support of one shop selling clothes and traditional weaving. No problems are presently apparent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Myanmar (V) Wan Pon</td>
<td>This is a Shan village with a number of modern-style houses. It is not unique.</td>
<td>The village itself is not unique.</td>
<td>A village on the river designated in earlier studies as a possible transport node.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Laos (V) Pak Beng</td>
<td>Lowland Laos people exhibiting no particular unique traits.</td>
<td>A growing commercial river settlement demonstrating environmental, sanitation, building code and other difficulties.</td>
<td>Facilities are poor for tourists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) China (Yunnan) (V) Meng Han</td>
<td>Dai/Tai people, the most common minority in the area.</td>
<td>One of many interesting villages.</td>
<td>Capacity for domestic tourists may have been reached.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(C) Cambodia (V) Koh Dach</td>
<td>Khmer people.</td>
<td>This is not a unique set of villages, but they are accessible from Phnom Penh as a day trip break on the river.</td>
<td>Some 50,000 thousand domestic day trippers use the beach area in the dry season on weekends. Some environmental degradation is visible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is actually questionable whether the concept of ‘village-based’ tourism is really appropriate at all. Richards and Hall (2000, p. 49) suggest that, compared to the term ‘village’, the term ‘community’ can embrace notions of spatial contiguity, social

\textsuperscript{19} In 1998, the researcher worked with the AMTA and learned about this emerging ‘village-based tourism’ project as an assistant to the team leader in the ADB project entitled \textit{Mekong Lancang River Tourism Planning Study: Concept Plans}. 

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interaction, reflexivity, shared aspirations and values in a wider spatial context (for further discussion on the notion of community, see chapter 3). ‘Community-based’ tourism may, therefore, be a more appropriate concept, as the term ‘village-based tourism’ may be limited in its scope to locations within an official administrative ‘village’ boundary.

2.3.6.3 Moving towards Community-based Tourism

Throughout Southeast Asia local communities occasionally seek alternative forms of tourism and associated developments in order to balance opportunities and costs. Mann (2000, pp. 18–9) defines community-based tourism as: ‘tours owned and run entirely or mainly by local communities, with the possibility to involve non-community partners such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or commercial tour operators’, while France (1997, p. 16) defines it as a type of tourism run by and for the local community, and involving a variety of scales of operation, even extending to organised mass tourism coach travel packages.

Cultural heritage may be one of the most important attractions of community-based tourism, which is also likely to be more socially sustainable because tourism activities are developed and operated by local community members (Hatton, 1999).

In the GMS it is the variety of local cultures and environments represented in the destination communities that provide one of the key components to the viability of tourism. The active participation of local people in the planning and execution of tourism planning could therefore be said to be essential.

Clearly there are many conflicting and contradictory goals in GMS development and tourism planning, and the theory is not often matched by practice when it comes to protecting the interests of the host communities. Nevertheless the theoretical goals can be increasingly reached if all three approaches, top-down, bottom-up and intermediate, are constantly focused on keeping these in mind, and working towards them.
2.4 Development in Thailand: Ethnicity and Planning Issues

2.4.1 Uneven Thai Development Planning Policies

Responsibility for drafting Thailand’s national development plans has long been the preserve of established technocrats located mainly in the capital city, Bangkok, for the benefit of a wealthy elite (Parnwell, 1996, pp. 5–6). Therefore, Thailand’s top-down development approach over the past decades concentrated growth in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (BMR), although 90 percent of the poor lived in rural areas (Chatterjee et al., 2004, p. 13).

The national development plans formulated by the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) since 1957 provide general guidelines which require support from the various sectoral government agencies within the Thai bureaucracy (Parnwell, 1996, p. 6). During the 1960s, the NESDB promoted rapid growth in GDP through capital-intensive industrialisation through to the 1970s when it transformed policies with more concern for personal, sectoral and regional equity (Parnwell, 1996, p. 6). The centralised bias to planning had widened the social gap between the (urban) rich and the (rural) poor in Thai agriculture-based society for more than eight decades since the administrative reforms undertaken by the King Rama V, Chulalongkorn, in 1892 (Parnwell, 1996, p. 8). Since the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1977-81) the government’s rhetoric has shifted from growth per se to growth with equity, but then moved to concentrate on the BMR again in the Sixth Five-Year Plan during 1987 to 1991. In addition, while the Eastern Region, with the Eastern Seaboard (ESB) Project 80-150 km. from the BMR, was greatly promoted, the North and North-East Regions lagged increasingly behind, with widening regional disparities (Parnwell, 1996, p. 9).

In Thailand, orthodox rural development planning is characterised by top-down, macro-level centralised planning strategies, in which all crucial decisions regarding development have been taken by the privileged few urban elites in central governments and consequently a large gap exists between ‘planners’ and ‘people’ (Parnwell & Khamanarong, 1996, p. 162). However, bottom-up approaches may suffer from a number of constraints such as the difficulty of finding effective channels of communication through which individuals or groups at the local level can participate, the lack of any homogeneity of interests within such groups, the time and money
required to undertake any effective form of participatory planning and, in many instances, fundamental differences between local and national interests (Apthorpe & Conyers, 1982, p. 53).

### 2.4.2 Politics on Ethnic Minorities

The hill tribes were generally understood to be ethnic minorities who settled in Thailand around the turn of the 20th century (Vaddhanaphuti, 2005, p. 156). Officially, the government’s major census established a population of 554,172 hill tribe members in 1985–1988 and identified nine ethnic groups living in 3,533 villages in twenty provinces (Vaddhanaphuti, 2005, p. 156).

The policy of the Thai Government towards hill tribes is based on a declaration of July 6, 1976, in which is stated the intention to integrate these people into the Thai state and give them full rights to practice their religions and maintain their cultures. The principal objective of this policy is clear. It is stated quite precisely that the Thai Government wishes to enable the hill tribes to be first-class, self-reliant Thai citizens. There are, however, many hill tribe problems as identified by the Thai official authorities related to some aspects of the hill tribes’ way of living which are considered to be inappropriate to the socioeconomic and political situation of the country (TRI, 1986, pp. 1–2, original emphasis).

As mentioned above, the government interpreted many of the hill tribes’ cultural practices, which included shifting cultivation, opium production, and illiteracy, as ‘problems of the hill tribes’ that were detrimental to national interests. The people were also seen as non-Thai or illegal immigrants (Vaddhanaphuti, 2005, pp. 157–8). This perception became the basis upon which the hill tribe development policies were formulated and justified until the 1970s–1980s, when the policy became one of assimilation, allowing the hill tribes to maintain their cultures as they were being integrated into the larger Thai society (Vaddhanaphuti, 2005, p. 158).

“During the late 1990s, there emerged conflicting perceptions of the Thai hill tribe ethnic minorities. On the one hand, the so-called hill tribes had been presented as peoples of exotic cultures who live a simple life in harmony with nature in the mountains. They were important as a tourist attraction and for their crafts and textiles that were marketable to Western visitors. They were
also seen as a symbol of Thailand’s cultural diversity. On the other hand, there was a perception of the hill tribe peoples as protestors because of their opposition to the government’s forest policies and their demands for the right to solve their own problems.” (Vaddhanaphuti, 2005, p. 160)

Leepreecha (2005, p. 11) also identifies contradictory state policies. He argues that the state’s policy towards highland ethnic minorities is actually assimilation, ‘even though officially it is integration with attempts to maintain the traditional ways of life’. This has been implemented through education, with ethnic languages banned in schools, religious conversion to Buddhism from animism, and the use of Thai names for registration purposes. Traditional knowledge is not acknowledged, and the people are considered ‘primitive’. At the same time, the state’s ethnic tourism policy aims at strengthening the traditional ways as a means of attracting tourists.

However, some argue that attempts to be sensitive to the cultural practices of indigenous people are based on a static view of culture by naïve and romantic Western outsiders, who desire to preserve outmoded traditional indigenous culture (McCaskill & Kampe, 1997, p. 43). On the other hand, Thai government policies and modernisation have been causing the loss of cultural knowledge among hilltribe youth. In fact, development policies should incorporate indigenous knowledge corresponding to the needs expressed by the ethnic groups themselves, as they are the ones who are the most concerned with the retention of their own traditional cultural features, such as language, folk medicine or healing practices, traditional agricultural methods, forest conservation practices, myths and stories, customary law, and ancestral lineages (McCaskill and Kampe, 1997, p. 43). What actually often seems to happen is that hilltribe villagers and children have to stage their culture for both international and domestic tourists by wearing traditional costume just to sell their handicrafts, or worse, to pose for low-paid photographs, sometimes being organised by local mafia or ‘external’ agents.

The tourism businesses are generally owned by foreign transnational corporations, the Thai nobility, the Thai government and a handful of economically and politically powerful Thai families; and the hill tribes are the least powerful and least influential of all the players involved in the tourism industry (Bartsch, 2000, pp. 205–6). Tourism thus brings the tribal villagers into contact with a market economy, which is strongly characterised by relations of power and dependency. Moreover, the conduct of
the actual tourism business in these naturally and culturally sensitive areas tends to be controlled predominantly by outside agents such as guide-brokers, and for the principal benefit of the external (and especially the international) community, bringing into question the desirability of this particular form of ‘development’ for the communities concerned (Parnwell, 1996, pp. 283–4).

To sum up, there could be a significant number of problems regarding local participatory planning in Thailand related to the loopholes in civil society law in the former National Constitution 1997\(^{20}\), as well as to social perceptions. Thai government policies towards social cohesion with other cultures have been problematic in the implementation process, especially for the hill tribes in the highlands. As it stands, most of the hill tribes still have no legal rights, with poor health and education services (Zeppel, 2006, p. 234), and an overall poor socio-economic status in Thai society. Related to this is the issue of indigenous agricultural landscape management, which is both seen as destructive when it involves swidden agriculture, and is also threatened by economic development pressures including tourism. However, viable alternative sources of livelihood are not generally made available, although tourism is supposed to be such a source. Clearly it is not an adequate substitute.

Finally, in relation to tourism planning, Thai government officials, who are frequently closely related to the business sector, are often inclined to simply treat ethnic culture as a commodity to add value to the tourism development process. All in all, therefore, the admirable goal of local participation and respect for the host communities in the case of the hill tribes is yet to be achieved in most cases.

### 2.4.3 Thai Tourism Development: Conflicting Goals

The Thai tourism industry has generally performed very well for the last forty years, with growing numbers of tourists visiting Thailand, from only 81,340 foreign visitors travelling in Thailand in 1960 (TAT, 2000, p. 20) to almost 10 million in 2000 (TAT, 2007). It is quite clear that Thailand is an appealing tourist destination, with almost 14 million international tourist arrivals in 2006, the highest number of the GMS (TAT, 2007; see also Table 2.5). The forecasts from the WTO (2001a, p. 20) are 18.6 million in 2010 and almost 37 million in 2020, with an overall growth rate of about 7 percent.

\(^{20}\) The latest Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand was just adopted in late 2007 (B.E. 2550).
per year. A challenge for the TAT, however, would seem to be to sustain increasing recognition of the tourism attractions of Thailand while achieving the highest standards for tourist satisfaction with the least negative long-term tourism development impacts on destination communities.

One of the TAT’s policies is to promote cooperation at all levels, from domestic to international, in the promotion and development of tourism markets, so as to remove all hindrances to the industry and to pave the way for Thailand to be the tourism hub of Southeast Asia and the GMS (TAT, 2003). Although this policy sounds plausible, it may not be so smoothly implemented by government agencies, both national and international, because of the nature of conflicting goals. For example, the economic development goals for promoting new transport networks may conflict with the goals of environmental conservation and preservation of tourism attractions.

As a result of the increasing scarcity of natural resources, due to increased population pressures as well as the above-mentioned government policy of discouraging swidden agriculture, it has become more difficult for villagers to make a living in traditional ways, and engaging with tourism has become a necessity for many. Trekking tours are now a relatively common form of activity (Bartsch, 2000, p. 198) and theoretically this should be a positive development, but it has also not been free of problems. Hill trekking emerged in Northern Thailand in the early 1970s and developed to 100,000 participants per year by the mid-1980s, with 90% being a young backpackers who were able to have access to the terrain without any restrictions. Towards the mid-1990s the trekking market had been transformed to also include 50% older, more conventional tourists, as part of the development of the new ecotourism fashion (Weaver, 1998, p.169). The problematic results of this are exemplified by remote upland Karen villages in Chiang Mai province, where undesirable effects have included pollution caused by the litter dropped by tourists, noise pollution late at night, encroachment on the norms and values of the villagers, and tensions produced amongst the local people themselves (Bartsch, 2000; Dearden 1996; Toyota, 1996).

A review of the Thai Tourism Planning and Policy, conducted by the Ministry of Tourism and Sport during 2003 to 2006, makes it quite clear that there are a number of conflicting policies (Chaisawat, 2006, p. 5). For example, the Ministry has policy goals aimed at sustainable tourism development, with no integrated plans and legislative
framework across other relevant Ministries to manage natural and cultural heritage resources in protected areas like national parks and world heritage sites. Moreover, there is no policy to limit the number of tourists, with mass marketing funded through TAT. Chudintra (1993) also points out that there have been no direct legal measures to control business and investment related to the tourism industry in Thailand, while Parnwell (1993, p. 293) points out that ‘planners and practitioners may lack the authority which is needed to enable them to enforce environmental legislation, be it in connection with tourism or other forms of economic activity’. There is also a confused Ministry policy approach to standardise tourism products, offering the same certified products to all market segments, while also wanting to develop a variety of tourism products to satisfy quality tourists in niche target groups (Chaisawat, 2006, pp. 4–5).

The Thai government, nevertheless, has implemented two major proactive tourism policies since 2000, namely ‘long-stay tourism,’ providing full-cycle services and facilities that cater to the needs of individual foreign seniors or retirees, and the ‘OTOP’ (One Tambon One Product) project (TAT, 2001) to promote local Thai products and tourism for every Tambon (Sub-district) in Thailand. However, Phongpaichit and Baker (2000, pp. 249–50) argue that the Thai government finds it easier to sell new tourism products to domestic visitors than to international patrons and creditors.

2.4.4 Chiang Rai Province: A Hub of Northern Thailand to the GMS

Thailand has a variety of minority groups in its more remote areas, especially the hill-tribes to the North. Northern Thailand therefore clearly has some location advantages over places further south in Thailand with respect to attractions of cultural diversity and links with other countries in the GMS, particularly through initiatives such as the Quadrangle for Economic Cooperation (QEC) project.

Chiang Rai Province is an area of approximately 12,000 square miles, and in 2002 had a population of 1.3 million.\(^\text{21}\) It is the only border provincial area connected to two other countries, with the Mekong River as a historical/cultural link among settlements of various ethnic groups. This Province in fact has the most diverse ethnic groups in Thailand. An additional attraction is the cool weather throughout the year, due

\(^\text{21}\) Source: Department of Local Administration, Ministry of the Interior, Thailand, 2003.
to its mountainous terrain. The region also has an abundance of beautiful scenery. The well-known historical attraction of the Golden Triangle area and the historic sites and monuments in the old town of Chiang Saen are promoted in most tourist brochures for Chiang Rai Province. There are also many other natural and cultural heritage resources yet to be exploited.

In a consultant report by the Thailand Institute of Scientific and Technological Research (TISTR, 1999) about tourism investment in the GMS countries, Chiang Rai was nominated as the first investment priority area. The area possesses several significant tourism attractions and it is the gateway to Laos (e.g. the Golden Triangle area and Chiang Khong District) and Myanmar (e.g. Mae Sai District). A popular tourism activity is to join trekking tours visiting various ethnic groups with the possibility of home-stays with ethnic communities in the remote rural areas.

The statistics for tourist arrivals in Chiang Rai Province up to 2002, and the future forecast, are shown in Figure 2.9. The ADB’s consultant forecast the tourist arrivals to be 2.35 millions in 2018 (PCI & TEAM, 1998, p. 19).

![Figure 2.9: Tourist Arrival Data in Chiang Rai Province](Image)

**Figure 2.9: Tourist Arrival Data in Chiang Rai Province**


In the GMS tourism marketing promotion campaign, *Jewels of the Mekong* (PATA, 1996), Chiang Rai Province was chosen to be one of the top five potential tourist attractions in Thailand, with three major border towns connected to Myanmar and Laos. Figure 2.10 shows how Chiang Rai Province was planned to be included in segments one and two of the priority tourism circuits. Because of its central location among four major cities, Jinghong, Kengtung, Luang Prabang and Chiang Mai, linked
by the QEC project (see Figure 2.5), Chiang Rai Province has become a beneficiary of most tour itineraries and programs, both for land-based and water-based tours.

The advantage of location may work in two ways. Firstly, improved boat and road links will make Southern China, Laos and Myanmar more accessible from Northern Thailand. Therefore, Chiang Rai Province can benefit from increased travel by tourists wanting to put together Northern Thailand and some or all of these other destinations in a single package. Secondly, and more obviously, there is the possibility that transport improvements could lead to increased tourism to Thailand from Southern China. Low budget Chinese tourists are much more likely to be able to afford land-based (and possibly river-based) transport from China through Laos or Myanmar, rather than via air travel. Furthermore, natural cultural affinities between many people in Southern China and those in Northern Thailand may also make Chiang Rai a natural destination for these tourists.

As previously discussed, international transportation networks have been improved to facilitate tourism, trade and investment. The Asian Development Bank has...
supported this idea and funded feasibility studies, industry seminars and workshops to convince potential investors, developers, tour operators and travel agencies to appreciate the economic benefits of doing business in the subregion. Transport links between Northern Thailand and the rest of the Kingdom are very well developed, especially when compared to those in other countries.

However, whether Chiang Rai Province will get any particular benefits from these opportunities will depend on whether it has, or can create, any special competitive advantages over other areas in Thailand (Flatters & Kaosa-ard, 1994).

The prospects for Chiang Rai Province are based upon it being in a highly open economic area. With its geographic location as a border area it promotes free trade in goods with few restrictions on, or impediments to, investment flows. The Chinese government’s Mekong River navigation project initiated in 1992 to promote international trade and tourism activities up and down the Mekong River has also increased economic growth and can affect riverside communities, cultural sites and the environment including ecology of the river (Pinyorat, 2003).

Nevertheless, Chiang Rai’s very advantages of location and transport may work against its interests, since greater freedom of movement and of investment throughout the area can make the province less competitive in terms of tourism development because of possibilities in downgraded tourism experiences, with large-scale infrastructure development projects implemented on naturally and/or culturally sensitive areas such as national parks, heritage sites and in ethnic communities in mountainous remote areas. As a result of greater integration with the QEC project, it therefore seems likely that more diverse and unique tourism products in Chiang Rai Province may need to replace the existing conventional products offered by private travel agents and tour operators in varying scales.
2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed various development paradigms and their relationships to tourism and sustainability. The concept of sustainable tourism development was critically reviewed in relation to four interrelated aspects: economic, environmental, socio-cultural and personal. A review of tourism development impacts in the GMS has raised the question of how to sustain local resources while developing tourism for the economic benefit of local communities.

In the GMS countries there are possible conflicts between heritage resources in ethnic destination communities and economic benefits from increasing tourism facilities and activities. As there are both potential positive and negative outcomes of tourism development in the subregion, there is a need for assessment of potential impacts by both policymakers and the local communities. The planning context and ethnic politics in Thailand have been described briefly in order to explain the situation leading to problems faced in the present and challenges for future development, especially issues of local participation for ethnic minorities in the planning process.

Chiang Rai province in Northern Thailand was chosen for this study as a hub of potential tourism development along the Mekong River, with a rich cultural diversity and sensitive environments, but especially vulnerable to possible undesirable development impacts imposed on the ethnic communities in mountainous remote areas. The question of how local residents in ethnic communities perceive the problems and benefits of tourism development in those villages that are being promoted for tourism development clearly needs to be addressed.
“The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.”

(Mahatma Gandhi, 1869 – 1948)


Middle: Theerapappisit, P. 2000, Commodity of Culture, Golden Triangle, Chiang Saen.

Bottom: Unknown photographer. 2000, Mekong Life, A commercial slide bought at the shop in Chiang Saen.
CHAPTER 3

TOURISM POLICY APPROACHES
AND LOCAL PARTICIPATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a brief overview of the concepts and issues in tourism policy approaches. Different policy approaches, ‘top-down’, ‘intermediate’ and ‘bottom-up’ are identified and the roles of various stakeholders in tourism planning are discussed. The chapter also introduces the concept of local participation in general and how it is applied in the context of tourism planning. Various forms of local participation in the planning process are discussed, as well as associated problems and benefits. The different attitudes towards local participation that are held by tourism stakeholders are investigated, especially in relation to conflicts of interest. Following this, there is the question of how local residents perceive participation in the context of different tourism planning policy approaches.

3.2 CONCEPTS AND ISSUES IN TOURISM POLICYMAKING

Planning is a process of determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices and of organising the future to achieve certain objectives (Jafari, 2000, p. 439). The terms ‘planning’ and ‘policy’ are intimately related since, as Cullingworth (1997, p. 5) points out, ‘planning is the purposive process in which goals are set and policies elaborated to implement them.’

Tourism is a complicated phenomenon because of its environmental, social and economic implications. As a result there have been many definitions of tourism and how it should be best planned for. Getz (1987, p. 4), for example, defines tourism planning in sustainable terms as ‘a process, based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimise the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental
quality.’ He identified the need for an integrative approach (multiple goal-oriented) to tourism planning as opposed to the four traditional approaches: (i) ‘boosterism’, a market-driven approach, (ii) economic, an industry-oriented approach, (iii) a physical/spatial approach, and (iv) a community-oriented approach (Getz, 1987, pp. 8–9). Inskeep (1991, p. 17) also sees tourism planning as an integrated approach and also argues that there is a need for sustainable tourism development to achieve high tourist satisfaction levels and bring benefits, with minimal disruptions to the local economy, environment and society.

Tourism planning can focus specifically on physical development, concentrating mainly on the land use dimensions in relation to different geographic contexts (Gunn, 1994). In fact, Hall and Lew (1998, pp. 199-203) point out that the linkage between tourism and geography, in the sense of place, scale and spatial circumstance, should be a primary consideration in tourism planning and development. Tourism planning also needs to be differentiated by specific geographic scale (Ivars, 2004), with each tourism destination developing its own particular environments, unique sense of place and social atmosphere.

The process of tourism planning and policymaking is a particularly complex issue because interactions between various stakeholder groups, as well as the nature of tourism development and its impacts on local resources, are markedly different from one area and country to another, and are often rapidly changing (Hall, 1999; 2000). The challenge for tourism planners is to have regard for the needs and desires of destination communities as an integral part of the tourism planning and policymaking process.

3.2.1 Approaches to Tourism Policymaking

Public policy, including tourism policy, is influenced by the economic, socio-cultural and political structures of a society, particularly the formal structures of government and other features of the political system (Hall, 2000; Hall & Page, 1999). Hall (1994, p. 50) identifies three levels of public policy in the tourism policymaking process: policy environment, policy arena and specific policy issues. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, each policy approach is set within a policy arena in which interest groups (e.g. industry associations, conservation groups and community groups), institutions (e.g. government
departments and agents responsible for tourism), significant individuals (e.g. high profile industry representatives) and institutional leadership (e.g. Ministers responsible for the tourism portfolio and senior members of government departments) interact, and may compete in determining tourism policy choices (Hall, 1994, pp. 49–51).

Figure 3.1: Elements in the Tourism Policy-making Process

Source: Adapted from Hall, 1994, p. 50

Policy approaches are commonly classified into the three main categories: top-down, intermediate, and bottom-up and Figure 3.2 illustrates the conceptual relationships between approaches. The ‘top-down’ approach centralises policy-making and legislation with leading agents or institutions, while the ‘bottom-up’ approach allows local groups to set their own policies and regulations. The ‘intermediate’ approach tries to facilitate dialogue amongst these parties by seeking reciprocity between local groups and top-level agencies through mediating bodies such as NGOs and local government agencies. The question remains, however, as to how to balance top-down and bottom-up forces, both by reference to the criteria of democratic participation in the planning process, and with respect to the efficiency of the planning and management process.
3.2.1.1 ‘Top-Down’ Approach

Some scholars define a ‘top-down’ approach as one where goals at each level in the organisation (or spatial area) are determined on the basis of the goals at the next higher level (Heath & Wall, 1992, p. 69). It is also widely argued that top-down policies imposed by central or regional governments can achieve effective implementation of global economic arrangements and international collaboration (Carley and Christie, 2000, p. 81). Friedmann (1989) points out that this is a two-way process, since national and even international mobilisation is required to back social mobilisation at the local level for certain policy issues.

A top-down approach to tourism planning can be powerful because of the forces of economic globalisation and market liberalisation (Bianchi, 2002). This approach has the ability to dictate the terms and scope of tourism products, either by increasing legislative control over international markets, or by introducing deregulation and privatisation for the private sector in the tourism industry to promote tourism investment activities at regional and local levels. It is argued that the tourism industry could not survive without governments as only they have the ability to provide the political stability, security and legal and financial framework which tourism requires (Elliot, 1997). In other words, governments have the ability to assist tourism by providing services, and they have the ability to control the industry to ensure those

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Figure 3.2: Conceptual Diagram of Policy Approaches

services and safety standards are maintained in the public interest. Hall (1994) outlines seven roles of government in tourism: coordination, planning, legislation and regulation, entrepreneurship, providing stimulation, social tourism and interest protection.

Tourism seems to be an ideal form of economic development for governments to pursue in most of the destinations in developing countries that are rich in natural assets such as beaches, mountains, forests, flora and fauna, history and heritage, but that lack resources for industrial development (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). When governments allow community members to open their own businesses in the formal and informal sectors, benefits of this nature can be spread more broadly through society. For example, street vendors in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, have been legalised and recognised by government officials, permitting them to form cooperatives and thus assisting residents to benefit directly from tourism (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002, pp. 158–9).

However, tourism growth promoted and developed centrally by governments, especially in less developed countries, can also be incompatible with the needs of local communities. Applications of the ‘top-down’ policy approach may not always be suitable for local contexts, such as in the case of possible conflicts between tourist demands for modern facilities and local resource consumption patterns.

Since ‘top-down’ approaches are usually dominated by agendas set by outside professionals, politicians, planners, investors and other stakeholders, a lack of local participation tends to feature especially at the beginning of the planning process. However, when choosing strategies and tactics for tourism, it is essential, as Walle (1998, p. 15) points out, to balance the needs and wants of the consuming public with the desires and vulnerabilities of people who act as hosts. Particularly sensitive is the question of control of the land. A few indigenous groups in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, for example, have increased levels of executive action in accordance with their own tradition, rather than permitting top-down policymakers to manage their lands independently (Ryan & Aicken, 2005, p. 282). Increasing Australian Aboriginal management of large tracts of land in Central Australia is a case in point.
3.2.1.2 ‘Intermediate’ Approach

The ‘intermediate’ approach has been applied by both the public and private sectors to bridge the administrative gap between the top and the local levels (Wahab & Pigram, 1997, p. 47). This approach aims to promote intersectional dialogues between individuals and groups. The intermediate bodies that initiate tourism planning and policies can be local governments, local tourism offices, local developers, local non-government organizations (NGOs) or local tour operators.

Participation of lower-order governments (e.g. at municipality, district, or province level) is critical to tourism development, since they have local administrative knowledge which is often lacking in large, distant capital cities among leaders who are less familiar with regional cultures and local conditions (Timothy, 1998). In addition to obtaining support from local governments, professional planners or tourism academics may also be able to help communities make their own tourism development plans (Kelly & Becker, 2000). Their purpose is to work with different parties toward a win-win outcome with inputs from both the top-level policymakers and from the grassroots level.

There are a number of lessons learned from tourism practices around the world that show how tourism planning can make use of this ‘intermediate’ policy approach. If progressively developed, such an approach can ameliorate many conflicts of interest (Carley & Christie, 2000, p. 186). There is typically a complicated mix of public and private service provision, and so the long-term success of tourism practices requires cooperation between both the public and private sectors (IUCN, 2002, p. 125). For instance, governments and the private sector can play advocacy roles as stakeholders by offering facilitating activities, such as providing up-to-date information, capacity building or training in hospitality skills (Scheyvens, 2003, pp. 229–52).

Tourism that is developed and managed by intermediate bodies can be beneficial to both the community and the environment if the policymakers know how to balance short- and long-term benefits and community interests and natural resource conservation. For example, in China’s Sichuan Province the ecotourism management agency of the Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve, a private agent for tourism development under the control of the local government since 1986, promotes community
participation via employment for managers, workers or small business operators (Li, 2006, pp. 133–41). A study of this case has shown increasing family income from tourism, while the environment in the reserve has improved because tourism activities have been able gradually, in the 1990s, to substitute for local occupations in farming and hunting.

Some scholars view the increasing global growth of NGOs, local associations and community groups as a positive resource for the creation of ‘fair trade’ networks in tourism practices, bridging the needs and interests between top-level policymakers and local communities (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 303). These groups can play a role as ‘intermediate’ bodies in tourism planning. A major factor in the success of any intermediate approaches is the facilitation of reciprocal actions by building trust and confidence among all stakeholders (Hall, 2000, pp. 185–6).

3.2.1.3 ‘Bottom-up’ Approach

The ‘bottom-up’ approach is where the goals of individual units are aggregated to inform a strategic plan (Hall, 2000, p. 81). The concept of a ‘bottom-up’ approach reflects the principle of local communities setting their own goals and making decisions about their own local resources, including environmental and cultural resources, the development of buildings, parks and open spaces, and other activities.

The decision-making process associated with this policy approach is initiated by local groups, without their having derived their ideas from regional, national or international government agencies. The initiatives taken with this approach will reflect or develop concepts of development consistent with local values and experience (Howitt, 2001). Such an approach can lead to widespread participation, centred on benefits for local people and the environment (Edwards, 1989). It emphasises development in the community rather than development for the community (Hall, 2000, p. 31) since the goals and objectives are defined in accordance with the future needs and wants of the local people and are tailor-made on a case-by-case basis.

The bottom-up policy has enjoyed considerable support from researchers. Hall (2000, p. 31), for example, maintains that local residents should be regarded as the focal point of the tourism planning exercise, not the tourists, and that the local community, equated with a particular locality, should be regarded as the basic planning unit. Local
participation and empowerment in the bottom-up approach to tourism planning, especially for indigenous or ethnic communities in developing or less developed countries, is seen as crucial for achieving the goals of sustainable tourism development (Singh et al., 2003; Sofield, 2003; Harrison, 2001; Smith & Brent, 2001).

However, the World Tourism Organisation (1994, p. 10) argues that the ‘bottom-up’ approach is more time-consuming and may lead to conflicting objectives, policies and development recommendations among various individuals and groups in local areas. These conflicts then need to be reconciled at the national and regional levels in order to form a consistent plan.

Table 3.1 below shows a summary of three different policy ideologies. The table format attempts to compare the differences amongst the three policy approaches. The themes in the left column are constructed with the method of argument, adapted from the open-ended ‘matrix’ analysis approach of Samuels (1990, p. 270) and Chanthongkaew (1999, p. 204). In general, this Table 3.1 compares the various goals, trade-off systems and pathways towards varied development outcomes and degrees of satisfaction and justice to different stakeholders.

**Table 3.1: Comparative Analysis in Development Policy Ideologies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Three policy approaches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Top-down approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development policy ideologies:</td>
<td>Authoritarian: a manipulative market system that leads to economic development with no limit to growth. Measures the success with numeric values.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goals:</td>
<td>To optimise the benefits for physical development or material welfare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade-off systems:</td>
<td>Decision-making imposed from groups with specific interests with no local consultation or token/manipulative participation. Self-interest first.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathways:</td>
<td>Market-driven forces with uni-dimensional approach.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Samuel (1990) and Chanthongkaew (1999).
3.2.2 Defining Tourism Stakeholders

Stakeholders are all those people or institutions affected by, or with an interest in, an institution, such as employees, customers or the local community. This includes potential and actual beneficiaries, intermediaries, individuals and groups potentially or actually affected by an institution or operation.

In a tourism context, there is a diversity of views on who the main stakeholders are. For example, Lacy et al. (2002, pp. 1–2) recognise a whole range of stakeholders, from both the public and private sectors, that participate in the tourism system, but they categorise them into those representing the demand and supply sides, with little focus on the role of host communities. Gunn (1994, p. 10) identifies three main sectors: government, the non-profit sector and commercial enterprise. Smith and Eadington (1992, p. 45) expand on this, suggesting that additional parties include local residents, ecclesiastical, academic, social groups and politicians. Therefore, taking a broader perspective, stakeholders can be summarised as comprising nine main groups as summarised in Table 3.2. These groups are: governments, the tourism industry, tourism organisations, media, tourists, academics, non-government organisations, social groups and local residents.

Government is involved as a planning body responsible for directing, developing and implementing policies and dealing with various multi-level sectors, from the international to the local level. The commercial private sector, a significant group in the tourism industry, comprises occupations such as tour operators, travel agents and transport companies. These companies are quite often combined in large transnational corporations and have strong links to other industries such as international hotel chains, airlines, banks and insurance companies.

The importance of the local community must not be underestimated. On the one hand successful tourism development depends upon promoting attractions and services, and so requires the hospitality of the local community (Gursoy et al., 2002, p. 80). Its members may also be active in the tourism industry by being employees or entrepreneurs as well as hosts (Dodds, 2001, p. 214). On the other hand, since tourism is a universal, dynamic, socioeconomic and cultural phenomenon, its impacts also
necessarily affect destination communities, their cultures and environments (Elliott, 1997, p. 4). In this way local residents are both active and passive stakeholders.

Table 3.2: Stakeholders and their Roles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main groups of tourism stakeholders</th>
<th>Possible roles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Governments in public sector: local and central government officials, (bureaucrats in the sections responsible for tourism planning and development), local and central politicians.</td>
<td>Political, administrative, planning, development control, legislative roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tourism industry in private sector: Chambers of Commerce, travel agents, tour operators, developers/entrepreneurs of the hotels/resorts/guesthouses/private tourism-related business; e.g. restaurants, transport business/operators, real estate firms, airlines, banking and insurance agents.</td>
<td>Business-oriented roles with commercial interest in economic benefits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tourism organisations in public/private enterprises: national/regional/local tourism organisations/authorities, tourism commissions.</td>
<td>Marketing, event management, public relations and coordination roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Media: from global to local communication networks such as tourism-related websites, movies, films, television and radio programs, magazines, books, newspaper, brochures, etc.</td>
<td>Public relations, marketing, business, communication, educational roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tourists/visitors: individuals or groups who travel with domestic/international tourism/recreation activities.</td>
<td>Pleasure, leisure, visiting friends, personal/work-related business roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Academics or specialists in universities, local colleges, research institutes, schools, education and training centres.</td>
<td>Intellectual, educational and training roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Non-Government Organisations (NGOs): key representatives at: international, national, regional and local levels.</td>
<td>Facilitation, administrative, marketing and management roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Social groups: various social/religious/ethnic groups/clubs, volunteers, environmental activists, associations/foundations and temples/churches.</td>
<td>Mental, spiritual, ecclesiastical, educational, conservation, entertaining roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Local residents: community representatives. They could be village committees, key informants (individuals/working groups) or just ordinary/business people who reside and/or provide services in tourist destinations.</td>
<td>Hospitality, local guides, employees, communication, management, tourism product delivery such as home stays, cultural performance roles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Derived from Lacy et al., 2002, p. 2; Ritchie, 1999, p. 211; Smith & Eadington, 1992, p. 45.

3.3 CONCEPTS AND ISSUES IN LOCAL PARTICIPATION

3.3.1 Definition and principles

3.3.1.1 Defining Local Participation

The two words, ‘local’ and ‘participation’, are regularly used together to emphasise the need to include and involve local people in the planning process. The need to juxtapose these two words implies, paradoxically, that it is the local community that has often been left out of decision-making with regard to the development of planning schemes (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 212).
According to the World Bank, ‘participation’ is a process through which stakeholders can influence and share control over socio-economic development and the decisions and resources which affect them (McEwan, 2003, p. 472). At the local level it can mean individual or group involvement, and allowing citizens within a community, including disadvantaged or marginalised groups, to take part in the formulation of policies and proposals on issues that affect the whole community (Lall et al., 2002, p. 4). The common goal is generally to bring about improved living standards within the community and not a desire to obtain benefits for particular persons or groups.

Local Agenda 21 (LA21 - agenda for local authorities in the 21st century) argues that ‘we will only achieve sustainable development through planned, democratic, cooperative means, including community involvement in decisions about the environment and development’ (Jackson & Morpeth, 1999, p. 3). Chapter 3 of LA 21, ‘Combating Poverty’ (LA21, 3.2, p. 14) is based on the argument that one of the basic strategies for ensuring sustainable development should be to focus on local communities and a democratic process of participation in association with improved governance (UN, 2003).

More radical definitions of participation, however, not only emphasise community involvement in the process of local development, but also demand that social development lead to the empowerment of community members (McEwan, 2003, p. 472). The relationship between participation and democratic ideals is promoted in the sense of giving wide scope to residents in decision-making, which should then provide positive benefits towards creating a participatory democratic society (Pateman, 1970, pp. 103-11). Nevertheless, participation is certainly not a panacea and does not automatically or necessarily lead to positive changes. The exclusion of external professionals and multidisciplinary experts can result in a lack of appropriate knowledge and expertise to assess the complexity of problems such as ecological risks, pollution and degradation in environmental quality and so on, thus justifying at least something of a top-down approach (Smith & Brent, 2001, p. 191).

22 ‘Local Agenda 21’ is a policy envelope emanating from the 1992 Rio Earth Summit (the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED)). ‘Agenda 21’ challenges local authorities to adopt policy goals encompassing not only sustainable development but also to incorporate participative, collaborative processes which involve local communities in defining their own sustainable futures (Jackson & Morpeth, 1999).
3.3.1.2 Principles of Local Participation

The public’s right to participate in the planning of activities that affect their daily lives is widely accepted, especially in the developed world. The concept of local participation is also seen as a process through which people and organisations develop the skills necessary to manage their environments for sustainable development (Warburton, 1998, pp. 8–9). This may include consultation and consensus seeking, with respect to designs and plans for development, and a greater role in implementation and maintenance of projects (Selman, 1996, p. 115; Burgess et al., 1997, p. 152).

Local participation has been widely used as a criterion for sustainable tourism for several reasons. Sustainable development means that the tourist industry itself must be sustained, and local participation helps the tourists themselves as well as the host community. As tourism is a service industry, positive tourism experience depends on the quality of hospitality provided by the host communities with a sense of goodwill and cooperation (Simmons, 1994, p. 106), and visitor satisfaction is likely to be greatest where hosts support and take pride in their tourism activities (Cole, 1997, p. 478). In addition, involvement of host communities in the tourism planning process can promote conservation of the physical environment as locals know how to protect it and it is in their interest to do so (Tourism Concern, 1992; Richardson et al., 1998).

Nevertheless, despite the perceived benefits of local participation in tourism planning, the question still arises as to how much a community can embrace principles of participation without incurring problems. In fact, Taylor (2001, pp. 122–37) argues that ‘participation is simply not working now’ because it has been promoted by the powerful, and is largely cosmetic, but most ominously because ‘it is used as a “hegemonic” device to secure compliance to, and control by, existing power structures’. Mowforth and Munt (2003, p. 45) also argue that Third World tourism development has been promoted to a significant extent by such elite political powers with a veneer of pseudo-participation.

It is important, therefore, to understand the concept of local participation in the political context of participative democratic governance. Healey (1997, p. 288) outlines five general principles:
i) It should recognise the range and variety of stakeholders concerned with changes to environments, their social networks, and the cultural diversity that may exist within and between them.

ii) It should acknowledge that much of the work of governance occurs outside the formal agencies of government and should seek to spread power from government outside the agencies of the state but without creating new bastions of unequal power.

iii) It should open up opportunities for informal intervention and local initiatives, rather than imposing a single set of principles. It should cultivate a ‘framing’ relation rather than a linear connection between policy principles and the flow of action.

iv) It should foster the inclusion of all members of political communities, and should recognise that this involves complex issues of power relations, ways of thinking and ways of organising.

v) It should be continually and openly accountable, making available to relevant political communities the arguments, the information, the consideration of stakeholders’ concerns, the images and metaphors which lie behind decisions and should include requirements for critical review and challenge.

These principles provide a basis for assessing policies in planning practice. Factors affecting local participation may be the cultural diversity of stakeholders, the relationship between internal and external agencies, the dynamics between formal and informal styles of communication, complex issues of power relations and access to, and availability of, information. Moreover, the communities themselves may not be able to adapt appropriately to modern demands, so that for example if a policy implemented in the past was deemed appropriate, correct and acceptable, it may not be so for the present or future generations.

Goodlad (1999, pp. 4–5) suggests the following 12-point lessons derived from research conducted into participation policies in England. These lessons may be useful in informing the development of similar strategies in the GMS’s tourism sector:

i) Participation by residents presents a challenge to the traditions of public service and to the skills and qualities of politicians and public servants: there is a need for training and support for the professionals as well as for residents.
ii) Participation can cause confusion, because of the ambiguity of the language and the unexpected outcomes and events that may occur; there is a need for clarity as far as possible by public agencies about what they are offering, how far they aim to go and what they mean by ‘participation’.

iii) Participation consumes resources and the need for and availability of resources to support it requires planning: time, material, skills and expertise are required.

iv) Participation rarely fails to provide surprise: it can lead to outcomes that could not have been anticipated, particularly if it is successful at achieving dialogue; participants may place unexpected items on the agenda and together participants may come up with unexpected recommendations or conclusions.

v) Different parties will have different agendas: all need reasons to participate; restricting the agenda to the issues the public servants want discussed can have a demotivating effect.

vi) Participation is a learning experience and people will learn by doing: this can be enhanced through the provision of opportunities for exchange and reflection.

vii) Participation often leads to disappointment as well as surprise: some of the disappointment arises from unreasonable expectations about, for example, the number of people to expect to attend a public meeting, but other disappointments have less obvious origins and may need to be used as positively as possible as learning experiences.

viii) Public agencies need to show they acknowledge the concerns and issues that others want to raise and if possible respond in tangible ways that build confidence and trust.

ix) Participation should start far enough back in the planning and policy process to allow meaningful participation to take place but this is advice that cannot always be taken; given the duration of most policy processes; it is better to start participation late than not at all but the stage in the process needs to be made clear.

x) Some participation exercises have foundered because residents have not been kept in touch with developments, including ‘non-developments’; to build and
sustain trust it is crucial to keep in regular contact even when the news to convey is that there is no news. In addition it is crucial to respond to the community’s views and especially important to explain why requests are not being met.

xi) No double standards should be applied, for example, in commenting on the representativeness or accountability of community representatives; if community ‘representatives’ are demonstrably unrepresentative there are supportive measures that may be offered to assist them to be more representative or alternative ways of gaining community views can be found.

xii) Persevere: do not give up — it may require tenacity and time to build the trust that is required to sustain participation.

A further consideration that needs to be taken into account, particularly in areas such as the GMS, is that local community and family responsibilities generally have primacy over institutional interventions and the need for the mobilisation of resources.

As discussed in chapter 2, participation of local people has been used as one criterion for meeting the conditions for sustainable development. Nevertheless, the promotion of local participation can involve a variety of strategies aimed at retaining political or bureaucratic control and deflecting public involvement (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 298). The type, amount, intensity and quality of community participation therefore require close examination for sustainable tourism projects (McCool & Moisey, 2001, p. 139). It is important, in addressing these problems, to firstly understand the various forms of local participation.

3.3.2 Characteristics of Local Participation

An analysis of what is important for participation to be successful in planning must include a review of the steps involved in the participation process, the degree of participation at different stages of the process, techniques used in participation and the participants themselves.

3.3.2.1 Types of Participation

A very useful analysis is provided by Arnstein (1969), whose ladder of participation has eight ‘rungs’, from manipulation at the bottom to citizen control at the top. These rungs are divided into three sub-categories:
Starting from the bottom, the rungs ‘manipulation’ and ‘therapy’ are categorised as ‘non-participation’.

The next three rungs, in ascending order: ‘informing’, ‘consultation’ and ‘placation’, are categorised as ‘degrees of tokenism’.

The top three rungs, again in ascending order, are ‘partnership’, ‘delegated power’ and ‘citizen control’, which are categorised as ‘degrees of citizen’s power’ or ‘empowerment’.

Arnstein (1969) argues that participation in planning is often nothing more than a degree of tokenism, and that ‘partnership’ would be a more effective route to citizen empowerment (see Table 3.3).

### Table 3.3: Comparison of Ladder Models of Local Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Supporting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delegated power</td>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td></td>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td>Acting together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conciliation</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Deciding together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placation</td>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td>Dissimilation</td>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Diplomacy</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Informing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Therapy</td>
<td>Reflect</td>
<td>Conspiracy</td>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td>Neglect</td>
<td>Self-management</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Interpreted from Arnstein, 1969; Choguill, 1996, Dewar, 1999; Wilcox, 2000

Table 3.3 shows similarities and differences in the arrangement of the rungs from ‘non-participation’ to ‘empowerment’ as interpreted by Arnstein (1969), Choguill (1996), Dewar (1999) and Wilcox (2000). Choguill used his model in developing countries and employed the term ‘community participation’. Dewar used the model for

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23 Partnership was defined by Arnstein (1969) as a relationship that enables citizens to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders. A partnership is an agreement between two or more partners to work together to achieve common aims (Wilcox, 2000).
reviewing urban management in Cape Town, South Africa. Wilcox developed his model for guiding activities since 1994 in local communities in England.

Participation may be implemented around the world in a number of different ways. Pretty (1995, pp. 4–5) identifies seven different types and characteristics of participation as shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Pretty’s Typology of Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Characteristics of each type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Manipulative</td>
<td>Host community as an ‘object’ of tourism. Participation is simply a pretence, with people’s representatives on official boards but who are unelected and have no power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Passive participation</td>
<td>People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people’s responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Participation by consultation</td>
<td>People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes, and so control analysis. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people’s views.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bought participation (Participation for material incentives)</td>
<td>People participate by contributing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labour, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. People have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Functional participation</td>
<td>Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. People may be co-opted to serve external goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Interactive participation</td>
<td>People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation and strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methods that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Self-mobilisation and connectedness</td>
<td>People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The seven types of participation range from manipulative participation, in which participation is simply a pretence, to self-mobilisation, in which the initiatives are
independent of other players or controlled by the local community. The benefits of participation for local people may well only come about under the last two types: *interactive* participation and *self-mobilisation*. Where there is a vested interest in a particular development project by development agencies, governments, international institutions, or operators, *consultative* or *manipulative* types of participation are often employed.

The relative power of outsiders and beneficiaries is thus a key characteristic in participation, ranging from *pseudo-participation* (or the manipulation of participants by development professionals and developers to meet their needs) to *genuine participation*, in which participants are empowered by having control over program policy development and management (Michener, 1998, p. 2106).

A conceptual diagram of participation in planning is shown in Figure 3.1. Hiller (2002, p. 126) explains that not all actors choose to participate, because some may remain completely ignorant of the issues and some may just be apathetic, while still others may be alienated by the process, players or other considerations. In addition, some participants may withdraw from the process before it is completed, or may give dissent outside the formal process.

**Figure 3.3: Conceptual Diagram of Participation in the Planning Process**

Source: Adapted from Hiller, 2002, p. 127

In another classification of levels of participation, White (1996) describes four types, from nominal to transformative (see Table 3.5). Each type is characterised by the different interests of various stakeholders. The forms and functions of participation for ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ interests often vary and stakeholders may not necessarily
share the same expectations about participation. Only at the transformative stage may stakeholders of both groups be interested in the empowerment of local people and their capacities (Michener, 1998, p. 2107).

Table 3.5: Types and Approaches in Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation Form</th>
<th>Group of Interests/Approaches</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Top-down</td>
<td>Bottom-up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>Legitimation</td>
<td>Inclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>Efficiency</td>
<td>Cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Sustainability</td>
<td>Leverage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Empowerment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.3.2.2 Tools of Participation

In efforts to involve local populations in the decision-making process of planning, planners and academics have developed a range of useful techniques. Marien and Pizam (1997) have divided these techniques into two categories based on objectives being sought: administrative objectives and citizens’ objectives. Table 3.6 is a summary of techniques used in each category. The most widely used administrative techniques are information exchange (first) and education and support building (second).

Table 3.6: Techniques of Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Administrative-oriented Techniques</th>
<th>Citizen-oriented Techniques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Information Exchange</td>
<td>1. Decision-making Supplements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Drop-in centre</td>
<td>• Direct confrontation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Public hearing</td>
<td>• Litigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Large &amp; small groups</td>
<td>• Role &amp; game playing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Public meetings</td>
<td>2. a) Representational Input (Active Process)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Focus group interview</td>
<td>• Votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Telecommunications techniques</td>
<td>• Partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(using TV, radio, newspaper, email,</td>
<td>• Delegated power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internet &amp; fax as information media)</td>
<td>• Citizen Control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Education &amp; Support Building</td>
<td>b) Representational Input (Passive Process)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Advisory groups &amp; task forces</td>
<td>• Nominated group technique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Technical &amp; professional advice</td>
<td>• Delphi process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Petitions</td>
<td>• Citizen survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Workshops &amp; seminars</td>
<td>• Planning charrettes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expert panelling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Formal &amp; professional training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The focus of these techniques is to build consensus between government officials and the public. Citizen-oriented techniques are important for power-holders as well, since they sensitise them to the values of citizens and help to encourage politicians and government bureaucrats to be more responsible and accountable (Marien & Pizam, 1997, pp. 168–9).

Since each place has its own unique characteristics it is difficult to develop a universal set of fundamental tools for use in seeking citizen participation within the planning process. In particular, since this list was created within a European context, only some details will be applicable to situations such as those in the GMS, but the general principles may still apply. However, adaptations may be necessary. For example, the levels of literacy, education or even language skills of the participants need to be considered in formulating a participation model.

Apart from finding appropriate tools for participation, it is also necessary to evaluate programs to determine the success of any methods. Table 3.7 classifies considerations for evaluating participation programs. Understanding the context in which the participation is to occur is the first step, followed by a review of the process itself, and finally a review of the outcomes. All of these steps need to be considered in combination, from administration to objectives and methods to results.

Table 3.7: Program Evaluation for Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context: problem-setting</th>
<th>Process: direction-setting</th>
<th>Outcome: implementation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Historical background</td>
<td>1. Goals &amp; objectives for participation</td>
<td>1. Results of Participation exercise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Institutional arrangements:</td>
<td>2. Number &amp; nature of public involved:</td>
<td>2. Effectiveness of participation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- political structures</td>
<td>- who are they?</td>
<td>- focus on issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- legislation, regulations</td>
<td>- how representative &amp; organised are they?</td>
<td>- representativeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- administration</td>
<td>3. Methodology employed:</td>
<td>- appropriateness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Agency features:</td>
<td>- techniques</td>
<td>- degree of awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- status</td>
<td>- information access</td>
<td>- degree of satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- function</td>
<td>- resources</td>
<td>- impact and influence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- terms of reference</td>
<td>4. Mandate (internal/external)</td>
<td>- time and cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- financial arrangements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


3.3.2.3 Participation Stakeholders

An analysis of stakeholders must first identify the key players and then assess their interests and the way these interests relate to project risks and viability. Kaosa-ard et al.,
have produced a very useful matrix that identifies and classifies stakeholders to assess them according to their influence or importance to a project or program. Each category or group within the matrix (shown in Figure 3.4 and the explanation of it that follows) has its strengths and weaknesses.

Within a tourism development context such as is found in the GMS, the roles of the stakeholders can be described as follows:

**Group A: Least Influence, Most Importance.**
This group includes those living in the development areas. It may not include all members of the community, as some may be powerful and influential people. It may include local governments that have little power to influence tourism development initiatives and decisions. This is generally a critical group and needs careful attention during the participation process.

**Group B: Most Influence, Most Importance.**
This group may include project directors, members who have strong influence in decision-making, developers and/or tour operators who are the main investors and so on. Good working relationships within this group will be necessary but the participatory process should aim to balance their power with the interests of others, especially those in Group A.

**Group C: Most Influence, Least Importance.**
This will include NGOs, donors or agencies that have a strong influence on the planning and financing of a project or in the mobilisation of people. These organisations and their members should be fully informed and be able to freely share their ideas. Since they can be highly influential in decision-making, this group will need careful monitoring and management.
Group D: Least Influence, Least Importance.
This group consists of various individuals and groups who have low stakes in the decision-making process. It may include groups that are marginally affected and/or are beneficiaries or collaborators in a project. Members of these groups require only limited involvement in the participatory process but should be kept informed and be given opportunities to make inquiries about development progress.

The above stakeholder analysis matrix could act as a theoretical framework to guide the selection of participants. Nevertheless, its application might need to be adjusted according to each study area, given particular local contexts, unknown factors and/or certain limitations on site.

The issue of inequity between interest groups is clearly important. Participants need to include non-traditional decision-makers such as marginalised local groups of young, female, elderly and indigenous communities (Robinson, 1999, pp. 382–7). Hall (2000, p. 84) recognises that ‘large numbers of stakeholders can clearly make satisfactory outcomes difficult to achieve, but if legitimate stakeholders are excluded or ignored the quality and degree of acceptance of any recommendations will be highly suspect’.

Stakeholders themselves may not always be eager to participate. There are a number of interrelated questions that they are likely to weigh up when deciding whether or not to be involved (Hall, 2000, p. 84; Gray, 1989, p. 59). These include:

- Does the present situation fail to serve their interests?
- Will collaboration produce positive outcomes?
- Is it possible to reach a fair agreement?
- Is there parity among the stakeholders?
- Will other stakeholders agree to collaborate?

The question of stakeholder participation is a complex one, and will vary significantly in different circumstances and locations, and so considerable insight is needed to ensure that the right questions are asked in relation to each situation.
3.3.3 Local Participation: Benefits and Problems

3.3.3.1 Benefits of Local Participation

When there is participation in which communities have considerable input into planning decisions and can have responsibility for collectively managing common resources, there is a strong likelihood of the economic, political and social benefits of tourism flowing to the host communities. To enable such full participation to occur, access to information pertaining to the benefits and disadvantages of tourism and how it may impact on the lives of local residents is important, particularly for those in less developed countries where information flows are often poor.

Participation can be seen as a means to expand the degree of community control or influence, to encourage local leadership, citizenship and community organisation, benefit disadvantaged groups, and foster cross-cultural and fair employment relationships (Bahaire & Elliott-White, 1999, p. 246). The concept that people are in control, and can work in groups towards a common good can, in turn, result in more harmonious community-wide relationships, resulting in greater consistency and solidarity between community members (Timothy, 2002, p. 154). In general, local participation may provide benefits in relation to:

- representativeness and appropriateness of participants;
- degree of awareness achieved and satisfaction expressed by participants;
- impact and influence of participation, especially in relation to time and cost.

Since participants may be inexperienced in presenting their views or may be poor communicators, Hall (2003, p. 289) suggests that to achieve benefits there should be three levels of opportunity for local participation in the tourism industry:

- through attendance and constructive comments in the public forums related to tourism development and conservation programs organised by local government;
- through participating in community-wide support for volunteer programs related to tourism (e.g. groups involved in environmental and heritage conservation, special events); and
- through active participation in developing and conserving tourist attractions.
Local participation can influence the success or failure of tourism development projects if it is as inclusive as possible. This is because, while some members of the community may desire to promote tourism and generally to improve the economic and social conditions of their area, others may feel that tourism has been pushed on them by certain groups or advocates (Wearing, 1998, p. 90). It is therefore important to keep the wider community involved by promoting communication between residents, agencies and departments, with the aim of community capacity building, followed by effective institutional responses. (Taylor, 1998, p. 172)

3.3.3.2 Problems in Achieving Local Participation

A number of obstacles to meaningful local participation can occur. One obstacle may be lack of early dialogue to establish openness between individuals and/or representative groups (Haywood, 1988, p. 109). There is also a potential problem for some subgroups, such as young people, who may be excluded from the participatory process (Simpsons, 1997, p. 918).

It also needs to be remembered that the ‘right’ to participate, even where it exists, is not the same as the ‘capacity’ to participate. There may be constraints of time, and of financial, and other resources that prevent meaningful participation. (Jamal & Getz, 1999, p. 303). Sofield (2003) discusses how a lack of knowledge is a limiting factor in marginalised communities in the world.

In a tourism context there are particular problems that may arise. It is known that goals for community-based tourism and desirable participatory planning outcomes require the direct support and active involvement of host communities (see: Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1995; Hall & Lew, 1998; Hatton, 1999; Hall, 2000; Richard & Hall, 2000; Bushell, 2001). This is because positive tourism experiences can be possible only with the positive goodwill and cooperation of local people, who are an integral part of the tourism product (Murphy, 1985, p. 153). However, research on resident attitudes indicates that opinions on tourism and associated development can vary greatly (Jamal & Getz, 1995, p. 194) due to a variety of causes.

Problems can range from simple misleading communication to complex issues of local conflicts and external intervention. Lack of ownership, capital, skills, knowledge and resources all constrain the ability of communities to fully control their
participation in tourism development (Scheyvens, 2003). Community members may lack interest because a tourism development may be presented in too abstract terms, encouraging people to be disengaged, although they may be more willing to become involved if presented with purposeful and specific opportunities (Selman, 2004, p. 381). Internal conflicts, apart from a general unwillingness to participate, might arise, for example, from commitment to daily agricultural work or conflicting work schedules and the demands of the family’s tourist enterprise. Jenkins (1993, p. 285), identifies seven potential problems for local participation in tourism planning:

- the public generally has difficulty in comprehending complex and technical planning issues;
- the public is not always aware of, or does not understand, the decision-making process;
- there can be difficulty in attaining and maintaining representativeness in the decision-making process;
- there can be apathy of citizens;
- the process involves increased costs in terms of staff and money;
- the approach prolongs the decision-making process; and
- there are adverse effects on the efficiency of decision-making.

As noted above, local participation in tourism planning is not a simple decision-making process involving only local residents living within one community. When there is external control, community cohesion and cooperation can be eroded, and practices such as unproductive competition and individualism may develop in place of a traditional emphasis on group welfare (Berger, 1996, pp. 175–97). The processes for achieving possible alternative collaborative approaches to resolving or minimising conflicts between interest groups can take time (Fennell & Przeclawski, 2003, p. 140). Nevertheless, it is important to attempt to achieve what Hultman (1995, p. 561) calls ‘just tourism’, ethical principles applied to the tourism industry, which means seeking harmonious relationships rather than conflict between stakeholders.
3.4 Community Perceptions in the Tourism Context

It is important to understand the notion of community, its development and its relationship to perceptions of tourism and associated development. This section discusses these topics and issues related to how people perceive participation with respect to different approaches to tourism planning and to conflicts of interest amongst various groups of tourism stakeholders in the planning process.

3.4.1 Community and Tourism

3.4.1.1 The Notion of Community

Definitions of community vary. Some refer to location, such as that of Mann (2000, p. 18), who refers to community as, ‘a mutually supportive, geographically specific, social unit such as a village or tribe where people identify themselves as community members and where there is usually some form of communal decision-making’. Others define community as a group of people who share common goals or opinions, but do not necessarily reside in the same specific geographical location (Williams & Lawson, 2001, p. 271).

For example, in the GMS, there are social connections between tribal groups across borders of villages and regions. In other words, ‘community’ in this definition is formed from a set of common socio-cultural characteristics and goals as a ‘community of interest’ rather than being specific to a particular geographic locality (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 297).

In any case, communities are dynamic, complex and generally do not have clear boundaries (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 297). In the same way, community development may be described as a process of change but it does not always mean a physical change: it can be an attitudinal or cultural change in local residents. As the impacts of globalisation and rapid changes in communication technologies serves to further accentuate feelings of dislocation and uprootedness, the attachment to ‘community’ as a territorially fixed notion has received greater impetus (Lash & Urry, 1994).

The relationship between community, place and power is relevant for the examination of tourism development, particularly with regard to the ‘community-based’
approaches to tourism planning and development (Brohman, 1996; Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1985) and the evaluation of residents’ perceptions of tourism (Pearce et al., 1996).

Above all, communities share a culture. The maintenance of that culture requires local knowledge and respect for the bearers of that knowledge. Without it there can be no real sense of community (McCaskill & Kampe, 1997, p. 41). Community culture is also the most critical driving force behind community development (Nartsupha, 1991, p. 119).

3.4.1.2 Tourism and Community Development

It is important that issues of tourism are seen in the broader context of community development since it can become a major component of the local economy, and as such can affect everyone who lives or works in a community. The relationship between tourism and the community can be understood by a model that contains four different stakeholder groups: government authorities with the responsibility for planning resources and the maintenance of basic municipal infrastructure, local business communities who derive an income from the operation of commercial enterprises, the local community, either individuals or groups, who share their local environment with each other and tourists, and the visitors who make tourism viable (Bushell, 1999).

Each of these stakeholder groups is rarely homogeneous, with different members having different values, aspirations, and needs. This means that the potential for political conflicts is significant, and these will need to be resolved on a case-by-case basis, depending on the circumstances that change from time to time. Wilson (1993, p. 46) suggests assessing the dynamic circumstances of political issues in relation to local participation by conducting longitudinal qualitative research (i.e. revisiting previous studies) as well as multi-location, rather than single-site, research projects.

One typical conflict between the interests of tourism and those of community development may be that faced by local governments. Tourism demands by the industry, such as calls for improved services and development approvals, may conflict with what local residents need and want. Visitors may expect improved public infrastructure such as public toilets, shade, picnic facilities, signage and information.
Meanwhile, local ratepayers may make contrary demands and may complain about the rates they must pay to support private enterprises (WTO, 1999).

While local participation is essential for success in planning community-based tourism, it may be difficult for local communities to maintain high quality tourism operations without support from outsiders. However, as Richards and Hall (2000, p. 56) argue, such support should take the form of enhancing the stability and capacity of human capital in the destination communities. The goal of community-based tourism programs would then be to emphasise the locals’ personal stake in community development in a sustained manner through their involvement in tourism planning. The community should in one way or another, enjoy a reasonable share of the revenue from the tourism industry.

Above all, to prevent negative impacts from tourism development, as has been observed by a number of researchers (Green, 2005; Sofield, 2003; Smith & Brent, 2001; Hall, 2000; Gunn, 1994; Inskeep, 1991; Murphy, 1985), representatives from the various stakeholder groups should be involved in the planning process at an early stage. In this way participants who are from disadvantaged groups, and who might not reap the benefits from tourism, can have their voices heard before decisions have been made. Sofield (2003, p. 111), in particular, argues for equity and social justice principles to be employed in tourism planning and development to ensure optimal community development.

3.4.1.3 Power Relationships in Community Decision-Making

Despite the fact that the involvement of various stakeholders, including both the public and private sectors, in the decision-making process of community planning is necessary, (Jamal & Getz 1995; Timothy 1998), there is the question of the effectiveness of collaborative decision-making without a reduction of power imbalances between different stakeholders (Branwell & Sharman, 1999).

Moreover, patterns of participation and community involvement in tourism planning have also been questioned as to whether or not they are genuinely locally-driven, as such planning tends to be top-down, driven by governments, and based on a pluralist conception of power (Bianchi, 2003; Joppe, 1997; Hall, 1994). Participation is not open-ended, and the issue of what is being participated in is substantially externally
decided (Butcher, 2007, p. 84, original italics). Furthermore, it is assumed that consensus can be achieved via the implementation of adequate deliberative mechanisms (e.g. Simmons, 1994). In fact, in many circumstances (as discussed by means of case studies in the following sections), the conflicts in each individual community may be hidden under a complex and uneven socio-political structure, resulting in difficulty in finding common interests among all stakeholders.

One of the major difficulties in implementing a community-based approach to tourism planning is the political nature of the planning process (Hall, 2000, p. 32). Although the complex stratified nature of many communities can be recognised in studies concerned with local participation in tourism planning (e.g. Ryan & Montgomery, 1994), there is still a need to theorise the nature of power, conflict, development and political agency in the context of tourism.

For example, it is assumed that the community will have a high degree of participation and control over decision-making processes in a community-based planning approach (e.g. Arnstein, 1969; Haywood, 1988). However, the level of participation may be in the form of tokenism or manipulation (as shown in Tables 3.3 and 3.4), in which decisions or, just as importantly, the direction of decisions, has already been prescribed by government (Hall, 2000, p. 32) or international aid agencies. Indeed, the notions of local governance and community-based decision-making expressed in such models will need to involve examination of how tourism shapes the economy, society and political structure of destination communities (Bianchi, 2003, p. 16). In some circumstances the planning and decision-making process of tourism development as well as the political structure of local governance may provide little or no opportunity for local people to reject externally funded infrastructure development plans, especially in the less-developed world, where poor people and/or minority ethnic groups have little voice, busy as they generally are with their day-to-day subsistence in an agricultural society.
3.4.2 Perceptions and Conflicts

3.4.2.1 Defining Perceptions

The word ‘perception’ denotes a ‘process by which an individual selects, organises, and interprets stimuli into a meaningful and coherent picture of the world’ (Schiffman & Kanuk, 1987, p. 174). Perception of others has also been defined as ‘the impressions people form of one another and how interpretations are made concerning the behaviour of others’ (Hargie, 1986, p. 47). The term ‘perception’ is sometimes used interchangeably with other similar terms such as ‘attitude’, or ‘opinion’. ‘Attitude’, however, means the way a person views something or tends to behave towards it, while ‘opinion’ typically means the judgement of a person based upon their impression or feeling or personal belief without proof or evidence to support such a judgement.

There are three reasons why the term perception is used in this thesis rather than these other terms:

i) There is a clear distinction in meaning between the terms ‘perception’ and ‘attitude’ as it applies to the study of tourism. Perception is used to describe resident dispositions towards tourism as apposed to their attitudes (Ap, 1992, p. 671). In this sense, perception represents the meaning attributed to an object, whereas attitude represents a person’s enduring predisposition or action tendencies to that object (Kurtz & Boone, 1984, p. 206).

ii) An attitude, as opposed to a perception, is created on the basis of experience during the process of learning, and acquiring know-how (Moutinho, 1987). In other words, it is a cognitive response rather than a perceptual one. Perception can be created without necessarily having experience and knowledge of the object/person (Reisinger & Turner, 2003, p. 148). This can be the case when tourists perceive an image of a destination prior to a visit.

iii) The decision to travel comes from a perception in the first instance, and attitudes develop later after travel has commenced (Reisinger & Turner, 2003, p. 148).

The perceptions of tourists are conditioned by three important elements (Murphy, 1985, p. 11): past vacation experiences, individual preferences reflecting the individual’s
personality, and hearsay (information from friends and relatives, the media, or travel agents). Meanwhile the residents’ perceptions of tourism, as King et al. (1993, p. 663) point out, are said to be subjective, inconsistent and affected by external factors. In this view it is the environment and culture that determines which stimuli associated with impacts will be chosen, and how they will be interpreted and judged (Reisinger & Turner, 2003, p. 149). However, the responses of local residents to tourism impacts in one study were found to be personal as well as communal, and driven largely by perceptions of how tourism personally impacted upon their lives and their community (Lankford & Howard, 1994, p. 135).

3.4.2.2 Potential Conflicts

As the perceptions of residents in destination communities vary, there is always the possibility of conflict. For some, community-based tourism is a way of life; they work in the industry and derive their living from tourism-associated businesses. Others go about their normal routine, unaware and unaffected by the presence of tourism businesses, tourism industry workers and the tourists themselves, while others are merely supportive of its place in economic development. For others still, however, tourism and its impact can be a source of considerable irritation (Richards & Hall, 2000; Apostolopoulos et al., 1996).

The definition of who in the community should be involved in the participation process involves ruling some people in and some people out; who is local and who is included are vital considerations as conflict over limited resources can result in tourism being a divisive force (Cole, 2006, p. 95). Community dissatisfaction can also be due to the impacts of development and/or changes to the natural and built character of a place, caused by such things as new infrastructure, accommodation, vehicle parking and tourist attractions, or due to the loss of land resources, amenities and privacy, and a sense of invasion caused by tourism. It may also be because of social impacts on local behaviour patterns, such as the introduction of popular western cultural features.

Rural villages in less developed countries have increasingly become tourist destinations and there are more and more places formerly considered remote that are now experiencing the social/cultural impacts of tourism and associated developments that are quite destructive. Major impacts have been written about in places as diverse as
Bali, Sarawak and Northern Thailand, in Mayan communities in Mexico, in the Peruvian Amazon, in villages in remote parts of the Himalayas and national parks in Botswana in Southern Africa (Mowforth & Munt, 2003). In southeast Mexico, archaeological sites and indigenous villages have been turned into giant theme parks and up-market resorts that are out of the reach of local people to enjoy (Gunson, 1996).

One particularly detailed and perceptive analysis of how negative perceptions and conflict can arise is Doxey’s index of irritation (or in other words, ‘Doxey’s Irridex’), which is a conceptual model of the effects of tourism development on the social relationships between local residents and visitors. There are four stages in this model with different degrees of local control of development, starting from the euphoria stage of very little tourism development with little local control needed, to the final stage of antagonism with tensions beyond local control, leading to potential deterioration of the destination’s image (see Table 3.8).

### Table 3.8: Doxey’s Levels of Host Irritation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doxey’s Irridex</th>
<th>Social Relationships</th>
<th>Power Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euphoria</td>
<td>Initial phase of development; welcoming visitors and investors</td>
<td>Little planning or formalised control; greater potential for control by local individuals and groups in this phase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apathy</td>
<td>Visitors taken for granted; formal (commercial) contact between residents and outsiders</td>
<td>Planning concerned mostly with marketing; tourism industry association begins to assert its interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annoyance</td>
<td>Saturation points approached; residents have misgivings about tourist industry</td>
<td>Planners attempt to control by increasing infrastructure rather than limiting growth; local protest groups begin to assert an interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antagonism</td>
<td>Irritations openly expressed; visitors seen as cause of all problems</td>
<td>Planning is remedial but promotion is increased to offset deteriorating reputation of destination; power struggle between interest groups may force compromise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The last two stages (annoyance and antagonism) indicate that a level of change to local lifestyles above what is considered acceptable by local people (euphoria and apathy) has been reached, and especially in the final stage, has been surpassed. This
Irridex is a highly generalised model, and its consequences and relevance will be subject to a wide variety of circumstances and/or factors which differ with time and space (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 249).

3.4.2.3 Perceptions of Participation: Theoretical Views and Case Studies

As previously discussed, in the context of tourism planning, local participation involves a wide range of stakeholders, including local residents, representatives of various agencies in the tourism industry, business, political, social and cultural groups, all working together. Findings from several studies have shown that groups or individual people who benefit from tourism often perceive greater economic benefits but lesser social or environmental impacts from tourism than those who do not gain as much economically (Tosun, 2002; Besculides et al., 2002; Williams & Lawson, 2001; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Prentice, 1993; King et al., 1993).

There are also quite strongly divergent theoretical views on participation. Table 3.9 presents two extreme approaches to tourism planning that exemplify differences in the views about local participation, characterised here as ‘leftist’ and ‘rightist’.

**Table 3.9: Bipolar View of Tourism Planning Approaches**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leftist ‘Community Development First’</th>
<th>Rightist ‘Tourism First’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aiming for an independent, differentiated destination with minimal dependency on the core. Focus on sustainable human development goals as defined by local people and local knowledge. The key question driving development is ‘What can tourism give us without harming us?’</td>
<td>Aiming to maximise market spread through familiarity of the product. Undifferentiated, homogenized product dependent on core with a focus on tourism goals set by outside planners and the international tourism industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periphery</td>
<td>Core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism-as-system</td>
<td>Tourism-as-industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism-as-culture</td>
<td>Tourism-as-consumerism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holistic, integrated, participatory</td>
<td>Economic/market-driven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human/community development</td>
<td>Globalisation, modernisation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Burns, 2004, p. 26

Burns (2004, p. 26) here identifies patterns and bipolarities that arise from conflicts in planning. The major conflict is between the ‘leftist’ aim for community needs without compromising heritage resources, and the ‘rightist’ aim is to obtain economic benefits of tourism development without needing to consider local inputs,
aspirations or needs. Therefore, a ‘third way’ approach is identified which balances idealism (what ought to happen by and for society) and pragmatism (what can happen with private sector investment) to resolve possible conflicts among various tourism stakeholder groups (Burns, 2004, p. 27).

The central tenet of Third Way politics: ‘no rights without responsibilities’, is explained by Burns (2004, pp. 31–40), by pointing out two important issues in the tourism planning process that need to be effectively addressed. First, it is important that a realistic assessment of potential benefits and problems is available. Given the complexities of tourism, planning is not only inter-sectoral (between various economic sectors and civil society) but also intra-sectorally active between the different subsectors (pp. 31–2). The tourism planning process must include systems that allow for the future shape of tourism to be negotiated to the mutual satisfaction of stakeholders, including those residing in the destination, as well as small scale entrepreneurs, through a new attitude of decentralised co-operation (p. 39), in order to fill the gap between the two extreme approaches. Secondly, it needs to be recognised that the process of master planning presented by aid advisors (such as those working as consultants for international aid agencies) has its faults and a bias towards ‘selling’ ideas (pp. 33–4).

A Third Way would also value the role of social institutions such as universities, museums and nongovernmental organisations to facilitate the meaningful participation and empowerment process of education and training and to create a consensual framework for the eventual plan itself (Burns, 2004, pp. 35–6).

Another issue, as Dunsire points out, is that “a break may occur between policy implementation and actual result, the so-called ‘implementation gap’, in which a continuing lack of empowerment frustrates effective action” (Dunsire in Sofield, 2003, p. 191). The situation in which community involvement is essentially top-down, where the limit of involvement is pre-determined by policy-making institutions, needs to be avoided and long-term empowerment established (Giampiccoli, 2007, p. 188). In locating the issue of power within the community, empowerment avoids what might be regarded as a social understanding of power (Butcher, 2007, p. 88).

The following case studies illustrate successes or otherwise associated with tourism development derived from different approaches to tourism planning. These studies suggest why it can be problematic to only examine the perceptions of individual
groups in isolation and they reveal the importance for tourism policymakers and planners of focusing on integrated approaches to sustainable tourism development to gain long-term benefits for all stakeholders.

Horn and Simmons (2004, p. 133) conducted a study on two New Zealand tourist destination communities (Rotorua and Kaikoura) to explore factors that could help local residents adapt successfully to tourism and associated development. One of the major findings was that the manner in which residents perceive the level of local control influences the community’s experience of tourism. Through a process of local consultation that already exists in Rotorua there is a well-developed partnership between the public and private sector. The process encouraged most residents of Rotorua to apparently trust the management of the District Council. This can be interpreted as a positive result from a collaborative approach to tourism planning and development by the local council as an intermediate body responsible for cooperating with other parties including local residents. In contrast, local residents of Kaikoura, with less local involvement, trusted their District Council less (Horn & Simmons, 2004, p. 139).

The country of Belize provides an excellent example of how a country has used sustainability to promote the development of new types of tourism and how a government’s use of the language of sustainable tourism can be sufficient to win international accolades, even among academics and environmentalists (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 280). However, in 1992 the concerns of Belizeans, especially about the government’s interpretation of what was and what was not ecotourism, were highlighted when a ‘top-down’ government policy was used to promote large-scale foreign capital investment. This project led to heated arguments about mass tourism development.

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25 Belize is a country on the eastern coastline of Central America, bordered on the north by Mexico, on the west and south by Guatemala, and on the east by the Caribbean Sea.
27 There was an investment (75% by foreigners and 25% by Belizeans) in a US$ 50 million resort development project in the ecologically fragile coral reef area of Ambergris Caye, the biggest of Belize’s offshore islands. With the very high percentage of foreign ownership, Belizeans had a latent resentment and asked why the minister had not let them know before making any decision (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, p. 283).
versus ecological conservation, as well as raising the issue of how to resolve the problem of a lack of local input in the decision-making process (p. 283).

Smith and Duffy (2003, pp. 139–44) highlight how active and genuine participation by local communities can benefit community-based ecotourism development in protected areas. They examined the experience of Belize from the mid-1990s onwards by reviewing secondary documents, observing local participation in tourism activities, and interviewing a number of visitors and key local informants in both the public and private sectors involved in the tourism industry. They argue that in the case of conservation and destination management, it is necessary to rely on local participation in developing strategic plans to achieve sustainable tourism outcomes. However, they found that participating communities can experience differential benefits according to their level of local organisation, ability to lobby, and even their geographic position. For example, villages that have good transport access and linkages to major attractions are likely to have more tourists visit, especially tourists on a tight schedule. The Ministry of Tourism and the Belize Tourist Association had a strong influence on developing policy and meeting the cost of training for local residents in pursuing licences to be accredited village guides. The problem was that Mayan communities in Belize’s popular tourist areas could not devote time to residential courses because they were tied to subsistence agricultural systems. The lesson learned from the case of Belize is that the interests of local people are not necessarily compatible with the interests of local associations and authorities, nor can they always participate.

In the case of Costa Rica, the impacts from a ‘top-down’ government tourism policy resulted in both positive and undesirable outcomes, because of various factors such as the balance of conservation and development. In the early 1990s the Costa Rican government began to promote large-scale mass tourism developments that resulted in not only economic development outcomes but also undesirable environmental and social impacts on both human communities and ecological biodiversity. Environmentalists expressed concern that enormous amounts of water

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28 The massive Papagayo project included the construction of 1,444 homes, 6,270 condo-hotel units, 6,584 hotel rooms, a shopping centre and a golf course. The scheme went under the title ‘Papagayo Eco-development’, but the ‘eco’ more appropriately referred to the economic wealth it was intended to generate for its investors rather than to the local ecology it was supposed to save (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, pp. 285–6).
were needed to irrigate golf courses, which would have to be taken from wetlands, mangroves and other delicate aquatic habitats, while the locals were worried that their water supplies might be curtailed. Recognising these impacts, Costa Rica’s Minister of the Environment increased entry fees to most national parks for foreigners by a factor of ten in the mid-1990s in an attempt to decrease the number of tourists (Mowforth & Munt, 2003, pp. 286–7).

Sofield (2003, pp. 259–84) presents examples of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to ethnic tourism in Vanuatu. Since the 1980s local communities in one area have run a successful tourism scheme based upon one particular traditional ceremony. Tourism development is controlled by the village owners and supported by both the national government and local authorities. Since local villagers have no technical and financial means to establish ethnic tourism attractions, the Vanuatu Government has enacted legislation in support of policies such as infrastructure development and marketing promotion. The ‘top-down’ process of government legislative action and policies from local authorities have created the necessary active working groups, with a ‘bottom-up’ approach of local consultations to enhance ethnic tourism businesses. It seems clear that the ‘top down–bottom up’ integration of support has been significant in achieving viable tourism managed by village communities.

Wall (1996, p. 123) examined attitudes towards tourism among indigenous residents of eight villages in Bali, Indonesia. Their results suggest that residents usually hold positive attitudes towards tourism in the early stages of development but later can become negative if local involvement in the process of tourism development is not monitored. These findings suggest that attitudes towards tourism are correlated with the degree of involvement of host communities in the tourism industry as development proceeds. Although most respondents to the surveys saw benefits from tourism,

Vanuatu is one of the small island nations in the South Pacific, having a total population of less than 200,000. There is the annual ‘ghol’ (land diving) ceremony that is carried out by a group of eight villages of the Sa people of Pentecost Island. This annual ceremony is central to ‘an ensemble of indigenous ritual’ performed in association with the yam harvest in April/May. (Sofield, 2003, pp. 259–84).


For example, the Prime Minister’s Office, National Cultural Centre, National Tourism Office and Civil Aviation Department.
questions were raised concerning the ‘top-down’ approach\textsuperscript{32} to tourism planning that was seen as responsible for limiting the input of local residents in developing tourism in their villages, especially in respect to incorporation of local knowledge (Wall, 1996, p. 135). This study concludes that local involvement needs to be culturally appropriate and be fully recognised within traditional modes of community decision making to be successful.

Harrison and Schipani (2007) examine the community-based tourism development funded by multiple international aid agencies, the Asian Development Bank, the Netherlands Development Agency, and also the Laos Government in 2002. In such projects, activities are deliberately planned in consultation with community members with the aim of ‘empowering’ them, and this involves a degree of persuasion, with a marked element of raising consciousness. By contrast, Harrison and Schipani point out that in the private sector there may be little planning and community consultation, but tourism development does not occur in a social or political vacuum, and formal and/or informal sanctions may be brought to bear on those straying too far from communal norms and values (2007, p. 224). One of their conclusions is that private sector tourism enterprises (e.g. guest house associations) have an important role in poverty alleviation and can be strongly rooted in communities with regular technical and financial support provided by international aid agencies. Instead of automatically assuming that tourism enterprises in the private sector are unwelcome and inferior competitors of ‘alternative’ donor-assisted community-based tourism projects, they might be considered as potential partners in tourism development, with their own enterprise and links to the community (Harrison & Schipani, 2007, p. 226).

3.4.2.4 Conflicts of Interest in the Planning Process

Despite efforts at implementing participation in tourism planning, conflicts can arise at any time and for many different reasons (Hall, 2000; Gunn, 1994). Tourism planning involves a tremendous diversity of products (Gunn, 1994, p. 6), and as shown repeatedly

\textsuperscript{32} There has been involvement of advisors to international consultants or outside experts and numerous training workshops on tourism organised by the Balinese authorities. Concerns are frequently expressed in local newspapers about decisions promoting large-scale tourism development projects such as a major resort complex close to one of the most important temples in Bali, Tanah Lot (Wall, 1996, p. 134).
in practice, it is the planning process that usually brings up conflicting perspectives from various groups of stakeholders.

A wide variety of tourism stakeholders will inevitably lead to inherent conflicts of interest over the use of resources (Richards & Hall, 2000, p. 6). Conflicts can also arise because stakeholders can have different goals and interests, either amongst individuals or groups, such as between governmental and non-profit sectors, or between private developers and local residents. Some groups may want to promote tourism without limits, some might prefer it to be developed under strict regulations and zoning control. Some may want to preserve heritage resources for future generations. Such conflicting interests of stakeholders during the planning process can result in it becoming protracted.

Conflicts in tourism may arise from differing cultural values, not only between tourists and host communities, but between different groups such as government agencies, NGOs, tour operators and businesses (Cole, 2008, p. 35). Conflicts can also occur indirectly, where a general pervasive feeling of dislike or unwillingness to appreciate others’ views creates a sense of antipathy between groups (McKercher, 1997, p. 99). However, these may all be alleviated if planners explicitly acknowledge the legitimacy, interests and values of all groups affected by proposed plans through mediation and communicative strategies (Meyer & Reaves, 2000, p. 97).

Resolving conflicts in tourism planning is an important prerequisite for achieving sustainable development outcomes (Gunn, 1994, p. 443). Although planning is carried out by different agencies, organisations and businesses for different purposes and on different scales, one strategy might be for planners to make explicit all points of agreement and disagreement between diverse cultural groups affected by, and interested in, each planning problem (Meyer & Reaves, 2000, p. 96).

In practice, attempts to solve such problems have focused on techniques for conflict resolution and avoidance, (for example, interest-based public meetings), rather than on overall consultative processes and value-based outcomes (Hall, 2003b, p. 334). Smith (1992) recommends decision-making processes that are structured around the following four principles:
- real and regular consultation that seeks to be inclusive of all stakeholders and that begins early in any decision-making process;
- development of a common information base;
- action plans involving multiple stakeholders; although more costly in terms of time (and often money), savings can be gained in the longer term as parties to any agreement reduce the cost of regulation. Action plans should also encourage ongoing dialogue and cooperation, and should anticipate difficulties in implementation and possible future potential conflicts; and
- the use of a variety of effective mechanisms including mediation and zoning.

One way of dealing with potential conflicts of interest that has been suggested revolves around encouraging greater spiritual development, harmony with nature and mutual reciprocity between community members (Hamm & Muttagi, 1998, p. 36). When Giani Zail Singh, the former President of India, gave the inauguration speech at the Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the World Tourism Organisation on 3rd October 1983, he touched on these issues as they related to tourism planning and development in saying:

‘Tourism can become a vehicle for the realisation of man’s highest aspirations in the quest for knowledge, education, understanding, moral heritage of different peoples…it is these spiritual values of tourism that are significant…’


Butcher, too, calls for a ‘New Moral Tourism’ that is different, sensitive, constructive and critical of modern progress (2003, p. 22). According to Smith and Duffy (2003, p. 7), if tourism is not to be all about the satisfaction of those paying for the privilege, ethics should play a part in the tourism planning process. Instilling equity principles and social justice in balancing power relations may help to introduce ethical considerations; i.e. what is ‘right’, what is ‘wrong’, what is ‘good’, what is ‘bad’ in the discourse on tourism planning (Sofield, 2003, p. 111).
3.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has discussed the three main policy approaches, ‘top-down’, ‘intermediate’ and ‘bottom-up’, involved in tourism planning with differing structures and roles of tourism stakeholders. It is clear that local participation in tourism planning is complex and involves complicated processes undertaken within destination communities and with a range of outside parties. It is through this process that the views of participant stakeholders can be used to produce desirable tourism development outcomes. However, steps towards enhancing local empowerment and local capacity building seem to be essential if effective local participation in tourism planning is to be achieved. It is, therefore, important to understand what local residents perceive, under different tourism planning policy approaches, about the problems and benefits with respect to their participation in the process.

The review of selected case studies presented in this chapter shows that integration of tourism within the broader development of a community necessitates the encouragement of all stakeholders to take an interest in tourism issues and to deal with possible conflicts within the broader context. This chapter has shown that ‘conflicts of interest’ between tourism stakeholders are likely to happen because of differing perceptions and attitudes within and across communities. The evaluation of tourism planning as to effectiveness requires tools that are adaptable to local situations, taking into account traditional/spiritual values, the physical environment and human resources.

The next chapter describes the research design used in conducting a series of studies exploring local perspectives on tourism planning in Northern Thailand and to answer a series of related research questions.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the research design and associated methods used to collect and analyse data to address a set of research questions. These questions pertain to tourism planning under different development policy approaches in three case study areas; how local participation in tourism planning is experienced by residents in these villages; and problems and benefits associated with tourism development as understood by local inhabitants. The criteria for selection of the case study villages are also discussed.

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following questions were addressed by the studies described in the thesis.

1. What are the similarities and differences between the future tourism development goals of top-level policymakers in the region and those of local residents?

2. What are the perceptions of ethnic communities about tourism development and how do they relate to the different policy approaches?

3. In what degree, in terms of problems and benefits, are local residents concerned about their participation under different tourism planning policy approaches?

4. Within the Thai political and planning contexts, what factors are important in facilitating local participation with regard to each policy approach; and why are those factors influential?

Question 1 sets out to discover to what extent the views of top-level policymakers, as identified in the literature review in chapter 2 on development discourse and sustainability, are reflected by local residents. Question 2 investigates to what extent tourism has brought both benefits and problems to local communities, as exemplified by the experience of ethnic communities in Chiang Rai province in Northern Thailand — one of the centres for tourism development in the Mekong region, as well as a central area of
diverse ethnic groups living in both the remote mountainous border areas and in the plains along the Mekong River.

Questions 1 and 2 are also primarily concerned with the causes of problems resulting from ‘top-down’ tourism policies, although different degrees of tourism development impacts from the other two policy approaches; i.e. intermediate and bottom-up, are also examined in question 2. The differences in the three different policy approaches have been discussed in Section 3.2.1. It is assumed that these differences must have a profound impact on the experience of tourism in ethnic host communities. Questions 3 and 4 are aimed at understanding the factors associated with local participation in tourism planning processes within the context of the aforementioned three different policy approaches. Chapter 3 has dealt with the various issues related to local participation, in particular the extent to which is has been found to be meaningful. It is also clear from the review in section 3.4 that the perceptions of local residents in ethnic destination communities vary considerably, and that there is always the possibility of conflict, as shown in the reviews of case studies presented in section 3.4.2.3.

4.3 Research Methodology

4.3.1 General Research Approach

A multiple case study approach was used for comparing different policy approaches in this research. Case study villages which are representative of the different policy approaches were selected in Chiang Rai Province. Various methods were used to collect data from stakeholders involved in tourism planning in the study villages, including policymakers, academics and local residents. Both quantitative and qualitative analysis methods were used to treat the data. Three main types of data were collected: written policies, attitudes of tourism policymakers and perceptions of local ethnic communities.

The research was divided into three steps (see Figure 4.1) as follows:

1. Review of various tourism policy options and preferences from the perspective of top-level policymakers;
2. Selection of case study areas that reflect ‘top-down’, ‘intermediate’, and ‘bottom-up’ policy approaches to tourism planning;
3. Examination of perceptions and attitudes about local participation and tourism development impacts, as held by both policymakers and local residents.

**Figure 4.1: Methodology Flow Chart**

**Step 1:** The first step involved a review of ongoing tourism policies from relevant authorities, namely written policy documents from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) and the National Economic and Social Development Board of Thailand (NESDB), concerning tourism planning and development in the GMS (also see section 5.3, chapter 5).

Fieldwork was initially conducted from December 1999 to April 2000, and explored issues mainly relevant to the first and second research questions, which focus on tourism planning and development impacts in the GMS at the macro level. Data on ‘top-down’ policies was collected in the regional context of the GMS. Attendance at the fifth Mekong Tourism Forum in Cambodia (April 2000) gave a macro view of how tourism agencies in the public and private sectors cooperated at an international level, especially in terms of marketing partnership policies and strategies. A 2-week reconnaissance trip was made in April 2000 which included a preliminary survey and observation of the historic sites of Angkor in Cambodia and the traditional New Year festival in Luang Prabang in

**Step 2:**

**Case 1:** Top-down policy approach

**Case 2:** Intermediate policy approach

**Case 3:** Bottom-up policy approach

**Step 3:** Comparative analysis of the three case studies
Laos. These observations were helpful for gaining first-hand experience as to what was happening at both international and local levels. These two World Heritage Sites have been highly promoted in most GMS tourism marketing materials by both the public and private sectors.

Interviews were then conducted with top-level policymakers in central and provincial government agencies (also see section 5.3, chapter 5). As reviewed in chapter 2, Chiang Rai Province was selected as a study area because of its location along national borders and because it has a high potential for tourism growth, which might conflict with the province’s own conservation values with regard to natural and cultural resources and their diversity. The aim was to understand how policy options were chosen by groups implementing tourism planning and management at the regional level. To evaluate the desirability of decision-making criteria from the perspective of policymakers, a computer-aided policy evaluation software package, Strategizer, was used (Wyatt, 1999, pp. 165-91).

**Step 2:** The purpose of this stage of the study was to allow a comparative analysis of policy approaches using multiple case studies. Further fieldwork was conducted from November 2000 to February 2001. Three case studies were selected because they represent different policy approaches (top-down, intermediate and bottom-up). Selection criteria for the case studies are discussed later in section 4.3.3.

**Step 3:** This stage of the study involved exploration of the perceptions of residents in the case study villages with respect to problems and benefits associated with local participation in tourism planning and with respect to the perceived impacts of tourism development, under each of the three different policy approaches. Data collection was conducted in all three case study areas using a combination of the following techniques:

- Participant observation and informal interviews were conducted with key local informants and related government officials;
- Questionnaires (see Appendix B for an example) were used to explore attitudes about local participation in tourism planning. Respondents were selected using a ‘snowballing’ sampling technique where initial contact led to introductions to further respondents. Government agents were questioned to obtain a mix of age groups, gender and the range of local representation in each village;
- Focus group discussions were held with groups of local representatives to gain an understanding of tourism resources and perceived impacts on these resources resulting from tourism development;
- In-depth interviews were conducted with key government officers and local informants who were identified during the focus group discussions;
- Projective picture making was used to understand how children perceive their villages and what they would like to see in the future.

Sample sizes for the interviews and questionnaire varied between villages as a result of diverse availability and willingness of participants to take part. An attempt was made to stratify the samples to gain a cross-section of the local populations so as to include different age groups and both genders and those who were local representatives on village committees and those who were not (see Appendix G for comparing demographic data in the three case study areas).

Table 4.1 shows the key research design elements and components that include: key statements of problems, research questions, method of analysis and research techniques. Both quantitative (degrees of importance) and qualitative (contextual analysis) methods of data analysis were integrated in addressing all four research questions. This is usual for conducting case study research in the social sciences. However, there were some unusual features peculiar to this research, due to the scope of the subject being investigated. In particular the range of techniques used was wider than usual and perhaps more ambitious than most. Respondents in the study ranged from top-level policymakers to hill-tribe children.
Table 4.1: Research Design Elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential problems</th>
<th>Research questions</th>
<th>Method of analysis</th>
<th>Research methods</th>
<th>Fieldwork*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1. Top-down tourism planning policies have affected the quality of local tourism resources and of the life of ethnic communities. | 1. What are the similarities and differences between the future tourism development goals of top-level policymakers in the region and those of local residents? | Content analysis of policy options & preferences                                  | - Document review  
- In-depth interviews  
- Focus group discussions  
- Computer-aided policy evaluation | Yes | Yes |
|                    |                                                                                    | Content analysis of picture elements and verbal presentation                        | - Projective picture making                                                      | No  | Yes |
| 2. Insufficient and ineffective local participation in tourism planning and development processes. | 2. What are the perceptions of ethnic communities about tourism development and how do they relate to the different policy approaches? | Content analysis of positive and negative impacts (economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects) | - Document review, photography  
- Focus group discussions  
- In-depth interviews  
- Questionnaires (impacts/changes)  
- Participant observation  
- Informal interviews | Yes | Yes |
| 3. In what degree, in terms of problems and benefits, are local residents concerned about their participation under different tourism planning policy approaches? | Content analysis of problems & benefits in local participation | - Questionnaires (local participation)  
- In-depth interviews  
- Participant observation  
- Informal interviews | No  | Yes |
| 4. Within the Thai political and planning contexts, what factors are important in facilitating local participation with regard to each policy approach; and why are those factors influential? | Comparative analysis of factors in three case studies | - Questionnaires (open-ended questions)  
- In-depth interviews  
- Participant observation  
- Informal interviews | No  | Yes |

There are a number of reasons behind using the combined multiple research methods shown below. Document review was used to find answers to research questions 1 and 2, in order to gain up-to-date macro views on development plans and programs associated with tourism, before conducting interviews and questionnaires. In-depth interviews is the only research method used for all four research questions, since it best answers ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions, providing deeper insights after other methods have been applied. Focus group meetings were conducted for research questions 1 and 2 because both questions required local perspectives from varied groups in ethnic communities on their need for development and on existing tourism impacts.

Computer-aided policy evaluation was also used for research question 1 to obtain differing perspectives on development goals and priorities from policymakers such as government officials (nationally and locally), local NGOs and a top representative from the private sector. For the same research question it was considered useful to establish what the children – the future generation of adults – had already perceived, and what their wishes for the future might be in relation to tourism development, and so projective picture making was used to obtain a reflective perspective from this source. A comparison with the future goals expressed by top-level policymakers was significant.

For research questions 2–4, questionnaires were used, with 15 major questions on community profiles, local needs and perceptions, local participation in tourism planning and future prospects (see Appendix B). These questions were constructed on the basis of the literature review (sections 2.2, 2.4, 3.3, 3.4).

Finally, and very importantly, participant observations and informal talks were conducted for the last three research questions, in addition to the other research methods. The researcher’s ability to communicate directly with the villagers, some times with local interpreters for ethnic languages, made it easier to gain insightful comments that people felt freer and more comfortable to communicate in casual situations than by means of the more formal methods normally applied.
4.3.2 Case Study Areas

A multiple-case study approach was used to compare different policy approaches within the different case study areas in order to address the research questions. This approach was directed at identifying the perceived problems and benefits of local participation with respect to the various policy approaches to tourism planning as previously discussed.

Case studies can be used for many purposes: for exploratory, descriptive and explanatory research aims (Yin, 1981a, 1981b). While each type has its distinctive characteristics, there are large areas of overlap (Sieber, 1973). The question is when to use each type and under which conditions?

Yin (1994, p. 4) suggests that there are three important considerations when considering using a case study approach: (a) the type of research question(s) posed; (b) the extent of control the investigator can have over actual behaviour and events; and (c) the degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events. Case studies can incorporate research methods from the social sciences: experiments, surveys, archival analysis, oral histories, etc. As Yin also points out, the unique strength of case study research is its ability to deal with a diverse variety of evidence such as documents, artefacts, interviews and participant observation (Yin, 1994, p. 8).

Case-study research can, nevertheless, present several problems. In an extreme situation, the findings at any given time may not be caused by, or have little to do with, the current situation. Instead, the findings may reflect a transitional situation involving previous conditions and other unrelated factors (Griffin, 1989). In the present research, data was required that could shed light on how different current policy approaches are operating within the context of the different case study areas. However, in order to make a comparative analysis between case study areas, the selected villages had to all be at the early stages of tourism development. Based on previous knowledge of the researcher, it was considered possible, from the selected case studies, to draw comparable conclusions and apply the findings to similar areas and conditions in other parts of the subregion.
4.3.3 Criteria for Selecting Case Study Areas

Based on literature review and preliminary findings of an initial archival analysis, document review, interviews and participant observation, three different case study areas in Chiang Rai Province were selected. Each case study area had adopted one or other of the different tourism development policy approaches as previously discussed.

The location of each case study area is identified in the map illustrated in Figure 4.2. While a brief summary of the background of each case study area is presented here, a more detailed description of each study area is given in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Figure 4.2: Three Case Study Areas in the Map of Chiang Rai

Source: Map reproduced from DTCP, 1998

Case Study 1: Had Bai Village in Chiang Khong District. This village is representative of tourism planning with a ‘top-down’ policy approach applied to it because it is the only Thai village chosen by the TAT for the GMS village-based tourism project proposed in the ADB report (PCI & TEAM, 1998, p. 68).
Case Study 2: Villages in Mae Fah Luang Sub-district. These three villages are driven by an ‘intermediate’ policy approach to tourism planning implemented in the form of the Doi Tung Development Project, initiated by the Mae Fah Luang Foundation and is a representation of village-stay tourism pilot projects.

Case Study 3: Jalae Village and surrounding villages in Mae Yao Sub-district. These villages embody a ‘bottom-up’ policy approach to tourism planning as it was initiated by local people in co-operation with an NGO – the Mirror Cultural Arts Centre.

The criteria used for selecting these case study areas were as follows (see Table 4.2 for further details):

**Tourism policy approach:** looks at current and potential tourism planning measures with regard to the three policy approaches. A ‘top-down’ policy approach in Had Bai village was initiated by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) and reported by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) as a market-driven development strategy. Involvement of the NGO and local government office in tourism planning in Doi Tung villages is representative of the ‘intermediate’ approach, which emphasises integrated development and conservation policies. The ‘bottom-up’ policy approach found in the Jalae village area was one initiated by the local community with support from a local NGO.

**Form of local participation:** concerns the manner in which participation, if any, might occur, such as participatory-based meetings with various interest groups and tourism stakeholders, from both the public and private sectors; NGO/s and social/religious organisations. This question also considers the willingness of the community and its representatives to participate in tourism planning.

**Tourism attractions:** highlights the diversity and popularity of tourism resources, such as unique local tourism products, including traditional cloth weaving, viewing and sight-seeing along the Mekong River, manifestations of hill tribe/ethnic groups’ cultures and physical activities such as trekking in mountainous areas and arts/cultural performances.
Table 4.2: Summary of Selected Case Study Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case study areas</th>
<th>Profiles</th>
<th>Tourism attractions</th>
<th>Major tourism stakeholders</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Had Bai village, in Chiang Khong District, along the Mekong River.</td>
<td>This village was nominated by TAT in the ADB project (1998), as a Thai location for village-based tourism in the GMS.</td>
<td>Unique Tai Lue weaving and clothes, river view with a Laos village on the opposite river bank.</td>
<td>Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT)</td>
<td>Agency for Coordinating Mekong Tourism Activities (AMTA), an office at TAT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Doi Tung village-stay project in Mae Fah Luang District.</td>
<td>A pilot project initiated by a Bangkok-based NGO. The survey started in July 2000, launch of the project currently delayed (funding awaited).</td>
<td>Ethnic cultures of 11 minority groups (e.g. Akha, Lahu) in highland area linked with other tourism attractions.</td>
<td>NGO; Mae Pha Luang Foundation (initiated by the Thai King’s mother in 1987).</td>
<td>Local government officials in the District Office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Jalae area villages, Muang District, ~20 Km. from Chaing Rai city.</td>
<td>In 1998, a local NGO started a self-learning centre focusing on children’s education, arts and cultures.</td>
<td>Akha and Lahu hill-tribe cultures.</td>
<td>Local people and local NGO; The Mirror Cultural Arts Centre.</td>
<td>Village head and/or local representative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was important to find case study areas where there was the possibility of stakeholders being willing to participate in workshops and focus group discussions. The availability of local leaders, NGOs and relevant administrative local government officials was also important. Another factor in choosing the case study areas with regard to both current and future plans for tourism development was diversity of available tourism resources. It is also important to note that all three case study areas involve populations of non-ethnic Thais with distinctive ethnic cultures and special needs for community-based development.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

4.4.1 Content Analysis of Secondary Materials

Secondary data, in the form of reports, local newspapers, travel brochures, postcards and public relation materials, was obtained from several sources, including governmental agencies at different levels – international, national, regional and local. Data on ‘top-down’ tourism policies was obtained mainly from the Mekong Lancang River Tourism Planning Study Report of the Asian Development Bank Regional
Technical Assistance Project (1998). Data on regional tourism development plans and strategies was collected from the office of the Thailand National Economic and Social Board and the Tourism Authority of Thailand. Publications and conference papers from international organizations such as the UNESCO’s Principal Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific, Canadian University’s Consortium Urban Environmental Management Project (CUC UEM) and the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) were used to identify trends in tourism planning policy at the macro level within the GMS.

For the intermediate and bottom up policy approaches, most of the data was gathered directly by fieldwork. However, some policy documents from local government authorities and NGOs were also used as sources. Photography was used to document local tourism attractions, facilities and activities and to record development impacts. Local newspapers in both the Thai and English languages provided the most up-to-date information on current relevant issues.

4.4.2 Computer-Aided Policy Evaluation

To assess policy options at the macro level, as applied to tourism development in Chiang Rai Province, four major groups of senior level policymakers (N=13), who worked in relevant fields of tourism planning and ethnic community development were selected. These individuals were interviewed to understand their views about tourism development goals and preferred policy options. As shown in Table 4.3, these policymakers were involved in a wide range of tourism planning and development issues at different levels.

The criteria used in selecting respondents were related to the role they had in planning tourism policies and/or involvement with heritage conservation, including involvement with ethnic community studies at the national and local levels within the study area (the identity of these respondents is given in Appendix A).

33 Note: the process of selection was informally done while conducting preliminary fieldwork based on the author’s expertise in the areas of interests, recommendations from senior policymakers, government documents and through consulting prior research studies.
Table 4.3: List of Thirteen Selected Policymakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position of Policymakers</th>
<th>Justification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five central government officials</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- NESDB’s senior policymaker</td>
<td>- Participating in Ministerial Meetings about GMS development including tourism planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- TAT’s governor and deputy governor (planning)</td>
<td>- Responsible for policies and planning (Thailand as a gateway to GMS tourism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Senior bureaucrat at the National Cultural Centre</td>
<td>- Participating in Ministerial Meetings about GMS development including tourism planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Senior lecturer at Chiang Mai Uni.</td>
<td>- Participating in Ministerial Meetings about GMS development including tourism planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Responsible for policies and planning (Thailand as a gateway to GMS tourism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Participating in Ministerial Meetings about GMS development including tourism planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Researching Thai cultural identity and local cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Researching GMS tourism development planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Five provincial government officials</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Governor of Chiang Rai Province</td>
<td>- Directing development plans in Chiang Rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Director of Chiang Rai Office, Dept. of Town &amp; Country Planning</td>
<td>- Planning development control and conservation zoning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- TAT: Director, Northern Region 2 Off.</td>
<td>- Taking care of tourism marketing plans in Chiang Rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Director, Chiang Rai Hill-tribe Development &amp; Welfare Centre</td>
<td>- Promoting cultural tourism for hill-tribe communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Head, Chiang Saen District Office</td>
<td>- Planning core tourism activities in the Golden Triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two local NGO officials</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Secretariat, Mae-fah-luang Foundation</td>
<td>- Initiating community-based and cultural tourism programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Director, Population &amp; Community Development Assoc., Chiang Rai Office</td>
<td>- Leading community-based ecotourism business in hill-tribe communities in Chiang Rai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>One local private entrepreneur</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- President, Chiang Rai Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>- Playing a leading role in the private sector in developing GMS tourism business opportunities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A computer-aided policy evaluation approach was used to survey the respondents. Respondents were asked to answer specific questions incorporated in the software program, Strategizer, that had been developed by Wyatt (1999). The program presents respondents with a range of items and they are asked to score them according to ability to achieve desirable policy goals and options, and then it tallies scores for each respondent. It is important that every user has an accurate understanding of the meaning of each evaluation criterion before they undertake the assessments.

The Strategizer software employs a simple point and click mechanism to enable its users to score each option by each criterion. The software is used to deduce users’ decision-making styles relative to tourism planning. Respondents are asked whether each option is likely to be implemented, how fast, how effectively, how easily and so on. A score between –10 and +10 is given for each criterion. After users complete the scoring, they are asked what they think about each option’s desirability. In this way the

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34 The three phases of the policymaking process are: think, choose and anticipate (consequences) (Wyatt, 1999, p. 216). The computer-aided software used in this research can be used during the ‘anticipate’ phase of the policymaking process with common evaluation criteria, with the ability to anticipate how different groups of people make policy (Wyatt, 1999, p. 165).
software records not only each user’s numeric score for each option, but also each option’s overall worth, again expressed as a score between –10 and +10. The program does this by recording relationships between policy option desirability levels and associated scores on the 10 policy-evaluation criteria. Short interviews were also undertaken, in which respondents were asked to explain in detail their reasons behind their answers.

The sequences of questions, as dictated by the software, were simplified for, and adapted to, this study from the original version as developed by Wyatt (1999, pp. 165–91). The questions included:

- What is your ultimate goal in tourism development planning and for whom?
- What are your top three preferred tourism policy options?
- Please score, from –10 to +10, the 10 criteria in each policy option according to your preference.
- Please give reasons for your most preferred policy option.

The ten criteria which were presented to respondents for scoring in each option were (adapted from Wyatt, 1999, p. 177):

1. Safe means unlikely to cause damage.
2. Fast means able to be achieved quickly.
3. Easy means not difficult to be implemented.
4. Permissive means how much it permits pursuit of other options.
5. Urgent means how rapidly this option is being achieved at the moment.
6. Effective means its influence on the attainment of the overall goal.
7. Correct means how much it makes one feel good (the right thing to do).
8. Independent means non-reliance on other, associated options.
9. Likely means probability of this option being implemented.
10. Responsive means amount of effort in trying to achieve this option.

The Strategizer program uses these ten criteria because, between them, they cover all the major concerns which ought to be taken into account in assessing planning

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However, in reality, the author had to input answers/scores into the computer software due to the relative lack of computer skills and literacy among the 13 senior policymakers. The author followed the instructions on a lap-top computer and then assigned ratings for the options on each of the evaluation criteria. The author also took notes of the policymakers’ expressed reasons and/or their additional comments.
policies (Wyatt, 1999, p. 177). Wyatt argues (ibid., p. 180) that these criteria are ‘universal’ concepts that apply to any policymaking style. In the present research the questions were asked in the context of specific applications to tourism planning in the GMS and/or Chiang Rai Province. For example, the ultimate goal or policy options desired by an NESDB official, of concern in macro scale issues related to GMS tourism, might be expected to be different from those that would concern the Chiang Rai governor.

4.4.3 In-depth Interviews

Face-to-face, semi-structured interviews were conducted with various key policymakers. In all three case studies respondents were chosen from leaders of various organisations, government officials (central and local), NGO representatives, academics, key local leaders and relevant tour operators.

The following questions formed the main part of the interview guide:

- How has the prevailing tourism development policy affected local resources and your community?
- What do you see as both the positive benefits and negative impacts of tourism development in the village? Please explain with examples.
- Please define problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning. Do you have any ideas for improvement?

These open-ended questions allowed interviewees to express their own views about relevant issues in an unconstrained manner. At the end of each interview, the respondent was asked if he/she knew any other prospective interviewees. This snowball sampling approach allowed information from different sources to be obtained from a variety of perspectives.

In making appointments for interviews, there were differences between senior government officials and directors in the private sector, and other people. For approaching government officials, formal letters were sent in advance with details of the research objectives, methods and topics that would be covered in the interview. Telephone follow-ups were then used to confirm interviews. Approaching people in the
private sector, appointments were made by phone and followed up with formal letters on the days of the meeting. Interviews were tape recorded and written notes were taken.

4.4.4 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group meetings were conducted with local representatives of various interest groups in each case study area. The focus group technique can enhance individuals and groups to participate in discussions, but care needs to be taken to avoid dominance of verbally fluent individuals (Pearce et al., 1996, p. 194). The discussions allowed free flowing discussions about tourism resources and development impacts relative to economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects of the case study villages. This procedure focused specifically on answering the research question, “how have different policy approaches to tourism development affected ethnic communities and tourism resources in the case study villages?”

Procedures used for conducting the focus group discussions included (see Appendix D for more details):

(i) **Warm-up**: involved starting the discussions with an introduction of the research described in a friendly plain language statement. Respondents were informed at the start that their individual contributions to the discussions would be treated anonymously. A local interpreter with translation skills and the ability to communicate well was necessary to make sure that all members of the group fully understood what they were expected to do.

(ii) **Constructive discussion**: entailed learning about the community and their views about tourism impacts through questions and answers. For example, respondents were asked to identify existing heritage resources and potential tourism attractions and whether any changes had affected these resources since tourism development initiatives had commenced. They were asked to explain and give examples of problems resulting from development in their village. They were also asked what future benefits they would like to see for their villages, and to give some examples. The researcher wrote responses on a board including each item coded into four main themes: economic, environmental, social and personal concerns.
(iii) **Voting**: was aimed at quantifying the level of significance for each item mentioned with respect to both the problems and benefits associated with tourism development. The voting processes involved:

- Individual voting. Each participant was asked to give a score from one (1) to three (3) to represent the level of importance for each item (3 = most important, 2 = very important, 1 = moderately important);
- The respondents would raise their hands when each item was identified at each level of importance. If they thought that there was no significance for a particular item, they were not required to vote;
- Counting votes was done by both the researcher and the assistant to help ensure reliability.

At the end of the meeting, respondents were told that a summary of the meeting would be prepared in the form of a report in the Thai language and given to the local leader for future reference.

The number of participants involved with focus group meetings varied between 12–35. The number in each case study depended upon the availability and willingness of people to take part. However, in all cases there was a mix of genders and age groups. Details about respondent samples within each case study village are given in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Fieldwork summary reports for each focus group meeting are given in Thai in Appendix E.

Mean scores for each item were calculated and the results were categorised into the four main themes of economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects, as previously mentioned.

**4.4.5 Questionnaires**

A verbally administered questionnaire was used to explore questions concerning levels of local participation in tourism planning and development. Local interpreters were recruited and trained to make sure that the questions asked were understood by the respondents. The researcher also used a snowball sampling technique to select respondents who would have at least some knowledge about relevant tourism development projects in the villages and who had previously participated in local
consultation activities. Probes about aspects of tourism impacts were used when clarification was needed. These probes were structured so as to avoid bias and were aimed at extracting further information about the four analytical domains: economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects (see Appendix B).

In addition to the questionnaires, administered in the villages, a questionnaire was also conducted amongst members of the Regional Cultural Councils, with administrative support from the Provincial Cultural Council. Respondents were from 15 sub-districts in two districts (from the total of 111 sub-districts in 13 districts in Chiang Rai Province). The main purpose of this questionnaire was to explore perceived differences between top-down policies and community interests, especially with reference to heritage resources promoted as attractions in future tourism development plans.

Questionnaires administered in the villages were conducted to the questions: ‘what are the problems and benefits of local participation in tourism development planning?’ and ‘why have these arisen?’ This questionnaire generated quantitative data in the form of a range of attitudinal scales. This permitted comparison across answers to be made.

Table 4.4 shows sample sizes from the questionnaires within the villages, which averaged 40% of the total households (N = 7–79) in each village depending on populations. The reason that there was no questionnaire administered in Pangnun Pattana village was because it was considered a similar pattern of answers would be expected from Si Lung and Li Che villages and it would be redundant.

Table 4.4: Comparison of Sample Size in the Case Study Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case study</th>
<th>Village name</th>
<th>Total households</th>
<th>Sample size for questionnaires (households)</th>
<th>Participants in focus group discussions (persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Had Bai</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>79 (26%)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Si Lung</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13 (48%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Li Che</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7 (27%)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pangnun Pattana</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jalae</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>41 (70%)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In total, sixteen questions were asked in the questionnaire. An open-ended question asking *why do you think so?* followed each question allowing respondents to elaborate on their reasons for the choices they selected. The 16 questions were:

In your village, what do you think about the following statements:

1. Tourism planning needs local participation.
2. You have no input into tourism planning.
3. The current level of local participation in tourism planning is good.
4. More diverse representation of interest groups is needed for participation.
5. Local participation in tourism planning could bring more benefits than problems.
6. More satisfaction about shared benefits for all groups results from local participation.
7. Economic benefit is the most important incentive for local participation.
8. Better understanding and more education about local participation are needed.
9. Better consideration of place and time for local participation is needed.
10. More involvement in the early stages of the decision-making process is needed.
11. More accessibility of information for local participation is needed.
12. Conflicts amongst different groups make it more difficult to achieve local participation.
13. External influences are more important than internal factors in local participation.
14. Increasing negotiation power with external bodies results from local participation.
15. Trust in future political commitment affects willingness for local participation.
16. Networks and understanding among stakeholders result from local participation.

Respondents were verbally given six ranked choices in answering each of the 16 questions ranging from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’ and with ‘I don’t know’ as the sixth choice. The data was entered into a data matrix using the SPSS software (version 11.0, 2001) and mean scores for each question were calculated. There were some missing values due to the option of non-response – I don’t know.

In conducting this questionnaire technique, the demographic profile of village populations in the three case study areas is examined for comparison. They are shown in Figure 4.3 (age), Figure 4.4 (gender), Figure 4.5 (duration of stay) and Figure 4.6 (education levels) below. Age and gender were considered to be as balanced as practically possible at the time of the fieldwork. However, there were more elderly persons in the first case study, Had Bai villagers, than in the other two case studies. Male respondents were slightly more willing and available than female villagers while
conducting these questionnaires. Most villagers in Had Bai had stayed there for more than 20 years in comparison with most people having stayed less than 5 years in Jalae Village, the last case study. Most people in all case studies had no education beyond early primary school.

**Figure 4.3: Age Comparison in the Three Case Studies**

**Figure 4.4: Gender Comparison in the Three Case Studies**
Figure 4.5: Comparative Duration of Stay in the Three Case Studies

Figure 4.6: Comparison of Education Levels in the Three Case Studies
4.4.6 Participant Observation and Informal Interviews

In order to understand opinions not identified in the focus group meetings or formal interviews, participant observation and informal interviews were also used to gather information. These methods were used to supplement the formal interviews for reasons of personal preference and/or confidentiality (also see Jennings, 2001; Bamberger, 2000; Braud & Anderson, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Layder, 1997; Sommer & Sommer, 1997; Sapsford & Jupp, 1996). Participant observation and informal interviews were conducted with villagers and various tourism stakeholders’ groups. Field diary notes and/or voice recordings were used to record respondent reflections and comments.

It was necessary to gain first-hand experience of local residents relevant to their tourism activities. This data was collected by asking people questions indirectly in semi-structured interviews or by personally participating in activities such as traditional festivals. Participation in a number of marketing events at the national and international level, mainly organised by national tourism organisations and PATA was undertaken. An example of an international event is the annual Mekong Tourism Forum that has involved top-level tourism policymakers both in the public and private sectors. Participation in local events such as traditional festivals was also seen as being equally important to gain an understanding of salient issues at the grassroots level.

In addition, visual observations were made by taking photographs of natural and cultural features in the landscape and different sites/attractions to document each case study village. In remote/rural areas, where the social structure is normally dependent on village leaders, a good relationship with local leaders was very important. Participant observation, sometimes combined with informal discussions, was a useful way of making appointments for focus group meetings and arranging more formal interviews with villagers.

Informal interviews were administered prior to administering the questionnaires to gain a better understanding of the local context. Most of these interviews involved discussion about ordinary daily activities in an effort to gather information at the individual level that could not be obtained through more formal discussions. For example, the researcher would talk with local residents while having lunch or dinner with them to gain insights into the local context. There were also a number of times the
researcher had to talk ‘off the record’ after more formal in-depth interviews were concluded when sensitive issues were mentioned.

Such informal interviews were also used to help identify respondents for the questionnaire. Once people felt comfortable with the researcher they started to freely voice their thoughts in response to the questions asked, which took the form of indirect questions to very direct. Data was recorded by taking notes as soon as possible on site.

### 4.4.7 Projective Picture Making

Children of varying ages in each of the villages were asked to make pictures as to “What they would like their village to be like in the future?” The aim was to answer questions about similarities and differences between future tourism development goals desired by top-level policymakers in comparison with those of local residents, in this case children in the villages.

Children in the local schools, in primary and early high school grades, between 9–15 years of age, were selected to participate by their art teachers. They were given approximately two to three hours to draw and paint their responses to the above question.

Specifically, the process involved:

(i) Discussing with the village headman or a responsible school teacher the aim of the exercise, when and where the most appropriate time and place for children being involved in the exercise might be. Normally, these meetings took place in the school’s common room or at the village information centre.

(ii) Two-day advance notice, with information about the topic of the workshop, was given so that the students could think about what they might draw/paint or to bring their own drawing materials if they wanted.

(iii) These sessions started with an introduction by the researcher. Drawing equipment was provided with different types of colouring materials including two to three sets of pencil colours, marker pens and colour crayons. It is noted that some children brought their own materials.

(iv) Students were instructed to present their pictures orally explaining what they meant. The researcher asked all students to describe their major ideas and the reasons
why they preferred to reflect their ideas in a particular style or composition, and
sometimes, why they had chosen certain colours. Notes were taken and names of
student artists were recorded at the session.

(v) The researcher expressed appreciation for involvement of the students and
each student was given a small gift (an Australian koala toy).

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

4.5.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis can take a variety of forms but typically it is a quantitative technique
used for identifying patterns of meaning in content rich data such as written, spoken,
pictorial and other visual materials (Finn et al., 2000; Rosengren, 1981). Content
analysis was used in this research for analysing both secondary and primary open-ended
data collected by the various research techniques (see Table 4.1). This involved the
systematic interpretation of textual and graphic materials to quantitatively transform the
contents of communication to allow the different data sets to be systematically
compared (Weber, 1990, p. 9), in this case writings on policy evaluation, open-ended
responses of residents and projective pictures made by the children.

Content analysis can help to uncover the underlying or ‘latent’ meanings as well
as obvious or ‘manifest’ meanings in documents (Schapper, 1994, p. 317). It allows
written words or graphic images to be preserved while allowing numerical comparisons
to be made (Holst, 1969, pp. 5–12).

Krippendoff (1980, pp. 52–5), identifies several different steps in content
analysis:

- Data making: which must be representative of real phenomena or durable
  records (e.g. sampling and recording);
- Data reduction: which may be statistical, or simply a question of omitting what
turns out to be irrelevant details;
- Inference: that is the raison d’être for any content analysis and reflects all the
  knowledge gained by the content analyst and strengthened by inferential
  judgements;
- Analysis: which concerns the more conventional processes of identification and representation of patterns that are noteworthy, statistically significant, or accounting for descriptive content of the source material.

Patterns of meaning identified through content analysis are only descriptive, not explanatory, in nature as it can only describe the content and/or structure of the communication, not answer why it is in the form it is. It can, however, identify and compare issues that can then be explored in more in-depth using other methods. In this study, two professionally trained recent graduates in urban design and engineering examined the source data and coded the materials using the researcher’s coding categories in order to test the reliability of the researcher’s original coding. The result was an average 80% inter-rating reliability (i.e. agreement between the initial coding and the test coding). The agreement ranged from 71% to 92% with the most mistakes in coding (6–12%) in ‘environmental’ aspects in both cases. This result is understandable as there are built environments related to tourism activities that can overlap with economic aspects and cultural environments that can overlap with sociocultural aspects. Although this small percentage of errors is considered in this research as not affecting the validity of the overall results, there is a need to seriously consider this concern in similar future studies.

Data collected by the various techniques, as previously discussed, was categorised into four main aspects as follows:

- **Economic aspects.** Issues relating to financial/monetary concerns, development of tourism activities, facilities and services, economic development outcomes relative to the tourism industry such as employment or income generated from tourism development/investment programs and business opportunities;

- **Environmental aspects.** Issues/concerns relating to ecological systems including physical/constructed/natural environments and infrastructure, land, landscape, streetscape, parks, green/open space, recreation areas, human settlements, traffic, air, noise, waste and water;

- **Sociocultural aspects.** Issues/concerns relating to local communities such as their senses of cultural identity and diversity, indigenous culture, customs, traditions,
festivals, social or communication networks, social justice, civil society, community empowerment and political influences/relationships;

- **Personal aspects.** Issues/concerns relating to local wisdom, personal feelings, willingness to participate and ethical principles.

4.5.1.1 **Content Analysis of the Projective Picture Making**

Analysis of the pictures was based on interpreting the contents, taking into account the children’s oral presentations. Content was classified into the four general content categories as previously mentioned: economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal. Major and minor elements represented in each picture were analysed according to scale, composition of elements, human figures depicted, and the lines and colours used. Concepts derived from each student’s oral presentation were also content analysed to help understand features not readily apparent by looking at the paintings themselves.

Images in the pictures that contained tourist facilities, activities and services were categorised under economic aspects. Elements of the natural and built environment, such as mountains, rivers, rice fields, houses and village scenery, were categorised under environmental concerns. Cultural resources, such as cloth weaving, Buddhist temples, and social traditions/customs were coded into socio-cultural aspects. There were also some elements that seem to express intangible values such as love, friendship, sense of place or community that were coded under the ‘personal aspects’ category.
4.6 Summary

In this chapter, the research design and associated methods were outlined. Tourism in each case study area was planned and implemented under one of the three tourism policy approaches: top-down, intermediate and bottom-up. A combination of data collection methods was used to address four research questions in the context of the case study areas. This included analysis of policy documents, a computer-aided policy evaluation program, interviews, participant observation, focus group discussions, a questionnaire and projective picture making by children in the case study villages.

Data was analysed and organized into four theme areas: economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects, to respond to the research questions.

In the next chapter, the top-down policy approach and its influence on tourism planning will be explored. With the aim of comparing perceptions of top-level policymakers with those of the study area village communities and their views on local participation in tourism planning and how they perceive impacts of tourism and associated development.
CHAPTER 5

‘TOP-DOWN’ POLICY APPROACH

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the ‘top-down’ policy approach to tourism planning, local participation in the process and local perceptions of tourism development impacts. Policy preferences of top-level policymakers in regard to these matters are reviewed and contrasted with the opinions of people living in one case study area; the village of Had Bai.

As mentioned in chapter 2, the Mekong Lancang River Tourism Planning Study (an ADB project) introduced a ‘village-based tourism’ model to the area in 1998. Six villages in GMS countries were nominated and development plans were developed to promote their cultural resources to attract international visitors to the subregion. Six priority circuits along the Mekong River were identified as major tourism travel routes and attractions. In this scheme, Had Bai village in Chiang Rai Province was chosen by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) to represent village-based tourism. The implementation period of these plans will be from 1999 to 2018 (PCI & TEAM, 1998).

One of the research questions concerns similarities and differences between the tourism development goals of top-level policymakers and those of local residents. Since Had Bai’s tourism development was established and driven by the TAT, it was selected as representative of a ‘top-down’ approach to tourism planning. The perceptions of locals were also examined in relation to existing and future tourism development impacts on the village and how local resources and communities have been affected by the application of this approach was explored. The question of how problems and benefits associated with local participation in tourism planning were perceived was also addressed.
5.2 BACKGROUND

5.2.1 Tourism Development Policies

Chiang Khong district in Chiang Rai Province was one of the three border districts selected for developing plans to stimulate GMS market economies (NESDB & ADB, 1999, p. 1). Chiang Rai was designated to be the ‘gateway’ to the Mekong tourism and trade centre, with border shopping opportunities (NESDB & ADB, 1999, p. 37; TISTR, 1999, p. 30; TU-FCA, 1998, p. 89). In 2002, NESDB announced a specific policy for the ‘Development of a Border Special Economic Zone in Chiang Rai Province’ to strengthen economic coordination in the GMS, in particular with Southern China (NESDB 2002, pp.1–2). The main sectors promoted were trade, tourism and agriculture. A sub-committee was set up for each sector to develop detailed action plans.

The micro-policymaking body at the local government level was Rim Khong Sub-District Office in which Had Bad village is located. Tourism policies embedded in the five-year development plan (2002–2006) of Rim Khong Sub-District Office aimed to:

i) improve tourism attractions for both Thai and foreign tourists;

ii) support income for local people by promoting tourism products and services;

iii) develop public spaces for recreational activities (RK-SAO, 2001, p. 15).

A ‘village-based tourism’ model was proposed as a key element for guiding tourism development in the subregion and the National Tourism Organisation (NTO) chose one village in each GMS country for the project. Had Bai village was chosen by TAT to represent Thailand. This village was identified as an attraction within Segment 1, which extends from the Golden Triangle in Chiang Saen to Huay Xai in Lao PDR (PCI & TEAM, 1998).

5.2.2 The Study Area of Had Bai Village

5.2.2.1 Location and Overall Profile

Had Bai village is located in the province of Chiang Rai, Northern Thailand along the Mekong River, between the communities of Chiang Khong and Chiang Saen (see map
in Figure 5.1). The village can be accessed by road or by boat. By road, the journey from Chiang Khong takes approximately 40 minutes and offers views of the surrounding agricultural and natural landscape; and it is a further 30 minutes to Chiang Saen. By boat, the trip from Chiang Khong takes approximately 50 minutes, and around 15 minutes less from the Golden Triangle in Chiang Saen. The journey to Had Bai gives travellers impressive views along the Mekong River (see Figure 5.2).

![Figure 5.1: Regional Location Map of Had Bai Village](image)

Source: Prannok Witthaya Maps Centre, Bangkok, n.d.

![Figure 5.2: Scenic Views along the Major Road to Had Bai](image)

Driving from Chiang Saen, Golden Triangle

Driving from Chiang Khong
The village was settled in approximately 1945 and covers an area of 2.72 square kilometres. In 2000 it had 309 households, with 1,285 people (Haley et al., 2000). The primary source of income for the community is agriculture. Although local people in Had Bai have come from different parts of the country, most people know each other very well. There are walking trails that connect the community to other nearby villages.

**Transportation Infrastructure and Services**

Highways in Thailand provide reliable service and the roads are generally well-maintained. A regularly scheduled bus service connects Chiang Rai with all the major communities. The sub-road connections in remote mountainous areas are not usually well developed and there is a high degree of curves and steep contours along the roads making them dangerous. In Had Bai village the main village road, which run between Chiang Khong and Chiang Saen along the Mekong River, is paved and is in good condition. The boat landing is sheltered from the currents of the Mekong River. However, the path from the river to the village is muddy and steep.

At the time of the study, there were no regularly scheduled buses to Had Bai from either the Golden Triangle or Chiang Khong. Only mini-buses could be hired. Boat charters from Chiang Khong were also available. A number of private operators offered river travel services from the Golden Triangle, to visit Had Bai village as a half-day tour. Development of a new port at Had Bai has been planned by the Thai government since 1997 with the aim of promoting river travel from Golden Triangle and connecting two other sites on the river (Had Bai and Huay Xai) to Luang Prabang in Laos.

There were no hotels, guesthouses or home-stays in Had Bai with only a few local house owners prepared to accommodate tourists in spare rooms. Therefore, most visitors are only day-trip travellers. Some of these people stay in Chiang Saen or Chiang Khong, which offers more choices for accommodation. The village has only two stores selling snacks and refreshments and two stands offering noodles (see village map in Figure 5.3).
Public Services

There were electricity and phone services in the community, and although both of these services were considered to be high quality and reliable they were not always consistent. Each house had a septic tank. The waste was pumped out by a private company and taken to a dumpsite each month. Some of the solid waste was burned and the remainder dumped at a site five kilometres from the village. There were a few litterbins along the main road and there was evidence of dumping along the Mekong River, detracting from the attractiveness of the river scenery.

Tourism Market

At the time of the survey, between thirty to forty tourists visited Had Bai per month. Many tourists came with tour operators from the Golden Triangle by boat and then continued on to Chiang Khong. Tourists visiting the community were mainly foreigners who travelled to the village to buy textiles. The average visit was approximately only thirty minutes. Being located along the river is very important to Had Bai’s success as a tourism destination because easy transportation is a major reason for its attractiveness and its riverside location adds to the visual appeal of the place.

No traditional Thai Lue architecture remains in the village because of a fire in 1970 that destroyed much of the village. However, other villages in the region have retained some traditional architecture, but these are not located along the river. The village is visually pleasant and scenic, but similar to other villages in the area. If a
planned regional boat tour is implemented, Had Bai could become a stopover point and eventually development of overnight accommodation may occur.

5.2.2.2 Tourism Attractions

Traditional Tai Lue weaving is the main tourist attraction in the community with weaving products adding to household earnings. There are three shops that sell woven fabrics and other products, including long skirts, shirts and small bags. Most of the weaving is done during the non-agricultural season (February to July). The warmth and friendliness of the villagers also provides an accommodating and welcoming atmosphere.

One of the local shops is run by a women’s cooperative. Although some women sell woven products directly to tourists from their homes, buyers from around Thailand come to the village and place large orders through the cooperative. The centre has a weaving demonstration area that is located in a Buddhist temple, which is connected to its sales shop. The centre has six looms and three sewing machines and provides a place where tourists can, during most days, view traditional Tai Lue weaving techniques and patterns (see Figure 5.4).

![Weaving Cooperative Centre](Photo: Theerapappit, P. 2000)

**Figure 5.4: Weaving Cooperative Centre**

The cooperative provides female villagers with the materials for weaving. Weavers receive wages that represent a small percentage of the total sale price, with most of the profit being returned to the individual shop owners or the cooperative centre to purchase more materials. While these enterprises are of some benefit to the villagers, and certainly a great tourist attraction, some shop owners have decided to lower labour
costs by using Laotian workers living on the other side of the Mekong River. With this
labour and price competition occurring among existing shops, the issue of ‘authenticity’
in unique Tai Lue weaving patterns has become an important issue among local
residents.

![Image of the Village Entrance](Photo: Theerapappisit, P. 2000)

Figure 5.5: Image of the Village Entrance

The other significant attraction in the village is the Buddhist temple, Wat Had
Bai, which is located in the village centre along the Chiang Saen – Chiang Khong road
(see Figure 5.5). When the research was being undertaken the main ritual building,
which was built in the 1800s, had recently been demolished and replaced with modern
buildings. The newly appointed abbot worked together with a committee of villagers in
the traditional manner to manage the daily activities of the temple. As shown in Figure
5.6, nightlife and various forms of entertainment activities, as well as parking facilities
for visitors, were instituted in order for the temple to reap profits from renting land to
private companies. This has resulted in a general and gradual erosion of cultural
traditions and religious activities, about which a number of community members
expressed disappointment. For example, ‘Pha-Tun-Jai’[^36^] a cloth-making activity
undertaken for the benefit of Buddhist monks and to provide a chance for people to
‘make merit’, had ceased a few years previously due to a lack of leadership from the
village head.

[^36^]: Pha-Tun-Jai is a long piece of cloth for Buddhist monks totally made by a large group of local
volunteers working together to complete all steps of the cloth-making within 24 hours - one day and one
night. It was an annual cultural tradition of Tai Lue people in Had Bai village. In February of each year,
local people used to make merit by giving this new hand-made cloth for monks to use as robes.
Figure 5.6: Had Bai Buddhist Temple—Comparative Image

5.2.2.3 Policy Review

In Thailand, the Sub-district Administrative Organisation (SAO) is the regional governing authority responsible for providing basic services and facilities to rural village areas as well as in developing and enforcing regulations with respect to resource conservation and management (WBAM, 1997, p. 21). Under the decentralisation policy of the 9th National Plan, the SAO is also responsible for the management of tourism resources in Sub-district areas (CMU & MI, 2000, p. 11). In addition, each village in a Sub-district has to set up its own civic committees composed of the village headman, assistant village headman, security coordinator and local representatives. These people are expected to participate in planning for future tourism development under the SAO’s management (CMU & MI, 2000, p. 46).

Had Bai village is administered by the Rim Khong SAO. The five-year development plan (2002–2006) for Rim Khong had been developed by that SAO. This plan is focused on promoting tourism products and services as an alternative source of income and on improvement of public recreation areas. However, there was no action plan as to how, with whom and where to use the five-year budget for tourism development as specified in the document.

Local government agencies planned to use tourism as an economic recovery tool and to alleviate poverty through funds allocated to projects such as road and port construction, installing markets to sell souvenirs and other local products, and for providing accommodation and other facilities and services to tourists (RK-SA0, 2001, pp. 16–24).
The total budget, as shown in Table 5.1, indicates that Had Bai village was to allocate a significant amount of the budget (almost 80%) to economic development. The major part of the budget, 54.28 million baht (65.5%), was to be used for infrastructure development, compared to only 1.6 million baht (1.9%) for upgrading tourist attractions. Environmental and human resource development programs were allocated only 3.1% and 1.8% of the total budget respectively.

**Table 5.1: Development Budget of Rim Khong Sub-district**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development categories</th>
<th>2002–2006 Total budget (Million baht)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic development plans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- agricultural development, trade, marketing</td>
<td>8.98 (10.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and alternative work programs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- infrastructure development</td>
<td>54.28 (65.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- tourism attraction development</td>
<td>1.60 (1.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-total</td>
<td>64.86 (78.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare and education</td>
<td>13.95 (16.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental programs</td>
<td>2.55 (3.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human resource development</td>
<td>1.46 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82.82 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RK-SAO, 2001, pp. 16–24

5.2.2.4 Participation Issues

**Natural Resource Conservation**

The natural landscape in the area of the village is one of its main tourism attractions. However, proposed future plans have had limited community input, especially at the beginning of conservation and development projects. There have been only a few key community members (i.e. the village head and representatives of SAO) represented in meetings with government agencies. Wider representation of local groups willing to participate in discussions about conservation would clearly be desirable.

**Women’s Roles and Justice**

It is important to consider to what extent women’s workloads may be increased with increases in tourism. Women mainly run the small shops and manage the stores that sell weaving products. They produce the textiles and also work in the fields and manage
households, having to balance paid work and unpaid work. The women’s weaving cooperative contributes in a large way to the village income. However, women do not seem to be adequately involved in the cooperative’s key decision-making processes, especially in reaping profits from the sale of products.

5.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Policy evaluation was conducted in Bangkok, Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai using the ‘Strategizer’ program, as previously described (see chapter 4), to gain an overview of policy preferences with respect to tourism development. Most of the data from Had Bai village and nearby villages in the area of Rim Khong Sub-district were collected using a combination of in-depth and informal interviews, focus group discussion, a questionnaire, participant observation and projective picture making.

In-depth interviews were conducted in a semi-structured manner with various key policymakers in both central and local governments. Key local informants in the case study areas, i.e. leaders of organisations concerned, NGO representatives, tourists and relevant tour operators, were also interviewed and informal interviews were conducted with many of the villagers. In addition, tourism activities and events related to the village and the GMS were reported in the newspapers, on the internet and at relevant meetings. These sources of information helped the researcher understand trends in tourism on the subregion.

5.3.1 Computer-aided Policy Evaluation

This technique was used in order to address the first research question concerning development goals of top-level policymakers. Thirteen top-level policymakers and planners were selected from different sectors involved in tourism planning: academics, NGOs, senior planning officials in central and local governments, TAT and the Chamber of Commerce. A list of policymakers who were interviewed is given in Appendix A.

5.3.2 In-depth Interviews

As mentioned, the thirteen top-level policymakers were interviewed. Specific questions about the ‘village-based tourism’ project, initiated by ADB and TAT, were posed. For
example questions were asked as to whether or not they agreed with this project, what planning processes were considered important and what impacts might result. Questions about local participation were also asked including its role in tourism planning at the local level, such as how the village head and staff at the Rim-Khong Sub-district Administration Office were involved. During the meetings, tape recordings were made with permission and notes taken.

5.3.3 Focus Group Discussion

As previously mentioned, a focus group meeting was conducted at the open pavilion in the Had Bai Buddhist temple, a place where villagers typically join together to discuss social and spiritual issues (see Figure 5.7).

![Figure 5.7: Open Pavilion: Meeting Place for the Focus Group](Photo: Theerapappisit, P. 2000)

The village head informed local people about the meeting via public speakers located around the central village and at regularly held meetings and evening news presentations. The focus group meeting was held in the evening (8 pm) since most people finish work (various types of agricultural work) in late afternoon.

A diverse group of people of different ages and occupations, and of both genders, were represented at the meeting. Also included were village committee members, heads of each sub-village as well as Sub-district government officials who were involved in formulating community development agendas. The meeting lasted just under two to three hours. Discussion focused on three main topics related to the village:

- heritage resources;
- existing problems, development impacts; and
- future benefits in relation to tourism and associated development.
A local interpreter fluent in the Northern dialect helped so that people had a clear understanding of what was being discussed and to create a friendly atmosphere (see Figure 5.8). Thirty-six villagers participated in the focus group discussion. Availability and willingness of people to participate determined respondent numbers.

![Figure 5.8: Atmosphere at the Focus Group Meeting](image)

### 5.3.4 Questionnaire

As previously mentioned (chapter 4), a verbally administered questionnaire was used to explore questions concerning levels of local participation in tourism planning. Local interpreters were recruited and trained to administer the questionnaire. In total there were 79 respondents, or 26% of the total households (see Table 5.2). The researcher chose respondents who would have at least some knowledge of the ‘village-based tourism’ project and who had previously participated in other local consultation activities.

#### Table 5.2: Comparative Numbers of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers of respondents</th>
<th>Total numbers of respondents</th>
<th>Total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>79 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The questionnaire contained 16 questions asking respondents about problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning. Plain language was used to ensure respondents understood the questions and their choice of answers. They were given five rating categories to select from: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree and strongly disagree. Results were recorded as numeric values and later entered into a data...
matrix using the SPSS software, from strongly agree = 2 to strongly disagree = -2. There were some missing values for a few respondents who did not know the answers or did not want to answer some questions.

5.3.5 Participant Observations and Informal Interviews

A total of sixteen days was spent in the village getting to know the local people and understanding their thoughts about tourism. Most discussions occurred in the evening when farming activities had been completed. However, daytime was used to informally talk with elderly people and other informants who had knowledge about local resources, political issues and physical and socio-cultural changes that had occurred in the village (see Figure 5.9).

Informal interviews were held with the principal of the local school, the abbot of the Buddhist temple, the village head and three committee members, including leaders of women’s and youth groups, as well as about twenty ordinary people who lived in the village and had time to talk. Elderly people and shop-house owners who had knowledge of village history were also interviewed about heritage resources and ways of local life in the past and how these had changed over the years.

Figure 5.9: Atmosphere of Informal Interview and Participation Observation

5.3.6 Projective Picture Making

Nine students (four primary and five secondary school students) participated in the projective picture making exercise (see Figure 5.10).
5.4 RESULTS

5.4.1 Policy Review

Since 1992, the most influential policymaking body in GMS tourism has been the ADB due to its degree of funding, especially for supporting major cross-border physical infrastructure projects. Road construction (See Route R3 in Figure 5.11) and river-based transport promotion programs have followed agreements with China, Laos and Thailand in which measures aimed on boosting the flow of overland tourists in these countries have been proposed (PATA, 2000, p. 10). Policy aims included opening up various border checkpoints, granting visas on arrival and removing impediments in the Mekong River region to widen tourism and trading opportunities via all-season water transport (PATA, 2000, p. 10). However, a challenge for top-level policymakers in the region is still to clarify how to efficiently manage control of undesirable environmental and social impacts resulting from this policy approach.
5.4.1.1 Policy Desirability

In Table 5.3, the policy options and goals as expressed by interviewees are shown. These findings show that the aim of the most popular policy option was to increase income by developing tourism products and commercial facilities. Therefore, in practice, the highest priority and resultant percentage of investment was likely to be devoted to physical infrastructure development rather than to long-term human resource development, assessment and control of tourism development impacts upon local communities and their environments.
Table 5.3: Summary of Policy Preferences: Goals and Options

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Ultimate goals</th>
<th>Tourism policy options</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic</strong></td>
<td>Local income improvement (6)</td>
<td>Tourism product development (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall economic benefits (1)</td>
<td>Marketing promotion (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Self-reliant economy (1)</td>
<td>Funding for tourism activities (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism product development (6)</td>
<td>Agritourism (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong></td>
<td>Sustainable local resources (2)</td>
<td>Resource management (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Environmental Conservation (1)</td>
<td>Conservation programs (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resource management (4)</td>
<td>Ecotourism (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-cultural</strong></td>
<td>Local participation (1)</td>
<td>Public relations through all media (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consensus of all stakeholders (1)</td>
<td>Raising local awareness (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conservation programs (3)</td>
<td>Local participation/empowerment (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cultural identity enhancement (2)</td>
<td>Civil society, decentralisation (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public safety, well-being (2)</td>
<td>Legal administrative improvement (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal</strong></td>
<td>Education &amp; training (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Findings derived from the Strategizer computer software, see sections 4.4.2 and 5.3.1.
A number in brackets indicates the frequency of each goal and policy option.

5.4.1.2 Planning Styles of Policymakers

Policymakers placed greatest emphasis on the likelihood of acceptance, responsiveness to effort and urgency when assessing policy options (see Table 5.3). This contrasted with speed, independence and permissiveness, which were not highly rated.

Table 5.4 shows that favoured development plans were those likely to be implemented (feasible) and to generate a return for the public (responsive). The planning style of the 13 respondents taken together as it relates to the ten criteria is given in Appendix A. The findings indicate that options that are feasible and favourable to the community are most important. In short, the policymakers seem much more focused on social acceptance through a consensual approach to policymaking than on thorough planning style with emphasis on effectiveness, permissiveness, independence and speed.
### Table 5.4: Correlation between Option Desirability and Criterion Score

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Correlation value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Likelihood</td>
<td>r = 0.92, slope = 0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsiveness</td>
<td>r = 0.90, slope = 0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urgency</td>
<td>r = 0.87, slope = 0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correctness</td>
<td>r = 0.82, slope = 0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>r = 0.78, slope = 0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease</td>
<td>r = 0.76, slope = 0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effectiveness</td>
<td>r = 0.75, slope = 0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permissiveness</td>
<td>r = 0.74, slope = 0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independence</td>
<td>r = 0.64, slope = 0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>r = 0.63, slope = 0.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ten assessment criteria items computed in the *Strategizer* program

Correlation analysis was performed to determine relationships between desirability of policy options and scores of the ten assessment criteria, as shown by the ‘r’ scores in Table 5.4. Also, the significance, or likely longevity of such a relationship is given by the slopes of the graph, as shown by the slope-scores. Basically, the slope is an indicator or the ‘definiteness’ of any association between option desirability and criterion score. None of the ten criteria has a strong slope. By contrast, the regression coefficient, ‘r’ value, measures the relationship’s consistency. Both measures need to be taken into account when judging the closeness of any association between policy option desirability and criterion scores (see the relationship diagrams of the ten assessment criteria in Appendix A).

### 5.4.2 Views of Stakeholders and Local Residents

#### 5.4.2.1 Perceptions of Heritage Resources in Chiang Rai Province

One of the research questions sought to explore differences between top-down policies and community interests. In particular, attitudes about the importance of heritage resources in Chiang Rai Province were revealed through results of the questionnaire sent to heads of cultural councils in the 15 Sub-Districts.

Heritage resources valued the most were identified as:
• traditional food produces;
• costumes;
• medical treatments;
• agricultural lifestyle;
• religious beliefs/rituals;
• languages and dialects;
• vernacular architecture;
• archaeological sites or objects;
• local wisdom or know-how;
• friendship or moral quality.

Table 5.5: Results of the Questionnaire: Perceptions of Heritage Resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lists of heritage resource items</th>
<th>Percentage shares in five levels of importance (N=116)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indispensable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Traditional food produce</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Traditional costumes</td>
<td>39.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Traditional medical care and treatment</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Agricultural lifestyle</td>
<td>45.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Religious beliefs/rituals and local traditions</td>
<td>61.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Language: dialects &amp; both verbal and written language</td>
<td>69.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Local/vernacular architecture</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Historic/archaeological sites, heritage objects</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Local wisdom, informants with special expertise</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Friendliness, altruism, morality</td>
<td>66.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Local resident perceptions of heritage resources are reflected in the results to the questionnaire shown in Table 5.5. These local residents represent 116 cultural councils in 15 Sub-Districts in Chiang Rai. The findings indicate that languages and dialects, religious beliefs/traditions and the friendliness of local people were considered by a total of 92–95% of the respondents as being ‘very important’ or ‘indispensable’ heritage resources in Chiang Rai Province. Although the sample size represents only 15% of all cultural councils in Chiang Rai, the clear emphasis on the top three items could well be representative, and since it reflects intangible resources, this suggests that such aspects should not be ignored in planning for future development.
5.4.2.2 Results of In-depth Interviews

The in-depth interviews provided insights into the gap between top-down policy-making and local needs and perceptions. Both the Chiang Rai governor and TAT–Chiang Rai office head expressed opinions in interviews about the significance of cultural and natural resource conservation, but as has been shown in practice, infrastructure, marketing, trading and investment plans have been given higher priority than social and environmental programs. This trend was also reflected in annual government budgets.

It should be noted that since many of the interviews dealt with general issues of tourism development in Chiang Rai Province, the following summary of interview data may also apply to some extent to the broader context than simply the case study village.

In terms of tourism impacts, the director of the TAT–Chiang Rai Office, advised that a major factor in planning tourism was the rapid pace of tourism development in Chiang Rai Province. There was a 60% increase of tourist numbers in 10 years, from around 400,000 visitors in 1988 to almost one million in 1998. He said that more foreigners than Thai tourists are interested in visiting hill-tribe villages and in the home-stay option of accommodation. Over the year, up to 72% of foreigners travelling in Chiang Rai had visited one or more hill-tribe villages compared to less than 10% of Thai tourists (OEPP, 1996, p. 53). The cultural impact of the interaction of tourism activities, involving foreigners from different cultures, and the ethnic host communities, was also suggested to be important in tourism planning. Two lecturers at the Chiang Rai Rajabhat University suggested that codes of practice for guiding community-based tourism planning and development are needed, citing a need for local participation and empowerment in the decision-making processes. By contrast, three local tour operators who were interviewed argued that there was still too small a market to invest in such long-term development.

From a different perspective, the director of the Hill-tribe Development and Welfare Centre in Chiang Rai thought that a sense of awareness of local cultures and environment is the most important factor in considering community-based tourism initiatives. In his view, it was necessary to educate tourists to enhance their understanding of these matters and to avoid cultural conflict with host community members. One senior staff member of the Population and Community Development Association (Chiang Rai Office) agreed that education of both guests and host
communities was a critical factor. This person, who was an experienced tour guide involved in community-based tourism for more than 10 years, suggested that most Thai tourists preferred to get modern, high standard convenience facilities and accommodation even in remote areas, including those provided with electricity, hot water, basic Thai foods, alcoholic beverages, etc. On the other hand, he observed that some foreigners were interested in, and would participate in the ordinary daily life of villagers and had a good understanding about what they should and should not do. However, there were exceptions to this observation with some young foreign tourists making their own entertainment rather than participating in local cultural activities. He also suggested that a much higher percentage of foreigners had been responsible for socio-cultural problems, such as sexual harassment and drug abuse, than had Thai domestic tourists.

The question of local participation was a strong concern of one private tour operator who criticised the working culture of Thai bureaucratic systems and suggested that this needed to be improved, especially in relation to large-scale infrastructure development projects that may result in undesirable environmental and socio-cultural impacts on host communities. This concern was confirmed by one local informant in Had Bai village who said:

“We have heard about the new port construction project here in Had Bai but we don’t know when the new port will be constructed. I think it depends on the politics up there between the Provincial Office and Tourism Authority of Thailand. They have never asked for our involvement in planning or development processes at all. Although this new development will bring more tourist money to the locals but we are not sure how far we would have to compromise our own local resources and way of life.”

A number of the villagers themselves also expressed their concern about local infrastructure development, asking for development of a planned pier to be built in the village in order to promote trading and tourism. However, the government budget did not allocate funding for this project because of the impact of the economic crisis in 1997. The village headman mentioned that support from TAT was also limited for implementing tourism development projects at the local level and that they would seek support from the Chiang Khong district office instead.
The situation of local participation might gradually improve, since, as was mentioned by one academic at Chiang Mai University, government policies had gradually led to decentralisation of administrative authority and the seeking of more popular participation in policy development.37

5.4.2.3 Results of the Focus Group Discussion

Participants were first asked to respond to the question: ‘What are the village heritage resources?’ The data was content analysed and categorised into three main groupings:

1. **Cultural heritage resources** including traditional Tai Lue costume, written and spoken languages, foods, music festivals, rituals/beliefs and local ways of life.

2. **Natural resources** including the sandy beach scenery along the Mekong River, teal and sand-turtledove birds, the green hill backdrop to the village with a Buddha relic stupa at the top, and misty winter scenery, orange orchards, native plants and animals in the hills, rice paddy fields, an ancient Buddha image at the temple, and a spirit house under a big tree near the temple.

3. **Human resources** (personal know-how) including local wisdom of unique Tai Lue weaving skills and textile patterns (colourful designs from folk traditions without a written design), spiritual/mental quality of Tai Lue people and the friendliness of the local people to visitors, knowledge of hunting and building of wooden boats, traditional medical treatment, animistic beliefs, rituals and traditions.

Questions about problems and future benefits of tourism development were also content analysed and summarised in Tables 5.6 and 5.7, respectively. As discussed in chapter 4, respondents voted as to importance on each mentioned item (three levels of importance: 3 = most important, 2 = very important, 1 = moderately important), mean scores for each item were also calculated and results were categorised into four main themes – economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects.

37 In 1997, the concepts of decentralisation and public participation were officially introduced in Thailand through the 8th National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDB, 1997).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ECONOMIC ASPECTS:</th>
<th>Means (N=26)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ec1. Unfair income from agricultural produce sales price</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1.1 Unfair profits taken by middle-man traders</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1.2 Lack of public relations from relevant authorities</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1.3 Lack of marketing cooperation</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2. Low income from handicraft products</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2.1 High cost of raw materials</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2.2 Lack of investment funding</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2.3 Lack of raw weaving material</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2.4 Lack of market support and development training</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec3. High living and transport costs</td>
<td>2.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec4. Lack of customs office, leading to illegal trade</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSEQUENCES</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ec5. Insufficient market for agricultural produce</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec6. Labour migration to capital cities</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec7. Debt to public Bank of Agricultural Support</td>
<td>1.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec8. Debt to community groups</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec9. Increasing illegal gambling</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>En1. Solid waste pollution</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2. LAND</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2.1 Land ownership security</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2.2 Soil degradation</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2.3 Mekong riverside land erosion</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3. TRANSPORTATION NETWORKS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3.1 Sub-standard road condition, especially to farming area</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3.2 Inadequate telecommunication (e.g. public/private phone, internet)</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3.3 Streetscape without quality pathway (too narrow road)</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3.4 Sub-standard port</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3.5 Insufficient traffic signs, traffic-police sub-station</td>
<td>1.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3.6 Insufficient bus service: residents, students, tourists</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4. WATER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4.1 Flooding: inadequate drainage system</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4.2 Inadequate water quality &amp; reliability from source in mountain</td>
<td>2.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4.3 Water pollution from chemical use; e.g. fertilizer</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4.4 Water shortage (no reservoir) especially in summer</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5. FOREST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5.1 Forest degradation by human actions</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5.2 Natural forest fires</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6. NOISE POLLUTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6.1 Noise from long-tail boats</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6.2 Noise from traditional agricultural trucks (E-Taen, in Thai)</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SOCIOCULTURAL ASPECTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sc1.</th>
<th>COMMUNITY</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.1</td>
<td>Insufficient social welfare services, esp. health care</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.2</td>
<td>Drug use and illegal distribution business</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.3</td>
<td>Lack of official Thai identity card</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.4</td>
<td>Social welfare insufficiency, esp. for elders and children</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.5</td>
<td>Inefficient police to overcome black-market gambling problem</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.6</td>
<td>Thai-Laos border security</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1.7</td>
<td>Sub-standard education- mainly primary school</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sc2.</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sc2.1</td>
<td>Lack of venerable abbot at Buddhist temple</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc2.2</td>
<td>Inconsistency in significant religious traditional activities</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sc3.</th>
<th>CULTURE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sc3.1</td>
<td>Problems in traditional Tai-Lue style marriage</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc3.2</td>
<td>Exchanging traditional costume for modern</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PERSONAL ASPECTS:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ps1.</th>
<th>Lack of administrative and management skills (local groups)</th>
<th>2.63</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ps2.</td>
<td>Insufficient information accessibility, public relations</td>
<td>2.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps3.</td>
<td>Insufficient cooperation with local authorities</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps4.</td>
<td>Lack of knowledge about civil society (new laws)</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps5.</td>
<td>Loss of pride in local identity</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps6.</td>
<td>Lack of understanding of public rights and roles</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps7.</td>
<td>Loss of cultural consciousness, especially among teenagers</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perceived Problems

The results (see Table 5.6) show solid waste pollution as being perceived as the most significant problem (M=2.92). Sale prices for agricultural produce (M=2.84), land ownership security (M=2.81), social welfare and health services (M=2.77), sub-standard road conditions (M=2.64) and insufficient telecommunication networks (M=2.63) were also highly rated items. Lack of administrative and management skills for local groups (M=2.63) and insufficient information, accessibility or public relations (M=2.59) were also identified in relation to skills training and enhancement of communication networks.
### Table 5.7: Focus Group Results: Desired Future Development Benefits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESIRED FUTURE NEEDS/BENEFITS</th>
<th>Means (N=26)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1. Community handicraft/souvenir shop</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2. Cloth Weaving Association</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec3. Demonstration land for alternative agricultural products</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec4. Community market; eg morning/night/Sunday market</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec5. Border trade market</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec6. Food Shop Association</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec7. Motor-bike service group</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec8. Mekong River Transport Association</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec9. Investment in tourist accommodations</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec10. Permanent Thai-Laos customs office establishment</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec11. Creation of bike club</td>
<td>1.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec12. Home-stay/cultural shows for tourism business</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec13. Private resort investment</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec14. Vehicle rental business</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En1. Port construction &amp; riverside development</td>
<td>2.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2. Solid waste management, cleanliness promotion</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3. River bank construction upgrading to prevent erosion</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4. Road expansion for a potential full-loop linking network</td>
<td>2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5. Pedestrian and bike track, esp. from riverside to temple</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6. Development of tourist facilities; e.g. restaurants</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En7. Growing more trees; adding shading along main routes</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En8. Public park and sport facilities; e.g. for youth and elders</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1. Building cultural centre including local museum</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc2. Creating unique ‘cultural street’ – the main street to the river</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc3. Building local tourist information centre with village map</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc4. Local guide club for training qualification/standards</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc5. Improvement of temple landscape environments</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSONAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps1. English for communication training</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps2. Improving information access/networks; eg local library</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps3. Tourism studies training, esp. administration and management</td>
<td>2.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps4. Strengthening roles of abbot/finding a better one</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps5. Spiritual retreat, religious activities in temple</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps6. Strengthening religious practices by leaders, teachers</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three levels of importance: 3 = Most important, 2 = Very important, 1 = Moderately important
**Future Needs/Benefits**

People gave high priority (mean values of 2.5 or above) in relation to future needs that included (see Table 5.7):

1. Port construction & riverside development (M=2.95) *(environmental aspect)*
2. Building cultural centre including local museum (M=2.88) *(social aspect)*
3. Solid waste management, cleanliness promotion (M=2.81) *(environmental aspect)*
4. English for communication training (M=2.71) *(personal aspect)*
5. River bank upgrading to prevent erosion (M=2.70) *(environmental aspect)*
6. Improving information access/networks; eg local library (M=2.67) *(personal aspect)*
7. Community handicraft/souvenir shop (M=2.63) *(economic aspect)*
8. Road expansion for a potential full-loop linking network (M=2.62) *(environmental aspect)*
9. Cloth-weaving Association (M=2.56) *(economic aspect)*

Residents expressed a desire to see significant improvements in their physical environment, such as riverside port redevelopment, construction of a cultural centre along the Mekong River as well as better waste management. They also expressed a keen desire to gain more communication skills. English training was considered very desirable.

**5.4.2.4 Questionnaire Results**

In total, a quarter of the residents in Had Bai village (79 people in 309 households, see Table 5.2) responded to the questionnaire. Figure 5.12 shows comparison of mean scores with respect to the 16 questions (as described in section 5.3) that relate to how people experience problems and benefits resulting from local participation in tourism planning.

Results for Question 1 suggest that residents strongly believe that local participation is important (M=1.52); however, they felt a need to be trained as to how to productively be involved in the process (Question 8, M=1.39). Respondents did not agree that the current level of local participation in tourism planning was adequate, with the second lowest score of these 16 questions (Question 3, M=0.2). Question 11 (M=1.35) also suggests that people felt they needed greater access to information about how they could participate. Residents made it clear that they wanted to be involved in planning in the early stages of projects (Question 10, M=1.46).
Questions, by number, are: In your village, what do you think about the following statements:

1. Tourism planning needs local participation.
2. You have no input into tourism planning.
3. The current level of local participation in tourism planning is good.
4. More diverse representation of interest groups is needed in participation.
5. Local participation in tourism planning could bring more benefits than problems.
6. More satisfaction about shared benefits for all groups results from local participation.
7. Economic benefit is the most important incentive for local participation.
8. Better understanding and more education about local participation are needed.
9. Better consideration in respect to place and time for local participation is needed.
10. More involvement in the early stages of the decision-making process is needed.
11. More accessibility of information for local participation is needed.
12. Conflicts amongst different groups make it more difficult to achieve local participation.
13. External influences are more important than internal factors in local participation.
14. Increasing negotiation power with external bodies results from local participation.
15. Trust in future political commitment affects willingness for local participation.
16. Networks and understanding among stakeholders result from local participation.

Figure 5.12: Attitudes about Local Participation in Had Bai Village

Interestingly, most respondents rated economic benefits as not the most important incentive for participation (Question 7, M=0.63). Responses to Question 13 (M=-0.71) suggest that internal influences are also considered to be more important than external ones. It therefore seems that the role of the village head is the most important influence in decisions about whether to participate or not in the tourism planning process.

5.4.2.5 Results of Participant Observation and Informal Interviews

The Mekong River and local ways of life of the area, including the Tai Lue weaving culture and the friendliness of people, were perceived as the greatest tourist attractions.
The main problems, as gleaned from participant observations and informal interviews, can be summarised as follows:

i) There was physical evidence of the fast pace of development in water-based trading activities along the Mekong River with increasing tourism facilities and services such as guesthouses and speedboats. People felt building and road construction had led to some degree of landscape, air, water and noise pollution. The continuing impacts of overdevelopment were identified, for example, as solid waste pollution, deforestation and land use conflicts (see Figure 5.13).

![Figure 5.13: Sample Physical Environmental Problems](image)

ii) Lifestyles were affected by unplanned development as well as influences of the centralised education system and modern media. The consequences of this were seen as changes in the social structure of the local community. An example of attitude changes of local people, especially young people, was their desire move to cities to seek better job opportunities.

iii) The tourism industry was still dominated by a limited group of outside private investors, hence local people, with low educational backgrounds, received only low wages with no long-term job security.
Social Justice and Conflicts

An informal interview with a 62 year old woman (see Figure 5.14), who is the most respected and skilled weaver in the village, and whose work received the Queen’s award during a national textile product competition, revealed that she received only one quarter of the total sales price from the shop owner. Unfortunately, recognition of the award also went to the shop owner, not to the weaver. Yet the weaving patterns were based on her own memory and her deep knowledge of Tai Lue culture, and included abstract figures of animals seen in the villages.

Figure 5.14: Weaver of Tai Lue Textile at Had Bai Village

With this unique weaving style, Had Bai village has become a popular source of Tai Lue textile products. Although this lady did not mind not receiving recognition from the award, she complained about her income in relation to her effort, saying:

“…This piece of my weaving took about three months to finish because of its detailed unique patterns. The shop owner agreed to pay me 700 Baht per piece for my labour because she gave me the raw material to weave. I did not know how much she would charge for the sale price. What I know is I got a total wage of only around 200 Baht for each month and she promised to give me the rest when she had sufficient money. I had to remind her many times to be able to get the total amount agreed for my actual work…”

“…I also tried to ask for an extra 50 Baht every few years because of my time spent on weaving and the consequent effects on my health. Unfortunately, she refused and told me that she could not afford to pay more otherwise it would affect the sale price which is already high and may also
affect the number of orders from her customers. She also demanded that I not ask for any more wage increases, otherwise she would give the order to someone else.”

Some villagers mentioned that this particular shop owner sometimes asked Laotian people on the opposite side of the River to provide less expensive woven products and misleadingly told customers that they had been produced in Had Bai village. It was also observed that there were conflicts between the three shops in the village, which compete with each other in selling textiles. For example, one shop would cut its prices or give a commission to tour guides.

Questions about social conflicts, the authenticity of tourism products and ethical issues were also discussed by two shop owners but were not openly talked about by the general community – people wanted to retain affable relations between themselves and they felt such discussion might undermine these relationships.

**Human Resource Development and Training**

Schools in the Rim Khong Sub-district communities have been well maintained and attended for basic education from primary to high school. Inadequate English language training was often mentioned by the school principals as a significant barrier to delivering high quality tourist experiences because only a few students in the village could communicate in English. Most of the English lessons focused on grammar, reading and vocabulary rather than writing and conversational skills. Women expressed an interest in learning spoken English and in diversification of their weaving skills as they saw this as the best way to sell more products. Unfortunately, there were no public authorities offering such training in the village.

**5.4.2.6 Results of the Projective Picture Making**

As previously mentioned, children in the village were requested to participate in creating pictures of their future village (at Ban Had Bai Don Thee Vidhaya School). Nine students from various classes, aged 12-14, were selected by the art teacher to participate in this exercise. These students were asked to depict what they would like their village to be like in the future.
Results of this exercise are shown in Figure 5.15, while Table 5.8 shows the results of a content analysis of the pictures into five coding categories: economic, environmental, socio-cultural, personal and overall aspects. This analysis was supplemented by the students’ verbal presentations of their pictures. Both the major and minor focuses related to each picture was analysed according to the main concepts that the children presented, both orally and through the contents of the pictures.

Figure 5.15: Examples of Pictures Made by Children at Had Bai Village
### Table 5.8: Interpretation of Pictures Made by Children at Had Bai Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pictures (Referred to Fig. 5.15)</th>
<th>Aspects/Concerns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 5.1</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Major focus</em></td>
<td>- Mekong River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is a source of life and fishery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Water Fall-steam-leading to rice field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Minor focus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Tourists with camera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 5.2</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Major focus</em></td>
<td>- Mekong River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>is a way of life and source of occupation; e.g. fishery and water- based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Minor focus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Image of tourist, selling of weaving cloth &amp; fruits</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 5.3</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Major focus</em></td>
<td>- Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fishery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Tree/plantation replacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Minor focus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Rock</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 5.4</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Major focus</em></td>
<td>- Mekong River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Outline of oval shape of water drops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Minor focus</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Hunting in the forest</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>products</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture</td>
<td>Major focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 5.5</td>
<td>- Ambrosial water drops of the Mekong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor focus</td>
<td>- Tourism activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 5.6</td>
<td>- Main occupation of agriculture/ vegetable farming and cloth weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor focus</td>
<td>- Tourist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 5.7</td>
<td>- Mekong River is a source of occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor focus</td>
<td>- Rice field, trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 5.8</td>
<td>- Cloth weaving in various patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor focus</td>
<td>- Rock on the riverside beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 5.9</td>
<td>- Fishery in the Mekong River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor focus</td>
<td>- Green field</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Major Focuses

The Mekong River, including scenery of water-based agriculture and Tai Lue weaving and traditional costumes were the most frequently depicted components of the images. Eight out of nine pictures were focused on the Mekong River and agricultural scenery while six out of nine pictures were focused on Tai Lue weaving culture or traditional costumes. These results suggest that environmental and social aspects may be important concerns of the students. In addition, six of the nine pictures show images of the Buddhist temple and/or stupa, and two had these as the major focus of the picture.

Minor Focuses

All nine pictures depicted traditional customs, local ways of life and natural scenery of the river. These elements have strong links to cultural traditions which was reinforced in the oral presentation of the pictures by the students. All had minor focuses categorised in environmental and socio-cultural aspects, with six also focusing on economic aspects related to tourism. Only one third of the pictures have minor focuses on personal aspects such as friendliness and family relationship. Although Had Bai village is steeped in Tai Lue culture, which forms the local identity, there were a few features of cultural diversity expressed in depictions of Lahu tribal costume which is derived from a different tribal group from a nearby village (Pictures 5.7 and 5.9).

5.5 DISCUSSION

5.5.1 Differing views on Tourism Development Goals

Findings from the policy evaluation (Tables 5.3 and 5.4) make it clear that top-level policymakers are keen to develop tourism as a means of increasing income for local people. While tourism product development was highly scored, and they claimed to favour development plans that were feasible and favourable to the community, the development budget of Rim Khong Sub-District from 2002 to 2006 (Table 5.5) shows that the highest expenditure was on infrastructure projects, with low expenditure on developing tourism attractions, environmental conservation and human resource development programs. There was also more frequent expression of interest in public relations than in community participation.
In the focus group, residents similarly expressed a desire for significant improvements in the physical environment, such as a riverside port development, since the boat landing area was thought to need improvement through construction of a dock. The building of a riverside cultural centre was also high on the list, which would have economic benefits as well, but with a strong social focus. Almost as important was the environmental issue of better waste management, and there was also concern expressed about the potential erosion of the riverbank, which needed attention. The other suggestions for obtaining economic benefits from tourism included expansion of the village cultural centre to generate more income by selling Tai Lue weaving products, and the development of tourist accommodation and activities such as walking trails. However, while there was a strong interest in developing such tourism facilities and activities, there had yet to be any projects initiated by locals to implement these ideas.

On the basis of findings from the interviews it seems that many stakeholders, including village residents, wanted to see further tourism development of Had Bai village. They saw tourism as a means of increasing their income through the sale of food, beverages and traditional Tai Lue textiles. But not only economic goals were desired. Some community members saw tourism as an opportunity to encourage their children to learn English. Others felt that it provided a chance to share Tai Lue culture with visitors.

5.5.2 Need for Local Empowerment in Cultural Activities

The villagers also strongly supported the concept of local participation in the planning process, and preferred to be involved at the early stages of planning, not at the end when decisions by top-level policymakers had already been made. However, there was a strong perception that they required more training in the process of tourism planning and development, although they did have some ideas about how such development might be done, such as the building of a cultural centre and the provision of accommodation. A follow-up field visit in May 2006 confirmed that only one of their desired facilities, the new craft/cultural centre, had been built along the Mekong River in the centre of Had Bai village and was in operation for day-visitors (see Figure 5.16).
The issue of empowerment was observed to be of great significance in this village, although not directly expressed as such by the villagers. First of all the only real tourism attraction in the village at this stage was the textile production of the women, but the women themselves had no say in the prices they received for their goods, nor in how they were marketed. Secondly, the traditional leadership of the village, the headman and the abbot, were not seen to be supportive. The headman was thought to be passive in terms of development, but favouring certain shopkeepers, while the abbot was promoting modern forms of entertainment in the temple area, and not maintaining certain important traditional practices. It was clear from the questionnaires that empowerment through training in local participation in tourism planning was seen as needed in the village, and that the villagers were also very anxious to sustain and promote their traditional culture in a way that those with the power were not doing.

Results of the questionnaire administered to the heads of 116 cultural councils (Table 5.5) show that ‘intangible’ resources, such as local languages, religious beliefs, traditions, rituals and the friendliness of local people were seen as very important for preserving as heritages. The children’s pictures reinforced this finding, suggesting the importance of natural and cultural identity as expressed through images of ‘Tai Lue’ weaving and its cultural traditions (in Table 5.8). Thus, while the local people were not opposed to modern development, and in fact welcomed some aspects of it, it seems clear that they also felt that their traditions and culture were of extreme importance, and needed to be preserved. The policy-makers and planners could, and perhaps did, easily
ignore the significance of these unquantifiable values, and in that way harm both the tourism industry itself and the communities they were trying to help.

5.6 SUMMARY

A range of problems associated with involving local people in tourism planning were found in the case study reported in this chapter. The results showed there to be differences between what top-level policy makers desire and have actually implemented, and what various groups of local residents prefer. Contrary to the arguments supporting the ‘authenticity’ of traditional cultures (MacCannell, 1976; Hunter, 1997; Macleod, 2006) or government policies of assimilation rather than integration (Leepreecha, 2005) the villagers showed that they want both some aspects of modernity and their own natural and cultural resources to be maintained while developing tourism in the village.

However, there is an imbalance in the power relations between the people in this Tai Lue ethnic village with external policymakers as well as within the village itself. The results of the questionnaire, participant observation and evaluation of tourism planning documents suggest that in order for local residents to take a greater part in decision-making to guide future tourism development, they need to be educated and trained to understand how to effectively become involved in the early stages of the planning process. Ideally, this would be managed by an advisory committee made up of stakeholders including representatives from various village groups, especially women, as well as local and regional tourism officials, external technical representatives and academics. These stakeholders could jointly assess the appropriateness of tourism plans and development.

The next chapter focuses on the ‘intermediate’ policy approach and describes a case study in which an NGO and the local government attempted to work together in tourism planning with the aim of bridging gaps between top-level policy makers and the local community.
Akha Family and Cloth Pattern

CHAPTER 6

‘INTERMEDIATE’ POLICY APPROACH

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores tourism development planning in a group of villages under an ‘intermediate’ approach, which was initiated by the non-government organisation, Mae Fah Luang Foundation (MFLF). This foundation was established under the patronage of Her Royal Highness Srirnakarindra, mother of the present King of Thailand. One of its policy initiatives has been the development and conservation of the ‘Doi Tung Development Project’ (DTDP) located in Chiang Rai Province, Northern Thailand. Although significant funding from the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) started in 1994 with the aim of developing more tourist attractions (DTDPO, 1994, p. 40), tourism development plans under this project really began in 1998. Three villages — Si Lung, Li Che and Pangnun Pattana, were selected as ‘village-stay’ pilot projects (DTDP’s village-stay project: 21 October 1998).

As noted in chapter 2, the aim of an intermediate policy approach is to obtain facilitating assistance from ‘intermediate’ bodies in both the public and private sectors involved with tourism development planning, such as local governments, NGOs and tour operators. These agents work at the policy level in cooperation with upper level decision-makers in national and international government agencies and also with local communities.

This chapter presents research exploring the tourism policies of the DTDP in the context of the three villages nominated for the planned village-stay project, particularly with respect to local residents’ perceptions of the planning of the project.
6.2 BACKGROUND

6.2.1 Tourism Development Policies

6.2.1.1 The Doi Tung Development Project

The Doi Tung Development Project (DTDP) is located along the Thai-Myanmar border in the mountainous region of North-Western Chiang Rai Province, covering a 150 square kilometre area within two districts; Mae Fah Luang and Mae Sai (see Figure 6.1). The project was planned in three phases, to be implemented over 30 years (1988 to 2017). The main goal of the initial five-year phase was to facilitate understanding of the project between the project staff, government officials and local residents in 26 hill-tribe village communities who have moved into the area over the past half century.  

Figure 6.1: Location of Doi Tung Project

Source: Prannok Witthaya Map Centre, Bangkok, n.d.

38 The profile of ‘Doi Tung Development Project’ in this paragraph has been summarised from a public relations leaflet called Doi Tung. It is undated but apparently published in around 1998-1999 by MFLF and the Tourism Authority of Thailand.
Through discussion with the villagers, project plans were developed by DTDP aimed at curbing the destructive practices of shifting cultivation and opium poppy production, while also providing people with new sources of income. The aim was also to improve public health care, education and infrastructure (such as roads, electricity and water supply) throughout the project area.

Figures 6.2: Mountainous Scenery at Doi Tung

Figure 6.3: Tourism Activities at Doi Tung Development Project
Tourism activities, facilities and services were planned and developed in the second phase of the project (1994 to 2002). The overall goal was to increase the tourist numbers from 800,000 in 1994 to 1.1 million visitors by 2002, with a 7% per annum rate of increase (DTDPO, 1994, p. 23). The planned projects included physical infrastructure development, public relations, environmental conservation and human resource development (DTDPO, 1994, pp. 35–6). After the first six years of the project, Doi Tung became a major destination for domestic and international tourists with around 500,000 annual tourist arrivals (WTO, 1999, p. 70).

The DTDP project was recognised as an example of sustainable tourism development at the EXPO Fair 2000 in Germany (MFLF, 2005). It has also been widely received as the most successful tourist destination in Chiang Rai Province for domestic tourists. Evidence of this recognition appears on the DTDP’s website:

“A relatively remote and inaccessible area has been developed into a prime tourist attraction and attracts some 600,000 visitors annually. In 1993, the Mae Fah Luang Garden won the PATA Gold Award presented by the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) in recognition of outstanding achievements in the development of a new tourist destination. The entrance fees to the Royal Villa and the Mae Fah Luang Garden enable the Foundation to subsidise other project activities and sustain employment for the local population…” (MFLF, 2005)

In 1998 three hill-tribe villages were selected for further tourism development, as a ‘village-stay’ pilot project (see Figure 6.4). The first phase was planned to begin at the end of 2000, but was delayed due to budget problems and also because other projects were given higher priority39.

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39 The DTDP senior staff proposed to welcome the first group of tourists by around the end of 2003 (email communication, December 2002). However, as at the time of writing, the project has not been implemented yet, having lower priority than other projects (interview with DTDP staff, February 2005), and this has been affirmed in a personal interview during follow-up visit in May 2006.
Figure 6.4: Location of the Village-Stay Project

Source: TAT, 1998, p. 31 (With additional graphics and legends).

The three nominated villages (of the 26 villages covered by the DTDP) were Si Lung, Li Che and Pangnun Pattana. The criteria for selection of these villages were:

a) location, with transportation access and infrastructure development potential, such as for electricity and water supply;

b) existing tourism services, including security, human resource potential, and understanding of and enthusiasm for tourism development by the local people;

c) uniqueness of existing cultural attractions, including preservation of traditional-style architecture, customs, traditions and surroundings in the village; and

d) other types of local employment opportunities, with poorer villages being given higher weighting.

40 The information about village nomination and selection criteria came from an interview with M.R. Disnadda Disakul, Secretary-General of the MFLF and Head of DTDP, on 3 January 2001. (M.R. stands for Mom Rachawong which in Thai means His Serene Highness – the King’s great-grandson.)
6.2.1.2 Village Stay Concept

The ‘village-stay’ concept differs from that of ‘home-stay’ in that it is intended to minimise possible cultural impacts between hosts and guests by providing separate traditional-style houses for guests rather than having visitors live with hosts. The location for the accommodation (around five houses per village in the first phase) was suggested by village committees in each village. Local people were to be trained to participate in a range of planned activities with the goal of preserving a sense of privacy and cultural difference between hill-tribe communities and tourists. In the early stages, DTDP sought sources of funding for construction of accommodation, administrative management, financial systems and marketing and to establish various skills training activities so as to ensure services provided for visitors would be of high quality.

6.2.2 The Study Area of Doi Tung Villages

The following is a profile of the demographic, physical, socio-economic and cultural aspects of each of the selected villages: Si Lung, Li Che and Pangnun Pattana.

6.2.2.1 Si Lung Village

Si Lung Village is a small village of around 190 hill-tribe people from two ethnic groups, with 95% being Akha and the remaining 5% Lahu (DTDPO, 2000a, p. 24). Originally, they migrated from Myanmar about 70 years ago. At the time of this study there were 39 families in 27 households (DTDPO, 2000a, p. 1). Most locals were occupied in agricultural work—cropping and livestock (DTDPO, 2000a, p. 4). There was one school, one information centre and one Christian church, provided for the majority of villagers (120), who were Christians (DTDPO, 2000a, p. 25).

The village is relatively close to the main office of DTDP on the alternative route between Northeast Chiang Mai and Mae Sai District (the most northerly district in Chiang Rai Province near the border with Myanmar). The proposed area for the ‘village-stay’ project was close to the main road (see Figure 6.5). The village is surrounded by lush mountainous scenery with agricultural landscapes and traditional Akha village architecture being dominant elements of the landscape (Figure 6.6).

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41 Interview with M.R. Disnadda Disakul, 3 January 2001.
42 In 1935, noted at the village information centre, 23 December 2000.
friendliness and convivial spirit of the local people was also in itself a tourist attraction (see Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.5: Si Lung Village and Proposed Location for Village-Stay Project
6.2.2.2 Li Che Village

At the time of the study Li Che village had 26 households with 37 families (DTDPO, 2000b, p. 1). All 184 villagers hold animist beliefs, which are unique to the area.
(DTDPO, 2000b, p. 22), and most are of the Akha ethnic group, with only two Chinese and one Thai living there (DTDPO, 2000b, p. 21). Occupations are mainly farming, with orchards and livestock, and handicrafts and manual labour (DTDPO, 2000b, pp. 4–11). Some find jobs in the main cities of Thailand and overseas from which they send back money to help with building houses and buying facilities such as televisions, trucks, motorbikes and so on.43

The village visually appears traditional and is located in a remote area of Mae Pha Luang District close to the Myanmar border. The site of the ‘village-stay’ project is at the end of the main village street in the southwest position (see Figure 6.8). The villagers thought that this site would provide the easiest access to trekking and fishing activities in the surrounding forest, and to orchards, cropping areas and the mountain (see Figure 6.9). The traditional houses and scenery of the village are represented in Figure 6.10.

![Figure 6.8: Li Che Village and Proposed Location for Village-Stay Project](image)

Source: Reproduced from a document given by DTDP staff, n.d.

43 Personal communication with local people, 2–8 January 2001.
6.2.2.3 Pangnun Pattana Village

Pangnun Pattana Village was selected because it was the only village in the project area that conserved the unique traditional-style roofing materials on all 25 of the village’s one-storey houses\textsuperscript{44} (see Figure 6.11). The proposed location for the ‘village-stay’ project was on the central southern side of the village (see Figure 6.12) where the best

\textsuperscript{44} Based on an interview with a senior staff member of DTDP in December 2000.
mountain views can be obtained (see Figure 6.13). People in this village are very poor and with little chance of developing other industries apart from tourism. The primary aim of the ‘village-stay’ project was thus to help residents earn additional income.

Figure 6.11: Scenery of Pangnun Pattana Village
Photos: Theerapappisit, P., Jan. 2001

Figure 6.12: Pangnun Pattana Village & Proposed Area for Village-Stay Project
Source: Reproduced from a document given by DTDP staff, n.d.

45 The average annual income was only Baht 8,600 (or around 365 Australian dollars) per person (DTDPO, 2000c, p. 1).
This remote highland village is the second-most westerly village in Mae Pha Luang District and is close to Myanmar (see Figure 6.4 in section 6.2.1). There were 42 families, comprised of 159 people of the Akha ethnic group, 28 Lahu people and only one Chinese (DTDPO, 2000c, p. 23). Their religions are mixed, with 121 being animists and 67 Protestant Christians (DTDPO, 2000c, p. 24). Figure 6.14 illustrates typical views of local people and the architectural and landscape surroundings of the village.
6.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data collection was conducted at the three study villages for about three weeks (from 21 December 2000 to 13 January 2001). Six methods were employed, namely document review, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires, participant observation, informal interviews and projective picture making.

6.3.1 Policy Review

One of the research questions posed in chapter 4 was whether and how the different tourism development planning policies might affect local resources and communities. The DTDP’s policies were therefore reviewed using available sources including:

- the report of the DTDP 1998 annual socio-economic survey;
- the DTDP Master Plan 1994-2002;
- the book ‘Doi Tung’ published by the Tourism Authority of Thailand (1998);
- the 2002-2006 development plans produced by the Mae Pha Lung Sub-District Administrative Organisation (MPL-SAO, 2000); and

Primary data was collected by observation and with photographs taken at major attractions in Doi Tung.

6.3.2 In-depth Interviews

Interviews were conducted with policymakers who worked for the DTDP and were informed about the ‘village-stay’ project. Interviewees were directors or heads of public and private agencies who initiated, or were involved in, relevant community-based tourism development projects in Chiang Rai Province. They included multi-level staff at DTDP, the director of TAT–Chiang Rai Office, three tour operators, officials of two local NGOs involved with similar tourism initiative projects, three local government officials working in the City Planning Division, the Provincial Cultural Centre and the Hill-tribe Development Centre and two lecturers, one from Chiang Rai Rajabhat University and one from Chiang Mai University. The procedures for interviews are discussed in Chapter 4.
6.3.3 **Focus Group Discussions**

Focus group discussions were used to gain information on local perceptions about the impacts of tourism development. Questions included:

- What are the existing heritage resources and potential tourism attractions in your community?

- Have any changes affected those resources since the formation of the tourism development initiatives? Please explain and give examples of both positive and negative impacts in terms of economic, environmental, socio-cultural and personal aspects, before and after those developments.

- How do you deal with these changes? Please give some examples.

The procedures used with respect to this method are explained in detail in chapter 4. In this case the languages used in the meetings were mixed between central Thai, northern Thai and two tribal languages - Akha and Lahu. The researcher spoke in central Thai which was understood by only some of the audience, mainly to educated younger people and a number of adults who had learned Thai from direct interaction with lowland people (e.g. by travelling, education and trading), and from daily television programs, radio, local newspapers, movies and/or tape cassettes. The local interpreter also translated everything into the northern Thai language to ensure comprehension. Finally, a volunteer from the village communicated in one major tribal language, particularly to communicate with older people. The two groups have no problem understanding each other because their languages have common linguistic roots in the Yi (Lolo) sub-division of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages (Lewis, 1984, p. 9).

The researcher held focus group discussions in the three nominated villages in order to capture the range of perceptions of people in each village (see Figure 6.15).
The total numbers of participants in the three villages were 72 persons from a total of 78 households (an average of 24 persons in each village, depending on the availability and willingness of local people) with a mix of gender (approximately 50% male and 50% female) and age (youths, adults and elders - see Appendix F) (see Table 6.1 for more details).

**Table 6.1: Comparative Numbers of Participants in the Three Villages**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Numbers of participants</th>
<th>Total numbers of participants</th>
<th>Total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si Lung</td>
<td>8 (67 %)</td>
<td>4 (33 %)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Che</td>
<td>14 (44 %)</td>
<td>18 (56 %)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pangnun Pattana</td>
<td>15 (54 %)</td>
<td>13 (46 %)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37 (51 %)</strong></td>
<td><strong>35 (49 %)</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.4 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were administered to 20 respondents from 54 households from the two villages, Si Lung and Li Che (see Table 6.2). No questionnaire was administered in Pangnun Pattana Village because most local people there went to work outside the village as wage labourers and came back only at night.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village names</th>
<th>Numbers of respondents</th>
<th>Total numbers of respondents</th>
<th>Total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si Lung</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Che</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The questionnaire was used to answer the research questions ‘what are the problems and benefits of local participation in tourism development planning?’ and ‘why have these problems and benefits arisen?’ This method was used because the results could be quantified using a five rating scale. In total, sixteen questions were asked.

The 16 questions were the same as those used in the other case studies, so that attitudes could be compared. Plain Thai language was carefully used and sometimes repeated to ensure that respondents understood these questions and the choice of answers.

6.3.5 Participant Observation and Informal Interviews

Informal interviews were used while interacting with villagers and tourism stakeholders in both the public and private sectors during a 24-day period of fieldwork in the three Doi Tung villages. As described in chapter 4, discussion, participation in and observation of the daily life of the villagers supplemented other techniques. The aim was to record personal reflections about their activities and interaction with the local environments.

The researcher contacted respondents through the head of the DTDP office, various government agencies and village heads and committees. The fieldwork was
designed to coincide with the New Year holiday period, when there were a number of traditional ceremonies and festivals that the researcher could be involved in while observing the villagers. These interviews and observations were a necessary supplement to the focus group discussions as there were a limited number of participants in these and because some people did not feel comfortable expressing their opinions in front of others.

6.3.6 Projective Picture Making

This method was used so as to explore perceptions of the villages’ young people. The idea was to determine how, through the medium of drawing and the use of colours, the young people of the villages would give expression to their personal attitudes about tourism and associated development (also see chapters 4 and 5). Children aged between 8–12 were invited to participate because of their availability and their ability to verbally explain their ideas. They were all local students in the public primary schools located in the villages.

This activity was conducted first in Si Lung village (in December 2000), and then Li Che village (in January 2001) (see Figures 6.16 and 6.17 respectively) while no child was available to participate in Pangnun Pattana village. The 18 pictures from the two villages were considered to be sufficient to get an overall impression of the perceptions of the children.

Figure 6.16: Atmosphere of Children’s Picture Making at Si Lung Village

6.4 RESULTS

6.4.1 Policy Review

At the macro level, there have been various tourism development projects initiated since the DTDP started in 1987, featuring handicraft and cottage industries, visitor accommodation, the Doi Tung royal villa, Mae Pha Luang garden extension and cultural landscape attractions. Although there have been increasing job opportunities in the tourism industry for local villagers who live in the DTDP area, certain problems need to be reviewed, such as the extent of participation in decision-making processes, the fairness of distribution of DTDP’s earnings and social and cultural impacts.

At the micro level, the physical infrastructure projects used to support and promote tourism facilities and services have been brought about by changes to agricultural land use and the resettlement of people. For example, land that hill-tribes used for shifting cultivation was transformed into a reforestation project and the new development phase of Mae Pha Luang garden expanded into the area of the Akha hill-tribe settlement (see Figure 6.18). During the peak time of the year (winter), around December and January, traffic at Doi Tung increased. Measures to control the area’s traffic routes and car parks so as not to exceed their carrying capacity may need to be introduced (see Figure 6.19).
The number of tourists for the DTDP projects were hard to predict at the outset and during project development. According to one report (OEPP, 1996, p. 4), there were 256,417 tourists in 1988, or 30% of the total number of tourists who visited Chiang Rai Province. These numbers nearly doubled in a decade. This report also addressed potential problems related to the carrying capacity at Doi Tung being exceeded with a large number of tourists needing accommodation, infrastructure and security services. Environmental problems such as garbage, poor wastewater management, parking
(OEPP, 1996) and preservation of local traditions and cultural attributes of the hill-tribe communities were to be addressed in future tourism development at Doi Tung (OEPP, 1996, p. 14).

The only available statistics for tourists visiting major Doi Tung attractions (e.g. Mae Pha Luang garden) were collected by DTDP staff during December 2000 and are shown in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3: Tourist Numbers at Mae Pha Luang Garden**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Thai</th>
<th>Foreigners</th>
<th>Total numbers of tourists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>254,080</td>
<td>3,890</td>
<td>257,970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>248,470</td>
<td>4,610</td>
<td>253,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>353,870</td>
<td>8,780</td>
<td>362,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>360,270</td>
<td>13,240</td>
<td>373,510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>444,770</td>
<td>13,340</td>
<td>458,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>437,350</td>
<td>16,420</td>
<td>453,770</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DTDP, 2000

There was an approximately 76 percent increase in tourist numbers in the five years from 1994 to 1999 and this trend will most likely continue with more attractions like the Hall of Opium (Museum) at the Golden Triangle Park (opened up in 2003) and other attractions at Doi Tung set to be developed.

Surprisingly, there was no specific team assigned to plan and manage the ‘village-stay’ project, which to date had been managed by means of directions emanating from the head of DTDP (M.R. Disnadda Disakul). There is therefore a need to monitor local involvement, especially with regard to education and training for providing tourism services, given that these are expressed goals of this project.

### 6.4.2 Views of Stakeholders and Local Residents

#### 6.4.2.1 Results of In-depth Interviews

The head of DTDP explained that he had been waiting for budget approval before building the first of 15 Akha\(^{46}\) houses as tourist accommodation in the three villages selected for the village-stay project. He wanted to maintain the traditional-style of hill-

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\(^{46}\) The Akha are the major ethnic group living at Doi Tung (DTDP, 1998, p. 93) and their village was selected first because of its rich culture and sense of hospitality (personal communication, 3 Jan. 2001).
tribe residential architecture as well as the traditional costumes and lifestyle activities despite cultural changes from the traditions of the past. That meant that hill-tribe villagers would have to do what they usually did in the daytime, but at the same time change their customs to remain in the village while becoming involved with tourist activities such as cooking, eating, dancing and so on.

Tourist activities and the roles of villagers had not been planned yet. His plans to train hill-tribe people for tourism services were also yet to begin. Issues could arise as to how to distribute income fairly to the villagers and how their voices might be incorporated in the decision-making processes for tourism planning.

In the interviews with village heads at Doi Tung, the overall DTDP project (while not yet including the proposed village stay project) was said to have been successful because of efficient project management and due to the status and prestige of the King’s mother initiating the project. As Mulder (2000, p. 111) points out, the importance of the royal family to Thai culture is reflected in a feeling of gratitude and indebtedness for the ‘Nation-Religion-King’. It was considered likely that a ‘royal’ project such as the DTDP project would get high priority in both government budget and human resource allocation.

The DTDP director claimed in the interview that although there were 35 Government Departments and six Ministries involved at the beginning of the project in 1987, DTDP is now a self-reliant body without direct government assistance. He explained that the main goals for the DTDP were economic self-sufficiency, improvement in the quality of life, and education for local communities. The major indicator of progress was measured by the average annual income of people living in the DTDP area, which rose from 3,772 Baht (around $157 Australian) in 1990 to 12,155 Baht ($506 Australian) in 2000, or a threefold increase in 10 years. However, since the socio-cultural impact of tourism on a host community can be significant, it is arguable whether such a purely economic indicator can effectively measure quality of life. Nor does average income reveal whether or not income earned from the project is evenly distributed among local ethnic communities. The director defended the administration of the project on behalf of DTDP on the grounds that:
(i) DTDP provided more job opportunities, hence local people had not moved to work in the city and were provided with the opportunities to resolve the problems of prostitution, drugs and poverty; and

(ii) DTDP had to expend some portion of the tourism project’s income for employing professional consultants and skilled artisans for advice on product and marketing development, as well as operation and maintenance costs being incurred by all existing projects and to allow for future investment.

**Tourism Impacts on Local Resources**

The impacts of increasing tourism development infrastructure and activities on environmental and human resources were of concern to a number of the local people interviewed in depth. Although it is understandable that DTDP would wish to provide alternative income to that which came from agriculture, in the form of cloth-making, handicrafts or souvenir sales, local villagers had different ideas about the benefits gained from the DTDP project. For example, one village head pointed out that villagers in the DTDP area lost agricultural land ownership as a trade-off for development projects, and livestock could no longer be kept, which was a direct result of the land use and zoning controls imposed by the DTDP. Two local residents said that they had lost land and felt disadvantaged by no longer having the freedom of independent farmers, and instead had had to become labourers. An academic in the Geography Department at Chiang Mai University suggested that some plots of land could be zoned for self-reliant agriculture in each village and be managed by assigned village committees. Moreover, the director of the local NGO\(^47\) noted that policymakers need to be aware of traditional living and sacred zones and should not relocate residences solely for the benefit of tourism. The director of this NGO expressed concern that it would be hard to inform tourists about local spiritual values and cultural traditions invested in the ethnic communities’ plots of land.

\(^{47}\) The Population and Community Development Association (Chiang Rai Office) is the NGO that has been working with hill-tribe communities in tourism development activities since 1994.
Local Participation

The in-depth interviews showed that there were different perceptions between M.R. Disnadda Disakul (head of DTDP) and local villagers about resource values. The DTDP head initiated the ideas and proceeded with tourism policies, plans and development activities, allowing involvement by top-level DTDP staff only. Although there were two international design competitions in October 2001 and May 2002 with a commitment that these would be continued every half-year, there had been at the time of the study as yet no local villagers participating in either working groups or public hearings. This limited communication led to conflicts of interest among various groups of tourism stakeholders. For example, in an interview in 2001, DTDP’s head said he planned to build the Akha-style houses with no electricity and intended to train local people in hospitality and service activities such as cooking food and maintaining facilities for tourists, without the locally engaged people staying overnight. The proposal was that tourists would follow Akha hill-tribes during the daytime in order to observe and/or participate in their daily farming activities or cultural festivals in some periods of the year. However, the scheduled timing arrangements had not been discussed with local people and could conflict with their ordinary lifestyles and the willingness and sense of privacy of the local people, while perhaps not fulfilling tourist satisfaction and/or demands.

Local tour operators in Chiang Rai Province expressed their concern that the DTDP had very strict rules, with one-stop administrative control over all existing tourism activities and services such as Mae Pha Luang Garden, Doi Tung Royal Villa and the existing tourist accommodation called ‘Baan Ton Nam 31’. Unless this village-stay project was to be mainly promoted to a niche market of independent tourists who were very keen to stay overnight with local people, they would not recommend that their clients become involved in this attraction. One of them said:

“If you want to learn about Akha culture you have to stay with them, treat them as a host, not a servant; you should participate, learn and observe their lifestyle but within limits. There is an aura of sacredness inside the house such as an ancestral altar and separate private sections for male and female bedrooms.”
These concerns addressed problems of access to information and the nature of decision-making in the DTDP. At the time of the field trip only a small group of top-level policymakers were making decisions, without local participation. Although DTDP had set up a social development division to elicit comments from village heads, the results of interviews with villagers suggested that local people would not want to discuss controversial issues such as land use reform, wages, regulations of the living environment and control of the traditional lifestyle merely with the aim of satisfying tourist expectations. Consequently, in implementing these projects and enforcing regulations, there had been more of a ‘top-down’ approach from DTDP rather than one deriving from the ground up.

One local government official in the planning division commented on a lack of education and training for local people regarding the Thai constitutional reforms introduced in 1997\(^48\) in relation to citizens’ rights and the processes designed to enable local people to participate in government development projects.

Older villagers living in the DTDP areas expressed a desire for democratic participation to achieve balanced decisions in relation to issues of conservation and tourism development, and tradition with modernisation. For example, while most villagers would like to gain more income from emerging tourism activities in the villages, many expressed concern that growth in tourism would inflate living costs, leading local people to view tourists as a form of supply, to make money, as opposed to welcome guests.

6.4.2.2 Results of the Focus Group Discussions

As previously mentioned, focus group discussions started with general questions about attitudes to heritage resources and tourism attractions. Table 6.4 shows what participants in each village mentioned as cultural, natural and built heritage resources.

\(^{48}\) Under the previous Thai Constitution, now replaced by the Constitution adopted in late 2007.
Table 6.4: Tourism Heritage Resources and Attractions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>Cultural heritage resources</th>
<th>Natural and built heritage resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Si Lung (See Figure 6.20) | - Akha clothing and ornamentation  
- Traditional festivals such as village swing ceremony, New Year, etc.  
- Traditional places such as village gate, cuddling ground, etc.  
- Traditional plays, music & dance  
- Cooking skills of local food, vegetables & desserts  
- Akha language, legends, rituals  
- Local ways of life such as farming activities, fishing, camp fire, etc.  
- Knowledge of herbal medicines  
- Traditional witchcraft wisdom  
- Hunting skills  
- Traditional house construction skills  
- Handicraft skills for household utensils | - Sunset, sunrise scenery  
- Mountainous landscape surroundings  
- Water Fall, creek, lake  
- Wildlife animals in the forest  
- Domestic animals such as hens, pigs, birds, etc  
- Seasonal fruits |
| Li Che (See Figure 6.21) | - Same as Si Lung | - Sunset scenery  
- Cool weather throughout the year (1,400-1,500 m. above sea level)  
- Traditional house roof material used  
- Coffee trees and lychee orchards  
- Herbal plantations |
| Pangnun Pattana (See Figure 6.22) | - Same as Si Lung | - Terraced rice fields  
- Sunrise mountainous scenery  
- Unique traditional house roof material  
- Water Fall  
- Livestock, especially pig farms |

Figure 6.20: Tourism Resources and Attractions at Si Lung Village
Figure 6.21: Tourism Resources and Attractions at Li Che Village

Figure 6.22: Tourism Resources and Attractions at Pangnun Pattana Village
The focus group discussions also involved participants voting on items already identified as being existing problems and future benefits with respect to economic, environmental, socio-cultural and personal aspects (see chapter 4). Results of the voting are represented as mean values for each item (see Tables 6.5 and 6.6).

### Table 6.5: Focus Group Results: Problems with Development Impacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCEIVED PROBLEMS</th>
<th>CASE 2 (n=72)</th>
<th>Means (M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Si Lung (n=12)</td>
<td>Li Che (n=32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1. Insufficient local job opportunities/low labour wages</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2. Unfair labour wages (less than Aus$ 5 per day)</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec3. Land use change from agriculture to reforestation</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec4. Lack of external market support for local products</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall mean of economic aspects</strong></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En1. Insufficient telecom. service; e.g. public/private phone</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2. Water shortage (no reservoir) especially in summer</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3. Difficulty to maintain vernacular architecture (roof)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4. Sub-standard road conditions</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5. Water quality standard, certainty of source (mountain)</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6. Flooding: insufficient drainage system</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En7. Water pollution from chemical use; e.g. fertilizers</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En8. Solid waste pollution</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En9. Insufficient electricity supply</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall mean of environmental aspects</strong></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1. Insufficient social welfare services, especially health care</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc2. Lack of official Thai citizen identity card</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc3. Loss of pride in traditional culture, especially teenagers</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc4. Insufficient sport facilities for young generation</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc5. Sub-standard education- mainly primary school</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall mean of socio-cultural aspects</strong></td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSONAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps1. Lack of skills training for handicraft industry</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps2. Lack of English language communication</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps3. Lack of opportunity/enthusiasm for higher education</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall means of personal aspects</strong></td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results show that there was a consensus among the three villages only in relation to economic aspects (items Ec.1, 3, 4), with insufficient local job opportunities and low wages, changes in land use and lack of market support for local products identified as the top three critical problems (M = 3.0, 2.8, 2.6 respectively). In relation to environmental aspects, the problems identified were substandard public infrastructure and utilities (En1, En2, En4, En5, En9), water and waste pollution (En6, En7, En8) and
traditional house preservation (En3). For socio-cultural aspects, the problems were insufficient social welfare and education (Sc1, Sc4, Sc5) and loss of cultural identity (Sc2, Sc3).

Table 6.6: Focus Group Results: Desired Future Development Needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESIRED FUTURE NEEDS/BENEFITS</th>
<th>CASE 2 (n=72)</th>
<th>Si Lung (n=12)</th>
<th>Li Che (n=32)</th>
<th>Pangnun (n=28)</th>
<th>Means (M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC ASPECTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1. Community handicraft/souvenir shop</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2. Home-stay for tourism business</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec3. Extending mini-bus routes for tourism service</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec4. Rice mill as a tourist attraction</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec5. Motor-bike service group</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec6. Community market (morning/night/Sunday market)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall mean of economic aspects</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En1. Road upgrading (to waterfall/sacred well)</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2. Gardening landscape improvement</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3. Building permanent reservoir</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4. Solid waste management, cleanliness promotion</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5. Building permanent pavilion (viewpoint, relaxation)</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6. Public park and sport facilities; e.g. for youth &amp; elders</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall mean of environmental aspects</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1. Building cultural plaza for traditional dancing shows</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc2. Village signage for local landmarks (3 languages)</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc3. Purchasing traditional music instruments for shows</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc4. Tourist participation in church, especially on Sunday</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc5. Building cultural centre including museum, library</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall mean of socio-cultural aspects</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONAL ASPECTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps1. Local participation training including awareness</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps2. English for guides training; e.g. communication skills</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps3. Sewing machine training, product development</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall mean of personal aspects</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes for Tables 6.5 and 6.6
Three levels of importance: 3 = Most important, 2 = Very important, 1 = Moderately important
- Standard deviation values are in the brackets after mean value with respect to each aspect.
- Results are based on focus group voting in the three villages (N=72).
- The blank spaces mean there was no response on that item from a particular village.

There was consensus between two villages on six items related to these problems. Among these, lack of English language skills and substandard education were voted as very important (M= 2.8 and 2.7 respectively) followed by substandard road
conditions, lack of enthusiasm for higher education, loss of pride in traditional culture and insufficient electricity supply (M = 2.6, 2.1, 1.9, 1.8 respectively). Other problems, as shown in Table 6.5, were identified in only one village.

There was consensus about future needs or benefits in all three villages regarding the development of home-stay business with a cultural plaza for dancing performances (M=2.9) and English training for local guides (M=2.8) being judged to be the two most important items. There was also strong agreement about potential development needs between two of the villages on the need for road upgrading, landscape improvement, construction of a viewing pavilion, a cultural centre, a community market and the formation of a motorbike service group.

6.4.2.3 Questionnaire Results

As mentioned in chapter 4, sixteen questions concerning problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning were asked of a sample of 20 villagers. Table 6.7 gives mean comparisons between respondents in the two villages, Si Lung and Li Che.

Figure 6.23 shows that 20 respondents identified local participation in the planning process as important (Question 1, M=1.1) because they felt it would allow for greater benefits for the community (Question 5, M=0.9). Negative responses to Questions 2 and 3 suggest that although local people had input into tourism planning, the current level of participation was not adequate.

The benefits of local participation in tourism planning that were identified included a better chance to get a consensus and satisfaction for various groups of stakeholders (Question 6, M=0.9). However, participants also thought that economic benefits were the most important incentive (Question 7, M=1.2) and that there was a need for education about local participation (Question 8, M=1.0). Interestingly, opinions were neutral about meeting places and times, access to information and conflicts among different groups in regard to participation in the planning process (Questions 9, 11, 12; M= 0.1, 0.1, -0.1, respectively).

The answers to open-ended questions concerning the reasons why more education and information access were needed (Questions 8 and 11) showed a desire for an intermediate body, such as an NGO, to help develop understanding of issues about
global tourism impacts and other potential problems and benefits associated with the tourism industry. In addition, residents thought that they would participate more if they had trust in future political commitment (Question 15, M=1.0). This suggests that although residents had some degree of input in tourism planning (Questions 2, M=-1.0), they did not accept that their participation was highly valued (Question 3, M=-0.8).

Table 6.7: Comparative Attitudes to Local Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages (n)</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Si Lung</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>-0.2</td>
<td>-0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li Che</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means (M)</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>-1.0</td>
<td>-0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-0.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Attitude: 2 = Strongly agree, 1 = Agree, 0 = Neutral/Don't know, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly disagree

Questions, as numbered, were: In your village, what do you think about the following statements:

1. Tourism planning needs local participation.
2. You have no input into tourism planning.
3. The current level of local participation in tourism planning is good.
4. More diverse representation of interest groups is needed for participation.
5. Local participation in tourism planning could bring more benefits than problems.
6. More satisfaction of shared benefits results for all groups from local participation.
7. Economic benefit is the most important incentive for local participation.
8. Better understanding and more education about local participation are needed.
9. Better consideration in respect to place and time for local participation is needed.
10. More involvement in the early stages of the decision-making process is needed.
11. More accessibility of information for local participation is needed.
12. Conflicts amongst different groups make it more difficult to achieve local participation.
13. External influences are more important than internal factors in local participation.
14. Increasing negotiation power with external bodies results from local participation.
15. Trust in future political commitment affects willingness for local participation.
16. Networks and understanding among stakeholders result from local participation.

Figure 6.23: Attitudes about Local Participation in Doi Tung Villages
6.4.2.4 Results of Participant Observation and Informal Interviews

The information collected from informal interviews with local people and staff at DTDP revealed that after people knew about the ‘village-stay’ tourism development project they seemed to look forward to this project in the hope of better employment opportunities and higher income. Although villagers were expected to run tourism services by themselves in the future, some unforeseen impacts of tourism development and administrative management were seen by the DTDP staff to need addressing, especially with respect to income distribution among all groups of stakeholders and financial contributions for long-term development, such as resource conservation and training programs.

It was also obvious from the informal interviews that there was no system in place for villagers to learn about the current situation concerning the village-stay project. The current communication method between DTDP and all 26 villages in the area concerning news about up-coming activities planned by the DTDP Coordination Office in Mae Pha Luang Sub-district was via verbal communication by five staff members from the DTDP’s social development division. The staff had the task of arranging visits to each village throughout the year. However, it appeared from participant observations over almost one month, and from talking with both DTDP staff and local people, that this communication was one-way from DTDP, as there was limited interaction with the villagers.

In 2001 there were some indications that there had been economic benefits for villagers from the DTDP. Figure 6.24 suggests they could now afford to pay for motorbikes for riding to work. Physical infrastructure, such as road conditions and electricity, had also improved along with a continuing project of reforestation within the boundary of DTDP, as shown in Figure 6.25. However, as Figure 6.26 shows, problems of large crowds and traffic jams and insufficient car parking during the peak times still existed. Further study of the environmental carrying capacity at the main tourism attractions is warranted.
Since hill-tribe products are frequently purchased by tourists, the marketing of ethnic artefacts was growing, such as those shown in Figure 6.27. Ajarn Nakorn Khongnoi, a well-recognised cultural expert in Chiang Rai, suggested that the process of
transformation of cultural tourism activities and products needs to genuinely reflect the interests of both tourists and host communities. In an interview in 2000, he commented:

“We need to care about both the demand and supply sides of the tourism system. Convincing people to come here is only the marketing side of the whole system and not that difficult. More challengingly, when tourists arrive, the big question is what local people can properly do without changing and/or compromising their own cultural heritage and personal interests.”

**Figure 6.27: Marketing of Hill-tribe Products**

Visits to people’s homes revealed that most villagers, and children in particular, had been influenced by modern culture via education in the schools and media, especially television. Although they still had a social tradition of group meetings, either at the village pavilion or on the terraces of houses, it was very rare to see them practise cultural activities or performances as a group, or to dress in traditional costumes for daily activities (Figure 6.28).

**Figure 6.28: Cultural Transformation at Li Che Village**

At the same time the informal interviews indicated that there seemed to be a perceived social benefit from tourism development activities if female villagers were able to earn a larger income and live with their families without the necessity of migrating to work in major cities (see Figure 6.29). For example, in Si Lung village there was a group of young women who gave dance performances in the village Christian church as shown in Figure 6.30.

Figure 6.29: Local Staff Working Together in the Factory

Figure 6.30: Integration of Religious and Cultural Activities


An interesting indication of the awareness of potentially suitable tourist developments also came from talking with village heads, who suggested that the villages of Li Che and Pangnun Pattana had the potential for developing agritourism attractions such as trekking to orchards and farms where visitors could learn about traditional plantation methods (Figure 6.31).
6.4.2.5 Results of the Projective Picture Making

Pictures made by children in the villages of Si Lung and Li Che are shown in Figures 6.32 and 6.33 respectively, with results in Tables 6.8 and 6.9. The five content themes of economic, environmental, socio-cultural, personal and overall aspects were used to code both the picture contents and oral reports associated with these pictures from the children. Major and minor focuses were identified for the depicted features, as reported in these tables.
### Table 6.8: Picture Interpretations for Si Lung Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pictures Referred to Fig. 6.32</th>
<th>Aspects/Concerns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 6.1</strong> Major Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - A group of traditional–style villages in the middle of the picture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Water fall - Trees, rice-field - Fish pond - Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Local school - Village gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - The word “student knowledge”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Overall</strong> Focusing on local architecture and natural environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Water fall - Trees, rice-field - Fish pond - Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Local school - Village gate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - The word “student knowledge”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 6.2</strong> Major Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Mountain - Lake (need reservoir in summer) - Trees/plantation - Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Village gate - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - Smiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Shop-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Mountain - Lake (need reservoir in summer) - Trees/plantation - Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Village gate - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - Smiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 6.3</strong> Major Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Mountain - Trees - Traditional houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Ordinary life of local people - Village gate - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - Prefer to live together with guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Mountain - Trees - Traditional houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Ordinary life of local people - Village gate - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - Prefer to live together with guests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 6.4</strong> Major Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Landscape in the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Local traditions - Local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - There should be a river in this village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Landscape in the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Local traditions - Local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - There should be a river in this village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 6.5</strong> Major Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Mountain - Pavilion - Water well - Flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Village gate - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - Possibility in tourism development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Home-stay - Souvenir shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - Mountain - Pavilion - Water well - Flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Village gate - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Personal</strong> - Possibility in tourism development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture 6.6</strong> Major Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Income from tourism products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - View Point - Information centre, signage - Landscape and farm preservation - Mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Local museum - Village gate - Village swing ceremony - Traditional plays, life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong> - Income from tourism products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong> - View Point - Information centre, signage - Landscape and farm preservation - Mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Sociocultural</strong> - Local museum - Village gate - Village swing ceremony - Traditional plays, life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using outline of hearts to indicate hope uncertainty of local people for future tourism development.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Picture 6.7</th>
<th>- Camp fire activities at night</th>
<th>Focusing on open space for traditional community activities, especially in the night time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Focus</td>
<td>- Souvenir shops</td>
<td>- Pavilion - Mountain - Trees - Akha female sculpture for photography - Village gate - Village swing ceremony - Traditional plays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Home-stay</td>
<td>- Sense of welcoming (Wording: happy new year 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.8</td>
<td>- Akha traditions</td>
<td>Focusing on tribal costume and welcoming atmosphere of cultural landscape in the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Focus</td>
<td>- Resort</td>
<td>- Water fall - Flower garden - Trees - Local village - Traditional costume - Tribal gateway - Village swing ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Village gate</td>
<td>Using village gate as the main tourism attraction in the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.9</td>
<td>- Home-stay</td>
<td>- Mountain - Trees, flowers - Livestock - Local people - Cultural activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Focus</td>
<td>- Village gate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6.33: Picture Making at Li Che Village
Table 6.9: Picture Interpretations for Li Che Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pictures</th>
<th>Aspects/Concerns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.10</td>
<td>Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Focus</td>
<td>- Home-stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Local culture of meeting together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.11</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Home-stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.12</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Home-stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.13</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Green mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.14</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.15</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Mountain, sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 6.16</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- A dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Truck and car on the road in the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Local village with traditional-style house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results suggest that environmental and socio-cultural aspects of tourism were more important to the children than were economic and personal aspects. Tourism attractions the children preferred to see in their future villages were, by frequency of mention, cultural ethnic ceremonies, traditional-style houses and natural settings.

6.5 DISCUSSION

The results from the different research methods suggest differing emphases on the various aspects of tourism amongst the stakeholders. The two main points emerging from the findings are:

(i) Tourism development impacts are complex and interdependent.

(ii) In this instance of an ‘intermediate’ policy approach there is insufficient and ineffective local participation in the tourism planning process.

6.5.1 Interdependence of Tourism Impacts

Since the factors involved in the impact of tourism are interrelated and may overlap, the findings from the various sources need to be integrated. The evidence from the focus group discussions reveals the interdependence of the various aspects of concern. For example, low standards of education (social aspect) lead to less communication skills in the Thai and English languages (personal aspect) and lower job opportunities (economic aspect) cause more poverty (social aspect). Moreover, there are overlaps between environmental, socio-cultural and economic aspects, and between socio-cultural and
personal aspects. For example, there is difficulty in maintaining traditional architecture (environmental aspect) as a tourist attraction. This is partly because villagers cannot find a sufficient amount of thatched roofing material to replace the old material every few years (around three to five years) and because it seems that there was a common belief that ceramic roof tiles with a modern look would reflect the house owner’s wealth and status better. However, not using thatched materials resulted in lower maintenance costs (socio-cultural and economic aspects).

A linkage of needs associated with tourism benefits was also expressed from local perspectives. In focus group discussions there was a high rate of consensus about the need for future development of the village-stay project to enhance local incomes from tourism activities, and the hospitality and service industries. However, the adult representatives in the focus group discussions and the young representatives in their projective picture making reflected the view that a desirable cultural landscape, integrating local culture and the natural environments, was a major tourist attraction and thus needed to be maintained for the benefit of residents and tourists alike.

In the focus groups, the average overall mean scores for what local people saw as potential benefits from future tourism development were higher in relation to environmental and socio-cultural aspects (Table 6.6) than were the average economic mean scores (2.8 compared to 2.6). One example was the value placed on building a cultural centre with unique landscape surroundings. Moreover, almost 80% of the major focuses in the picture interpretations in Table 6.8 and 100% in Table 6.9 are categorised as environmental and socio-cultural aspects. These findings indicate that local people, both adults and young representatives, preferred future economic benefits of tourism that would not compromise their culture and the environment.

Nevertheless, findings from informal interviews and participant observation show that personal attitude shifts, influenced by modern media and fast growing infrastructure development, were reflected in changes in the communities’ attitudes to dealing with developmental impacts upon cultural heritage and natural resources. There were overlaps between socio-cultural and personal aspects. Socio-cultural factors such as influences from more accessible modern media and communication (e.g. television, movies, internet, mobile phones, etc.) had changed villagers’ personal attitudes, shifting from hill-tribe traditions and languages to modern lifestyles with different life goals.
Most young people in the villages aimed to work in a private company elsewhere to earn a good wage, rather than to work in the tourism industry in their own area. This attitudinal shift may affect the continuity of local heritage. Without interest from the younger generation it will be difficult to sustain cultural/ethnic tourism in the long run. With this attitudinal change, it will be hard to convince local people to preserve thatched house roofing material, for example, to keep both their local identity and a tourist attraction, or to wear traditional costumes at all times to maintain the image of a traditional style hill-tribe village.

Again, even though there was support for the DTDP policy of developing the village-stay project, a major cultural concern was expressed. This was how to manage tourists staying overnight in Akha houses without Akha people staying with them as hosts. It is also an ethical question as to whether or not it would be appropriate to do so.

“…It is improper for an outsider to walk through an Akha house, entering one door and leaving by the other, just as it is not acceptable for a person to go directly through an Akha village without entering some home and having at least a drink of water. Food and drink will always be offered in an Akha home, and it is important for the guest to partake, even if only a token amount. Otherwise it appears that the visitor is an intruder - perhaps even a thief. Male guests should not enter the women’s section of the house unless invited to do so by the head of the household. Woman visitors, on the other hand, can enter the men’s section along with other visitors. ”

(Lewis, 1998, p. 220)

A follow-up interview in May 2006 with one of the most DTDP senior administrators confirmed that the means of governance and decision-making about tourism project has not altered since the original primary research, that is, all the key decisions are made by the top administrators in the DTDP.

6.5.1.1 Differing perspectives on tourism impacts

The ranking of perceived problems (Table 6.5) shows that the economic aspects of tourism development were considered most important. The findings from informal interviews revealed that the reason was because issues related to job opportunities had affected the everyday life of local people, which was currently based on agricultural
production. Unfortunately, the income from farming did not always permit the villagers to maintain a decent standard of living, because of increasing investment costs and no guarantee of sales at a profit. This meant that for these villagers there was future uncertainty about deriving the bulk of their income from farming.

Surprisingly, although there were strongly acknowledged economic interests, as mentioned above, the overall mean scores for future needs, shown in Table 6.6, reveal that local representatives perceived the benefits of tourism development in terms of environmental, socio-cultural and personal aspects rather than in economic terms. Nevertheless, the strong support for all factors in these three aspects (En1, Sc1, Ps2) would suggest solid support for home-stay business (Ec2) or other economic development activities in their villages. This is obvious from the following tabulation of the major results extracted from Table 6.6:

Ec2 -Home-stay business (all 3 villages): 2.9  
Sc1 -Outdoor Plaza for dancing shows (all 3 villages): 2.9  
Ps2 -English for local guide training (all 3 villages): 2.8  
En1 -Road upgrading (2 villages): 3.0  
Sc5 -Information centre including a local museum and library (2 villages): 2.6

The reasons offered in the focus group discussions for these perceptions were that home-stay tourism activities could lead to increasing incomes from tourists, both Thais and foreigners. Good road conditions and an information centre would help to make it convenient for tourists to visit villages in remote mountainous areas. In addition, the more they could communicate well in English, the higher income it would mean for them.

The in-depth interviews raised two major potential problem areas. The first one was ‘codes of conduct’ or quality control of tourism practices, such as what hosts and guests should and should not do in a tourism business and what would be measurable benchmarks to evaluate the outcomes of tourism impacts. In particular problems of communication could arise. For example, most villagers were concerned about negative impacts or problems because of their lack of capacity to communicate in English (Ps 2 in Table 6.5) but they could not afford to pursue higher education because of their poverty.
The question is whether or not they will be able to balance cultural and natural heritage conservation with development for sustainable tourism outcomes in the future. Although there was a high rate of local enthusiasm for the home-stay tourism business, villagers will be faced with challenging decisions, including how to sustain their diversity of cultural and natural heritages while attempting to meet future tourist demands.

6.5.2 Insufficient and Ineffective Local Participation

Responses to Questions 1, 3 and 10 in the questionnaire indicate that villagers thought that there was insufficient local involvement in decision-making during the tourism planning process, development and implementation. It was obvious that there was no system in place for villagers to learn about current situations concerning the village-stay project. Informal interviews with both DTDP staff and village heads showed that the only significant participation with regard to the village-stay project was in the choice of locations for tourist accommodation in the villages, as mentioned by the village heads. Another, although less significant, involvement of villagers occurred when DTDP staff suggested that villagers dress up in traditional costumes when tourists were visiting their villages. Most female elders elected to do this because it helped them sell their products while tourists walked around their villages.

The research findings in questionnaires summarised in Table 6.7 and Figure 6.23 and the results from in-depth interviews are linked to enhance understanding of problems and benefits of local participation in the tourism planning process. The problems outweigh benefits, as the following summary shows. There was:

- a perceived need for better education (Question 8, M=1.0) because of lack of understanding of public rights, especially legislative knowledge (in-depth interview);

- a perceived need for early stage involvement (Question 10, M=0.9) because of lack of a democratic environment in decision-making processes (in-depth interview);

- a perceived need for external support from facilitators and mentors (Question 13, M=0.8) because the current level of participation was not adequate (Question 3, M= -0.8);

- a perceived need for diverse representation of interest groups (Question 4, M=0.7) because the decision-making power was dominated by only a small group of policymakers (in-depth interview);
- a perceived need for more access to information for local villagers (Question 11, M=0.1) because of limited information access known by only top-level DTDP staff (see ‘local participation’ in section 6.4.2.1 Results of In-depth Interviews).

With regard to the question of willingness to participate, the mean of 0.1 in Question 9 means that there was no problem seen in participation with regard to the meeting place and time, with meetings usually held at the village information centre and in the evening after work. However, there may be a need for economic incentives to enhance the quality of participation (Question 7, M=1.2). Trust in future political commitment was a very important factor affecting willingness to participate (Question 15, M=1.0). The two main benefits from local participation were seen as, firstly, more satisfaction that there would be shared benefits for all groups (Question 6, M=1.0), and secondly, more networking and understanding among various groups of tourism stakeholders (Question 16, M=0.9).
6.6 **SUMMARY**

As discussed, a combination of findings in this survey of the ‘intermediate’ policy approach project reconfirms the importance of the interrelationship between the concept of sustainable tourism planning and community development. Overall findings suggest that local residents saw tourism development impacts extending beyond tourism per se to multi-dimensional aspects of community development, such as the building of better infrastructure, landscaping, the construction of a cultural centre and skills training. The future aspirations of both the younger and the older generations would need to be incorporated in the planning process if the needs and wants they have that differ from those of top-level policymakers are to be fulfilled. Continuity of meaningful local participation would help maintain a sense of community and place, with more education and information access provided from the early stages of the planning process, not merely at the end.

A strong NGO, in this case MFLF, can play an effective role as an intermediate body to facilitate the transfer of ideas from both the central and local governments to villagers. However, there is also a need to better help the process in reverse: to ensure that local residents are genuinely a part of the ‘brainstorming’ process and involved in the policy-making team, and are not simply playing a reactive role as followers.

It remains to be seen whether the communities in this area will be effectively involved in tourism planning or whether what is developed will be, in reality, a ‘top-down’ tourism planning approach, with its associated problems. In particular, it is not yet clear whether the high expectations of local people about the potential benefits of tourism will be realised.

Although the current sample of respondents may be too small to be certain of the validity of any conclusions, a similarity of views from groups experiencing different policy approaches might be an indication of emerging problems. Community-based tourism with a ‘bottom-up’ approach will be reviewed in the next chapter, so that similarities and differences between all three approaches can then be compared.
CHAPTER 7

‘BOTTOM-UP’ POLICY APPROACH

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the ‘bottom-up’ policy approach to tourism planning and development initiated by local communities in the hill-tribe villages of ‘Jalae’ and surrounding villages in the sub-district. Its implementation has been supported by a local non-government organisation, Mirror Cultural Arts Centre (MCAC), which is located in the same sub-district.

Information concerning existing tourism development policies was derived from secondary data, in-depth interviews of stakeholders in the sub-district, focus group discussion and a questionnaire for Jalae village, participant observation and informal interviews with villagers in the sub-district. Projective picture making was also undertaken with children at Jalae village in order obtain images of tourism and of future development in the village from the children’s perspective.

7.2 BACKGROUND

7.2.1 Tourism Development Policies

The MCAC, is a local non-profit organisation with sixteen core members, originally from Bangkok but extended to include local ethnic people, local and foreign volunteers, and a rotating staff of volunteer teachers and workers, all striving towards the common goal of rebuilding strong, active hill-tribe communities. Their funding comes from various donors and organisations, from international to local levels (e.g. the Rockefeller Foundation, Singapore International Foundation, Thailand Research Fund) as well as donations from teacher volunteers visiting every month and income from souvenirs sold from the shop in the centre as well as via the Internet. This NGO began introducing social activities in 1991, using drama and camping as main activities to promote learning among children and the community.
Since 1998 MCAC has developed a number of community development projects in the area of Mae Yao Sub-District in the Muang District of Chiang Rai Province. This area contains 14 villages located in a mountainous region that has approximately 50 clusters of households with a total population of 12,000 from three different hill-tribe ethnic groups – Akha, Lahu, and Mien.

The MCAC is alert to problems with the implementation of projects from the point of view of local residents in the area. For example, there have been projects to address drug abuse, illegal migrants and lack of education. The NGO has also promoted the sale of artworks, weaving and agricultural products through local markets, has initiated e-commerce and has encouraged walk-in tourists, as well as bringing in volunteer teachers.

The policy objectives of the MCAC are to build a strong community and create an environment that fosters learning for local residents, rather than promoting tourism as an end in itself. The MCAC has been working with local community committees to analyse and develop strategies to minimise social problems. The aim has been to create jobs for villagers, especially for the youth and women who have increasingly been moving out of the villages to seek higher income working as labourers, factory workers or sex workers in Bangkok and Chiang Mai. It should be noted that one of the strengths of the MCAC has been its use of the Internet as a means for promoting activities and to set up dialogue with readers around the world. They have advertised community development projects, raised money from donations, and sold products handmade by local people through their website (www.bannok.com).49 This website is linked to another website – www.hilltribe.org, to promote understanding of hill-tribe cultures.

In 1999, the MCAC was asked by a group of local residents of Jalae village to plan and develop tourism facilities and activities within their village as an alternative source of income to supplement farming. In response, the MCAC organised a new team to help the community collect data about the village history, including research on hill-tribe culture and traditions in the area. During this process, in-depth interviews were conducted with key village informants, especially older people. They also produced video documentaries of cultural festivals which included stories about hill-tribe culture,

49 Bannok in Thai means ‘rural’ but is often used in a derogatory sense by people in the cities.
tribal music and tour programs, to allow potential tourists to better appreciate the attractions of the area. Two years after this project was launched, a community-based tour initiative, that had been given the name ‘Hill-tribe Cultural Experience’, expanded to other villages (see Figure 7.1). The MCAC team, working as facilitators, has had a vital role in ensuring the feasibility of the project, particularly by assisting with funding applications and volunteer recruitment to build a museum in the village as well as other tourist facilities, with marketing, and in training villagers in communications and business management skills.

Figure 7.1: Tourism Activities at Jalae Villages
Source: www.bannok.com and www.hill-tribetour.com

7.2.2 The Study Area of Jalae Village

Jalae is a village in Mae Yao Sub-district, located 20 kilometres from Chiang Rai city and 11 kilometres from the MCAC headquarters with convenient transport access from the main highway (see Figure 7.2).
Figure 7.2: Locations of Jalae Village, MCAC and Chiang Rai City

Source: http://www.hilltribe.org/museum/01-museum-banjalee-mapfromchiangrai.html

Information posted at the village Information Centre, gave the population in 2000 to have been 332, with 90 families housed in 59 households. The main ethnic group was the Lahu with 40 households but there were also 19 Akha households. The village and its immediate surroundings are shown in Figure 7.3 and the annual Lahu New Year festival occurring in early February is depicted in Figure 7.4. Other villages in the immediate area are also composed of different ethnic groups, namely Lahu (Ya Fu village), Akha (Apa, Aja, and Pukao villages) and Mien (Yao village).

The main natural attraction in Mae Yao Sub-District is the Huey Mae Sai waterfall located in a forest reserve area. Most tourists to the village are independent travellers or backpackers who pass through the village on their way to the Huey Mae Sai waterfall (personal communication with local people and site observations). In 2005, the Baan Jalae Hill-tribe Life and Culture Centre and the Virtual Hill-tribe Museum were established, as additional attractions with support from MCAC (see Figure 7.4).

\(^{50}\) The local information was the most up-to-date data the researcher could obtain during the fieldwork.
A few tour operators had attracted tourists to the area for trekking and home-stay activities, with the tourists paying between $25 and $80 (Australian) per person per night. However, hill-tribe families themselves received less than one Australian dollar per night per tourist for use of their homes, including dinner and breakfast. Tour guides asked host families not to ask for tips from tourists at the end of their stay, but they were pressured to provide full hospitality. These tour guides came mainly from agents located in the city areas of Chiang Mai and Chiang Rai.
The researcher also observed that not all of the tour guides could accurately explain hill-tribe culture to tourists. It was customary for them to encourage tourists to visit specific handicraft shops in the village from whose owners they received commissions. Villagers knew about this practice of the guides and therefore were keen to take control themselves, in order to derive more income for themselves. However, they realised that they would need people to train and support them in hospitality skills.

7.3 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Data was collected at Jalae village and in other than the focus group and questionnaire data, from a number of nearby villages in the sub-district, using the techniques that were also used in the other two case study areas. The rationale and procedure for each of these methods have been given in chapter 4. Therefore the descriptions given here will be relatively brief, only highlighting differences in this case study from the other case studies.

7.3.1 Policy review

The development policies of Jalae and the surrounding villages are based on a 5-year (2002-2006) development plan and an annual development plan (2001) drafted by Mae Yao Sub-District Administration Office (MY-SA0) for which information which can be found on the MCAC website. The development policy and budget allocations of MY-SA0 were reviewed and supplemented by visual observation and photographs to examine existing social and physical resources in Jalae village. Later email and phone communication was maintained after the fieldwork in 2001 with one of the responsible MCAC staff-members and a follow-up visit was conducted in May 2006.

7.3.2 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews in this case were conducted mainly with members of committees in Jalae Village and the MCAC team. There were then regular checks via email and telephone with one of the MCAC staff members in order to assess progress in project implementation, and further interviews with two MCAC staff members in May 2006.
Keeping an open line of communication with the MCAC team was very important. Interviews were more casual than in the former two cases as no formal letters were needed to introduce the researcher before the visit. An informal style of working was also the prevailing preference for the MCAC.

7.3.3 Focus group discussion

The procedures used in the focus groups were the same as in the former cases (chapter 4). The village information centre was used for conducting the focus group discussion because of its central location and large space. A research assistant acted as interpreter and a local volunteer also assisted in communicating with people in the meetings (see Figure 7.6).
Respondent samples

There were thirty-five available and willing participants in the meeting from diverse groups in the village. The ratio of male to female was 60% to 40%. Only 3 young people aged between 15 and 24 (out of a total of 95 in the village) appeared. Details about respondent numbers are shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1: Comparative Numbers of Local Representatives: Jalae Focus Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adults and elders</th>
<th>Youths</th>
<th>Total numbers of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 (14% of total 237)</td>
<td>3 (3% of total 95)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data collected on 28 January 2001 at Jalae village information centre.

7.3.4 Questionnaires

Sixteen questions, the same as those used in the other two policy approaches (see chapters 5 and 6), were posed to identify attitudes to problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning. One respondent was chosen for each household in this village (see Table 7.2 for sample sizes and characteristics).

Table 7.2: Comparative Numbers of Respondents: Jalae Questionnaire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers of respondents</th>
<th>Total numbers of respondents</th>
<th>Total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41 (70%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.5 Participant observation and informal interviews

For this case study village, the researcher stayed in Jalae village for three weeks in January 2001. The observation and informal interviews were conducted in the village and local areas by talking with villagers, MCAC staff, tourists and visitors, and by observing daily activities as well as taking photographs. The researcher was introduced by one of the heads of the MCAC team to the village head and key informants in the village. This close network resulted in a warm and unreserved welcome for the researcher to participate in daily activities and traditional festivals in the village. Interviews were also conducted on a few occasions in surrounding villages and at the
local government office. There were also a number of meetings between MCAC staff and community members at which the researcher became an observer to see if any relevant issues were discussed. There was a follow up field visit and meeting with MCAC staff in May 2006 (see Figure 7.7).

![Figure 7.7: Interview with MCAC Volunteer and Local Museum Staff](Photo: Riches, L., May 2006.)

7.3.6 Projective picture making

As previously discussed, picture making was used to explore the perceptions of young people in the village. The idea behind this technique was to determine through drawings and the use of colours, how these young people felt about tourism development. For this case study village, nine children, students in the primary school in the village, aged between 8 and 12 participated by producing pictures. The procedures used in administering this technique were the same as those used in the other case studies (see more details in chapter 4).

7.4 RESULTS

7.4.1 Policy Review

7.4.1.1 Integrated Development Policies for the Local Community

A MCAC team has worked with local representatives in Jalae village and surrounding villages on various community development projects since 1998. These projects focussed on alleviating poverty and social problems, such as obtaining basic human rights for the hill-tribe people, dealing with drug abuse, Thai citizenship, education, land
use and agriculture, and so forth. There was also a network of more than 2,000 volunteer teachers who visited these hill-tribe villages and stayed in them for four to five days every month.

The theme of one particular community-based tourism development program organized in cooperation between the MCAC team and hill-tribe village representatives in the Mae Yao Sub-District was ‘cultural experience’. Jalae village was selected as a pilot study to launch a tour program in September 2002. Local villagers wanted to have trial home-stay activities. A website to promote this project (in English, Japanese and Thai) can be found at www.hilltribetour.com. This website has played a vital role in promoting the tour programs. It contains images of village activities, up-to-date stories, tour itineraries, information on hill-tribe cultures, codes of conduct (e.g. local customs, “do’s” and “don’ts”, the cultural protocol), monthly e-newsletters and web-board discussions.

Figure 7.8: Atmosphere and Activities at the MCAC
Volunteer youths in each village were trained in hospitality service skills by one of the MCAC staff who had worked in the hill-tribe tourism industry for more than 10 years. The most common tasks that local people wished to perform were as local guides or in home-stay activities (such as cooking, housekeeping). Thai tourists had no problem with local villagers and adjusted themselves to hill-tribe culture (email communication, January 2003). However, one of the MCAC team leaders said that there were problems dealing with foreign tourists, such as communication in English, too much pressure being exerted on visitors to buy hill-tribe products, inconvenience of sleeping on the floor without mattresses (e.g. for older people) and the unfamiliar toilet system (lacking hygiene and convenience).

Local villagers who were involved in the tour program agreed to share the income from the total revenue of Baht 1,300 (or around $55 (Australian)\textsuperscript{51}) per tourist for a 3-day tour (two nights) on the basis of a division according to the various roles as shown in Table 7.3 (MCAC supplied information).

**Table 7.3: Comparative Income Breakdown for Host Villagers**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Income offer and paid to host villagers (Baht)</th>
<th>Paid by Tour operators*</th>
<th>Paid by MCAC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation (home-stay owner)</td>
<td>20 x 2 = 40</td>
<td>50 x 2 nights = 100</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping tasks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking for 3 days (2 meals per day)</td>
<td>50 x 6 (2x3 days) = 300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local guide (2 days)</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>150 x 2 = 300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total income</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,000 (77%of 1,300)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: * Based on interviews with host families, January 2001.

As Table 7.3 shows, each household under the MCAC payment system received almost 80% of the total income, or 25 times more than they used to get from outside tour operators. Some elderly women and children in the village got extra income by selling handmade woven products and from tourists’ donations for cultural shows such as dance performances. The MCAC team assisting in the administrative and financial management of the village kept the remaining profits to pay for transport, telecommunication and other operating costs.

\textsuperscript{51} Average exchange rate as of January 2003: around 23.6 Baht to $A1.
After reviewing the trial program the MCAC team and local representatives agreed that it would be better to encourage longer tour programs because it would lead to greater cultural learning experiences for both tourists and the host communities. In addition to this positive effect, local people would also receive economic benefits from related trekking activities. The proposed long-stay programs (from one to two weeks or more) were devised as follows:

- Tailor-made group camping tour (around 10-20 people/group);
- Study tour or cultural-exchange tour program (focusing on overseas countries);
- Active holiday tour program (focusing on volunteer activities such as teaching children in the villages, basic infrastructure development activities according to specific local needs, etc.);
- Village research and development tour program (co-research projects with students from academic institutes, both in the domestic and international markets).

The proposed activities were to be varied depending on the objectives of each tour group. The programs proposed by the MCAC and local representatives were usually diverse. For example, weaving, cloth-making, product making from bamboo or wood, embroidery, hill-tribe cookery, food cultivation, harvesting and processing, teaching of English, making campfires, playing games with children, riding elephants and excursions to museums were just some of the proposed activities.

7.4.1.2 Local Government Development Plans

Representatives from 14 villages in Mae-Yao Sub-District had the chance to participate with the local government in decision-making about future development plans only once a year (MY-SAO, 2001, p. 23). The problem of insufficient participation in conservation and development of tourism attractions in the villages was also addressed on these occasions (MY-SAO, 2001, p. 11). Budgets for tourism development planning in 2002–2006 provided for improved physical landscape development, tourist accommodation and shop-houses, a cultural centre and museums, parking, signage and

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52 Source: http://www.hilltribetour.com and email communication with MCAC staff, January 2003.
leaflets for public relations, and a database of tourist attractions (MY-SAOU, 2001, pp. 34–8).

In 2001, the tourism development plan for Mae Yao Sub-District proposed three major projects: a flower plantation, site development and tour service support (MY-SAOU, 2000, pp. 10–1). These items comprised only around 10% of the total annual community development budget (176 million Baht), as compared to about 70% for physical infrastructure development programs (MY-SAOU, 2000, pp. 11–31). The remaining 20% of the budget was for agricultural development, environmental conservation, education and training, social welfare and public health. Surprisingly, the public tax revenue in this Sub-District collected by local government in 2000 was only 4.5 million Baht (MY-SAOU, 2000, p. 7). Although the budget for local development can usually be subsidised from the central government and need not rely only on local revenue, there was a significant imbalance between local revenue and the proposed development budget for the Mae Yao Sub-district.

7.4.2 Views of Stakeholders and Local Residents

7.4.2.1 Results of In-depth Interviews

Impacts of Tourism Development

After operating tours, key staff of the MCAC were concerned that cultural commercialisation was going to conflict with sustainable tourism development. For example, although there is a museum and souvenir shop, some hill-tribe villagers sold their authentic costumes and ornaments directly to tourists when they visited and/or stayed at their homes. The villagers might be left without these items because of their rarity and the difficulty of producing them as it requires time-consuming effort, and only a handful of elderly people who can authentically make them. From the community point of view this situation was also seen as a matter of concern by at least one elderly villager, who expressed concern that the oversupply of tourism facilities and increasing interactions with outsiders over time might degrade hill-tribe traditions and customs. Another villager was afraid that tourism promotion in the village and home-stay activities might lead to temptations for villagers to offer sex for money. MCAC staff
saw these issues as a challenging task for host communities to work on together, in
order to avoid future harm from tourism development.

Changes imposed by government development policies could also be seen as a
source of problems. One elderly respondent maintained that tourist numbers had
dropped after Jalae village was legally forced (in 1999) to move out of a forest
preservation area, the catchment area for the Huey Mae Sai waterfall. The impacts from
this village relocation included changes to the vernacular architectural style, increased
interaction between villagers and lowland people, more convenient infrastructure and
education access and hence also a greater chance for the younger generation to be
influenced by different cultural attitudes, such as modern costumes and lifestyles.

A different perspective was provided by one youth leader in the village who
thought that the location of the village was not the most important factor related to
tourism impacts. In his view, leadership of the village by the headman was most
important in getting support from villagers for improved tourism development activities
and services. One member of the village committee suggested that to instil a sense of
trust, commitment and dedication in everyone depended upon having a democratic
governing system and this would need to be instigated by the headman. While this
appears paradoxical, it reflects the fact that democratic processes probably do need to be
introduced gradually in a transition from other systems.

According to feedback from MCAC staff, the Jalae village headman and his
team had a willingness to become involved in the coordination of various community
development projects. The most successful was the anti-drug campaign which was a
joint effort by local government officials, police and the MCAC staff. This project
sponsored 45 drug users for treatment at a rehabilitation centre in Chiang Mai for one
year. In addition, the village committee instituted disciplinary penalties for anti-social
acts, ranging from warnings, to fines, to imprisonment and being evicted from the
village. Both the MCAC team and the village committee felt that without a healthy
drug-free community, sustainable community-based tourism would be impossible.

MCAC staff pointed out that there would be the possibility that some villagers
might take advantage of tourists by offering illegal services. On the other hand, tourists
might also ask for opium or illegal drugs or seek sex from children, regardless of codes
of conduct posted on the Internet and on-site orientations about what tourists should and should not do while staying with host villagers. There was an acute awareness among both the MCAC team and village committee that over-development of home-stays might cause social problems such as sexual harassment, child prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases and drug abuse. Although there have been no such cases reported as yet in the village, concerns about these issues must be addressed and incidents prevented or minimised.

**Problems and Benefits of Local Participation in Tourism Planning**

It was a widely-held view that the Jalae village headman and the village committee played a vital role in encouraging villagers to become involved in meetings to discuss matters of public interest and benefit, such as traditional festivals, environmental conservation, and coordination with local government officials and the MCAC team.

With regard to attendance at meetings, although the village headman believed that meeting times had not interfered with agricultural work, some male farmers argued that they preferred to pay attention to their agricultural and livestock farming rather than to participate in public meetings. To solve this problem, the headman advocated imposing a penalty of 50 Baht on villagers who did not attend the village committee meetings. One elderly man also pointed out that it was more critical to educate the younger generation on the importance of public participation in community development. There were only a few youth representatives who consistently attended the meetings because most thought that the issues discussed were only for adults.

On the other hand, there was clear evidence of positive results derived from the meetings. One was a sign setting out rules for visitors located at the village gateway. More importantly, greater negotiating power and control of the activities of external tour operators and walk-in tourists were also positive outcomes. This was reflected in discussions about problems that needed to be avoided. While most villagers wanted to get income from tourism, the village committee expressed concern about tourist numbers and the amount of time that visitors should be limited to when staying in home-stays and going on trekking adventures, because if the tourists took up too much time they would interfere with the normal life and needs of the villagers.
The general issue of participation was recognised as needing attention. A group of older villagers said that they would like to see coherent long-term education and training concerning the benefits of local participation in tourism planning, as supported by the local government.

7.4.2.2 Results of the Focus Group Discussion

As previously mentioned in chapter 4, during the focus group discussion questions about heritage resources and tourism attractions were discussed. Table 7.4 shows what local respondents in Jalae village identified as being cultural, natural and built heritage resources.

**Table 7.4: Heritage Resources and Tourist Attractions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural heritage resources</th>
<th>Natural and built heritage resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Lahu annual New Year festival</td>
<td>- Huey Mae Sai waterfall (800 m. from the village)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lahu costumes &amp; ornamentation</td>
<td>- Creek passing through the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Sand building festival</td>
<td>- Herbal plantations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lahu rituals throughout the year</td>
<td>- Mountainous landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Folk music &amp; dance</td>
<td>- Wildlife in the forest including various types of birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cooking skills of local food, vegetables &amp; desserts</td>
<td>- Livestock; e.g. pigs, buffalo, horses, cattle, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lahu language &amp; legends</td>
<td>- Elephants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Local ways of life such as farming activities, fishing, campfires, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Knowledge of herbal medicines</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Witchcraft wisdom (village priest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lahu burial ceremony</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Agricultural and hunting skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Traditional house construction skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Handicraft skills for household utensils</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Skills in embroidery, weaving and clothes-making</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The focus group discussion also employed a voting process to assess existing problems and future benefits in terms of economic, environmental, socio-cultural and personal aspects (see chapter 4). Votes were translated into mean scores for each item and are given in Tables 7.5 and 7.6.

**Table 7.5: Focus Group Results: Problems with Development Impacts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCEIVED PROBLEMS</th>
<th>Means (N=35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1. Insufficient local job opportunities/low labour wages</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2. Lack of market support in handicraft industry</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mean of Economic Aspects</td>
<td><strong>2.24 (0.2)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En1. No garbage collection system</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2. Difficulty to maintain vernacular architecture in the village</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mean of Environmental Aspects</td>
<td><strong>2.45 (0.02)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1. Labour migration to main cities</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc2. Insufficient social welfare services, especially health care</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc3. Drug use and illegal distribution business</td>
<td>2.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc4. Lack of official Thai citizen identity card</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc5. Sub-standard education-mainly up to primary school</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc6. Conflict between Animism and Christianity</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mean of Socio-cultural Aspects</td>
<td><strong>2.41 (0.1)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSONAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps1. Communication problems in Thai language and law</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps2. Loss of pride in traditional culture, costume, especially teenagers</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall Mean of Personal Aspect</td>
<td><strong>2.34 (0.5)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three levels of importance: 3 = Most important, 2 = Very important, 1 = Moderately important

Note: Standard Deviation values are in brackets after the mean value
Perceived Problems

Overall, environmental and socio-cultural problems received higher mean ratings than both economic and personal aspects. However, the highest mean for a perceived problem was related to communication in Thai (Ps1, M=2.67). This result suggests that these hill-tribe people realise that their limitation in speaking the Thai language resulted in misunderstanding of laws and regulations, and this was a significant problem limiting community development. Problems of migration of local residents to cities to work as labourers and insufficient social welfare programs were also rated as very important social problems (Sc1 and Sc2; M=2.57 and M=2.50, respectively).

The lack of Thai citizenship was also a problem for many hill-tribe people (Sc4, M=2.44). The MCAC team provided consultation services and legal support so that villagers could gain lawful permission to work, including in the tourism industry. Local villagers perceived these negative factors as disadvantaging community development and limiting their ability to obtain social welfare benefits from the government. These factors related to development impacts irrespective of the presence of tourism.

In addition, the insufficiency of job opportunities and low wages (Ec1, M=2.38) and migration of labour to the main cities (Sc1, M=2.57) were also identified as problems. In interviews, local villagers suggested that they were taken advantage of by tour companies that provided them with low incomes for their home-stay and trekking operations. Understandably, villagers would prefer to get a fairer share of the revenue for their services. To ensure tourist satisfaction, training in Thai, English and hospitality services was regarded by MCAC and local villagers as crucial to the success of future community-based tourism.

Desired Needs/Benefits

In the focus group rating of issues (Table 7.6), the highest score received was in relation to adequate and consistent year-round tourist numbers (Ec1 = 2.64). However, this expectation might be difficult to achieve because most tourists, both domestic and international, tend to prefer to visit villages at the peak periods of the year when ethnic ceremonies or festivals are happening. Whether a more regular flow of tourists would result in overall economic benefits for the majority of villagers is also questionable as
catering to regular tourism activities throughout the year could lead to conflicts with farming activities and other aspects of daily life.

### Table 7.6: Focus Group Results: Desired Future Development Needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESIRED FUTURE NEEDS/BENEFITS</th>
<th>Means (N=35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ECONOMIC ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec1. Need for consistent tourist numbers throughout the year</td>
<td>2.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec2. Community handicraft/souvenir shop</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ec3. Arranging horse tours to neighbouring villages</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Mean of Economic Aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.49 (0.3)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En1. Road upgrading to and within the village</td>
<td>2.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En2. Landscape gardening improvement</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En3. Building permanent pavilion (view, relaxation)</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En4. Growing more trees for green outlook, shading &amp; produce</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En5. Solid waste management, cleanliness promotion</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En6. Development of tourist facilities; e.g. food &amp; beverage shops</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En7. Public park and sport facilities for youth and elders</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Mean of Environmental Aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.22 (0.2)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc1. Village signs for local landmarks (3 languages: Thai, English, Lahu)</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc2. Building cultural plaza for traditional dance shows</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc3. Building local museum (as cultural and information centre)</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc4. Producing a presentable village map for guiding walk-in tourists</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sc5. Providing computer and Internet network for public use and training</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Mean of Socio-cultural Aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.18 (0.1)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSONAL ASPECTS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps1. Asking for cooperation in wearing Lahu tribal costume</td>
<td>2.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps2. English for communication with tourists</td>
<td>2.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps3. Guide training for local people</td>
<td>2.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps4. Lahu language training for foreign tourists</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps5. Foreign culture training for local people</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Mean of Personal Aspects</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.21 (0.2)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three levels of importance: 3 = Most important, 2 = Very important, 1 = Moderately important

**Note:** Standard Deviation values are in brackets after the mean value in each aspect

Additional needs with regard to tourism development that were identified include:

- Control of community handicraft shops (Ec2, M=2.60) and distribution of proceeds to all stakeholders.
- Preservation of hill-tribe costumes (Ps1, M=2.36), given increasing costs and the changing attitudes of the younger generation.

- Balancing budget priorities with respect to road upgrading (En1, M=2.48) and landscape improvement (En2, M=2.35).

- Upgrading English training (Ps2, M=2.29).

Although environmental, socio-cultural and personal problems were identified in the analysis depicted in Table 7.5, the overall results as shown in Table 7.6 suggest that local representatives perceived the more important benefits of tourism as being economic.

7.4.2.3 Questionnaire Results

Questions about problems and benefits associated with local participation in tourism planning processes were asked of 41 villagers (the same questions as were asked in the other two case studies). Table 7.7 and Figure 7.10 show the comparison of results in relation to the 16 questions (shown as mean scores). These results show this group of local people had fairly strong agreement across most of the 16 questions (means between 1.2 and 1.4).

The overall response from the 41 respondents about having input in tourism planning was neutral (Question 2, M=0.7). It seems likely that this is because they already felt involved in formal meetings arranged by the village committees or/and local government agencies, and besides, most had trust in the village headman as they usually reported their needs directly to him. This feedback is reflected in response to Question 13, which was that they did not believe that external bodies would be more influential in local participation than internal factors in the village (M= -1.1).

Answers to open-ended questions regarding the reasons why they believed that more education and access to information were needed (Questions 1 and 8) indicate that villagers want a supporting body like the MCAC to help them develop more efficient methods for participation in developing tourism plans for the village, in language translation and in public relations. They also expressed the view that the MCAC team had significantly assisted them with financial administration, pre-tour communication and management, with minimum investment costs.
Table 7.7: Attitudes about Local Participation in Jalae Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jalae Village (N)</th>
<th>Attitude * means for the 16 questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Means</strong> (41)</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Attitude: 2 = Strongly agree, 1 = Agree, 0 = Neutral/Don't know, -1 = Disagree, -2 = Strongly disagree

Questions 1-16

Questions, by numbers, were: In your village, what do you think about the following statements:

1. Tourism planning needs local participation.
2. You have no input into tourism planning.
3. The current level of local participation in tourism planning is good.
4. More diverse representation of interest groups is needed in participation.
5. Local participation in tourism planning could bring more benefits than problems.
6. More satisfaction about shared benefits for all groups results from local participation.
7. Economic benefit is the most important incentive for local participation.
8. Better understanding and more education about local participation are needed.
9. Better consideration in respect to place and time for local participation is needed.
10. More involvement in the early stages of decision-making process is needed.
11. More accessibility of information for local participation is needed.
12. Conflicts amongst different groups make it more difficult to achieve local participation.
13. External influences are more important than internal factors in local participation.
14. Increasing negotiation power with external bodies results from local participation.
15. Trust in future political commitment affects willingness for local participation.
16. Networks and understanding among stakeholders result from local participation.

**Figure 7.10: Results of Questionnaire: Mean Ratings by Question**

Villagers suggested the main reason for their preference for being involved in the early stages of planning (Question 10), was that it would be difficult to change decisions after action plans were implemented. In addition, they thought they would be more willing to participate in the process if they could trust future political commitments (Question 15) as this would assure them they were not wasting their time and energy.
7.4.2.4 Results of Participant Observation and Informal Interviews

As previously mentioned, the researcher lived with the MCAC team and afterwards kept in touch with them via email and by other forms of communication. This NGO consistently expressed interest in enhancing the strength of human resources in local communities and focussed on resolving social problems rather than promoting tourism as a priority. Various parallel community development programs were initiated, such as a youth network, self-reliant agriculture, information technology development, an anti-drug network and community music programs. It became clear in informal interviews that the MCAC team believed that these programs would result in positive learning outcomes, especially for young people to become interested in developing a long-term vision for their own community.

In order to build strong and healthy families and supportive social environments, the MCAC team developed a policy of working together with the village committees and local representatives to build strategies for community planning and tourism development. Diverse styles of local handicrafts were promoted at local shops and via a website (www.ebannok.com). This included cloth weaving of tribal-style bags, shirts, skirts, home decorations, necklaces and clay whistles (see Figure 7.11). These skills could generate income for hill-tribe women not taking drugs, or those trying to give them up.

Figure 7.11: Economic Benefits from Tourism Products

Sources: www.mirrorartgroup.org, www.ebannok.com
The distribution of profits was organised according to a coding system to identify the villagers who produced particular products. Each producer would get a 30% share of the sale price after passing a quality control procedure, and a further 40% of the total sale price when products were sold. Thirty percent of the profit was used for administrative and operational costs. Villagers also organised a system of rotation of host houses for tourists to ensure equal distribution.

It was found that a major impact on tourism was the relocation of Jalae village from state-owned highland forest preservation land to a lowland plain area as a result of the Thailand Community Forest Bill in 1999. This is because the new location has basic problems needing future attention such as lack of shade from trees and loss of unique traditional-style houses. In addition, the new location needed a garbage collection system, and informative signage and town maps (see Figure 7.12). The MCAC team fought for increased budgets from both local government agencies and overseas aid organisations, at the same time as promoting community development and environmental conservation programs.

![Figure 7.12: Physical Problems in Jalae Village](image)


53 The Community Forestry Bill of 1999 was passed to rehabilitate degraded reserved forest lands, especially in National Parks, and people were no longer permitted to live in state-owned preservation areas. Thailand's laws governing national parks, which were enacted in the early 1960s, assumed that human use and nature preservation were incompatible, and are therefore particularly strict on habitat protection. However, their enforcement has often been applied against local villagers seeking to use the resources to which they previously had access, rather than against rich and influential entrepreneurs. (Jantakad and Gilmour, 1999)
Elderly people suggested during informal interviews that there was an attitudinal change amongst young tribal people over the last 30 years leading to decreasing pride in their indigenous culture and loss of self-confidence. Young people no longer wear indigenous dress except at special village festivals or for ceremonies. Traditional musical instruments have also disappeared because missionaries had told them that they should not perform their own rituals and ceremonies, of which the instruments were an integral part. It was observed that the pattern of traditional lifestyle had also been disrupted by modern media influences such as television programs, movies, music, magazines and the Internet. It was pointed out that these external influences might be resulting in hill-tribe teenagers feeling disconnected from their own physical and cultural environments and their religions and traditional rituals (see Figure 7.13).

Figure 7.13: Modern Influences on Hill-tribe Culture

However, there have been some cultural improvements partly due to tourism. Women were observed to have a higher degree of influence in maintaining traditional costumes and cultural performances at village festivals and ceremonies (see Figure 7.14). A foreign volunteer pointed out that these events were what most tourists expected to experience in the village. As Cohen found, the women in a unique ethnic village could become a standard attraction for tourist excursions. However, he raises the issue of hill tribe people mostly playing a passive role in otherwise contrived situations created and managed by outsiders against their will (Cohen, 2004, pp. 305–6). This is clearly most likely to occur where there is no local involvement in tourism development planning.
There is a hill-tribe youth network composed of fourteen village representatives of all fourteen villages of the Mae Yao Sub-district, some of whom used to be drug addicts. They had been trained in computer skills and given English and Thai lessons by lowland Thai youths at the MCAC (see Figure 7.15). The main goals of these activities were to develop leadership skills, to encourage active roles as tour guides, to build relationships between these groups and to eliminate cultural misconceptions. In order to build a sense of pride for the local communities the making of traditional handicrafts, such as weaving and bamboo work, was encouraged.

Figure 7.16 shows an example of children spontaneously exchanging their ideas, knowledge and experiences at a home-stay and with tourist trekkers.
7.4.2.5 Results of the Projective Picture Making

Drawings made by the children in Jalae village are shown in Figures 7.17. These drawings were placed into five categories (economic, environmental, socio-cultural, personal and overall aspects) as shown in Table 7.8. The major and minor focuses were also identified based on what students orally reported as being in their pictures.

![Figure 7.16: Personal Benefits from Tourism Development](source: www.hilltribetour.com)

![Figure 7.17: Examples of Pictures Made by Children at Jalae Village]
### Table 7.8: Interpretation of Children’s Projective Pictures from Jalae Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pictures</th>
<th>Aspects/Concerns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.1</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Agriculture as a main occupation of local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.2</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Farming activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.3</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Vegetable garden - Houses, pathway - Fish, bird, horse - Mountain, moon, cloud, stars - Waterfall - Signage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.4</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Waterfall - Trees, flowers - Vegetable garden - Elephant, horse, chicken, birds, fish - Signage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.5</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>- Butterflies, birds - Waterfall - School, flag - Horse farm - Chickens - Stars, cloud, sun - Trees, flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.6</td>
<td>Major Focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pictures</td>
<td>Aspects/Concerns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.6</td>
<td>Economic: Rice field, Trees, flowers, Houses, Mountain, sun, Crab, fish, bird, horse, chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>Environmental:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.7</td>
<td>Major Focus:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>Forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.8</td>
<td>Major Focus: Houses, River, bridge, School, flag, car, Trees, orchard, Mountain, sun, Birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>Forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture 7.9</td>
<td>Major Focus: House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Focus</td>
<td>Mountain, sun, Trees, orchard, flowers, Waterfall, Pathway, Garbage bin, Pavilion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The children’s pictures included both built and natural environmental features, such as traditional houses and the surrounding natural landscape. Eight of the nine pictures have features that were coded as environmental aspects, with only one picture focused on socio-cultural aspects. Overall, images of local people, their lifestyles and cultural activities in the village were frequently depicted. It should be noted that there are only two pictures that have features related to economic aspects associated with agricultural occupations and traditional farming activities and none related to personal aspects. Verbally, the children suggested that they would like to conserve both the natural landscape of their village and for it to be in harmony with the traditional houses without compromising economic benefits from tourism.
7.5 DISCUSSION

The results of the various sets of data provide a seemingly positive view of community participation as an effective tool for sustainable tourism development, but with considerable outside assistance, and subject to strong outside influences that cannot be easily controlled by the community.

7.5.1 Bottom-up: Community and NGO Working Together

The integrated results from a review of policy documents, in-depth interviews, participant observation and informal interviews suggest that the MCAC team played a significant role as a facilitator and supporter of community-based tourism planning. The local community derived definite benefits from this process. For example, there was a mutual interest between Jalae village representatives and the MCAC team in developing a network of tour guides. The youth network project also convinced many youths, both in the village and those from the lowland, to learn and work together towards the same ultimate goal of achieving desirable community-based tourism development. Jalae village has an advantage in its location, with people from two different hill-tribes, Lahu and Akha living in the village, with a Mien village located nearby. This provides the possibility of expanding tourism activities in the local area to include a diversity of cultural attractions, for example, via trekking on elephants or horses to more remote villages.

It was found that ordinary villagers were willing to trust their village headman, local committees and representatives to effectively voice their needs to the local government. The small size of the village (59 households) may help villagers feel comfortable about communicating with their representatives. The nearness of MCAC to the village and to other projects of the MCAC might be factors contributing to effective teamwork in undertaking participatory activities between various groups of villagers and the MCAC team.

There was a clear economic benefit from the sale of locally made products sold via the Internet. The income derived from these sales was seen to enhance interest in villagers working together to develop quality products with the MCAC team. This
‘bottom-up’ approach to job creation might help to stop young people from leaving the village to find work in the cities.

7.5.2 Changes in Local Resources and Communities

Outside factors had a particularly strong effect in this village. The combined research findings indicate that there had been considerable changes since the village was relocated. For example, the focus group discussion revealed that environmental and socio-cultural impacts, such as garbage collection, loss of traditional-style housing features, labour migration, social welfare, drug abuse and Thai citizenship, were important issues to address. None of these problems were directly the outcome of tourism activities, and which, in fact could undermine the effort to achieve sustainable tourism development.

Table 7.3 indicates that there was a significant economic benefit gained from community-based tourism as co-arranged by the MCAC team and the villagers. The fact that almost 80% of the income was going to the villagers represents a significant improvement over what they used to receive from private trekking tour companies. Michaud found that a trekking agency in Chiang Mai could earn as much as 97.7% of total charges paid by the tourists while the host villagers normally only received between 1.5 and 2.3 percent share of the income (1997, pp. 142–4).

An evaluation of the identified policy views of the MCAC team and the community suggests that they felt it was important to mitigate possible negative impacts resulting from tourism development by focusing particularly on human resource development, such as increasing education and skills training. It was also felt necessary to seriously consider the conservation of environmental and socio-cultural resources in order to sustain tourism attractions. Cohen (1996, pp. 140–1) noted in five hill-tribe tourism case studies in Northern Thailand that a balance was often achieved between heritage conservation of the different spheres of village life, that is, in working, social and family life, and tourism development. He observed:

“…although some of the villages may have been ‘spoilt’ by tourism, and hence are no longer as ‘authentic’ as they used to be in the past, intensive penetration of tourism has not had a markedly disruptive impact on the economic and social life of the villager.”
It also became clear from informal interviews and participant observation that the attitudes of hill-tribe youths have been influenced by modern media, as can be observed in their clothing. As mentioned earlier, it will be a very challenging task for the MCAC team and Jalae villagers to work together to conserve the Lahu people’s heritage resources and the area’s natural environment, while developing more and better quality tourism facilities.

The follow-up visit in May 2006 confirmed that a local resident in Jalae village, being trained by MCAC staff, could perform as a good attendant explaining Lahu cultures and traditions with pride (see Figure 7.18).

![Figure 7.18: Visiting Baan Jalae Hill-tribe Life and Culture Centre](image-url)


Analysis of the children’s pictures revealed some common interests with regard to local culture and the natural environment. The children’s pictures show physical changes in the natural environment and cultural changes in the village and surrounding areas. Most focuses of the pictures are environmental and socio-cultural aspects. These findings suggest that young people appreciated the benefits of tourism but not at the risk of environmental and socio-cultural degradation, such as loss of traditional-style houses and other features in the cultural landscape.
However, a disturbing development was reported during a follow-up field visit in 2006, emphasising the problems that could result from uncontrollable outside influences. Representatives of the MCAC team on that occasion expressed concern about the increased activities of evangelical Christian missionaries from the USA and Taiwan who were targeting indigenous areas of Northern Thailand. The loss of traditional instruments and performances due to mission influence had already been noted by some of the older villagers during the original interviews, but now it was reported that newly converted villagers had been restricted by the missionaries from any interactions with the others, whether in tourism development or any other social activities.

A further disturbing development reported in 2006 was the targeting and robbing of tourists in some villages by organised criminal gangs. With no official government involvement in this intermediate project, formal law enforcement was not likely to be provided to prevent such acts in a remote area, and the villagers themselves and their guests could do little to protect themselves.

7.5.3 Problems and Benefits of Local Participation

Findings from the questionnaire, as summarised in Table 7.7 and Figure 7.8, and results from in-depth interviews are linked to evaluate perceived problems and benefits of local participation. These have been found to include:

- A need for more education about participation, particularly during early stages of tourism planning, and political commitments (M=1.4 equivalent in Questions 8, 10 and 15);

- A need for more access to information about participation in order to minimise possible conflicts of interest amongst various stakeholder groups (M=1.3 in both Questions 11 and 12);

- A need for more diversity in representation by interest groups (Question 4, M=1.2), by including disadvantaged groups such as women and young people;
• A need for more active involvement in the process of tourism planning (Question 2, M=0.7) to strengthen trust in final decisions based on democratic processes.

Local participation in tourism planning was perceived as the key to reaping benefits and minimising problems (Question 5, M=1.2), due to the community’s ability to deal effectively with external bodies such as tourists and tour operators (Question 14, M=1.2). A sense of hope for incentives was identified as an important factor to participate in the planning process (Question 7, M=1.2). This may be because villagers would not prefer to participate in the meetings during daytime hours when they needed to work for their living and an incentives such as free dinner and/or snack and drink would help motivate them more to participate. One respondent suggested a warning or penalty system as a practical means of enforcing participation in the planning process. However, encouragement through more positive measures without regulatory sanctions and economic incentives would seem likely to result in longer lasting changes in attitudes.

Local leadership was found to affect the degree of local participation in tourism planning. This result was confirmed by comments by local villagers who said that leadership by the village headmen was the most important factor affecting their commitment towards participating in tourism development planning. This suggests that improving leadership skills could lead to more effective network building for local people resulting in more confidence in expressing opinions.

Two further suggestions about the desirable outcomes of local participation in the planning process were revealed from the results of the questionnaire. Firstly, greater sharing of economic benefits for all groups needed to be achieved (Question 6, M=1.2). Secondly, greater networking and understanding among various groups of stakeholders was needed (Question 16, M=1.2). It will not be easy, however, to satisfy all stakeholders in practice. Attempts to increase public interests are needed towards the senses of collaboration, partnership, consensus and ownership in the future of tourism development rather than in merely furthering individual profits.
7.6 SUMMARY

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that cooperation in tourism planning between host communities and a local NGO can be successfully used to find a balance in setting down rules for community development. The important assets for tourism planning are recognised to be the socio-cultural and environmental resources of Jalae village and surrounding areas but a significant factor in ensuring success in tourism development is seen to be skills training such as in hospitality services and language and computer skills. The existing youth network in Jalae and surrounding villages in which volunteer youths in each village have been trained in hospitality service skills can probably be expanded and developed to efficiently incorporate neighbouring communities in Mae Yao Sub-District. Eventually it is to be hoped that the best possible experience for villagers and tourists alike can be developed by building long-term host/guest relationships that lead to increased tourist visits through ‘word of mouth’ communications with other potential tourists.

As Vernon et al. (2005) suggest external influences such as the role of the public sector in promoting ‘bottom-up’ forms of governance, the temporal dynamics of the process, and the reality of innovation in policymaking are all important factors for achieving desirable or sustainable tourism outcomes. In addition, Bramwell and Sharman (1999, pp. 411–2) conclude that the consensus-building framework for collaborative initiatives needs representatives of many relevant stakeholder groups and should be linked to the long-established channels of representative democracy of local and central government because unequal power relations remained among the stakeholders, with the distribution of power weighted towards the authorities rather than the local residents.

In the next chapter, a comparative analysis of the three tourism policy approaches as presented in chapters 5 to 7 is reviewed in order to explore similarities and differences.
CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter compares and summarises findings from the three case studies representing the three tourism planning policy approaches: top-down, intermediate and bottom-up and considers their implications in relation to the achievement of development goals and of effective local community participation.

8.2 REVISITING RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Results from each case study are compared in order to address the following four main research questions:

1) As discussed in chapter 2, goals in sustainable tourism development are not identical between governments and locals, especially in less developed countries such as the GMS. Using Thailand as a case study, the first research question was: what are the similarities and differences between the tourism development goals of top-level policymakers in the region and those of local residents in Chiang Rai province? Substantial differences will mean outcomes that are likely to be unsatisfactory to everyone involved in the tourism development projects.

2) To understand the goals of local communities, the second question was about what their perceptions of ‘development’ were; in this case the views of ethnic communities living in villages in marginalised areas of Thailand. The research was also intended to observe if there were significant differences in this respect with the three different policy approaches to tourism development.

3) The importance of meaningful local participation in the tourism planning process is widely recognised, and so the third research question aimed to find out to what degree local residents in the case studies were concerned about their participation, and whether any similarities or differences emerged while participating under different policy approaches.
4) The final question was to find out what factors seem to be important in facilitating local participation with each policy approach within the Thai political and planning context, and why those factors are influential.

In order to find answers to these four questions within the three case study areas, a range of methodologies was used to try to get as realistic a picture as possible. These were partly based on the methods commonly used in sociological research, involving questionnaires that are analysed statistically. A great deal of thought was put into the wording of the questionnaires, but there is always the possibility that the questions themselves mostly reflect the approach of the researcher, and do not relate properly to the perceptions of those questioned. In the case of the policy planners, for example, the analysis involved the computer software, Strategizer, and the questions used had to be translated into the Thai language by the researcher in consultation with the software owner, Dr. Ray Wyatt. Because of the potential of linguistic and cross-cultural differences in interpretation, in-depth interviews were also conducted to increase the reliability of the results.

In the villages focus groups were also used to supplement the questionnaires, which depended more on the spontaneous expressions of the villagers, although these too needed to be guided to some extent. The results could also be limited by the fact that perhaps the most voiceless in the community (e.g. women and youth) would not participate. As it happened, the women in Had Bai village (top-down) were more represented (40%) than in the other villages, since they were the weavers and responsible for the main product for the tourists, while the young people were strongly represented (about 10%) in Jalae (bottom-up), where the NGO made a point of involving them in the planning, particularly in the web-based marketing project.

However, it was also felt that anthropological methodology, which is used in a great deal of tourism research, would be perhaps even more appropriate. A great deal of the most revealing information was in fact obtained in informal interviews, both with key players in the villages (leaders, NGOs) and ordinary villagers, and by participating in and observing the activities of the various villages. In addition, it was felt that the underlying aspirations of the villagers could be clearly revealed through the eyes of the children, who unconsciously reflect their cultural environment, and so projective picture making was also added to the combination of methodologies.
A review of the publications relating to tourism development in the region was of course undertaken as an essential preliminary part of the research. While the more formal sociological and statistical methods were helpful for understanding the differences in goals between the various stakeholders, the questions relating to participation could really only be answered by more informal methods, as is clear from the results obtained.

**8.3 Discussion of Findings**

**8.3.1 Policy Approaches**

The three tourism development projects studied in Chiang Rai Province were clearly differentiated in certain aspects because of the three policy approaches. The top-down approach was manifest in Had Bai village, where tourism development was initiated externally by national and international bodies (the Tourism Authority of Thailand (TAT) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB)). The intermediate approach, was represented by three villages in the Doi Tung Development Project (DTDP), employing a ‘village-stay’ tourism concept facilitated by an NGO founded by royal patronage (the Mae Fah Luang Foundation). Lastly, a tourism development project initiated by local representatives from Jalae and surrounding villages, and supported by a local NGO (Mirror Cultural Arts Centre–MCAC), was selected as an example of the bottom-up approach. A comparison of the major aspects of the implementation of the tourism development policies under these three approaches is summarised in Table 8.1.

The policymakers in each instance clearly had different goals. Generally speaking, top-level policymakers identified increasing income and the development of tourism attractions as the most important issues, and placed greater emphasis on policies that were feasible and could gain social acceptance than on ensuring the effectiveness of more theoretical policy objectives, such as long-term plans and those relating to empowerment, or cultural and environmental conservation.
Table 8.1: Comparison of the Implementation of Tourism Policy Approaches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case 1: Top-down approach</th>
<th>Case 2: Intermediate approach</th>
<th>Case 3: Bottom-up approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Physical infrastructure:</strong> Cross-border infrastructure development such as road construction, promotion of water-based and air networks, have been the most advanced implemented projects.</td>
<td><strong>Physical infrastructure:</strong> The development of new tourism attractions (houses, centres) has highly impacted on agricultural land use and hill-tribe settlements.</td>
<td><strong>Physical infrastructure:</strong> There has been no significant change to existing physical infrastructure at Jalae village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marketing activities</strong> PATA and TAT have played a significant role in public relations and national and international marketing campaigns based on a forecast of greater tourist arrival numbers.</td>
<td><strong>Marketing activities</strong> DTDP Office has played an important role in promoting tourist attractions in Doi Tung (with the support of TAT). There was a 76% increase in tourist numbers from 1994 to 1999 at Mae Fah Luang Garden.</td>
<td><strong>Marketing activities</strong> MCAC uses internet network with a few special websites to promote tourism activities and products. Numbers of tourists in each tour have been controlled.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Progress on ground</strong> TAT and AMTA have promoted Had Bai as village-based tourism for Thailand to link with other GMS villages, with a focus on marketing activities. Projects were proposed by TAT and the local government to develop a new port in the Mekong River and tourist facilities in the village. However, there was no implementation at the time of writing this thesis. Local government of Had Bai village planned to allocate almost 80% of total budget between 2002 and 2006 to economic development activities.</td>
<td><strong>Progress on ground</strong> DTDP was given award as a pilot project for sustainable development and protection of environment. No specific team was assigned to plan and manage the ‘village-stay’ project, which to date has been directed by the head of DTDP incorporated within local government offices. Some workshops and studies on this project were conducted, but none has been implemented yet.</td>
<td><strong>Progress on ground</strong> MCAC has worked with the local community in Jalae village since 1998 and launched the tourism program in 2000, following up with regular community projects and tours. Local villagers get an almost 80% share of the total income received from tourists. Host villagers have been rotated to support equitable income distribution in the village. MCAC has trained local people in multi-skills to effectively operate tourism activities, such as computer skills, hospitality and services.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main goal for the DTDP (intermediate approach) was also officially sustainable tourism development, and this was recognised by an award given to it for its achievement in this respect, but there was no specific team assigned to manage the ‘village-stay’ project, which had been directed by the head of DTDP from within the local government offices.

Sustainability as a concept for skill development and for employment training for local people in tourism has only been emphasised at Jalae village, representing the bottom-up approach, where local participation in the tourism planning process was actively promoted. In Had Bai, by contrast, the major emphasis was on promoting...
physical infrastructure development and marketing. This was also reflected in the support given by TAT to a number of tourism marketing campaigns in both case study areas involving top-down and intermediate approaches. Marketing promotion in Jalae meanwhile was locally organised by the MCAC, which has produced a number of websites for the purpose, and involved and trained young villagers in the process.

8.3.2 Concepts of Development

Although both Thai policymakers and local residents in ethnic communities in the North responded that they wish to keep the identity of the local environment and culture, the selected thirteen policymakers in the region made their top priority goals the economic aspects of tourism development (8 out of 13) with the aim of improving income for local residents by developing more tourism activities, facilities and products. Only two of these policymakers gave local participation and environmental conservation as priority goals for planning and developing tourism. The personal aspects of ‘education and training’ were also not a high priority.

In the villages, meanwhile, the desire to gain economic benefits from tourism and associated development, while conserving their natural and cultural heritage resources for future generations, was widely demonstrated by both adults and children.

The results of the focus groups discussions (see Table 8.2) and projective picture making (See Table 8.3) indicate that people of all ages identified natural and cultural attractions in their villages as sources of income they could derive from tourism. In contrast, the policy options valued by top-level policymakers focused more on developing tourism resources that have measurable economic outcomes rather than on ‘processes’ and ‘contents’ related to conserving local heritage resources.
Table 8.2: Comparative Results of Focus Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects/Concerns</th>
<th>Top-down policy approach (N=26)</th>
<th>Intermediate policy approach (N=72)</th>
<th>Bottom-up policy approach (N=35)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Unjust benefits from agricultural produce’s sale price</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Insufficient market for agricultural produce</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Middlemen taking unjust benefits</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Community handicraft/souvenir shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Cloth Weaving Association</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Use of alternative agricultural products</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Insufficient local job opportunities/low labour wages (less than Aus$5 per day)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Land use change from agriculture to reforestation</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Home-stay for tourism business</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Community handicraft/souvenir shop</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Extending routes of mini-bus for tourism service</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Insufficient local job opportunities/low labour wages</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Lack of market support in handicraft industry</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Need for consistent tourist numbers throughout the year</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Community handicraft/souvenir shop</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Arranging horse tour to neighbourhood villages</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Solid waste pollution</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Land ownership security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Sub-standard road condition, especially to farming area</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Port construction &amp; riverside development</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Solid waste management, cleanliness promotion</td>
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<tr>
<td>- River bank construction upgrading to protect erosion</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Insufficient telecommunication service</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Water shortage in summer</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Sub-standard road condition</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Road upgrading (to waterfall/sacred well)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Gardening landscape improvement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building permanent pavilion (viewpoint, relaxation)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- No garbage collection system</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Difficulty to maintain vernacular architecture in the village</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Road upgrading to and within the village</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Gardening landscape improvement</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building permanent pavilion (viewpoint, relaxation)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-cultural</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Insufficient social welfare services (e.g. health care)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Lack of venerable abbot at Buddhist temple</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Drug use and illegal distribution business</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building cultural centre including local museum</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building cultural road decorated with local identities</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building local tourist information centre, village map</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Insufficient social welfare services (e.g. health care)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Lack of official Thai citizen identity card</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Sub-standard education—mainly primary school</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Building cultural plaza for traditional dancing shows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Village signage for local landmark (3 languages: Akha, Thai, English)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building cultural centre including museum, library</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Existing problems:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Labour migration to main cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Insufficient social welfare services (e.g. health care)</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Drug use and illegal distribution business</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Future needs:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Village signs for local landmarks (3 languages: Lahu, Thai, English)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building cultural plaza for traditional dancing shows</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Building local museum (as cultural and information centre)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Personal</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Existing problems:**
- Lack of administrative and management skills
- Insufficient information accessibility, public relations
- Lack of knowledge about civil society and its right in law | **Existing problems:**
- Disability in English language communication
- Lack of skill training for handicraft industry
- Lack of opportunities/enthusiasm for higher education | **Existing problems:**
- Communication problem in Thai language and law
- Loss of pride in traditional culture, costume, esp. teenagers |
| **Future needs:**
- English for communication training
- Improving information access/networks
- Tourism studies training | **Future needs:**
- English for guide training; e.g. communication skill
- Local participation training including awareness
- Sewing machine training, product development | **Future needs:**
- Asking for cooperation in wearing Lahu tribal costume
- English for communication with tourists
- Guide training to local people |

**Existing problems:**
- Solid waste pollution in the environment plays the most significant role. The very high rate of concern about unjust economic benefits, land ownership security, social welfare and health services, sub-standard road condition and insufficient telecommunication indicate that responsible government agencies should resolve these basic socio-economic constraints before planning further for tourism facilities and services. Lack of administrative and management skills and insufficient information accessibility or public relations are also the signs of local needs in skill training and enhancement of communication networks. **Future needs:**
- The top three priorities fall into environmental and social aspects, not economic aspects. Local residents would like to see significant improvement of their physical environment such as riverside port redevelopment, waste management and a cultural centre along the Mekong River. They are keen to learn more information to enhance communication skills. English training in personal aspects was perceived to be highly important for local people. **Future needs:**
- There was a consensus about future needs from all three villages’ representatives for the development of a homestay business, with cultural plaza for dancing performance and English training for local guides being judged most important. There was strong agreement about common needs from two villages, including infrastructure and facilities such as road upgrading, landscape improvement, a pavilion as the view point, a cultural centre, a community market and a motorbike service group. **Future needs:**
- It is obvious from the voting results that local residents would like to see consistent numbers of tourists and the provision of community shopping services as future economic benefits from community-based tourism development. Road upgrading, Lahu costume & landscape improvement were judged as very important for future needs in the village. There was also strong agreement as to various needs to support tourism activities; e.g. village signs, English and guide training, a cultural centre, museum and pavilion. **Source:** Based upon findings of focus group discussions (Tables 5.6, 5.7, 6.5, 6.6, 7.5 and 7.6).
Table 8.3: Content Analysis of Children’s Picture Making Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects/concerns</th>
<th>Interpretations of picture making</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Top-down policy approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>- Tourists with camera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Image of tourists, selling of weaving cloth &amp; fruits</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Agricultural products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Main occupation of agriculture/vegetable farming, fishery and cloth weaving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Hunting in the forest</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Water-based transport modes (Mekong River)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental</td>
<td>- Mekong River is a source of life and fishery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Sand beach</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Water fall, stream, leading to rice field, vegetables</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Orchard, fruits (orange)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Rocks, mountains</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Traditional architecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Scenery of the Buddha’s relics monument on the top of the misty hills</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural</td>
<td>- Local people show folk dancing, play and festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Traditional Tai Lue weaving clothes, costume</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Buddhist Temple, making merit</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Religious monument</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Swimming and boat racing in the Mekong River as a community enjoyment activities</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal</td>
<td>- Friendly welcome to outsiders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Good spirit reflecting from Buddhism and relationship to monks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Sense of community and family relationship</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>- Mekong River with scenery of water-based agricultural society and Tai Lue weaving patterns play the most important components.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>- Local way of life with Buddhist images</td>
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Note: Based upon content analysis in Tables 5.8, 6.8, 6.9 and 7.8
8.3.2.1 Perceptions of Problems

When it came to discussions of the problems associated with tourism development that the local ethnic communities faced, the results of focus groups (reported in Appendix E) showed that they had different basic concerns, depending on the three different policy approaches. These were expressed as concerns with problems that they perceived from their current situations. In Had Bai (top-down), villagers firstly complained about the immediate practical problem of solid waste pollution. Unfair land ownership was a deeper concern, and they also felt that they needed to have better communication skills to engage with foreign tourists and visitors. The ‘intermediate’ approach villagers in the DTDP villages thought that there are insufficient job opportunities and the wages they received were too low. Lack of ability in English language communication and substandard education were noted as very important problems in the study villages in this case. Lastly, for the ‘bottom-up’ approach, the highest perceived problem was communication in Thai. This result reflects that these people realised that their ineffectiveness in speaking and reading the Thai language was leading to less understanding of laws and regulations affecting their ways of life.

8.3.2.2 Hopes and Desires

There were a number of differences between the expressed wishes and future needs of the three case study areas. In Had Bai people wanted to see significant improvements in their physical environment in the village, not only relating to waste management, but more significantly funded infrastructure development such as road and riverside port construction, and social welfare and health services, as well as a cultural centre along the Mekong River.

For the intermediate approach, the consensus among local villagers was the need to develop their home-stay tourism businesses with a cultural plaza for traditional dance shows, and to develop further their personal aspects, especially communication skill training in English for tour guiding, which could result in their earning more income. Under the current system they were only earning poor wages as labourers, and receiving uncertain revenues from farming produce. The local people from Jalae (the ‘bottom-up’ policy approach) reported as their top priority the wish to promote more tourism activities throughout the year, not only limited to the peak season, and to build a
community souvenir shop inside the village with attractive products to sell to walk-in visitors.

The only common concern for all three case studies was about ‘education and training’; that is, it was seen as an existing problem and a need for future improvement. As discussed in chapter 3, ethnic minorities in Northern Thailand, and indeed in all other remote areas of the GMS countries, are seriously disadvantaged. In this research, some even have not obtained Thai citizenship, hence it is impossible for them to have the right to fully participate in civil society under Thai law. They remain extremely poor and receive little education. The majority of respondents in the study villages had no education at all, or only at early primary school level (see Figure 4.6), so it is crucial for policymakers to support these poor ethnic minorities with proper education and skills training so that they can be well informed and understand what has been happening in their villages and what they really need or want at the present and in the future.

What is noteworthy about the above findings is that in the case of Had Bai in particular, with a clear top-down approach, the villagers did not in any way distinguish between tourism development and development of their village in general. All their concerns related to conditions for themselves as villagers, with tourism simply an imposed aspect of that which could perhaps contribute to their welfare, but they did not see it as a solution in itself. The other two areas reflected a closer involvement with tourism development as such, and the people seemed to be more aware of the way that tourism might help to lift their quality of life.

However, the question of ‘empowerment’ was clearly the most important issue for all of them. They felt that they did not have sufficient knowledge, understanding and skills to participate in the tourism development programs. In fact, this was felt to be true not just in relation to tourism development as such, but for their whole lives, since their position in society is so marginalised. For this reason they emphasised that they needed far more education and language skills, and in this way access to information.

8.3.2.3 Modern Development and Tourism

As noted in chapter 2, there has been a great deal of literature devoted to the question of sustainability of ‘authentic’ traditions, versus ‘development’ in general terms, and
particularly in relation to tourism projects. Overall, there was significant anxiety expressed in the villages about some of the development forms of ‘modernity’. The benefits are certainly recognised, but what the villagers really desire is the benefits of modernity without the loss of both the traditional rural landscape and the village ‘way of life’ with its associated cultural traditions.

In relation to tourism, in other words, villagers want to see tourism develop in line with the requirements of modernity, while being able to preserve their own cultural traditions and the natural environment in the villages. While tourism is seen as a community priority, even when the questions they were asked were directly related to tourism, they actually thought of ‘development needs’. These priorities are part of the national pattern of Thai village development and are similar to other Thai villages that want ‘modernity’ in community development, even if not necessarily through tourism. In Thailand, official priority is given to development needs that respond to modernity in whatever form it takes, whether through tourism or some other form of economic activity (Phongphit & Hewison, 2001). For example, since the 1950s, the Thai Government has focussed on investing in infrastructure development, especially road construction and various telecommunication projects (Phongpaichit & Baker, 1995).

The villagers in all three case studies, however, have a more balanced view. While most do not find wearing traditional dress on a daily basis very convenient any more, and other practical aspects of modern life, like permanent building materials for houses, are also valued, there is no question that the underlying cultural values relating to social relations and spiritual matters are considered essential to preserve, even by the young people.

8.3.3 Conflicts in Tourism Development Perspectives

Despite the difficulty of separating tourism from other forms of development (Staiff and Promsit, 2005), tourism can be examined in relation to quite precise issues. One of the

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54 ‘Modernity’ refers to a new social order that has arisen during the last two or three centuries, a social order that first appeared in the West and then spread to the rest of the world. The term ‘modernity’ can refer to postmodernity or late modernity (Wang, 2000, pp. 15–16). In the context of Thailand, the gradual opening up of society to modernity was from 1855 when the country was opened up to foreign trade (Mulder, 2000, p. 5). A lifestyle based upon convenient physical and social infrastructure including utilities, modern transport, modern buildings, education, media and technology, to name a few, are parts of modern ways of life.
common findings from all three case studies (though to different degrees in each of the study areas) were conflicts of interest among various stakeholder groups in the planning process. These can be summarised as follows.

In the case of Had Bai village, which had been singled out by the TAT for tourism development, there was firstly the inevitable possibility of conflicting interests between the countries represented by the GMS, given their varying stages of economic and political development. More importantly, there have been conflicting interests between the organising body and the local population, partly because of a sense of unequal treatment (e.g. only one shop in the village was provided with public relations assistance through TAT’s tourism promotion materials), and more particularly because the community’s more social and personal development goals differed from the fundamentally economic goals of the planners.

In this case, conflict in the village arose in relation to the weaving of textiles. The protection of local crafts and of the skills required for their production is a major cultural heritage policy in Thailand (as it is in Lao PDR, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia) (Theerapappisit & Staiff, 2006). However, the TAT tourism project had been instigated in Had Bai without local consultation and economic interests took precedence. Conflicts have therefore arisen between those offering ‘authentic’ Tai Lue weaving designs and products, and those offering cheaper products made by labour from Laos. This led to concern in Had Bai about the potential loss of local wisdom with respect to the unique designs of Tai Lue weaving and their preservation for future generations. At the same time there was economic tension between the weaving shops and the public and private sectors that wished to skim off tourism profits at the expense of local villagers. Although the origins of these tensions can be traced to TAT’s tourism development project in Had Bai, few of locals seemed to understand the causal relationship.

The causes of this problem appear to be two-fold: the absence of a system of local participation in the planning process and hence of local input, and a related lack of understanding by planners of the need to actively train and inform local people for participation, to genuinely empower them, rather than just pay lip-service to the notion and to practise tokenism. Tai Lue villagers clearly want economic development and are in favour of some modern developments (cultural centre, port), but they also want a
voice, and they recognise that they need the training to have that voice. The dangers are loss of social cohesion because of unequal distribution of the economic gains of tourism, and a loss of traditional values unless there is local participation, particularly a voice for the women.

In Doi Tung, where an intermediate approach supposedly involved both local input and an external agency, the situation was in fact not much different in terms of genuine consensus. The DTDP project was strictly controlled by the planners and both the local community and other tour operators were not always happy with the results. The plans for the location of the project and the building of houses, and the type of tourist activities only paid slight attention to the locals. Again, the cause was inadequate consultation, with the local community being perhaps unwilling to express any possible objections openly out of respect for the authorities and particularly for the fact that the DTDP was a ‘royally’ endorsed project. Local participation was really just ‘token’ in this case. A sincere sense of respect for ethnic minority groups needs to be developed among planners to improve the situation, and a genuine effort to provide training and information to enable them to participate meaningfully. A special effort also needs to be made to ensure that villagers are not afraid to speak up because of traditional attitudes towards outside ‘authority’ figures.

The situation was different in the bottom-up project in Jalae and surrounding villages. There the only real conflicts were between the NGO and the local drug mafia, and with those tour operators and other commercial interests who found themselves losing profits as a result of the community-based development initiatives. There are still very complex social issues and problems of human rights in the area, and they may affect the tourism project. But if the government does pay more attention to these issues the tourism project could be beneficial. The social problems in the area, and in many other hill tribe places, are beyond the power of the local communities to deal with.

In summary, the problems arising from development are therefore not specific to tourism, but tourism development is clearly involved. The concerns expressed by villagers in the case study areas are likely to be true for many rural Thai villages and are a result of the effects of modernity and the rapid pace of change (Phongphit & Hewison, 2001). Similarly, perceptions of future needs in each village, specifically with regard to tourism, go beyond tourism activities and relate to development/modernity in a more
general sense. Thus, while the development of transport networks, English training, the building of local museums and the creation of handicraft/souvenir shops are strongly tourism related, they have much wider implications. English language acquisition, for example, is part of an educational national agenda, with English language being compulsory from year 1 of school through to university, and of course transport development and the preservation of culture are also national policy goals.

The comparative analysis, focusing on the conflicts in each policy approach as discussed above, is summarised in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4: Comparative Analysis of the Conflicts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Top-down approach</th>
<th>Intermediate approach</th>
<th>Bottom-up approach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perceived nature of conflicts:</td>
<td>- Generates covert conflicts internally (between TAT &amp; ADB consultants) and externally (unequal socio-economic benefits to local people i.e. only one shop in the village was provided with public relations assistance through TAT’s tourism promotion activities). - Development policies based upon economic oriented outcomes that were different from outcomes desired by the community.</td>
<td>- Generates consensus internally (within the project stakeholders) and considerable conflicts externally (between DTDP and local people in Doi Tung and other undeveloped areas). - These conflicts were hardly heard or negotiated due to fear (of persons with power) and respect as the DTDP is the King’s mother’s project. - The conflicts derived from tourism development plans, activities and control regulations imposed by DTDP on locations of village-stay project without regular local consultation processes.</td>
<td>- Generates consensus internally and moderate conflicts externally (between MCAC &amp; local illegal drug mafia, travel agents that lose profits). - Conflicts derived from the loss of commercial profits (external bodies) after increasing community-based development initiatives. - Development policies based upon what local communities would prefer, mainly through education and training activities organised by the NGO staff in various projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible causes of the problems:</td>
<td>- Based on the research findings from questionnaires, there was insufficient understanding and communication in local participation processes. - No system of local participation processes, hence no local input.</td>
<td>- Manifesting the power of leadership roles in directing the development policies, priorities and practices. - Hence the level of local participation is ‘tokenism’ indicating that further work needs to ensure active local participation.</td>
<td>- To protect tourism business employed by local staff, there are some potential risks in fighting with illegal drug dealers. - The problems of human rights and complex social issues still exist in ethnic minority groups. - Competing with previous tour operators.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathway to conflict resolution:</td>
<td>- Justify development policies &amp; resulting decisions with commitments, respect &amp; understanding of the importance of local inputs.</td>
<td>- Sincerity in resolving sensitive issues with transparency and justice to minority ethnic groups. - Build up a feedback system with respect for privacy and anonymity.</td>
<td>- More political lobby activity in collaboration with related government agencies and local groups to minimise the moral and legal tensions.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The top-down and bottom-up approaches are articulated by their own advocates, while the immediate approach could be challenging, as its development outcomes could become either desirable or undesirable. Therefore the role of leadership and group decisions in this approach can be the most important factor to bring about success in the planning process.

However, it is argued here that there are many more elements of value-laden terms such as degrees of human integrity, attitude, spirit, ethics, friendship, happiness, sense of place or comfort, aesthetics and so on, that are unmeasurable in terms of numeric values, but are essentially normative fundamentals for discussion among multi-level stakeholders. They could effectively determine the trade-off systems towards or away from development progress. Moral and integrated approaches to development might help reconcile the conflicts (for examples: Wilson, 1991; Payutto, 1998), as evidenced in applications of the MCAC’s projects in the case of the bottom-up approach.

To assist in avoiding the potential problems of conflict, dislocation and cultural and environmental degradation identified earlier, the implementation of sustainable tourism development depends on achieving the optimum level of support of the people affected by tourism through power relations involving their governments, their social institutions and their private activities (for examples: Pleumarom, 2002; Roseland, 2000; Ryan, 2002; Stabler, 1997). The research findings summarised earlier confirmed the general point that to minimise conflicts of interest and to ensure real local participation in tourism planning and development processes, ethics is the crucial ‘input’ factor affecting people’s response to the ways how tourism practices should be developed.

8.3.4 Community Views on Local Participation

The overall results of the questionnaire’s sixteen (16) questions asking local people about local participation, were that they perceived more problems than benefits. There was agreement in all the study areas that participation was needed in tourism planning, especially at the early stages. The other common issue was the need to be informed, again at the early stage, not at the end, and to be sufficiently trained to be involved.
The focus groups, interviews and observations revealed more differences. Even though participation was seen as important, in practice it was found to interfere in some cases with the daily activities of the villagers and it was therefore inconvenient for them to attend. In the DTDP villages this was not a problem, since meetings were scheduled for evenings in the community centre, but still participation was not enthusiastic and it was suggested that people should be paid as an incentive to come. As noted before, this set of villages supposedly had an intermediate-approach, but actually it had some of the same features as a top-down system, and the villagers did not really feel part of the process. Only some of these villagers in Doi Tung were employed, mostly as labourers, by the NGO (DTDP). The only participation, consulting to some extent as to where the tourist accommodation would be located, had been done with village headmen and a few key village committees — all are male. Local women in the target villages were asked to dress in traditional dress for tourists, but this can hardly be called local participation in planning. By contrast, in the bottom-up study area of Jalae and surrounding villages the response to problems of participation was more neutral with mutual interests. This was most probably because these villagers were already participating actively in the planning and did not see it as an issue.

Nevertheless, the overall result from all the study areas was that participation could not be effective without far more education and information than they were receiving. It is clear that the concept of local participation can simply result in tokenism if it is not carried through with genuine commitment from outsiders. Sofield (2003) strongly makes this point by concluding that ‘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’ (p. 348) The other shortcoming in effective empowerment was reflected in the responses of the villagers that they felt that they needed to have more trust in the political will of the planners. In other words, what had happened too often, it seems, was that their opinions had been asked for, and then ignored by those making the decisions. It is not surprising therefore that in those villages that involved most outside influence in the planning there was little sense that locals could actually participate in such planning. This is discussed further below.
There are a number of other key factors influencing the decisions of local people to participate in the process of planning and developing tourism, particularly in the context of Thai politics.

Firstly, the role of leadership at the local level (village heads or NGOs) is a very important factor that can influence either success or failure in local participation. Local people need quality leadership to facilitate meaningful and interactive participation representing the voices of marginalised groups. This finding coincides with at least one research study on community-based tourism in Klong Khwang village of Northeast Thailand (Sunalai, 2001). The village headman in that study was the person who encouraged people to effectively participate in tourism planning and management and to get things moving within that community. In the villages in the present study the village leaders were in one case seen as self-interested (the village head in Had Bai) and imposed from outside, with no interest in maintaining local traditions (the new head of the monastery in Had Bai). In the other two cases the leadership came from the NGOs, rather than from locally elected leaders, and while this worked well in the case of the locally resident workers in the Jalae study area, it was not satisfactory in the other project areas.

Secondly, future political commitment (especially from the central government) to major development projects such as infrastructure improvements is a key factor, because these top-level politicians control decision-making power for implementing projects funded by the public sector or international aid agencies. The questionnaire results revealed that local people want to improve their negotiation power with external bodies outside their villages such as the District and Provincial Offices, TAT and relevant tourism businesses in the private sector like tour operators and travel agencies. Only the villagers in the ‘bottom-up’ case, where the NGO (MCAC) there lived and worked with the local people, gave a high score for their current level of participation (see question 3 in Figure 8.1 below).

There were also practical problems associated with participation in tourism planning. For example, villagers in all three case study areas gave their routine day-to-day work a higher priority than attendance at public meetings which focused on gaining long-term benefits for their communities. However, leaders in the villages tended to
attend such meetings with the hope of contributing to future aspects of tourism development in their communities.

Another significant factor was the personal and cultural element of a fear of being confronted with heated arguments or having strong discussions with powerful persons. When this is combined with ignorance and uncertainty about political commitment (as discussed above) combined with the unsatisfactory experience of previous meetings with no obvious beneficial outcomes, it is not surprising that the actual practice of participation is not always effective. As demonstrated in the Jalae area, intermediary bodies such as local NGOs can make a difference in terms of negotiations towards fulfilling the mutual interests of all the stakeholders and facilitating the sharing of new information. They are also important in supporting skills training, especially in the areas of administrative management, information technology and marketing strategies.

Findings from face-to-face interviews and the questionnaire identified some, but few major differences between the three study areas in attitudes to local participation. Figure 8.1 compares attitudes (shown as aggregate mean values) to questions asked in the questionnaire.

![Figure 8.1: Attitude Mean Comparisons from the Questionnaire](image)

*Rating scale: 2 =Strongly agree, 1 =Agree, 0 =Neutral/Don’t know, -1 =Disagree, -2 =Strongly disagree

(All the questions themselves have been listed in the preceding chapters.)

The perceived problems and benefits of participation can be summarised, in order of importance, as follows:
1. Need for local participation in tourism planning (Question 1, M=1.3)
2. Need for more education with better information access (Question 8, M=1.3 and Question 11, M=0.9)
3. Need for earlier involvement in planning processes (Question 10, M=1.3)
4. Need for future political commitments (Question 15, M=1.2)
5. Need for more diverse representatives (Question 4, M=1.0)
6. Need for economic incentive for local participation (Question 7, M=1.0)
7. Need to improve negotiation power with external bodies (Question 14, M=1.0)
8. Need for better understanding and networking among all stakeholders (Question 16, M=1.0)

In three instances the results were contradictory. Responses to Questions 2 (You have no input into tourism planning), 3 (The current level of local participation in tourism planning is good) and 13 (External influences are more important than internal factors in local participation) suggest conflicting opinions in the case of the Doi Tung Development Project–DTDP (intermediate policy approach). On the one hand respondents said they were satisfied with the level of local input, while on the other they felt their participation was inadequate. The reason for this contradictory attitude might derive from the efforts of the head of DTDP to involve the village headmen in choosing development sites in the villages for tourist accommodation.

On the basis of the interviews held while conducting these questionnaires with local informants, ‘quality leadership’ was said to mean: i) a leader whom they could trust for transparent governance in the decision-making process; ii) a leader with a strong commitment to providing equal access to accurate and up-to-date information and for including the disadvantaged or marginalised groups in the village; iii) a leader with a strong commitment to regular and consistent community involvements from the early stage of the planning process; and iv) a leader with good connections or networks to follow-up with top-level policymakers or politicians who have power to implement policies that reflects local needs for positive changes into practice.

8.3.5 Conceptual Model of Participation: Linear versus Non-linear

The models for local participation that were discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.3.2.1) are linear, and imply that there are degrees of participation, ranging from complete lack to full empowerment. This one-way ladder of participation does not seem to reflect the
reality, which is in fact quite dynamic. Participation will fluctuate, depending on physical, political, economic, social, cultural and even personal factors, including outside agencies, leadership and access to information.

On the basis of research findings and the work of a number of authors synthesised and named in the below Table 8.5, especially the idea of Arai’s cumulative learning process of personal empowerment linking with community development (1996, p. 37), a non-linear model of local participation is proposed here. In this, the interaction between local and outside agents is constructed as two-way flows summarised in Table 8.5. The main focus is on the interactive learning process through appropriate negotiation techniques in adaptive systems that can strengthen local institutions representing diverse groups of the community.

Table 8.5: Non-linear Model of Local Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linear model</th>
<th>Non-linear model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Typology</strong></td>
<td><strong>Characteristic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>Supporting citizen control, delegated power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-mobilisation</td>
<td>Conciliation by:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td>- deciding together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partnership</td>
<td>- acting together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation</td>
<td>Consultation/placation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokenism</td>
<td>- dissimulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- diplomacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction</td>
<td>Therapy: reject or neglect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4 SUMMARY

In terms of perceptions regarding tourism development there is clearly a significant gap between the views of the planners and policy-makers and the local village communities, which can be regarded as a conflict of interests. The planners see tourism development as a means of economic advancement for the region as well as for the disadvantaged communities that live in the province. They pay lip-service to the concept of maintaining local traditional values, but in fact see the customs and products of the villages more as a means of attracting tourists than as valuable in themselves. For them development means modernity and integration into the main-stream Thai way of life. In the same way local participation is recognised as a desirable goal, but it is not in fact a high priority. There also does not seem to be much thought given to how such participation might actually be made to be effective.

For the villagers there were some differences between the three projects, but there was mostly a similar result from the surveys. They tend to see development as the main issue, and tourism as just one aspect of that. In both Had Bai and the DTDP villages the rewards of tourism were not yet very apparent to the villagers. In Had Bai the financial rewards were mostly going to a few individuals, while in the DTDP villages there was only a small amount of low-paid unskilled work available, with a little money to be made from the sale of minor handicrafts, or from the tips of generous tourists. The participation of the villagers, in both the planning and the rewards of tourism, was quite limited at this early stage of the projects. The situation was rather better in the Jalae study area, because of the presence of an NGO that had a constant presence in the village and both the planning and the financial rewards were shared among the village people. For these people tourism was more clearly an aspect of development from which they could benefit.

Nevertheless, all the villages expressed a clear desire to maintain their traditional values at the same time as achieving the benefits of increased incomes and modern developments. Unlike the planners they do not see their culture as simply a product to sell to tourists. (In two cases there was clear resentment about a ‘cheapening’ of their culture – in Had Bai because of poor quality weaving being imported and in the DTDP villages when they were asked to ‘dress up’ for the tourists.)
As for participation in planning, there was agreement among all the villagers that this was desirable, and should happen at the beginning of a project, rather than the end. However, closer questioning revealed that the actual value of participation was not considered to be the same in each of the study cases. Villagers in the first two cases had clearly become aware that participation could simply be a form of tokenism, and so they were not really willing to attend meetings if it interfered with their more urgent tasks for making a living, or if it was clear that there would be no outcome because the planners did not actually follow up on their requests. What is more, for cultural and socio-political reasons they did not feel in a position to voice any complaints. The situation was somewhat better in the Jalae study area, but there, like in the other study areas, the people knew that they could not participate properly in real development planning unless they had access to information, and received the education and training necessary to understand what the information means.

It can be concluded that a very sincere effort needs to be made to address these issues, and that lip-service to development and participation will result in disappointing outcomes. The findings in these three case studies support Kline’s argument (1996) that a ‘sustainable community enables people to feel empowered and to take responsibility based on a shared vision, equal opportunity, ability to access expertise and knowledge for their own needs, and a capacity to affect positively the outcome of decisions which affect them’.

“...I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom come responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended.”


CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws together the findings presented in previous chapters and provides a discussion of the implications arising from these findings. The focus of this research has been on two main questions: firstly how ethnic communities perceive the impacts of tourism development that result from differing approaches to tourism planning, and secondly what their perceptions are of the problems and benefits associated with local participation in tourism planning. Suggestions and recommendations for further research are also presented.

9.2 DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

It is not only theoretically difficult to deal with the issue of ‘sustainability’, as discussed in chapter 2, but is also complicated on the ground. The views presented by the different people interviewed and observed in all the villages regarding sustainable tourism development goals were actually remarkably similar, but the practical applications varied considerably from case to case. In the same way there is no simple answer to what the need for ‘empowerment’ in local communities means. The villagers in this study expressed a unanimous desire for more involvement in participation, but in practice their involvement ranged from positive commitment to feelings of apathy and disillusionment, or feelings of insecurity and lack of confidence about participation.

Thus their actual situations varied considerably. The general conclusion to be drawn from all these findings is that there is certainly not one ideal policy approach or model for achieving sustainable tourism development. Therefore, as in other contexts, considerable cultural sensitivity needs to be exercised to get the right balance of development and conservation that will best suit the circumstances of each particular geopolitical situation and the socio-economic condition of the local context, particularly when planning for marginalised minorities of ethnic communities in remote areas of less developed countries like the Mekong regions. The degree of involvement of such
communities will also depend on their different circumstances. To achieve the goal of genuinely effective participation will require the efforts of government policymakers at all levels, as well as NGOs and the local people themselves.

9.2.1 Conflicting Development Goals among Stakeholders

There is often a large gap between the tourism development goals desired by policymakers and those of local ethnic communities. Conflicts of interest between policymakers and local representatives, including minority ethnic groups, are in fact consistent with recent research findings (Burn, 2004; Farrell & Twinning-Ward, 2004; Jamal, 2004; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Butcher, 2003; Light & Rolston, 2003; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Hall 2000). This research and the other researchers suggest that there are complex and dynamic issues involved in achieving common interests among diverse stakeholders in tourism planning, depending on various local contexts, including politics on ethnic minorities by situating them as ‘the other’.

A major finding in this study was that there was a significant difference in the policy priorities desired by local communities and those of policymakers. The latter preferred to develop tourism resources with measurable economic ‘outcomes’ rather than focusing on ‘processes’ and ‘contents’ in preserving or conserving local heritage resources. The results derived from the interviews, focus group discussions and projective picture making, revealed a considerable degree of uniformity in local perceptions of tourism developments in all case study areas. This is despite the three markedly different policy approaches found in each. They indicated that local communities were more anxious to keep their own natural and cultural heritage resources in their villages, while at the same time promoting future tourism development.

This distinction was found to be particularly true in the case of the ‘top-down’ approach, where findings of the survey reveal that policymakers favoured development plans that are likely to be easily implemented (feasible) and can generate a self-evident return from development outcomes, rather than depending on the ‘correctness’ and ‘safety’ criteria of those tourism development plans. In the case of the ‘intermediate’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches, overall findings from the survey show that NGOs can in fact play an effective role as mediators or facilitators to bridge the knowledge gap.
between government policies and the practices of tourism operators, on the one hand, and local residents’ understanding, on the other. To some extent the overall findings from the ‘bottom-up’ approach suggest stronger support for the role of mediators than was apparent in the case study area in the ‘intermediate’ approach, and thus less conflict of interests.

One of the problem areas is that ‘quick economic development fixes’, as desired by policymakers, have the potential to degrade environments as well as introduce undesirable socio-cultural outcomes. Such impacts on socio-cultural aspects (e.g. community issues) and personal aspects (e.g. knowledge, skills, attitudes and willingness) are too frequently ignored because they are not always simply quantifiable. However, these aspects are important and have often been discussed in the context of tourism planning (e.g. Fennell, 2006; Selman, 2004; Singh et al., 2003; Theerapappisit, 2003c; Bushell, 2001; Hall, 2000; Lankford & Howard, 1994; King et al., 1993). The interview data showed that residents had only a vague awareness of the potentially negative impacts of tourism and associated development that may occur in the long run with regard to the natural environmental or social impacts upon their community (see the discussion in Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2.2).

Nevertheless, it appears on the basis of the findings in the case of the ‘bottom-up’ approach (as evidenced in applications of the local NGO projects), that such hidden impacts of tourism development could be manageable. The findings highlight the importance of proactive, adaptive and integrated approaches in bringing about effective improvements in terms of building capacity and the degree of local participation in tourism planning, while minimising adverse impacts on ethnic communities and their environment.

9.2.2 Diverse Perceptions of Tourism Development and Modernity

Wang (2000, p. 214) maintains that ‘tourism is an indicator of the ambivalence of modernity’, while Urry (2000, p. 31) points out that tourism is currently more mobile than ever before, as it flows ‘in and out of different regions, across different boundaries, using diverse networks’ and changes ‘as it goes.’ Both these writers point to the difficulties of any research that attempts to pin down a precise understanding of the inter-relationship between tourism and ‘modern’ society, especially as the situation differs enormously from place to place and is constantly changing in time. Therefore,
the implications and conclusions derived from tourism research will be highly provisional. However, analysis of local perceptions in these three case study villages suggests a number of implications for tourism development and planning policy in the GMS.

In this research, diverse perceptions can be found regarding ‘modernity’ in response to the question about desirable tourism development outcomes. As discussed in chapter 8, for policy-makers, tourism is simply part of the modernity ‘package’ and the benefits that are perceived to flow from this ‘package’ are often measured in purely economic terms. Clearly greater incomes are important, but what villagers want is a mixture of modern and traditional lifestyles where neither threatens the other, and where there is community-level participation in defining this ‘mixture’. The findings from the survey suggest that it is the needs of the tourist industry (as a major investor and player in development) that are inevitably satisfied rather than the needs of the locals.

On the whole, not surprisingly, the findings on perceptions of tourism development derived from the ‘bottom-up’ approach were more positive than those from the other two approaches, particularly in that the ‘bottom-up’ approach has brought significant financial benefits to local people. This has shown that the direct operation of community-based tourism activities by the NGO and the village team could return up to 25 times greater income than that received from reliance upon outside tour operators (see Table 7.3).

**9.3 Ethnic Community Perspectives on Participation**

The similarity of perceptions in the three case study areas is most noticeable in the communities’ attitudes to the nature and quality of their involvement and participation in tourism planning, and in their sense of lack of involvement in projects that are underway. The reasons why this might be so are important to identify because, if these ethnic communities have not felt involved in tourism policy development so far, no matter which of the three policy prescriptions has been applied in their areas, this will contain lessons about the way in which policy has been applied thus far. It might also serve as a guide for developing possible future effective participation strategies, not only in Northern Thailand but perhaps more generally in other ethnic communities in the subregion. Some pitfalls to avoid in future may be learnt.
The research reveals a genuine desire for local participation and involvement and for tourism development to proceed in their areas. The reasons why all three local ethnic communities felt a lack of actual participation in the tourism planning and development processes, regardless of whether they were being exposed to top-down, bottom-up or intermediate policy approaches, emerged from the research presented earlier.

The significant reasons giving rise to the sense of insufficient and ineffective local participation are summarised in order of significance as follows:

- local people had a limited understanding of the importance of participating;
- local people thought that there was inefficient communication, coordination and public relations across various local groups (e.g. women, youth and the elderly);
- with regard to cultural aspects, there was a mindset of it not being ‘their business’, or a reluctance to engage in face-to-face meetings with possible arguments, or the feeling that it was ‘meaningless’ in having a voice, and better to keep quiet;
- local people felt a lack of confidence or certainty about political commitment, fearing bias. This resulted from experience of unfairness in meetings, for example, when there were arrangements for lobby voting with no time for genuine debate;
- local people simply avoided meetings because they felt that they clashed with day-to-day work and farming, or their family commitments.

Importantly, the research shows from the survey of the last case study (the ‘bottom-up’ approach) that, with support from the local NGO, local people have made considerable efforts to participate as part of the tourism development team (see the results of question 3 in Figure 8.1). One of the success factors in this case has been the voluntary involvement of marginalised people (such as youth, women and the elderly), through the fostering of enthusiasm and interest within the community.

On the basis of the results to the questionnaires asking local residents about their perceptions of local participation in their villages, it is apparent that there is a need for the development of a methodology aimed at fostering and encouraging local community involvement, as evidenced by the current inadequate community consultation found in the planning process. Villagers in all three case study areas thought their participation could provide more benefits than problems (question 5) and they strongly agreed that
tourism planning needs local participation (question 1). However, they preferred to become involved in the early stages of decision-making processes rather than waiting until a last minute meeting or having public hearing forums when tourism development plans were already being implemented (question 10).

One of the important factors affecting willingness for local participation is ‘trust’ in future politics. Question 15 in the questionnaire asked local residents whether or not they would agree that trust in future political commitments affects willingness for local participation, and from the results (see Figure 8.1) it is apparent that their willingness to be involved in local participation is correlated to their ‘trust’ in future political commitments. They expressed in the interviews that they needed to be confident that things committed to by government authorities could actually be implemented, or at least be consistently followed up, so that they would not waste their time being involved in the planning process.

Question 8 of the questionnaire asked villagers if they would agree that better understanding and more education about local participation was needed, and in all the case studies it appears that villagers thought there was a lack of support for implementing education and learning processes related to local participation. In response to focus group discussions, the local communities showed awareness of their present educational and cultural limitations in coping with wider Thai or international development pressures, including tourism development, in their region. On the one hand they hungered for more learning and felt that they lack skills and confidence to deal on equal terms with these outside forces, and they saw tourism development as one relatively painless way to acquire those skills and to better themselves. On the other hand they had a quiet resentment that key development decisions made now were being made by others. This was true even in the case of the bottom-up project, run by well meaning NGO personnel without sufficient regard to the conservation of their culture and the natural and built environments. These aspects were reflected in the importance placed on long-term planning by the villagers for future generations, such as multidisciplinary education and skills training to encourage good governance. All of this means that better communication tools are required in promoting local participation.
9.4 Implications of Research Findings

The following are implications based on the research findings in this thesis, which may assist in avoiding some of the problems already apparent in the three case study areas.

Firstly, the proper role of stakeholders other than ‘marketers’ of GMS tourism, such as UNESCO, UNEP, ESCAP, MRC, NESDB, OEPP and NGOs, needs to be recognised and accepted. Large-scale funding decisions will have an enormous impact. Better transportation is a key to all forms of development in rural Thailand. Museums and/or cultural centres, including those that cater for weaving and handicrafts, whether funded from Bangkok or internationally, are perceived as crucial for the protection of traditional crafts and their associated skills. These cultural needs are viewed as an important local response to development; that is, safeguarding local traditions in the face of necessary development and modernisation is recognised as important by all stakeholders.

The question is how such development projects can be integrated with a proper appreciation of host community expectations and needs. For the ‘top-down’ approach, development policies need to be justified, with understanding and respect for the importance of local inputs. For the ‘intermediate’ approach, the needs are sincerity in resolving sensitive issues with transparency and justice. Lastly, for the ‘bottom-up’ approach, more collaboration is needed with, firstly, related government agencies to gain more funding support or/and expert inputs and, secondly, wider local participation to minimise possible tensions among diverse groups of stakeholders.

Secondly, what does this research show about the role of local governments and NGOs that can be applied to similar cases in the GMS destination communities? Local leaders including NGOs and the authorities concerned, such as the Sub-district Administration Office can, first of all, provide adequate enforcement of meaningful local participation in tourism planning. This should be directed towards developing methodology and building capacity to mediate and modify plans in a continuous process of consultation, in line with periodic changes in the political agenda (see the 12-point lessons (Goodlad, 1999) and the five principles of local participation (Healey, 1997) discussed in chapter 3). These responsible bodies should in particular develop adequate economic incentives for local people to become actively involved in the process of
tourism planning and development. This is because, given the situation of their poverty and the necessity to pursue daily farming work, villagers may not otherwise see any personal benefits in becoming involved in tourism-related activities.

Another potentially important contribution from local governments, in the absence of such funding from outside agencies, would be to provide the finances for a cultural information centre in each village (incorporating a souvenir shop, heritage interpretation, museum and community centre) as a major tourist attraction and public facility. Local authorities can also regulate the commercialisation of heritage resources and control visitor numbers, especially in the peak visiting periods of the year. The need for the latter is exemplified by the traffic impact at the Doi Tung Development Project experienced through the ‘intermediate’ approach (see section 6.4 in chapter 6). This means tourism carrying capacity needs to be carefully assessed.

Thirdly, with regard to the initiative of ‘village-based tourism’, where at present only one village is nominated in each region, there are possibilities for future joint discussions and planning with linkages to nearby communities for alternative tourist routes. Such expansion of transportation and attraction networks, linking community-based tourism destinations, would help enhance the experiences of visitors by providing them with greater choices of natural attractions, cultural traditions and artefacts. However, the planning of community-based tourism, either by the public or private sectors, will need to include consideration of the outcomes of impact assessment studies and of strategic plans for future tourism development, and in particular will require effective consultation with both professional and local experts to ensure that the long-term benefits will be desirable for all stakeholders.

Fourthly, the views of the various stakeholders need to be considered to ensure that codes of conduct for tourism practices for different groups of hosts are culturally sensitive. For example, the codes of conduct for foreign tourists visiting Thailand can be produced in the form of guidance material that informs visitors about Thai culture and religions. Such codes of conduct can incorporate the different purposes of tour operators, tourists and local residents in ethnic communities. Many Western visitors are in fact very interested in Buddhism, which is the dominant religion in Thailand, and would appreciate careful information. The continuing strong influence of Buddhist principles and culture in this subregion is demonstrated by the images of Buddhist
temples and stupas in the pictures drawn by children, particularly in the study village of Had Bai where Buddhist culture prevails. However, in the case of other ethnic communities where local people may have a wider range of religions and beliefs, such as Buddhism, Animism, Christianity and secular beliefs, the codes of conduct will need to be adapted with sensitivity and care to share the principles of the various cultural and religious groups.

In addition, there should be trained guides with good English language communication skills as well as good local knowledge to participate in educational programs, in order to encourage tourists to respect the heritage resources in this subregion. The findings from focus group discussions in this study were that they are strongly in favour of this suggestion. The benefit would be for visitors and hosts alike, since traditional skills for young local people can be translated into employment opportunities in the areas of conservation, production of traditional crafts, performing arts and performance of traditional ceremonies. Training from external volunteers, academics and professional agents could be used to assist in such programs.

The above suggestions are very diverse, but targeted tourist destination ethnic communities in the GMS may be able to apply those that are judged to be appropriate to their own local contexts. Possible future programs to be implemented by multi-level authorities could include, for example, training programs for community-based tourism entrepreneurs, cultural resource management and other skills. However, these programs need to be considered with the right blend of local wisdom, skills, attitudes, aptitudes, commitments, and political will to avoid or mitigate what could become undesirable development impacts in the Mekong region resulting from uncontrolled tourism.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the findings of this research, small though the case study areas are, indicate that until now the perceptions of local ethnic communities, have been little recognised by multi-level tourism stakeholders working in the GMS. Local ethnic community perspectives have not been effectively influential in the tourism planning process. As a consequence, these stakeholders are at risk of not applying the principles of sustainable development as expected by Local Agenda 21, and of therefore not achieving sustainable tourism development outcomes. In other words, there have been no significant steps in practice initiated by the GMS
governments towards desirable consensus outcomes through effective tools for assessing tourism development impacts and local participation.

Whatever policies or plans are recommended or implemented, the objective must be to follow a middle path, one that causes the least harm and achieves the greatest benefit for every stakeholder. This means not only the local communities, but the tourists themselves and outside tour operators, since their satisfaction is also necessary for tourism to continue. Such an outcome requires as much information (as opposed to ideology) as possible: for the tourists and operators about the real lives of the host communities, but particularly for those who are the weakest, least articulate, but ultimately most directly affected group – the host communities themselves. This is particularly true of marginalized village communities in developing countries. The conclusion that must be reached by an investigation of the needs and aspirations of such communities is that one size does not fit all. This study demonstrates how a considerable degree of good will and of flexibility in both policy-making and planning is required if the tourism enterprise is to be both ethical and effective in situations such as those covered by this field work.

9.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH AND LESSONS LEARNED

9.5.1 Selection of Case Study Areas

It was an intention from the beginning to find three different case study areas at the same stage of tourism planning and development. The researcher chose all case study areas to be in the early stage of planning for tourism so that there would be high momentum in local responses and enthusiasm for involvement in the new projects. However, this is a limitation of this research since it cannot produce longitudinal timing comparisons of different stages of tourism planning and development. Therefore, there is clearly a need for ongoing research to examine any changes in policy-making and local perceptions that occur over time.

9.5.2 Problems with Computer-based Program

Although applications of the computer software, Strategizer, were translated into the Thai language by the researcher in consultation with the software owner, Dr. Ray Wyatt, some questions still arose. For example, what reliance can we place upon how
appropriately the policymakers who were interviewed weighted their scores, how deep was their understanding of the 10-criteria questions asked for each policy option, and what was their own interpretation of the meaning of the different criteria?

The potential problem is that the ten criteria have been formulated for case studies within western cultures. Some criteria in eastern cultures might well have different definitions or have additional interpretations. For example, the ‘correctness’ of a criterion in a western view may apply only to institutional loyalty, loyalty to the public, and adherence to personal principles. In the GMS countries, where Buddhism permeates the daily lives of most people (about 75%\(^55\) and indeed is a major factor in shaping cultural identity, ‘correctness’ probably means religious loyalty as well (for examples: Swearer, 1995; Jackson, 1989; Sivaraksaka, 1988). Deep religious beliefs may strongly affect planning behaviour or change ways of thinking (for examples: Harvey, 2001; Brazier, 2001; Keown, 2001a, 2001b).

In addition, in Thailand, the active role\(^56\) of the monarchy is reflected in ‘loyal’ attitudes to many key decisions or activities of bureaucrats in government agencies. Therefore, respondents might place great emphasis on the ‘correctness’ criterion in relation to the King’s projects or to developments initiated by the royal family.

9.5.3 Dealing with Social Hierarchies: Hidden Agenda

Thailand is a country that has a long tradition of respecting social hierarchy, and this has had both advantages and disadvantages for Thai society. The positive effect is that most residents respect the village heads and have no problem in attending meetings. However, the negative effect is that they are likely not to display or debate their ideas in public, especially if these might oppose what the leaders believe. Therefore, extended individual interviews were necessary to uncover all insights, especially among key local informants.

\(^{55}\) Based on the latest estimates from the World Evangelization Research Center of the six GMS countries at the website: http://www.bethany.com/profiles/profile1.html (accessed date: 10 June 2003). The average percentages of Buddhists are: 92% in Thailand, 90% in Cambodia, 87% in Myanmar, 75% in Yunnan Province (Southern China), 58% in Laos and 50% in Vietnam.

\(^{56}\) See details in the book entitled ‘Concepts and Theories of His Majesty the King of Development’, (UNDP, 1997).
Involvement in local activities and festivals etc. was essential for obtaining important insights into the local people’s real feelings and understandings about the issues under survey, since they mostly felt uncomfortable about public expressions of their opinions in focus groups or semi-formal interviews. Such informally obtained insights were often more valuable than the formally obtained answers, and needed to be recorded immediately after they were gained to ensure reliability. They are, however, harder to quantify than standard questionnaire surveys.

9.5.4 Dealing with Cross-cultural Translations

Chiang Rai is the most ethnically mixed area of Thailand (see Thirty Tribes in Chiang Rai, Srisavasdi, 1955). While the peaceful and friendly nature of the people makes contact easy, for interpretation through interviews and meetings an on-site interpreter for each local ethnic group was essential in each village. The researcher fortunately had good interpreters who could understand more than one ethnic language and efficiently communicate with both the researcher and various ethnic groups in the villages.

However, although despite the best efforts of the researcher in using local translators and with careful cross-checking of translations, the multiple translations from ethnic languages into Thai and English may possibly change original intended meanings of the respondents. It is also a time consuming and costly process.

9.5.5 Dealing with Diversity in Research Methodology

As discussed in chapter 8, section 8.2, it is clear that this thesis used a variety of research methods in pursuing differing perspectives from various groups of tourism stakeholders. Unfortunately, by its nature, the synthesis of their results can be difficult to achieve, especially when there is a quantitative and qualitative mix of data. It should be noted that this mix of methods is an experiment that can be adjusted or developed for further research to suit individual cases with different contexts and conditions.

9.5.6 Interpretation: Dealing with Bias and Complexity

Bias can occur in the process of data interpretation during and after conducting field studies. Evidence of this was apparent in the frequent repetition of questions while interviewing, even using local interpreters who know both Thai and local languages,
because the researcher did not understand the intended meaning of some answers given by the local people or vice versa.

In focus group workshops, weightings and votes on the degree of importance of each problem and benefit item were very time consuming in order to ensure the accuracy of local understanding. It is also possible that the four analytical domains arose from the researcher’s pre-conceived bias, leading him to expect certain results within these categories. These aspects as reported by local people could in fact be overlapping and difficult to categorise in one main domain, in that one aspect might be linked to other aspects and have multiple effects. For example, the socioeconomic aspect of local employment opportunities includes both economic and social aspects. Therefore, the researcher integrated the quantitative data with qualitative analysis and developed additional ‘overall’ comments as presented in Table 8.4 in chapter 8.

With regard to picture interpretation, although the researcher asked the children to explain their concepts at the end of the projective picture making process, misinterpretation might still be a possibility. Some of the children were shy or could not orally explain the concepts of what they had drawn. The researcher then had to point to each figure in the image and ask for their conceptual ideas in a way that they would feel more comfortable to explain.

The results from interviewing 13 top-level policymakers with the Strategizer computer software implied that sole reliance upon a quantitative-oriented approach would not be sufficient. The empirical research results in Chapters 5–7 revealed that the inputs from local representatives were significant; this was necessary to establish whether or not local perceptions would be different from what the policymakers or planners desired.

9.5.7 Research Ethics

There could also be ‘conflicts of interest’ between the researcher and local communities; it was therefore necessary to work together with the ethical principles of altruism and sincerity. Obstacles at the planning stage could result in detrimental effects on the community. Consequently, ‘trust’ building and commitment to work in the future for local interests or benefit affects the willingness of local people to respond or
participate in action research activities. There should be a continuous communication with the key local informants to update them or to exchange information and ideas.

9.6 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this research confirm the assumption that conflicts of interest are a fundamental problem in the tourism planning process. There is obviously a need to alleviate these conflicts of interest, and varying forms and degrees of ‘tokenism’ participation in the planning process (as discussed in chapter 3). The resolution of such conflicts will depend on a greater degree of sensitivity and understanding from those holding the most power.

In relation to such concerns, the issue of ethics and its crucial role in planning tourism in the light of the complexities of the ‘sustainability’ concept has been increasingly addressed in the literature (as strongly suggested by Fennell & Malloy, 2007, Fennell, 2006; Macbeth, 2005; Jamal, 2004; Smith & Duffy, 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 2003 and Hall, 2000, to name a few), but a review of literature on tourism and ethics has yielded little in the way of non-Western ethical decision-making systems. For this reason the researcher has been pursuing the prospect of the application of Buddhist ethics as a planning tool to minimise conflicts in the GMS (Theerapappisit 2006; 2004; 2003). That concept has not been researched for this study, and the data so far does not provide any evidence about the validity of that concept. Nevertheless, it is a proposal that is worthy of further investigation, particularly in the context of the GMS, since most persons in this part of the world would have an understanding from their common Buddhist traditions that human conflict and self-interest is the human norm that can be overcome by employing shared values of Buddhist ethics (Tucker & Williams, 1997; Silva, 1998). Basic moral codes of Buddhism represent a common ground of core values for people in this subregion who are involved in the processes towards sustainable development.

Because of the generic nature of this approach based as it is on general ethical principles, it is important to note that this suggested Buddhist ethical framework may well have some application to the planning processes of wider development fields not limited to tourism. The processes in developing this ethical framework as a model of ethical decision-making involve multiple consultations amongst all diverse stakeholders
through various aspects of concept formulation, planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and/or enforcement of such codes. Their application to development issues outside tourism is beyond the scope of this research however, and will not be further developed here.

This concept or philosophy could go well together with the growing trend towards a philanthropic approach to tourist destination communities, such as the pro-poor tourism concept discussed in chapter 2, that covers local needs and wants or interests of not just the ethic minority groups but also women, the elderly and children. It has been argued that despite a growing trend towards advocacy of this approach, it remains the case that most influential international organisations, as well as governments worldwide, follow a largely neoliberal laissez-faire approach to poverty alleviation with its implicit growth-bias, where strategies are judged as pro-poor if they deliver net benefits to ‘the poor’ even if ‘the rich’ benefit disproportionately (Schilcher, 2007, p. 166). For such approach in less developed countries, there could be governance issues in developing pro-poor tourism such as corruption, transparency and accountability as identified by Coles and Hall (2008, p. 277).

Hall (2007b, p. 114) also critiques pro-poor tourism as being another form of neo-liberalism that fails to address the structural reasons for the north-south divide, as well as internal divides within developing countries. Schilcher (2007) eventually argues that there is a need to shift policy from the neoliberal approach of growth to the concept of ‘equity’ focusing on practical solutions to the questions of empowerment of the poor — both at a national and local level (p.185). Successful pro-poor tourism relies, to a large extent, on the altruism of non-poor tourism stakeholders to move the industry towards increasing benefits along with reducing the costs for the poor (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p. 140).

Therefore, if these challenges are to be met, the tourism sector will have to increasingly contribute to the GMS vision that comprehensively in concept aims to balance goals and implementation budgets between achieving social and environmental goals such as sustainable community development, poverty reduction, gender equality, cultural heritage conservation and environmental sustainability, and the economic goals of tourism infrastructure development, product development and marketing strategies. Thus, whilst the concept of pro-poor tourism appears to hold promise as an approach to
equitably balancing the needs of the local communities and other stakeholders, it remains to be seen whether it can be developed into something more than rhetorical cover for ‘business as usual’.

Follow up research into the later outcomes of the three different policy approaches would also obviously yield important information about how effective each one is, and whether a balance between the conflicting pressures of modern society, of extended tourism, and of the practical, social and personal needs of the communities is being achieved.

In the end, whether the Mekong riparian nations will achieve their ambitious aims depends less on economic or financial factors than on the political will of the aforementioned multi-level bodies to balance their differing goals. Most importantly, tourism will not be a positive force unless the multi-level bodies have the wisdom to embrace or incorporate the values of local ethnic communities as an integral part of a new set of shared values based on ethical principles guiding their approaches to exploiting this major and valuable resource for change and development.

* * *
Peoples of the Mekong who cultivate their spirit of water-based settlements through history need the ability to see themselves as not simply citizens of the subregion but as human beings bound to all others by ethical values of morality, wisdom, holism, dynamism, causality, nonviolence and sufficiency.

Reinvigorating Mekong River Life

P e a c e t h r o u g h T o u r i s m

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Computer Program – ‘Strategizer’

Appendix B: Questionnaire Local Residents

Appendix C: Participant Observation and Informal Interviews

Appendix D: Focus Group Discussions
APPENDIX A: COMPUTER PROGRAM—STRATEGIZER

Four groups of interviewees (13 persons), who responded to the Strategizer program, are as follows:

1. Central Government Officials (five persons):
   - National Economic and Social Development Board: Assistant Secretary-General, Dr. Pornchai Rujiprapa, overlooking development plans in the Greater Mekong Subregion areas (regional economic cooperation; e.g. border town project)
   - Tourism Authority of Thailand: Governor, Mr. Paradech Phayakvichien
   - Tourism Authority of Thailand: Deputy Governor (Planning), Mr. Santichai Euachangprarisit
   - National Cultural Centre [Ministry of Education]: Active Researcher, Dr. Kasak Taekhanmark (an expert in cultural identity and local culture)
   - Faculty of Social Science, Chiang Mai University: Lecturer and Researcher, Assistant Professor Usdanka Porananond [with backgrounds of geography and urban studies, and tourism research experiences in the GMS]

2. Local Government Officials (five persons):
   - Chiang Rai Governor, Mr. Samroeng Poonyopakorn
   - Department of Town and Country Planning, Chiang Rai Office: Director, Mr. Ekadul Paomsehma
   - Tourism Authority of Thailand, Northern Office: Region 2: Director, Mr. Phanom Kaributra
   - Chiang Rai Hilltribe Development and Welfare Centre: Director, Mr. Worakij Ruengcharoern
   - Chiang Saen District Office: Head, Mr. Manas Sookantika

3. Local NGOs (two persons):
   - Mae Pha Luang Foundation: Secretariat and Head of Doi Tung Development Project, M.R. Disnasad Disakul
   - Population & Community Development Association: Chiang Rai Branch Director, Mr. Songnam Ritwanna

4. Local Private Sector (one person):
   - Chiang Rai Chamber of Commerce: President, Mr. Anan Laothamatas
Figure A.1: Strategizer Program on Computer Screen with 10 Criteria
Figure A.2: Relationship Diagrams of Option Desirability and Criterion Score

Note: This is a data output derived from responses of 13 policymakers and planners using the Strategizer program. The diagram shows the relationship between option desirability and criterion score, as given by the correlation coefficient between ‘r’ scores (consistency) and ‘slope’ scores (definiteness) across the ten assessment criteria.
APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL RESIDENTS

Name of Community:…………………………………………..Survey Date:………………
Village:……………………..Sub-District:……………………..District:…………………..

Hello my name is Poll and I’m a student looking at tourism planning in your community. Do you live in this community? Are you willing to answer a few questions on this matter? The interview will take about 30 minutes.

A. COMMUNITY PROFILE

Q1 How long have you lived in this community?
☐ Less than 12 months ☐ 1 – 5 years ☐ 6 – 10 years
☐ 11 – 20 years ☐ More than 20 years

Q2 How much contact in a year through work or other activities do you have with visitors or tourists to your community? (Please specify types of your jobs)
☐ None ☐ Very Little (1-5 times) ………………………………...
☐ Some (6-12 times)………………………………………………...
☐ Frequent (12-24 times)…………………………………………...
☐ Most Frequent (>24 times)…………………………………………

Q3 What are the things that tourists come to see or experience in your area? Please give some examples and identify what is the most popular one?

1………………………………………………………………
2………………………………………………………………
3………………………………………………………………
4………………………………………………………………
5………………………………………………………………

Q4 From the answer of question 3, could you please rank significance in relation to your community identity? Please give some reasons according to your decision. (VI= Very Important, I= Important, N= Neutral, LI= Low Important, U= Unimportant, DK= don’t know)

…… 1, because………………………………………………………………
…… 2, because………………………………………………………………
…… 3, because………………………………………………………………
…… 4, because………………………………………………………………
…… 5, because………………………………………………………………

B. LOCAL NEEDS AND PERCEPTIONS

Q5 Do you think you personally benefit from the tourism industry in any way?
☐ Yes, how?………………………………………………………………
☐ No, because………………………………………………………………

Q6 Do you think there is a need for any improvements in tourism attractions in your community?
…… Yes (Please specify top-three needs of improvement and reasons)
1………………………………………………………………
Reason/s………………………………………………………………

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Q7 What major changes do you think tourism has caused or will potentially cause to local resources and attractions in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Impacts</th>
<th>Negative Impacts</th>
<th>Suggestions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Economic Aspect;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Environmental Aspect;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Socio-cultural Aspect;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Personal Aspect;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM PLANNING

Q8 The following set of statements has been designed to gauge your overall opinion on local participation in tourism planning. Please indicate which response fits most closely to your opinion.

SD = Strongly Disagree, D = Disagree, N = Neutral,
A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree, DK = Don’t Know
a. Tourism planning in your area needs local participation.
   Reason:………………………………………………

b. You have no input in tourism planning in your community.
   Reason:………………………………………………

c. The current level of local participation in tourism planning in your community is very good.
   Reason:………………………………………………

d. More diverse representation of interest groups is needed to participate in tourism planning in your community.
   Reason:………………………………………………

e. Local participation in tourism planning could bring more benefits to your community than problems.
   Reason:………………………………………………

f. More satisfaction about shared benefits for all groups results from local participation in tourism planning.
   Reason:………………………………………………

g. Economic benefit is the most important incentive for encouraging local participation.
   Reason:………………………………………………

h. Better understanding/education about local participation in tourism planning is needed.
   Reason:………………………………………………

i. Better consideration in respect to place and time for local participation is needed in your community.
   Reason:………………………………………………

j. Local residents should have more involvement in the early stages of decision-making process in tourism planning.
   Reason:………………………………………………

k. More accessibility of information for local participation in your community is needed.
   Reason:………………………………………………

l. All the conflicts amongst different groups of tourism stakeholders in your community make local participation more difficult to achieve.
   Reason:………………………………………………

m. External influences are more important than internal influences on local participation in tourism planning in your community.
   Reason:………………………………………………

n. Increasing local negotiation power with external bodies should be one of the most important tasks for local participation.
   Reason:………………………………………………

o. Trust in future political commitment affects willingness of local residents to participate in tourism planning.
   Reason:………………………………………………

p. Increasing social networks & understanding among stakeholders resulting from local participation in tourism planning is important.
   Reason:………………………………………………
D. THE FUTURE PROSPECTS

Q9 The tourism planning study of Asian Development Bank in 1998 forecast that the number of visitors in your province would be increasing. Many areas in Chiang Rai will be promoted as tourism destinations. As a local resident in one of these destinations, did you know about this plan before?

☐ Yes, how? (by whom/ which media?).................................................................
Acknowledged timeframe: since........................................................................
Have any public participation activities been done?.....If yes, how often & many times?....
☐ No. Have you heard any other plans/projects?................................................

Q10 How should local residents be involved in decision-making processes related to tourism planning?
......No (Pass to question 12)
If yes, please explain in more detail; (See probes at the end of questionnaire)
1.................................................................
2........................................................................
3........................................................................
4........................................................................
5........................................................................

Q11 From answers of question 10, please rank in order of importance (1 being the most important task and 5 being the least important task)
1........................................................................
2........................................................................
3........................................................................
4........................................................................
5........................................................................

Q12 What advice would you give to improve local participation in tourism planning in your community? Please give some examples.
1........................................................................
2........................................................................
3........................................................................

E. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Q13 Could you please indicate which age category you fall into?
☐ Less than 20  ☐ 21-30  ☐ 31-40  ☐ 41-50  ☐ More than 50
Is interviewee male or female? ...... Male ...... Female

Q14 What is your level of education? (none/ primary/ high school/ undergraduate/ postgraduate)

Q15 Would you be willing to participate in a future stage of this research?
......Yes ......No
If yes, what is your contact address?........................................................................

THANK YOU VERY MUCH for your cooperation
Probes for interviewing question 3, 6, 7, 10 and 13

Q3 What are the top-three local resources and attractions associated with tourism in your community? (What are the things that tourists come to see or experience in your area? And what is the most popular one?)

**Cultural resource:**
.....Food (diversity in local/morning market, cooking know-how/taste, etc.)
.....Costume (unique patterns/colours of traditional-style costumes, decorating accessories)
.....Health care/treatment (traditional medicine treatment techniques/knowledge, health products)
.....Occupation/ways of life (skills/ know-how in agriculture, paddy field, orchard, fishing, forestry, planting, weaving, sculpturing, pottery, etc.)
.....Religious belief/custom/tradition (ritual, traditional ceremony/dance/festival/music, etc.)
.....Language & literature (both verbal & writing)

**Natural resources:**
.....Traditional architecture (monument, vernacular house, local museum, traditional building)
.....Historic sites/art objects (Buddhist temple, archaeological sites, city wall, etc.)
.....Accommodation and facilities (hotel/resort/guesthouse, sport/recreation facilities, etc.)
.....Natural scenery (mountain, forest, river, water fall, beach, streetscape, etc.)
.....Climate (cold weather, fresh air)

**Human resources:**
.....Local informants (respectable elder, monk, local historian/artist/philosopher/expert, etc.)
.....Philanthropy/friendship (smiling/supporting/helping/negotiable/compromising manner)
.....Interactive learning/participation (learning together, joining activities between host-guest)

Q.6 Do you think there is a need for any improvements in tourism resources and attractions in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Needs (Aspects)</th>
<th>Improvements (Facilities/Activities)</th>
<th>Physical/Legal/Spiritual Development</th>
<th>Timeframe (S/M/L)</th>
<th>Public Relations (Need to promote?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic capital; e.g. physical investment, marketing networks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental capital; e.g. conservation of natural resources/landscape, etc.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital; e.g. skill training, education, community involvement/empowerment</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human capital/cultural resources; e.g. indigenous knowledge, local wisdom)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q.7 What major changes do you think tourism has caused or will potentially cause to local resources and attractions in your community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspects</th>
<th>Impacts (past-present-future)</th>
<th>Suggestions/Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic; e.g. increase family income (how much?), employment, investment, cost/standard of living? more commercial/industrial development facilities, activities, infrastructure? lose/increase land price/value and ownership? (any related real estate speculation?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecological/environmental; e.g. pollution/conservation in natural resources? (air, noise, water, waste, visual), traffic density, loss/increase of green space, quality of parks/ecosystem/recreation areas?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-cultural; e.g. lose/reinforce indigenous knowledge, religious, cultural activities, crime rate, community recognition, local involvement, family/social relationship/competitiveness? commercialise/strengthen local cultures, traditions? (changing ways of life/skills for tourism?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal; e.g. lose/balance/increase stress(in commitments) phobia, sense of security, aggression, hostility, conflicts of interest, individualism, moral ethics, spirit, friendship, sense of power/control, freedom/pride/happiness?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.10 How should local residents be involved in decision-making processes related to tourism planning?

- Promoting community meetings/discussions; how? .............................................................
- Objecting to undesirable tourism development facilities and activities; how? .............................
- Making their views known to public agencies; how? ...............................................................
- Surveying/monitoring tourism changes from time to time; how? ................................................
- Networking with various groups of tourism stakeholders; how? .............................................
- Leaving to planners, policy-makers, decision-makers; why? ....................................................
- Other ideas ..................................................................................................................................
Q.13 What advice would you give to improve **local participation** in tourism planning? (Please give **top three** of the **most important** factors for improvement)

- Public relations/ campaigns (how?)
- Public hearings (how?)
- Education (how?)
- Skill training (what skills?)
- Initiate more activities (what activities?)
- Building trust/ accountability/ equal decision-making power among various groups of tourism stakeholders (how?)
- Partnerships/ profit sharing (how?)
- Networking with both internal & external bodies in different levels (how?)
- Other ideas...

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APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION AND INFORMAL INTERVIEWS

The following summary lists problems and benefits of local participation in tourism planning and development synthesised from what local villagers expressed in informal interviews and also from collective observations of the researcher (fieldwork in 2001).

Problems of local participation
1. At individual level (of local people):
   • Wasting time interfering with occupational or economic activities.
   • Reluctance to engage in face-to-face meetings with people with whom they are uncomfortable.
   • Preferring to do something else; for example watching television and so on (not in a good mood for this ‘boring’ job).
   • No friends/close neighbourhood to join/go along to the meeting place.
   • No invitation from the family leader to groups of children, women and old people.
   • Lack of understanding of importance of local participation.

2. At community level:
   • Inefficient communication/no coordination in involving various groups in participation.
   • Lack of public relations or too late announcement (there has not been information well in advance).
   • Insufficient/unclear information in meeting agenda.
   • Disagreement over meeting place and time.
   • Feelings of ‘meaninglessness’ in having a voice (better to keep quiet, have no idea/feedback).
   • Fear to face heated arguments/having strong discussions with powerful persons.

3. External influences:
   • Bias/unfairness of meeting arrangements; e.g. dominant voting system or hurried conclusions without enough brainstorming/discussion.
   • Uncertainty or no commitment regarding political issues; e.g. lack of trust in existing politics (no transparency).
   • Unsatisfactory previous outcomes after meeting participation.
   • Weather; e.g. too cold, too hot, rain.

Benefits of local participation
1. At Individual level:
   • Updating news/information that might lead to better future decisions.
   • Feeling good to be a part of community development (sense of belonging).

2. At Community level:
   • Reunion/having a chance to share information with neighbourhood households.
   • Social meeting is a chance to exchange ideas/learn more knowledge from others.
   • Having a chance to find the common interests/shared benefits of all stakeholders.

3. External influences:
   • Extending networks/connecting business with various groups/making credits.
   • More confidence in the future impacts/trends; e.g. political commitments.
APPENDIX D: ‘FOCUS GROUP’ DISCUSSIONS

Section 1: Pre-meeting

A. Discussion with various groups of local representatives

(i) Pre-discussion, introducing the research study with village leader/respectable elders in the local communities for advice of appropriate date, time and place for the meeting;
(ii) Setting-up meeting at which most of key local informants could be available (normally in the evening at 6-7pm after dinner);
(iii) Making appointment with local interpreter;
(iv) Announcement: informing residents in the villages via local public speaking systems to village committees who had been involved in relevant aspects of community development. Ordinary local villagers who would be interested in discussing and voting for future tourism development in their village were also included. Since most of the village committees comprise males who could have dominated the meeting, the village leader’s announcement encouraged other groups such as women, youth and elders to participate; and
(v) Making sure that all necessary equipment will be available at the meeting place such as electricity, writing board, sufficient seats and appropriate space for discussion. Stationary is also important such as different-colour marker pens, map/s, hard papers to sketch ideas/feedback and scotch-tape to paste on the board, and paper for confidential vote (in the event that anyone asked). Sometimes, small soft drinks and tokens for kids may be needed during the break time.

Section 2: Warming-up with informal discussion

To start the meeting, it is necessary to make the discussion atmosphere as comfortable as possible with an introduction of the research study described in a plain language with a friendly manner. A local interpreter is necessary to make sure that all audiences will know what is going on and fully understand what they have to do in further steps. Tape recordings with their permission are used to keep conversation/dialogue as smooth as possible, especially when interaction is needed. More importantly, the language used in the meeting was mixed according to various ages of local villagers. Some of them prefer to communicate in their own language (normally from older people who rarely speak Thai).

B. Community profile and tourism impacts

1. How have tourism planning and development projects in your community been established? Please specify any initiatives from international organizations, government authorities, NGO and private sector.

2. What are the existing local resources and attractions associated with tourism in your community? Which one is the most popular? Please also discuss the potential ones.

3. Have any changes affected your community in resources associated with tourism since formation of your ‘community-based tourism’\textsuperscript{57} initiatives? Please explain and give examples of both positive and negative effects in terms of economic, environmental, social and personal changes before and after the tourism initiatives.

\textsuperscript{57} Taong-Tauey Chum Chon in Thai plain language.
4. How did you individually and your whole community in general deal with the above changes? Please give some examples.

C. Roles of various groups of tourism stakeholders

5. What tourism stakeholder groups exist in your community? Who are the leaders and coordinators?

6. What are their roles in tourism planning and/or decision-making, in terms of economic, ecological, social and personal factors?

7. How successful have the groups been so far?

D. Understanding of community-based tourism and local participation

NOTE: This section could be an option if there was enough time, otherwise these following four questions could be discussed via informal talks later on, OR while conducting interviews following questionnaires.

8. What is the meaning of ‘community’ (chum-chon in Thai) in your understanding? In terms of:
   - Geographical location (If possible, please identify on map)
   - Socio-economic networks/ cohesion (communities of diverse interest; e.g. housewives, various ethnic groups, agricultural community, religious/ cultural groups, etc.)

9. What is your understanding of community-based tourism (Taong-Tauey Chum Chon)?

10. How important is local participation in the decision-making processes? Why?

11. Should you or your community improve the consistency and frequency of participation activities? Why?

12. Do you think that one of the benefits of local participation in community tourism planning is to balance conflicts of interest between various groups of tourism stakeholders? How? Please give some examples.

13. Have you applied any ethical principles to balance those conflicts? If yes, how?

E. Problems and benefits of local participation

14. What are the problems of local participation in tourism planning in your community? Please give some examples. Sketch their ideas into 4 aspects on the board (economic, environmental, sociocultural and personal aspects).

15. Please discuss the causes and possibilities for improvements of each problem mentioned in question 14.

16. Please discuss the levels of importance to those problems of local participation in tourism planning.

17. In your view, what are the benefits of local participation in tourism planning? Please give some examples (following the same steps as ‘problems’ in local participation).
18. Please discuss the *causes* and *possibilities for improvements* of each benefit mentioned in question 16.

19. Please discuss *levels of importance* to those *benefits* of local participation in tourism planning.

**Section 3: Break time**

Respondents will have a break time of 10-15 minutes. Further questions/clarifications were also asked during this period. The time was also used by the researcher and his assistant for:

- Grouping the items of each aspect from all findings of problems (negative impacts) and benefits (positive impacts) in tourism development; and
- Writing down the key words of all items on large-size hard paper. The letters should be in a readable manner with spare space around.

**Section 4: Synthesis**

**F. Vote for levels of importance raised in the meeting**

- Discuss for editing all written items of problems and benefits.
- Discuss for possible additional items.
- Individual vote — each participant has to vote one of three levels representing their importance of each item. (3 = most important, 2 = very important, 1 = important)
- The vote will be open (raising hand when each item is asked in each level of importance). Counting those votes will need to be done carefully.

**G. Future prospects**

20. What criteria will you use for making decisions to continue your participation to commitment in tourism planning? Why?

21. Will your community build-up its own tourism services? How could your community join tourism services with other partners, especially from the private sector?

**Section 5: Summary**

22. Summary from discussions. Do you have any additional comments/ suggestions?

Informing all respondents how their input will be used in the research with confidentiality and anonymity. Summary of the meeting will be done in a form of report in the Thai language and will be given to the local leader for further reference.

Appreciation for their time and effort for the input should be done at the end of the meetings.
APPENDIX E: SUMMARY REPORTS OF FOCUS GROUP MEETINGS (IN THAI)

These three summary reports of the findings from focus group meetings were submitted in the Thai language to responsible local authorities such as the Sub-district Offices and the Village Committees. They were also sent to the Tourism Authority of Thailand, Doi Tung Development Project Office and the Mirror Cultural Art Centre according to its relevant case study areas of ‘top-down’, ‘intermediate’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to tourism planning, respectively.

Dates of the meetings in the three case study areas are as follows:

Dec.5–20, 2000: Case Study # 1 (‘Top-down’ Approach), Had Bai Village
Dec.21, 2000 to Jan.13, 2001: Case Study # 2 (‘Intermediate’ Approach), Villages of Si Lung, Li Che and Pangnun Pattana
Jan.17–Feb.3, 2001: Case Study # 3 (‘Bottom-up’ Approach), Cha Lae Village

Summary Report for the Case Study # 1: Had Bai Village

บ้านหาดบ้า
รายงานประชุมประชาชน หัวข้อ “การวางแผนพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวบ้านหาดบ้า”

สถานที่: วัดหาดบ้า (อัตราบประมาณ 2 ต่อ 2), อัตราชิ้นของ จังหวัดเชียงราย
วันเริ่มต้น: 8 ธันวาคม 2543
เวลา: 20.00 – 23.00 น.
ผู้เข้าร่วมประชุม: 36 คน (ประมาณห้าที่นั่งต่ำกว่า)
ผู้ร่วมท้าทายและมีความคิดเห็น: 26 คน
ผู้นำการประชุม: ฉันทมิตสุข ศิริพงษ์พิชญ์ และ นายไตรศุลรักษ์ โรงสระชา

หัวข้อ/ประเด็น ในที่ประชุม

1. ทรัพยากรที่สำคัญ ต้องดูสอดคล้องกับจุดยืน
2. การท่องเที่ยวในชุมชนบ้านหาดบ้าควรเป็นอย่างไร
3. ประเด็นใหญ่ที่มีในญี่ปุ่นเป็นจุดยืน
4. ผลประโยชน์ในอนาคตที่จะพัฒนาตามการท่องเที่ยว

จุดประสงค์ในการประชุมครั้งนี้

เพื่อเป็นฐานข้อมูลความต้องการของกลุ่มตัวแทนประชาชนภายในญี่ปุ่น หลักฐานเพื่อให้เกิดการวางแผนพัฒนาชุมชนที่ท่องเที่ยว และกำหนดการทำงานที่เหมาะสม การตัดสินใจทางการท่องเที่ยว ตามที่ผู้รับผิดชอบได้กำหนดระยะทางการรถท้องถิ่นสมบูรณ์ รอบด้าน ด้านการท่องเที่ยว และในอนาคตที่จะมีการพัฒนาและมีการท่องเที่ยวอยู่ในประเทศไทย ประจำปี 2541 ได้เป็นเหตุการณ์ที่สำคัญของสังคม ประวัติศาสตร์ ที่นับถือ 6 ประเทศ คือ จีนลงตัวได้, พยัคฆ์, ฮาน, ไทย, จีน, และเวียดนาม
1. ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น (ต่อจากด้านล่าง)

1.1 ด้านวัฒนธรรมประเพณี
- การแต่งกายแบบไทยดั้งเดิม คือ ผู้หญิงมุ่งซื้อค้าในบ้าน ผู้ชายจะไปทำการเกษตร
- ภาษาพื้นบ้าน (ไทยและ ไทยเชื้อ) ทั้งภาษาพื้นบ้าน ภาษาเขมร
- ดนตรี การอ่านพิธี การไหว้ ฯลฯ
- อาหาร เช่น ข้าวมันปิ้ง, น้ำพริกน้ำหนัก, กะปิ (สาหร่ายหนัก)

1.2 ด้านวัฒนธรรมการศึกษา
- แผ่นดินของ, หน้าผู้รู้วุฒิ (หน้าผู้ได้รับขั้นหน้ารัก)
- ประเทศไทยชั้นเกษตรกรรม (หน้าผู้พ่อ พ่อผู้แม่) ที่มีมาตรฐานการศึกษา (ด้านการพื้นฐาน, ภาษาสมบัติ, ความสามารถ)
- ความชื่นชม การสะดวกสบาย, การเรียนรู้ดี (เทคโนโลยีที่ดี) โดยเสนาสนะชั้นสูง ความชื่นชมดี

2. การท่องเที่ยวในจุดนั้นนี้ (ความคิดเห็นที่ได้จากการสัมภาษณ์)

2.1 ด้านเศรษฐกิจ
- สนับสนุนกิจกรรมที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการท่องเที่ยว ตลาด, งานท้องถิ่น
- อาหารไทย (เนื้อสุก, ข้าวสุก, จานต่างๆ)

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3. ประเด็นปัญหาภายในมูบันเป็นปัจจุบัน

3.1 ปัญหาด้านเศรษฐกิจ สามารถสรุปได้ว่า ปัญหาใหญ่ๆ ดังต่อไปนี้

- ปัญหามาตรการทางการคลังของดินแดน (อิสราเอลของชาวยิว)

* ขาดตลาด
  - ขาดตลาดผลิตภัณฑ์ที่มีอยู่และผลิตภัณฑ์ที่ผลิต
  - ขาดตลาดผลิตภัณฑ์ที่มีอยู่และผลิตภัณฑ์ที่ผลิต
  - ขาดตลาดผลิตภัณฑ์ที่มีอยู่และผลิตภัณฑ์ที่ผลิต

* ขาดตลาดผลิตภัณฑ์ที่มีอยู่และผลิตภัณฑ์ที่ผลิต

* ขาดตลาดผลิตภัณฑ์ที่มีอยู่และผลิตภัณฑ์ที่ผลิต
3.4 ปัญหาด้านสังคมและศิลปวัฒนธรรม

- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนที่อยู่อาศัย เช่น ห้องนอน ห้องพัก
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนอาหาร เช่น อาหารไม่เพียงพอ
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนการศึกษา เช่น ไม่มีสถานที่เรียนรู้
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนสุขภาพ เช่น ไม่มีการรักษาพยาบาล
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรธรรมชาติ เช่น ไม่มีทรัพยากรธรรมชาติที่เหมาะสม
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางการเงิน เช่น ไม่มีแหล่งเงินทุน
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางการศึกษา เช่น ไม่มีโรงเรียน
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางสังคม เช่น ไม่มีกลุ่มเพื่อน

3.3 ปัญหาด้านสังคมและศิลปวัฒนธรรม

- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนที่อยู่อาศัย เช่น ห้องนอน ห้องพัก
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนอาหาร เช่น อาหารไม่เพียงพอ
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนการศึกษา เช่น ไม่มีสถานที่เรียนรู้
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรธรรมชาติ เช่น ไม่มีทรัพยากรธรรมชาติที่เหมาะสม
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางการเงิน เช่น ไม่มีแหล่งเงินทุน
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางการศึกษา เช่น ไม่มีโรงเรียน
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางสังคม เช่น ไม่มีกลุ่มเพื่อน

3.2 ปัญหาด้านสังคมและศิลปวัฒนธรรม

- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนที่อยู่อาศัย เช่น ห้องนอน ห้องพัก
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนอาหาร เช่น อาหารไม่เพียงพอ
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนการศึกษา เช่น ไม่มีสถานที่เรียนรู้
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรธรรมชาติ เช่น ไม่มีทรัพยากรธรรมชาติที่เหมาะสม
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางการเงิน เช่น ไม่มีแหล่งเงินทุน
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางการศึกษา เช่น ไม่มีโรงเรียน
- ปัญหาการขาดแคลนทรัพยากรทางสังคม เช่น ไม่มีกลุ่มเพื่อน
ผลการปฐมทูต
พุทธศักราช ปี 2564 ได้เดินทางไปที่ประเทศจีน เพื่อท่องเที่ยวตามเส้นทางที่ตั้งไว้ในกรอบเวลาที่มีอยู่ ซึ่งได้รับความเชื่อมั่นในการขับเคลื่อน และวัฒนธรรมไทยในนั้น ได้รับความยินดีจากพระภิกษุโยธัน (นักมานะสุทธิโพธิ์ เพื่อไม่ทำลายศูนย์ความรู้ในทุ่่มฐาน)**

4 ผลประโยชน์ในอนาคต (โดยเฉพาะในการพัฒนาทางเที่ยว)

4.1 ด้านเศรษฐกิจ

- ร้านค้าพื้นัง ที่ทำการไทย (ทั้งแบบรวมกลุ่มและท่องเที่ยว)
- ตลาดนัดชุมชน
- ศาลสังคม
- ศาลยังไงก็เป็น
- ชมรมพื้นถิ่น
- ชมรมผลิตภัณฑ์ท้องถิ่น
- ชมรมการสื่อสารกับประชาชน
- ชมรมการบริการทั่วไป
- ชมรมการเข้าถึง
- ชมรมกรณี
- แปลกที่การเกษตรแบบผสมผสาน ตามโครงการพระราชทาน

ข้อกำหนดเพิ่มเติม

- นิยามที่มีการตั้งข้อให้ชุมชนท้องถิ่นมีราษฎรภาพรวม (ร่วมกัน ชาวบ้านทุกส่วนทั้งผู้ดูแล ประชาชน แม่น้ำ ท้องถิ่น และพระสงฆ์ เป็นสมาชิก) โดยมีการกิจกรรมท้องถิ่นอย่างต่อเนื่อง โดยจะต้องมีการ ประสานงานกับ หน่วยงานต่างๆ และสื่อสารมวลชน ทุกเวลา เพื่อการ ผสมผสานข้อมูลและ ขาดข้อมูลเพิ่ม ทั้งระดับประเทศและ
- หัวข้อหลักการสำคัญที่ต้องปฏิบัติ (ทั้งประเด็นในส่วนรวม รวมถึงตัวอย่างที่เป็นไปได้) ที่มีความสุข ประชาชนทุกกลุ่มทั่วไป ในการบริหารราชการท้องถิ่น
- การพัฒนาจากมุมติองค์การของตนเอง ในแต่ละท้องที่ มีการกิจกรรมการของชาวบ้านโดยรวม มาจากการใช้ประโยชน์ของบ้านและโดยต้องมีการส่งผลให้การแก้ไขปัญหาใน โครงการที่ไม่เป็นไป (เป็น
- ความต้องการของชาวบ้าน)
- ชุมชนกลุ่มต่างๆ ความมีอิทธิพลสามารถอย่างน้อย 3 คน (ที่ช่วยจากกลุ่มท้องถิ่น) ดูแลอย่างราบรื่น กระจาย อย่างโปร่งใส สามารถใช้ ให้ประชาชนตรวจสอบได้ทุกกลุ่ม

4.2 ด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม

- พืชผลการบริหารป่าไม้ และพืชไร่ ของการเกษตรซึ่งเป็นรายบุคคลและจัดหาวัสดุอย่างมีส่วนผสมทุกปี
- การจัดการชุมชน ทั้งในที่พัก ที่จัดกิจกรรม เกี่ยวกับการพื้นฐานทางการเงิน อย่างต่อเนื่อง ระหว่างกิจกรรม ที่ต้องดำเนินเป็นอย่างที่จะพัย
- ขยายป่า (รวมทั้งพื้นที่ชุมชน) ซึ่งเป็นการรักษา ที่อยู่อาศัยรวม ทั่วไปที่เป็นวัสดุทางการเงิน
- ส่งเสริมการปลูกต้นไม้ ท้องถิ่น
- ส่งเสริมการพัฒนาและจัดการ ใกล้เคียงกับบ้าน ท้องถิ่นและผู้ท้องถิ่น
- ส่งเสริมการรัฐวิสาหกิจ ที่มีการดำเนินการ หรือเป็นการที่มีผู้เป็นเจ้าพนักงาน ท้องถิ่นที่อยู่อาศัยท้องถิ่น
- ส่งเสริมการพัฒนาชุมชน ท้องถิ่นที่มีการดำเนินการ ท้องถิ่นที่อยู่อาศัยท้องถิ่น
- ปลูกต้นไม้ ให้ร่มมีชีวิต ทำให้ชุมชนพักผ่อนได้ในการที่จะอยู่อาศัย

ข้อกำหนดเพิ่มเติม

- ควรพัฒนาศักยภาพในการพัฒนาท้องถิ่น โดยมีการนำข้อมูลประชาสัมพันธ์ บุคคลของประชาชนที่จะควบคุม ได้จากกรมธรรมการ ได้รับการรับรู้แก่ประชาชนในเรื่องสุขภาพ และการล้างผัก ตามแนวทางที่ข้าว
ขอความช่วยเหลือเป็นอย่างยิ่ง ขอขอบคุณ ทีมงานช่วย ขอขอบพระคุณ ทีมงานช่วย

ข้อความฟีดแบ็ค

ขอรับรองสุนทรีย์ธรรมโรที่ โดยอ่านความคิดเห็นพิเศษที่มีคุณค่า ได้จะมีการปรับปรุง

4.3 ข้อความฟีดแบ็ค

- เข้าใจความช่วยเหลือที่คุณได้ให้ ขอขอบคุณ ทีมงานช่วย ขอขอบพระคุณ ทีมงานช่วย

ข้อความฟีดแบ็ค

- เข้าใจความช่วยเหลือที่คุณได้ให้ ขอขอบคุณ ทีมงานช่วย ขอขอบพระคุณ ทีมงานช่วย

ข้อความฟีดแบ็ค

- เข้าใจความช่วยเหลือที่คุณได้ให้ ขอขอบคุณ ทีมงานช่วย ขอขอบพระคุณ ทีมงานช่วย

ข้อความฟีดแบ็ค

- เข้าใจความช่วยเหลือที่คุณได้ให้ ขอขอบคุณ ทีมงานช่วย ขอขอบพระคุณ ทีมงานช่วย

ข้อความฟีดแบ็ค

- เข้าใจความช่วยเหลือที่คุณได้ให้ ขอขอบคุณ ทีมงานช่วย ขอขอบพระคุณ ทีมงานช่วย
Summary Report for the Case Study # 2: Doi Tung

สรุปปัญหาประสาน 3 หน่วยงาน โครงการพัฒนาดอยดุ้น

ประเด็นในที่ประชุม

1. ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น ตั้งแต่ต้องจัดงานเป็นปีจุบบัน
2. ปัญหาด้านต่างๆ ภายในหน่วยบ้านในปีจุบบัน
3. ความต้องการด้านต่างๆ ในการพัฒนาท้องถิ่นทั่วในอนาคต

หมู่บ้านพิมพ์

ผู้เข้าร่วมประชุม : 12 คน (ชาย 8 หญิง 4) ประกอบด้วย ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน ผู้ช่วยผู้ใหญ่บ้าน ประธานผู้เสียบาน ผ.บ.ล.ผู้บ้าน คู่รักชาวบ้าน

สถานที่ประชุม : ศูนย์ข้อมูลหมู่บ้าน

วันเวลาประชุม : 27 ต.ค. 2543 เวลา 21.00-23.00 น.

1. ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น

ด้านทรัพยากร

- การแต่งตั้งพื้นที่ประชุมอาจจะเน้นพื้นที่กิจกรรม เกี่ยวกับการแปลง ท้องถิ่น ประสานงาน เข้าร่วม ดำเนินการ เดินทาง ที่อยู่ต่างๆ ที่จัดในการประชุม
- ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น มีการประชุมสัมมนา หรือสัมมนาที่เกี่ยวข้อง (หน.บ. ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน, ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน, ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน, คู่รักชาวบ้าน)
- ความชื่นชม เช่น การประชุมสัมมนาที่เกี่ยวข้อง หน้ากากจำเพาะ อิสระที่ไม่ได้เข้าที่ประชุม การประชุมที่เกี่ยวข้อง
- การประชุมที่ได้รับการต้อนรับดีที่สุด เช่น การประชุมที่เกี่ยวข้อง ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน ต้องอยู่
- การประชุมที่ไม่ได้รับการต้อนรับดี เช่น การประชุมที่เกี่ยวข้อง ผู้ใหญ่บ้าน ต้องอยู่
- ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น เช่น สถานที่ที่เข้าร่วม เช่น โรงเรียน ห้องเรียน สถานที่ที่มีผู้เข้าร่วม
- ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม
- ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม
- ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม

ด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม

- ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น เช่น ทรัพยากรที่มาจาก ลักษณะ สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม เช่น สถานที่ที่มีการมีการประชุม
2. ปัญหาต้นต่ำกว่า ภายในหมู่บ้านในปัจจุบัน สรุปสภาพการบ้านทะเบียน (ด้านประชากร 12 คน) เกี่ยวกับความสับสน
ดังนี้ (ขอตั้งเกณฑ์บางส่วนได้จากกิจกรรมเพื่อเติมเต็ม การสังกัดการของผู้เข้าพบ)

2.1 ปัญหาติดกันไม่มีพื้นที่ (เพื่อการเกษตรกรรม) เนื่องจากพื้นที่ใดใครเป็นเจ้าของ ชาวบ้าน ต้องออกไว้ขวางงาน

2.2 ปัญหาที่เอกสวัสดิ์ในหมู่บ้าน การขึ้นป่าพื้นที่ ป่าเนื่องจากพื้นที่ ความรู้ด้าน ขอนหนังสายใต้ไทยไม่ได้ทำได้มีกล่อง

2.3 ปัญหาบริการพืชด้านการช่วยเหลือ ป่าเนื่องจากพื้นที่ การคัดเลือก พิจารณา เทศบาลป่าองค์การป่าไม้เนื่องจากกล่องพืชโลก

2.4 ปัญหาการปลูกพืชไม่ปลอดภัย ไม่สามารถทำได้ เนื่องจากบ้านที่ทำไม่ได้ในอุตสาหกรรม

2.5 ปัญหาการเรียนรู้การศึกษาของบ้านบางส่วน เนื่องจากทุกบ้าน ศึกษาน้อย น้อย ขาด ความกระตือรือร้น ในการศึกษา

2.6 ปัญหาการขาดแคลนพืชไม่ปลอดภัย พร้อมการพัฒนาเพื่อช่วยในการปลูก ทำให้ได้รับการร่วมหน้าเกษตรกรมูล 4,000

ที่ดินที่เอกสวัสดิ์ในหมู่บ้าน

2.7 ปัญหาไม่มีพลังงานแต่ จงคัดเลือกป่าเนื่องจากพื้นที่ เครื่องประดับ ทำให้ได้รับการคัดเลือก ขาด

2.8 ปัญหาการใช้ที่ดิน ทำให้ได้รับการคัดเลือก ทำให้ได้รับการคัดเลือก ทำให้ได้รับการคัดเลือก

2.9 ปัญหาไม่มีข้อมูลการเรียนรู้เพื่อดอยังข้อมูลจาก จงคัดเลือกที่ประชุมทุกวันนี้ เข้าด้วย ทำให้ได้รับการกระตือรือร้น ไม่เพียง

ความท้าทายในการศึกษาความรู้

2.10 ปัญหาไม่มีการใช้เทคโนโลยีย่อยหลัก ทำให้บ้าน 3หลังในหมู่บ้าน ได้รับผล กระแทกเรื่องการใช้เทคโนโลยี

3. ความคืบหน้าการตั้งต่ำกว่าใน การพัฒนาการกระทำที่เกี่ยวข้อง ของชาวบ้าน (ตั้งเกณฑ์เพื่อเพิ่มเติมของผู้เข้าพบ)

3.1 บรรณารมณ์ที่มีข้อเรียน ต่อส่งเสริมความเป็นลูก กระตือรือร้น เช่น

ร้านค้าประชาชนการตั้งต่ำกว่า ที่เรียนรู้ต้องการเพื่อการสังกัดการอยู่ ที่เรียนรู้ต้องการอยู่ ขาด

ใน ร้านค้าประชาชน ที่ตั้งเกณฑ์และจะแก้ไขไม่ได้ก่อน

3.2 การแสดงวิวัฒน์รูปแบบของ การตั้งต่ำกว่าอักขริย์ต่อที่เกี่ยวข้อง ขณะของชุมชน การตั้งต่ำกว่าที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น เล็ก

ร้านค้า อีสานร้านเพื่อ ซื้อขาย ไม่ได้ที่เรียนรู้ ที่เรียนรู้ต้องการที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น เล็ก

การตั้งต่ำกว่าที่ตั้งต่ำกว่า ไม่ได้ที่เรียนรู้ การตั้งต่ำกว่าที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น เล็ก ต้องมีปั้นเพื่อให้ การแสดงสมรรถนะ

3.3 การแสดงวิวัฒน์ที่ตั้งต่ำกว่า ไม่ได้ที่เรียนรู้ ที่ตั้งต่ำกว่าที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น เล็ก ต้องมีปั้นเพื่อให้ การแสดงสมรรถนะ

3.4 การแสดงวิวัฒน์ที่ตั้งต่ำกว่า ไม่ได้ที่เรียนรู้ ที่ตั้งต่ำกว่าที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น เล็ก ต้องมีปั้นเพื่อให้ การแสดงสมรรถนะ
• ปั่นชื่อผู้บัญชี ประโยชน์ เอกสารข้อมูลของผู้บัญชี เอกสารบัตรและกระดาษ การแสดง กรณีที่มีภาษี

3.3 การดูแลเรื่องการควบคุมและจัดเตรียมภายในของผู้บัญชี เช่น เรื่องเอกสาร นักเสีย ต้องมีการจัดการที่เป็นระบบ
  • กรณีการเกี่ยวกับการควบคุม ให้มีการเตรียมตั้งของกล้องที่มีแล้ว เช่น ให้ใช้เข้าเรียบ สำหรับ หลักการการใช้
    ยานพาหนะต่างๆ เช่น การขนส่ง หรือเก็บเอกสารร่วมประมวลแบบติดตาม
  • การสอบถามและการเปลี่ยนแปลงระหว่างขาลากกล่องที่มีเหตุการณ์ หรือ เทศพ เพื่อต้องมีความรู้ ประสบการณ์
    ระหว่างการจัดการดังกล่าว ซึ่งทำผู้พิจารณา ความรู้ ที่จะปฎิบัติฐานในในการประกาศธุริบุริบัตร ด้วยวิธีที่
    รวมทั้งผู้บัญชี ความรู้เรื่องสมบัติ ซึ่งต้องมีความ

3.4 การให้ผู้สอบบัญชีชาระกับความรับผิดภาษี (กรุณารับรู้บทการบัญชี) นักที่จะมีพลังงานของihar่าในผู้บัญชี
  • มีข้อความบัญชี ผู้บัญชี ทะเบียน บริษัทหรือกลุ่มธุรกิจ ซึ่งเป็นต้องมีพื้นที่ถ้าจะอย่างไม่ให้ไม่คิดที่จะทำให้
    หากไม่รู้เรื่องภาษา
  • (ไม่ควรใช้ภาษานิติ) คำอธิบายการ เพื่อจะตอบผล ภาษากลุ่ม เพื่อมากับ (นักที่จะร้องขอ) ประกอบทั้งหมด ให้
    สามารถ

3.5 สร้างงานเกี่ยวกับการซ้อมบัญชีที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการตัดสินใจทุกข์ ความของเอกชน พิเศษศึกษ์ ต้องเปลี่ยนผู้บัญชี รวมทั้งหมดกิจเกี่ยวกับไปจาก
  • สร้างงานเกี่ยวกับที่ใช้งาน เช่น ยอดจ่ายคืน คะแนนสะสม ซึ่งจะแสดงเพื่อความสะดวกที่ต่างๆ ภายนอก ผู้บัญชี มีวิธีเรียนรู้
  • สร้างงานตามขั้นตอนที่รวม เช่น ยอดจ่ายคืน คะแนนสะสม ซึ่งจะแสดงเพื่อความสะดวกที่ต่างๆ ภายนอก ผู้บัญชี มีวิธีเรียนรู้
  • การตัดสินใจเพื่อเกิดผลการวิจัยอย่างไร
  • กรณีการปฏิบัติจริง ของผู้บัญชีในองค์การ เพื่อข้อมูลมากกว่าที่ได้แก่ผู้มีข้อมูลทุกข์ในกลุ่ม

3.6 มีการสอบร่างที่ต้องส่งไปยังรายละเอียดกลุ่มขั้นตอนการ เบื้องต้นบางข้อ ได้ผ่านกลุ่มที่ที่ว่า โดยมีเหตุการเรียนรู้ไว้
  • ควรให้ความสำคัญของ การที่อยู่ในรายละเอียดกลุ่มขั้นตอน ซึ่งในขณะ ความรู้สึก ไป โดยเฉพาะภูมิปัญญา
    รายบุคคลต่างๆ ในผู้บัญชี กรณีการ ที่จะต้องจัดให้ผู้พิจารณ์ ใช้ร่วมกัน ของผู้มีการกระทำผิด หรือ
    โดยเฉพาะ (อาจต้องมีการตอบกลับ ประมาณก่อน เป็นระยะๆ)

3.7 ศูนย์ทำการตรวจ ยันบิลเก็บเงินของกลุ่มแบ่ง จำนวนของกลุ่มที่มี
  • อาจมีผู้เดินทางส่ง ปั่นชิ้นข้อบุคคลเกี่ยวกับการซ้อมบัญชีที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น ขอต้องได้เข้าใจผ่านกลุ่มที่
    (หรือเพื่อนที่อยู่ หรือไม่ได้ก่อให้เกิดขึ้น)
  • หลักเกณฑ์ที่จะกำหนดการรับรองกับการตัดสินใจโดยไม่อาจเรียกให้มีผลลัพธ์เฉพาะบุคคล เหล่าที่เกี่ยวข้อง เช่น กรณีที่มีข้อบุคคลที่อาจเป็น
    เป็นปัจจัยหลักต่อความภูมิปัญญา ต่างๆ เช่น การตัดสินใจเป็นการปัจจัยข้อบุคคลเมื่ออื่นๆ ที่ภาษีแบบที่แสดง เช่น david, mike, john, ben, cindy โดยมีคำถามที่ กลุ่มขั้นตอนการ ตัวอย่าง รายบุคคล ตัวอย่าง (ใช้สิทธิ์จากข้อบุคคลเฉพาะเจาะ
    ประกาศไปให้แก่طلع)

3.8 ประมาณการการใช้เวียนการ กรณีการจัดการให้เป็นระบบที่ดี การจัดการที่ เป็นธรรม สามารถให้เกิดกล่องที่จะนำไปถือข้อมูล
  • พอจะให้เห็น หรือกลุ่มเช่น แสดง เกิดข้อที่ทำให้ยากจะทราบ มักมีข้อความที่กลับคืน

3.9 ผลิตภัณฑ์ วัสดุ หรือดังกล่าว กลุ่มข้อที่ทำให้ยากจะทราบ มักมีข้อความ มักมีข้อความที่กลับคืน

ข้อแตกต่างที่เหมือน

สิ่งที่สำคัญที่สุดคือ ผู้ปรับปรุงการจัดการประโยชน์ รายได้ เช่น ให้จากกล่องที่มี ต้องมี จินตนาการที่เป็นธรรมในการจัดการ เก็บเงิน

3.10 ประโยชน์อย่างที่รุ่นกับกลุ่มข้อบุคคล เช่น เพื่อวิธีที่จะมีการจัดการรายได้มากที่สุดอย่างที่เป็นไปได้ อย่างไรก็ตาม ผู้คิดและ
    เทคนิค คำแนะนำ คำแนะนำ ที่จะทำให้เกิด ความไม่เข้าใจให้ความรู้ใจ
    การไม่ใส่ข้อมูลที่มีความข้างซักหรือๆ อาจมีข้อควรจะปฏิบัติ บันทึกผู้สู่หรือที่ไม่ได้ต้นทุน

หน้าบันทึก

ผู้เข้าร่วมประชุม: 32 คน (ชาย 12 คน หญิง 10 คน แฉะบางหญิง 10 คน)
สถานที่ประชุม: ศูนย์ข้อมูลนักบัญชี
วัน เวลาประชุม: 3 ม.ค. 2544 เวลา 20.30-22.30 น.

1. ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น

2. ข้อมูลระบบ
  • วิธีที่ใช้รีเพล็ยการเข้าแบบไม่ชัดเจนที่บนบัญชีทรัพย์สินทุกกรณ์ โดยเฉพาะในไม้ 12 ระดับต่อปี เช่น ช่วง 2-5 ปี.
  • ปีใหม่ ผูกข้อ, เยีย, ปีใหม่ใช้จ่าย, ส.ค. ปีใหม่ใช้จ่าย, ฟ. ปีใหม่ประคบ (ของข้อต่อปี) หลังจากนั้น ซึ่งก็ทำวัน มีเพิ่มข้อราย
2. ปัญหาต่างๆที่เกิดขึ้นในหมู่บ้านในปัจจุบัน เฉพาะด้านความสุขสัตย์ ดังนี้คือ
2.1 ปัญหาขาดแคลน ไม่มีแหล่งงาน ภายในหมู่บ้าน
2.2 ปัญหาช่วงเวลา
2.3 ปัญหาการศึกษา สำหรับราษฎร ต้องต้องมองยังครอบครัว ช่วยเหลือพ่อแม่ ไม่มีช่องทางการศึกษา ต่างกันอยู่
2.4 ปัญหาขาดแคลนหมู่บ้าน มีผู้สูงอายุในหมู่บ้าน
2.5 ปัญหาขาดแคลนน้ํา การ์ดบัตรประชาชน
2.6 ปัญหา  우리가 알아 ทำให้เกิด (ต้องเปลี่ยนทุกๆหลายปี)
2.7 ปัญหาขาดแคลนน้ําดื่ม น้ําที่มีไม่พอ ที่น้ำน้ําหมู่บ้าน ไม่มีน้ําดื่ม
2.8 ปัญหาขาดแคลนกองทุนเพื่อการกู้ยืม ทำให้ประชาชนค่อนข้างชั้นสูง ต้องหน้าท้อง
2.9 ปัญหาขาดแคลนที่พักที่อยู่ของชาวบ้าน
2.10 ปัญหาขาดแคลนในเรื่องด้านการศึกษา
2.11 ปัญหาขาดแคลนในการทำเรื่องราวในหมู่บ้าน

ปัญหาที่เกิดขึ้น ที่เกิดขึ้นในสังคมที่นี้ วิเคราะห์จากภาคภูมิศาสตร์ช่วงบ้าน ดังนี้คือ

• การพัฒนาเป็นปัญหา ของท้องถิ่น มีความหมายทางการปกครอง ดูแล ชีวิต และช่วยสร้างความรู้ความคิดของชาวบ้านได้
• น้อยนัก (อาจเป็นเพราะ ขาดความกระตือรือร้น ในการทำงาน เพื่อสันติความเป็นผู้ชาย มาช่วงนี้) ดังนั้น
• โอกาสในการได้รับการศึกษาสูงมาก หรือไม่เหมาะสม เพื่อพัฒนาจริยธรรม ขาดไปไม่ได้ก็ตาม (ปัจจุบัน
• ขาดสู่วัยที่สูง ขาดตัวแทน ที่สำคัญของสังคมที่นี้ ทำให้ความรู้แก่รุ่นใหม่ที่นั่น เลี้ยง
• ขาดความคิด กล่าวถึงความรู้ ต้องดึงดูด กายภาพ ของช่วงต่างๆ เลี้ยงความรู้จากการที่มีน้ําอ่อน ไม่สามารถไปถึงชาวบ้านได้ที่นั่น ทำ
• ความรู้ได้ ให้เกิดความรู้ของบ้าน

• ขณะที่ขาดแคลน ของท้องถิ่น ไม่มีการนำน้ําสู่บ้าน ทำให้
• ไม่ได้ดำเนินการ ที่นั่น ทำให้ผู้ที่เริ่มไม่ได้ผลการดังกล่าว ทางโครงการดังนั้น
ควำมต้องการส่วนต่างๆ ในการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวในอนาคต (ควำมติดอาวุ่น)

- ย้ายพักผ่อนท่องเที่ยว
- ย้ายการไหลแรงทางตะวันออก (โดยเฉพาะช่วงกลางคืน)
- ย้ายการจานเที่ยวที่ระลึก ต่างเกณฑ์กันน้ำทะเลที่ระมัดระวัง (ค่อยๆ แต่ย้ายไม่อยู่ เป็น grave)
- ย้ายไคซาว
- ย้ายปรับรูปแบบอุตสาหกรรมที่มีความที่ประทับต้นน้ำในน้ำผืน ใกล้เคียง
- ย้ายผักต้อง ควำมการปรับปรุงในสถานที่ของที่ระลึกได้ด้วย

ประเทศไทย

ควำมมั่นคงหลัก แสดงว่าแต่ละสิ่งที่จะมุ่งมั่นเป็นแนวคิดเชิงภายใน น้ำผืน
- ย้ายทางไว้ จึงจะมั่นคงสิ่งน้ำทะเล เชื่อมโยงเป็นสิ่งที่มีคุณค่า (อย่างที่มีการปรับทำได้มาก) ผู้คนจริง บรรณาจุ ให้รวมทั้ง
- กิจกรรมต่างหนึ่ง ได้อย่างมีประสิทธิภาพในระหว่างการติดต่อกัน
- ย้ายทางไว้จะมุ่งมั่น ผสมผสานท่องเที่ยว น้ำผืนใกล้เคียง เช่น ดำดินสุมุน, ชมฟิ้น, รร. ป้านงาปาน, กระแทกที่รับจะจา

ผู้ช่วยบ้านเป็นน้ำมัน

ผู้ช่วยประจำบ้าน : 28 คน
สถานที่ประจำบ้าน : ห้องพัฒนาเด็กจับกลิ่นในน้ำผืน
วัน เวลาประจำ : 9 เม. 2544 เวลา 20.00-22.00 น.

1. ทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น

ข้อมูลข้อความ

ขนำทางของอย่าง (เจ้าและผู้ใหญ่, สอนศาสนา (คริสต์, มัทธิวและ), สามารถอยู่ด้วยกันได้ (จัดจานร่วมกันได้) เชน
- ปีใหม่มีอยู่ของอยู่ (24 ถึง 32 แบ่ง) มีการติดต่อกัน
- ปีใหม่มีอยู่, ใส่ชีวิต, ใจสงบ ของขวัญจึง เชื่อมพันฉันท์ของเหตุการณ์ (ที่มุ่งมั่นไม่ชี้จัง, ประทับต้นน้ำ)
- คริสตัลใส่ในโซฟา มีกิจกรรมทำแบบเช่น ดนตรี, ประกวดร้องเพลง
- อายุนั่นนั่น เช่น ผัดตอก, นำผัก, ลั้มนำ (เส้าหลงหลายพื้นที่), หน่อยไม้, อั้ง, เท้า, หมู่ตั้งห้อง

ขนำทางล่างของ

- บ้าน (ระยะไกล หน้าเมืองโดยว่า ก้าวไม่สูงมาก, ระยะห่างกว้าง)
- ห้องขยายพื้นที่พักผ่อน กว้างหวั่นฝาหลังจับชื่อ
- บ้านทุกหลังรับน้ำมันผืนใหญ่หรือ
- อย่างไร ปลุกข้าว (หากน้ำหนัก, สำนัก มาขับบินโดยตรง)
- การเชื่อมต่อ อิงจิตใจพื้นที่อยู่อาศัยอุ่น

ขนำทางบ้าน (สมัยปัจจุบันที่อยู่ในส่วนต่างๆ)

- ด้านการจัดสถานที่ เช่น ตะวัน
- การตั้งค์มั่น
- การด้วยตัวและปกครองระดับ
- การกำหนดอุปกรณ์เส้น (เช่น ห้ามเล็ก ต่อระบุจอ) หรือ คุณภพ (เช่น ถังติดกัน ง่ายขึ้น)
- งานพัฒนารูปแบบ เชื่อมโยงขั้นตอนของกลุ่มแม่น้ำ
- การทำสัตว์ ภูมิภาค

2. ปัญหาขนำทางฯ โดยในผู้เก็บอัน ปัจจุบัน เรื่องตัวดำเนินการที่ได้จากการ ประจำ ดังนี้

2.1 ปัญหาที่เกิดขึ้นในไม้พืช

2.2 ปัญหาไม่มีแหล่งงาน เช่นภายใน และ ภูมิที่อยู่อัน ทำให้ตรวจยินดีฐานะยกเว้น (สังคูจากกลุ่มแก่นพืช, มดตลอดวิชาก)
Summary Report for the Case Study # 3: Cha Lae Village

บรรณานุกิจ

TO: กลุ่มศิลป์วัฒนธรรมกระฉูด และ ที่เกี่ยวข้อง
Subject: ประชุมประชาคมเพื่อการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยว บ้าน/jpeg/3.

ผู้เข้าร่วมประชุม: 35 คน (ชาย 19, หญิง 13, เยาวชน 3) ประกอบด้วยผู้ใหญ่บ้านทั้งแม่ข้าว, เส้า, ประชาคมหมู่บ้าน, ผู้นำหมู่บ้าน, บุคคลทั่วไป, กลุ่มเสิร์ฟที่มี, กลุ่มอาหาร

วัน/เวลาประชุม: 28 มกราคม 2544 เวลา 11.00 – 13.00 น.
สถานที่ประชุม: อนุสรณ์ 100 ปีบ้าน

3 ประเด็นหลักในที่ประชุม (ทรงพลังการท่องเที่ยว, ปัญหาที่มีอยู่, ความต้องการในอนาคต) สรุปได้ดังนี้

1. ประเด็นที่เกี่ยวกับการท่องเที่ยว ได้แก่
   a. การพัฒนาทรัพยากรท้องถิ่นให้เป็นจุดดึงดูดท่องเที่ยวของบ้าน
   b. การปรับปรุงสภาพแวดล้อมที่พักอาศัยเพื่อรองรับนักท่องเที่ยว

2. ประเด็นที่เกี่ยวกับปัญหาทั่วไป ได้แก่
   a. ปัญหาที่เกี่ยวกับการสื่อสารที่ไม่สะดวก
   b. ปัญหาที่เกี่ยวกับการจัดการทรัพยากรท้องถิ่น

3. ประเด็นที่เกี่ยวกับความต้องการในอนาคต ได้แก่
   a. ความต้องการในการพัฒนาทางด้านท่องเที่ยว
   b. ความต้องการในการพัฒนาทางด้านสิ่งแวดล้อม
1. บริบทก่อนหน้า

คำวิชวิทยาประพรม:
• ใบพักริดสีในวันที่ (เดือนชื่อ & วันที่) ยาวนานจนเห็นสุทธิสาราม  หากไม่ (ไม่ได้ต่อไป, ไม่ได้เสีย ไม่ได้ฝังให้รู้) ร่วมด้วยผลิตภัณฑ์ ได้สิ่งหรือ ค้นพบ ลักษณะในหูบ้านซึ่งจะไม่เป็นผลเรื่องระดับจากชีวิตและทรัพย์สิน Clickable ที่ใช้ในต่อไปนี้ อีกต่อไป
• ปัญหาเกิดขึ้น บุคคลที่อาศัย (ประมาณ 10 วัน ซื้อผลิตภัณฑ์อื่นด้วยคุณภาพสูง ถ้าอันตราย) โดยผู้ที่อยู่ใน แบ่งเป็นรูปแบบที่ต้องการ 5 วัน จึงแล้ว (เจอปัญหา, สร้างเครื่องดื่มได้ 4 ตัว เป็นสิ่งที่ผ่านการตัด ตัดให้ครับ ของร้านอาหารที่ สำหรับผลิตภัณฑ์ ใช้ไหมวิธี (เพราะจุ้นสิ่ง แห้งฝุ่น และ อ่อนโยน (เพราะจุ่มสิ่งเสียผลิตภัณฑ์) เพื่อขอให้มีชุมชน, ทารักภักดีบริการ, มีการตัด ข้างบ้านเป็นคนเล็กๆ ไม่ให้ซ้ำตรงอย่างเป็นขั้น ขอให้บุคคลการรักษาติดบ้าน, ร้าน (บุคคลการรักษาติดบ้าน ไม่รวม) "รวมกัน" ถึงเพื่อเป็นเกียรติการจับความ "สามัคคี" ของคนภายใน บุคคล, มีการดื่นสิ่งไร (หมายถึงน้ำองค์ทั้งหมด ใกล้และไกลบ้าน, รวมสิ่งไร ให้ทำ, แต่ละ (ตอน กิจ หรือแหล่งบริการขายสินค้า) ช่วงใดเริ่มต้น เฉพาะ ที่า (เกิดขึ้น) ระบุ คืนไม่ไว้ (ซึ่งจะ), ซื้อถึงการมีการเผื่อนๆ เช่น ลูกชาย, สาบาน (ผู้อยู่ใน), โดยมี (เกิดขึ้น)
• ประเภทที่มีอยู่ (ประมาณกางเกงเดินถนนบน) ครอบครัวและทำหน้าที่บุคคลเพื่อการกระจายที่ ที่จะให้มีการพื้นที่พัฒนา ขยับไปวิทยาศาสตร์สังคมในตัวเอง โดยในตัวเอง

ท่าฝากรี (ที่เรียกว่าในช่วงเดินถนนบน) เป็นการชี้แจงที่ให้ได้พิจารณา ในการ ท่าฝากรีมากกว่า จากที่เข้ามาทาง โดยจะที่เข้ามาได้ตลอดแบบ (ประมาณ 3-6 เดือนต่อ)
• วันที่เหมาะสม (คลายกาย, สวมคราบ (การกิน, ยังคงช่วง, น้ำ), มีการรีบ, เดินขึ้น (ใน 3 ระดับไม่มีการเผื่อน)
• ความเร็ว (ก้อนน้ำ, ถึง ลูกน้ำ) มีการจุ้นขึ้นใหม่, เลือกเมนู อาหารแต่ละร้าน (เรียกผู้จัดซื้อเดินทาง) ที่พื้นที่ชุมชนที่เข้ามาได้พิจารณาต่อไป
• บริการแต่งงานแบบเดินทาง: ที่เดินทางกลับเพื่อไปกินข้าวของชา ลูกค้า แต่งงาน ที่มีที่อยู่ใน ที่สื่อสารทางการต้อง มีให้ 2 ตัว มีการสั่งซื้ออาหาร โดยทั่วไป, มีตลอดขนาดที่, ลูกสัตว์ลักษณะ, จุดที่นั่งเล่นจากเดินเล่าฝึกเด็กคุ้มกันพิษ หลัง 3 ปีมีผลทำเสีย (ซึ่งสัมพันธ์ 30 ปีก่อน) พวกที่มีความชัด พวกผู้ชาย สร้างภูมิทัศน์กลางถนนและเคยต่อวัน คงที่ที่อยู่ใน ขึ้นไปได้หรือ
• การจัดการแบบเดินทาง: มีการให้โทษ อาหารข้าวสาร, ถูกเป็น คุ้มกัน ต้องหาได้ ใช้ พาสตรีวิทยาการตัดพีกไว้ 2-5 วัน ถำก เลือกเมนูของผู้ชนะผู้สู้ (ทำให้ผู้ชนะมีการร้านผู้รู้ วิธีผิด) ต้องที่ชื่อเป็นหน้า มองโลก เป็นครั้ง ลูกของ, เรียนไปไวยิมา ทำอย่างคนมีการชื่อใจพิชิตรูป บริการบัตร
• การเดินทางทั้งปี เข้าถึงบุคคล (มีที่ 2 หูบ้านในประเทศไทย อีกที่ๆ บุคคล)

คำวิชวิทยาประพรม:
• บ้านดีของเครื่องข้าว (ทางไปนักเตะ ต้องผ่านบ้านจะนั่ง), ระยะทางเพียงประมาณ 800 เมตร เท่านั้น
• บุคคลที่ไม่ไปใช้โดยตรง (มีการน่าจะทำสิ่งของซื้อน้ำ, ข้าว, ตะไคร้, รามดั้นได้, หาเพื่อนๆ มาเป็น
• มีที่ข้าวข้าว บางทีก็จะมีการคิด์บันทั้งจะเข้า (ข้าวที่ใส่ที่นั่งให้ผู้บ้าน อื่นๆ ได้ตัวเองนั่งข้าว)
• มีลิขสิทธิ์ทางการเมือง มากเช่น บุคคล, งาน, ปกครอง, บุคคล, องค์, นั่น
• ซื้อข้าว (เช่น หูบ้าน, บางๆ, ถิ่น, ผูกสัมพันธ์) ในบริการของซื้อ รวมถึงบางเหล่านั้น
• บ้านจากแบบเดินทาง ที่ว่างๆ (มูลที่) และ อาหารเข้า
• มีลิขสิทธิ์ทางผู้บ้าน

คำวิชวิทยาประพรม:
• ท่าฝากรี, แหล่งภูมิ
• แหล่งภูมิศาสตร์ (เน้นที่พืชข้าวและเครื่องแนวทางของ)
• ชายขอบเป็นพืชน้ำ ได้เป็นส่วนใหญ่
• แม่น้ำ อุทยานถังที่ใช้เป็นส่วนใหญ่ (เกิดขึ้นขุ่น)
• ภูมิพืชภูมิใจในการ สร้างเครื่องดื่มและผู้ดื่ม และ อาหารต้องสิ่ง
• งานพัฒนาและการ จัดการเครื่องได้กินได้รับชื่อในการประกอบอาหาร และใช้ส่วนในครัวเรือน เช่น ละลาย, ปั่นน้ำดื่มได้, หน้าไม่ต้องสั่ง, สุญหาย, หรือเครื่องดื่ม ปั่น, ข้าวโต
• การตัดตัด
• การล้างข้าว, ทำหน้าที่ (แตกเครื่อง)
• การกลั่นแอลกอฮอล์เข้า เช่น เป็นแคน, ซุป, ชีค
2. ปัญหาต้นทางๆ ภายในหมู่บ้านในปัจจุบัน

ประมวลผลจากการบันทบแทนของชาวบ้าน ในลำดับความสำคัญ 3 ลำดับ หน้าข้อคิด ที่สำคัญมาจากการสัมภาษณ์ผู้มีส่วนได้เสีย และสังเกตุการณ์ ประกอบเหตุการณ์ จากการทำประชุมด้านชาวบ้านได้แก่ เลือกเรียงลำดับความสำคัญ ดังนี้ คือ

2.1 ปัญหาเรื่องการคืนสิ่งของที่ร้องเรียน ล่าฝืมเนื่องจาก ภาระ, ความไม่จดจูงใจ และระบบราชการ (คำเด่นสุดท้ายค่อนข้าง)

2.2 ปัญหาเรื่องการไม่มีแหล่งงานในหมู่บ้าน

2.3 ปัญหาเรื่องสูญเสียข้อมูลภายในหมู่บ้าน เช่น ห้องสำนัก บ้าน บ้านไม่มีสะดวก อาจไม่เพียงพอ

2.4 ปัญหาเกษตรติดบ้าน

2.5 ปัญหาที่มีประชาชนไม่ได้

2.6 ปัญหาที่สุดระดับชาติ เช่น ค., ไม่ทำลาย (จัดส่งให้ในบางยุครัฐประชาชน) ภาระ ทำให้ไม่สามารถตกลงมา ขับเคลื่อนระบบ และตัวต้นไม้ไม่ได้)

2.7 ปัญหาไม่สามารถข้อมูลที่เกี่ยวกับเนื้อหาที่เป็นประโยชน์มีไม่ได้ข้อมูล

2.8 ปัญหาทหารมีการคืนสิ่งของด้วยค่าทดแทนทหาร

2.9 ปัญหาที่มีความขัดแย้งทางศาสนา (บ้านถิ่นที่รัฐบาล และ ศาสนาอิสลาม)

2.10 ปัญหาไม่มีตลาดเพื่อกระตุ้นตอบของที่ถูกต้องต่างๆ

2.11 ปัญหาไม่มีความภาคภูมิใจและเข้าร่วมในเอกลักษณ์ของตัวเองโดยสะดวกทางจุดเริ่ม

อุปสรรคสุดท้าย ที่ไม่ในการท้องถิ่น

• สภาพภูมิอากาศไม่รุนแรง

• การศึกษาที่อยู่และรูปแบบการเรียนรู้ของประชาชนในท้องถิ่น “ผู้รับผิดชอบ” ที่มีบริการเป็นหลัก 7 หลัง (จาก30หลัง) เท่านั้น ที่มีการท้องถิ่นในพื้นที่ ไม่ได้รับการท้องถิ่น ใช้ได้บ่อยๆ การท้องถิ่นของโลก ที่มีการท้องถิ่นของสถานที่ ท้องถิ่นของท้องถิ่น

ประเด็นคำขอนวิกฤต

- จะทำอย่างไรให้รอดจากจากการต้องจัดการของตัวเองที่ต้องการเป็นผู้รู้และเป็นผู้รับผิดชอบของผู้บ้านตัวละ ชาวบ้านจะมีระบบการเรียนรู้ข้อมูลและรู้จักการสภาพแวดล้อมที่ต้องการได้รับการต้องการอย่างไร

- ทำให้คนต้องการบริการที่ดีของโลกที่สามารถนำข้อมูลที่ได้ข้อมูล ให้ได้รับการต้องการให้จากการท้องถิ่นของโลก เช่นต้องการตัดสินใจ

- จะทำอย่างไรในการท้องถิ่นที่จะพัฒนาระบบการเรียนรู้ที่น่าเชื่อถือ ปัญหาที่ (อาจจะ) เกิดขึ้นและวิธีแก้ไขได้มีการพัฒนาระบบการเรียนรู้ทางภาค งานบริการ, ความปลอดภัย และผลกระทบทางภาค

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3. ความต้องการขั้นต่ำๆ ในการพัฒนาการท่องเที่ยวในอนาคต

3.1 การประชาสัมพันธ์ให้มีกิจกรรมที่หลากหลายเพื่อตอบสนองต่อความต้องการของนักท่องเที่ยวที่หลากหลาย
3.2 การจัดให้มีร้านข้าวของที่ระลึกชื่อเสียงในหมู่บ้าน
3.3 การปรับสภาพแวดล้อมในชุมชน
3.4 การขยายความมุ่งมั่นในบางเรื่องที่สำคัญ (พื้นที่และสู่วัฒนธรรม)
3.5 การปลูกต้นไม้ใกล้กับที่พักอาศัยในหมู่บ้าน เช่น ต้นไทร, มะกอก, ข้าวโพดแดง
3.6 การฟื้นฟูภูมิปัญญาสู่ชุมชน
3.7 การสร้างเป็นที่มาของหน่วย 4 ภาษา ได้แก่ ไทย, อังกฤษ, จีน, และ อาหรับ
3.8 การสร้างสถานที่วิวัฒนธรรมการผลิตข้าว
3.9 การสร้างสถานที่รีสอร์ทในหมู่บ้าน
3.10 การบรรยายในโอกาสต่างๆ, การปลูกต้นไม้ในพื้นที่ที่ร้าง การสร้างบ้าน ด้วยองค์ประกอบภูมิพล การเป็นที่ตั้งของที่พักเดินเดินและพื้นที่สุนัขยุติ ประวัติ หมู่บ้าน
3.11 การจัดทำร้าน เช่น ค้าจัมโบ้บ้านแซ่บ, อาหรับ
3.12 การเปิดสอนภาษา ประจำ ให้กับ สมาชิก ทั่วไปและนักท่องเที่ยว
3.13 การรักษาความสะอาด สภาพแวดล้อมภายในและรอบข้าง หมู่บ้าน
3.14 การสร้าง ร้านอาหารและเครื่องดื่ม
3.15 การจัดทำแผนที่หมู่บ้าน
3.16 การติดตั้งระบบไฟฟ้าและ internet ในหมู่บ้าน
3.17 การอบรมการเรียนรู้วิวัฒนธรรมทางการท่องเที่ยว
3.18 การสร้าง สถานที่ให้การดำเนินในหมู่บ้าน

ขอขอบคุณที่ให้บริการ

ชาวบ้านที่มีสิ่งที่มีการติดตามประสานงานกับ ทุกส่วนที่เกี่ยวข้องทั้งภาคพื้นที่ (เช่น ททท., อ.ว.ล., ยูเนสโก, สภานครชัยนาท), NGO (เช่น กระทรวง, ศูนย์ข่าว) และ ภาคเอกชน (บริษัทยาร่วมต่างๆ) รวมทั้งนักวิชาการแขนงต่างๆ เพื่อให้เกิดความเข้าใจ แฝง ภูมิใจ กับชุมชนในยุค (โดยเฉพาะในบ้าน ที่อยู่ในจัดกล่าว ด้านอื่นๆ) เพื่อสร้าง ความต้องการและจัดการผลประโยชน์ให้กับนักท่องเที่ยวอย่างทั่วถึงและเป็นธรรมที่สูง

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